

Jean Damascène Rugomboka

RWANDAN GENOCIDE

Understanding its twists and turns and its spread

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Homothety or the Complexities of the Rwandan Genocide and the Extermination of the People in the African Great Lakes Region¹ *



The cover map schematises the homothety of genocide. From right to left, the countries believed to be part of the Nilotic Hima Tutsi empire are shown with a drawing of the homothety visualised on the map of Africa, which leads to the map of the sites of genocide and massacres in Rwanda. The three maps together give an idea of the planned nature of the genocide, repeated in a pattern of homothety, and the expansionist aims of the presidents of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, and Uganda, Kaguta Yoweri Museveni, who work for the Western powers.

¹ The cover map schematises the homothety of the genocide. From right to left, the countries believed to be part of the Nilotic Hima Tutsi empire are shown with a drawing of the homothety visualised on the map of Africa, which leads to the map of the sites of genocide and massacres in Rwanda. The three maps together convey the idea of the planned repetition of the genocide in a 'homothetic' pattern and the expansionist aims of the presidents of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, and Uganda, Kaguta Yoweri Museveni, who are working for the Western powers."

Mapping and location of genocide and massacre sites

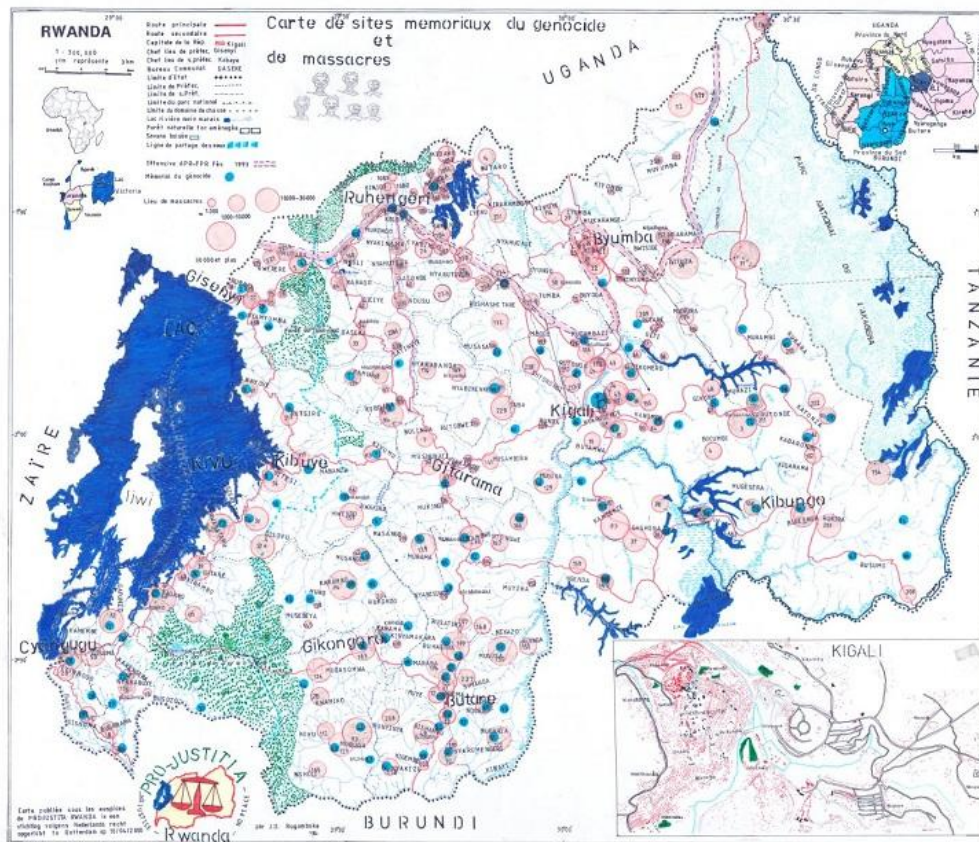


Photo No. 1 Mapping and location of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda by Jean Damascène Rugomboka, October 2020.

***"We must not let oblivion take the place of history."*² ***

Ethnicism as a strategy, cunning and lies as means of propaganda, violence as an instrument of power conquest in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

² F. Mitterrand

Map showing the location of Rwanda



Photo No. 2 evason-online.com

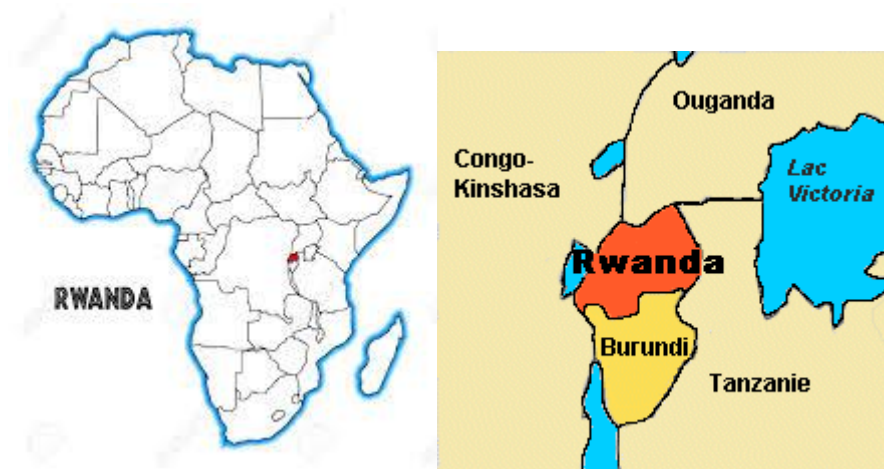


Photo No. 3 Map of Africa and Rwanda in the middle of the Great Lakes countries

Administrative map of Rwanda



Photo No. 4 Rwanda: Administrative map of Rwanda

Three inspirations or mottos guided the writing of this thesis in order to certify and bear witness to the history of Rwanda, namely: Light, time and truth.

Light³ *,

Time⁴ *

and truth * ⁵



A weapon of God

to destroy the disconcerting lie⁶

³ Light: the combination of physical light and the light within oneself that allows one to see oneself correctly. I can distinguish something when I see it by physical light or when I reflect on it at any moment, an inner light.

⁴ Time: the measure by which the duration of a particular event is defined. The past time that I did not know, the present time that I am living during my existence, and the future time that I will never know. Only God is defined in complete time.

⁵ Truth: to unite the Rwandan people, the nature of what conforms to reality. The belief in what is true, the truth of a scientific proposition, but different from a truth established by propaganda in Kinyarwanda, which we call ITEKINIKA, ubwenge, put in place by the power of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, a gift we acquired from Uganda with the support of Western and regional powers.

⁶ The mystery of the three colours lies in the radiance of this light.

Dedication and acknowledgements

I dedicate this work to my children, Jean Luc and Jean Marc, to my mother, Rose Mukarwego, who is over 90 years old, to my wife, and to my entire extended family, for their love, support and constant encouragement.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to:

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- My friend and family member, PhD Patrice Mbarutso, for his valuable time and efforts in proofreading and editing this demanding manuscript.
- All the relatives, brothers, sisters, friends and acquaintances who supported me financially and morally to enable the writing and editing of this thesis.
- All the Dutch families who welcomed us with love and simplicity.

Your help has been essential, and I am infinitely grateful to you.

Abbreviations and acronyms

ACP: Amahoro People's Congress
AERG: Association of Genocide Survivors
AFDLC: Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo
AFRICOM: United States Africa Command
Agahozo: Association of Genocide Survivors
AGR: Association of Guides of Rwanda
A.I.: Amnesty International
ALDE: Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
ALiR: Army for the Liberation of Rwanda
A.O.A.: German East Africa
APR: Rwandan Patriotic Army
APROSOMA: Association for the Social Advancement of the Masses
ARDHO: Rwandan Association for the Defence of Human Rights
AREDETTWA: Association for the Democratic Recovery of the Twa (CAURWA Community of Indigenous Peoples of Rwanda, CLADHO Collective of Leagues and Associations for the Defence of Human Rights)
ARENA: Rwandan Alliance for the Rebirth of the Nation
ARG: Association of Genocide Survivors (AERG AVEGA, CNLG, FARG, GAERG, governed by MINUBUMWE)
ARRDC-ABENEGIHUGU: ISANGANO PARTY ARRDC-ABENEGIHUGU
ARRDC-Isangano: Alliance of Rwandans for Revolution and Democratic Change
AU: African Union (formerly African Union Organisation)
AVEGA: Association of Genocide Widows
CAURWA: Community of Indigenous People of Rwanda
CCFD: Catholic Committee Against Hunger and for Development
CCGN: Command Council of the National Gendarmerie
CCM: Chama Cha Mapinduzi
UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
CCP: Permanent Consultation Council (of opposition parties)
CCPPD: Consultative Committee of Democratic Political Parties
CDA: African Democratic Congress
CDR: Coalition for Democracy in Rwanda
CIA: Central Intelligence Agency
ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross
IACHR: Inter-American Court of Human Rights
ICGLR: International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
CLADHO: Collective of Leagues and Associations for the Defence of Human Rights
UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
CND: National Development Council
CNDP: National Congress for the Defence of the People
CNI: National Itorero Commission
CNLG: National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide
CNRS: National Centre for Scientific Research
CNS: National Synthesis Commission
COD: Ugandan Coalition for Democracy
COFORWA: Cooperative of Water Supply Workers in Rwanda
COM-R: Belgian Commission of Inquiry for Rwanda
COP21: 21st Conference of the Parties (COP) - United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)
COP 27: 27th United Nations Climate Change Conference

CPA: People's Congress - Amahoro
 ICC: International Criminal Court
 CPUN: Committee for Peace and National Unity
 CRDDR: Committee for the Respect of Human Rights and Democracy in Rwanda
 CRISP: Centre for Socio-Political Research and Information
 CRR: Royal Council of Rwanda
 CSR: Special Commission on Rwanda
 DAMI: Military Assistance and Training Detachment
 DfID: British Department for International Development (DfID)
 DGSE: Directorate-General for External Security
 DMI: Directorate of Military Intelligence
 FAR: Rwandan Armed Forces
 FARG: Fund for Assistance to Genocide Survivors
 FDC: Democratic Forces for Change
 FDLR: Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
 FDU-Inkingi: United Democratic Forces-Inkingi (pillar)
 IMF: International Monetary Fund
 FRD: Forces of Resistance for Democracy
 FRODEBU: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Burundi
 FLN: National Liberation Front
 FLR: Rwandan Liberation Front
 FOCA: Abacunguzi Fighting Forces (FDLR)
 RPF: Rwandan Patriotic Front
 FRONASA: Front for National Salvation
 GI: Interim Government
 GOMN: Group of Neutral Military Observers
 GT: Transitional Government
 GTBE: Broad-Based Transitional Government
 HCCA: High Command Council of the Army
 UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
 HRW: Human Rights Watch
 ICC: International Criminal Court
 I.C.T.R.: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
 ICTY: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
 IOC: Integrated Operations Centre
 ISO: International Security Organisation
 I.T.: International Tutsi
 KIBAT: Kigali Battalion
 KWSA: Kigali Weapons Secure Area
 LRA: Lord's Resistance Army
 M23: March 2023 (Rebellion of 23 March 2009)
 MDR: Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR PARMEHUTU, renewed in 1991)
 MDR PARMEHUTU: Mouvement Démocratique Républicain PARMEHUTU
 MDPR-Intiganda: People's Democratic Movement for Reconciliation (the brave)
 MINISPOC: Ministry of Sport and Culture
 MINUAR: United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
 MINUBUMWE: Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement
 MONUOR: United Nations Observer Mission in Uganda and Rwanda
 MRCD: Rwandan Movement for Democratic Change
 MRND: National Revolutionary Movement for Development
 MRNDD: Republican Movement for Democracy and Development
 MRR: Revolutionary Movement of Rwanda

NISS: National Intelligence Security Service
 NRA: National Resistance Army
 N.R.M: National Resistance Movement
 NSC: National Security Council
 NURC: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
 ONAPO: National Population Office
 UN: United Nations
 OAU: Organisation of African Unity
 PADER: Rwandan Democratic Party
 PARERWA: Republican Party of Rwanda
 PARMEHUTU: Hutu Emancipation Movement Party
 PDC: Christian Democratic Party
 PDC: Centrist Democratic Party
 PDI: Democratic Initiative Party
 PDI: Party for Islamic Democracy
 PDP-IMANZI: People's Democratic Pact-Imanzi
 PECO: Ecological Party
 PI: ISHEMA Party
 PL: Liberal Party
 PNAS: National Structural Adjustment Programme
 PNAS: National Social Action Programme
 UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
 PPJR-RAMA RWANDA, Rwandan Progressive Youth Party
 PPR-IMENA: Rwandan People's Party
 P.R.L.: Liberal Reform Party
 PRM: Rwandan Moderate Party - ABASANGIZI
 PS: Socialist Party
 PSD: Social Democratic Party
 PSR: Rwandan Socialist Party
 RADER: Rally of Democrats for Change and Renewal
 RADER: Rwandan Democratic Rally (political party bringing together Hutus and Tutsis during the 1959 revolution)
 RAF: Rwanda Army Forces
 RANU: Rwandan Alliance for National Unity
 RCD: Congolese Rally for Democracy
 DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo
 RDI: Rwanda Dream Initiative
 RDR: Republican Rally for Democracy in Rwanda
 RFI: Radio France Internationale
 RMC: Rally for Constitutional Monarchy in Rwanda
 RNC: Rwanda National Congress
 RNLM: Rwanda National Liberation Movement
 RPA: Rwandan Patriotic Army
 RPR: Rally of the Rwandan People
 RPRK: Rwandan Protocol to Return to the Kingdom
 R.R.W.F.: Rwandan Refugees Welfare Foundation
 RTD: Labour Rally for Democracy
 R.U.: Rwanda Urundi
 SADC: Southern African Development Community
 SDC: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
 League of Nations
 TANU: Tanganyika African National Union

TIG: Community Service
TP: Tutsi Power
ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
AU: African Union
UDPR: Union Démocratique du Peuple Rwandais (Rwandan People's Democratic Union)
UFDR: Union of Democratic Forces of Rwanda*.
UK: United Kingdom
UNAPAR: National Union of Radical Patriots
UNAR: Rwandan National Union
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCHD: United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNOMUR: United Nations Observer Mission in Uganda-Rwanda
UNR: National University of Rwanda
UPDF: United People's Defence Forces
UPR: Union of the Rwandan People
USA: United States of America
USCR: United States Committee for Refugees
VOA: Voice of America
WDC USA: Institute of World Politics

I. Foreword

Disrupting Rwanda's toponymy without going through any known administrative body for land use planning or the national committee or commission for toponymy is a way that the new RPF administration has chosen to disrupt and falsify Rwanda's history, to erase the symbols, values and traces of the Republic, to tamper with the constitution and sideline it in order to ratify the new toponymic designation. It is a way of hiding the massacres committed by the APR throughout Rwanda. It is also an effective means of dispossessing Rwandan peasants of their land in order to subsequently appropriate it. It is also a way of disguising oneself in order to return to the past period of serfdom known as **Ubugake**, followed by forced labour during the colonial period.

For example: erasing history such as that of Gitarama, which is a great symbol of democracy. Gitarama symbolises democracy in modern Rwanda because on 28 January 1961: the royal institution was overthrown and the Republic was ^{proclaimed}^{7*}. *After PARMEHUTU emerged victorious from the elections, on 28 January 1961, the Gitarama Congress, convened by PARMEHUTU, announced the official abolition of the monarchy and proclaimed the establishment of the Rwandan Republic. It immediately appointed Dominique Mbonyumutwa as President of the Republic in place of the king. The Unarists protested against this coup d'état and, to settle the dispute, the UN organised a referendum in Rwanda on 25 September 1961. The aim was to ask the Rwandan people to choose between a monarchy and a republic. The republican yes vote won and the legislative elections held at the same time were won by PARMEHUTU. Grégoire Kayibanda, then Prime Minister, was elected President of Rwanda on 26 October 1961. The coup d'état was thus complete. Belgium was represented by Colonel "Guillaume dit "Guy" Logiest (1912-1991) as Special ^{Resident}^{8(*)} from 1959 to 1962 and High Representative (1962) of colonial Rwanda, who defended Rwanda's destiny. The legislative elections enabled the Parmehutu to win 78% of the vote. Independence came on 1 July 1962. The members of the legislative assembly were elected from among the participants at the meeting, and power returned to the people for the first time in Rwanda's history. This power of the people brought an end to the reign of King (mwami) Kigeri V Ndahindurwa, and the monarchy was abolished. This date is also known as "the Gitarama coup d'état that overthrew the Tutsi Nyiginya monarchy". The power of the RPF-Inkotanyi is a cover for the Inyenzi.*

Another example of the upheaval in place names is the abandonment of Gitarama, the symbolic location of the Republic, in favour of Muhanga, the new name, Muhanga being the symbol of the prison and death camp (Karinga) instead of democracy won through bloodshed. Our children will never recognise themselves if the birthplace of the republic is not restored, if hegemony and arrogance are not stopped. Anyone born in a given place before it was disrupted automatically loses their identity. The recovery of our ancestral identity (known as *gakondo*) is one of our priorities.

Rwanda is a republic. It covers 26,338 km² in the Great Lakes region. A tiny country, nicknamed the "land of a thousand hills", it is located in East Africa. It shares borders with Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, Burundi to the south, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire, to the west. The capital, Kigali, is located in the centre of the country. Rwanda is a small country built on its controversial history. Since the monarchical and colonial eras, social, economic and political issues have weighed heavily on the populace. From the beginning of its independence, successive Hutu governments have been unable to significantly resolve the crucial issue of power sharing. The Tutsis from the UNAR-Inyenzi did not accept defeat and

⁷ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda.

⁸ In Wikipedia. Guillaume, known as "Guy" Logiest (1912-1991), was a Belgian soldier.

democracy, which led to cyclical violence and serious human rights violations. The war of October 1990 destroyed everything that had been achieved up to that point, but above all it cost human lives, caused the economy to collapse and completely disrupted the foundations of family life.

Colonel Guillaume Logiest



Photo no. 5

Colonel Guillaume, known as "Guy" Logiest (1912–1991), was a Belgian soldier, Special Resident from 1959 to 1962 and High Representative (1962) of colonial Rwanda.

Homothety or the twists and turns of the Rwandan genocide and the extermination of the people in the African Great Lakes region

In April 1994, the world was stunned by the scale of the images circulating in the foreign media. A month later, around 22 April, the word genocide began to circulate in the same media, with a terrifying death toll of between 800,000 and 1,000,000. A number that has never left my mind. My first thought was anger, that all the killers should be severely punished. But who were they? This document provides a way to answer that question. At the time, the city of Kigali had 40,070 Tutsi out of 590,000 Tutsi inhabitants throughout the country. Two warring factions fought to take control of Kigali. However, for the victims in the city of Kigali alone, we find **(a)** Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre in Gisozi 259,000 victims; **(b)** Kibagabaga Memorial 25,000 victims; **(c)** Nyanza Ya Kicukiro Memorial: 11,000 victims; **(d)** Rebero Memorial, 14,000 victims⁹ *. The total number in Kigali is 309,000 victims counted in relation to the population of Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, which had 268,200 inhabitants in 1994, all three ethnic groups combined, according to the ONAPO-UNDP survey¹⁰ *. This casts doubt on the propaganda claiming 800,000 to 1,000,000 victims, mostly Tutsis, since this number did not exist and the December 1995 survey revealed that the number of Tutsi victims did not exceed 280,000 to 300,000 souls¹¹ *,¹² *; a glaring contradiction in the figures. So the question is: where did these victims come from, since they did not live anywhere else in Kigali or the rest of Rwanda? The answer can be found in this document entitled: *Homothétie ou les Méandres du génocide rwandais (Homothétie or the Meanders of the Rwandan Genocide)* ...

The results of investigations carried out to map the sites of the genocide and massacres reveal that propaganda had preceded the truth and that lies, violence and cunning have been the weapons of war that continue to be used in the countries of the African Great Lakes region, employed since time immemorial by the royal power from the founding of the Tutsi dynasty to the Rwandan Patriotic Front to seize and retain power, not to mention the coup d'état among

⁹ Jean Damascène Rugomboka. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribes, June 2020.

¹⁰ Rwanda. General census of population and housing, 16-30 August 1991. Reference ID.RWA-1991-PHC-Vo1-MM. Ministry of Planning, Directorate General of Statistics.

¹¹ Aloys Ntiwiragabo, Rwanda. The evil of the Great Lakes Region. From the war of October 1990 to the genocide of refugees 1996-2002, Brussels, Editions Scribe, April 2018, pp. 18-21.

¹² Théobald Rwaka, former minister in the first government of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Ibuka census, December 1994.

members of the royal court and the Hutu uprisings in 1959. There would therefore appear to be a correlation between recent events and those of the past! We have taken care to look into Rwanda's past, date by date, to find the answer. The Hutu and Tutsi problem has gradually emerged since the founding of the kingdom of Rwagasabo by the dismantling of the Hutu kinglets, followed by the arrival of colonialism, the introduction and mention of ethnic race on identity cards in 1936 by the colonisers, with the support and acceptance of the Tutsi traditional authorities who, cynically, believed that they would gain political advantage from this.

When we examine the transfers of power since German colonisation, the expulsion of the Germans by the Belgians was carried out violently, even though this transition retained the model of governance outlined in the League of Nations charter, replacing the mandate system with an international trusteeship system.

Violence resurfaced in 1959 with the revolution, when peasants rose up against the Tutsi traditional authorities to demand equal treatment between Hutus and Tutsis and then independence. The report of the commission of inquiry sent by the Belgian government estimated that around 150 people lost their lives during the events, including both Hutus and Tutsis. It is certain that the exact death toll must be slightly higher, as all the victims were buried without witnesses. There were approximately 150 deaths and 700 people, both Hutus and Tutsis, were imprisoned for arson, looting, murder, etc. Based on this figure of 150 dead and 700 imprisoned, the UNAR-FPR concluded that it was genocide, but it does not mention its incursions resulting in Hutu deaths caused by the UNAR because, in fact, in its 36 attacks, 15,000 Hutus and Tutsis were murdered.

The ethnic unrest of 1973 between Hutus and Tutsis was ended by a military coup without too much bloodshed, even though the military authorities at the time were responsible for violence against 30 to 50 politicians of the former regime who died or were murdered in prison. The Second Republic brought peace and national unity, but it ended in unprecedented violence, unmatched in the history of Rwanda. This unspeakable violence began on 1 October 1990, originating in Uganda, where it had been prepared after the genocide against the Acholi people had been carried out as a feasibility test.

The war waged by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), supported by Ugandan forces, unfolded in three distinct phases, culminating in the Rwandan genocide: the war from 1 October 1990 to 5 April 1994, the phase from 6 April 1994 to 19 July 1994, and the post-1994 phase, which lasted longer to consolidate the RPF's power. Research on these three phases confirms the homothetic nature of the genocide in Rwanda. The planners of the gigantic Rwandan genocide were President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni as master and Paul Kagame as pupil, who had expansionist aims and ideology and were both under the supervision of the major powers seeking natural resources in the region, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Two ethnic groups (Hutu and Tutsi) are fighting for power at the cost of bloodshed, but only one is aggressive or responsible for the unrest! A third ethnic group, the Twa, remains a victim. The document aims to reveal the truth so that Rwandans can reconcile around this truth, which the second ICTR will initiate!

II. Introduction

This introduction will cover the general strategy of the feudal system, followed by the period of Belgian Mandate and Trusteeship from 1916 to 1959, up to the October 1990 war, which ruined everything and sowed death. Then, step by step, the RPF/NRA War with its three appalling genocides leading to the homothety of genocide, including the murders of Catholic missionaries, finally ending with the important dates highlighting the continuation of the APR/NRA/RPF/AFDL genocide in Congo (DRC).

II.a. General strategy

The Mwami or Tutsi king (power), UNAR-Inyenzi, RANU-Inkotanyi and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF-Inkotanyi) are inseparable and indistinguishable; they have changed their names according to circumstances, like a chameleon. The RPF used ethnicism as a strategy to seize power and violence as a tool, a concept that is clearly visible throughout Rwanda's history. It is impossible to dissociate the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa ethnic components from ethnic problems and power as the central and strategic point of seizing power and domination by one or the other. And yet in **1936**: The introduction of mandatory ethnic identification on identity cards under Belgian rule with the consent of the Tutsis, then in power, who saw it as a way of perpetuating their hereditary privileges. To be clear, it was the TUTSI power that ethnicised the country¹³ * (see date of 1936).

Moreover, this ethnic contamination can currently be seen in the African Great Lakes region, through proxy wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and Paul Kagame are leading these expansionist and domination wars and working for the coloniser who wants to gain permanent control over the immense natural resources that abound in Africa's Great Lakes region (arable land, subsoil, minerals, oil, water and air, etc.). The secrets of these wars are revealed in tweets posted by Muhoozi Kainerugaba, son of Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

The date of 1 October 1990 is unforgettable in the history of Rwanda. It is one date among many in our country's history, but unlike any other, as it marks the beginning of the extermination of the Rwandan people and the use of lies and deceit to stifle truth and justice, with the ultimate goal of destroying peace and reconciliation among Rwandans. The suppression of the French language in favour of the introduction of English is one of the reasons for this war. Our country's location is the strategic centre of the world in terms of global geopolitics and economics, and life itself, with an emphasis on human life. The arrival of the English colony in the form of BARINGA is a sign of the devil hovering over the holy land of Kibeho. But the holy land will prevail¹⁴. (The author of this memoir believes this to be true).

What gives meaning to my book is the quote from François Mitterrand¹⁵, and I quote: "*We must not let oblivion take the place of history.*" The history of the genocide has the right to exist in all its forms: written, visual, narrative, games, etc. If I am still alive, I am called upon to do what my parents, my brothers and sisters, my friends, my neighbours, my compatriots, in short, could have done in my place, to pay tribute to them and tell them that I have honoured them with dignity and respect, now and forever.

Contrary to Rwandan and international opinion, we have come to recognise that the victims of this violence were just as likely to be Tutsis and Hutus as Twa; among other things, it appears

¹³ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

¹⁴ The author of this memoir

¹⁵ François Mitterrand

that there were simply not enough Tutsis in Rwanda at the time to account for the 800,000 victims counted by national and international propaganda. This propaganda destroyed and obscured the truth and jeopardised the lives of more than 7 million Rwandans. Moreover, research clearly shows that the figure of 800,000 victims had been preconceived even before the planning stage, since on the day it was announced (in May 1994) the number did not even reach half that figure.

If the war launched on 6 April 1994 after the destruction of President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane had been stopped as requested by the interim government, the number of victims would not have exceeded 557,465. The figure reached on 30 June 1994, when the RPF, arguing that there were no more Tutsis to save, refused the ceasefire that Kambanda's government had been calling for since well before May 1994.

At the time, the city of Kigali had 40,070 Tutsi out of 590,900 Tutsi nationwide. However, the victims in the city of Kigali alone include (a). Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre 259,000 victims in Gisozi; (b). Kibagabaga Memorial 25,000 victims; (c). Nyanza Ya Kicukiro Memorial: 11,000 victims; (d). Rebero Memorial: 14,000 victims^{16(*)} The total number of victims in Kigali is **309,000**, compared to the population of Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, which was **268,200** in 1994. ONAPO-UNDP¹⁷ *. A light of truth that dispels the propaganda of 800,000 to 1,000,000 victims, mostly Tutsis, since the number of Tutsi victims does not exceed 300,000 souls. Where do these victims come from? The answer is further on in this document.

The death toll stands at over 3,000,000 souls¹⁸ *. Hence the title "IRIMBURA-BANYARWANDA", because this was not just the genocide of the Tutsis, but several genocides, in Byumba and Ruhengeri in the north of the country, in Nyakimana, Gisenyi and throughout the north-east; in the centre of the country, where the clergy was completely decimated, and in Kibeho Gikongoro in the south of the country. The words used are: "Killing machine", Tuzahateza itabi, Fagiya and Fanyia/Fanyiya: which mean machine: of extermination, Tuzahateza itabi: from the verb "gutura: to plant"; in the passive verb guteza itabi: 'to destroy completely', lit. 'to decimate the population to create tobacco fields', lit. 'to plant tobacco somewhere'. Fagiya/fagia washenzi (in Swahili: from the verb Kufagia) meaning 'to clean, sweep and ku-fanyia = to execute, to kill'. "

Instead of stopping the war, the RPF and part of the international community, won over to the cause of the former, not only refused to intervene but actively sought to bring about the unspeakable in order to seize power as quickly as possible. This blind and malicious support has now lasted for more than 30 years.

The proposed document lists the important dates of certain events through which cyclical violence has been observed, such as when the INKOTANYI, now known as the RPF, recall the militiamen of Mwami Rwabugiri. It is noteworthy that the tweets of Kainerugaba Muhoozi, son of Museveni, President of Uganda, also refer to the continuity of Mwami Rudahigwa's war when he speaks of unwavering support for the M23 on the cause of the Hima, Tutsi and Banyamulenge who want to plunder natural resources and balkanise the DRC.

The war against the Acholi in Uganda, that of the RPF/NRA/Inkotanyi/APR/RANU/Inyenzi in Rwanda and Zaidi Ngoma's RCD-Goma, and Laurent Nkunda's (Batware) CNDP, Gen. Ntaganda and Makenga's M23 all share the same ethno-expansionist and domination ideology,

¹⁶ Rugomboka J.D. Map of Genocide and Massacre Sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020.

¹⁷ Rwanda. General Population and Housing Census, 16-30 August 1991. Reference ID.RWA-1991-PHC-vO1-MM. Ministry of Planning, Directorate General of Statistics.

¹⁸ Rugomboka J.D. Map of Genocide and Massacre Sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020.

which consists of eliminating and appropriating the property of others. The texts also discuss genocides. The first took place in 1896 under the name "Rucunshu," which coincided with the arrival of the first Europeans (Germans) in 1894. Several genocides (3-4) have occurred since the RPF invasion on 1 October 1990. Detailed explanations are provided. Lieutenant Gustave Adolf, Count von Götzen, Governor of East Africa. The establishment of the first Catholic mission in 1907 during the reign of Mwami Kigeli IV Rwabugiri. The Hutu uprising in the north of the country and the coup d'état between the Kigeli IV Rwabugiri dynasty. He started a rebellion in Bushi (now the DRC), fell seriously ill and died.

II.b. The period of Belgian Mandate and Trusteeship in 1916-1959

This period was marked by the introduction in 1936 of the mandatory indication of ethnicity on identity cards, under Belgian trusteeship with the consent of the Tutsis then in power, who saw this as a way of perpetuating their hereditary privileges. Then came the period from 1952 to 1962, marked by the move towards independence, but also by revolution and violence, as well as a wave of refugees, mainly Tutsis, numbering around 200,000, scattered throughout neighbouring countries. In 1960, the former government of Kigeli Ndahindurwa left the country for Uganda, along with supporters of the royal power, who were mostly Tutsi. In September 1961, a referendum was held and 80% of voters voted in favour of establishing a republic. Some Tutsi refused to be governed by the Hutu majority, who had been their slaves before the fall of the Tutsi monarchy. This was followed by a period of fierce struggle between the mass revolution and the Tutsi aristocracy and colonialism.

The Special Provisional Council; the Provisional Government, the Hutu coup d'état of 28 January 1961, the short-lived Republic of Gitarama, the legislative elections by universal suffrage and the 1961 referendum abolishing the monarchy gradually transformed Rwanda from a dual monarchy (Belgian and Rwandan) into a democratic and independent republic. The Hutus overthrew the Tutsis, the Mwami left his country and never returned. This gradual revolution, which began in November 1959, was completed in October 1961, taking two years.

In order to force the Mwami to return, the Unarists carried out various attacks under the name INYENZI (Ingangurarugo Ziyemeje kuba Ingenzi) (from the UNAR party, now the RPF) during the revolution, resulting in 150 deaths and 700 people being imprisoned. The UNAR concluded that this constituted genocide and made no mention of the incursions by the Inyenzi-UNAR and the civilian deaths they caused among the Hutus.

The 1960s were marked by attacks by Tutsi rebel refugees who called themselves INYENZI "Ingangurarugo Ziyemeje kuba Ingenzi". Between 1960 and 1967, there were a total of 36 attacks.

President Grégoire Kayibanda, who attached great importance to the education of young people in order to accelerate the development of the masses, hastened to open the National University of Rwanda with the motto "*Illuminatio et salus populi*": Light and salvation for the people. The new Republic was gradually built despite the many obstacles along the way. In 1968, there was the first coup attempt by Nyatanyi, which was thwarted by the vigilance of the authorities at the time. This was followed by a political crisis within the ruling MDR PARMEHUTU party- , known as "Guta umurongo" (deviating from the party line). During the same period, regional tensions between north and south were rampant.

Ethnic unrest broke out in Burundi in 1972 and spread to Rwanda, providing Major General Juvénal Habyarimana with the opportunity to carry out a bloodless coup d'état in 1973. With his comrades-in-arms known as "the 11 comrades of 5 July", Juvénal Habyarimana became president of the Second Republic and pacified the country. He established lasting peace until

1990. The general population was involved in the country's development thanks to the commune, which was at the centre of this development.

During the 1980s, marked by an attempted coup led by Major Théoneste Lizinde, former head of security from Bugoyi in the north of the country, he was arrested along with thirty other people accused of plotting a coup. In December 1980, Alexis Kanyarengwe, one of the "comrades of 5 July 1973" and considered an accomplice in the coup attempt led by Théoneste Lizinde, fled the country.

For the Rwandan economy before the October 1990 war, the population was estimated to have grown from 40% in 1985 to 53% in 1992. Rwanda's economy experienced exponential growth, with an increase in GDP per capita relative to the increase in the cost of living and population growth. The well-being of the population in Rwanda compared to that of neighbouring countries (Burundi, Zaire, Tanzania and Uganda) was ranked last in 1976 and became first in 1990. Examples of such improvements included infrastructure, high-quality roads, reliable postal and communication services, access to drinking water for the population, and the expansion/distribution of electricity throughout the country, which were basic elements of economic and social development that were rare in Africa at the time.

II.c. The war of October 1990 would ruin everything and sow death.

The war was launched from Uganda by the Inkotanyi of the RPF, the armed wing of the NRA led by General Fred Gisage Rwigema, who crossed the border at Kagitumba in collusion with the Ugandan army led by Kaguta Yoweri Museveni, who heads the NRA and is the real commander of the war against Rwanda. The RPF/NRA soldiers stormed the Namuhemura hideout, bombing and killing a platoon of the Rwandan army guarding the Kagitumba border, consisting of about 35 soldiers. Only one soldier survived the attack and managed to relay the information to the Rwandan General Staff. The battle was led by General Gisage Rwigema.

However, the battle did not go in his favour on 2 October 1990, as he died in unclear circumstances. General Gisage Rwigema was then Deputy Minister of Defence of Uganda. This means that he was a Ugandan in Ugandan uniform, with a Ugandan passport, and that he was paid by Uganda. The attackers came under the name of the "Rwandan Patriotic Front Army", the Inkotanyi, from the Ugandan army, the "Ugandan National Resistance Army".

They first went to Mozambique to fight alongside Museveni. They also had the opportunity to train their colleagues in the refugee camps. In his biography, Museveni mentions 50,000 demobilised soldiers from the Ugandan army. These 50,000 demobilised soldiers taught the young men and women in the camps how to use weapons. All the young men and women who were sent to Rwanda infiltrated and became involved in all aspects of Rwandan social life, with the aim of helping the RPF to seize power. Others were trained to kill and destroy Rwanda.

The war in Rwanda is primarily a strategic war between powers, distressed by the accelerating climate change affecting the entire planet. As major users of nuclear and fossil fuels such as oil, they have rapidly shifted towards green energy. However, more than 90% of the raw materials used to manufacture electronic equipment are found in the Great Lakes region, mainly in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Rwanda thus became a transit point for accessing these natural resources. Kagame and Museveni gained the support of the major powers by selling themselves to them and pursuing their own ethno-nationalist expansionist agenda.

The Rwandan Patriotic Front committed massacres and genocides that we call IrimburaBanyarwanda in view of the scale of the massacres. To distinguish and identify different genocides, we have used the specific dates and locations of these homicides.

II.d. The RPF/NRA war, step by step

These different stages can be summarised as follows: the first, second and third genocides committed by the RPF/NRA, the homothety of genocide, the despicable murder of Catholic missionaries and the continuation of the APR/NRA/RPF/AFDL genocide in the DRC.

II.d.1. The first genocide committed by the RPF/NRA

A. The first war lasted from 1 October 1990 to 6 April 1994, covering a period of four years of war, the N'Selé and Arusha talks, and the terrible assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana on 6 April 1994.

This very dark period is not well known to all Rwandans because it only concerns the population of the north of the country, which was less controlled by the Rwandan government. The RPF/NRA occupied this area alone, and there was no media presence.

Certain areas with a Hutu majority were depopulated to create a Tutsi homeland in northern Rwanda (the communes of Muvumba, Ngarama, Bwisigye, Kiyombe, Mukarange, Cyumba, Kibali, Kivuye, Cyungo, Kinigi, Butaro, Cyeru and Nyamugali). attacks on camps for war refugees (Rwebare, Rukomo, Kisaro, Buyoga, Kirambo, Rebero-Bwisige; Adventist Church of Shingiro-Mukingo-Ruhengeri; the rest of the population that was not killed came to stay in the Nyacyonga refugee camp).

The assassination of President Habyarimana was preceded by the weakening of his power. There is real evidence to show that there was a deliberate strategy to weaken the regime, create chaos and seize all power by force without sharing it. It should be remembered that Museveni used the same strategy in Uganda when he seized power in Kampala in 1986. In addition to the preparations made in Uganda, the RPF received multifaceted assistance that would help it achieve its objectives: There was therefore a Machiavellian, silent genocide through this depopulation of the Hutu. The strategy consists of forcing the opponent to negotiate and lulling them into a false sense of security during the negotiations. At the same time, the NRA/RPF prepares for war with cunning and extreme malice in order to carry out the final act of dodging the negotiations and then physically eliminating its opponent and all those ideologically linked to them.

SOS Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel Rwanda 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. - President-General Kagame summed up this policy as follows: "Our policy was not the result of chance. It was first carefully thought out by the men who conceived it. Men with a strategy to achieve the goals they set for themselves, no matter what... The problem is that Rwandans are blind. Even when you show them something, they don't see it. They are like a dog , which, before being killed, first loses the use of its nostrils, which become blocked {...}. Those who say they have a harvest of sorghum and maize, I tell them that we have mills, we will grind that maize and sorghum." (Translation: ... Those who think they are numerous (the Hutu), we have the means to crush them, Editor's note.)" ... With Museveni's strategy, the negotiations were intended to lull the government into a false sense of security and prepare for war. The Rwandan government respected and believed in the peace agreements that had been concluded, while the RPF, for its part, was maliciously preparing for war. It is an organisation that does not respect the law, even though it has signed it. This strategy has paid off well since Uganda, in Rwanda and in Zaire, now the DRC Congo. This is what I have called **the homothety of genocide**. A replica of the exact facts (strategic planning, with the intention of suppressing or eliminating part of a given community, well-controlled execution and knowing how to cover up the facts or attribute them to one's opponents or make them the subject of mirror accusations).

II.d.2. The second genocide committed by the RPF-APR/NRA

B. The second war lasted from 6 April 1994 to 19 July 1994 (date of the first RPF government), but it included the entire year to ensure the total conquest of the country.

This second genocide actually encompasses two genocides, one against the Tutsi and another against the Hutu, even though we refer to it as a single genocide, that of the Tutsi.

After the RPF/NRA decapitated the Rwandan state, a spontaneous genocide of the Tutsi ensued, a godsend for Museveni and Kagame, who saw that their initial plan to exterminate the Hutu was now joined by that of the Tutsi within the country. Indeed, systematic ethnic killings followed, most of them committed by Rwandans who knew each other. With the country orphaned, the anger of the young Interahamwe, often idle, was infiltrated at the highest level of their organisation by members of the RPF/NRA to facilitate the speed of the killings. The power vacuum thus played a major role in the RPF's seizure of power. This genocide was immediately recognised by the international community, which wanted to use it as a weapon to permanently eradicate Habyarimana's power and establish that of the RPF.

What happened during the power vacuum from 6 to 9 April 1994 was decisive in the total collapse of President Habyarimana's regime. The weapons of the Rwandan Armed Forces were sealed under the control of MINUAR, which was complicit with the RPF. ... A few days later in May 1994, the UN imposed an embargo on government forces. With the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana, the Arusha Peace Accords became null and void. The RPF had enough time to prepare for the final assault, creating the chaos it had instilled in the country during the negotiations. All that remained was to launch a general offensive and take power without competition, as it had just eliminated its enemy through cunning and lies, with external complicity that provided political and military aid in the utmost secrecy. The situation benefited the RPF's rapid conquest of power.

It should be noted that the massacres and killings are described date by date, step by step, until the macabre toll for the whole of 1994 is summarised. This is the best methodology for identifying those responsible for the Rwandan conflict.

II.d.3. The third genocide committed by the RPF/NRA

C. The third war lasted from 1 January 1995 to 2000.

After the RPF took power, large-scale killings and massacres continued until today. They are listed in a separate document (Sites of Genocide and Massacres in Rwanda, by J. D. Rugomboka, 20 June 2020), and a more thorough investigation outside Rwanda is being conducted to reveal the whole truth about the Rwandan genocide.

After the RPF took power, Rwandans believed that peace would return to the country, but alas! The project "Kuhateza itabi: 'destroy from top to bottom', lit. 'decimate the population to create tobacco fields'" was implemented, and the populations of the north, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi and Byumba, experienced systematic killings on a large scale without respite and without fair justice.

Entire families of men of all ages, elderly people, women and children were brutally murdered by the RPF in 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000 under the pretext of pursuing the abacengezi, infiltrators from the FDLR rebels. In reality, it was the systematic repression and elimination of Hutus. For example, between 8 and 10 August 1997, several defenceless peasants were massacred at a market in Mahoko (Kanama commune, Gisenyi prefecture). Other killings were also perpetrated in the following days and in all the communes surrounding Mahoko. Amnesty International has well documented these killings. During the same period, more than

8,000 people hiding in **the Nyakimana cave** were killed with grenades, and then the RPF sealed and cemented the cave entrance to kill everyone inside.

II.d.4. Towards the homothety of genocide

D. Repetitive and similar acts that constitute premeditated genocide towards the homothety of genocide.

22 August 1997: The Mudende camp, which housed several thousand refugees from the DRC, had already been the scene of an attack on 22 August 1997, during which the RPF army killed at least 130 Congolese refugees, most of them Tutsi, and attributed them to opposition groups.

10-12 December 1997: the camp for Tutsi refugees from the DRC, killing 300 victims. This was during a visit to Rwanda by US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. The attack enabled the RPF to invade the DRC on the pretext of pursuing Hutu rebels.

Responsibility: Thousands of APR soldiers are said to have participated in counter-insurgency operations under the command of Colonel Kayumba Nyamwasa, second-in-command of the national gendarmerie, now responsible for military operations in the north-west.

Each time, the Amnesty International report urged the Rwandan government authorities to respect human rights and the 1949 Geneva Conventions. It urged the government and military authorities to redouble their efforts to identify and bring to justice those directly responsible for these executions. Since its inception, the RPF has neither recognised nor respected any law.

The centre and south of the country were not spared from these large-scale killings and massacres. The prefectures of Gitarama, Butare and Gikongoro suffered the same fate, for example with the attack on the Kibeho camp for displaced persons from 17 to 22 April 1995.

The acts that characterised this period of terror were atrocities: torture, murder, disappearances and abductions are further human rights violations committed by President Paul Kagame and his RPF, demonstrating once again the importance of international action/reaction to investigate and document these abuses through an international commission of inquiry.

- Civil and political rights: - the right to participate in public affairs, - the right to hold public office, - the right of voluntary returnees to leave asylum and return to their country, - the right to express one's opinion, - the right to assemble, meet and form peaceful associations, - the right to privacy...

22 February 1995: RESOLUTION 977 (1995) Adopted by the UN Security Council at its 3502nd meeting on 22 February 1995, The Security Council, Recalling its resolution 955 (1994) of 8 November 1994, Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 13 February 1995. Recalling that it decided, in paragraph 6 of its Resolution 955 (1994), to establish the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

On the same date, UN Security Council Resolution 977 decided to establish the seat of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha (Tanzania).

From 17 to 18 April 1995, more than 2,500 APR soldiers stormed more than six camps for displaced Hutus in Kibeho and expelled them from their shelters to regroup them. On 22 April 1995, they were massacred with heavy weapons and more than 8,000 Hutu refugees from the Kibeho camps lost their lives. The Rwandan Patriotic Army committed this atrocity in the presence of UN peacekeepers. This reality is well known, and these acts are part of the same agenda developed and finalised by the RPF to systematically exterminate the Hutu ethnic group. This act of genocide is attributable to the RPF.

The existence of Rwandan refugee camps within Rwanda and even outside its borders was a flagrant contradiction that a commissioner, ideologue and influential member of his ruling party could not accept, given the strong pressure from the international community to deal with the situation as it stood. The particular nature of the RPF's macabre plan was that such an operation had to be carried out in such a way that no investigation could find any traces or evidence, as had been the case in several places both inside and outside Rwanda. To ensure the plan to dismantle the Kibeho camp was carried out, the leadership of the Rwandan Patriotic Army battalion that carried out the atrocities was entrusted to the terrible Lt. Col. Fred Ibiringira, one of General Paul Kagame's trusted men and close associates.

¹June 1995: Creation of several genocide sites spread across all communes in Rwanda, including the demilitarised zone/buffer zone. This zone is 100% occupied by the APR/NRA, and the genocide sites in this zone are under the responsibility of the RPF/NRA.

On 19 December 1995: Sixbert Musangamfura, Director of Intelligence in the Prime Minister's Office, declares on African No. 1 radio that he has established the figure of 312,726 bodies in more than 300 mass graves, an accusation against the RPF and its government at the time of the events.

¹October 1996: Louis Arbour takes office as Prosecutor of the ICTR. Rwanda's first attack on Zaire (now DR Congo) begins in South Kivu on 20 October 1996.

16 November 1996: First attack on the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire) by Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, and attack on refugee camps in eastern DRC and pursuit of refugees in the forests of Congo.

October 1997: Massacre by the APR of 800 inhabitants of the commune of Kanama (Gisenyi) who had taken refuge in the Nyakimana cave.

11 December 1997: Attack on a refugee camp in Mudende (Gisenyi), killing nearly 300 people, mainly Tutsi refugees from the DRC. This massacre was committed by the RPF, which blamed it on infiltrators in order to invent a pretext for invading the Democratic Republic of Congo.

II.d.5. The RPF also murdered Catholic missionaries

E. In 1998: Father Curick Vjehoslav, a Croatian national and parish priest of Kivumu, diocese of Kabgayi, was murdered in Kigali in 1998. Father Duchamp, a Canadian national, parish priest in the diocese of Ruhengeri. Father Pinard, a Canadian national, parish priest of Kinoni, diocese of Ruhengeri, shot dead during the celebration of Mass by the RPF death squad.

Many other foreign religious men and women were killed by the RPF. The complete list is in Appendix 4 of the document.

¹August 1998: Launch of a second attack by the Rwandan, Ugandan and Burundian armies against the Democratic Republic of Congo. *"1-2 August 1998: Laurent-Désiré Kabila, then President of the DRC, fell out with his Rwandan allies and asked them to leave the country. A new rebellion breaks out, led by the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD). At the helm are former members of the AFDL, notably Azarias Ruberwa, Bizima Karaha (Muheto) and Déogratias Bugera. Military command is entrusted to Colonel Jean-Pierre Ondekane, a former member of the deposed Zairean Armed Forces."*

August 1999: First battle between the Rwandan Patriotic Army and the Ugandan army (UPDF) in Kisangani, resulting in the deaths of 600 Congolese civilians.

15 September 1999: Appointment of Carla Del Ponte as Chief Prosecutor of the ICTR and ICTY.

October 1999: Accreditation of an official representative of the Rwandan government (RPF) to the ICTR in the person of Martin Ngoga.

2 March 2000: The National Post (Canada) reveals the existence of the Hourigan investigation findings. The report commissioned by the ICTR prosecutor reveals that P. Kagame ordered the assassination of the Rwandan and Burundian presidents on 6 April 1994. The report is embargoed. This embargo was imposed by the Clinton administration¹⁹ * (See Umutware TV programme "Bill Clinton Inyuma y'Umugambi Mubisha Wateguwe Mbere mu Itsemba Bwoko n'Irimbura - Banyarwanda").

II.d.6. Dates relating to the continuation of the genocide by the APR/NRA/RPF/AFDL in the DRC

F. Although the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) succeeded in ousting Mobutu Sese Seko from power on 17 May 1997, the three rebel groups that followed had different outcomes. Even though, with a few differences, they share a common history... We compared the official figures accepted by the RPF regime with the scientific statistics produced by the authorised bodies of the Ministry of Planning, UNDP, ONAPO and the Rwandan statistical services in 1991. In addition to field surveys, these figures have made it possible to uncover and discern the ten (10) major state lies told by the RPF about the genocide and to clearly see why the RPF rushed to build more than 110 genocide memorials in June 1995.

A mathematical model of the legal set of genocides or "IrimburaBanyarwanda" was created. It shows that these are genocides that have been committed since the Ugandan war against the Acholis, the war in Rwanda (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa), in Burundi (in gestation and preparation), and the genocides in the Democratic Republic of Congo against the Bantu. (cf. Mapping Report DRC 1993-2003).

The work concludes with a demonstration of the homothety of the Acholi genocide in Uganda, the genocide in Rwanda (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa), and the genocide in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which maintains equivalence among the three genocides identified in the three countries.

The modus operandi: the modus operandi or mode of operation is typical of these RPF/NRA criminals and their way of acting. The methods of operation during the acts are often confused with the same signature of a criminal: 'Killing machine, akandoyi, agafuni, ntampongano, fagia, Fanyia'. While the method of operation may change over time, its signature will usually remain the same: cutting up Bantu men like animals (from the Lowelo triangle in Uganda; from Byumba, Nyakimana, Gakurazo, Kibeho in Rwanda and Kishishe in the DRC, etc.).

¹⁹ Umutware TV programme "Bill Clinton Inyuma y'Umugambi Mubisha Wateguwe Mbere mu Itsemba Bwoko n'IrimburaBanyarwanda"

CHAPTER I. Important dates in the history of Rwanda

Introduction

"IF THE TRUTH DOES NOT PREVAIL, THE PEOPLE WILL TAKE REVENGE"

The war of October 1994 is closely linked to the history of Rwanda. It was preceded by the main actors and the people. We can see that power is contested between the leaders (Republican Democrats fighting among themselves, monarchists disguised as Democrats waiting to seize power), the helpless people, and the coloniser or occupier who shares power with whomever they want. Three main actors: the people, the power ruling the people, and the coloniser or occupier. This is why they are mentioned progressively in this document.

Indeed, the October 1990 war is an integral part of Rwanda's history because the Rwandan Patriotic Front, which was born of its Inyenzi ancestors^{20*}, claims that there has been genocide of the Tutsis since the 1959 revolution. This point is elaborated on in a separate chapter. If, through lies and the mode of governance, the governed are blind, lame, deaf... they need to be liberated in order to gain their independence. Indeed, the Rwandan Patriotic Front's seizure of power by force, supported by external powers, did not make things any easier. On the contrary, through the use of propaganda, disinformation and lies, the nascent democracy was nipped in the bud, extreme violence and dictatorship reached their peak, and human rights ceased to exist. It has been a place of experimentation of all kinds. From the French language to the English language, the country switched from one to the other without preparation or training. The history of Rwanda was buried with the tragic disappearance of Bantu presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi.

We have compiled this short historical account of Rwanda and the war for those who would like a condensed overview. It refers to certain documents that may be of interest to readers curious to learn more about the history of Rwanda and the 1990 war, the two being closely linked. The hope of Rwandans for a prosperous and united future lies in telling the truth about their history, but above all in fighting evil wherever it comes from. It is a struggle for everyone, at all times, in all places, in all conscience.

This conflict can be traced throughout our country's history. I have listed the most important dates related to the Rwandan conflicts, without going into detail about each date, as the details can be found in documents specialising in our country's history.

The terrorist act committed against President J. Habyarimana's plane, considered to be the trigger for the genocide, shed light on the preparation for the extermination of the Rwandan people, leading to several genocides. A chapter has been developed to explain the reality of these wars from Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

This work is the result of extensive research on the Rwandan conflict and the African Great Lakes region, based on two main elements: documentation on the history of Rwanda and a map of the sites of massacres and genocide in Rwanda. The warriors of the RPF/APR/Inkotanyi/RANU/Inyenzi and M23 have an expansionist ideology that consists of taking Central Africa by force and one day establishing a Hima Tutsi Banyamulenge empire,

²⁰ *Inyenzi: Acronym* Inyenzi: name given to themselves by Tutsi fighters in the years 1960-1968. It is an acronym for "Ingangurarugo Ziyemeje kuba Ingenzi" id Brave fighters, vanguard attackers, determined to be exemplary, the best - According to Aloys Ngurumbe himself, founder and leader of the Inyenzi, military adviser to General Paul Kagame in 1998.

according to the name they give themselves in a given place. To describe this chapter of wars of conquest and liberation, we have chosen to use the historical dates of Rwanda, in order to provide an overview of the length of time and violence between Rwandans. The narrative refers to certain documents that may be of interest to readers curious to learn more about the history of Rwanda and its conflicts. The presence of external powers is purely strategic. They want to keep a close eye on total control over the immense resources, particularly in the Great Lakes region of Africa and the African continent in general.

A surprising discovery from this research clearly shows that the Tutsi have been and remain the starting point for the major conflicts recorded in this collection. The main motive would be the desire to rule alone or the refusal to share power, as well as the refusal to come to power peacefully through the ballot box, without bloodshed.

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18th century: Jan Vansina asserts that national "peace" and "unity" during the pre-colonial and mandate periods were not yet on the agenda. He even goes so far as to write that "from the reign of Rujugira (late 18th century) onwards, the country lived almost continuously in a state of war". The trend was towards the institution of violence, the glorification of the strongest, the plundering and even the crushing of the weakest. The seeds of endogenous ethnicism were already there.



Photo no. 6 Bismarck

The Berlin Conference, to each his own, if we are good, representing Bismarck dividing up the African cake depicted in photo no. 6.

I.1. In the 18th century: Violence was a means of seizing power, as it had been since the dawn of time

In the 18th century: the whole of present-day Rwanda was not subject to the Tutsi Bami (kings). From that time onwards, under the "drum" of King Kigeri-Ndabarasa of the Banyiginya dynasty, greater sedentarisation took place. He imposed Tutsi military units on the conquered Hutu territories, even with Tutsi shepherds living on these territories. This created a highly hierarchical military caste that excluded the Hutu. A rift was forming, which would develop in the 19th century. Because of the stability of the military units around a leader, the latter strengthened his authority and thus that of the chief of chiefs: the Mwami. The latter became , lord of the land, hills and slopes, and appropriated the cattle, pastures and ^{fields²¹(*)} . "Initially, the Hutu had a family production system that consisted of producing on the land of the lineage (known as 'granary' farming). With the establishment of Tutsi chiefs on the hills (known as 'lance farming'), the land estates were subject to them. They therefore controlled the empty lands. Both Hutu and Tutsi needed the mwami's consent to occupy them for either agriculture

²¹ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification, p.26

or livestock farming. Population growth and the impossibility of expansion made the clans extremely vulnerable and dependent on the Tutsi chiefs. This resulted not only in the weakening of the Hutu clan, but also in its gradual impoverishment. The Tutsi chiefs did not base their power on the people but on the Mwami, which the people felt was submission to a foreign power.

From the second half of the 19th century onwards, a deep divide widened due to political, military and social structures that increasingly impoverished Hutu peasants: ubuhake, uburetwa, uruharo and urushanshuro. The Hutu-Tutsi relationship turned into one of opposition in favour of the Tutsi minority and at the expense of the Hutu majority. This was the situation when the first Europeans arrived in Rwanda.

1880

The partition of Africa refers to the process of territorial competition between European powers in Africa, which began with the general wave of colonisation at the end of the 19th century (mainly between 1880 and the First World War).^{22*}

The two main European countries involved were France and the United Kingdom. Germany, Italy, Portugal, Belgium and Spain also participated, but to a lesser extent and often later.

It was during these few years that the broad outlines of many of today's African territories were formalised. This division was often symbolised by the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), although this conference only set rules and did not actually proceed with the partition^{23(*)} of Africa. This division mostly followed previously established boundaries, sometimes modifying them^{24(*)}

²⁵The second half of the 19th century, starting in 1877, saw the transition from informal imperialism, characterised by military influence and economic dominance, to centralised governance and direct domination, with each European nation nevertheless having its own specific approach to the administration of its new territories.

1884-1885: The Berlin Conference decided to divide Africa among the major European powers.

I.2. The first genocide was called Rucunshu at the end of 1896

In 1894, researchers, particularly German ones, began to travel throughout the country with the King's permission. In 1894, King Yuhi Musinga placed himself under German rule. In 1890, the first Catholic mission was established in Save, Zaza and Nyundo. In 1907, the House of Rwanda was founded by the Germans. Endogenous ethnicism was already present during the Nyiginya reign.

1890

I.2.1. Under German protectorate 1897–1916

(King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri promoted in the M23 by Yoweri Museveni's son (Nyandwi) to complete the conquest he had begun)

²² In Wikipedia: (en) "Scramble for Africa", in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Kwame Anthony Appiah (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2010 (ISBN 9780195337709 and 9780199733903, [read online \[archive\]](#)).

²³ Henri Brunschwig, *Le partage de l'Afrique noire* (The Scramble for Black Africa), Paris, *Flammarion*, coll. "Questions d'histoire" (Questions of History), 1971.

²⁴ "The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) or the partition of Africa" [[archive](#)] [video], *La Fabrique de l'Histoire programme*, France Culture, 26 January 2010.

²⁵ Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa*, New York, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2005, 2nd ed., p. 301.

1853-1895: Reign of King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri^{26*}. Musabyimana writes in his book: "In royal tradition, the Abaginyinya clan, which had been in power for centuries, had to seek wives from the Abakono clan. King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri broke with this rule. He took the young Kanjogera as his wife. The arrival at court of this woman, from the Abega clan, was an opportunity for ambitious members of that clan to seize power. King Rwabugiri got wind of this. He had almost all the members of his Abega in-laws murdered because he suspected them of plotting to overthrow him. In this context, he had Kabare, Queen Kanjogera's brother, castrated because the diviners had predicted that he would father a king. Kabare stoically endured this punishment of rare cruelty. Upon Rwabugiri's death in **1895**, he took his revenge and seized power. Kigeri Rwabugiri's successor, Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa, had no mother. Kanjogera, his stepmother, was appointed queen mother. She had a son, Musinga. In **1896**, Kanjogera and her brothers Kabare and Ruhinankiko organised a plot known as the Rucunshu coup.

January 1891: Rwanda, Burundi and Tanganyika became German protectorates.

Late 1894: Lieutenant Gustave Adolf, Count von Götzen of the East African government, stayed in Rwanda for a while and met Kigeri Rwabugiri in Kageyo, Ramba commune, Gisenyi prefecture.

Lieutenant Gustave Adolf



Photo no. 7

Wikipedia: 1893-1894 expedition

Count **Gustav Adolf von Götzen** (born 12 May 1866 at Scharfeneck Castle in the county of Glatz in the province of Silesia and died 2 December 1910 in Hamburg) was a German officer who, in 1894, entered Rwanda at the head of a troop of 620 soldiers. He was the first European to cross Rwanda from end to end (). He was the first governor of German East Africa.

After exploring the coast of Tanganyika in 1885 on behalf of the German Empire, Carl Peters was given the task of exploring the interior, as far as the Congo. Götzen then organised an expedition to what is now Rwanda, which he was the first European to discover. He travelled as far as Lake Kivu with the intention of reaching Central Africa. They met (him and his troupe) King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri in Kageyo, in the Kingogo district west of the Nyabarongo River, then reached Lake Kivu^{27(*)}.

²⁶ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda, p.43

²⁷ Wikipedia: Gustav Adolf von Götzen was a German officer who entered Rwanda in 1894 at the head of a troop of 620 soldiers. He was the first European to cross Rwanda from one end to the other. He was the first governor of German East Africa.

Late^{19th} century: Rwanda is under the reign of Rujugira, and the country is almost continuously at war^{28*}.

1896: The first German colonists arrive on Rwandan territory.

The Rucunshu coup d'état¹ - also known as the "Rucunshu palace revolution" - was a bloody event at the end of 1896 that left a lasting and painful mark on Rwanda's history. In the many publications that examine the possible origins of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, references to Rucunshu are not uncommon, and some researchers have gone so far as to refer to the Rucunshu coup d'état as the "first Rwandan genocide"(^{*)}²⁹. Musabyimana Gaspard explains: *"The trio formed by Kanjogera and his two brothers Kabare and Ruhinankiko began by weakening the king by diverting or killing his best military commanders. Kabare would lure them into ambushes or invite them to his home. After welcoming them, he would take them by surprise and kill them by strangulation. Finally, the royal court was attacked. The king and all his descendants perished in the fire. The Abega clan, led by Kabare, exterminated all the Abanyiginya to seize power from them forever. Rutarindwa's most loyal lieutenants were hunted down and killed in a gruesome manner. All those who possessed the esoteric code on Mibambwe's side perished with him in the fire. The survivors were hunted down for several years.*

I.2.2. Events: From the coup between dynasties to the Hutu uprising

At the end of the^{19th} century, the long reign of Mwami (King) Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, marked by intense military activity, came to an unexpected end in 1895 when the sovereign, who had gone to suppress a rebellion in Bushi (now the DRC), fell seriously ill and died.

As early as 1889, Kigeri IV had made arrangements for his succession and decided that his son Rutarindwa would succeed him under the name Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa. As the child's mother had already died and the position of queen mother was particularly important in the Rwandan monarchy, he entrusted this role to another of his wives, Kanjogera, from the ABega clan. However, she already had a son, Musinga. Upon the death of *the mwami*, Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa was enthroned, but two clans immediately opposed each other at court, and plots and massacres multiplied. With the help of her brother Kabare, a skilled military leader, Queen Mother Kanjogera fomented a coup d'état that resulted in the burning of the royal residence, the death of the young king and his entourage, and the rise to power of her half-brother Musinga, under the dynastic name of Yuhi V Musinga. However, the power struggles continued, as Musinga, still too young to reign, was Kanjogera's only son, while the late king had several brothers who were potential pretenders to the throne. The Queen Mother and her brother **Kabare** exercised the regency and eliminated their opponents.

Late 1896: Rucunshu coup d'état; the Abanyiginya dynasty was almost exterminated by the Abega clan. This was the first Rwandan genocide.

1897: An anti-Tutsi uprising broke out in the north-west and ^{north}^{30*}. Ndagari wrote the following about this: "The Hutu rose up en masse and treated her as mwami, saviour (Nyirafugi). This movement heralded a major armed anti-Tutsi uprising that broke out in the

²⁸ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical Review, p.39. - The trend was towards the institution of violence, the glorification of the strongest, the plundering and even the crushing of the weakest. The seeds of endogenous ethnicism were already there.

²⁹ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda. - One of the new king's wives was Ruhinankiko's daughter. She would be used to gather information necessary for the overthrow of Rutarindwa.

³⁰ Ndagali C.S. Editions Scribe, 2015. Rwanda: Ethnic Groups, Clans and Socio-Economic Problems. A Comparative Study of Practices under the Sacred Monarchy and the Rwandan Patriotic Front System.

north-west and north in 1897 and engulfed the countries of Bugoyi and Kanage in Buberuka, passing through Rwankeri, Bushiru, Kingogo, Buhoma, Burera, Bukonya, Bugarura... Led in most small districts by the many former local kings who lived there, these insurgents failed to unite to ward off the counterattack by the court's armies. After two years of fighting, in 1899, the court's armies had quelled the insurrection but had to abandon any direct interference in the small kingdoms that had been tributary under Rwogera's reign...

1897: Mwami Musinga takes power after the Rucunshu coup.

1898: There was a rebellion in Bugoyi, whose inhabitants refused to pay "corvées" and "taxes" to the royal court^{31*}, and ³². Desouter specifies in his note: *"A punitive expedition led by Serugi, son of Bihutu and grandson of the famous Nkusi, killed many people and set the region ablaze. Many Hutu fled to the caves of Rwerere. They were killed there without mercy. The Tutsi companies then undertook a veritable raid in the Bugoyi region. Many women and their children were sold as slaves at the Uswi market. Pregnant women were killed: 'they will no longer give birth to rebels'. The Hutu of this region later took revenge by siding with another rebel, Ndungutse."*

When Von Götzen arrived in Rwanda in 1894, he met the Nyiginya/Wanyiginya ruling class. He recounts, and I quote: *"the 'Wahinginia according to Von Götzen', the population within which he distinguished the Wahutu, the Watutsi and the Twa. Richard Kandt sketched their uneven spatial distribution across the territory and noted the relationships that existed between them: 'The Watutsi people maintain serious relationships of dependency with the Wahutu masses, who are Bantu. In addition, the Batwa pygmy pariah race is scattered throughout the country. They are either sedentary potters or nomadic hunters who live in the virgin forest.'"* Ndagali continues on page 64: *Examples of the fragility of the denial of ethnic groups, according to Dr Ndereyehe Kalori, "the existence of the Hutus, Tutsis and Twa is a socio-historical reality. To deny this obvious fact is to bury one's head in the sand. Can we really talk about genocide or inter-ethnic massacres while denying the existence of the protagonists? That is pure hypocrisy. Regardless of their origins, most of those who lived through the feudal-monarchical period know that those who called themselves Tutsis belonged to the ruling class that dominated the Hutu subjects. It is this experience that serves as a reference point for identity, passed down from father to son, and which allows us to categorise Rwandan Tutsi lords and their Hutu serfs."*

1898: Europeans von Götzen and Richard Kandt explore Rwanda and the Kivu region^{33*}. After Carl Peters explored the coast of Tanganyika in 1885 on behalf of the German Empire, Götzen was given the task of exploring the interior, as far as the Congo. Götzen then organised an expedition to what is now Rwanda, which he would discover as the first European. He travelled as far as Lake Kivu with the intention of reaching Central Africa. To do so, he convinced Georg Pritwitz und Gaffron (1861-1936) and Dr Hermann Kersting (**de**) to accompany him. They left Pangani on the coast of German East Africa on 21 December 1893 and crossed Masai territory and the Kagera River near the Rusumo Falls on 2 May 1894. They reached Rwanda, only the western part of which had been explored by Oscar Baumann in 1892 on behalf of an anti-slavery society.

1900: Arrival of European missionaries in Rwanda

³¹ Desouter S. 2007 Le Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

³² Ndagali C.S. Edition Scribe, 2015. Rwanda: Ethnic Groups, Clans and Socio-Economic Problems. A Comparative Study of Practices under the Sacred Monarchy and the Rwandan Patriotic Front System.

³³ Wikipedia.



Photo No. 8 Image of the White Fathers

They met King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri in Kageyo, in the Kingogo district west of the Nyabarongo River, and then reached Lake Kivu.

1899: Led by Monsignor Hirth, the White Fathers entered ^{Rwanda^{34*}}. When Monsignor Hirth decided to enter Rwanda with his White Fathers and Baganda catechists, the royal Banyiginya and the German authorities seemed to be well disposed. His first visit to Rwanda in early February 1900 was to Mwami Musinga. The first successes were among the common people, the Hutus, but from 1907 onwards, the missionaries turned their attention to those in power. This was also the strategy adopted by Father Classe, who later became bishop and vicar apostolic. For almost forty years, he shaped the strategy of the Catholic mission.

In 1903, the missionaries' post in Mulera was attacked because the missionaries were considered to be supporters and accomplices of the Tutsi regime. This clearly shows that this so-called 'harmony' was far from being achieved.

In 1903, Gisaka once again refused to submit. This time, the missionaries chose to side with the rebels. One of the missionaries was forced by the German authorities to leave his post in Zaza.

1905: The Schutztruppe quelled the revolts in Bushiru, Buhoma, Bumonyo and Kibari, where four Hutu chiefs refused to submit to the ruling Tutsi family. Since then, the Hutu have suffered humiliation in their own country.

1906: Captain Werner von Grawert became military resident of Rwanda and ^{Burundi^{35*}}.

In 1907, Rukara rwa Bishingwe, a member of the powerful Hutu Barashi family in Murera, rebelled against the Nyiginya royal ^{power^{36*}}. He tried to enlist the support of the missionaries. The superior of the Rwaza mission post, Father Paulin Loupias, who wanted to negotiate a compromise between Rukara and the Court, was speared by one of Rukara's companions and died. This was followed by a punitive expedition by the Schutztruppe with the support of several thousand warriors of Mwami Musinga. Rukara was executed on 28 April 1912. In 1911-1912, a revolt led by the pretender Biregeya aroused enormous enthusiasm in the north of the country.

15 May 1912: The execution of the rebel Twa Basebya, who rebelled against the Nyiginya royal power.

In 1912: there was the Ndungutse revolt. Burera in Bakiga in the north never came to terms with the presence of Tutsi power in their ^{strongholds^{37*}}.

³⁴ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

³⁵ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, p.91.

³⁶ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification. -.

³⁷ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

20 January 1915: The Belgian and British governments pooled their colonial forces to invade German East Africa.

28 January 1915: Belgian soldiers decided to fight German soldiers in ^{Rwanda38*}. Musabyimana writes the following in his book: *"The Belgian government deployed 50,000 men to attack East Africa between Rutshuru and Uvira, and appointed Colonel Bem Charles Tombeur as Commander-in-Chief (...). During the same period, a certain Twa Basebya also rebelled against the Nyiginya royal power and became an ally of Ndungutse. He had organised his district in the northern marshes, which were impenetrable to the Germans and too dangerous for the Court's units. He was captured by trickery and Lieutenant Eberhard Gudowius had him executed in Kigali on 15 May 1912, the day after his capture. Throughout this period, the 'Hutu royalty' of Kinyaga defended themselves against the court of the Tutsi mwami until 1924. On 28 May 1915, the Commissioner-General decided to attack Gisenyi to dislodge the Germans and succeeded in stabilising the front at Nyundo (Rwanda) and Kabale (Uganda). However, the Germans, whose commander on the ground was Captain Wintgens, held their heavily fortified position on the Sebeya River. The Belgians carried out a flanking manoeuvre, entering Rwanda via Byumba and occupying Gatsibo. From there, one column conquered Kigali on 6 May 1916 and the other bypassed Lake Muhazi and joined up on 9 May 1916. Meanwhile, elements of the Southern Brigade pursued the Germans, who were retreating towards Nyanza to reinforce the troops stationed in Kigali. The Belgian troops left in Gisenyi under Rouling's command to pin down the Germans were ordered to cut off the Germans' retreat to Nyanza by following the Shyira, Muramba, Gatumba axis. They reached Nyanza on 19 May 1916 and the Germans headed for Burundi, while those in Kigali also retreated to Bugesera. Rwanda was conquered militarily by the Belgians. The Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 ended the First World War and penalised Germany by stripping it of its colonies. It entrusted Rwanda to Belgium. The Second World War (1940-1945) did not have much impact on Rwanda (...)."*

I.2.3. Belgian mandate and trusteeship 1916-1959

1916: Belgian troops drive out German garrisons and occupy ^{Rwanda39*}.

7 October 1917: Mwami Musinga decreed the law on freedom of ^{conscience40*}.

In 1919, the Council of Allied Powers granted Belgium the mandate over Ruanda-Urundi, part of the former German East Africa colony.

In 1894, during the reign of Kigeri IV, a military expedition... A decision by the League of Nations, dated 31 August 1923, confirmed this mandate, which was approved by the Belgian Parliament in a law passed on 24 October 1924. The organic provisions concerning the status of the Territory were laid down in a law passed on 21 August 1925.

The Belgians occupied German Ruanda-Urundi during the First World War. Mandated by the League of Nations in 1922 and then placed under UN trusteeship in 1946, they were tasked with developing and advancing the country. In forty years, they accomplished both little and much. The peasant population remained economically underdeveloped, with only a small elite of "evolved" individuals gaining access to Western development.

The United Nations Charter replaced the mandate system with the international trusteeship system. The text of the trusteeship agreement concerning Ruanda-Urundi was approved by Belgium by the law of 25 April 1949.

³⁸ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda.

³⁹ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

⁴⁰ ⁴⁰ Desouter S. 2007. Ibid.

25 January 1919: Drafting of the Covenant or Pact that gave birth to the League of Nations (LON).

28 June 1919: The Treaty of Versailles ended the First World War and penalised Germany by stripping it of its colonies. It entrusted Rwanda to Belgium.

10 January 1920: The first general council meeting was ^{held}^{41*}.

18 April 1923: A treaty was signed between the United States of America and Belgium concerning Belgium's mandate over the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, signed by the American ambassador in Brussels, Benjamin Thaw Jr, and the Belgian minister, Henri Jaspar: League of Nations - Treaty Series, 1924-1925, vol. XXXI, no. 2,3.

31 August 1923: The mandate agreement was signed between the League of Nations and Belgium^{42*}.

1923: Domestic slavery was abolished by order of the Belgian Protectorate.

January 1924: A protocol containing some border modifications was signed by Henry P. Fletcher, United States Ambassador to Brussels.

January 1924: Geopolitics: Monsignor Classe fought for the annexation of Gisaka (January 1924) to Rwanda, whereas the Berlin Conference (15 November 1884 to 26 February 1885) had annexed it to the Tanganyika Territory.

20 October 1924: Belgium was officially mandated to administer Ruanda-Urundi, i.e. Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi. On 20 October 1924, Belgium accepted its mandate over Ruanda-Urundi. The territory was added to the Belgian Congo but remained legally and financially separate from its larger neighbour.

24 October 1924: The Belgian Parliament approved, by the law of the 24th, the organic provisions concerning the status of the Territory of Rwanda. It addresses the problems of Rwanda^{43*}. In 1919, the Council of Allied Powers granted Belgium the mandate over Ruanda-Urundi, part of the former colony of German East Africa. In 1894, during the reign of Kigeri IV, a military expedition... A decision by the League of Nations, dated 31 August 1923, confirmed this mandate, which the Belgian Parliament approved by law on 24 October 1924. The organic provisions concerning the status of the Territory were laid down by the law of 21 August 1925.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the United Nations Charter replaced the mandate system with the international trusteeship system. The text of the trusteeship agreement concerning Ruanda-Urundi was approved by Belgium by the Act of 25 April 1949.

Rwanda is divided into two residences: the residence of Rwanda and that of Urundi. Usumbura, located in Urundi, is the administrative capital of both residences. From the point of view of the trusteeship administration, Rwanda was divided into ten territories: Kigali, Nyanza, Kibuye, Shangugu, Astrida, Kisenyi, Ruhengeri, Biumba, Kibungo and Gitarama. The capital of Ruanda was Kigali. From a customary administrative point of view, Ruanda was divided into two countries, whose borders were those of the residences. The country of Ruanda was divided into 45 chiefdoms and 559 sub-chiefdoms. The important localities were Kigali, Astrida, Nyanza, Shangugu and Kisenyi.

⁴¹ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification. -

⁴² Desouter S. 2007. Ibid.

⁴³ In CRISP Weekly Bulletin 1960/5 (No. 51), pages 1 to 23.

1924: Belgium is officially mandated to administer Ruanda-Urundi, i.e. Rwanda and neighbouring ^{Burundi}^{44*}. Chapter 10 of the United Nations Charter contains a number of details on the basis of which trusteeship agreements were concluded for countries previously under mandate. The agreement concerning Ruanda-Urundi was signed in December 1946.

1926: The Belgians introduced an ethnic identity card system differentiating between Hutus, Tutsis and Twas.

16 November 1931: Enthronement of King Mutara ^{Rudahigwa}^{45*}. Rudahigwa Charles was born in 1910 (Mutara III Rudahigwa) and reigned from 16 November 1931 to 25 July 1959. A literate man, he was secretary to his father Yuhi Musinga before being appointed chief of Marangara, close to the bishopric of Kabgayi, then held by Monsignor Classe. In November 1931, Mutara Rudahigwa was enthroned as king in place of his father. His father had just been dismissed and deported to Kamembe-Cyangugu by the colonial authorities. Nothing would ever be the same again. Since Kabare had enthroned his nephew without the consent of the Abiru (the guardians of the esoteric code), royal power had been demystified and placed at the mercy of anyone.

1936: The introduction of mandatory ethnic identification on identity cards under Belgian rule, with the consent of the Tutsis, who saw this as a way of perpetuating their hereditary privileges. To be clear, it was the Tutsi authorities who ethnicised the country and, to a lesser extent, the Belgian authorities. The Hutu, having no decision-making or protest power, had nothing to blame themselves for. The curious thing is that Tutsi power chose ethnicity (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) as the designation on identity cards, but discarded the clan (Bega, Bagesera, Tsohe, Singa, Nyiginya, Cyaba, Zigaba, etc.) which were found in all three ethnic groups, because the clans offered no interest or advantage to those in power.

December 1946: the Permanent Mandatory Commission was replaced by a Trusteeship Council, which ruled on specific agreements with countries administering^{46*}. Chapter 10 of the United Nations Charter contains a number of details on the basis of which trusteeship agreements were concluded for countries previously under mandate. The agreement concerning Ruanda-Urundi was signed in December 1946.

This agreement confirmed the system of indirect administration and also reiterated the obligations listed in Article 76 of the Charter. The first paragraph of Article 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement reads as follows: "In establishing laws relating to land tenure and the transfer of land ownership and natural resources, the administering authority shall take into consideration indigenous laws and customs, respect the rights and safeguard the present and future interests of the indigenous population.

1949: the abolition of corvée labour (uburetwa). The Catholic Church was at the root of social reforms^{47(*)}. The Church has always abhorred class struggle. But it could not remain inactive in the face of injustices and legitimate aspirations within society. It was committed to emancipation, cultural promotion and development "in moderate and irreproachable language". But its common language with the ruling power was not capable of influencing the course of events. Although Monsignor Perraudin insisted that the clergy and teachers should remain outside politics, the fuse had already been lit. Ecclesiastical tradition allowed the Church to speak out against injustice, but it was much more reluctant to criticise political power.

⁴⁴ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

⁴⁵ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda.

⁴⁶ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

⁴⁷ Desouter S. 2007. Ibid.

I.2.4. Associations of leaders to awaken the consciences of the oppressed

The 1950s saw the emergence of Rwandan politicians who were aware that they were leading the country under a multiparty system opposed to the feudal-monarchical regime. Joseph Habyarimana, alias Gitera, was the first to express his opposition to the secular feudal-monarchical regime at the risk of his life by founding the Association for the Social Promotion of the Masses (APROSOMA) on 1 November 1957. It became a political party on 15 February 1959. APROSOMA was a regional party. It had virtually no members outside the territories of Astrida (Butare) and Cyangugu. The party was committed to democratic principles. It sought to be the voice of the "common people", i.e. all those who were disadvantaged by the feudal-monarchical system. It was in favour of a constitutional monarchy.

The evolution of APROSOMA is closely linked to its charismatic leader Joseph HABYALIMANA Gitera.

Gitera Joseph and Kayibanda Grégoire were two political leaders who raised the crucial political issue of the day, considered to be the number one problem among other issues of the colonial and feudal era. Racial identification was institutionalised in 1936 by the colonial power, which introduced the mandatory inclusion of ethnic origin on identity cards under Belgian rule, with the consent of the Tutsis, who held feudal power and saw this as a way of perpetuating their hereditary privileges.

In the historical document "Rétrospective, le problème rwandais 1952-1962" (Retrospective: The Rwandan Problem 1952-1962), Marcel Pochet describes this problem in detail. The working classes and the educated elites criticise them for taking advantage of their unprecedented powers to strengthen their positions without regard for public affairs or the interests of their constituents.

These complaints are rising from all sides in a worrying manner and can be reduced to five main grievances:

1. Nepotism in appointments to public office.
2. Excessively biased exercise of distributive justice.
3. Unprecedented corruption among most members of the judiciary.
4. Sophisticated exploitation of the poor under the guise of legality.
5. Disproportion between the salaries of traditional authorities and the actual services rendered to society, rewarding prestige more than performance.

I have used his texts to draw up a summary, a synthesis, tables and conclusions that may help us understand the existence of this problem, which seems to have resurfaced since the RPF came to power. Below is the Hutu-Tutsi problem.

"HUTU/TUTSI PROBLEM" * ⁴⁸

I.2.5. Position of the Hutu-Tutsi problem

[The Hutu-Tutsi question is the number one problem in Rwanda because it calls into question the very coexistence of the numerically superior group on the one hand, and the politically and

⁴⁸ Pochet Marcel. 'Retrospective on the Rwandan Problem 1952-1962. Series 1: National actors Volume 2 Files 2&3 APROSOMA and PARMEHUTU 'Archival documents for historical use...'. Editions Sources du Nil. June-July 1959. P84-93.

economically superior group on the other. It is the very life of the Rwandan people that is at stake here (Tutsi: 14%, Hutu: 85% and Twa 1%).

However, the solution to this problem cannot come from either the Hutu or the Tutsi. They are all too involved in the debate to be able to examine it calmly. It requires the intervention of a mediator approved by both parties. This mediator can only be the Administrative Power, which is the only party that is disinterested while also being responsible for the future of the country and the harmonious development of the two rival groups under its supervision. This natural mediation is perhaps the only firm means of resolving the conflict. The problem was highlighted by the Bahutu Manifesto, an analysis of which reveals the following key ideas, which boil down to a demand for de facto equality for all citizens of the country:

1. Protest against political and economic discrimination in access to public office.
2. Protest against judicial discrimination in the administration of justice.
3. Protest against cultural discrimination in access to secondary and higher education.
4. Protest against discrimination relating to the contribution to public expenditure.
5. Protest against discrimination relating to the ownership and exploitation of agricultural and pastoral land.
6. Protest against civil and social discrimination resulting from the elasticity of uncoded customs.
7. Protest against the lack of valid representation in indigenous councils and the central administration of the country.

I.2.6. Political and cultural monopoly

Justification for choosing this sector of various racial discriminations reserved by Hutu claims. These statistics only concern the areas of the exercise of political rights and participation in education. There are two reasons for this choice: firstly, the political and cultural areas are accessible to quantitative investigations. Secondly, the political and cultural spheres have a direct cause-and-effect relationship with all other aspects of public life in Rwanda. They are therefore the centre of gravity of the vicious circle of clan and family racial discrimination denounced by public opinion.

It would be easy to list all the forms of racial discrimination intrinsically linked to the traditional structure of political and social inequalities based on the unspoken dogma of the congenital superiority and inferiority of certain races.

I.2.7. Shocking disproportion in participation in public office

Table 1: Hutu-Tutsi representation in various organs of power in Ruanda-Urundi .

1957-1958

No Public offices	Tutsi		Hutu	
1. Chiefs	81	98.8	1 (Ur.)	1,2
2.Sous chefs	1,050	95.5	50	4.5
3. UK Cons. Gen.	12	85.8	2	14.2
4. Rwanda High Court	31	94.0	2	6
5. High Council of Urundi	30	91.0	3	9

6. Ruanda Territorial Council	125	80.7	30	19.3
7. Urundi Territorial Council	112	81.2	26	18.8
8. Administrative Assistants (1956)	284	67	122	33
Totals	11,725	88.0	236	12.0

Table No 2: Population distribution in round figures

- According to the same sources of information, the indigenous population of Ruanda-Urundi is distributed, in round figures, as follows:

Hutu	4,000,000	Or	88.2%
Tutsi	600,000	Or	10.8%
Twa	50,000	Or	1.0

Table 3: Representation in the country's political high command .

Distribution of chiefs by race:

Tutsi race	45 out of 45	Or 100%
Hutu race	0 out of 45	That is 0%
Twa ethnicity	0 out of 45	That is 0%

N.B. Results of a survey conducted in Rwanda:

According to statistics provided to the country's Higher Council school board by 29 primary schools out of 14 and 29 secondary schools out of 47, the proportion of Hutu-Tutsi pupils in these schools in 1957-1958 was as follows:

Table 4: Primary and secondary education

	Primary schools		Secondary schools		Increase Or decrease
Race	Abs. no.	%	Abs. no.	%	
Tutsi	14,211	32.1	1,740	60.9	+28.8
Hutu	29,953	67.7	1,116	39.1	- 28.6
Twa					

The MDR PARMEHUTU was founded in 1957 by Grégoire Kayibanda and dissolved on 5 July 1973 after the coup d'état led by Major General Juvénal Habyarimana. When a multi-party system was established in Rwanda in 1991, it was revived and took root in the former Parmehutu under the leadership of Faustin Twagiramungu, who became Prime Minister when he took power on 19 July 1994. It was unable to coexist with its long-standing enemy, the children of the UNAR, and was dissolved in 2003.

PARMEHUTU is the number one enemy of UNAR and therefore of the RPF, the children of UNAR, so the resolution of this problem requires frank dialogue. There was power sharing during the negotiations, but the RPF was not satisfied because it wanted all the power, which was the reason for shooting down President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane. The Arusha negotiations did not address the issue of putting in place safeguards to prevent abuses.

The following statistics concern secondary schools attended by pupils from Rwanda and Urundi.

Table 5: Results of a survey conducted at the Rwanda-Urundi level

Established.	Tutsi			Hutu			Total		
School	Fig.	Abs.	%	Fig.	Abs.	%	Fig.	Abs.	%
									100
1. Interracial	135		66.9	67		33.1	202		100
Usumbura									
Rhetoric and dry	39		84.8	7		15.2	46		100
(1958)									
2. Athenee	57		82.7	12		17.3	69		100
d'Usumbura									
3. Astrida	297		66.0	143		34	422		100
School Group									
4. Usumbura	235		64	117		36	352		100
School									
5. Usumbura	52		65.9	27		34.1	79		100
Nursing School									
Total	797		68.1	373		31.8	1,170		100

Conclusions from these tables

These surveys reflect reality: an absolute Hutu majority in primary school, which fairly accurately reflects the proportion of the country's total population. An equally absolute minority of Hutus in secondary schools. Almost total exclusion of Hutus from higher education, where they probably make up no more than 5 to 10 per cent of the student body.

The Hutu regression coefficient above accurately expresses the estimated degree of decline of the Hutu as they attempt to rise in the political hierarchy and social ladder. We are still in 1958.

I.2.8. Current opinions on the Hutu-Tutsi problem

Intended to draw the attention of the Mwami and the administering power to certain aspects of the internal racial problem in Rwanda, the Bahutu Manifesto is a kind of synthesis of the ideas currently in vogue among various sections of the country's population. It is a succinct summary of what all Hutus and low-ranking Tutsis think but dare not express. All those who have read it speak of it as an event of great importance. This is the second time in Rwanda's history that the Hutus have officially demanded political and social equality with their Tutsi compatriots.

The first petition of this kind dates back to around 1890. It ended in total failure.

I.2.9. Position of the Tutsi group

The Batutsis who discuss this manifesto and the Bahutu petitions can be divided into three categories:

1⁰ Firstly, the old and young conservatives who ridicule them and readily liken them to the first demand of 1890. They refuse to admit any kind of brotherhood on their part that could legitimise this demand for effective equality, in law and in fact. It is this category that is behind the publication of the document dubbed by the press as the "Bahutu Manifesto" as opposed to the Batutsi Manifesto; while the former calls for the abolition of all racial discrimination, the latter proclaims the domineering vocation of the Mututsi conqueror; the vocation of the Bahutus/Bantus to eternal servitude, the absence of any form of fraternity between the two races because one is essentially superior and the other essentially inferior and dominated.

2⁰ The second category includes certain sons of the High Aristocracy (sic) who see too much merit in the grievances expressed to deny them the importance they deserve.

3⁰ Finally, there is the category of intelligent and clear-sighted old and young Tutsi who regret the existence of the discrimination that has been denounced and fear that the situation will worsen day by day if the necessary measures are not taken in time to stop the cold war that has already begun and prevent the class struggle that is smouldering in certain regions of the country, while waiting to explore, in the longer or shorter term, ways of resolving these grievances.⁴⁹ *

Based on a more detailed analysis of the above tables and the behaviour of the Tutsi leaders and the Hutu people they ruled over at the time, on the one hand, and observations of the current regime, on the other, we can conclude, without straying from the essentials, that during the feudal and colonial regime there was indeed racial discrimination, which was institutionalised by the Tutsi leaders who saw and benefited from the political, socio-economic advantages and wanted these advantages to continue. The change or revolution of 1959 was therefore unwelcome, which is why most Tutsi leaders refused to participate in the construction of the republic. They preferred to take refuge in neighbouring countries and prepare to return and seize power by force.

The 1990 war was well prepared in Uganda, taking into account the need to maintain its initial ideology of ruling superiority (racial discrimination), a political position held by a small group within the RPF/UNAR, which took care not to reveal or publicise it so as not to lose credibility with its allies and the international community.

The RPF-UNAR/NRA returned to power in 1994, still harbouring this hidden ideology of racial discrimination, which is difficult to perceive for those around them unless they have a solid knowledge of history and an understanding of the relationships between ethnic groups in Rwanda.

Therefore, there is no longer any reason for one ethnic group to impose the ideology of genocide (which is a mirror accusation) on another community (Hutu) that is not their own. Even more serious is the inclusion of this ideology of genocide in the national constitution in order to permanently remove the Hutu community from power. This is therefore a gratuitous historical denunciation on the part of the Tutsi leaders. (See Appendix 1... The image of the current power of the RPF). [Rwandan politics: Headlines "The history of ethnic amnesia to ethnocracy: 80% of senior Rwandan officials are Tutsi"⁵⁰ .* by Filip Reyntjens 24 November 2021.] Despite the

⁴⁹ Pochet Marcel. "Retrospective on the Rwandan Problem 1952-1962. Series 1: National actors Volume 2 Files 2&3 APROSOMA and PARMEHUTU "Archival document for historical purposes...". Editions Sources du Nil. June-July 1959. P84-93.

⁵⁰ FILIP REYNTJENS 24 NOVEMBER 2021. RWANDAN POLITICS: Headlines "The history of ethnic amnesia to ethnocracy: 80% of senior Rwandan officials are Tutsi". A statistical analysis of the situation in 2021.

current state policy of pretending to ignore ethnicity, most people know that their leaders are mostly Tutsi. Our research examines the extent of this trend.

President Paul Kagame meets with opinion leaders in Huye, Rwanda, in February 2019. Credit: Paul Kagame. After the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) took power in 1994, it erased references to ethnicity. People ceased to be Hutu, Tutsi or Twa and became Rwandans, as highlighted by the Ndi Umunyarwanda ("I am Rwandan") campaign. This is normal and fair. But in reality, it conscientiously or meticulously means that you belong to the Kagame clan and that others do not or must undertake a journey to become part of it.

This policy of ethnic amnesia was understandable when the war resumed after the assassination of President Habyarimana, as being identified as Tutsi meant almost certain death. The new government therefore sought to resolve inter-community animosity by simply removing references to ethnicity. Whether or not this worked, one of the effects of this practice is that it has obscured the disproportionate representation of Tutsis in positions of power today. While Tutsis represent 10 to 15% of the population, their elites occupy almost all high-level positions. It should be remembered that this phenomenon of racial exclusion also existed during the feudal regime. We are now in the years of the 1958-1959 revolution. A word of caution: it should be noted that ethnicity is considered highly subversive in Rwanda today and could be considered guilty of 'divisionism' or promoting 'genocide ideology', both of which are punishable by law. This law is wreaking havoc in the country.

Filip Reyntjens analysed this situation and concluded that the results represent an overall picture of the situation in 2021 rather than a necessarily fully up-to-date inventory at a given point in time. The conclusions For the survey, we listed 209 office holders whom we considered to be among the most senior in the country. We then attempted to determine their ethnic identities, which in Rwanda are passed down through the father. Of the 205 senior officials whose backgrounds we were able to determine with certainty, 166 were Tutsi and 38 were Hutu. This is an overall ratio of 81:19, but variations were found in different areas. Nineteen (66%) of the 29 members of the national government analysed were Tutsi. But at less visible levels, this trend was more pronounced. Thirty-one (86%) of the 36 ambassadors were Tutsi, as were 13 (86%) of the 15 top office holders in the army and security services, and 26 (96%) of the 27 senior positions in the main parastatal and public bodies. All senior positions in the President's Office, the heads of the main religions, and senior positions in national sports federations and major media outlets were held by Tutsi. These trends are also reflected at the local level, with 20 (70%) of the 29 district mayors identified belonging to the same ethnic minority. The rest of the study is referenced here⁵¹."]

This racial ideology hinders or even jeopardises national reconciliation and remembrance initiatives. There can be no sustainable development if a people is not reconciled. As someone who is writing this document without concealing my racial identity, I believe that the roots of the genocides in Rwanda lie in the feudal regime that separates communities in cultural, political, socio-economic and spatial terms on the basis of race. The current RPF regime is the product of feudal power, which has not disappeared from the UNAR, a royalist party of the Mwami.

Thus, the Cardinal has just hammered home the racial ideology in a Catholic communiqué issued on 31 March 2023: Antoine Kambanda was born on 10 November 1958 in Nyamata and ordained a priest on 8 September 1990 by Pope John Paul II. He is a Rwandan Catholic bishop and has been Archbishop of Kigali since 19 November 2018, after serving as bishop for two

⁵¹ Reyntjens F. in African Arguments: "From ethnic amnesia to ethnocracy: 80% of Rwanda's top officials are Tutsi", 24 November 2021.

years. He was elevated to the rank of cardinal by Pope Francis on 28 November 2020, making him Rwanda's first cardinal. He is a fervent supporter of the ruling RPF party. In 2020, he declared on Vatican Radio that there had been no genocide in the DRC Congo with more than 10 million deaths at the hands of the army of his great friend Paul Kagame. He is a great supporter and advocate of the ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front party. He never advocated for the burial of his predecessor bishops who were assassinated in Gakurazo on 5 June 1994. In this statement, he reveals his political affiliation and why Rwandans have been deeply divided for 29 years, during the reign of this ruling party.

A comment from an internet user on this statement by a Tutsi cardinal :

The Catholic Church in Rwanda has lost its faith and even forgotten its theological foundations. This church, which we never hear speaking out for the poor, the destitute, the persecuted, or for true reconciliation between Rwandans, Christian or not, has just shown us that it is more political than spiritual. Cardinal Antoine Kambanda, president of the Episcopal Conference of Rwanda, has just published this statement in Kinyarwanda announcing that baptism celebrations will not take place this year at Easter because, according to the statement, Easter will fall this year during the week dedicated to the commemoration of the 1994 Tutsi genocide.

For Christians, however, Easter signifies the resurrection of Christ. Christians hope that through this resurrection, the dead will find eternal life. In the Catholic Church, baptism is synonymous with new birth, birth into another life, eternal life, and one is baptised to enter into this community that hopes that after death there will be another life. Suspending baptisms because we are commemorating the dead is heresy, theological apostasy. I know that Cardinal Kambanda and his fellow bishops in Rwanda know theology better than I do, but they must have been struck by "political myopia" (*see the communiqué in Appendix 1*). Mwemba, 31/03/2023.⁵² *. Internet Facebook page of: Emmanuel Nzabakirana JR Mwiseneza. 31 March 2023.

The cardinal speaks of the 1994 genocide of the Tutsis, a genocide in which 280,000-300,000 Tutsi and 2,500,000-3,000,000 Hutu were killed, in which the victims of the genocide won the war, established justice, structure and administration, and dictated the country's policies and laws to be followed without concern for the lies, shortcomings and scandals that characterised this genocide.

The communiqué is issued with the essential mission of preaching life and reconciliation among Rwandans, where truth has its place. Kambanda Jean recalls this ideology of domination by those in power in the following text: "Let us remember that the 'ideology of innate domination' of the Tutsis fascinated the Europeans, who encouraged and supported it. The proof can be found in a 1931 document attributed to Resident-General Ryckmans. He was undoubtedly influenced by Monsignor Léon Class⁵³ *, only four years after the Belgian administration proposed abolishing the Tutsi monarchy and hegemony in order to give all power to the Hutu: 'The Batutsi were destined to reign. Their mere presence already gives them considerable prestige over the inferior races that surround them; their qualities – and even their faults – enhance this further. They are extremely astute, judge people with unfailing accuracy, and move through intrigue as if it were their natural element. They are proud, aloof, self-controlled, rarely blinded by anger, rejecting all familiarity, insensitive to pity, and with a conscience that is never

⁵² Emmanuel Nzabakirana JR Mwiseneza 31 March 2023. Internet/Facebook page of: Emmanuel Nzabakirana JR Mwiseneza 31 March 2023.

⁵³ Kabanda Jean. August 2020, Editions Sources du Nil. Lille, France p 48 In Mgr Classe, who unconditionally supported the monarchical and feudal powers and institutions in place, convinced that the Batutsi were born to rule and the Bahutu born to submit and obey, was just waiting for this reversal.

tormented by scruples.⁵⁴ * Pastor Johannesen provides the following details: "the portrait of the Rwandans (by Gasabo), according to Pastor Johannesen⁵⁵ *", they could undoubtedly have behaved differently, I hope. This portrait can be summed up as "a depraved temperament": "Glorification of brute force, cold cruelty, barbaric insensitivity, dulled conscience, deceit, lies and duplicity, venality and lack of integrity among magistrates, widespread instinct for plunder and gluttony, arrogance and lechery among the great, servility among the small, frivolity of mind among all... a harsh rock that the anchor of evangelical preaching cannot bite into."

⁵⁴ Kabanda Jean. August 2020, Editions Sources du Nil. Lille, France, pp. 48-49, In Erny, Pierre, 2001, p. 72

⁵⁵ Pastor Ernst Johannesen was a member of the German Protestant Bethel Mission. He arrived in Rwanda in 1906, leading a mission that included his wife. He first settled in Zinga, near Gahini. Mrs Johannesen was thus the first European woman to enter Rwanda.

CHAPTER II. Tutelage, Revolution and Terror: Rwanda from 1950 to 1964

II.1. Trusteeship and Terror: Rwanda from 1950 to 1959

Belgian trusteeship and the monarchy governed the country hand in hand under the watchful eye of the Church, which was responsible for evangelising by training the country's new elite. The latter would be responsible for leading the country towards democracy and independence.

Joseph Gitera and Grégoire Kayibanda, founders of the Aprosoma and Parmehutu parties, respectively.



Photo no. 9

Joseph Gitera and Grégoire Kayibanda, founders of Aprosoma and Parmehutu, respectively, first as associations and then as political parties: **Aprosoma and Parmehutu**

1951: Abolition of the chicotte (ikiboko cyangwa umunani). The Catholic Church was at the forefront of social reforms^{56*}.

1 June 1952: Abbé Aloys Bigirumwami was consecrated Bishop of Nyundo^{57*}.

14 July 1952: Publication of the decree establishing elected councils, namely: sub-chiefdom councils, chieftdom councils, territory councils and the Superior Council of the Country.

October 1952: Father André Perraudin is appointed Rector of the Major Seminary of Nyakibanda.

End of 1953: First elections in Rwanda. Elected councils are established.

13 February 1954: Speech by Mwami Mutara Rudahirwa in which he announces the abandonment of the old institutions.

April 1954: The institution of "Ubugake" is abolished by decree. (Serfdom contract) The Catholic Church was at the root of social reforms^{58*} Desouter describes this system in the following lines: *"The Catholic Church was at the root of social reforms."*

⁵⁶ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The RPF Trial. Historical clarification. - The first Rwandan bishop, originally from Gisaka, confirmed the maturity of the Catholic Church.

⁵⁷ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification. - The Catholic Church was at the root of social reforms.

⁵⁸ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

The institution of Ubuhake in Rwandan society. Ubuhake is a name that comes from the verb *guhaka*, meaning 'to subjugate someone, to have them in one's pay'. A stronger man would demand that a weaker man provide him with certain goods and services in kind and would promise to give him one or more head of cattle in return for these services. If the offer, made in accordance with established custom, was accepted, the requester became the *shebuja* (master) and the recipient of the cattle became the *umugaragu* (servant). *Shebuja* and *umugaragu* (master and servant) were two roles whose reciprocal rights and duties were well known to everyone in Rwandan society.

Umugaragu had the usufruct of the livestock entrusted to him (milk, *croit* male), while the rights relating to what we call bare ownership remained in the hands of the *shebuja*; in addition, *umugaragu* could generally obtain the support of his *shebuja* in all of life's difficulties. In return, he rendered his *shebuja* the services he requested, which differed according to the *umugaragu*'s status.

In fact, Rwandan society, like that of Ankole, was stratified differently. At the top were the Tutsi, warrior pastoralists, representing approximately 15% of the population; below them were the Hutu, a peasant mass constituting almost the entire rest of the population; and finally, the Twa, a small minority of 1% or 2%, who were colourful hunters, dancers and henchmen in the service of the Tutsi.

19 December 1955: Father André Perraudin is appointed Vicar Apostolic of Kabgayi.

March 1956: Foundation of a political party: the Progressive Political Movement. The founders are: Prosper Bwanakweri, Aloys Munyangaju, Grégoire Kayibanda and Pierre Baranyaka of Burundi.

25 March 1956: Father André Perraudin is consecrated Bishop of Kabgayi.

25 April 1956: Resignation of Albert Maus, member of the Government Council of Ruanda-Burundi, Vice-Governor General of Ruanda-Urundi. He protests to the supervisory authority against the lack of representation of the Hutu population on the said council.

21 July-3 August 1956: In *La presse africaine*, an anonymous priest openly criticises Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa. (Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa reigned from 1931 to 1959).

24 August 1956: Another article in *La Dépêche du Ruanda-Urundi* discusses the Rwandan issue.

2 September 1956: Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa gives his point of view, which is published in *Temps nouveaux*.

22 February 1957: The Rwanda High Council issued a "clarification" to the United Nations visiting mission denying the existence of ethnic power sharing and demanding the country's rapid independence, as the Council believed that power was in the hands of the Rwandans.

23 March 1957: The Bahutu Manifesto was published. 24 January 1957: The daily newspaper *La Libre Belgique* published an article addressing the Hutu-Tutsi issue. It was signed by nine intellectuals, including Grégoire Kayibanda, who became President of Rwanda in 1962.

24 March 1957: In response to the document denying the racial issue in Rwanda, "Une mise au point" (A clarification) of 22 February 1957, a text entitled "Note sur l'aspect social de la question raciale indigène" (Note on the social aspect of the indigenous racial issue), later renamed "Manifesto of the Bahutu", was published, signed by Grégoire Kayibanda, M.

Niyonzima, Claver Ndahayo, Isidore Nzeyimana, Calliope Mulindahabi, Godefroid Sentama, S. Munyambonera, Joseph Sibomana, and Joseph Habyarimana Gitara.

1 May 1957: Grégoire Kayibanda files the statutes of his "Hutu Social Movement".

29-30 June 1957: Solemn celebration in Nyanza of Mutara Rudahigwa's 25 years of reign.

18 September–8 October 1957: Visit by the UN mission to Rwanda.

7 October 1957: The colonial authorities, through the voice of Vice-Governor Harroy, acknowledge the existence of the Hutu-Tutsi problem.

1 November 1957: Joseph Habyarimana Gitara founded the Association for the Social Advancement of the Masses (APROSOMA), which he equipped with a press organ, *Ijwi rya rubanda rugufi - The Voice of the People*⁵⁹. *"Joseph Habyarimana, alias Gitara, was the first to express, at the risk of his life, his opposition to the secular feudal-monarchical regime by founding the Association for the Social Promotion of the Masses (APROSOMA) on 1 November 1957. It became a political party on 15 February 1959. APROSOMA was a regional party. It had virtually no members outside the territories of Astrida (Butare) and Cyangugu. The party was committed to democratic principles. It sought to be the voice of the "menu menu peuple" (the common people), i.e. all those who were disadvantaged by the feudal-monarchical system. It was not opposed to the monarchical system. It was in favour of a constitutional monarchy. The evolution of APROSOMA is closely linked to its charismatic leader Joseph Habyarimana Gitara.*

30 March 1958: Convening of the Joint Study Committee set up by Mwami Mutara III Rudahigwa to rule on the Hutu-Tutsi problem.

31 March – 3 April 1958: First session of the committee held in Nyanza.

4 April 1958: Approval by the Trusteeship Government of the statutes of the "Muhutu Social Movement".

9–10 April 1958: Second session held in Nyanza.

10-12 April 1958: Remarks by King Mutara at the meeting of the country's High Council, where he declared: "There are no Hutu and Tutsi problems⁶⁰" "Rwanda is a united people with no caste or ethnic differences. The rest is a plot by the coloniser who wants to divide and rule." Paradoxically, the feudal administration at that time had 45 chiefs, 540 sub-chiefs and 10 judges. No Hutu was included in this structure. (SOS Rwanda-Burundi, pp. 11-12, 2004). See also Table 6."

4 May 1958: Bahutu Manifesto⁶¹. The publication of the "Bahutu Manifesto", drafted on 24 March 1957, marked the beginning of the Muhutu protest movement. This manifesto demanded economic and political independence for the Hutus. At the same time, a series of articles appeared in the press aimed at the indigenous population and controlled in fact by the Catholic missions, denouncing the unjust situation of the poor people of the hills by the traditional authorities.

On 4 May 1958, the magazine *Temps nouveaux d'Afrique* was launched. Among the injustices denounced, the following abuses were highlighted.

⁵⁹ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda

⁶⁰ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

⁶¹ Among the injustices denounced, the following abuses are particularly noteworthy.

"1. Servile labour. Despite the redemption of customary services through a compulsory tax, the traditional authorities continue to make some of their subjects work without any remuneration.

2. Exactions. Despite an already very heavy legal tax, part of which directly and legally benefits the Mwami, the chief and the sub-chief of the taxpayer, the traditional authorities still extract relatively large sums of money and goods in kind from their subjects. Some collect the legal tax twice a year, once for the Treasury and once for their own personal gain. During one or other "national" celebration, such as a jubilee of the Mwami, the peasants are taxed a few dozen francs, and the sum thus collected only partially reaches its official destination as a result of levies made by the chiefs and sub-chiefs for their personal use.

3. Spoliation: Sometimes the chief or sub-chief seizes the property of his subjects. The most serious spoliation, the one that makes the commoner tremble and keeps him in servitude, is that of his plot of land.

Among the injustices denounced, the following abuses are particularly noteworthy: (continued)

4. Extortion: Often, the subject is forced to offer "gifts" to the chief, deputy chief, judge, clerk, nurse, etc. if he wants to obtain from them the public service that they are obliged to provide free of charge by virtue of their state-paid positions. Why do the peasants put up with this? Because, according to the authors of these articles, any peasant who dares to complain risks reprisals against which he can do little or nothing. The sub-chief can check whether food crops are of the prescribed size, whether coffee trees are well maintained, whether the toilet is spotless, whether the erosion control ditch is well cleaned, whether taxes are paid: the legal obligations of farmers are numerous enough that it is not difficult to find them at fault.

5. Reporting "recalcitrants" to the chieftdom court for "rebellion against their chief" can earn them up to two months of penal servitude.

This means that the peasants live in constant fear of their chiefs, against whom they dare not complain. In this regard, it is significant to note that it is when the administration dismisses a chief or deputy chief that complaints begin to pour in against the one whose reprisals are no longer to be feared.

17 May 1958: Twelve senior abagaragu of the Court publish a text entitled "Here is the historical detail of the reign of the Banyiginya in Rwanda", which highlights the absence of brotherhood underpinning Hutu-Tutsi relations in Rwanda. The great notables of the Mwami's (king's) court clarify the political doctrine of Tutsi rule, affirming the non-existence of any basis for brotherhood between Hutus and Tutsis.^{62(*)} *"Two documents from the Tutsi authorities, drafted in Nyanza and published on 17 and 18 May 1958, summarised the policy of the Tutsi reaction. They proclaim that 'the ancestor of the Nyiginya royal clan was indeed Kigwa' (a mythical figure, the eponymous ancestor of the Tutsi). This Kigwa (again according to the Abiru, holders of part of the esoteric code governing the succession of kings in Rwanda and composers of the two documents) 'taught the local population how to forge iron, and the natives turned away from their own lords to become clients and cattle breeders of Kigwa. All livestock belongs to the mwami, and all of Rwanda is the property of the mwami. The Hutu have therefore always been subjects of the Tutsi. How can they now claim to be our brothers? Such naivety may seem laughable to us, but for the powerful in the country, it was a serious and vitally important matter."*

4-7 June 1958: Third session (of the country's High Council) held in Nyanza.

⁶² Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

13 June 1958: End of the session of the country's High Council with Mutara Rudahigwa's sad and clumsy conclusion that there was no Hutu-Tutsi problem... This date marked the divorce between the Hutu and Tutsi political ^{elites}^{63*}. *"In 1958, the Hutus in Rwanda sent a delegation to the country's High Council to convince the mwami of the gravity of the situation. Their grievances were not taken into consideration and their hopes of obtaining any concessions from the Tutsi opposition were once again dashed. Joseph Habyarimana, alias Gitera, drafted a communiqué summarising the Hutu programme, which was an appeal to the Belgian authorities and the UN. The two camps were now clearly defined."*

6 July 1958: Faced with this rejection, Joseph Habyarimana Gitera published a communiqué in Les Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique asking Belgium and the UN to resolve the Hutu-Tutsi dispute.

3 December 1958: Publication of the minutes of the session of the General Council of Rwanda. "The Tutsi-Hutu question is an undeniable problem in this country of unequal conditions. There is a problem of widespread poverty affecting a numerically excessive portion of the population, with these economically disadvantaged people convinced that they are suffering political, social and economic oppression at the hands of a number of their local authorities."

II.2. Tutelage, Revolution and Terror: Rwanda from 1959 to 1964

II.2.1. Foundation of the first political parties in Rwanda

1959: The Hutus rebel against Belgian colonial rule and the Tutsi aristocratic elite. The first killings ensue. Tens of thousands of Tutsis leave the country.

1 November 1959: Dominique Mbonyumutwa, deputy chief of Ndiza, is attacked by the Uranists, triggering the Ndiza revolt.

11 February 1959: Publication of the pastoral letter from Monsignor André Perraudin in which he proposes to the "Rwandan people the practice of charity as a fundamental requirement of Christian life"^{64*}. *"This letter provoked numerous comments from both Hutus and Tutsis, with the latter considering it a veritable declaration of war. However, the bishops of Burundi had written a letter on the same subject the previous year that did not cause any waves. But for the Tutsi aristocracy of Rwanda, social justice was not on the agenda."*

15 February 1959: APROSOMA becomes a political party in Rwanda, a country steeped in feudal monarchy.

10 March 1959: Bishop Aloys Bigirumwami (a Rwandan Tutsi) sends a letter to the collaborators of his diocese, recommending that they carefully read the Lenten pastoral letter of Bishop A. Perraudin, whom he describes as a master in the treatment of Christian charity.

24 July 1959: "Mwami Charles Mutara Rudahigwa had come down to the Paquidas Hotel in Usumbura^{65*}. In the evening, he attended a screening of the film "Les Seigneurs de la Forêt" (The Lords of the Forest). On Saturday 25 July, during the morning, he visited his doctor, Dr J. Vincke, who administered a commonly used antibiotic. The Mwami then had a long conversation with his doctor and was suddenly struck by a massive cerebral haemorrhage. Numerous rumours circulated among the indigenous people of Rwanda, claiming that the Mwami had been assassinated by white people. Some circles believed the theory of suicide. Apart from the fact that, in the absence of an autopsy, this theory cannot be proven, it seems implausible: nothing in the Mwami's behaviour in the hours before his death suggested this

⁶³ Desouter S. 2007. Ibid.

⁶⁴ Desouter S. 2007. L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification

⁶⁵ Wikipedia. The death of Mwami Mutara precipitated political events.

possibility. Finally, even if this were the case, it is doubtful that he would have chosen to commit suicide in a hospital.

25 July 1959: Death of Mwami Mutara III Rudahirwa in Bujumbura.

28 July 1959: During the funeral of Mwami Mutara, the ritualists of the royal court abiru proclaim his successor, Kigeri V Jean-Baptiste Ndahindurwa.

28 July 1959: Enthronement of Mwami Kigeri V by the "Mwima coup d'état".

II.2.2. Death of Mwami Charles Mutara III Rudahigwa

28 July 1959: The Nyanza coup (following the sudden death of Mwami Charles Mutara III Rudahigwa on 25 July 1959) places a 19-year-old man on the throne, whom the Belgian authorities hope to control. At the sovereign's funeral on 28 July, in the absence of a direct heir, the second son of Yuhi V and younger brother of the deceased was proclaimed king. Jean-Baptiste Ndahindurwa thus ascended the throne under the reign name of Kigeri V. He died on 16 October 2016 at the age of ^{8066(*)}.

During the funeral of Mwami Mutara, certain Tutsi clans staged a coup d'état by imposing their choice: Jean-Baptiste Ndahindurwa, born in 1935 in Kamembe in the territory of Shangugu, son of Musinga Yuhi, former Mwami of Ruanda, deceased, and Mukashema Bernadette, still alive. The new Mwami was therefore born after the deposition in 1931 of his father Musinga, who, for passive resistance to the orders of the European authorities, had been removed from office and relegated to Kamembe in the Shangugu territory. One of Musinga's sons, Rudahigwa, who was considered to be well disposed towards the Belgian administration and the Catholic missions, was chosen to replace him and reigned under the name of Mutara III.

From a customary point of view, Rudahigwa was in fact one of Musinga's possible successors. However, those who appointed him, namely the European administrative and religious authorities, had not chosen him in the traditional manner, but in accordance with their own interests. By presenting the Governor of the United Kingdom, Mr J. P. Harroy, with a fait accompli and forcing his hand (part of the crowd was armed when the name of the new Mwami was announced), it is likely that a flat refusal on the part of the Governor would have triggered incidents⁶⁷ *.

Wikipedia: Mwami Charles Mutara III Rudahigwa Photo No. 10



Wikipedia: Kigeri V in 2014. Photo No. 11

The dynastic drum Nyiginya "KARINGA" 1510-1961 or sacred drum⁶⁸ *.

⁶⁶ Wikipedia. Le Monde Afrique AFP published on 17 October 2016 at 10:18 a.m.: Kigeri V, born on 29 June 1936 in Kamembe and died on 16 October 2016 in Oakton, Virginia, was King of Rwanda from 1959 to 1961, when the monarchy was abolished.

⁶⁷ Eurafrica, Sept. 1959 A. Maus, The Nyanza coup d'état, (in) The African Weekly Journal. During the events surrounding the independence of African countries.

⁶⁸ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The trial of the RPF. Historical clarification

"The paragraph on the Karinga drum, emblem of royal power, which contained the sexual organs of the ancient Hutu kings known as abahinza, shocked many: 'As with any national emblem, the Church accepts that marks of respect or even national ceremonies take place around Karinga. It should be explained to those who need it that these signs of respect are directed, through the karinga, to the nation or to the holder of authority.' "The dynastic Karinga drum has been replaced by genocide sites where human remains are displayed" in order to maintain perpetual fear among the population.

Wikipedia: The Karinga drum



Photo No. 12

N.B.: The display or exhibition of bones (human remains of the deceased) in genocide memorial sites is a way of perpetuating fear among the population. These are not the bodies of soldiers from Uganda. These sites replace the royal Karinga drum as part of a policy of maintaining power through fear.

II.2.3. Political power of fear against the Rwandan people

The Provisional Special Council, the Provisional Government, the Hutu coup d'état of 28 January 1961, the short-lived Republic of Gitarama, the legislative elections by universal (and female) suffrage and the 1961 referendum abolishing the monarchy gradually transformed Rwanda from a dual feudal and monarchical state (Belgian and Rwandan) into a democratic and independent republic. The Hutus overthrew the Tutsi, the mwami left his country and never returned. This gradual revolution, which began in November 1959, was completed in October 1961, taking two years.

27 August 1959: signing of a joint neutral theological letter with Mgr Perraudin and Mgr Aloys Bigirumwami. The latter had been drawn by his clergy into the UNAR camp⁶⁹ *. *"The UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise) was initially called UNAPAR (Union Nationale des Patriotes Radicaux). It was conceived at the suggestion of King Mutara III Rudahigwa in order to maintain the status quo, namely a feudal-aristocratic regime. On 25 July 1959, Rudahigwa died and his half-brother succeeded him. The latter did not change policy and continued to encourage attacks on opponents by members of UNIPAR.*

On 3 September 1959, the founders of UNIPAR changed its name to UNAR, removing the words "radical patriots" so as not to label themselves as extremists. UNAR supporters called themselves "Abashyirahamwe b'u Rwanda" (the united people of Rwanda) and their motto was "ubumwe-ubutwari" (unity-courage). The first president of the UNAR party was François Rukeba, a Hutu from Cyangugu.

August 1959: At a time when Rwanda is about to embark on a decisive phase in its history, it is worth drawing attention to the country's domestic political situation. This situation is reflected in growing tension between the ruling class on the one hand and the ruled class on the other. It is therefore a specifically internal problem, pitting two indigenous groups against each other: the politically superior group made up of the all-powerful minority of traditional authorities,

⁶⁹ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda

and the numerically superior group made up of the working masses led by progressive democratic elites. This ideology of domination, developed since 1936 when race was introduced into identity cards, has prompted this racial group to flee en masse, as a sign of their refusal to share power with the dominated class.⁷⁰ *

3 September 1959: Foundation of the UNAR. "As an association, the group had existed since May. It was the work of Mutara, who, like APROSOMA, wanted to provide his supporters with a means of rallying and coordinating their efforts..."

13 September 1959: UNAR organised its first meeting in Kigali in front of 2,000 people. During this meeting, chiefs Kayihura, Mungarulire and Rwangombwa criticised the colonial administration and the Church.

14 September 1959: Foundation of RADER. It did not reveal its political ideology internally. It did not want to hide from the people it was supposed to serve. RADER was a Tutsi party that advocated democracy but did not want to touch the traditional reforms of Tutsi government. It defended the immediate independence of Rwanda in the hope of preserving the old feudal structures.

24 September 1959: Mgr. A. Bigirumwami (Rwandan Tutsi) and Mgr. A Perraudin (Swiss) warn Christians against the UNAR, denouncing its tendency towards "national socialism".

24 September 1959: In their confidential circular addressed to priests, the bishops of Nyundo and Kabgayi warn Rwandan priests against the UNAR⁷¹ *. *"The UNAR, which was supported by all Tutsi leaders, fought against the idea that there was a problem between ethnic groups in Rwanda, claiming that such a problem was a creation of European colonialism, which wanted to divide and rule, and demanded immediate independence from the colonial power in order to maintain the status quo. The Hutu leaders, having understood the ploy, first demanded social and political changes. Ignoring the Hutus' freedom of association and protest, the UNAR party undertook a widespread policy of intimidation with the aim of forcing Rwandans to join. Those who were labelled as sympathisers of the APROSOMA and M.S.M. parties () or those who refused to join the UNAR party were threatened, beaten and had their property destroyed."*

27 September 1959: APROSOMA meeting in Astrida during which its president, Joseph Habyarimana Gitara, attacked the Karinga drum emblem.

26 September 1959: The Party of the Movement for Hutu Emancipation (PARMEHUTU) was created in Gitarama⁷² *. "PARMEHUTU was organised both publicly and clandestinely. On 9 October 1959, it published its famous "Manifesto of the Bahutu of 1957". In summary, it expressed a desire for unity, without the predominance of one group over another, an absence of any hatred for the Tutsi faction and collaboration with all committed democrats, while maintaining "an abhorrence of hypocrisy and feudal intrigues...". In terms of structures, it advocated the replacement of sub-chiefdoms with viable communes, the election of mayors and municipal councils by direct universal suffrage of men and women; the abolition of chiefdoms; the direct election of territorial councils and the country's High Council without ex officio members or opposing presidencies; the codification of laws and customs; acceptance of the principle of a democratic constitutional monarchy and the abolition of the old Council of Royal Rites (Ubwiru); the addition of a Rwandan co-manager to all Belgian officials with general jurisdiction (including the Resident); and finally, within five to seven years, a true democracy

⁷⁰ Marcel Pochet: 1959. Retrospective on the Rwandan problem 1952-1962. National actors. Archival documents for historical use... volume 2 Files 2&3. Editions Sources du Nil.

⁷¹ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda.

⁷² Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

before the referendum on independence. The manifesto-programme also set out a series of social and economic reforms: the democratisation of education, especially secondary and higher education; the reduction of wage inequalities; the development of public works; access to individual property ownership; etc.

27 September 1959: APROSOMA meeting in Astrida during which its president, Joseph Habyarimana Gitara, attacks the Karinga emblem drum.

9 October 1959: The oath of investiture as constitutional king of Kigiri V Ndahindurwa in Kigali.

II.2.4. The Popular Revolution of 1959

In November 1959, peasants rose up against the Tutsi traditional authorities and the "bigwigs," triggering the revolutionary process. Resident Logiest took over, appointing Hutus to replace the Tutsis who had been driven out by the arsonists and organising municipal elections based on male suffrage, which the Hutu parties won by a large margin in 1960. The Belgians supported the political evolution that led to a modern state, capable of autonomy and independence, while also separating this new state from Burundi.

9 October 1959: The "Muhutu Social Movement" became the Party of the Movement for Hutu Emancipation (Parmehutu), founded and led by Grégoire Kayibanda, and published its manifesto (MDR Parmehutu)⁷³ * *"The 'Bahutu Manifesto' has been used in recent years to demonstrate that it was the basis of a racist regime. This is profoundly false. This manifesto was a cry from the heart of a people who aspired to political and social justice. Reading the text, we can deduce the following main points:*

"Discrimination in the civil service and political and economic aspects are highlighted

- . An accusation against discrimination at the judicial level
- . Criticism of discrimination in the field of education
- . Irregularities relating to contributions to public expenditure are highlighted
- . A protest against agropastoral ownership and exploitation
- . A request for the codification of customs
- . A protest against the lack of representation of the people in the administration of the country

The "Bahutu Manifesto" (continued). In fact, the authors of the "Bahutu Manifesto" are not demanding:

- . Nor the counterbalance of the Tutsi monopoly in their favour
- . Nor the elimination of Tutsi values in culture
- . Nor the sharing of power with each of the antagonists having a "reserved hunting ground"

Contrary to what some, including RPF ideologues, have claimed, this Manifesto does not call for:

- . The overthrow of the Tutsi dynasty
- . A popular uprising against Tutsi leaders
- . Any kind of revenge

⁷³ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda

It simply called for justice for all inhabitants of the country, which would include:

- . The elimination of an outdated and anti-progressive autocratic system
- . The establishment of a democratic regime
- . A political and administrative structure without privileges
- . Proper administration under the control of the people
- . The unification of the country by Hutus, Tutsis and Twas through the equality of all citizens.

1 Nov. 1959: A group of young Tutsis attack Dominique Mbonyumutwa, Hutu sub-chief of Ndiza. This is followed by a peasant revolt against the chiefs (from 2 to 8 November). This act triggered the Ndiza ^{revolt}^{74(*)}. The revolution was triggered "In Ndiza (the region where Mbonyumutwa is deputy chief), a crowd demonstrated in front of Chief Gashagaza's home. Sub-chief Nkusi, known for his opposition to Parmehutu, was pursued and killed along with three other Tutsi visitors to Chief Gashagaza's home. Another gang attacked sub-chief Biriguza in Ndiza, looted his house, and then set fire to huts throughout the Ndiza chiefdom."

2 November 1959: In response to the news of the attack on Mbonyumutwa, a group of Hutus attacked Chief Haguma's home and destroyed his coffee and banana plantations. Rumours spread that Mbonyumutwa, who had been hospitalised, had died from his injuries⁷⁵. *(„When, a year later, the Hutu-Tutsi problem had still not been adequately addressed by the General Council, Hutu chief Dominique Mbonyumutwa was beaten up by young Tutsi fanatics on 1 November 1959, and we saw that this was the spark that ignited the powder keg. A page in Rwandan history was turned. This was the popular revolution of 1959."*

3 November 1959: Start of the Hutu revolution. The main weapon of the revolution was 'fire'.

5 November 1959: Mwami Kigeri V Ndahindurwa addressed the Rwandan people and asked them to renounce violence.

6-9 November 1959: The Mwami and Tutsi chiefs endeavoured to crush the Hutu uprising. Their militias killed several Hutu leaders, but by 10 November the Belgian administration had managed to restore calm.

7 November 1959: Rwanda is placed under military rule.

10 November 1959: Joseph Kanyaruka, secretary and treasurer of APROSOMA, is killed in Burundi, where he had taken refuge with his family on the orders of Chief Mbanda. His host, Renzaho, is killed in the same circumstances. On the same day, 10 November 1959: a government statement on Ruanda-Urundi is delivered in the Belgian Parliament.

11 November 1959: Monsignor A. Bigirimwami and Monsignor A. Perraudin take a stand against the Hutu Social Party of Astrida (now Butare), whose "texts manifest a non-Christian spirit of racist hatred". On the same day, 11 November 1959, Colonel Logiest is appointed military resident. A state of emergency is declared: military authorities can replace civil authorities, military courts can replace civil courts, civil liberties are restricted, etc.

2 November – 12 November 1959: The consequences of the unrest are remarkable: loss of life (Hutus and Tutsis were murdered); significant material losses: huts, banana plantations, etc. belonging to both Hutus and Tutsis were burned and ransacked.

28, 29, 30 November 1959: Minister de Schrijver visits Kigali, Rwanda, and renews his support for the policy of the supervisory authority.

⁷⁴ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

⁷⁵ Desouter S. 2007. Ibid.

5 December 1959: UN Resolution 1419 (XIV) Political reform plans for the real territories of RUANDA-URUNDI.

10 December 1959: Guy Logiest takes up his new position as 'special' civil resident of Rwanda.

13 December 1959: Mr Maus writes to Minister De Schrijver, listing the 23 articles he has devoted to the problem and the sixteen Belgian personalities he has been alerting for years. He points out that he was practically alone, with Messrs Moutarde and Van Saceghem, Mgr Perraudin and the Delegate of the Protestant Alliance, in leading this fight. On the other hand, "the Administration wanted to ignore the problem.

25 December 1959: King Baudouin signed the interim decree on the organisation of Rwanda-Urundi. It dealt with the provisional commune, the provisional commune chief, the interim council of chiefdoms, the new country council, the legislative power, the executive power of the country, etc.

28 December 1959: political parties were summoned to Astrida but refused to attend, considering the meeting to be ill-timed. The feudal-monarchical regime suffered its first setback with the municipal elections held from 27 June to 30 July 1960. PARMEHUTU won with 74% of the vote against 33% for the royalist parties, all tendencies combined. UNAR, a large faction of which had boycotted the elections, rejected the results ^{76(*)}. *"After PARMEHUTU emerged victorious from the elections, on 28 January 1961, the Gitarama Congress, convened by PARMEHUTU, proclaimed the Republic and the abolition of the monarchy. It appointed Dominique Mbonyumutwa as president in place of the king. The Unarists protested against this coup d'état and, to settle the dispute, the UN organised a referendum in Rwanda on 25 September 1961. The aim was to ask the Rwandan people to choose between the monarchy and the republic. The republican yes vote won and the legislative elections held at the same time were won by PARMEHUTU. Kayibanda, then Prime Minister, was elected President of Rwanda on 26 October 1961. The coup d'état was thus complete. Dominique Mbonyumutwa, the first president of Rwanda after the king's departure, was born in 1921 in Mwendo (in Kabagari, Nyanza, Rwanda) and died on 26 July 1986 in Ghent, Belgium. He was a Rwandan politician.*

Table 6: Distribution of chiefs and sub-chiefs by ethnic group on the eve of the 1959 Revolution.

Number of chiefdoms	45	Number of sub-chiefdoms	559
Vacant chiefdoms	2	Vacant sub-chiefdoms	--
Batutsi chiefs	43	Batutsi sub-chiefs	549
Bahutu chiefs	--	Bahutu sub-chiefs	10

Source: RUMIYA, 1991

Table 7 : Ethnic proportions in some schools in Rwanda in 1958

	Bahutu		Batutsi		Batwa	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Primary schools	29,953	67.81	14,211	31.7	32	0.01
Secondary schools	1,116	39.2	1,740	60.8	--	--

⁷⁶ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda.

Source: RUMIYA, 1991⁷⁷ *

⁷⁷ Rumiya Jean. 1991, Rwanda under Belgian rule (1916-1931)

CHAPTER III. The Truth About the 1959 Revolution and Violence

III.1. First President of Rwanda: Dominique Mbonyumutwa

Mbonyumutwa Dominique was Rwanda's first president. Presidential term: 28 January 1961 - 26 October 1961. Mbonyumutwa Dominique served as President of Rwanda from 1961 to 1961. Dominique Mbonyumutwa (1921 - 26 July 1986) was initially a professor and a Rwandan politician who served as the first interim president of Rwanda for a period of nine months in 1961, between the overthrow of the monarchy at the end of the Rwandan Revolution and the municipal elections in Rwanda on 26 June and 30 July 1960. He was interim president between 28 January and 26 October 1961, immediately after the deposition of King Kigeri V, the last king of Rwanda.

Dominique Mbonyumutwa



Cliché No. 13: Wikipedia: the free encyclopaedia

III.2. If Truth does not prevail, the people will take revenge

"Ethnicity as a strategy for seizing power, violence as a tool."

How can we understand the Rwandan conflict? To understand it, we must first delve into this very important section, which recounts the origins of the Rwandan conflicts after Rucunshu^{78*}. "The will in this sense does not depend on us, since good deeds come from God, even if nothing is done without our will. The possibility of doing ... Violence in Rwanda since the dawn of time has been perpetuated by one of the three children of God living in Rwanda, namely the T-H-T (Tutsi, Hutu and Twa). The official ethnicisation of Rwanda dates back to 1936. *"The introduction of mandatory identification on identity cards under Belgian rule with the consent of the (King Mutara Rudahigwa) Tutsis, who saw it as a way of perpetuating their hereditary privileges."* Reading these writings with meditation and understanding, it is easy to understand who provokes whom and why.

Even if this is the case, the power of truth could create solidarity among Rwandans who are victims of the barbarism of the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the Interahamwe infiltrated by elements of the RPF. The truth hurts, but we gradually get used to it, and those concerned will understand that it is the saving grace for building a new Rwanda. The strategy is to destroy the lies of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, to prevent an ethnic group from remaining in power and/or taking power through the use of violence. We will first make a kind of repository for this truth.

⁷⁸ Musabyimana.net in Pierre-Claver Mupendana, The Genocide of the Abanyiginya in Rucunshu. GENOCIDE IN RWANDA. The process of its expansion in the Great Lakes region of Africa and strategies for its eradication, Editions-scribe, November 2018 [pp. 159-1654].

To be clear, it is the Tutsi power that has ethnicised the country, not the other way around. And yet the truth could be a source of solidarity among Rwandans. What matters is transparency. If there is no transparency, if there is opacity, if things are concealed, at some point it is not the truth that takes revenge, but rather the people, and that hurts a lot and would be terrible.

III.3. Analysis of the origin of violence since the start of the RPF war?

The war of 1 October 1990. Why did the RPF attack when Habyarimana's regime was opening up and the refugee problem was being resolved? "It has been proven that the RPF attacked at that time because any breakthrough in the areas of democratisation, human rights and refugee repatriation would have reduced the legitimacy of an attack"^{79(*)}, "the invasion was an external aggression in violation of UN-OAU international conventions. The 1990-1994 war in Rwanda has always been unfairly described by the international community as a civil war, i.e. a conflict between two Rwandan parties. This prevented the Habyarimana government from proving that this invasion from Uganda, involving Ugandan military elements, was not a 'simple' civil war," states the report of the Belgian parliamentary commission of inquiry into the events in Rwanda^{80(*)}.

The ethnicism supported by the mwami's power in 1936 to retain the advantages of power led the Tutsi to consider themselves a superior race. When they lost power in 1959, they refused to share it with the Hutus, whom they considered their inferiors. They went into exile in large numbers. They attempted to return by force without success until 1968. Efforts to bring them back to the country peacefully failed because of this superiority complex. Just as negotiations between the UNHCR, the Ugandan government and the Rwandan government were about to succeed, they took up arms and started a war in 1990, supported by Museveni, a highly experienced political demagogue. They refused to adhere to the negotiations resulting from the Arusha peace accords, which we will discuss in more detail below. Instead, they spread this disease of "superiority complex" throughout the Central African region.

The Hutu-Tutsi conflict existed long before that, but it escalated in 1957 when the Hutus prepared a memorandum of their demands called the "Bahutus Manifesto", which they addressed to the Belgian Minister of Colonies and the UN Trusteeship Council, among others. What did this manifesto say? It demanded: the sharing of land; the abolition of the latifundia, known as *ibikingi*, which were the property and pastures of the chiefs, sub-chiefs and notables of the Tutsi; and the participation of the Hutu in the territorial administration... since, out of 540 sub-chiefdoms, only two were headed by Hutu; the 45 chiefs ruling the chiefdoms were all Tutsi; among the 50 territorial court judges, not a single Hutu (see table above).

The manifesto presented the Hutu-Tutsi problem in these terms: "The Hutu-Tutsi question is the number one problem in Rwanda because it calls into question the very coexistence of the numerically superior group on the one hand and the politically and economically superior group on the other. It is the very life of the Rwandan people that is at stake here. (Tutsi: 14%, Hutu: 85% and Twa: 1% in 1994). He called for de facto equality for all citizens of the country through the establishment of a democratic regime that would give priority to merit and guarantee, as far as possible, de facto equality for all citizens in terms of rights, obligations, honours and responsibilities; a political and administrative structure in which caste privileges are banned so as to ensure equal opportunities for all citizens, without distinction, in accessing all public jobs, particularly management positions... This coexistence between ethnic groups has been

⁷⁹ Desouter S. 2007 l'Harmatan Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

⁸⁰Rwanda. Report of the Belgian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry. Rwanda. Reflections on the parliamentary reports of Belgium and France in Politique africaine 1999/1 (No. 73), pages 159 to 176.

undermined since the breakdown of the Arusha Peace Accords and the large-scale killings that followed^{81(*)}. Unfortunately, it is clear that this issue of land distribution, sharing and use, condemned by the Bahutu Manifesto and eliminated since the country's independence, has been revived by the RPF since it regained power in Rwanda more than 30 years ago. Today's RPF, yesterday's Tutsi Inyenzi rebels, see war as an art of dominating others and not as a bloody conflict that destroys lives.

Was anger and revenge the cost in human lives of the "social revolution"? The report of the commission of inquiry sent by the Belgian government estimated that "approximately **150**" people lost their lives during the events, including both Hutus and Tutsis. It is certain that the exact number of deaths must be slightly higher, as not all victims were reported to the authorities. Some must have been buried without witnesses. Approximately 700 people, Hutus and Tutsis, were imprisoned for arson, looting, murder, etc. This does not prevent the UNAR, and then its successor, the RPF, from claiming today that thousands of Tutsis were killed during this period and that the genocide truly began at that time. The various attacks by the UNAR party against the Hutus are never taken into consideration. Lies become the driving force behind the UNAR-RPF. From 150 deaths and 700 imprisonments, the UNAR-RPF deduces that this was genocide and does not mention the UNAR's incursions and the deaths they caused among the Hutus. Throughout this period, power remained in the hands of the colonisers and the Mwami, as the armed forces and militias belonged to the Mwami. The Hutus had no armed forces .

In 1960, the former government of Kigeli V Ndahindurwa left the country for Uganda, along with more than 200,000 Rwandans, mostly Tutsis. In September 1961, a referendum was held and 80% of voters voted in favour of establishing a republic.

III.4. Period of fierce struggle by the mass revolution against the Tutsi aristocracy and colonialism

1960

1960: Creation of the National Guard, the predecessor of the Rwandan Armed Forces.

12 January 1960: Creation of the "Provisional Special Council" composed of three Hutus: Makuza, Mbonyumutwa, Nzeyimana and three Tutsis: Bwanakweri, Nshogozamihigo and Rwigemera. The "director of debates" for this council was the territorial administrator, Hubert Bovy. This council temporarily replaced the country's former Superior Council, some of whose members had fled the country following the unrest.

8-21 March 1960: Visit by the UN mission.

14 March 1960: Signing of a communiqué following a reconciliation meeting bringing together the members of the Provisional Special Council under the auspices of the members of the UN mission delegation.

23 April 1960: The Mwami refuses to collaborate with the Provisional Special Council.

30 April 1960: The RADER, PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA parties declare their break with Mwami Kigeli V Ndahindurwa.

19 May 1960: The UNAR withdraws from the Provisional Special Council.

⁸¹ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs. Published by Mille et une nuit, part of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005. Pages 32 and 49.

30 May-7 June 1960: Symposium on Rwanda in Brussels, boycotted by UNAR.

May 1960: Resurgence of violence following false rumours spread by the UNAR, such as "the United Nations is coming to restore the Tutsi to their positions of power and their properties" (J. P. Harroy).

5 and 6 June 1960: Parmehutu leaders meet in Ruhengeri under the chairmanship of Grégoire Kayibanda. They reject the monarchy and opt for a republic. B. Paternostre of the Town Hall noted that it was from this moment on that "their party would be called the Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR) Parmehutu " (J. P. Harroy).

J. P. Harroy, Governor of Ruanda-Urundi



Photo No. 14

Mr Logiest was a personal friend of the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, Jean Paul Harroy^{82*}.

N.B.: The uprising of November 1959 and the ensuing fighting between Hutus and Tutsis triggered the revolution, but according to Carney, it was the Belgian response that caused a reversal of the roles of the two groups, favouring the Hutus' rise to power. The most influential decision-maker in this response was Colonel Guy Logiest, a Belgian army colonel working in the Congo with the Force Publique. Logiest was a personal friend of the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, Jean Paul Harroy, and had already been invited, before the start of the revolution, to come to Rwanda to assess Belgium's military options in the colony. Following the outbreak of violence, Logiest hastened his departure from the Congo and arrived in Rwanda on 4 November. Logiest arrived with a number of soldiers and paratroopers and was tasked with restoring order.

25 June 1960: Departure of Mwami Kigeri V Ndahindurwa from Rwanda. He left on a diplomatic mission to Congo-Kinshasa. He still lives in exile in the United States (as of 2013).

26 June – 30 July 1960: Municipal elections in Rwanda . Voter turnout was 78.21%. The eight small political parties won a total of 67 municipal seats, the UNaR 56, the Rader 209, the Aprosuma 233 and the Parmehutu 2201.

August 1960: RADER leaves the Provisional Special Council and joins UNAR.

18 October 1960: Legislative Order 221/275 is signed, creating the Council and Provisional Government of Rwanda. The Council of Rwanda is composed of 48 members appointed by the Resident General after consultation with the political parties. In addition to the four political parties known at the time, Munyankuge's Party for the Revival of the Batwa, AREDETWA, was founded after the municipal elections.

⁸² Wikipedia: Jean-Paul Harroy, born Jean Paul Jules Elisée Dugnoille Harroy on 4 May 1909 in Schaerbeek and died on 8 July 1955 in Ixelles, was a Belgian colonial administrator who was the last Governor-General of Ruanda-Urundi.

The UNAR refused to participate in these institutions; the RADER agreed to participate in the Council but not in the Government.

26 October 1960: Establishment of the Council and Government of Rwanda. The Council elected Joseph Habyarimana Gitera as president. Grégoire Kayibanda was appointed prime minister and presented his government comprising eight departments with two Tutsi ministers: Narcisse Sekerere and Thaddée Gatsimbanyi.

7–13 December 1960: Reconciliation conference in Gisenyi bringing together representatives of all approved political parties. Among other things, the conference was to decide on the holding of legislative elections scheduled for 28 January 1961. The UNAR and RADER requested that they be postponed.

20 December 1960: The UN General Assembly votes on Resolution 1575.

20 December 1960: UN Resolution 1579 (XV) on the future of the RUANDA-URUNDI territories.

20 December 1960: 1580 (XV) referendum on the institution of the Mwami. By this resolution, the UN General Assembly decrees "the organisation of a referendum on the institution of the Mwami and on the person of Kigeri V, the latter being able to return freely to Rwanda without delay". Following the example of UNAR and RADER, the UN General Assembly decided that the elections should be postponed.

1961

¹January 1961: creation of national radio.

7 January-12 January 1961: Organisation of the reconciliation conference in Ostend, Belgium.

21 January 1961: The decision is made: the legislative elections initially scheduled for 28 January are postponed.

On 28 January 1961, the Hutus proclaimed the Republic. The election campaign was severely disrupted by violent clashes between the two main camps. The UNAR did everything it could to boycott the legislative elections and the referendum, so that the UN would invalidate and cancel the process. There were 150 deaths on the Tutsi side and 78 on the Hutu side. However, this did not prevent the referendum on the monarchy (abolished by nearly 80% of the vote) and the legislative elections, which confirmed the overwhelming victory of Grégoire Kayibanda's MDR-PARMEHUTU, from being held on 25 September 1961 under the close supervision of UN observers. **On 26 October 1961**, the newly elected Legislative Assembly was installed and, in the presence of the Resident-General, appointed Grégoire Kayibanda as President of the Republic. The UNAR never accepted being led by a Hutu. The lie that the UNAR-FPR has been hiding since its invasion on 1 October 1990^{83(*)}.

28 January 1961: The royal institution is overthrown and the republic is proclaimed. Dominique Mbonyumutwa is elected President of the Republic. The members of the legislative assembly are elected from among those attending the meeting. This date is also known as "The Gitarama coup d'état overthrows the Tutsi Nyiginya monarchy"^{84(*)}. Musabyimana described it as follows: *"The MDR PARMEHUTU party won the municipal elections held between 26 June and 22 July 1960. Following this victory, Grégoire Kayibanda, as Prime Minister, was tasked with forming*

⁸³ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs. Published by Mille et une nuit, a division of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005. Pages 19-20.

⁸⁴ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda (Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda).

a provisional government on 26 October 1960. The Hutu leaders convened all the municipal elected representatives at a meeting in Gitarama on 28 January 1961. They elected Dominique Mbonyumutwa as the first President of Rwanda. He appointed Grégoire Kayibanda as Prime Minister. On 25 September 1961, legislative elections known as "Kamparampaka" were held (because it was on this same date that the referendum on whether to have a monarchy or a republic was held). These elections were also won by PARMEHUTU with 77.7% of the vote. The newly elected legislative assembly voted in favour of a republican state in which the president would be both head of state and head of government, elected by deputies by secret ballot and by a two-thirds majority. The election took place on 26 October 1961 and was won by Grégoire Kayibanda. On ¹July 1962, Rwanda's independence was proclaimed. On 23 November 1962, the National Assembly voted on a constitution that established the principle of electing the President of the Republic by universal suffrage for a four-year term, renewable only three times.

28 January 1961: Abolition of the monarchy in Rwanda led by the King (mwami) of Rwanda Kigali V (1959–1961).

CHAPTER IV. The era of the First Republic: Independence on 1 July 1962 and A -près-

Grégoire Kayibanda was a Rwandan statesman, the first president of independent Rwanda and its first elected president. After Rwanda was liberated from colonial rule, he became president from 1962 to 1973. Born in Musambira, a locality belonging to the Gitarama community, in 1924, he founded the Hutu Emancipation Movement Party in 1957 and led the Hutu struggle against the Tutsi aristocracy. In January 1961, he established the independent Republic of Rwanda.

IV.1. The Rwandan Revolution and Independence: The First Republic

The First Republic emerged from the Rwandan Revolution and Independence with President Grégoire Kayibanda, the first President of the Republic elected by direct universal suffrage.

Grégoire Kayibanda, the first President elected by direct universal suffrage



Photo No. 15. President Grégoire Kayibanda, Wikipedia: the free encyclopaedia.

28 January 1961: Grégoire Kayibanda becomes Prime Minister. 6 February 1961: The Belgian government recognises the institutions established by the Constituent Assembly of 28 January 1961.

13 March 1961: Armed attacks by Rwandan refugees from neighbouring countries. They were reported "near Byumba; they wounded people, burned 60 huts and slaughtered a huge number of cattle^{85*}". This area was the scene of violence by the RPF from 1990 to 1994, during which time it was occupied, culminating in a genocide unprecedented in public opinion.

Subsequently, from 3 April 1961 to 4 May 1962, 15 attacks resulted in the deaths of 20 civilian victims and several hundred huts being burned down, not counting the attackers killed during the attacks. In fact, the attacks were much more numerous and deadly: we have only reported those that were recorded by the Belgian authorities^{86(*)}. Florent Piton explains the heuristic value of the precedent hypothesis in the study of mass crimes, beyond the necessary methodological caution: "*As a practitioner of a study of the history of mass violence over time, he argues that we should not neglect, but rather fully explore, the role of antecedents in the genesis of these crimes, as in Rwanda for the 1994 genocide of the Tutsis, which was preceded by several*

⁸⁵ Desouter S. 2007 Le Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification. - This provoked a violent reaction among the Bahutu against the Batutsi who remained in the country ..." (Mgr A. Perraudin). Father Van Overschelde, quoted by Mgr A. Perraudin, notes that between March 1961 and March 1962, there were 36 terrorist attacks by Rwandan refugees against their country from neighbouring countries. The Inyenzi incursions took place from 13 March 1961 until 1967.

⁸⁶ Florent Piton: Rwanda: pour une histoire des violences de masse dans la longue durée (Rwanda: towards a history of mass violence over the long term). Paris, La Découverte, coll. Grands Repères: Specialist in the contemporary history of Rwanda

significant episodes of collective violence such as the massacres of 1962-1963 or the 'Rwandan All Saints' Day' of 1959. 2018 P 105-122."

April 1961: United Nations Resolution 1605 establishes the organisation of legislative elections and the holding of a referendum on the retention or abolition of the monarchy.

21 April 1961: 1605 (XV) The question of the future of the territories of RUANDA-URUNDI.

21 April 1961: 1606(XV) Land availability and agrarian reform in RWANDA-URUNDI

25 September 1961: Organisation of legislative elections: The Parmehutu obtained 77.7% of the votes, against 16.8% for the Unar, 3.5% for the Aprosoma and 0.3% for the Rader . The referendum abolished the monarchy and established the Republic, with 80% of voters in favour.

IV.2. The First Republic under the threat of the Inyenzi Terror

The attacks by the Inyenzi rebels from 1961 to 1968 were evidence of violence as a weapon for seizing power.

Europeans isolated in rural areas were particularly targeted by the commandos and were brutally massacred each time. These Inyenzi rebels used violence and cunning to seize power throughout the period from 1961 to 1968. The RPF Inkotanyi, which is the offspring of the Inyenzi, used the same weapons, namely lies, violence and cunning. We have selected a few cases that highlight the violence of these attacks:

The commando trained in Kamwezi, Uganda, with weapons supplied by Mungarurire Michel, who transported them to Kizinga. The raids were carried out by Kayitare Jean, son of Rukeba, Numa André, Mpambara Alexis and, above all, Ngurumbe Aloys, former deputy chief in Byumba. The same Ngurumbe was kidnapped from Goma (Zaire) in 1981 by the Rwandan security services, 20 years later. Sentenced to life imprisonment, he was released on 4 February 1992 during the general amnesty that wiped out all political crimes committed by refugees. Approached by Kanguka, a pro-RPF newspaper, he recounted all his crimes, claiming that he and 16 of his companions had intended to exterminate all the "bad whites" who were pushing people to kill each other (Kanguka No. 52 of 12 February 1992)^{87(*)}.

He had received guerrilla training in China and Cuba. His companions Numa André and Mpambara Alexis were extradited from Tanzania, where they had taken refuge, and shot in Ruhengeri in 1963. According to Ngurumbe, the term "Inyenzi", which translates as "cockroach" in English, is an abbreviation of "Ingangurarugo yiyemeje kuba ingenzi", meaning "the fighter of the royal Ingangurarugo militia who has made it his motto to be the best". The Ingangurarugo militia was one of King Rwabugiri's best units at the end of the 19th century.

In his tweets, Lt. General Kayinerugaba, son of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, talks about Rwabugiri's war, which continues to support the Congolese rebels (M23) because they are Tutsi, Hima and Lendu, ethnic groups related to his own, and were born to rule, with power in their hands, hence the wars and violence.

On 30 March 1961, a certain Furisonne was killed in Shonga in Byumba Prefecture on the Ugandan border.

On 21 November 1961, Mr Audulaire was left for dead in Kinigi in Ruhengeri Prefecture and his car was stolen. Thanks to this car, the same commando arrived in Rutongo and massacred several "indigenous" families. In Kabuye near Kigali, he came across the Francotte family on

⁸⁷ Kanguka newspaper no. 52, 12 February 1992.

their way back to Kigali. Mr and Mrs Francotte were murdered and their young child was wounded and left to die on the road until morning.

On 10 January 1962, Ngurumbe Aloys killed the curator of Akagera National Park, Mr Deleyn, in Gabiro, and four other white people were wounded.

- On 16 January 1962, in Mubuga, Kibuye Prefecture, Mr Fontaine was attacked in his home by the commando, but he managed to repel the attackers.

- On 14 April 1962, again in Rutongo, Mr Geens and his Rwandan wife were killed, while A. Geens, his brother who was an engineer at SOMUKI, a mining company, was wounded.

Inyenzi terrorism continued until 1968, but the most violent attack took place on 21–23 December 1963, when the attackers seized the small military camp at Gako in Bugesera. Rwandan Tutsi exiles from Burundi attacked a military camp in Gako, Bugesera. They then advanced on Kigali before being stopped and defeated by the Rwandan National Guard. The Rwandan regime then decided to purge moderate Hutu politicians and members of the UNAR. ⁽⁷⁷⁾Pierre Claver Karyabwite, vice-president of the UNAR youth wing, was informed by a local official that the UNAR leadership was to be executed. He went to Nyamirambo, where the UNAR headquarters were located and where Rwagasana and party president Joseph Rutsindintwarane lived, to warn them of the danger. According to Karyabwite, both refused to flee. On 23 December, the UNAR leaders and moderates were arrested and taken to Ruhengeri. During the night, they were tortured and early the next morning, they were taken to Nyamagumba hill and executed under the supervision of a Belgian officer, Major Turpin.

The attackers' escape was as swift as their short-lived advance, but unfortunately the victims of this adventure were countless. Thus, throughout the country, Hutu populations, terrified by the prospect of a return to the old regime, massacred thousands of Tutsis within a few days, accusing them of having colluded with the Tutsi invaders.

It is currently estimated that between 10,000 and 15,000 people were murdered, mainly in the Gikongoro Prefecture, while others took the path of exile. The Batutsi in the interior, traumatised by this holocaust, refused to harbour the attackers for a long time, which made subsequent attacks more difficult. However, these Inyenzi attacks considerably accentuated ethnic divisions that could have been more easily bridged^{88(*)}.

Note: 25 September 1961: Kamarampaka, the day the monarchy was abolished in Rwanda. History of Rwanda Kamarampaka / referendum (25-09-2013) (Internet): In 1918, Rwanda was placed under Belgian mandate, which implemented direct administration of the country, causing friction between the tribes of Rwanda^{89(*)}. *"Recently, something strange has been developing, which would transform our Kamarampaka, the 'referendum' (as my teacher used to call it) into something other than the single question posed to the Rwandan people. That question was: do you want the monarchy? Put the white ballot paper in the envelope. And if you no longer want a monarchy? Put the black ballot paper in the envelope. This meant choosing the republican model. That's all. This is what 1,255,896 people out of 1,337,096 registered voters (22,248*

⁸⁸ Fact-finding mission on Rwanda. No. 1271. National Assembly. Constitution of 4 October 1958. Eleventh legislature. Registered with the Presidency of the National Assembly on 15 December 1998. Information report. Submitted pursuant to Article 145 of the Rules of Procedure. By the fact-finding mission of the National Defence and Armed Forces Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee on military operations conducted by France, other countries and the UN in Rwanda between 1990 and 1994. Chairman. Mr Paul Quilès, rapporteurs. Mr Pierre Brana and Mr Bernard Cazeneuve. Members of Parliament, report. Volume I

⁸⁹ Internet, 25 September 2013: DHR. Kamarampaka and the counterfeiters By A. Kamaliza (25-09-2013) (Internet).

blank ballots) did. Among those registered, 974,234 put the black ballot in the envelope, thus choosing the Republic.

Kamarampaka is a referendum in Rwandan politics that determines whether Rwanda will develop a republican political structure or a monarchical political structure^{90(*)}. *"On this supplementary question, the 'no' vote also won. Kamaliza A.: Indeed, there was a supplementary question. What I wrote, I did from memory, using figures from Alexis Kagame's 'A Brief History of Rwanda from 1853 to 1972'. But if you look closely, my aim was to denounce the manipulation of those who want us to believe that Kamarampaka had other objectives than just answering these two questions. Or, even stranger, that he should have put Rwanda on a smooth path to democracy. This is manipulation by diverting the subject of debate, which some people specialise in on forums. A referendum 'decides' one or more questions, but is not accountable for what comes before or after.* The democratic response was clear. The majority of Rwandans gave the country a republican political structure.

From 1968 to 1973: The Rwandan Armed Forces also experienced the first crises that shook the cohesion of the national army: first the Muramutsa and Nyatanyi affair in 1968 and the assignment of certain officers to civilian functions before the 1973 coup d'état.

IV.3. Rwanda's independence on 1 July 1962

23 December 1961: Habyarimana Juvénal graduated top of his class (registration number 001) and was thus the first Rwandan officer to have confronted the Inyenzi. His death in an attack carried out by the descendants of the Inyenzi is a symbol of revenge.

26, 27 and 29 January 1962: Negotiations between the Kayibanda government and the UNAR in New York. The history of the Rwandan National Union (UNAR)^{91*}. This was a conservative Rwandan political party founded by François Rukeba on 3 September 1959 and strongly supported by King Kigeri V. It was dissolved in December 1963. At the time, Rwanda was still under Belgian administration and the UNAR was the main monarchist party. It called for immediate independence under a hereditary Tutsi constitutional monarchy. Michel Rwagasana became its secretary-general. The Union Nationale Rwandaise (Union The party boycotted the 1960 local elections, but participated in the 1961 legislative elections, receiving 17% of the vote and winning 7 of the 44 seats in the Legislative Assembly. It joined a coalition government with the victorious PARMEHUTU and was given the ministerial posts responsible for livestock and public health. After the purge, the UNAR effectively ceased to exist. Elements of the armed wing continued to carry out attacks until^{196792(*)}. The Unarist ideology was there, the complex of superiority or primacy. (Racial ideology of the current power, currently used in the form of mirror accusations to oppress the Hutu community).

1 July 1962: Independence of Rwanda and Burundi. In 1962, under Prime Minister Grégoire Kayibanda, it became an independent republic.¹ July 1962: Rwanda's independence is proclaimed.

18 September 1962: United Nations Resolution No. 1748 (XVII) admitting the Republic of Rwanda as a member of the United Nations.

The Rwandan flag

⁹⁰ Kamarampaka. Internet. Mwiseneza E.: There was a supplementary question: if you want a monarchy, do you want Kigeri V Ndahindurwa as king?

⁹¹ Wikipedia: Free Wikipedia.

⁹² Gérard Prunier (1995). *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. C. Hurst & Co. p. 47. ISBN 9781850653721.



Photo No. 16: Rwandan flag: Colours: Red, Yellow, Green

18 December 1962: United Nations Resolution No. 1836 (XVII) on technical assistance to Burundi and Rwanda.

In 1962: Appointment of Uzamugura Martin, the first Rwandan to hold the position of Ambassador to the United Nations.

23 June 1963: Habyarimana Juvénal, then a captain, was appointed commander of the National Guard, replacing Belgian Major Vanderstraeten.

18 September 1963: Admission of Rwanda as a member of the United Nations, in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter.

3 November 1963: Opening of the National University of Rwanda. (03/11/2013) (Internet) Its motto: " Illuminatio et Salus Populi = The light and salvation of the people"^{93*}. *"The light and salvation of the people". Internet, 25 September 2013: DHR. It (UNR) opened its doors with around fifty students in two faculties (Medicine, Social Sciences, and Higher Education), under the aegis of Canadian Dominican priest Georges-Henri Lévesque, who arrived on 12 January 1963 and spared no effort in setting up this institute of higher learning. When Father Lévesque arrived, Rwanda had just gained its independence the previous year on 1 July 1962, and it was at the request of President Grégoire Kayibanda that Father Lévesque took on the task of achieving what everyone considered a utopia in the middle of the Central African bush. No one believed in this achievement, no one believed in its survival. On 2 November 2013, the UNR celebrated its 50th anniversary, its golden jubilee.*

18 September 1963: Admission of Rwanda as a member of the UN in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter.

20 December 1963: Attack by the Inyenzi in Mugesera/Bugesera.

21 December 1963: Rwandan Tutsi exiles from Burundi attack a military camp in Gako, Bugesera.

17 February 1964: Hubert Toussaint Rwandan repression

1965: Juvénal Habyalimana is appointed Minister of the National Guard and Police.

1966: The last attack by the INYENZI (Ingangurarugo Ziyemeje kuba Ingezi) from Burundi: There were a total of 36 attacks^{94*}.

26 October 1966: A resolution of the PARMEHUTU national congress makes it the National Party of Rwanda, i.e. a de facto single party⁹⁵ *. He reports: *"The report of the said commission*

⁹³ Internet 03/11/2013: Motto of the National University of Rwanda (UNR): Illuminatio et Salus Populi

⁹⁴ (See open letter dated 23/10/1998 from SOS Rwanda-Burundi to the French Information Mission on Rwanda).

⁹⁵ Reyntjens F., 1985. *Power and Law in Rwanda, Public Law and Political Development, 1916-1973*, Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa. p. 473.

was presented to the National Assembly in plenary session, but was rejected following a motion prepared by Calliope Mulindahabi. Subsequently, the party congress punished the authors by removing them from their positions as regional party leaders. Thus was born the expression "guta umurongo", composed of two words: "guta = to throw, deviate, stray" and "umurongo = line". Applied in politics, it meant deviationism. Those accused of deviating from the party line (abadohotsi) lost their positions. The phenomenon of "guta umurongo" created a climate of political unease in certain Rwandan circles following the sanctions imposed on certain politicians accused of deviationism. Fourteen MPs considered "deviants" were expelled from the party.

September 1968: The enigmatic "Nyatanyi coup" took place. Pierre Nyatanyi, Bahembera, Gakumba Pascal, etc.: Rwanda: the historic trial of politicians from the First Republic.

1968: Fractures appeared in the ranks of the MDR Parmehutu party. It experienced its first political crisis following the publication of a report by the parliamentary commission set up by the President of the National Assembly, Balthazar ^{Bicamumpaka⁹⁶*}.

1969: Celebration of the 10th anniversary of independence. A drawing showing the flag replacing the drum and the royal crown.

April–July 1972 in Burundi: Massacres of Hutus perpetrated by the mono-ethnic Tutsi Burundian army. The post-massacre period in Rwanda is obviously a key moment, both socio-eventually and psycho-emotionally, and the Rwandan genocide to come will be an unparalleled historical event.

1972, the last government of President Grégoire Kayibanda

⁹⁶ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda (Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda), p.94.



1. Nzanana Fidèle	12. Bizimana André
2. Sebatware André	13. Hitayezu Emmanuel
3. Makuza Anastase	14. Sindikubwabo Théodore
4. Kamoso Augustin	15. Nyilibakwe Godefroid
5. Nkezabera Damien	16. Ndwaniye Joseph
6. Habyarimana Juvénal	17. Kayibanda Gragoire
7. Minani Fro duald	18. Bagaragaza Thaddée
8. Gashonga Déogratias	19. Ndahayo Claver
9. Harelimana Gaspard	20. Munyaneza Augustin
10. Nshunguyinka François	21. Seyanga Jean Baptiste
11. Shiramake Athanase	

Photo no. 17: Photo of President Grégoire Kayibanda's last government, 1972

After this government reshuffle on 21 February 1972, the Committee for Peace and National Unity was established by Major General Juvénal Habyarimana and his comrades on 5 July 1973.



Photo no. 18: Celebration of the 10th anniversary of independence after the overthrow of Karinga

IV.4. The ethnic unrest of 1973 between the Hutu and Tutsi

The unrest in Rwanda followed the unrest in Burundi in 1972, which claimed more than 200,000 lives. The Burundians recognise this as a "genocide against the Hutu" committed by the Tutsi minority. This genocide, which has not yet been recognised by the international community, has had a terrible influence on the violence in the African Great Lakes region. Whether we like it or not, Rwanda's political problems, and their consequences, have their origins in the Hutu-Tutsi conflict, which must be resolved through frank, sincere and truthful dialogue that goes beyond that which led to the Arusha Peace Accords. The ethnic unrest between Hutus and Tutsis in 1973 was brought to an end by the military coup on 5 July 1973, which brought to power the Chief of Staff and Minister of the National Guard and Police, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana.

The 1970s saw the completion of Rwanda's integration into the "field" countries (DRC, Burundi and Rwanda) with the development of an ambitious development aid policy and the signing, in 1975, of a technical military assistance agreement between Rwanda and France. Based on these two pillars, France intended to pursue a classic African policy in Rwanda: development cooperation on the one hand, and contribution to the country's security and stability on the other. The 1970s were marked by the Second Republic, which focused its power on the development of the rural population, with the commune as the nucleus of this development, and was concerned with good neighbourly relations, particularly with Rwanda's neighbouring countries.

1970

IV.5. The advent of the Second Republic

January-March 1973: Persecution of Tutsi students and civil servants, followed by inter-ethnic clashes (around 400 deaths, mainly among the Tutsi). These inter-ethnic clashes in Rwanda led to a new wave of Tutsi refugees.

1973: (February-March): A wave of purges in schools and the administration, accompanied by violence, is organised against the Tutsi population. Tutsi students are identified on lists posted in all secondary and higher education institutions and signed. The leaders of the "Student Movement" or "Committee of Public Safety" were forced to flee their institutions under threat. Among the main leaders of these committees of public safety were Pasteur Bizimungu, Ferdinand Nahimana, Léon Mugesera, and others.

18 May 1973: A constitutional amendment passed by the National Assembly extended the presidential term to seven years and allowed Grégoire Kayibanda to run for a third ^{term}^{97*}.

1 July 1973: President Kayibanda gave a speech warning those who had "intentions of staging a coup d'état to attempt it at their own risk".

On 5 July 1973, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana overthrew Kayibanda's regime and over the next two decades, Rwanda's political situation became increasingly complicated.

Juvénal Habyarimana, born on 8 March 1937 in Gasiza, Karago commune, Ruanda Urundi prefecture, and assassinated on 6 April 1994 in Kigali, was a Rwandan military officer and statesman. , was President of the Republic of Rwanda from 1973 until his death on 6 April 1994 in an attack that marked the end of the republic.

⁹⁷ Reyntjens, F. 1985. Power and Law in Rwanda, Public Law and Political Development, 1916-1973, Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa. 505



Photo No. 19: Seal of the Republic

President Juvénal Habyarimana



Photo No. 20

President Juvénal Habyarimana, a Hutu, was the first non-Belgian Chief of Staff of the National Guard, then Minister of the National Guard and Police in 1965 under President Grégoire Kayibanda, before becoming Minister of Defence after the 1973 coup d'état.

In 1973, he overthrew Kayibanda in a coup d'état and became the country's new president. He established an authoritarian single-party regime, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND). He continued a pro-Hutu policy and remained in power thanks to unopposed presidential elections in 1978, 1983 and 1988. He was assassinated on 6 April 1994 by the RPF when a plane carrying him and the President of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira, was shot down by a missile near Kanombe. The eleven comrades of 5 July 1973: national unity included Lieutenant Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe and Majors Aloys Nsekaliye, Sabin Benda, Fabien Gahimano, Jean-Népomuscène Munyandekwe, Laurent Serubuga, Bonaventure Ntubitura, Bonaventure Buregeya, Aloys Simba and Epimaque Ruhashya, the only senior Tutsi officer at the time.



Photo No. 21: Juvénal Habyarimana in military uniform

Major General Habyarimana Juvénal assassinated on 6 April 1994



Photo no. 22



Photo no. 23 Comrades of 5 July 1973

Family photo of the eleven comrades of 5 July 1973

"1. Members of the Committee for Peace and National Unity of 5 July 1973 With the exception of Major Fabien Gahimano (Hutu, Gisenyi), who had completed his basic training at the Royal Military Academy (ERM) in Brussels before being integrated into the 2nd^e promotion, all the other members belonged to the first two promotions of the Officers' School (EO, renamed the École supérieure militaire in 1973). These were: • Lieutenant-Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe (Hutu, Ruhengeri), • Major Sabin Benda (Hutu, Ruhengeri), • Major Bonaventure Buregeya (Hutu, Gisenyi), • Major Jean-Népomuscène Munyandekwe (Hutu, Gitarama), • Major Aloys Nsekaliye (Hutu, Gisenyi), • Major Bonaventure Ntibitura (Hutu, Ruhengeri), • Major Épimaque Ruhashya (Tutsi, Kigali), • Major Laurent Serubuga (Hutu, Gisenyi), • Major Aloys Simba (Hutu, Gikongoro).

5 July 1973: Military coup in Rwanda, bringing Juvénal Habyarimana to power and deposing Grégoire Kayibanda. He was arrested along with other dignitaries from the Kayibanda regime. Juvénal Habyarimana was surrounded by 11 army officers in what was called the "committee for peace and national unity". Eleven comrades of 5 July: Juvénal Habyarimana, Aloys Nsekaliye, Sabin Benda, Munyandekwe, Simba, Ntibitura, Buregeya, Gahimano, Ruhashya.

The coup officers adopted the term "comrades" as members of the Committee for Peace and National Unity (CPUN). This committee was dissolved in 1975 and replaced by the political party MRND^{98*}. *The highest-ranking officer in the Rwandan army was General Major Habyarimana Juvénal, who attained this rank on 1 April 1973. The only other general officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Kanyarengwe Alexis, Majors Nsekaliye Aloys, Benda Sabin, Ruhashya Epimaque, Munyandekwe Jean Népomuscène, Serubuga Laurent, Buregeya Bonaventure, Ntibitura Bonaventure, Gahimano Fabien and Simba Aloys As such, they formed the "Committee for Peace and National Unity", the name given to the junta that took power in 1973.*

1 August 1973: Speech by Major General Juvénal Habyarimana during the presentation of his first ^{government}^{99*}. "Government established on 1 August 1973. President of the Republic and

⁹⁸ Neretse E. 2010, Source du Nil Publishing. Grandeur and Decadence of the Rwandan Armed Forces.

⁹⁹ Neretse E. 2010. Ibid.

Minister of Defence: Major General Habyarimana. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Major Aloys Nsekarije, Minister of National Education: Bagaragaza Thaddée. Minister of the Interior and Public Service: Lieutenant Colonel Kanyarengwe Alexis. Minister of Public Works and Equipment: Katarwa André. Minister of Health: Dr Kamirindi Claudien. Minister of Youth and Sports: Commander Rwagafirita Pierre Célestin. Minister of Justice: Habimana Bonaventure. Minister of Planning and Natural Resources: Shingiro Mbonyumutwa Jean Marie Vianney. Minister of Finance and Economy: Nduhungirehe Jean Chrysostome. Minister of Information: Major Simba Aloys. Minister of Posts and Telecommunications: Bucyana Martin. Minister of Agriculture and Livestock: Mugambira Sédécias.

26 June 1974: Dr G. Kayibanda is sentenced to death in an effort to legitimise Habyarimana; his sentence is commuted to life imprisonment on 19 July 1974.

The eleven comrades of 5 July 1973



Photo no. 24

Major General Juvénal Habyarimana (Gisenyi), assassinated on 6 April 1994.



Photo no. 25



Photo no. 26



Photo no. 27

Lieutenant Colonel Kanyarengwe Alexis (Ruhengeri); Lieutenant Colonel Nsekaliye Alexis (Gisenyi); Lieutenant Colonel Benda Sabin (Ruhengeri).

Died in November 2006 of natural causes; Natural death in Belgium; Believed to be living in Rwanda???



Photo No. 28.



Photo No. 29.



Photo No. 30.

Major Munyandekwe J. Népomuscene (Gitarama). Major Ruhashya Epimaque (Kigali) . Major Serubuga Laurent (Gisenyi).

Died of illness in Rwanda. Poisoned by the RPF and buried. Refugee in France .



Photo no. 31.



Photo no. 32.



Photo no. 33.

Major Simba Aloys (Gikongoro). Major Ntibitura Bonaventure (Ruhengeri). Major Gahimano Fabien (Gisenyi).

Imprisoned in Arusha . Refugee in Belgium. Reported missing.



Photo no. 34.

Major Buregeya Bonaventure (Gisenyi)

Missing in the DRC

- Photos: Free Wikipedia

14 December 1974: Resolution No. 3314 of the United Nations General Assembly. Adopted on the "Definition of Aggression". The crime of aggression.

16 April 1975: Rwanda accedes to the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted on 12 January 1951.

IV.5.1. Creation of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development

5 July 1975: Foundation of the MRND, the sole political party from 1975 to 1991: National Revolutionary Movement for Development. The creation of the MRND led to the dissolution of the Committee for Peace and National Unity.

15 December 1976: Death in Kavumu (Gitarama) of former President of the Republic Grégoire Kayibanda.

December 1978: New constitution of the Republic of Rwanda establishing a one-party system, with the MRND as the state party.

1979: Creation of the RANU by Tutsi refugees, which became the RPF in December 1987¹⁰⁰ *.

Below, Musabyimana explains how the RPF came into being: "The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) emerged from the 'Inyenzi' movement, which attacked Rwanda between 1961 and 1967. This movement, formed by members of the UNAR (Rwandan National Union) party in exile, was dominated by the military wing. However, it was unable to achieve any military victories. As a result, the young followers of the 'Inyenzi' movement, stunned, founded the 'Rwandan Liberation Front' (FLR) in Bujumbura in 1965. It too was unable to do any better. Nor did it have much support among the refugees at the time. In the wake of this, the old faction, led by a certain Mudandi who had returned from training in China, also founded the "Rwanda Revolutionary Movement" (MRR) in that country in 1968. This movement was also undermined by splits and embezzlement. It split into several factions, the best known of which is the Rwanda National Liberation Movement (RNLM), set up in Kampala, Uganda, by Jean Marie Vianney Karuranga in the early 1970s (...). In 1979, Rwandan refugees in Uganda founded the Rwandese Welfare Foundation (RRWF), legally registered as a cultural organisation. But in reality, it raised funds to finance the war and secretly financed the publication of a newspaper called "Inkotanyi" and later "The Vanguard". The RRWF often organised fundraising events. Miss Aloysie Inyumba, later Finance Commissioner of the RPF, was co-signatory of the RRWF's accounts (). In 1980, the RRWF gave rise to a political movement, the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU), which operated discreetly in its early days. After Museveni seized power in Uganda in January 1986, it transformed itself in 1987 into a political-military organisation, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Armed struggle as a means of seizing power in Rwanda was adopted at the Rwandan refugee congress held in Washington, USA, from 17 to 20 August 1988.

1987: RPF: Rwandan Patriotic Front. Founders: Fred Rwigema, a Tutsi from Gitarama, former Chief of Staff of the Ugandan Army and then Deputy Minister of Defence of Uganda (who died in unclear circumstances in early October 1990 during the RPF attack in northern Rwanda); Paul Kagame – Commander-in-Chief of the APR, Tutsi from Gitarama, former refugee in Uganda, former deputy head of security for the NRA.

The Liberal Party (PL/RPF) had the Inkotanyi (the relentless) and TP or Tutsi Power militias. TP is a branch of a secret organisation called "TIP" (Tutsi International Power), whose objective is to create a Hima-Tutsi empire in the Great Graben (Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia, Chad and Kenya)¹⁰¹ *: Ndanyuzwe Noel describes this chapter, "Towards the building of a great Nilotic empire in Africa," in his book *La Guerre mondiale Africaine (The African World War)*, 2014. P.435 and 512. It is in this plan for the Hima-Tutsi empire (led by

¹⁰⁰ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, pp. 68-69

¹⁰¹ Ndanyuzwe Noel describes this chapter, "Towards the building of a great Nilotic empire in Africa," in his book, "The African World War." Editions Source du Nil. 2014. P.435 – p.512.

Museveni) that the plans of the imperialists led by Lady Lynda Chalker (U.K.) and Roger Winter and Madeleine Korbel Albright (USA) converge.

N.B.: Inyenzi: the name given to themselves by the Tutsi fighters of 1962-1967. It is an acronym for "Ingangurarugo Ziyemeje kuba Ingenzi", meaning "brave fighters, vanguard attackers, determined to be exemplary, the best". According to statements by Aloys Ngurumbe himself, founder and leader of the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, military adviser to General Paul Kagame in 1998. Thirty-six (36) deadly attacks by the Inyenzi, composed mainly of the Tutsi community, were organised against Rwanda.

IV. 5. 2. The public apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Kibeho marked the beginning of the 1980s

The public apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Kibeho from 28 November 1981 to 28 November 1989. The visionaries: Alphonsine Mumureke, Nathalie Mukamazimpaka and Marie-Claire Mukangango. These apparitions, whose message focuses on prayer and an impending war from a neighbouring country that will exterminate the Rwandan people.

But society is changing: Rwanda is becoming a commercial crossroads between Congo and East Africa, the road network is expanding, business is growing, Kigali is experiencing remarkable growth, and the new elites are less adherent to old racial patterns, particularly in the south of the country, where there are many relationships of all kinds between Hutus and Tutsis. However, official propaganda perpetuated ethnic divisions and a quota system limited Tutsi access to schools and jobs to 9% (their official share of the population). Habyarimana defended and applied the ethnic quota policy established under the first Republic led by Grégoire Kayibanda, according to which if there is no balance, there is imbalance.

This disconnect between society and the regime came to a head in the late 1980s, when the country was hit by an economic crisis. Internal political dissent reawakened. But in October 1990, second-generation Tutsi refugees, led by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR), created in 1987, attacked from the north-east from Uganda, where they had served the new regime of Yoweri Museveni (). From then on, there was a race against time between the quest for democratisation and peace and a spiral of civil war and racist extremism. Major Lizinde explained this himself before the court responsible for judging the coup attempt he led in 1980.

1980

The 1980s were marked by an attempted coup led by: Major Lizinde, former head of security, originally from Bugoyi, Gisenyi Prefecture, in the north of the country, was arrested along with thirty other people accused of plotting a coup. In December 1980: Alexis Kanyarengwe, one of the 'comrades of 5 July 1973', considered an accomplice in the coup attempt led by Lizinde, fled the country. In 1985, French aid to Rwanda was described as 'honourable' but '*not* decisive' among bilateral aid in a report by the then Head of the French Cooperation Mission, Mr Patrick Pruvot. Mr Pruvot also believed that French cooperation could play a more important role by being more 'attentive' to the country. Several priorities had already been clearly identified, namely food self-sufficiency, opening up the country, employment, education and training, and health. These priorities would continue to be reaffirmed in the years to come.

23 April 1980: "Attempted coup" by Lizinde Théoneste and his comrades: Kanyarengwe Alexis, Major Nduhirabandi, Maniraguha Jacques, Colonels Kagenza, Captain Biseruka, Théoneste Lizindi, former Captain Muramutsa Joachim, Muvunanyambo Donath, Bikorimana, Uwabandi, Dr Murego Donath, Gakumba Pascal (the latter is the father of Ms Victoire Ingabire, president of the FDU-Inkingi).

31 December 1980: Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe goes into exile in Tanzania (he attempted to overthrow the government, but the coup failed and he fled to Tanzania).

1982-1983: Milton Obote's Uganda sends tens of thousands of Rwandan refugee immigrants.
1985: The fall of Milton Obote: Milton Obote (28 December 1925 - 10 October 2005) was a Ugandan politician. He was President of the Republic of Uganda twice (1966-1971 and 1979-1985). The first time, while attending a Commonwealth conference in Singapore, he was overthrown in a coup led by a military officer, Idi Amin Dada.

President of Uganda Apollo Milton Obote



Photo no. 35

Apollo Milton Obote belonged to the Nilotic Lango ethnic group. He was a schoolteacher before entering politics. He did not allow Rwandan refugees to attack their country, Rwanda. Immediately after his fall, they began to organise behind Museveni in his conquest for power in Uganda.

23 January 1986: Victory of Museveni's rebellion, whose fighters included Rwandan Tutsi refugees.

25 January 1986: Yoweri Kaguta Museveni took power through his rebellion, with a majority of fighters being Rwandan Tutsi refugees.

27 July 1986: The Central Committee of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (M.N.R.D.) published a document on 27 July 1986 setting out Rwanda's official position on refugees. We will not reproduce this text in its entirety, but will summarise its content in the following points, which we have taken from the Memorandum presented to the Ugandan delegation on 15 February 1989: - It was with this in mind that, in 1986, the RANU was transformed into the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and the combatants were grouped together in a "Task Force" which would later be called the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). Mr Fred Rwigema, who had distinguished himself in the Ugandan war of liberation and enjoyed extraordinary charisma among the refugees, was placed at the head of the RPF and even the RPA. The RPF held its first congress in 1987, during which its political programme was adopted. In an introduction in which it presented its own view of the origins of Rwanda's current problems, the RPF proposed an eight-point political programme: - consolidation of national unity - strengthening democratic institutions - building a dynamic national economy - eliminating all forms of corruption and embezzlement of public funds - security of property and persons - solving the refugee problem - establishing social services - cooperating with all countries on the basis of mutually beneficial relations and supporting national liberation movements^{102(*)}. **1987**: Foundation of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in Uganda (formerly the Rwandan Alliance for National Unity, created in 1979). (*Rwandan refugees in Uganda founded the Rwanda Welfare Foundation, which raised funds to finance the war and also financed the publication of the newspaper Inkotanyi*. President Yoweri Museveni met with

¹⁰² UWIZEYIMANA Laurien 1992. National University of Rwanda, October and November 1990, The Rwandan Patriotic Front's assault on Mutara: an attempt to analyse regional geopolitics in crisis. Rwanda University Press, Ruhengeri, September 1992.

President Reagan during a private visit in October 1987. It was during this visit that Museveni received American weapons.

7 April 1987: Cabinet reshuffle with the appointment of Vincent Ruhamanya as Minister of Finance and Economy, against a backdrop of economic crisis following a spectacular collapse in coffee prices (appointment of J. Uwilingiyimana and Casimir Bizimungu).

5 February 1988: Speech by Juvénal Habyarimana during a visit to Uganda (Semuto), in which he proclaims the undeniable right of Rwandan refugees to return to Rwanda (their homeland).

19 April 1988: Assassination of Colonel Mayuya S.

15 January 1989: appointment of a new government with a mission of "political aggiornamento". Creation of the National Commission for Refugees and ^{Immigrants}^{103*}. C. Bizimungu replaces F. Ngarukiyintwari at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. Civil war breaks out in 1990 between Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a rebel group led by the Tutsi. In 1993, Habyarimana signs the Arusha Peace Accords with the RPF. But he was assassinated in mysterious circumstances a year later when a plane carrying him and Burundi's President Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down by a missile. His assassination triggered the genocide not only of the Tutsis but also of the Hutus and Twa, known as the Rwandan genocide.

¹⁰³ Information provided by a technician who is still alive. – A technical commission made up of a group of technicians was set up by the president's office and sent to Nyagatare to assess the suitability of the region's land and the conditions for establishing a sustainable settlement: Dr Runyinya Barabwiriza, Dr Mutwewingabo Bernard, Dr Nsengiyaremye D. Ex-PM, Dr Bagiramenshi, Dr Nzirasano, Mr J.D. Rugomboka, etc.

CHAPTER V. October 1990 War

V.1. A look at the October 1990 war waged by the RPF against Rwanda

1990 : Genocide 1 . First Genocide/Irimbura-Banyarwanda committed by the RPF

In reality, the APR broke away from the Ugandan Army to invade Rwanda, thereby violating international law governing the inviolability of borders (Resolution 3314 (XXIX) of the United Nations General Assembly of 14 December 1974). After seizing power, it resorted to manipulation and lies to cover up the crimes it had committed during and after its conquest. That is why it registered with the UN the ^{period from} 1st October 1990 to 31 December 1994 as the period of the Rwandan genocide, rather than the period from 1st January 1994 to 31 December 1994, which is recognised as such by the international community. This point is discussed in detail in the chapter on the RPF's lies.

V.1.1. Did the war of October 1990 take Habyarimana's government by surprise?

Before the war began in 1990, although the regime claimed that Rwanda had been attacked and that they had been taken by surprise, This was not true. They knew that the refugees wanted to return to their country, because in 1988, President Habyarimana Juvénal visited his Ugandan counterpart, President Kaguta Yoweri Museveni, and on 5 February 1988 gave a speech to this effect: Speech by President Habyarimana Juvénal during his visit to Uganda (Semuto), publicly declaring that Rwandan refugees have the inalienable right to return to their country of origin, Rwanda"^{104(*)} .

V.1.2. How does author Desouter view Habyarimana's policy at the ^{time}^{105*} ?

President J. Habyarimana announced a return to a multiparty system **on 5 July 1990**. The formation of opposition parties began to take shape. A total of 16 or 18 parties were formed. They had no programme or clearly defined vision of society. Nor were they based on groups defending the interests of different sections of society (farmers, trade unions, traders, etc.).

In fact, what they wanted was change at the top. Many had great ambitions. Few were concerned with the problems of society. That is why some called them "the parties of presidents and secretaries-general". It is true that the representatives of the political parties never showed the will or the ability to negotiate with the RPF rebels for the benefit of the Rwandan people, because the higher interests of the nation were not on their political agenda. Their interests were to divide power, overthrow the Habyarimana regime and quickly seize power.

They did not question the seriousness of the war within the country and underestimated the rebels' capabilities, without knowing their plan or the plans of their accomplices. They had no short- or long-term vision for resolving the political problem for a power that had been in place since the 1959 revolution. The RPF did not want to share power; it wanted all the power, which is why it took up arms, unlike the Rwandan opposition, which wanted power to alternate. By entering into peace negotiations, the opposition took the place of the RPF, because the Rwandans inside the country were divided. The negotiations were based on two divergent equations, while the equation had multiple unknowns. The RPF, dissatisfied with the results of the negotiations, resumed the war. President Habyarimana should not have authorised a multi-

¹⁰⁴ The whole truth about the October 1990 war in Rwanda. Sango ya bisu No. 114. On 5 February 1988, during a speech delivered at SEMUTO (Uganda), President Juvénal Habyarimana announced the creation of a joint Rwandan-Ugandan ministerial committee on the issue of Rwandan refugees living in Uganda. July 1991. P. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Desouter S. 2007 Le Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

party system before resolving the war. Some speeches proposed demobilising soldiers and placing them in market gardening , referring to a speech by the then Prime Minister .

At one point, the then head of state proposed putting the outcome of the Arusha peace accords to a referendum in order to include the voice of the people, who saw things more clearly than the politicians. The political parties were like a beauty contest circus, which was one of the reasons that increased the political power of the RPF, not to mention that it had military strength drawn from Ugandan weapons. In May 1992, a bomb attack shook Butaro in Ruhengeri. On 5 June 1992, the APR launched an attack on the town of Byumba, but failed. All these signs pointing to the RPF's future power and hidden policies did not open the eyes of Rwandan politicians at the time, so much so that a well-known MDR politician, *Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU*, *dared to say* that "if Byumba fell under the control of the attackers, nothing could shake us." This attack was launched in the midst of negotiations, but it failed to alert the deaf and blind politicians.

Ann Garrison ^{recounts}^{106*}: "In order to address the refugee problem, in April 1988, a joint commission was created, namely the Joint Committee of Ministers of Rwanda and Uganda on the Question of Rwandan Refugees. At the same time, Uganda was preparing to invade Rwanda under the cover of the RPF-Inkotanyi, created on 20 December 1987. President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni had recently paid an official visit (October 1987) to US President Ronald Reagan. During the visit, they signed an arms agreement, which was signed in early 1989 with the United States, two months after J. Habyarimana had made an unpleasant speech (in which he said that Rwanda was too small to accommodate all its refugees). Congressional hearings on this subject knew exactly where the Tutsi refugees came from, as they had all the archives on the region in general and Rwanda in particular. The United States knew where to go to access the resources of the DR Congo, but Presidents Grégoire Kayibanda and Juvénal Habyarimana had long refused to grant them access to this passage.

The wedding of Jeannette Nyiramongi, daughter of Murefu, took place on 10 June 1989. A double agent, he is believed to have survived an attempt to remove him for his espionage activities. On the one hand, he passed information to Museveni's intelligence services, while on the other, he gave the rest of the information to Juvénal Habyarimana's government, but only random information. He lied to him. One day, President Habyarimana spoke of the abagome n'abagambanyi: "The wicked and traitors," among whom were some Tutsis and Hutus whom he had helped and who had become traitors.

He said literally: "Ndi Ikinani cya naniye Abagome n'Abagambanyi: I am invincible, I stood up to the wicked and the traitors". When Murefu returned from his daughter's wedding in Kampala, he never went back to Kigali because he was well aware that the RPF-Inkotanyi attack on Rwanda was imminent. He lived in Jinja, Uganda, and continued his espionage work with the people he had left working for him at the Eden-Garden café.

It should be noted that, in the context of Uganda's foreign policy, Museveni's actions were controversial due to the support he gave to various rebels in Africa:

- 1/ Attacking a neighbouring country; supporting Tutsi refugees against the Rwandan regime;
- 2/ Supporting Laurent-Désiré Kabila's uprising in May 1997 and overthrowing President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo).

¹⁰⁶ Ann Garrison FacebookTwitterRedditEmail 16 SEPTEMBER 2016 ann@afrobeatrдио.com

3/ Supporting the group led by John Garang, a former fellow student from Dar-es-Salaam, against the Islamic State in Sudan.

At a press conference in Kampala on 4 March 1999, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni admitted to accepting the capture of Rwandan Hutu extremists who kidnapped and killed eight (8) Western tourists, both men and women, while they were travelling in his country. They were also deported to the United States by Paul Kagame, the Rwandan president, but they were acquitted. The massacre of these tourists was a theatrical performance to show the American administration that the Hutu rebels were savages who had to be killed. This example shows the atrocities planned and perpetrated in Rwanda, such as the Bagogwe killings and the sleight of hand of the RPF and its master Museveni. Museveni had direct and crucial involvement in what happened in Rwanda. The Ruwenzori killings should have been thoroughly investigated to find out who murdered these Western tourists.

On this point, Ann Garrison asks: "What did the United States gain by ignoring the Acholi genocide while building the Ugandan army and giving it the right to kill? What did the United States actually do? Gain by ignoring the Acholi genocide because they made the Ugandan army a proxy force?" The killings took place in the region, and when you analyse them, you know exactly where they came from.

V.1.3. The RPF armed forces were sent to Rwanda from Uganda on 1 October 1990.

Three and a half years before the Rwandan genocide, a rebel army composed mainly of exiled Rwandan Tutsis known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front, or RPF, had invaded Rwanda and set up camps in the northern mountains. They had been armed and trained by neighbouring Uganda, which continued to supply them throughout the ensuing civil war, in violation of the UN Charter, the rules of the Organisation of African Unity, various Rwandan ceasefire and peace agreements, and repeated promises by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. During this period, officials at the US embassy in Kampala knew that weapons were crossing the border, and the CIA knew that the rebels' growing military strength was exacerbating ethnic tensions in Rwanda to such an extent that hundreds of thousands of Rwandans could die in widespread ethnic violence. However, Washington not only ignored Uganda's aid to the Rwandan rebels, but also increased military and development aid to Museveni, then hailed him as a peacemaker once the genocide was underway.

After four years of war and the assassination of the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, Kagame's forces overthrew the Rwandan government and established a Tutsi dictatorship, claiming to have ended the civil war between the Hutus and Tutsis. The last 100 days of the war included the Rwandan genocide, which I call "THE DESTRUCTION OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE." Many around the world know that this is a simplified and inconsistent story in the film "Hotel Rwanda." America's secret role in the Rwandan genocide: The violence that shocked the world in 1994 did not come out of nowhere. Under the watchful eye of the CIA, its allies within the Ugandan government helped spread terror and fuel ethnic hatred.

This radically misrepresented story of the Rwandan genocide has since become a cornerstone of American foreign policy. We are always told that we must start another war to stop genocide and mass atrocities or - in short - to stop 'the next Rwanda', as in Libya, Syria and, more recently, Burundi, and whatever unfortunate nation may be next. Few people have heard of the Acholi genocide because it exposes the United States' shameless foreign policy of supporting and empowering dictator Yoweri Museveni since he came to power in 1986. We are never told that we must stop "the next Acholi genocide" or "the next Uganda."

Starting in 1996, Rwanda and Uganda invaded the resource-rich Democratic Republic of Congo with American weapons, logistics and intelligence. They ousted Congolese President Mobutu Sese Seko in 1997 and replaced him with Laurent Kabila. When Laurent Kabila raised an independent head and moved to expel Rwandan and Ugandan soldiers, Rwanda and Uganda invaded Congo again and replaced Laurent Kabila with his more docile adopted son, Joseph Kabila. Today, after the deaths of millions of people in the first and second Congo wars, Rwanda and Uganda continue to commit atrocities and plunder the resources of eastern Congo. Currently, 60 people per month are being massacred in the Beni territory, but the world is not much more likely to hear about it than it did about the Acholi genocide.

The United States has used Ugandan troops to serve its agenda not only in countries bordering Uganda, but also in Somalia and elsewhere on the African continent, under the coordination of AFRICOM, the US Command for Africa. They even used Ugandan troops in their own assaults on Iraq and Afghanistan. When anyone, including Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International, says that we must invade another sovereign nation to stop genocide and mass atrocities, they should be reminded of the horrific Acholi genocide that the United States allowed to happen, or the massacres taking place in the Beni territory of the Democratic Republic of Congo right now. These are just examples of mass atrocities that the United States has committed or facilitated because they themselves or their perpetrators, such as Museveni, serve American interests^{107(*)}. On 5 July 1990, a few days after the La Baule summit, President Juvénal Habyarimana gave a speech in which he promised to democratise his regime. A group of people from the still unauthorised political opposition drew up the "manifesto of 33 intellectuals in favour of democracy". Its acceptance immediately showed that the move towards a multi-party system was being taken seriously. It became clear that significant changes were going to take place.

V.1.4. What does the Belgian Parliamentary Commission say about the attack of 1 October 1990

The Belgian Parliamentary Commission rightly states that "On 1 October 1990, members of the Tutsi ethnic group among the Rwandan refugees attacked from the north-east of the country from Uganda. The attackers came from the less populated Mutara region in Akagera Park. Most of the attackers were rebels who had broken away from the Ugandan army, and they came under the name of a military unit called the 'Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)'^{108(*)}". This was a carefully considered mix by the founder of this army, who is also the Ugandan president, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

He acquired his expertise during his training at the University of Dar-Es-Salam in Tanzania. Some observers questioned the wisdom of the RPF in starting the war in this particular position (Prunier, 1993). The war began only two months after the talks ended, represented by the UNHCR and the OAU.

The negotiations were politically promising, but the RPF was not interested in them at all, did not want to wait, and was tired of the slightest obstacles posed by the Rwandan government. However, it was rumoured that the RPF chose to attack at that time because if the negotiations on resettlement, including the opening of a multiparty site in democracy and respect for human rights, had been successful, they would have lost the right to attack and start a war. Professor

¹⁰⁷ Helen C Epstein: America's secret role in the Rwandan genocide: The violence that shocked the world in 1994 did not come from nowhere. While the CIA looked on, its allies in the Ugandan government helped to spread terror and fuel ethnic hatred.

¹⁰⁸ Rwanda. Reflections on the parliamentary reports of Belgium and France. In *Politique Africaine* 1999/1 (No. 73), pages 159 to 176.

Reyntiens also supported this idea in his testimony before the commission. Since its defeat in the mayoral and sector councillor elections in the demilitarised zone, the RPF had lost the opportunity to seize power through democratic means. It used the same strategy as its main leader, Yoweri Museveni, had used when seizing power in Kampala.

Uganda had approximately 500,000 nationals of Rwandan origin. After the coup, large numbers of Rwandans joined elite units of the Ugandan army such as the Simba Battalion based in Mbarara, the Mechanised Battalion, the Suicide Commando, etc. How many Rwandans were actually refugees outside the country? All the neighbouring countries were home to a number of Rwandan refugees, who joined forces in their struggle to regain power. It is safe to estimate that their number had increased twentyfold by then, as they had spent more than 25 years in exile, not to mention the fact that they had mixed and intermarried in their host countries.

This army also included many officers of Rwandan origin, such as Colonel Jacques Bunyenyezi, brother of the future Major Chris Bunyenyezi, who would command operations in Mutara and be killed in Lyabega on 23 October 1990. In addition, officers of Rwandan origin headed the sinister "State Research", the Ugandan security service responsible for the deaths of several hundred victims killed in atrocious conditions. Major Kameya presided over Amin Dada's military tribunals long before Museveni came to power in Uganda.

During the war with Tanzania in 1978-1979, many Rwandan nationals fought in the ranks of the formidable dictator's army. After the defeat, the Rwandans were accused of supporting Amin Dada's bloody regime and thus participating in the massacres of Ugandans. However, other Rwandan nationals such as Fred Rwigema had joined the ranks of FRONASA and fought alongside the Tanzanians against the dictator. In fact, the refugees were prepared to join any army, provided that victory would enable them to enter Rwanda en masse, a Rwanda that refused to welcome them and which, they believed, wanted to make them stateless"^{109(*)}.

V.1.5. How was the country doing economically?

In exchange for providing foreign currency resources, the IMF imposes economic policies designed to bring national economies into line with the new conditions of the global economy. Christian Comélieu has described this process well:

- In the name of the liberal philosophy that dominated their economic thinking, industrialised countries and international financial organisations demanded that the economic role of the state be reduced to a minimum and that economic policies be implemented in strict accordance with market criteria alone:

"First, reduce the main imbalances: indebted countries are living beyond their means and must reduce their external and internal deficits. Next, reduce the balance of payments deficit by devaluing their currencies, reducing their imports to the minimum necessary, and reorienting their productive apparatus as much as possible towards exports to world markets.

– Finally, balance the public finance deficit: by increasing the tax burden and the tariffs of public enterprises, reducing employment and salaries in the civil service as much as possible, as well as subsidies (Comélieu, 1988). In October 1990, the Rwandan government signed structural adjustment agreements with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, but their implementation was slightly delayed due to the aggression of October 1990.

¹⁰⁹ Rwanda. Reflections on the parliamentary reports of Belgium and France. In *Politique Africaine* 1999/1 (N073), Pages 159 to 176.

The objectives of the SAP (Structural Adjustment Programme) are as follows: "- Achieve sustainable economic growth with an estimated real GDP growth rate of 4% by 1993 - Achieve a moderate inflation rate (around 5%). Accelerate the return to a viable balance of payments and public finances" (PNUP, 1991). To this end, the following policies were to be implemented:

- Devalue the Rwandan franc and introduce a liberal foreign exchange allocation system - Liberalise foreign trade and domestic trade
- Pursue a restrictive fiscal policy with reform of the tax system and improved public expenditure planning, protecting social sectors and reducing the public finance deficit
- Privatised, divest the state or liquidate unviable public enterprises - Mobilise domestic resources - Pursue a restrictive monetary policy and modify interest rates to maintain positive real rates.
- Establishment of family planning services in all health centres (Republic of Rwanda: Structural Adjustment Programme, September 1990). In addition to these measures, a National Social Action Programme (PNAS) was developed in theory to mitigate the negative social repercussions of certain adjustment measures and to protect the most vulnerable socio-economic groups. All these measures appear extremely logical on the surface, but in reality they are leading to the gradual impoverishment of a large part of the population. Indeed, the SAP risks finishing off a patient who is already dying, and yet these measures are relatively lenient towards Rwanda when compared with other African countries that have been completely strangled¹¹⁰.*.

V.1.6. What does former Ambassador Swinnen think of the RPF/NRA?

Ambassador Swinnen refers to the RPF leaders in a recent letter dated October 2021, when Belgian Foreign Minister Sophie Wilmès asked them to discuss the Rusesabagina issue in New York, ^{USA111}*. : Rwanda's ban on talks following provocative allegations of "contempt" that Belgium may be trying to show towards its neighbour Rwanda. Indeed, it is only natural that the Rwandan government should be able to use this type of dialogue in its own way, particularly in the context of a transparent dialogue that aims to be sensible and avoids "conflicts of interest". Even in diplomacy, open and respectful debates can be used to find solutions. (He was born on 15 June 1954 in the commune of Murama, Gitarama. He was the manager of the Hotel Rwanda until 1994. His actions in support of the Tutsi are famous in the 2004 film Hotel Rwanda.

In 2017, he became one of the founders of an unregistered Rwandan opposition party, the MRCD. He was arrested in 2020 in Rwanda for his support of the FLN, the armed wing of the MRCD, and sentenced to 25 years in prison in Kigali after a trial deemed unfair by Human Rights Watch. Unfortunately, President Kagame and his entourage seem out of touch, and this is not the first time this has happened. This is probably one reason why they are not doing so badly. They shy away from contentious arguments, where each side's comments, explanations and misunderstandings are carefully expressed with respect and gentleness. Too often, we accept behaviour that reflects weaknesses in attitudes and values: moderate and arrogant behaviour, rumour-mongering, recriminations and accusations, lies and gossip¹¹²(*) .

¹¹⁰ Rwanda. Reflections on the parliamentary reports of Belgium and France. In *Politique Africaine* 1999/1 (No. 073), pp. 159–176.

¹¹¹Rusesabagina Paul is a Rwandan political opponent who has been imprisoned by the Kigali authorities since 2020. Letter dated October 2021.

¹¹²Ambassador Swinnen in Rwanda 1990-1994: Brussels – Kigali) "Rwanda is too important, certainly for Belgium, to give rise to a sickly convulsive relationship," says former Belgian ambassador Johan A. Swinnen.

In conclusion, for those who love peace, the RPF/NRA war was unnecessary. To the best of my knowledge, I have explored and discovered what scientists and researchers have written, that the war was aimed at exterminating the Rwandans and plundering the wealth of the neighbouring country (Zaire/DRC) and expanding the territory where the Hima/Nilotic Empire would reign supreme.

V.2. The October 1990 RPF/NRA war step by step

23 March 1990: As one of the responses to the famine crisis in the south (famine of 1989), Juvénal Habyarimana sets up the National Agriculture Commission and appoints James Gasana as its chair.

20 June 1990: The La Baule speech, written by Erik Orsenna and delivered by French President François Mitterrand, destabilised Rwanda, even though it was full of good intentions. Another speech was needed because Rwanda was in political turmoil¹¹³ *. *"The intimidation inflicted on France undermines democracy and will solve nothing, either for the benefit of this country or for the reconciliation of the Rwandan people. France must therefore speak out and act, at the risk of being accused – even if unjustly – of having deliberately contributed to the fall of President Juvénal Habyarimana's regime."*

5 July 1990: Statement by President Juvénal Habyarimana on the need for a new multiparty political system¹¹⁴ *.

9 July 1990: Cabinet reshuffle with the entry into government of James Gasana, François Nzabahimana and Augustin Ndirakobuca. Aloys Nsekarije leaves.

The MRND government of 9 July 1990, three months before the war

(17 MRND ministers, including 6 new ones; one Tutsi minister)

- President of the Republic and Minister of National Defence: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)

- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Jean-Marie Vianney MUGEMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)

- Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation: Dr Casimir BIZIMUNGU (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri)

1 September 1990: A group of thirty-three intellectuals publish a manifesto "for multiparty politics and democracy"¹¹⁵ *.

11 September 1990: Elections are held for the cell committee (cell) – the lowest administrative level in the country. For the first time, voting is by secret ballot¹¹⁶ *.

Neither arrogance nor indulgence have any place in this relationship." Sophie Wilmès, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Belga, 28/09/2021.

¹¹³Ndangali C.S. Edition Scribe, 2015. Rwanda: ethnic groups, clans and socio-economic issues. Comparative study of practices under the sacred monarchy and the Rwandan Patriotic Front system.

¹¹⁴ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

¹¹⁵ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, Africa's Great Lakes in crisis, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala.

¹¹⁶ De Lame, Danielle, 1996, Une Colline entre mille ou le calme avant la tempête (One Hill Among a Thousand, or the Calm Before the Storm), Transformations and Blockages in Rural Rwanda, Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa. P.74

18 September 1990: The trial of priest André Sibomana (who was the editor of the bi-monthly newspaper Kinyamateka) and three of his journalists opens in Kigali after the publication of articles denouncing corruption within the government in this newspaper.^{117*}

24 September 1990: Juvénal Habyarimana appoints a National Synthesis Commission (CNS) to draft a first draft of the Constitution^{118 *}.

N.B.: It should be noted that on 25 January 1986, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni seized power in Kampala, Uganda, with his rebel group, the NRA, composed mainly of Rwandan Tutsi refugees. Before becoming combatants, they had secret agreements to overthrow the Kigali government and establish the Hima Tutsi empire. Thus, the secret of Polichner, the secret of this war, lies in Uganda. Listen carefully to Kagame's speech in Rebero-Bwisige in 2003: (in SOS Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel Rwanda 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation)^{119 *}.

V.2.1. The division of Africa in pictures

The era of conquests, appropriation and restructuring (1871-1914)

France and Africa: a deceptive heyday (1914-1945)

¹¹⁷ HRW, 1999: The trial of priest André Sibomana (who was the editor of the bi-monthly Kinyamateka) and three of his journalists opens in Kigali after the publication of articles denouncing corruption within the government in this newspaper. p. 62.

¹¹⁸ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala.

¹¹⁹ SOS Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Autel Rwanda 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation).

The era of decolonisation in question (1945-1962)

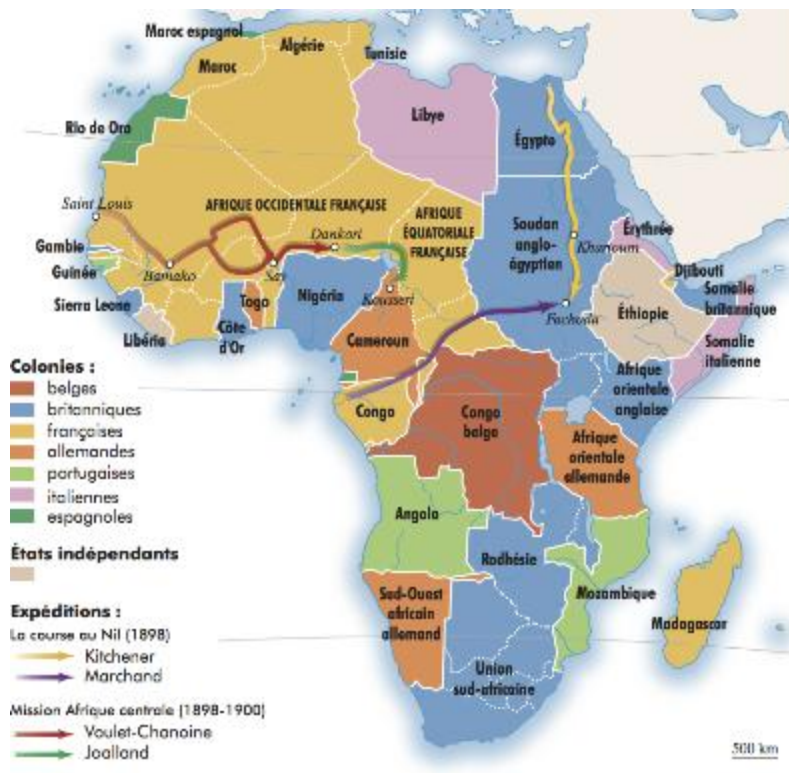


Photo no. 36

The whole world covets the riches of the African Great Lakes region, which include immense mineral resources, petroleum products, forests, water and virgin land that can produce four seasons a year and feed the entire world on its own.

All these resources are mainly found in the DRC Congo. Large-scale massacres and genocides are justified by the clear desire to eliminate the current populations in order to clear the area and gain easy access to these natural resources. They (the imperialists) have used the minority (Museveni and Kagame), their straw men, who kill and drink the blood of their fellow men without remorse, men who were thirsty for power, to conquer territories and pursue an idea of expansionist hegemony. This point is developed in detail in the chapter on "The Homothety of Genocide". One might think that the Paul Kagame and Museveni tandem have ambitions to serve imperialist interests in Africa.

As a reminder, the letter discovered in the archives of the "Uganda-Rwanda-Burundi" conquest confirms this. Here is an excerpt: "The countries of the Great Lakes will become 'The Hima Empire'. Later, the United States of America will place its military base on the territory of Idjwi Island for our protection. The territories of Ben, Lubero, under Ugandan control, Rutshuru, Masisi, Goma, Walikale, Kalehe, Kabare, Idjwi, Walungu, Mwenga, Shabunda under Rwandan control, Uvira, Fizi, up to Moba under Burundian control." *The full letter is in Appendix 2.*

V.2.2. The war in Rwanda must be classified as a geopolitical war

Based on the basic principles developed above, we can understand why the Americans were motivated to support the invaders of the Great Lakes countries and back the Museveni-Kagame oligarchy. The whole world has been aware of global warming or climate change for many years. But in truth, there is a change in "the ENVIRONMENT and within the environment and the universe". The whole world and its contents, its environment and other galaxies are intimately linked. The change on Earth is real and affects us all. To curb these environmental changes, scientists and politicians have organised meetings: climate change summits from 1972 to the present day, and then the change in the global geopolitical map has taken place at least since the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 and 10 November 1989¹²⁰ *.

V.2.3. Changes in the global geopolitical landscape

- The fall of the Berlin Wall: On the night of 9 to 10 November 1989, in front of cameras from around the world, Germans broke down the Wall of Shame that had divided Berlin since 13 August 1961. One of the great symbols of the Cold War had fallen. Its fall was seen as one of the great symbols of the failure of the Eastern Bloc.
- Julius Nyerere, a close friend of Grégoire Kayibanda, never accepted Kayibanda's successor, who was none other than President Habyarimana Juvénal. He was immediately informed of the reshuffle of the Rwandan government.
- Kaguta Yoweri Museveni was a student of Julius Nyerere at the University of Dar es Salaam and later became a minister in Obote's government in 1980. He left the government, joined the NRA rebellion and seized power in Kampala in 1986, joining forces with Rwigyema Gisage and Paul Kagame in a project to repatriate refugees to Rwanda. However, because of the UNAR, he secretly entered Rwanda to restore the monarchy. Thus, the UNAR's agenda conflicts with Museveni's approach, which envisages the creation of the Nilotic Empire/Hima Empire. Noël Ndanyuzwe describes this phenomenon in one of the chapters of his book: "Towards the building of a great Nilotic empire in Africa".¹²¹
- Kagame and Museveni were reportedly eager to seize as much land as possible in Rwanda, which is why Kagame's troops exterminated (= Irimburabanyarwanda) inhabitants in the north

¹²⁰ Wikipedia: 4 Dec. 2018 – COP 21 is the 21st Conference of the Parties (COP) to the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, bringing together 196 parties in 2015.

¹²¹ Noël Ndanyuzwe, *The African World War*, Editions Source du Nil, 2014.

and east of the country to free up land for newcomers from Uganda¹²² FOR A NATIONAL UPRISING AGAINST THE DEPOPULATION AND REPOPULATION OF RWANDA. Message to the Rwandan people, to the peoples of the Great Lakes region of Africa, to the countries and organisations committed to the cause of the millions of Rwandans who have been oppressed and ostracised for 30 years.

- After the Russian-Ukrainian war, there will be a new geopolitical change, and experts are now beginning to shape it.

The 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference, held from 30 November to 12 December 2015 in Le Bourget, France, is both the^{21st}Conference of the Parties (hence the name COP 21) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the 11thconference of the parties serving as the meeting of the parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP 11). Each year, participants at this conference meet to decide on measures to be implemented with the aim of limiting global warming. The COP26 conference is being organised by the United Kingdom in Glasgow. Egypt will host COP 27, the United Nations Climate Change Conference, in 2022. The North African country will hold the conference in the Red Sea resort of Sharm El-Sheikh on 10 November 2022.

V.2.4. A helping hand for the rise and ambitions of the RPF

The United States had a long-standing plan (50-100) to conquer the natural resources of the Congo Basin before the communist sphere of influence took root in the region. Museveni's seizure of power in Uganda and the fall of the Berlin Wall opened the door for the United States. Thus, on 25 January 1986, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni seized power in Kampala, Uganda, with his NRA rebellion, composed of a majority of fighters who were Rwandan Tutsi refugees. Before becoming combatants, they had made secret agreements to overthrow the Kigali government and establish the Hima Tutsi empire. Thus, the open secret, the secret of this war, lies in Uganda. Listen carefully to Kagame's speech in Rebero-Bwisige in 2003: (in SOS Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel Rwanda 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation)¹²³ *. Museveni is the project leader, while Kagame Paul is his protégé, working to build the Nilotic Hima Tutsi empire and serve the interests of the expansionists.

V.2.5. Understanding the Rwandan Patriotic Front

Introduction

1979: Creation of the RANU by Tutsi refugees, which became the RPF in December 1987. Reference is made in Musabyimana¹²⁴ *: - The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) is an offshoot of the "Inyenzi" movement that attacked Rwanda between 1961 and 1967. This movement, made up of members of the UNAR (Rwandan National Union) party in exile, was dominated by the military wing. However, it was unable to achieve any military victories. "After the invasion of 1 October 1990, several NRA officers were found within the command of the Ugandan expeditionary force, which was named the 'Rwandan Patriotic Army' for the occasion:

- The commander of this Rwandan Patriotic Army was Fred Rwigema, then Deputy Minister of Defence of Uganda. After his death on the second day of the invasion (2 October 1990), he was replaced by Paul Kagame, who, as a Ugandan officer (passport, uniform and salary) and

¹²² For a national surge against the depopulation and repopulation of Rwanda pdf 15/08/2024.

¹²³ SOS Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Autel Rwanda 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation).

¹²⁴ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, pp. 68-69.

former head of the country's military intelligence services, had been sent on a training course to the United States three months earlier.

His deputies were unit commanders or heads of departments in the Ugandan army. Without going down to the lowest ranks, it should be noted that, for example, Lieutenant Colonel Waswa was responsible for logistics (G4), while Majors Bunyenyezi and Bayingana commanded brigades in northern Uganda before the attack. They had no difficulty in transporting men and equipment to the south of the country and invading Rwanda on the morning of 1 October 1990.

The early and controversial death of General Fred Rwigema at the start of the war on 2 October 1990 brought to power an officer who adopted a strategy that was unquestionably outside the norm of the major military academies in order to achieve his goal.

- General Kagame, who replaced General Gisage Rwigema, was Museveni's best bet because he embodied the Unionist Party (UNAR).

Thus, in 1965, the young followers of the "Inyenzi" movement, stunned, founded the "Rwanda Liberation Front" (FLR) in Bujumbura. He too was unable to do better. He did not have much support among the refugees at the time either. In the wake of this, the old faction, led by a certain Mudandi who had returned from training in China, also founded the "Rwanda Revolutionary Movement" (MRR) in that country in 1968. This movement was also undermined by splits and embezzlement. It split into several factions, the best known of which was the "Rwanda National Liberation Movement" (RNLM), set up in Kampala, Uganda, by Jean Marie Vianney Karuranga in the early 1970s (...). In 1979, Rwandan refugees in Uganda founded the Rwandese Welfare Foundation (RRWF), legally registered as a cultural organisation. But in reality, it raised funds to finance the war and secretly financed the publication of a newspaper, Inkotanyi, and later The Vanguard. The RRWF often organised fundraising events. Miss Aloysie Inyumba, later Finance Commissioner of the RPF, was co-signatory of the RRWF's accounts. In 1980, the RRWF gave rise to a political movement, the RANU (Rwandese Alliance for National Unity), which operated discreetly in its early days. After Museveni seized power in Uganda in January 1986, it transformed itself in 1987 into a political-military organisation, the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front). Armed struggle as a means of seizing power in Rwanda was adopted at the Rwandan refugee congress held in Washington, USA, from 17 to 20 August 1988.



Photo 37: Yoweri Museveni and US President Ronald Reagan in October 1987 at the White House.

1987: RPF: Rwandan Patriotic Front. Founders: Fred Rwigema, a Tutsi from Gitarama, former Chief of Staff of the Ugandan Army and then Deputy Minister of Defence of Uganda (who died in unclear circumstances in early October 1990 during the RPF attack in northern Rwanda); Paul Kagame – Commander-in-Chief of the APR, Tutsi from Gitarama, former refugee in Uganda, former deputy head of security for the NRA. The Liberal Party, PL/RPF had the Inkotanyi (the relentless) militias and the TP or Tutsi Power. TP is a branch of a secret organisation called "TIP" (Tutsi International Power), whose objective is to create a Hima-Tutsi empire in the Great Graben (Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia, Chad

and Kenya)¹²⁵ *: Ndanyuzwe Noel describes this in the chapter "Towards the building of a great Nilotic empire in Africa" in his book *La Guerre mondiale Africaine (The African World War)*, 2014.

In April 1988, it was necessary to set up a joint commission, i.e. a joint Rwandan-Ugandan ministerial committee on the problem of Rwandan refugees. At the same time, Uganda was preparing to attack Rwanda under the cover of the RPF-Inkotanyi, created on 20 December 1987. President Y. K. Museveni had just paid an official visit (October 1987) to US President Ronald Reagan. An arms sales agreement was concluded in early 1989 with the United States of America, two months after Juvénal Habyarimana's distorted speech. In 1989, Museveni concluded an arms sales agreement with President Reagan. Museveni is the project leader of the imperialists' plan, and the presidents of the region (Paul Kagame, Désiré Kabila, etc.) are his captains in the quest to build the Nilotic Hima Tutsi empire.

15 October 1990: Speech by President Juvénal Habyarimana to warn his people¹²⁶ *. "The enemy that is overwhelming our country, bringing fire and blood, seeks nothing more than to pit us against each other, seeks nothing more than to prove that 17 years of national peace are nothing but a facade and that it would be easy to disrupt the ethnic harmony that reigns in our country. We must avoid falling into this infernal trap at all costs."

30 October 1990: the RPF is driven out of Rwandan territory. It retreats to Uganda and begins guerrilla warfare. On 20 November 1990, President Juvénal Habyarimana meets with President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni at the Rwandan-Ugandan border in Cyanika. During their talks, Habyarimana acknowledged that the Inkotanyi (APR/RPF) war was a problem between Rwandans (a Rwandan-Rwandan problem).

In October 1990, a massacre in the commune of Kibirira killed at least 40 Tutsis, provoking outrage over the Inkotanyi attack.

Museveni promised those who brought him to power that he would in turn bring them to power in Rwanda, while at the same time promising the Banyamulenge (Congolese Tutsi) that they would have their own country, to be called the Republic of Kivu. Kizehe Raphael Verdum, a Munyamulenge, explains this clearly and in detail on Africa TV, parts 1 and 2, interviewed by Professor Rutikanga¹²⁷ *. Kizehe Raphael Verdum was the first Munyamulenge to become a member of the RPF. The war launched from Uganda was partly aimed at honouring his promises, seizing all power in Kigali and serving the interests of the powers that be. The RPF/NRA had established this plan, a scheme to conquer the power held by the Hutu¹²⁸ *, and gained power as its ultimate goal. While the Habyarimana government and its internal political opposition had no such plan and were fumbling in their actions, they were led into the game to the point of using their youth in the genocide prepared by their adversary.

The crux of the matter is the enigma of the Rwandan genocide, the planning of which is hidden from everyone. "The genocide of the Tutsi actually hides multiple genocides in the African

¹²⁵ Ndanyuzwe Noel, "Towards the building of a great Nilotic empire in Africa", in "The African World War". Editions Source du Nil. 2014. p.435 - p.512.

¹²⁶ Shimamungu, E. 2004. Juvénal Habyarimana, the man assassinated on 6 April 1994, Editions Sources du Nil, Lille, p.239.

¹²⁷ Yaganiriye na Fred Rwigema/Umunyamulenge wambere winjiye muri FPR/Part 1 Kizehe Raphael Verdum. Umunyamulenge: Kizehe Raphael Verdum on Africa TV Parts 1 and 2 by Professor Rutikanga State Arizona 16 May 2012 <https://youtu.be/Jt4Pkplg20>

¹²⁸ Inyandiko y'ibanga (ingingo 12) y'umwe mubagiye mu inama itegura guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Juvénal Habyarimana ko yashyikirijwe umuvandimwe we wigishaga igiswahili n'ikinyarwanda mu Rwanda. Ninawe washyize iyinyandiko mu kinyarwanda.

Great Lakes region. The Rwandan genocide (4), the Acholi genocide in Uganda, the Burundian genocide, the Congolese genocide, 'the genocost'. This is what Rugomboka¹²⁹ * calls 'the homothety of genocide' in the African Great Lakes region. There was a genocide of the Fulani people in the African Great Lakes region, clearly planned by the Hutu and Bantu, which differed from the RPF's conception of the Tutsi genocide. Museveni and Kagame succeeded in fulfilling their ambitions to build the Hima Tutsi empire through the imperialists' plan to exploit the resources of the Congo Basin. They are presidents in order to facilitate access to the exploitation of Africa's immense wealth. They are not there by the will of the people. They acquired power through violence, cunning and lies, and they exercise it through terror and oppression.

Kagame in early October 1990

The APR Inkotanyi/NRA attacked Rwanda on 1 October 1990, with the aim of taking the capital, Kigali, within four days. The rebellion was led by General Gisage Rwigema.



Photo no. 38. The Inkotanyi rebels, October 1990

V.2.6. The RPF/NRA war after its defeat on 30 October 1990

On 30 October 1990, the Inkotanyi were expelled from Rwandan territory and sent back to Uganda. They immediately launched a guerrilla war that proved to be very destructive. The guerrilla war led to heavy killings in Byumba, Mutara, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi. The war took place in the former northern region occupied by the Inkotanyi from 1990 to 1992, in addition to the entire buffer zone/demilitarised zone that the Inkotanyi had occupied since 8 February 1993. When they returned to Rulindo, they wanted to reach Kigali. They wanted to go to the negotiations with enough strength to make their will accepted at the negotiations.

10 November 1990: The Presidency of the Republic publishes a message to the nation from His Excellency Major General Habyarimana J., President of the Republic of Rwanda, and , founding president of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, announces a "political aggiornamento"¹³⁰ * concerning, in particular, Rwandan refugees (aggiornamento = adaptation to progress; modernisation, reform): "Fully aware that the fate of Rwandan refugees is the primary responsibility of his people and his Government, as I reiterated in my Policy Speech on 15 January 1989, Rwanda and its government are determined to find a definitive and satisfactory solution to this delicate and tragic problem. It will continue to focus its efforts on the refugees themselves, on neighbouring countries and brother states, and finally on the international community..."

¹²⁹ Genocost.org: since 2013, Congolese civil society has been campaigning for recognition of the term "genocost" to describe the crimes suffered by the people...

¹³⁰ 10 November 1990.

March 1994: Assassination of the Director of the Cyohoha-Rukeli Tea Factory, his deputies and some of their families in the buffer zone in March 1994. A mass grave containing more than 80 bodies was discovered in the tea plantations of Cyohoha-Rukeli in March 1994. Despite the alarming signs that could be seen throughout the country, Finance Minister Marc Rugenera refused to place the order for weapons sent to him by his counterpart in Defence. This can be described as an act of treason.

5 April 1994: Arrival of American marines in Bujumbura and extension of the UNAMIR mandate until 29 July 1994 by Security Council Resolution 909.

V.3. First Genocide/IrimburaBanyarwanda committed by the RPF

Genocide 1: The first genocide committed by the RPF/NRA/Interahamwe infiltrated by the APR took place during this period and in this area occupied since 1990 – 6 April 1994. The area occupied by the Inkotanyi is called the "buffer zone" (areas controlled by the RPF are the buffer zone according to the Arusha Peace Accords)^{131(*)}. This area, called the buffer zone established by the Arusha Peace Accords, was 100% in the hands of the Inkotanyi. Apart from the RPF, none of the other belligerents had been seen in the zone since the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana, who had total control of the country on 5 July 1994. From the map made by Rugomboka, this area can be clearly identified on the "Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda"^{132(*)} ("). Readers of this thesis can identify the sites of genocide and massacres committed entirely by the RPF-Inkotanyi.

V.3.1. The RPF/NRA invasion war, step by step

The invasion war began on 1 October 1990

The first war lasted from 1 October 1990 to 6 April 1994, covering a period of four years, from the N'Selé and Arusha talks to the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana.

V.3.2. War in Rwanda from Uganda

The war in Rwanda from Uganda was led by the imperialists and their employee Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda (Rwanda is considered the ^{fifth} province of Uganda).

It was with astonishment that the Rwandan authorities at the time declared to the Rwandan people, in a broadcast on national radio, that the country had been attacked by surprise and shocked by the influx of military troops from neighbouring Uganda. The war of aggression began on 1 October 1990.

The Inkotanyi of the RPF, a branch of the NRA led by General Fred Gisage Rwigema, crossed the border at Kagitumba in collusion with the Ugandan army led by Kaguta Yoweri Museveni, who heads the NRA and who launched the war against Rwanda. The RPF/NRA soldiers stormed the Namuhemura hideout, bombing and killing a platoon of the Rwandan army guarding the Kagitumba border, consisting of about 35 soldiers. Only one soldier survived the attack and managed to relay the information to the Rwandan General Staff. The battle was led by General Gisage Rwigema.

¹³¹ Republic of Rwanda: Agreements between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front on the Return and Resettlement of War Displaced Persons to their Property and on the Administration of the Demilitarised Zone. Signed in Kinyira on 30 May 1993.

¹³² Rugomboka J.D. June 2020. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe June 2020.

The actual large-scale fighting took place on 2 October 1990 in Matimba and Nyabwishongwezi, but the exact number of casualties on the battlefield is unknown. However, the battle did not go in his favour on that day, **2 October 1990**, as he died in unclear circumstances. General Gisage Rwigema was then Deputy Minister of Defence of Uganda. This means that he was a Ugandan in Ugandan uniform, with a Ugandan passport, and that he was paid by Uganda. The attackers came under the name of the "Rwandan Patriotic Front" army, the Inkotanyi, and he was from the Ugandan army, the "National Resistance Army of Uganda". They had left or deserted the army of another country, which meant that they had Ugandan nationality ¹³³ *.

V.3.3. The October 1990 war following the invasion by the Ugandan army known as the RPF: *important dates*

1 October 1990: Rwanda is attacked by the Rwandan Patriotic Front army and the Ugandan National Resistance army¹³⁴ * and¹³⁵ *. Neretse provides the following details: "Propaganda claimed that the attackers numbered no more than a few hundred men. However, estimates based on conclusions drawn from military intelligence techniques put the total number of invasion forces at 10,000 men. This figure includes the forces that attacked on the front line, but also the logistical support and reserves that could be deployed at any time, in particular combatants who had been instructed to remain in their units of the NRA (Ugandan Regular Army) while awaiting their possible transfer to the RPF. The Rwandan Army had 5,000 men. With the gendarmerie and reservists who could be mobilised, the government forces barely reached 8,000 men. S. Desouter describes the October war as an 'invasion', saying: 'The invasion was an external aggression in violation of the international conventions of the UN and the OAU. The 1990-1994 war that broke out in Rwanda has always been unfairly described by the international community as a civil war, i.e. an internal conflict between two Rwandan parties. This prevented the Habyarimana government from proving that this invasion from Uganda, involving Ugandan military elements, was not a 'simple' civil war. "

President Yoweri Museveni met with President Bush at the United Nations General Assembly on the day of the attack, 1 October 1990. At the same time that Rwanda was under attack, Museveni continued to receive American support and American weapons.

2 October 1990: Death of Fred Gisage Rwigema in unclear circumstances¹³⁶ *. "The commander of this Rwandan Patriotic Army was Fred Rwigema, then Deputy Minister of Defence of Uganda. After his death on the second day of the invasion (2 October 1990), he was replaced by Paul Kagame, who, as a Ugandan officer (passport and uniform) and former head of the country's military intelligence services, had been sent to the United States for training three months earlier."

October 1990: Massacres of Tutsis in the district of Kibilira after the RPF attack (Gisenyi). (Around ten people were killed and those responsible were punished).

¹³³ Neretse E. 2010, Source du Nil Publishing. Rise and Fall of the Rwandan Armed Forces - The RPF-Inkotanyi/NRA alliance attacks Rwanda on 1 October 1990.

¹³⁴ Neretse E. 2010, Source du Nil Publishing. The Rise and Fall of the Rwandan Armed Forces - The RPF-Inkotanyi/NRA alliance attacks Rwanda on 1 October 1990.

¹³⁵ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

¹³⁶ Neretse E. 2010, Source du Nil Publishing. The Rise and Fall of the Rwandan Armed Forces.

2 October 1990: President Juvénal Habyarimana is in New York, where he is attending the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly. He calls French President François Mitterrand to request French intervention in Rwanda^{137*}.

3 October 1990: Rwandan Foreign Minister Casimir Bizimungu, visiting France, meets with Jean-Christophe Mitterrand, head of the French Presidency's Africa team, and Jacques Pelletier, French Minister for (International) Cooperation, and reiterates Rwanda's request for French intervention. That same evening, Admiral Jacques Lanxade, Chief of Staff to the French President, receives orders from François Mitterrand to deploy a company from the Second Foreign Paratrooper Regiment (REP) to Kigali; this regiment had been pre-positioned in the Central African Republic^{138(*)}. Operation Noroît is launched.

2-6 October 1990: the imprisonment of around 6,000 people, mainly Tutsis, accused of "collaborating with the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Alleging that there had been an attack in Kigali, the authorities arrested 6,000 suspects (accomplices of the RPF)^{139*}.

4 October 1990: 150 legionnaires from the 4th Company of the French Army's 2nd REP left Bangui and landed in Kigali. Four hundred Belgian paratroopers were sent from Brussels (as part of Operation Green Beans). The French and Belgian forces had neutral status and were officially present in Rwanda to protect foreigners and embassies^{140*}.

7 October 1990: The Rwandan Armed Forces halt this first RPF offensive and counterattack.

8 October 1990: The RPF/NRA massacred more than 500 civilians living in the combat zones in the north-east of the country. It made a mirror accusation and blamed the Rwandan Armed Forces.^{141*} and^{142*}.

10 October 1990: Gabiro is recaptured with the decisive support of 500 Zairean soldiers, but they are so undisciplined that Juvénal Habyarimana asks them to return to their country^{143*}.

23 October 1990: A march in support of the President of Rwanda and the Government Forces is organised in Kigali^{144*}. During a clash with the FAR, the RPF lost 300 of its men, including two high-ranking officers^{145*}. (Kuperman, 2004: 71).

October 1990: The Union of the Rwandan People (UPR) was founded by businessman Silas Majyambere in Brussels. He joined forces with Emmanuel Twagilimana and Joseph Ndahimana. Majyambere, as party president, signed a collaboration agreement with the RPF, which had attacked Rwanda. However, his members, who disagreed with the RPF's military option, tried to force him to resign, but without success. The party disappeared because its president refused to break with the RPF's ideological line.

¹³⁷ Lanotte,; 2007, Olivier, 2007, *France in Rwanda (1990-1994), between impossible abstention and ambivalent engagement*, Brussels: PIE Peter Lang..P. 139

¹³⁸ Lanotte,; 2007: 141; Reyntjens, 1994: 93 Olivier, 2007, *France in Rwanda (1990-1994), between impossible abstention and ambivalent engagement*, Brussels: PIE Peter Lang. p.141

¹³⁹ Rugomboka J.D. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. 20 June 2020.

¹⁴⁰ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala. p. 93

¹⁴¹ Munyarugerero, François-Xavier, 2003, *Networks, Powers, Oppositions, Political Competition in Rwanda*, L'Harmattan. p. 239

¹⁴² Reyntjens, Filip, 1994. *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi : 1988-1994*, : Karthala. *p. 93

¹⁴³ Bertrand, Jordane. 2000, *Rwanda, Le Piège de l'histoire, l'opposition démocratique avant le génocide (1990–1994)*. Karthala. P.263

¹⁴⁴ Kuperman, Alan J., 2004, "Provoking Genocide: A Revised History of the Rwandan Patriotic Front," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6: 61-84.

¹⁴⁵ Kuperman, Alan J., 2004, "Provoking Genocide: A Revised History of the Rwandan Patriotic Front," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6: 61-84.

V.3.4. Launch of a guerrilla war by the RPF/NRA after its defeat in October 1990

On 30 October 1990, the RPF was driven out of Rwandan territory. It retreated to Uganda and began guerrilla warfare.

On 20 November 1990, President Juvénal Habyarimana met with President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni at the Rwandan-Ugandan border in Cyanika. During their talks, Habyarimana acknowledged that the Inkotanyi War (APR/RPF) was a problem between Rwandans (a Rwandan-Rwandan problem). President Felix Tshisekedi of the DRC will avoid the mistake made by President J. Habyarimana and break this cycle of lies. Indeed, the **M23** had been driven out of the Republic of Congo in 2013, only to repeat the same scenario as the Inkotanyi in October 1990. They had been expelled from Rwandan territory and sent back to Uganda. From then on, they immediately launched a guerrilla war, which proved to be very destructive.

1 November 1990: Belgian troops withdraw from Rwanda. The French contingent remains stationed in Kigali^{146*}.

13 November 1990: Rwandans are authorised to form "political movements"^{147*}.

20 November 1990: the war machine was set in motion, with guerrilla forces carrying out massacres along the northern border of the country. On page 49 of his book, Ntilikina F. discusses ethnic massacres and the exodus of 300,000 Burundians to Rwanda, as well as tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi, tensions that had already been apparent since the start of the war in^{1990148(*)}.

December 1990: Start of the adjustment programme in agreement with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

December 1990: *The Ten Commandments of the Hutu* (also known as the "Ten Commandments of the Muhutu" or "Ten Commandments of the Bahutu") (see Appendix 3) is a document published in the newspaper *Kangura* in December 1990. The magazine *Kangura*, edited by Hassan Ngeze, published the "Ten Commandments of the Muhutu." The magazine was founded in 1989 by Valens Kajeguhakwa and written in Kinyarwanda and French while the RPF was retreating to Uganda after murdering around 100 Rwandan civilians in the commune of Kivuye (Byumba prefecture)^{149*}.

28 December 1990: The CNS presents its draft National Political Charter^{150*}.

1991

January 1991: The RPF launches guerrilla operations in the prefectures of Ruhengeri and Byumba, carrying out a spectacular raid on the town of Ruhengeri^{151*} on 22-23 January 1991^{152*} to free 1,780 prisoners from the high-security prison in Ruhengeri. "This operation had more

¹⁴⁶ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994. *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise*, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. P.93

¹⁴⁷ Bertrand, Jordane. 2000, Rwanda, Le piège de l'histoire, l'opposition démocratique avant le génocide (1990-1994) (Rwanda, The Trap of History, the Democratic Opposition before the Genocide (1990-1994)). Karthala. P.265.

¹⁴⁸ Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that remain unpunished. (February 2014. ^{2nd}revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil.

¹⁴⁹ Wikipedia.

¹⁵⁰ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995: *Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)*: University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P 507

¹⁵¹ Neretse E. 2010, Editions Sources du Nil. Grandeur and Decadence of the Rwandan Armed Forces.

¹⁵² Human Rights Watch, Alison Des Forges (ed.), 1999, *No Witnesses Left Standing, The Genocide in Rwanda*, Karthala.

of a political than a military effect, as the RPF was driven out of Ruhengeri less than 24 hours after its incursion. However, it had managed to open the notorious special prison in Ruhengeri and had succeeded in bringing with it a few prisoners who would serve it politically. These prisoners were released and taken to Uganda to swell the ranks of the RPF, notably: Major Théoneste Lizinde, Commander Stanislas Biseruka, and Captain Donat Muvunanyambo. However, they would meet different fates: Captain Muvunanyambo was executed (officially killed in action at Mutara in 1992) on the orders of Kagame, who did not tolerate his "audacity". After the conquest of the country, Major Lizinde, who had since been promoted to colonel, served for a time as a member of the Transitional National Assembly before going into exile in Kenya. It was there that he was shot dead in 1996, in all likelihood by a commando sent by Kagame.

22 January 1991: Opponents of the MRND (mostly Tutsis) are assassinated in the prefectures of Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibuye and Byumba¹⁵³ *.

V.3.5. The raid on the town of Ruhengeri: 23 January 1991

On 23 January 1991, the date of the invasion of the town of Ruhengeri, and in April 1991, the RPF massacred several hundred Hutus in the communes of Kinigi 116 and Nkuli 150. While the attack was aimed at freeing prisoners, the RPF killed around a hundred peasants whom they surprised in their sleep on their way back to Uganda. Rwandans remember the incessant attacks on the Rwebare displacement camp in the commune of Muvumba in 1991. Home to around 6,000 people, this camp recorded daily deaths and injuries caused by Katyusha rocket fragments or 120 mm mortar shells¹⁵⁴ *.

Admiral Lanxade raises the question of the 185 French nationals surrounded in Ruhengeri: "at a meeting at the Élysée Palace on 23 January 1991, regarding this attack on Ruhengeri." There are 100 French soldiers involved in this action. We let the Rwandans try to drive out the rebels and we recover our nationals¹⁵⁵ *? François Mitterrand replied: "We cannot limit our presence. We are on the edge of the English-speaking front. Uganda must not be allowed to do whatever it wants. We must tell President Museveni that it is not normal for the Tutsi minority to impose its will on the majority¹⁵⁶ *." (cf. Archives of the Presidency of the French Republic.)

V.3.6. Area conquered by the APR-RPF in February 1993 (Zone A)

Demilitarised Zone Kinyinya Agreements 30 May 1993 (Zone A + 15 km wide) = Zone B; Buffer Zone Arusha Peace Agreements 4 August 1993 (Zone A + B) = Zone C (photo no. 33). Zone A+B+C, visible in photo no. 33, was used by the APR/NRA to infiltrate large quantities of weapons and military personnel from the APR and NRA. MINUAR was unable to exercise proper control, or turned a blind eye by colluding with Museveni and Kagame because, along with General Dallaire, they knew each other very well from the time of the GOMN. This zone was a country within a country, conquered before the attack. The government had no control over it. The buffer zone was therefore used to store weapons during the peace agreement negotiations, a strategy devised by Museveni, as it was the same strategy he had used during the capture of Kampala.

¹⁵³ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995: *Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)*: University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P 507

¹⁵⁴ Neretse E. 2010, Source du Nil Publishing. Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs. Edition Mille et une nuit, department of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005. Pages 19-21.

¹⁵⁶ Archive of the Presidency of the Republic. In Pierre Péan. Black Fury, White Lies Rwanda 199-1994. Page 85.

25 January 1991: In retaliation for the RPF attack on Ruhengeri, the municipal authorities attacked the Bagogwe, a group of Tutsi cattle herders from northern Rwanda. In Mukingo, several men were killed...¹⁵⁷ *. It should be noted that during the same month of January 1991, the RPF killed 350 people in Sinabyaye (between the Gahinga and Muhabura volcanoes)¹⁵⁸ *.

1991: Foundation of Radio Muhabura. On its airwaves, this RPF radio station sowed hatred among Rwandans, but it was exempted from prosecution during the ICTR trials.

27 January 1991 in Kinigi: Mayor Thaddée Gasana took thirty people of Bagogwe descent to the communal crossroads and had them executed¹⁵⁹ *. This mayor was in turn executed by the RPF on 19 February 1991 among 300 civilians on the outskirts of Ruhengeri.

30 January 1991: François Mitterrand informs Juvénal Habyarimana that he wishes to make the maintenance of the Noroît framework conditional on the resolution of the existing crisis in Rwanda¹⁶⁰ *.

1 February 1991: The first two trials of the "accomplices" of the Inkotanyi, arrested in October 1991, are those of thirteen peasants from north-eastern Rwanda and twelve intellectuals (including four Hutus). In the end, eight death sentences are handed down¹⁶¹ *.

2 February 1991: Attacks against the Bagogwe spread to the prefecture of Gisenyi.

4 February 1991: A new MRND government is formed under pressure from conservatives¹⁶² *. The monthly magazine Kangura had accused the six ministers who had previously resigned of being accomplices of the RPF.

MRND government of 4 February 1991 (17 MRND ministers, including 6 new ones; 2 Tutsi ministers)

- President of the Republic and Minister of National Defence: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)

- Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation: Dr Casimir BIZIMUNGU (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri).

- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Faustin MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali)

- Minister to the Presidency of the Republic in charge of Defence and National Security: Colonel Augustin NDINDILYIMANA (no party, Hutu, Butare).

19 February 1991: The RPF executed 300 civilians in the towns of Kinigi and Kigombe on the outskirts of Ruhengeri.

In March 1991: The RPF attacked a Rwandan refugee camp in Tanzania, killing a dozen people.

¹⁵⁷ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995: *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)): University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P 508.

¹⁵⁸ Rugomboka J.D. La "Carte des sites du génocide et des massacres au Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020.

¹⁵⁹ The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights is one of two human rights protection bodies of the Organisation of American States, 1993. The other is the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Its headquarters are in Washington. IACHR, p. 31.

¹⁶⁰ Lanotte, Olivier, 2007, France in Rwanda (1990-1994), between impossible abstention and ambivalent engagement, Brussels: PIE Peter Lang.

¹⁶¹ *Dialogue* no. 146 May-June 1991. p.94

¹⁶² Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995 *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)): University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala

During the same year, 1991, the APR carried out attacks using anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, time bombs and booby-trapped grenades, killing dozens of people. More than 50 attacks were recorded. Members of the MRND and CDR parties were also purged from the buffer zone. Intercepted RPF messages relating to these massacres, as well as the mass grave of more than 80 bodies discovered in this area, reveal the RPF's hatred of the MRND and CDR parties.

March 1991: The 6,000 people are released. The majority of them are Tutsis accused of being "collaborators or accomplices" of the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

V.4. Start of direct negotiations with the RPF, armed with guerrilla terrorism.

March 1991: Signing of the N'Sele ceasefire agreement in Zaire, an agreement between the RPF rebellion and the Rwandan government . (Rwandan government represented by Dr Casimir Bizimungu)^{163*}.

15 March 1991: The French Ambassador to Rwanda, Georges Martres, informs Juvénal Habyarimana that the French Presidency has decided to make a DAMI (detachment of military assistance and training troops) of thirty men available to the Rwandan authorities. It was called DAMI-Panda and was initially supposed to remain in place for four months, but in fact remained in Rwanda until December 1993. This deployment was not publicised by the French political and military authorities, nor by their Rwandan counterparts^{164 *}.

29 March 1991: A ceasefire is signed between the RPF and the FAR in N'Selé, Zaire. Most of the 6,000 Tutsi and Hutu civilians imprisoned since October 1990 on suspicion of complicity are released¹⁶⁵ . The new Mouvement Démocratique Républicain or MDR (Democratic Republican Movement) was created following an appeal in the newspaper *Le Démocrate* by 237 political opponents for the "revival and renewal of the MDR"^{166 *}.

On 29 March 1991, *in N'selé*, Major General Paul Kagame came to negotiate the ceasefire agreements, which he would never respect.

On that day, 29 March, as today, but in 1991, the N'selé Agreement was signed between the Rwandan government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front, with President Mobutu acting as mediator.

It was four months earlier (on 22 November 1990), in Goma, that Zaire first convened the delegations of the two warring parties in the Rwandan conflict at the negotiating table. The negotiations lasted four years until the RPF seized total power. This was the strategy of Museveni, the real master of the game. Kaguta Museveni's speech of lies delivered to the people of Butare in 1987, three years before invading Rwanda (in Appendix 8), the letter addressed to future generations (in Appendix 7) and the letter discovered (in Appendix 2) clearly show Kaguta Museveni's active involvement in the hidden game of balkanisation and expansionism in the DRC and that this is a long-term project bequeathed to future generations. The strategy he has been using since entering politics in the 1970s consists of "lulling his opponents into a

¹⁶³ Job KAKULE Via www.babunga.alobi.cd [History] 29 March 1991: signing of the Nselé Agreement between the Rwandan government and the RPF (the Rwandan government was represented by Dr Casimir Bizimungu). 29 March 2021 08:55

¹⁶⁴ Lanotte, Olivier, 2007, *France in Rwanda (1990-1994), between impossible abstention and ambivalent engagement*, Brussels: PIE Peter Lang. Pages 144-148

¹⁶⁵ Guishaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)), University of Science and

¹⁶⁶ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala. 106.

false sense of security with endless negotiations, while he seeks to position himself advantageously and gain time to prepare for the final battle. This is exactly the same game he played before taking power in Kampala in 1986."

A month before that (on 1 October), while Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana were in New York, around 100 RPF fighters launched their first historic offensive on Rwandan territory, attacking the Kagitumba post before reaching Gabiro (90 km from Kigali). This attack contradicted Kaguta Museveni's speech (see Appendix 8).

After this first round of negotiations in November 1990 in Goma, Zaire again summoned the two belligerents to Brussels (Belgium) in December 1990. The Rwandan government delegation was composed of Shamukiga Charles (Luxembourg Consul in Rwanda), André Katarwa (Rwandan Ambassador to Rome), Father Mahame (Superior of the Jesuits in Rwanda) and Pastor Musabe (Deputy Director of the African Continental Bank-Rwanda). The RPF delegation consisted of Jacques Bihozagara, Patrick Mazimpaka, Pastor Bizimungu and Jean Barahinyura.

A ^{third} round of negotiations was held in Dar-Es-Salaam (Tanzania) in February 1991, before an agreement was signed on 29 March 1991 in N'selé (a suburb of Kinshasa, capital of the DRC). The N'selé Agreement established a ceasefire between the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front. On the Rwandan government side, it was signed by . Dr Casimir Bizimungu (then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rwanda) and on the RPF side by Pastor Bizimungu (then RPF Documentation Commissioner) and Major General Paul Kagame (then Military Chief of the Rwandan Patriotic Front). The two warring parties were invited back to the negotiating table and the Agreement was amended in Gbadolite (Zaire) on 16 September 1991 and in Arusha (Tanzania) on 12 July 1992. Unfortunately, the N'selé Agreement was broken the following day when the RPF resumed hostilities. The pause was not intended to end the war, but to allow for thorough preparation for the next stage.



Photo no. 39

The N'selé Agreement was one of the few official documents signed by Paul Kagame. Subsequently, he pulled the strings from behind the scenes, preferring to delegate to Pasteur Bizimungu or Alexis Kanyarengwe. Via www.babunga.alobi.cd

Creation of independent parties: 1991-1992: Democratic Party, PPJR-RAMA RWANDA, RTD, UDPR. PPJR-RAMA RWANDA, Progressive Party of Rwandan Youth. RTD: Labour Rally for Democracy.

In March 1991, the RPF attacked a Rwandan refugee camp in Tanzania, killing a dozen people. Its aim was to blame the killings on the Habyarimana regime.

28 April 1991: the MRND's extraordinary national congress accepted a multi-party system. The party changed its name to the National Republican Movement for Development and Democracy, but kept the acronym MRND (instead of adopting MRNDD). National Republican Movement for Development and Democracy. The addition of the terms "Republican" and "Democracy" was an attempt to borrow a little more from the MDR's heritage, while retaining the originality of the MRND.

10 June 1991: The new Constitution establishing a multiparty system is adopted. A constitutional amendment allowing for a multiparty system¹⁶⁷ *: the Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR), the Parti Social-Démocrate (PSD), the Parti Libéral (PL) and the Parti Démocrate-Chrétien (PDC).

30 June – 6 July 1991: The RPF organises several incursions into the Ruhengeri and Byumba regions¹⁶⁸ *.

Early June: Massacres of young schoolchildren, with more than 100 schoolchildren killed in the buffer zone in the Kinyinyi region. MINUAR did not condemn these massacres committed by the RPF/NRA. No legal action was taken against them.

5 July 1991: Founding congress of the renewed MRND and its approval as a political party.

July 1991: MRND: National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (President: Mathieu Ndirumutse, Hutu, Kigali). The party's youth wing: Interahamwe.

July 1991: MDR: Democratic Republican Movement (the party's youth wing: Inkuba: The Thunderbolts). The split in the MDR into two factions organised around Dismas Nsengiyaremye (First Vice-President) and Faustin Twagiramungu (President) resulted from the clause in the Arusha Accords providing for the appointment of the Prime Minister before their signature.

The MDR militias (young Republican democrats) are the Inkuba (the thunderbolts), whose structure was formalised in July 1992. Leader: Bernardin Ndashimye (Hutu, Gitarama).

July 1991: PL (Liberal Party (July 1991), President: Justin Mugenzi (Hutu, Kibungo); First Vice-President: Landoald Ndasingwa (Tutsi, Kigali). Within the PL, a split identical to that of the MDR developed, leading to a real split between its two main leaders, a split that was also ethnic in nature.

The PL/RPF had militias called Inkotanyi (the relentless ones) and TP or Tutsi Power. TP is a branch of a secret organisation called "TIP" (Tutsi International Power), whose goal is to create a Hima-Tutsi empire in the Great Graben (Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia, Chad and Kenya).

July 1991: PSD: Social Democratic Party, President: Frédéric Nzamurambaho (Hutu, Gikongoro). Secretary General of the PSD Party, Félicien Gatabazi (Hutu, Butare), was assassinated by the RPF on 21 February 1994. (The party's youth wing: Abakombozi: The Liberators).

July 1991: PDC: Christian Democratic Party, President: Jean Népomuscène Nayinzira (Hutu, Gisenyi).

¹⁶⁷ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *Africa's Great Lakes in Crisis, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala. 108.

¹⁶⁸ Dialogue No. 148: page 89.

18 August 1991: PSR: Rwandan Socialist Party, President: Médard Rutijanwa (Tutsi, Kigali), probably assassinated by a member of the presidential guard. He was also co-founder of the "Forum for Peace and Democracy" founded on 31 May 1993.

31 July 1991: The MDR-PSD-PDC cartel was formalised and extended to include the PL. These four parties created a "Committee for Consultation among Democratic Political Parties"^{169*} and^{170 *}.

5 August 1991: The RPF attacked the commune of Muvumba, in the Mutara region. They set fire to eight vans and a trader's lorry, but there were no casualties^{171 *} and^{172 *}.

10 October 1991: J. Habyarimana appointed Dr S. Nsanzimana as Prime Minister. 13 October 1991: Sylvestre Nsanzimana, the MRND-affiliated Minister of Justice, was appointed Prime Minister, a position created especially for him. He attempted to form a new government^{173 *} and^{174*}.

7 November 1991: RTD: Labour Rally for Democracy.

7 November 1991: Tutsi families are attacked at night in the commune of Murambi in the sub-prefecture of Kinihira. Operation carried out by the RPF and attributed to members of the MRND. One person was killed and dozens injured in these attacks^{175 *}.

17 November 1991: The first demonstration by the political opposition in Rwanda is authorised: 10,000 people march on Kigali^{176 *} and^{177 *}.

24 November 1991: In response to the demonstration on 17 November, 20,000 MRND supporters demonstrate in Kigali against the organisation of a national conference.

30 November 1991: During the night, the RPF attacks the Rwebare camp for displaced persons (Muvumba commune) and its 7,000 inhabitants. Nineteen people are killed according to official figures^{178 *}.

30 November 1991: PECO: Ecological Party.

30 November 1991: PDI: Party for Islamic Democracy. (Party for Islamist Democracy) was founded on 30/11/1991 with Omar Hamidou as president and André Bumaya as coordinator. The PDI changed its name when the RPF came to power. In order to avoid any reference to Islam, the party adopted the name "Ideal Democratic Party". Its members held key positions from July 1994 onwards: André Bumaya was Minister of Foreign Affairs, while Musa Fazil Harelimana was Minister of Internal Security and also party president.

¹⁶⁹ (+Dialogue, No. 149, 85).

¹⁷⁰ Archive of the Presidency of the Republic. In Pierre Pean. Black Fury, White Lies: Rwanda 1990-1994. Page 85.

¹⁷¹ Guichaua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)), University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. p.508

¹⁷² Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise* (The Great Lakes Region of Africa in Crisis), Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 184.

¹⁷³ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *Africa's Great Lakes in Crisis*, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 184

¹⁷⁴ GUICHAOUA, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)), University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. p.508

¹⁷⁵ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise*, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. P. 184

¹⁷⁶ Guichaua, André (ed.), 1995, *Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)*, University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. p. 508. The RPF attacked the commune of Muvumba, in the Mutara region. They set fire to eight vans and a trader's lorry, but there were no casualties.

¹⁷⁷ REYNTJENS, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise*, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. P. 184

¹⁷⁸ Journal Dialogue, Feb. 1992, No. 151. P.45.

1 December 1991: A communiqué from the FAR Military Operations Directorate broadcast on the radio accuses the RPF of using newspapers and political parties to "sow discontent among the population and incite them to revolt against the then government."¹⁷⁹ *. In the middle of the night on 1 December 1991, the commune of Muvumba in Byumba Prefecture was stormed in a raid that literally set it on fire. All the makeshift houses were burned down. The attack resulted in the deaths of 19 poor war refugees and 34 wounded. A week later, still in the commune of Muvumba, the RPF attacked the Nyarurama health centre, killing six nurses and several patients. Subsequently, there were numerous kidnappings and raids on refugee camps.¹⁸⁰ *.

7 December 1991: During the night, the RPF stormed a Catholic *clinic* located on a hill near Father Giancarlo Bucchianeri's church in Nyarurema, Kiyombe commune¹⁸¹ * and¹⁸² *.

10 December 1991: The RPF attacked refugees at Rushaki High School. There were no casualties¹⁸³ *, but the school was ransacked. The school's equipment was taken to Uganda.

12 December 1991: The RPF attacks Kizinga (Kiyombe commune) and kills seventeen Rwandan soldiers¹⁸⁴ *.

18 December 1991: The RPF launches an attack on Gatunda, killing twenty-five civilians¹⁸⁵ *.

29 December 1991: UDPR, Union démocratique du peuple rwandais (Democratic Union of the Rwandan People). It was chaired by Vincent Rwabukwisi, editor-in-chief of the pro-RPF magazine Kanguka. Its vice-chairman was Sylvestre Nkubiri, a journalist at Kinyamateka, and its secretary was Jean Pierre Mugabe, owner of the newspaper Le tribun du peuple. After July 1994, the party was reactivated and became part of the Forum of Political Parties. It is chaired by Gonzague Rwigema. Its motto is "unity, democracy, justice and progress".

At the end of 1991, the Rwandan Patriotic Front held on to a strip of land along the Ugandan border, following the general alignment of the communes of Butaro, Kivuye, Cyumba, Kiyombe, Mukarange and Muvumba. It remained there as a warlord until the RPF/NRA took complete power.

30 December 1991: formation of the Sylvestre Nsanzimana government (17 MRND + 1PDC).

¹⁷⁹ Journal Dialogue, Feb. 1992, no. 151. P.45. Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that have gone unpunished. (February 2014.^{2nd} revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil, pp. 41-42.

¹⁸⁰ Ntilikina F. February 2014. Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Ibid. pages 41-42.

¹⁸² Journal Dialogue, Feb. 1992, No. 151. P.44,

¹⁸³ Judi Rever, Rwanda. In Praise of Blood. 2018. The Crimes of the Patriotic Front. Random House of...

¹⁸⁴ Journal Dialogue, Feb. 1992, no. 151. p. 44

¹⁸⁵ Journal Dialogue, Feb. 1992. Ibid.



Photo no. 40

31 December 1991: Dr Nsanzimana forms his government , James Gasana is reappointed as Minister of Agriculture, Livestock and the Environment.

1st So-called "multi-party" government of 31 December 1991

(17 ministers: 15 MRND, 1 PDC, 1 "non-party" military officer, including 7 new ministers; 2 Tutsi ministers) - (appointed on 13 October 1991, the Prime Minister spent several weeks negotiating a possible opening to opposition parties before finally resigning).

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- *(he resigned for the first time from the post of Minister of National Defence, which he had held since 1965)*
- Prime Minister: Sylvestre NSANZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gikongoro), appointed on 13 October 1991
- Minister of Foreign Affairs: Dr Casimir BIZIMUNGU (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri)
- Minister of National Defence: Colonel Augustin NDINDILYIMANA (independent, Hutu, Butare)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Faustin MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali)

31 December 1991: MFBP: Movement of Women and the Common People.

- During the same year, 1991, the APR carried out attacks using anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, time bombs and booby-trapped grenades, killing dozens of people. More than 50 attacks were recorded.

At the end of 1991, the Rwandan Patriotic Front held on to a strip of land along the Ugandan border, following the general alignment of the communes of Butaro, Kivuye, Cyumba, Kiyombe, Mukarange and Muvumba. During its stay or passage, the loss of human life was considerable. This is recognised as genocide in this document because the majority of those killed were Hutu, killed with the aim of reducing the population and occupying the land cleared of its former occupants.

30 December 1991: A new government is formed, led by Sylvestre Nsanzimana. With the exception of one minister affiliated with the PDC, the entire government was composed of members of the MRND¹⁸⁶ *. The parties of the Concertation Committee express their mistrust of this new government and ask their members to intensify recruitment.

1992

¹⁸⁶ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994: *Africa's Great Lakes in Crisis Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*: Karthala. pp. 110-111.

January 1992: Demonstrations by opposition political parties hampered the actions of S. Nsanzimana's government.

20 January 1992: PADER: Rwandan Democratic Party.

20 January 1992: PARERWA: Republican Party of Rwanda.

January 1992: Meeting between Presidents Habyarimana and Museveni in Arusha, facilitated by German parliamentarian Rudolf Decker of the Prayer Breakfast.

Late January 1992: J. Habyarimana is invited to attend the large Prayer Breakfast gathering in Washington. He does not go, but sends James Gasana in his place. President Habyarimana did not attend because he saw it as a trap to force him into exile. His absence from this prayer meeting marks the first step in the breakdown of relations between Habyarimana and the United States. Since then, the Clinton administration has continued on its ill-fated path to remove him from power and finally establish an oligarchy that controls and keeps the people passive by preventing them from forming bonds with each other, because then they could rely on their solidarity (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) to regain the power they lost in 1994. Which might be fair.

4 January 1992: Young people from the MRND Interahamwe, opposed to a multi-party system, organise a march in Kigali to support the Nsanzimana government¹⁸⁷ *.

8 January 1992: In Kigali, between 60,000 and 100,000 people (according to the organisers) attend a demonstration organised by the Consultation Committee (MDR, PL, PSD and PSR) opposed to the new Nsanzimana government¹⁸⁸ *. Clashes broke out between demonstrators and the police *(Bertrand, 2000: 265).

11 January 1992: Another opposition demonstration takes place in Butare¹⁸⁹ *.

15 January 1992: The FAR and the RPF engage in armed conflict in the communes of Muvumba, Kiyombe and Butaro¹⁹⁰ *. In Kigali, the prefect bans an opposition demonstration. The PSD withdraws its support for the opposition movement and is excluded from the Consultation Committee. The police disperse the demonstrators and injure several of them. The PDC threatens to leave the government if it is not open to all opposition groups before the end of January¹⁹¹ *.

January 1992: Demonstrations by opposition political parties hamper the actions of S. Nsanzimana's government.

First half of 1992: The RPF continued its harassment operations during the first half of 1992, but the FAR effectively contained it. Ntilikina F., a privileged witness, describes it as follows: "For the inhabitants of Byumba and for some members of the opposition, the deadly attack carried out exclusively on civilian populations is an eloquent warning. During this attack, several socio-political authorities and traders were murdered, and many peasants were deported. More than 300,000 other inhabitants of the affected communes swelled the ranks of the displaced persons camps, which now form a continuous line along the contact line, from the commune of Cyeru in Ruhengeri Prefecture to the commune of Muvumba in Byumba

¹⁸⁷Bertrand, Jordane, 2000: Rwanda, The Trap of History, the Democratic Opposition before the Genocide (1990-1994), Karthala. p. 265.

¹⁸⁸ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: Africa's Great Lakes in Crisis: Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. 111

¹⁸⁹ Bertrand, Jordane, 2000: Rwanda, Le Piège de l'histoire, l'opposition démocratique avant le génocide (1990-1994) (Rwanda, The Trap of History: The Democratic Opposition Before the Genocide (1990-1994)), Karthala. P.265

¹⁹⁰ Dialogue, no. 152. P. 53,

¹⁹¹ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: Africa's Great Lakes in Crisis: Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. 111.

Prefecture. Once this attempt to force a passage was over, negotiations resumed and a ceasefire came into effect on 31 July¹⁹²192(*)).

3 February 1992: Lieutenant-Colonel Chollet, who commanded DAMI-Panda, was appointed advisor to the President of Rwanda and Chief of Staff of the FAR. He effectively became the operational commander of the Rwandan army. When he left this post in March 1992, his duties were divided between two different positions. Lieutenant-Colonel Jean-Louis Nabias took command of DAMI, while Lieutenant-Colonel Maurin became the senior adviser to the RAF¹⁹³ *.

11 February 1992: Resumption of negotiations between the MRND and opposition parties¹⁹⁴ *.

March 1992: The Rwandan Ministry of Defence purchases a stockpile of weapons and ammunition from Egypt (450 Kalashnikovs, 2,000 rockets, etc.) for US\$6 million¹⁹⁵ *.

7 March 1992: PD: Democratic Party initiated.

9 March 1992: A Colas company truck explodes on a landmine in Kigali; there are no casualties¹⁹⁶ *.

10 March 1992: After the distribution of a leaflet announcing the assassination of some twenty Hutu notables, several massacres are organised in the Bugesera region (in the communes of Kanzenze, Ngenda and Gashora), but also in the communes of Mbogo (Kigali), Sake (Kibungo) and Kivumu (Kibuye). Hundreds of Tutsis and members of opposition parties were killed and their homes burned down, and nearly 15,000 people were displaced¹⁹⁷ *. A state of siege was declared in the communes of Kanzenze and Gashora¹⁹⁸ *. Antonia Locatelli, an Italian volunteer living in Bugesera, was murdered during these massacres, which she had condemned. Five people were killed in Kibilira¹⁹⁹ *.

13 March 1992: The opposition parties (the MDR, the PL, the PSD, the MRND and the PDC) publish a seven-point memorandum of understanding including peace negotiations, the settlement of the refugee problem and the organisation of general elections²⁰⁰ *.

20 March 1992: A bomb explodes on a minibus at the Kigali bus station, killing one person²⁰¹ *.

¹⁹² Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that have gone unpunished. (February 2014. 2nd revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil pages 41-42.

¹⁹³ Human Rights Watch. 199. (HRW, 1999). P.118,

¹⁹⁴ Journal Dialogue, No. 154: 56). P.56

¹⁹⁵ Journal Dialogue, no. 154: 56). P.56

¹⁹⁶ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994 (The Great Lakes region of Africa in crisis: Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994), Karthala. 111.

¹⁹⁷ The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights is one of two human rights protection bodies within the Organisation of American States, 1993. The other is the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Its headquarters are in Washington. IACHR, p.19.

¹⁹⁸ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* [Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)]: University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. p. 509

¹⁹⁹ Journal Dialogue, no. 154. p.56

²⁰⁰ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* [Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)]: University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P.509

²⁰¹ Journal Dialogue, no. 154. p. 56

23 March 1992: Creation of the CDR (Coalition for the Defence of the Republic) party. President: Martin Bucyana, Hutu, Cyangugu – assassinated in Butare on 23 February 1994, replaced by Théoneste Nahimana, Hutu, Gisenyi).

2 April 1992: Dismas Nsengiyarmye (MDR) was appointed Prime Minister²⁰² *. The youth wing of the MDR was called Inkuba, that of the PSD was called Abakombozi, and that of the PL was called Jeunesse du PL. All the youth contributed to broadening the political base of their political movement.

7 April 1992 (protocol) for a multiparty transitional government comprising the MRND and four opposition parties (MDR, PL, PSD and PDC) with an opposition prime minister. It was following this protocol that Prime Ministers Dismas Nsengiyaremye and Agathe Uwilingiyimana were successively inaugurated in April 1992 and July 1993. These political groups maintain youth wings, respectively: Interahamwe of the MRND (Those who fight together), (President: Robert Kajuga, Tutsi, Kibungo). This structure was created in 1991. The party's youth wing: Impuzamugambi of the CDR (Those Who Have the Same Goal), President: Stanislas Simbizi, Hutu, Gisenyi. Impuzamugambi was created in 1993. Numerous political groups, often explicitly encouraged, contributed to broadening the political base of the presidential movement.

16 April 1992: formation of the first multi-party government with an opposition Prime Minister (Dismas Nsengiyaremye). The first transitional government is established. The MRND still controlled nine of its nineteen ministries²⁰³ *.

22 April 1992: J. Habyarimana retired from the FAR in order to remain president of the MRND. He relinquished his powers as head of the army in order to be nominated as a candidate in the next presidential election.

25 April 1992: A bomb explodes at the Kigali bus station²⁰⁴ *.

27 April 1992: Ferdinand Nahimana is dismissed from his position as director of ORINFOR (Rwandan Information Office)²⁰⁵ *.

1 May 1992: A van carrying around 40 people explodes near the Ruhango shopping centre, killing seven people²⁰⁶ *.

8 May 1992: Around 20 individuals armed with hand grenades, machetes and clubs went to the home of Agathe Uwilingiyimana, the Rwandan Minister of Education, and violently beat her²⁰⁷ *.

14 May 1992: During the night, the RPF attacks Vumage Island in the Rugenzi swamps, killing 18 people²⁰⁸ *.

May 1992: J. Habyarimana is re-elected president of the MRND.

25 May 1992: First meeting between delegations from the multiparty government and the RPF in Entebbe, Uganda.

²⁰² Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala, p. 112

²⁰³ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994: *Idem*.

²⁰⁴ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)): University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P.510

²⁰⁵ Guichaoua, André, (ed.), 1995. *Idem*.

²⁰⁶ Dialogue, no. 156. 56. p. 56,

²⁰⁷ Dialogue, no. 156. p. 57

²⁰⁸ Dialogue, no. 156. p. 54

28 May to 2 June 1992: - The meeting between the opposition parties MDR, PSD and PL and the RPF took place from 28 May to 2 June 1992 in Brussels in the Belgian Parliament building and resulted in a joint communiqué. The meeting between the opposition parties MDR, PSD and PL took place in the Belgian Parliament building and resulted in a joint communiqué calling for the defeat of their common enemy, the "Habyarimana system".²⁰⁹ *: Ngirabatware recounts in his book that: *"The meeting between the opposition parties MDR, PSD and PL and the RPF took place from 28 May to 2 June 1992 in Brussels in the Belgian Parliament building and was sanctioned by a joint communiqué. This stated that the two parties had agreed to join forces to destroy the 'Habyarimana system'. 'It was not surprising that Belgium was in favour of the new union because, towards the end of the 1980s, it seemed as if the Belgian federal government was tired of President Habyarimana's long reign but was unable to make this clear to him. The La Baule movement was born and the one-party system was widely detested."*

In the same context²¹⁰ *, Desouter states, and I quote: "The Belgian government sponsored a meeting between the RPF and the FDC parties in Brussels. The meeting, which took place in late May and early June 1992 in Brussels, in the Belgian parliament building, was sanctioned by a communiqué stating that the two parties had agreed to join forces. It seems like a dream: a democratic European country invites foreign opposition parties together with an armed militia to overthrow the government of a friendly country. And this in its own parliament! In reality, Belgium was dealing with Rwanda's political affairs from its position as a coloniser ruling Rwanda as if the country did not or should not enjoy its independence. It circumvented the ongoing Arusha negotiations to sow discord in Rwanda in the absence of a peacekeeper. The participants are traitors to the Rwandan people, given the disastrous results that Rwanda is experiencing 30 years later.

29 May 1992: Twenty people are killed and 30 wounded during a military mutiny in Ruhengeri, Gisenyi and Kibuye, which breaks out after the Prime Minister announces that troops are to be demobilised and employed in draining the marshes²¹¹ *.

30 May 1992: Mutiny by the 64th battalion of the RAF in Gisenyi; ten people are killed and 70 million francs are stolen from shopkeepers²¹² *.

2 June 1992: Agreement on partnership/collaboration between the internal opposition/adversary and the RPF in Brussels. 2 June 1992: Agreement on partnership/collaboration between the internal opposition/adversary and the RPF in Brussels. *Here, there is interference and betrayal at the same time, putting the noose around one's neck and calling the hunter to come and take his prey. This is called Hutité. A backwards intelligence, in Kinyarwanda guheka umwana macuri. Carry the child on your back with its head down and feet up. The chicks of a hen befriend the short-toed eagle or the kagoma eagle.*

5 June 1992: The RPF attacks the town of Byumba, but they are unable to hold it. Over the following days, the RPF murders 39 civilians in the Cyondo and Gatalima sectors of the Kiyombe commune²¹³ *. The RPF attempts to take the town of Byumba, attacking it with the aim of killing as many of its inhabitants as possible.

²⁰⁹ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: The celebration of lies and injustice.

²¹⁰ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

²¹¹ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (The Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)): University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P.510.

²¹² The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights is one of two human rights protection bodies of the Organisation of American States, 1993. The other is the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Its headquarters are in Washington. IACHR, p.61.

²¹³ Journal Dialogue, No. 157. p. 47.

6 June 1992: In Byumba, the RAF mutinies after the RPF withdraws from the area²¹⁴ *.

In June 1992, during the attack on Byumba, the RPF army killed thousands of innocent civilians. The number of war refugees reached 350,000, of whom more than 50 died every day from hunger or disease.

8 June 1992: Agreement between the Rwandan government and the RPF in Paris on direct negotiations.

10 June 1992: France sent reinforcements from the Eighth Marine Parachute Infantry Regiment (RIPMA) to support the RAF, which was overwhelmed in Byumba²¹⁵ *.

11 June 1992: Laurent Serubuga, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, and Rwagafilita, one of the Chiefs of Staff of the Gendarmerie, are forced into retirement, along with many other senior officers who have reached the age limit²¹⁶ *.

12 June 1992: The Rwandan franc is devalued for the second time, losing 17.6% of its value.

12 July 1992: Ceasefire agreement in Arusha between the Rwandan government and the RPF. With this attempt to force a solution over, negotiations resume and a ceasefire comes into effect on 31 July 1992. Negotiations resume and a ceasefire comes into effect on 31 July 1992.²¹⁷ *.

18 July 1992: PRD: Party for Democratic Renewal.

1992: Creation of the Democratic Forces for Change (FDC), an alliance formed by the MDR, PSD, PL, PDC and PSR parties, which aimed to combine their efforts to fight politically against the MRND party²¹⁸ *. The following is a brief description of Musabyimana: "The FDC signed a collaboration pact with the RPF at a meeting held in Brussels from 29 May to 3 June 1992. This collaboration was not well received by public opinion. People wondered how these parties could ally themselves with the RPF, which was attacking the country from Uganda. A fringe group of MDR activists disapproved of this move, which smacked of treachery. This was the starting point for the schisms that later appeared in the MDR and PL parties. The parties present at the Brussels meeting were represented by Faustin Twagiramungu and Thaddée Bagaragaza for the MDR, Théoneste Gafaranga and Thomas Kabeja for the PSD, Justin Mugenzi and Venantie Kabageni for the PL, and Alexis Kanyarengwe for the RPF.

18 August 1992: The government and the RPF sign the memorandum of understanding on the rule of law in Arusha.

August 1992: Neutral military observers (GOMN) are deployed under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity to supervise compliance with the ceasefire.

26 August 1992: An amendment is added to the special military assistance agreement of 18 July 1975 between France and Rwanda – which originally concerned only the gendarmerie – extending it to the entire Rwandan Armed Forces.

²¹⁴ The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights is one of two human rights protection bodies within the Organisation of American States, 1993. The other is the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Its headquarters are in Washington. IACHR, p.61.

²¹⁵ Braud, Pierre-Antoine, 2005, L'Ordre de la violence, ordre politique, historicité des violences et gestion des conflits au Rwanda et au Burundi dans les années 1990 (The Order of Violence, Political Order, Historicity of Violence and Conflict Management in Rwanda and Burundi in the 1990s), PhD thesis, Institut d'Études Politiques. p. 365

²¹⁶ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 118

²¹⁷ Human Rights Watch 1999. p. 117.

²¹⁸ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, p. 66.

In September 1992, the RPF attacks the town of Nyabwishongwezi in Mutara and massacres thousands of Hutus, causing an exodus of several hundred war refugees.

17 September 1992: The president's chief of staff wrote a letter requesting the recall to Kigali of the government delegation to the Arusha negotiations²¹⁹ *.

21 September 1992: The police shoot a member of the PSD at point-blank range in Kigali. Colonel Déogratias Nsabimana sends his subordinates a memorandum revealing the conclusions of a commission set up in December 1991, composed of ten officers tasked with "defining the enemy". This commission had explicitly designated the Rwandan Tutsis as the main enemy "inside and outside" the country²²⁰ *.

18 October 1992: Straton Byabagamba, president of the PL for the commune of Kanombe, is assassinated by members of the CDR²²¹ *. The CDR and the Interahamwe organise a joint march against the Nsenyiremye government and the Arusha talks.

19 October 1992: The Rwandan Ministry of Defence purchases a stockpile of weapons and ammunition (20,000 R-4 rifles, 20,000 hand grenades, etc.) from South Africa for a total of US\$5.9 million²²² *.

21 October 1992: During the night, soldiers from the Kanombe camp near Kigali mutiny²²³ *.

26 October 1992: In Kigali, the MRND organises a march in support of the RAF. In a statement broadcast on the radio, President Habyarimana expresses his support for the Arusha Accords²²⁴ *.

30 October 1992: The government and the RPF sign a memorandum of understanding in Arusha on the organisation of democratic institutions. The Rwandan government, represented by President Juvénal Habyarimana, signed the Arusha Peace Accords and believed in them. However, the Rwandan Patriotic Front, represented by Kanyarengwe Alexis, but in reality by Kagame Paul, did not believe in them, as it continued its preparations for war and did not respect the law. The Rwandan government respected and believed in the peace agreements that had been concluded, while the RPF, for its part, was maliciously preparing for war. It is an organisation that does not respect the law and rights, even though it signed the agreement. 30 October 1992: The first part of the power-sharing agreement is signed in Arusha²²⁵ *.

15 November 1992: MRND meeting in Ruhengeri, during which the President of the Republic said that the peace being negotiated in Arusha was not just on paper but was the way in which the agreement was being implemented. The opposition twisted the president's words.²²⁶ *.

22 November 1992: Revolutionary speech by Léon Mugesera. In Kabaya (in the prefecture of Gisenyi), Léon Mugesera (vice-president of the MRND for the prefecture of Gisenyi and civil servant at the Ministry of Family and Women's Promotion) called for the Tutsis to be sent back

²¹⁹ Bertrand, Jordane, 2000, Rwanda, The Trap of History, the Democratic Opposition before the Genocide (1990-1994): Karthala. p. 267.

²²⁰ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p. 78,

²²¹ Dialogue, no. 161. p.56,

²²² Human Rights Watch, 1999. 118

²²³ Dialogue, no. 161. p.56,

²²⁴ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: Africa's Great Lakes in crisis Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 118

²²⁵ Bertrand, Jordane, 2000, Rwanda, The Trap of History, the Democratic Opposition before the Genocide (1990-1994): Karthala. p. 267.

²²⁶ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: Africa's Great Lakes in Crisis: Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 309

to Ethiopia via the Nyabarongo River (hence the famous "Hamitic hypothesis " or "Hamitic theory" claimed that the Tutsi originated in Ethiopia)²²⁷ *.

29 November 1992: Assassination of Canadian brother (by the RPF) (FIC) François Cardinal, former Professor at Inyemeramihigo College in Gisenyi, one of the Brothers of Christian Instruction (or Brothers of Christian Instruction, a lay Catholic order) is assassinated in Kigali by a commando of six people, two of whom were wearing RPF military uniforms.

30 November 1992: Unable to arrest Léon Mugesera after his speech on 22 November, Stanislas Mbonampeka, Minister of Justice, resigns. He will not be replaced until July 1993²²⁸ *.

22 December 1992: Meeting between Presidents Habyarimana and Museveni and their families in Bujumbura, facilitated by members of the Prayer Breakfast.

24 December 1992: The Kigali Night discotheque is the target of a bomb attack²²⁹ *.

31 December 1992: Youth movements affiliated with the MRNDD and CDR block the main roads leading to Kigali for the day²³⁰ *.

1993

January 1993: Demonstration against the Arusha Protocol on power sharing between the RPF rebels and the Rwandan government. The Rwandan government had shown its willingness to reach out to the RPF, but it had not engaged the RPF's intelligence enough to know of its intention to stage a coup and bury the Arusha Peace Accords. The Rwandan people protested because they wanted a referendum before the agreements were implemented. The people had not had a say in these agreements. On 6 April 1994, the RPF finally violated these agreements and buried them, thus cutting short the hopes of those who thought otherwise.

7-21 January 1993: International Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Violations with Jean Carbonara, who would become personal advisor to the President of the Republic and Paul Kagame after the RPF took power²³¹ *.

9 January 1993: The government and the RPF sign the memorandum of understanding on power sharing in Arusha. The second part of the memorandum on power sharing, including the establishment of a transition timetable, is signed in Arusha.

January 1993: Protests continue against the Arusha Protocol on power sharing between the RPF rebels and the Rwandan government.

End of January 1993: Juvénal Habyarimana appoints James Gasana to lead the government delegation to the peace negotiations in Arusha, replacing Boniface Ngulinzira.

21-26 January 1993: In northern Rwanda, the RPF massacres the Bagogwe and blames the MRND and CDR for these massacres in order to discredit these two political movements in the north of the country.

²²⁷ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: Africa's Great Lakes in Crisis: Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 11

²²⁸ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: Africa's Great Lakes in crisis Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 120

²²⁹ Journal Dialogue, no. 163: 42). p. 42

²³⁰ Journal Dialogue, no. 163: 42). P.42

²³¹ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: Africa's Great Lakes in crisis Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 120

25 January 1993: In an official speech, Juvénal Habyarimana denounces the agreements that have just been signed in Arusha²³² *.

8 February 1993: The RPF launches a widespread and deadly offensive against Hutu civilians in the prefectures of Ruhengeri and Byumba, resulting in the massacre of tens of thousands of Hutu civilians. Panic causes a massive exodus to the south (around Kigali). The aim of this attack was to start negotiations from a position of strength. Or so they said! But the reality was quite different, as would be proven after the negotiations. The real motive was to seize power by force.

In 1993, there were nearly one million Rwandans displaced in camps around Kigali. These displaced persons were subjected to insults from a certain group of people, a kind of mockery. They were among the first victims of the APR/NRA attack after the terrorist act on President Juvénal Habyarimana's aircraft.

Major Ntilikina, an eyewitness, described the attack as follows: "Six months later, on 8 February 1993, while negotiations were still ongoing in Arusha, the RPF launched a large-scale surprise offensive. This time, the political aim of the offensive was to enforce its demands on power sharing. The incursion penetrated deep into territory initially controlled by the FAR. In Ruhengeri Prefecture, RPF troops crossed the border and rushed towards the city, bypassing government forces' positions. They occupied part of the city of Ruhengeri for three days. In the same region, the RPF advanced deep into the sub-prefecture of Kirambo and occupied the road junction at Base (read Bassée) near Kigali. Opposite Kigali, it occupied the Tumba commune plateau and pushed its advance line to the Rulindo-Base asphalt road, which it kept under fire, forcing the FAR to set up their defence line on the Tare-Rulindo-Mbogo alignment²³³ *.

8 February 1993: Moreover, according to Radio Muhabura, the resumption of hostilities on 8 February 1993 was "a punitive expedition by the RPF against the Hutus after the massacre of the Bagogwe of Tutsi ethnic origin". However, our investigations have revealed that it was the RPF's expeditions that triggered the massacres of the Bagogwe in order to blame them on the Habyarimana regime and find alibis to present to national and international human rights defenders, ultimately to win their sympathy and support in the pursuit of the war that it was to win according to its initial plan.

9 February 1993: In response to the RPF offensive, 150 men were sent to reinforce French troops in Rwanda as part of Operation *Noroît*²³⁴ *.

When the town of Ruhengeri was liberated on 11 February 1993, it was time to take stock. Several prefectural officials who had been surprised in their homes were killed. The long list includes: François Barengayabo, Vice-President of the Ruhengeri Court of Appeal, Jean Bosco Munyaneza, deputy public prosecutor at the Ruhengeri Court of Appeal, and his three sons, Thaddée Gasana, mayor of the commune of Kinigi, Rukasi, civil engineer, and Mr Elasto Ntuyenabo, trader in Ruhengeri and Kigali. Other people were either killed where they had gathered in search of safe places or abducted from their homes and taken to places where they were tortured before being massacred. But the horror was revealed when the FAR recaptured Nyamagumba and the land north of the Ruhengeri-Gisenyi road on the Rwebeya River side. I was there as commander of the Huye commando battalion, part of which had taken part in the

²³² Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala. p. 192-309

²³³ Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that remain unpunished. (February 2014. 2nd revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil, pages 43-45.

²³⁴ Lanote, Olivier, 2007, *France in Rwanda (1990-1994), between impossible abstention and ambivalent engagement*, Brussels: PIE Peter Lang. P.144.

counter-offensive. In the dense banana plantation, dotted here and there with tall stalks of maize and sorghum, each small property concealed at least one corpse, sometimes several, bearing witness to the extermination of families and villages. Women and men of all ages had been indiscriminately killed with knives. And as if death alone were not enough, almost all the bodies bore signs of mutilation (smashed skulls, decapitated or disembowelled bodies), suggesting the torture they had suffered before being killed. Brand new MDR party membership cards were carefully placed on the bodies. MRND party cards were torn up and thrown into the fields or onto the paths, separately from the corpses. At least 400 bodies were discovered in this way within less than three kilometres of the Ruhengeri Public Prosecutor's Office, heading north²³⁵ *.

How many were brutally murdered along the rest of the road leading to the edge of the Volcanoes Forest north of the town of Ruhengeri? How many were killed or abducted in the communes of Nkumba and Kidaho and in the entirely occupied sub-prefecture of Kirambo? No one can say exactly how many victims there were of these atrocities. Wherever the soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Front passed in February 1993, there were the same scenes of horror, killings, mass abductions and population displacement.

Also in February 1993, macabre discoveries and numerous eyewitness accounts continued to add to the human toll of the offensive of 8 February 1993. Not far from the town of Ruhengeri, the bodies of 22 students killed by grenades after being rounded up were found at the Musanze School of Science on 11 February 1993. In Kidaho, at least 1,500 people gathered in the courtyard of the communal office for a pseudo-administrative meeting were also machine-gunned on 11 February 1993 by RPF soldiers.

They were buried by their colleagues who had been spared for the duration of the chore before being killed in turn. Similar cases of massacres were reported in the trading centre of Base in Nyamugali commune and in Nyarutovu commune²³⁶ *. 20 February 1993: The APR is in Rulindo, 30 km from Kigali. As the RPF advances towards Kigali, a second detachment of French reinforcements, named Detachment Chimère and composed of 250 additional men, is tasked with providing operational assistance to the RAF. This intervention is known as Operation Birunga/Virunga.

19 February 1993: The first genocide committed by the RPF is denounced by officials at the National University of Rwanda, Butare campus, Rwanda, Africa, in the following terms: "Since the violation of the ceasefire by the combatants of the Rwandan Patriotic Front Inkotanyi, we have been helplessly witnessing the genocide of thousands of innocent civilians in the prefectures of Ruhengeri and Byumba, with estimates of 40,200 victims distributed as follows: **Ruhengeri**: Kinigi 3,000 people; Kigombe 900 people; Nkumba 3,500 people; Kidaho 5,000 people; Butaro 7,000 people; Cyeru 2,500 people; Nyamugari 2,500 people; **Byumba**: Tumba 2,000 people, Kivuye 1,700 people; Muvumba 3,000 people; Cyumba 1,500 people; Cyungo 900 people; Kiyombe 700 people. **Ngarama sub-prefecture**: 6,000 people.

22 February-28 March 1993: Reinforcement of Noroît by the French operation known as "Chimère".

²³⁵ Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies.

²³⁶ Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies.

25 February to 3 March 1993: Meeting of opposition parties in Brussels (MDR, PL, PSD and PDC) and the RPF; the MRND is not invited. (For more details, see Desouter S. 2007²³⁷ * and²³⁸ *).

25 February to 3 March 1993: Meeting between opposition parties (MDR, PL, PSD and PDC) and the RPF; the MRND boycotts the meeting.

26 February 1993: The RPF offensive, reinforced by the NRA, on the town of Ruhengeri, in the Base, Byumba and Ngarama region between 8 and 26 February 1993 was characterised by the systematic massacre of Hutu civilians (farmers, civil servants, teachers, businessmen and students). More than 40,000 deaths were recorded and the number of war refugees reached 1,000,000 (AJPR: "Rwanda, l'autre face du génocide" [Rwanda, the other side of the genocide], p. 25)²³⁹ *. Across the entire front, war refugees were the primary targets of this offensive. The surprise effect of the operation also allowed the RPF to trap an entire area whose inhabitants, overwhelmed by the fighting, suffered horrific treatment far from any witnesses.

February 1993. In Ruhengeri Prefecture, RPF troops literally march over the inhabitants of the communes of Kinigi, Nkumba, and Kigombe. The peasants who escaped the carnage, headed for the communes of Mukingo and Nyakinama. Those who were overwhelmed headed east towards Kidaho and Nkumba, where they were killed or used for harvesting crops in the occupied zone.

²⁴⁰28 February 1993: Marcel Debarge, the French Minister for Cooperation, visits Kigali and calls for the creation of a "Hutu common front" in the Rwandan Democratic Republic*.

2 March 1993: In Kigali, President Habyarimana convenes the MRND, the CDR, seven of the ten small parties created since 1991 and representatives of the four major opposition parties.

7 March 1993: The government and the RPF sign a new political ceasefire agreement in Dar es Salaam. It comes into force on 15 March. On the same day, 7 March 1993. Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye established a secret agreement with the RPF, notably concerning the departure of French troops, without the knowledge of his government, his political party or even the President of the Republic. This agreement concerned, in particular, the departure of French troops. They were not directly involved in the fighting, but they provided instructions. They were a deterrent and very necessary to constrain the foreign army that had entered Rwandan soil. It was a treacherous agreement because the other leaders of the political parties, not even the head of state, knew anything about this irresponsible political commitment.

10 March 1993: Security Council Resolution 812 on the proposed intervention force. Photos of the carnage and horrors committed by the RPF in the Ruhengeri region arrived in Kigali and were broadcast and commented on by the national television station. The offensive was clearly aimed at sowing confusion among the domestic opposition parties and causing maximum damage among the civilian population. (See UN Resolution 812 at reference²⁴¹ *.)

When the truce was signed in March 1993, more than half a million people, some of whom had been displaced for the ^{umpteenth} time, found themselves in makeshift shelters ironically called

²³⁷ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

²³⁸ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: The celebration of lies and injustice.

²³⁹ AJPR: "Rwanda, the other side of the genocide", p. 25,

²⁴⁰ Human Rights Watch. 199. p. 136

²⁴¹ mdrwi.org. http://www.mdrwi.org/doc/resolutions_onu/resolutions_on.htm. UN Resolutions on Rwanda - mdrwi.org. UN Resolutions on Rwanda.

"armoured" in the vicinity of Nyacyonga, a huge camp located less than 15 kilometres from the capital Kigali²⁴² *.

10 March 1993: To demonstrate its good intentions, the Rwandan government, represented by James Gasana, invited the RPF and they signed the Kinihira Agreement creating the demilitarised zone on 30 May 1993. This zone consisted of a 15 km strip behind the area conquered by the RPF and between government forces. This buffer zone comprised two northern prefectures (Byumba and Ruhengeri) (*see map* ^{no.} 43 below).

On 15 March 1993, the Inkotanyi partially withdrew from the demilitarised zone. Returning to their land, the peasants discovered numerous mass graves in Ngarama, Ruhengeri, Kidaho, Tumba and Rukore. It was a scene of desolation: their possessions had been methodically taken to Uganda, and the proceeds from their sale would be used to finance the war effort. The Arusha negotiations on power sharing, and in particular on the integration of 23,000 RPF soldiers into the army, resumed on 17 March 1993.

17 March 1993: In an opening speech at a meeting with senior FAR officers, Juvénal Habyarimana declares that the Arusha Accords will be put to a referendum before they are implemented. Believing that such a statement constitutes a threat to the peace negotiations, James Gasana blocks the broadcast of the relevant passage on Radio Rwanda.

17 March 1993: The MDR, PSD, PDC and PL parties, in coalition with the RPF, publish a memorandum (*downloadable*) on President Habyarimana's recent statements.

30 March 1993: Juvénal Habyarimana resigned as president of the MRND but remained the party's candidate in the presidential elections.

7 April 1993: The Governing Council appoints 35 mayors, mainly from the MRND and MDR.

8 April 1993: Foundation of Radiotélévision Libre des Milles Collines.

14 April 1993: The Akazu attempts to negotiate with the leaders of the PSD party for support in removing James Gasana from the government, offering in exchange to hand over MINADEF to M.F. Ngango of the PSD²⁴³ *.

15 April 1993: Akazu and their close allies lack the support of the MRND to remove James Gasana from the government. It has been proven at the ICTR that Akazu was created by the opposition to discredit President Juvénal Habyarimana and his political party, the MRND²⁴⁴ *.

16 April 1993: Dr Nsengiyaremye's government is reappointed/renewed for a period of three months.

19 April 1993: A bomb explodes in the Butare market, injuring around 20 people.²⁴⁵ *.

22 April 1993: A bomb explodes at the central post office in Kigali, injuring 15 people.²⁴⁶ *.

13 May 1993: Mathieu Ndirumpatse becomes president of the MRND.

²⁴² UN. UNITED NATIONS Security Council RESOLUTION 812 (1993) Distr. GENERAL S/RES/812 (1993) 12 March 1993. At the time of the negotiations, the government side did not wish to reveal the divisions that had arisen within its camp.

²⁴³ Gasana J. Kwizera. From Party-State to Garrison State, 2002. Editions-Harmattan.

²⁴⁴ Gasana J. Kwizera. *ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Journal Dialogue, No. 167: p. 54.

²⁴⁶ Journal Dialogue, no. 167: p.54

18 May 1993: Assassination of Emmanuel Gapyisi, member of the MDR political bureau and founding president of the Forum for Democracy against the seizure of power by force, who opposed Juvénal Habyarimana as the future presidential candidate. Emmanuel Gapyisi, one of President Grégoire Kayibanda's sons-in-law, led the MDR in the prefecture of Gikongoro. In addition, he was the initiator of the Peace and Democracy Forum, which aimed to unite all opponents of both the RPF and Juvénal Habyarimana. Both Emmanuel Gapyisi and Juvénal Habyarimana were assassinated by the ^{RPF247(*)}and^{248 *}.

Emmanuel Gapyisi Member of the Political Bureau of the MDR



Photo no. 41

23 May 1993: The APR/RPF seizes Kigali airport.

30 May 1993: The government, represented by James Gasana, and the RPF sign the Kinyinya Agreement creating the demilitarised zone. Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front on the return and resettlement of war-displaced persons to their property and on the administration of the demilitarised zone, signed in Kinyinya on 30 May 1993.

¹June 1993: Victory of FRODEBU in Burundi; Melchior Ndadaye (a Hutu) is elected President of the Republic of Burundi ^{249 *}.

3-4 June 1993: The MRND National Congress is held and elects Mr. Mathieu Ndirumutse as party president to replace J. Habyarimana; the Congress passes a motion condemning ethnic and regional discrimination.

9 June 1993: The protocol on the repatriation of refugees and the resettlement of displaced persons is signed in Arusha^{250 *} and^{251 *}.

Melchior Ndadaye, President of Burundi, elected in June 1993 and assassinated during a coup d'état on 21 October 1993 in Bujumbura.

²⁴⁷ Journal Dialogue, No. 167: p.54

²⁴⁸ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p. 137

²⁴⁹ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 121

²⁵⁰ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994: L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994, Karthala. p. 121

²⁵¹ Reyntiens, Filip, 1994. Ibid. p. 310



Photo no. 42: Melchior Ndadaye, President of Burundi

Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda

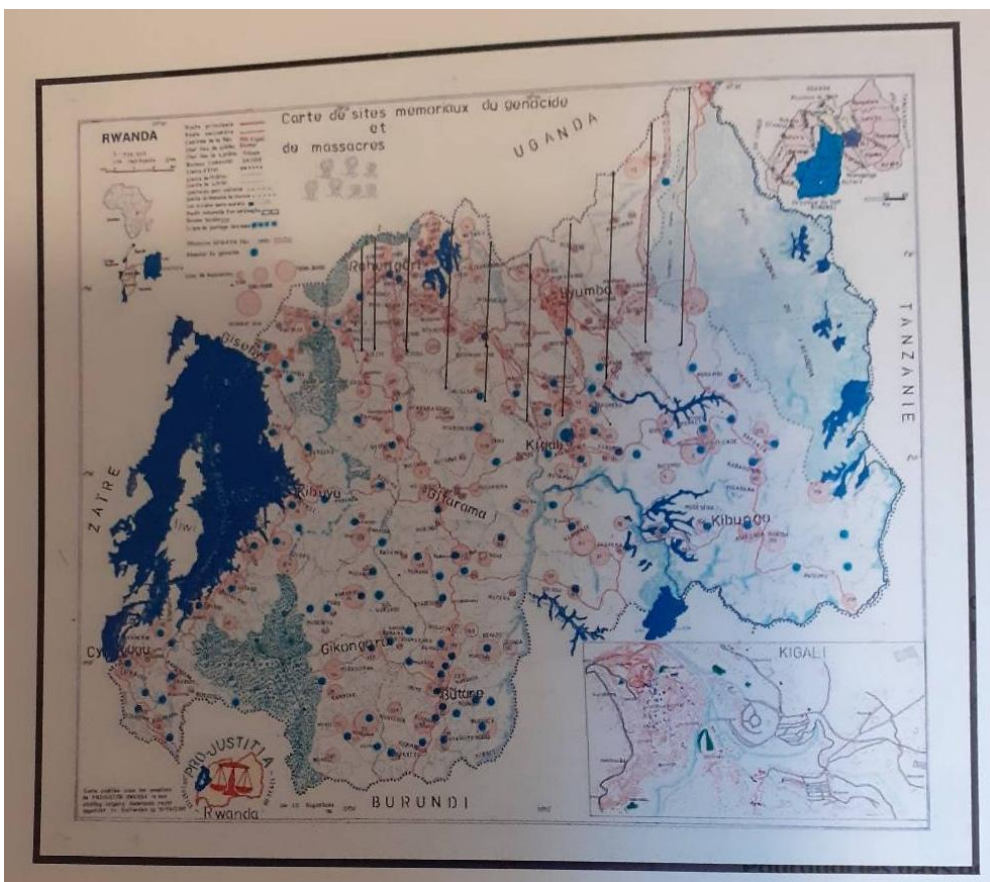


Photo no. 43: Map of genocide and massacre sites, J.D. Rugomboka, June 2020

22 June 1993: United Nations Security Council Resolution 846 to establish the United Nations Uganda-Rwanda Observation Mission (MONUOR) to monitor the movement of troops and military equipment at the border between Rwanda and Uganda. Despite this mission, rebels, weapons and ammunition entered the country in sufficient numbers to seize power in such a short time. There was *depopulation of certain Hutu areas to turn them into Tutsi lands in northern Rwanda (the communes of Muvumba, Ngarama, Bwisigye, Kiyombe, Mukarange, Cyumba, Kibali, Kivuye, Cyungo, Kinigi, Butaro, Cyeru and Nyamugali); attacks on camps for war refugees (Rwebare, Rukomo, Kisaro, Buyoga, Kirambo, Rebero-Bwisige, Adventist Church of Shingiro-Mukingo-Ruhengeri, Nyacyonga)*; Major FURUMA testified about the "CRIMES COMMITTED BY KAGAME AND THE RPF" Testimony of Major Alphonse Furuma (Part 1) on 23 January 2001: *"Furuma Alphonse writes, verbatim: "From the negotiation of the Arusha Peace Agreement until 1996, you pursued a deliberate policy of using all possible means to reduce the Hutu population in the regions of Umutara, Kibungo and Bugesera. These areas were deliberately resettled by former returnees from Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi respectively." When the Arusha peace talks for Rwanda began in 1992, Paul Kagame launched a deliberate policy of creating a Tutsiland through massacres of Hutus, massive population displacements, property appropriations and land grabs in north-eastern, eastern, south-eastern and central Rwanda. This is the policy we saw at work , in 1993, 1994 and 1995."*²⁵² *: *"CRIMES COMMITTED BY KAGAME AND THE RPF Testimony of Major Alphonse Furuma (Part 1), 23 January 2001; Furuma Alphonse writes, verbatim: "From the time the Arusha Peace Agreement was being negotiated until as late as 1996, you carried out a deliberate policy of using all means possible to reduce the Hutu population in the Umutara, Kibungo and Bugesera regions. These areas were deliberately resettled by old caseload returnees from Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi respectively." When the Arusha Peace talks for Rwanda started in 1992, Paul Kagame launched a deliberate policy to create a Tutsiland through Hutu massacres, massive population displacement, property appropriation and land grabbing in Northeast, East, South East and Central Rwanda. This is the policy we saw at work in 1993, 1994 and 1995."*

22 June 1993: UNSC Resolution 846 authorised the deployment of 81 observers and 24 UN staff to Uganda, near the Rwandan border²⁵³*. In Kigali, the Rwandan government rejected the MDR's proposal to retain Dismas Nsengiyaremye as Prime Minister for a new transition period²⁵⁴.*

1 July 1993: Rwandan opposition leaders reject Dismas Nsengiyaremye as a candidate and accept Agathe Uwilingiyimana.



²⁵² The Rwandan, April 2016: Furuma Alphonse, testimony given on 23 January 2001. Member of the RPF.

²⁵³ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)), University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala.

²⁵⁴ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala.

Photo no. 44: Agathe Uwiringiyimana, Prime Minister, and her children

3 July 1993: The MRND holds an extraordinary congress.

6 July 1993: A bomb explodes at the Nyarugenge market in Kigali.

17 July 1993: The new coalition government led by Agathe Uwilingiyimana is sworn in, succeeding Dr Nsengiyaremye after his fall in Kabusunzu. However, the MDR political bureau opposes Faustin Twagiramungu's nomination of Agathe Uwilingiyimana as a candidate and decides to suspend both of them from the party.

18 July 1993: Agathe Uwilingiyimana is sworn in as Prime Minister, replacing Dr Dismas Nsengiyaremye. On the same day, 18 July 1993, Agathe Uwiringiyimana's new government takes office. Alexis Nsabimana, former representative of the MDR in Benelux and close to the Peace and Democracy Forum launched by Emmanuel Gapyisi, founded the Democratic Renewal Party or ^{PRD255(*)}.

Third multi-party government of 18 July 1993 (comprising 19 ministers: 9 MRND, 3 MDR, 3 PL, 3 PSD, 1 PDC; 1 Tutsi minister)

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Prime Minister: ^{Ms.} Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA (MDR, Hutu, Butare)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Anastase GASANA (MDR, Hutu, Kigali)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Faustin MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, from Kigali)
- Minister of National Defence: James GASANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba) threatened with death, he did not take office and went into exile in Switzerland on 19 July 1993; he was replaced on 30 July 1993 by Augustin BIZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)
- Minister of Information: Faustin RUCOGOZA (MDR, Hutu, Byumba) assassinated on 7 April 1994 by the presidential guard.

Agathe Uwiringiyimana



Photo no. 45

20 July 1993: The MDR, which had been abandoned by its own president because of the appointment of the Prime Minister, presented Jean Kambanda as a candidate for the post of Prime Minister of the broad-based transitional government (GTBE), which was a product of the Arusha Accords. Without the knowledge of his own party, Faustin Twagiramungu

²⁵⁵ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi : 1988-1994, : Karthala.p.123

unilaterally announced to Juvénal Habyarimana that he would be the Prime Minister of the GTBE, in a ^{letter256(*)}.

23 July 1993: At the extraordinary congress of the MDR in Kabusunzu, Faustin Twagiramungu and Agathe Uwiringiyimana were expelled from the party^{257 *} and^{258 *}.

The MDR national congress of 23-24 July 1993 expelled its president, F. Twagiramungu, from the party. The party experienced a split from then until the RPF took power in July 1994.

23-24 July 1993: the MDR national congress expelled its president, Twagiramungu, from the party. It was indeed time to break with someone who had shown his colours towards the RPF. He would support the RPF in besieging the MRND and the MDR power until it came to power, but he would resign from his position as Prime Minister after 11 months in power.

3 August 1993: The protocol on the integration of the armed forces is signed in Arusha^{259 *}. The "Arusha Accords", the final protocol of which was signed on 3 August 1993, shook up the political situation in Rwanda. These agreements consist of a series of protocols signed between 29 March 1991 and 3 August 1993 by the RPF and President J. Habyarimana. They were drawn up on the basis of ceasefire agreements signed in Zaire on 29 March and 16 September 1991, and then in Arusha on 12 July 1992. They include, first of all, a protocol on the definition of the rule of law (Arusha, 18 August 1992). Two protocols concern power sharing within the framework of a broad-based transitional government (GTBE) (Arusha, 30 October 1992 and 9 January 1993).

They provided that the future President of the Republic would be a member of the MRND, while the future Prime Minister would belong to the MDR; Faustin Twagiramungu nominated himself and was appointed. A position of Deputy Prime Minister reserved for the RPF was created. The GTBE would be composed of five MRND ministries, including those of Defence and the Civil Service, five RPF ministries, including the Interior, four MDR ministries, three PSD ministries, three PL ministries and one PDC ministry. The Head of State lost most of his powers, which constituted a veritable political revolution (...).

The new national army would have 19,000 troops, including 6,000 gendarmes. The FAR would provide 60% of the troops and the APR 40%. The Chief of Staff of the army would come from the FAR, the Chief of Staff of the gendarmerie from the APR, and command posts would be allocated equally (50%-50%) to both parties. A significant demobilisation was to be expected, as the FAR had 40,000 men, 40% of whom would have to be sent home. For officers, demobilisation was to reach 50% (...).

Despite all this, on 9 June 1993, the memorandum of understanding on the integration of the government army (Rwandan Armed Forces or FAR) and the rebel forces (Rwandan Patriotic Army) was signed in Arusha, followed by the memorandum of understanding settling various issues and final provisions on 3 August 1993^{260 *}.

4 August 1993: President Habyarimana signs the peace agreements proposed by Western powers in Arusha, Tanzania, with the RPF. These agreements also stipulate that the French army must leave Rwanda and make way for a United Nations force. MINUAR will be established in Rwanda in October 1993 and the French army will leave Rwanda in December 1993. According

²⁵⁶ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala. p. 123

²⁵⁷ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994: *Idem*.123,

²⁵⁸ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)), University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. p. 511.

²⁵⁹ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994*, Karthala. p. 310

²⁶⁰ Lugan B, 2014. Editions du Rocher. Rwanda, Un génocide en question.

to French MPs, a few dozen military assistants will remain in Rwanda for technical maintenance operations, authorised to stay in accordance with bilateral military cooperation agreements.

The RPF/NRA took advantage of the French departure to finalise its plan to assassinate President Habyarimana and seize power by force. The preparations for the takeover had been well made during the negotiation period, with weapons being secretly stockpiled and men infiltrating Rwandan territory. There were massacres of the population, political assassinations and other acts of provocation committed by the RPF after the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement on 4 August 1993. The RPF was responsible for reprehensible acts that undermined the peace process and led to the catastrophe of April 1994.

The Arusha Accords, concerning Rwanda, took place between June 1992 and August 1993 in successive stages between the Rwandan State and Paul Kagame's RPF in order to end the Rwandan civil war that began in 1990. Ngulinzira, Minister of Foreign Affairs, initially led the Rwandan delegation at the Arusha negotiations. He was replaced by Minister James Gasana, who saw the agreements through to their signing in August 1993.

These agreements provided for the eventual political and military integration of the various internal components (with the exception of openly anti-Tutsi racist parties) and external components of the Rwandan nation (the RPF) and the departure of French troops (from December 1992). A United Nations mission, MINUAR, was created on 5 October 1993 to oversee their implementation. Under the terms of these agreements, Faustin Twagiramungu was to form a transitional government on 15 December 1993, enshrining the reintegration of Tutsi exiles. The French forces present in the territory as part of Operation Noroît withdrew on 15 December 1993, with the exception of a few dozen military aid workers, who were authorised to remain under bilateral military cooperation agreements.

4 August 1993: all the Arusha peace agreements were signed by President Juvénal Habyarimana and KANYARENGWE Alexis, president of the RPF. They were intended to enable the establishment of a transitional government in which the RPF would control five of the 21 ministries. Faustin Twagiramungu was appointed Prime Minister of the GTBE. Both signatories were Hutus; the Tutsis were not involved in these agreements.

18 August 1993: Establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Uganda-Rwanda (MONUOR), led by General Roméo Dallaire.

23 August 1993: Fidèle Rwambuka, former MRND mayor of the commune of Kanzenze and organiser of the violent events of March 1992 in the Bugesera region, was assassinated in his residence during the night of 23 August 1993 by infiltrated RPF elements.

26 August 1993: Assassination of Fidèle Rwambuka, member of the MRND National Committee and former mayor of Kanzenze (rural Kigali). He had just been removed from office as mayor by Prime Minister Nsengiyaremye Dismas.

21 September 1993: Defence Minister James Gasana and others knew how much President Habyarimana wanted Belgium to participate in the peacekeeping mission in Rwanda. Contrary to what had been agreed, Habyarimana himself was instrumental in choosing the Belgians to be part of MINUAR, believing that this force was a gateway to the subsequent resumption of full military cooperation with Belgium. This is attested to by the following excerpt from a note he sent to his services on 21 September 1993.

25 September 1993: Emergence of the "PAWA" alliance formed by the MRND, the CDR, and factions of the MDR, PSD and PL political parties. Since this alliance, the powers that supported

the rebellion and the RPF itself, realising that it would never take power in Kigali, chose the path of mass slaughter of Rwandans.

Finally, to facilitate the implementation of the Arusha Accords, the UN sent Blue Helmets to Rwanda at the end of September 1993. UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) was an observation mission between Uganda and Rwanda. This mission was led by General Romeo Dallaire. The Belgian peacekeepers and the entire Kigali sector were under the command of Colonel Luc Marchal. The Ugandan and RPF leaders had time to brief General Dallaire, who was in Uganda during the planning of the RPF's takeover in Kigali²⁶¹ *. The Mission was composed of 4,157 men, including 3,792 soldiers, 306 military observers and 59 civilian police officers.

September 1993: Elections for mayors and councillors were held in the districts in the demilitarised zone (Kirambo sub-prefecture, Ruhengeri). The elections for mayors and councillors held in the districts in the demilitarised zone (Kirambo sub-prefecture, Ruhengeri) in September 1993 revealed the RPF's real position in the country. In fact, despite the impartial supervision of MINUAR, the results showed that no RPF candidates had been elected. This disappointment accelerated the RPF's Machiavellian plan to commit genocide in Rwanda.

¹October 1993: President Habyarimana's last speech to the UN General Assembly.

Security Council Resolution 872 established the United Nations Mission (UNAMIR) to assist Rwanda in implementing the Arusha Peace Accords. (To support the implementation of these agreements, the UN decided, in its Resolution 872 of 5 October 1993, to send a peacekeeping mission under Chapter VI of the UN Charter: "Welcoming the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement (including its Protocols) on 4 August 1993, and urging the parties to continue to comply fully with it [...]. The UN Security Council decides to establish a peacekeeping operation called the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a period of six months." Canadian General Roméo Dallaire was appointed commander of this mission, which consisted of approximately 2,300 men, mainly from Bangladesh, Belgium and Ghana. General Dallaire remained an iconic figure due to his personal involvement in the Rwandan tragedy. This mission was characterised by its failure to prevent the genocide, even though it succeeded in protecting 30,000 to 40,000 Tutsis. Analysis of this failure shows the lack of consistency on the part of the United Nations Security Council in its willingness to provide this mission with the necessary resources. Their mission was not to select which ethnic group to protect. Protection was intended for all vulnerable people.

18 October 1993: In Kigali, a CDR demonstration is organised to protest against the Arusha Accords.

21 October 1993: Assassination of Burundian President Melchior Ndadaye by the mono-ethnic Tutsi army of Burundi.

The assassination of Burundian President Melchior Ndadaye by Burundi's mono-ethnic Tutsi army on 21 October 1993 had a direct impact on the sincerity of the Arusha Peace Accords. Paul Kagame was reportedly in Bujumbura at the time of the assassination of President-elect Melchior Ndadaye. In the weeks that followed, some 300,000 Burundian Hutu refugees entered Rwanda, fleeing bloody massacres in the north of their country, and settled mainly in Butare and Gikongoro²⁶² *.

²⁶¹ Investigation by the European Parliamentary Commission.

²⁶² Human Rights Watch, 1999: p. 163

The first MINUAR troops were deployed in Rwanda in November 1993. Under the Arusha Accords, a transitional government was to be entrusted with power until democratic elections could be held. For a period of two years, UN peacekeepers were to ensure the proper implementation of these agreements. The peace protocol was fragile: a delay in the arrival of peacekeepers or a failure to establish a broad-based transitional government (GTBE) could derail it. Adherence to the timetable was essential. The Arusha Accords stipulate that a neutral force must take up position in Kigali from 10 September 1993, just 37 days after their sign . Such haste defies logic, since the Security Council in New York has not yet taken the decision to provide Rwanda with United Nations resources. Under normal circumstances, the average time required for the UN to deploy a peacekeeping operation is six months.

In the case of Rwanda, one of the main problems was finding troops to make up the UNAMIR. The United Nations and Rwanda signed the Agreement on the Status of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) on 5 November 1993.

23 October 1993: A march is organised in Kigali in support of the Burundian people. During the event, Hutu Power is called th²⁶³ *.

²⁶⁴30 October 1993: A Rwandan army commission considers the creation of a civilian self-defence force called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF).

November 1993: The first MINUAR troops are deployed.

1 November 1993: Deployment of the MINUAR force in Rwanda begins.

5 November 1993: The MDR Power organises a demonstration in Kigali against the Arusha Accords and the presence of Belgian forces in Rwanda²⁶⁵ *.

13 November 1993: At an extraordinary congress of the PL, a new executive committee is elected, although the existing executive committee remains in place; this crystallises the division within the party and the birth of its Power wing. The PSD and the PDC have experienced similar splits²⁶⁶ *.

17 November 1993: In the communes of Nkumba, Kidaho, Cyeru and Nyamugali (in Ruhengeri Prefecture), unidentified assailants killed 37 people in the same night, including local leaders: *Massacres of the populations in the communes of Kidaho, Nkumba, Nyamugali, Cyeru and Butaro on the night of 17 to 18 November 1993, in which 51 people were killed and several others wounded.

18 November 1993 marked the beginning of the failure to update events in Nkumba, near Gisenyi (at the time when UNAMIR-MINUAR was being set up). There, in Nkumba, more than 20 Hutu leaders were assassinated during the night. But the UNAMIR command did not complete its investigation. Traces of RPF elements were found, but in the eyes of UNAMIR officials, they could have been manipulated... To me, these traces seemed real. In any case, it was a significant loss of credibility for UNAMIR, which was accused of pro-RPF bias.

²⁶³ Bertrand, Jordane, 2000, Rwanda, Le Piège de l'histoire, l'opposition démocratique avant le génocide (1990-1994) (Rwanda, The Trap of History, the Democratic Opposition before the Genocide (1990-1994)), Karthala. p.269

²⁶⁴ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.325,

²⁶⁵ Reyntjens, Filip, 1994, L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994 (The Great Lakes Region of Africa in Crisis, Rwanda, Burundi: 1988-1994), Karthala. p.311

²⁶⁶ Bertrand, Jordane, 2000, Rwanda, The Trap of History, the Democratic Opposition before the Genocide (1990-1994), Karthala. p.269.

Massacres of the population in the commune of Ngenda, Kigali Rural Prefecture, committed on 29 November 1993 in broad daylight by elements or allies of the RPF within the Burundian army. Subsequent events made it impossible to ascertain the outcome of the investigations conducted by the Burundian authorities. Cleansing of the buffer zone of members of the MRND and CDR parties. The intercepted RPF messages are revealing after its failure in the councillor elections in this area. Several hundred massacres, Dr James Gasana counted, in his book²⁶⁷ * more than 66,000 victims; similarly, the map of genocide sites and massacres in Rwanda counts as many, see Appendix 6. This figure only includes crimes committed between October 1990 and December 1993 in the two prefectures of Byumba and Ruhengeri: the communes of Kagitumba, Muvumba, Buyoga, Kiyombe, Mukarange, Kinyami, Kidaho, Butaro, Cyeru, Kivuye, Nyamugali, Bwisige, Cyungo, Gishuro, Gabiro, Kinigi and Nkumba.

James Gasana, former Minister of Defence in the Nsengiyaremye Government, recorded a figure close to 52,500 victims. In his document "Political Violence in Rwanda 1991-1993, Testimony on the role of political party youth organisations" dated 18 November 2002 ICTR: Judicial records Archive, MP-1 ICTR-98-41-T²⁶⁸ * (See map: photo no. 43).

November 1993: The French military contingent leaves Rwanda at the request of the RPF and part of the internal opposition (Nsengiyaremye government). A prime minister, said to be a high-level politician preparing to take the seat of president of the republic, shoots himself in the foot! Massacres of dozens of young schoolchildren in the buffer zone, Kinihira region, in November 1993.

At that moment, the withdrawal of French troops from the Noroit detachment became effective. The force that had deterred the RPF was no longer there. The RPF was able to finalise its plan to take complete power, as the opposition at this stage was also divided. The opposition that remained loyal to the RPF did not hesitate to concede everything to the mercy of the people.

As a reminder, the French army launched Operation *Noroît* on 4 October 1990, with the threefold objective of protecting the French embassy, ensuring the protection of French nationals and, if necessary, participating in their evacuation. A series of additional operational orders were issued to coordinate the actions of the French and Belgian armies, but in mid-October Belgium withdrew its troops in response to public outrage over the arbitrary arrests of 6,000 Tutsis in Rwanda suspected of being accomplices of the rebels who had attacked Rwanda. According to analysts who defend French policy, the RPF began a series of incursions, which were systematically accompanied by massacres.

26 November 1993: A Belgian Red Cross truck was targeted by RAF soldiers and exploded when it hit a mine²⁶⁹ *.

29 November 1993: Nineteen people are murdered during the night in Mutura (Gisenyi prefecture), bringing the death toll to 60; the killers have not been identified²⁷⁰ *.

2 December 1993: A UNAMIR patrol is attacked by combatants armed with heavy machine guns in northern Rwanda²⁷¹ *.

²⁶⁷ Gasana, James, 2002, *Rwanda: Du Parti-État à l'État-garnison (Rwanda: From Party-State to Garrison State)*, L'Harmattan. 2002.

²⁶⁸ Gasana K James. 2002. Document: Political Violence in Rwanda 1991-1993, Testimony on the role of political party youth organisations, 18 November 2002 ICTR: judicial records Archive, MP-1 ICTR-98-41-T

²⁶⁹ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p. 172.

²⁷⁰ Journal Dialogue, 172. p. 56,

²⁷¹ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.173,

3 December 1993: The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces the detachment of Noroît and the withdrawal of DAMI-Panda from Rwanda, in accordance with the provisions of the Arusha Accords. Officially, the French military presence in Rwanda is reduced to 24 military cooperation agents, responsible for technical military assistance²⁷² *.

15 December 1993: On the decision of Prime Minister Dr Nsengiyaremye Dismas, he alone takes the devastating decision for Rwanda to demand the withdrawal of French troops from the Noroît detachment. Only 24 military technical cooperation officers remain in Rwanda. 20 December: The Power faction of the PL, led by Justin Mugenzi, president of the PL party, organises its first congress²⁷³ *.

28 December 1993: The RPF battalion is composed of several leaders of the organisation/movement who are based in the National Development Council building. It was a very strategic location to facilitate mass infiltration. According to the Arusha Accords, an RPF contingent enters Kigali in the centre of the country's capital²⁷⁴ *.

31 December 1993: President Juvénal Habyarimana's term of office officially ends.

In 1993: The Patriotic Army, the armed wing of the RPF-Inkotanyi, massacred more than 10,000 people in the former Kinihira (Byumba) sub-prefecture in 1993, a figure recorded on the massacre sites²⁷⁵ *.

The sites listed are in the area conquered by the RPF/APR before the resumption of fighting on 6 April 1994. The APR/RPF offensives of 5/6 June 1992 and then 8 February 1993: - are also listed in sites 14, 29, 30 and 114 in the communes of Butaro, Cyumba, Cyungo and Kivuye. Then in sites 137 Mukingo, 108-1, 1082, Kinigi, 35 Gashangiro Kinigi, 99, 100, 101-1, 101-2, Kidaho, 27-1, 27-2, 27-3, 27-4, 27-4, 27-5, 27-6, 30, 184 Nyamugari, Cyumba, Cyeru, Nyarutovu, Tumba, Buyoga, Cyungo: In the communes: Mukingo, Kinigi, Kidaho, Nyamugari, Cyumba, Cyeru, Nyarutovu, Tumba, Buyoga, Cyungo²⁷⁶ *. They are listed in the buffer zone occupied by the APR.

The communes in this zone were captured between 1990 and 1992, including during the offensive of 8 February 1993, and were added to the buffer zone and are 100% controlled by the RPF Inkotanyi. There we find the genocide sites established and controlled 100% by the APR/RPF without any influence from the government.

The massacre sites, which are also classified as genocide sites, include: 106 Nyagatare (Nyagatare), 60 Mutete (Gicumbi-Buyoga), 62 Buranga (Gakenke-Cyabingo), 103 Rugarama (Kidaho), 19 Nyamagumba (Kigombe), 104 Muhoza (Kigombe), 105 Busogo (Mukingo). Blue dots: show the genocide sites in the area seized by the APR/RPF, an area claimed to be the only one not to have experienced the 100-day genocide. The following sites are classified as genocide sites and are marked in blue on the map of genocide sites. : 61 Rutare-Giti (Gicumbi-Rutare), 64 Muhondo (Mugambazi), 71 Kiziguro (Murambi), 81 Rukara (Kayanza-Rukara), 79 Rwinkwavu (etc.)²⁷⁷ *

²⁷² Lanotte, Olivier, 2007, France in Rwanda (1990-1994), between impossible abstention and ambivalent engagement, Brussels: PIE Peter Lang.

²⁷³ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995. *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)), University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. p. 512

²⁷⁴ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995. *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (Political crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)), University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P. 512

²⁷⁵ Rugomboka J.D., June 2020. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe

²⁷⁶ Rugomboka: June 2020. Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Rugomboka: June 2020. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020

The RPF gave this area a specific name, "Fagia/Fagiya" in Swahili and "cleansing" in English, which is an act of genocide. The blue dots indicate the location of the site on the map: genocide sites 100% controlled by the APR/RPF: 106 Nyagatare (Nyagatare), 60 Mutete (Gicumbi-Buyoga), 62 Buranga (Gakenke-Cyabingo), 103 Rugarama (Kidaho), 19 Nyamagumba (Kigombe), 104 Muhoza (Kigombe), 105 Busogo (Mukingo).²⁷⁸(*) .

Characteristics of the massacre sites and methods used, also known as the RPF's signature. (non-exhaustive list)

- Road junctions or crossroads;
- They were killed en masse and indiscriminately;
- They were indiscriminately massacred as they fled;
- Various means were used to eliminate them:
- They were shot in a mock prison escape, confinement,
- Guns, akandoyi, a Swahili word for a club-like tool used to smash the victim's head: club, cudgel, grenade, smashing the skull against a wall or something hard, etc.
- Slashing the head, or cutting up the victim's various organs...
- Using a club to smash the head,
- Burned in their homes, sometimes caught unawares in their sleep,
- Small worn hoes,
- Buried alive or dug their own graves,
- Tying their arms behind their backs,
- Songamana: Swahili word, verb kusongamana: to sit with more than two people with their legs tied together. People are tightly packed together, sitting between their legs until they burst,
- Poison was used, but only in isolated cases.
- As well as other atrocious methods learned in Uganda during the preparation of the attack on Rwanda on 1 October 1990.

N.B. Most of these methods were unknown in Rwanda before the arrival of the RPF.

Massacres of the population, political assassinations and other acts of provocation committed by the RPF: After the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement on 4 August 1993, the RPF was responsible for reprehensible acts that undermined the peace process and led to the catastrophe of April 1994.

The above examples illustrate the well-planned massacres in Byumba and Ruhengeri well before 1994. To fully understand these sites, please refer to²⁷⁹ *.

At the end of December 1993, an RPF battalion was authorised to set up in Kigali as a guarantee of the safety of RPF representatives who were to participate in the new government. A transitional national assembly was established on 18 March 1994. Also foreshadowing the military integration of exiles, a detachment of 600 RPF soldiers was authorised by the Arusha negotiations to set up in the premises of the National Development Council (CND) (the former Rwandan parliament).

The implementation of these agreements was partially delayed by the RPF, which now saw itself as having failed because it could not win sovereign elections once it became a member of the coalition government. It claimed that the allies of the MRND, the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic (CDR), were Hutu extremists, and the RPF did not accept its entry into

²⁷⁸ Rugomboka: June 2020. Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Rugomboka: June 2020. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020.

parliament. It was first the government of Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye that negotiated the Arusha Accords, then that of Agathe Uwilingiyimana. She should have been replaced by Faustin Twagiramungu following the Arusha Accords. However, she was assassinated on 7 April 1994, the day after the attack that killed President Juvénal Habyarimana and also prevented the implementation of the Arusha Accords. Jean- Kambanda succeeded her in setting up the interim government, which attempted unsuccessfully to establish a ceasefire between the warring parties and bring the RPF back to the negotiating table with a view to implementing the peace agreements.

The Arusha Accords were never implemented because, from 19 July 1994, the supposed end date of the Rwandan genocide, Faustin Twagiramungu took office as Prime Minister of the RPF and Pasteur Bizimungu as President of the Republic. First, the MRND and the CDR were immediately excluded from the enlarged coalition. All the Hutus in this new government were figureheads, Hutus on duty to show the international community that there was ethnic balance or a spirit of the Arusha peace accords. They were removed one by one until the entire state apparatus was Tutsi-ised. The RPF established a monarchy in the republic. This was its policy after the genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda during the so-called political transition period that followed until 2003, when a new constitution was established on the main basis of the genocide and the ideology of genocide. Then, presidential elections were held according to the RPF method, with results exceeding 100%, and falsified legislative elections based on universal suffrage were instituted²⁸⁰(*).

²⁸⁰ Investigation by the European Parliamentary Commission.

CHAPTER VI. From the rejection of the transition to the RPF's seizure of power

The "broad-based transitional" government was theoretically supposed to be installed on 5 January 1994. On 5 January 1994, President Habyarimana was sworn in as part of the broad-based transitional institutions. The broad-based transitional government included members of the RPF, but they did not take the oath of office due to a lack of consensus among the political parties, a lack of consensus engineered by the RPF among the opposition parties opposed to the MRND, and the war of April 1994 began.

The broad-based transitional government was composed of: (20 ministers and secretaries of state: 5 MRND, 5 RPF, 3 MDR + Prime Minister, 3 PL, 3 PSD, 1 PDC; 4 Tutsi ministers) - (*Joseph KAREMERA has apparently been considered a "Twa" since August 1994*)

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Prime Minister: Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU (MDR, Hutu, Cyangugu)
- Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Refugee Reintegration: Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA (RPF, Tutsi, Gikongoro)
- Minister of Defence: Augustin BIZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Jean-Marie Vianney MBONIMPA (MDR, Hutu, Kibuye)
- Minister of the Interior: Pastor BIZIMUNGU (RPF, Hutu, Gisenyi).

VI.1. April 1994 War

5 January 1994: President Habyarimana officially takes office; the inauguration of the government and the new Assembly are postponed²⁸¹ *. The Tanzanian ambassador to Rwanda is attacked by a crowd of CDR supporters because of his country's support for the peace agreements²⁸² *.

10 January 1994: date of the launch of the final solution, which the leaders at the time found difficult to accept. The plan was, in fact, very ingenious, and those in charge still find it difficult to acknowledge their malicious short-sightedness²⁸³ . The instrument used by the RPF/NRA in preparing for the genocide is unfortunately obscured by the UN/ICTR in its search for the truth. The following text is taken from the book written by Kambanda, the former Prime Minister of the interim government from 9 April to 19 July 1994: *"Kambanda recounts in his book: 'We know nothing about the meeting between Jean-Pierre, alias Jean-Paul Turatsinze, and Faustin Twagiramungu. However, General Dallaire²⁸⁴ * reveals that on the afternoon of 10 January 1994, (Faustin arrived at my office) (Dallaire) late and insisted on having a private meeting with me.' The starting signal was thus given. Jean-Pierre left Faustin Twagiramungu's house to mislead Dallaire, who remained convinced that the information provided by Jean-Pierre was vital. Dallaire and the entire UNAMIR fell for the deception.*

²⁸¹ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995. *Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)*, University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P. 270.

²⁸² Human Rights Watch, 1999: p. 176.

²⁸³ Kambanda Jean. August 2020, At the heart of the planning of the genocide in Rwanda. The Interahamwe of the RPF/RPF Killers. Editions Sources du Nil Lille, France.

²⁸⁴ Kambanda Jean 08/2020 In: Dallaire, Romeo, 2003, I Shook Hands with the Devil. The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda. Libre expression. Quebecor Media. Pp.684. pp.194-205

Does Faustin Twagiramungu know Jean-Pierre's face? Does he know where to find Jean-Pierre? Will he ever admit that he was duped? As if no one knew, no publication has yet appeared on the subject. Only Dallaire strongly regrets the disappearance of Jean-Pierre, the Interahamwe member who "has definitively abandoned us and (...) cut off all communication with us. (...) He provided us with vital information. (...)

In the short space of 15 days, Jean-Pierre managed to sow doubt in the MINUAR, which was supposed to be wary of civilian (pro-government) agents at the Amahoro Stadium HQ, explaining in detail the methodology of planning (the genocide in the making, as we are in January 1994) and supervising the extremists (Interahamwe) from which he allegedly came.

The RPF's Interahamwe were a brilliant creation, an original idea that neither Twagiramungu nor the military experts (Generals Déogratias Nsabimana and Augustin Ndindiriyimana) and civilian experts (Ministers Enoch Ruhigira and Augustin Bizimana) around President Habyarimana were able to detect. In any case, General Ndindiriyimana Augustin, whose house rented by the MRND became a weapons cache without his knowledge, Faustin Twagiramungu and Frank Claes²⁸⁵ *, who seem to have met Jean-Pierre more than once, are the only ones who can still shed light on the contours of this imposture while they are still alive, if they are able to do so. Another important document found in the ICTR archives dates from 2 February 1994, two months before the terrorist attack on President Habyarimana's plane on the evening of April 1994. This document is part of the information on the complete list of the main leaders, commanders and sponsors of the MRND's Interahamwe, PROVIDED BY Major Hock of the Belgian intelligence services (General Intelligence and Security Service) and is entitled: "Communiqué from the MRND's National Interahamwe Committee concerning the crucial problems facing our country". The content of this communiqué is as follows:

The National Interahamwe Committee²⁸⁶ *:

- . Notes and condemns the criminal acts and illegal demonstrations in Kigali;
- . Reaffirms its support for the Arusha Peace Accords;
- . Strongly condemns all those who pose as Interahamwe, wear their uniforms and commit crimes and other abuses with the aim of blaming them on the Interahamwe;
- . Accuses "an unidentified group of criminals" of having uniforms and other Interahamwe insignia manufactured in order to tarnish their reputation;
- . Offers a reward of 100,000 Rwandan francs to anyone who can indicate the location where these criminals are hiding the copies of the uniforms;
- . Prohibits the wearing of Interahamwe uniforms until the situation is resolved.

For those interested in the truth, Kambanda's book is a valuable source of information on the events of April to July 1994 in Rwanda.

His revelations corroborate those of other authors who show that the Interahamwe were young people/youth from the MRND, infiltrated and manipulated by the RPF, and de facto led by Paul

²⁸⁵ UNAMIR documents: -10/02/94: Inter-office memorandum from MIO to FC re Claes's Report on meeting with Informant: Interahamwe planning raid on communal office of Butamwa on Friday, Saturday, or Sunday night to recover weapon. 122 Interahamwe were trained by people from Israel in Nyungwe and Gishwati forests.

²⁸⁶ The provisional committee in 1991: Robert Kajuga (Tutsi, Kibungo, deceased), Chairman, George Rutaganda (Hutu, Gitarama, deceased) and Phénéas Ruhumuriza (Hutu from Gitarama, deceased), Vice-Chairmen, Eugène Mbarushimana (Hutu from Gisenyi), Secretary General, and Dieudonné Niyitegeka (Hutu from Butare), Treasurer. The steering committee, also known as the "Legal Executive Committee", was composed of: Kajuga Robert, President; Ruhumuriza Phénéas, ^{1st}Vice-President; Mbarushimana Eugène, Secretary General; Niyitegeka Dieudonné, Treasurer.

Kagame's emissaries. I would add that Kagame was also Museveni's protégé and that both work for Western powers who want to divide up Africa once again.

11 January 1994: General Dallaire, who had received information from a former Interahamwe leader, warned the United Nations in New York of the existence of a plan to systematically assassinate the Tutsi population and political opponents of Juvénal Habyarimana and Hutu Power. A structure based mainly on the Interahamwe militias was ready to implement this plan. Dallaire requested authorisation to carry out search and disarmament operations²⁸⁷ *.

16 January 1994: More than 60,000 MRND supporters gather at Nyamirambo Stadium in Kigali. Most of them were not from the city. Members of the MDR-PSD Power and PL Mugenzi were present.

20 January 1994: Justin Mugenzi, president of the Liberal Party and supporter of Hutu Power, is the target of an assassination attempt²⁸⁸ *.

24 January 1994: There was a bomb attack in the city of Kigali²⁸⁹ *.

30 January 1994: Although the UNAMIR force organised 924 mobile patrols and 320 foot patrols and set up 306 checkpoints, it was only able to find nine firearms among the population²⁹⁰ *.

31 January 1994: A grenade is thrown at the MINUAR headquarters²⁹¹ *.

21 February 1994: Assassination of a prominent political leader from Butare in the southern region and also Secretary-General of the PSD party, Félicien Gatabazi. He was assassinated after being ambushed on his way home from a meeting with other political leaders²⁹² *. In his book, Ruzibiza recounts: "This highly irresponsible criminal act was likely to set the country ablaze and provoke violent clashes between Gatabazi's opponents and supporters at a time when the political climate was extremely tense and highly volatile. It is reported that, while celebrating in bars in Kigali in the days following the capture of the capital, RPF agents publicly recounted, as acts of bravery, crimes they had committed in their struggle against the Habyarimana government, including the assassination of Gatabazi, which had spread terror throughout the country. (Testimonies collected from witnesses still alive; Abdul J. Ruzibiza, *The Secret History*, 2005). The killers are: Lt Godfrey Ntukajyemo alias Kiago and Cpl Mahoro Aman.

Félicien Gatabazi and Martin Bucyana

²⁸⁷ Dallaire, Roméo, 2004, *Shake Hands with the Devil, the Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, London: Arrow Books.142-151.

²⁸⁸ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.185,

²⁸⁹ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.186.

²⁹⁰ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.187;

²⁹¹ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.187.

²⁹² Ruzibiza A. J., 2005. *The Secret History*.



Photo no. 46. Gatabazi



Photo no. 47. Bucyana

22 February 1994: Martin Bucyana, president of the CDR, , was killed by a mob in Butare in response to the assassination of Félicien Gatabazi²⁹³ *. Communications 4: Assassination of Martin Bucyana, president of the Coalition of Parties for the Defence of the Republic (CDR) and former Minister of Post, Transport and Communications.

25 February 1994 (Internet) Government forces were easier to control than illegal movements. It should be noted that the RPF-FPR went so far as to refuse our observers entry to the CND (on 25 February 1994). This was one of the main violations of the Kigali Weapons Security Agreement (KWSA).²⁹⁴ *.

4 March 1994: we can discover the real preludes to the Rwandan tragedy that are not mentioned in order to impose so-called evidence of the planning of the genocide. This broadcast reports on the security situation in the city of Kigali, a situation which, moreover, was mutatis mutandis found throughout the country. (Transcript of the programme submitted as evidence in the Ndindiriyimana et al. trial). The debate on 4 March, followed on national radio by the majority of Rwandans, shows that it was indeed the RPF that was pulling the strings. The situation was such that there was no need to add fuel to the fire that was already burning.²⁹⁵ *. Open letter dated 29 March 2021 from General Ndindiriyimana Augustin to Mr Alexander De Croo, Prime Minister of Belgium: subject: Call for reconciliation. The debate between senior administrative, judicial and security officials clearly demonstrates the willingness of these authorities to ensure the safety of all Rwandans.

18 March 1994: Faustin Twagiramungu announces the composition of his government.

New composition of the broad-based transitional government announced by Faustin Twagiramungu on 18 March 1994: (20 ministers and secretaries of state: 5 MRND, 5 RPF, 3 MDR + Prime Minister, 3 PL, 3 PSD, 1 PDC; 5 Tutsi members).

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Prime Minister: Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU (MDR, Hutu, Cyangugu)
- Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Refugee Reintegration: Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA (FPR, Tutsi, Gikongoro)
- Minister of Defence: Augustin BIZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)

²⁹³ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.192

²⁹⁴ Ntirikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that have gone unpunished. (February 2014.^{2nd} revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil pages. {Contribute to the security of the city of Kigali, particularly within the weapons consignment zone (KWSA: Kigali Weapons Secure Area).

²⁹⁵ Transcribed from the broadcast submitted as evidence in the Ndindiriyimana et al. trial (ICTR).

- Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE (MDR, Hutu, Gitarama) or Boniface NGULINZIRA (MDR, Hutu, Ruhengeri)
- Minister of the Interior: Pasteur BIZIMUNGU (RPF, Hutu, Gisenyi).

VI.1.1. 100-day genocide period, from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), based in Arusha, Tanzania, is an international criminal court established by United Nations Security Council Resolution 955 of 8 November 1994 to try persons responsible for acts of genocide and other crimes against humanity committed in Rwanda and in the territory of neighbouring states between 1 and 31 December 1994. In essence, it is not the exact number of one hundred (100) days, but a short period of approximately one hundred days from 6 April to 19 July 1994, during which militias of political parties infiltrated by the RPF on the one hand massacred the Tutsi and so-called moderate Hutu (pro-RPF), while on the other hand the RPF army massacred pro-government Hutu and Tutsi. Unfortunately, this short period does not take into account the more significant crimes committed outside this period in 1994.

VI.1.2. First Genocide /IrimburaBanyarwanda by the RPF

War from 1 October 1990 by the Patriotic Front against the Rwandan/NRA until 5 April 1994. Date before the Rwandan presidential plane was shot down. During this period, the RPF committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide against the town of Ruhengeri on 23 January 1991, political assassinations on 21 February 1994 and 23 February 1994, the Butaro massacre in May 1992, the notorious massacres in Ruhengeri and Byumba on 8 February 1993, the attack and political assassinations in the buffer zone, and that of 18 May 1993. The target community was that it was necessary to eliminate as many Hutus as possible, especially those belonging to the MRND, CDR and MDR parties. (From 1 October 1990 to 5 April 1994, see photo 39, which includes the buffer zone or demilitarised zone. There were more than 66,000 victims during this period.)

30 March 1994: Faced with political deadlock and deteriorating security and humanitarian conditions in Rwanda, the UN Secretary-General proposed on 30 March to extend UNAMIR's mandate. In its resolution 909 of 5 April 1994, the Security Council unanimously extended the mandate of UNAMIR until 29 July 1994, but threatened to withdraw UNAMIR within six weeks if no political or institutional progress had been made.

30 March 1994: A second commission of the Rwandan army examines the organisation of civil self-defence²⁹⁶ *.

31 March 1994: Alphonse Ingabire (nicknamed Katumba), operational head of the CDR, is assassinated.²⁹⁷ *.

March 1994: Assassination of the director of the Cyohoha-Rukeli tea factory, his deputies and some of their families in the buffer zone in March 1994.

A mass grave containing more than 80 bodies was discovered in the tea plantations of Cyohoha-Rukeli in March 1994.

Despite the alarming signs that could be seen throughout the country, Finance Minister Marc Rugenera refused to approve the purchase order for weapons sent to him by his counterpart in the Defence Ministry. This can be described as an act of treason.

²⁹⁶ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p. 325,

²⁹⁷ Human Rights Watch, 1999: p.199.

Marc Rugenera, Minister of Finance



Photo no. 48

Marc Rugenera, Minister of Finance, who blocked arms orders to the ex-FAR when the RPF threatened to resume the war. Rwandan politician and Managing Director: Radiant Insurance. Marc Rugenera, Minister of Finance at the crucial moment in late 1993 and early 1994, refused to pass on arms orders to the ex-FAR when the RPF threatened to resume the war. A notorious traitor, Rwanda must classify him among other traitors who have betrayed their country.

What if the UN knew about the assassination of Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi? The truth is slow in coming!

Indeed, on 5 April 1994, American marines arrived in Bujumbura and the UNAMIR mandate was extended until 29 July 1994 by Security Council Resolution 909.

On 5 April 1994, the day before the assassination of the two heads of state, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 909 to extend the duration of MINUAR. Faced with political deadlock, deteriorating security conditions and the humanitarian situation in Rwanda, the UN Secretary-General proposed on 30 March to extend MINUAR's mandate. In its Resolution 909 of 5 April 1994, the Security Council unanimously extended MINUAR's mandate until 29 July 1994, but with the threat of withdrawing MINUAR within six weeks if no political or institutional progress was made. No sooner said than done.

On the night of 6 to 7 April 1994: following the assassination of Belgian peacekeepers, Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes declared that it was necessary to withdraw. The RPF gave foreign troops who had come to evacuate their nationals 48 hours to leave the territory. Regarding General Kagame's attitude, Belgian Ambassador Johan Swinnen explained to the Belgian Senate Committee that: "On the night of 6 to 7 April, we still hoped that the Arusha Accords could be implemented. A week later, we unfortunately had to conclude that they had become null and void. The RPF had issued an ultimatum against MINUAR."

To the question: How do you explain this ultimatum from the RPF when Tutsis are being murdered?

The answer: It is difficult to judge. The RPF did not appreciate the UN presence. I do wonder about this ultimatum, but it did not need to have a witness on the ground to hinder its initial plan, which was to exterminate as many people as possible.

Question: It was issued even if it meant that the Tutsis would be murdered.

A: I must point out that the RPF was not in favour of MINUAR's presence.²⁹⁸ *. The RPF's war was far from being a war of liberation.

²⁹⁸ Senate Committee: hearing with Ambassador Yohan Swinnen, summary report of the hearings, 20 June 1997.

To clarify his answer, in reality the RPF had a hidden agenda behind its presentation of liberation. The RPF represented the lost power of the 'Inyenzi', who were monarchists from the UNAR party, and came to restore the power they had lost in 1959 when they fled to neighbouring countries. This was because they refused to share power with the Hutu, who were their slaves.

The first (unrecognised) genocide committed by the RPF/NRA/Interahamwe, infiltrated by the APR, took place during this period and in this area, which was occupied from 1 October 1990 to 6 April 1994.

Table 8 (Genocide No. 1) Summary table of the sites of the massacres from 1 October 1990 to 6 April 1994

Location of massacres	Site number on map	Number of victims	Dates	Municipality in 1994	Responsible for the massacres
Base: Shopping centre	2	600	9-10/02/1993	Tumba	MHC.Sam Kaka. SO Ngumbayingwe(+) JO1 Gakwavu(+). JO2 Tumusime: all from the Alpha Mobile unit
Cyungo: Kinihira: Cyohoha Rukeri factory	30	160	1993-1994	Cyungo	RW.BM.CG
Gahinga (between Gahinga and Muhabura) Kinigi	32	350	January 1991	Kinigi	Gen Maj Paul Kagame orders the massacre of deported civilians (Jan 91)
Gashangiro: near the church	35	500	Attack on 8 February 1993	Kinigi	SO Fred Ibingira, JO1 Wilson Gumisiriza JO1 Rabooni Okwiri and JO2 Innocent Kabandana, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Kagitumba: Rwempasha	72	20,000	1990/1995	Kagitumba	RW.UM.KG
Karwasa: School Centre on the hill	88	350	Attack on 8 February 1993	Kigombe	SO Fred Ibingira (CO) ordered at the Olympic Games John Ntaganda Maj George Kirindi(+) and Hassan Mwungeri(+)

					from the 157th Mobile Unit
Kidaho: behind the municipal office and surrounding area	101-1	2,000	Attack on 08/02/1993	Kidaho	JO2 Moise Rubimbura, JO2 Munyambo and their team
Kidaho: along the Rwandan-Ugandan border	101	165	Attack on 08/02/1993	Kidaho	JO2 Moise Rubimbura, JO2 Munyambo and their team
Kigombe: Karwasa: School Centre on the hill	105	600	8 February 1993 and 2 March 1997	Kigombe	RW.RU.KG
Kigombe: Musanze: Centre and surrounding area	106	600	8 February 1993 and 2 March 1997	Kigombe	JO2 Moise Rubimbura, JO2 Munyambo and their team
Kinigi:	108	600	8 February 1993	Kinigi	SO Fred Ibingira, JO1 Wilson Gumisiriza JO1 Rabooni Okwiri and JO2 Innocent Kabandana, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Kinigi:	108-2	600	8 February 1993	Kinigi	SO Fred Ibingira, JO1 Wilson Gumisiriza JO1 Rabooni Okwiri and JO2 Innocent Kabandana, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Kinihira: Cyohoha Rukeri Factory	See 30	1600	1993-1994	Cyungo	Col Sam Kanyemera of the Alfa Mobile Unit, Capt Gacinya Rugumya, Lt G. Rumanzi of the Bravo Mobile Unit, Capt Gakwerere
Kivuye: Several localities	114	2,500	17-18 November 1993	Kivuye	RW.BM.KV
Mukingo: Gataraga, Shingiro and surrounding areas	137	3,000	8 February 1993 and 2 March 1997	Mukingo	RW.RU.MU

Musanze: Centre and surrounding area	See 106	600	8 February 1993 and 2 March 1997	Kigombe	SO Cyiza (Feb. 93) (from Mobile Unit Charlie), Maj Gashaija Bagirigomwa (3/1997) 5th Bn
Mutura: Kabatwa	149	60	29-30/11/1993	Mutura	SO. Gashaija bagirigomwa, JO1 Moses Rubimbura (from Mobile Unit Charlie), order Maj P. Kagame
Muvuba: Kagitumba, Nyagatare (Oct.)	See 173	200	1 October 1990-May 1995	Muvumba	RW.BM.MV
Ngarama/Bwisige: attack on 8 February 1993	157	280	February/March 1993	Ngarama	SO W Bagire(+) SO John Bagabo, JO1 Gacinya Rugumya, P/JO2 G.Rumanzi all from Alpha and Bravo Mobile Units
Ngarama: Shopping Centre	158	2,000	13 to 19 April 1993	Ngarama	SO W Bagire(+) SO John Bagabo, JO1 Gacinya Rugumya, P/JO2 G.Rumanzi all from Alpha and Bravo Mobile Units
Nkumba: Junction towards Ntaruka	161	500	March 1993	Nkumba	SO Fred Ibingira and JO1 W. Gumisiriza (I.O) and his team JO1 Okwiir Rabooni, PJO2 Innocent Kabandana (1993 attack on 8/2/1993) from the 157th Mobile Unit.
Nkumba: Communal Office I	162	650	Attack on 8 February 1993	Nkumba	Capt Moise Rubimbura and his team from 'Mobile Unit Charlie'
Nyagatare: Kagitumba, Matimba and surrounding areas	173	6,000	1990, 1994, end of 1999	Nyagatare	RW.UM.NY

Rwebare: Camp for displaced persons	220	400	10/91-mid 1993	Kinyami?	Mubarak Muganga John Bosco Bagabo, Eric Murokore (all SOs), JO1 Murangira, JO2 Rukara (1991-1992)
Mukamira OSRG	5	2076	1990, 1994	Western, Nyabihu, Mukamira, Jaba, Butondwe	Nyabihu-Mutura
Nyamagumba OSRG	19	1600	1990, 1994	Northern, Musanze	Nyamagumba - Kigombe
Busogo OSRG	105	-	1990, 1994	Northern, Musanze, Busogo	Busogo - Mukingo
Muhoza OSRG	104	-	1990, 1994	Northern, Musanze, Muhoza	Muhoza - Kigombe
Rugarama OSRG	103	-	1990, 1994	Northern, BURERA, Muhoza	Rugarama - Kidaho
Mutete OSRG	60	1015	1990, 1994	Northern, GICUMBI, Mutete, Gaseke, Nyamabuye	Gicumbi - Buyoga
Buranga OSRG	62	-	1990, 1994	Northern, GAKENKE, Kivuruga, Cyintare, Bigogwe	Gakenke - Cyabingo
Rutare OSRG	61	264	1990, 1994	Northern, GICUMBI, Rutare, Kigabiro, Rugarama,	Gicumbi -Rutare
Total		52,195	1990, 1994		

Rugomboka J.D. June 2020. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe June 2020

N.B.: - The total recorded from October 1990 to 31 December 1993 is 52,195, excluding five sites and the grim figures after the latter date, which do not show any figures²⁹⁹ *.

- The total recorded from October 1990 to 31 December 1993 is **52,195** victims, excluding five sites and the macabre figures after the latter date. The accounting for this period is in the section described since 6 April 1994. James Gasana, in his testimony to the ICTR: "Political violence in Rwanda 1991-1993: testimony on the role of political party youth organisations", uses the method of assessment according to the phases of the war and arrives at a figure of **60,000** victims³⁰⁰.

The behaviour, actions and deeds of the RPF/NRA clearly show that before invading Rwanda, the RPF had devised a plan to exterminate Rwandans, because people were systematically killed in large numbers in the four provinces of Umutara, Byumba, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi. These are the regions it has controlled since 1 October 1990, and to this day, there have been no other parties in conflict to rival it in April 1994. MINUAR, led by General Romeo Dallaire, never published a report on the RPF's attacks against people living in the area controlled by the RPF in April 1994. It never wanted to make public the truth about the massacres committed by the RPF in the north of the country (Rwanda). Evil is the absence of good. Darkness is the absence of light. This evil has been darkening Rwanda since 1 October 1990.

The genocide map is a visual document and geographical-historical tool that depicts the atrocities committed on Rwandan territory. It is very simplified and easy for the passionate reader, capable of reading and loving history, to understand, to pass on to their children, grandchildren and descendants, so that they may understand what happened and avoid always returning to square one in order to understand and/or judge. It challenges the lies surrounding the 1994 genocide.

The RPF's lies have allowed it to hide its own crimes, crimes that are confirmed by the genocide sites in the former prefectures of Byumba, Mutara, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi: areas controlled by the RPF and buffer zones under the Arusha Peace Accords, but which unfortunately do not appear in the investigations carried out by the ICTR. The instigators within the RPF/NRA were not tried by the ICTR. This fact is one of the major serious failings on the part of the ICTR/UN, as the ICTR/UN did not respect the following principle: "By virtue of: Entry into force: 12 January 1951, in accordance with the provisions of Article XIII. The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, constitutes a crime under international law, which they undertake to prevent and punish."

VI.1.3. The RPF's final terrorist act: The assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana on 6 April 1994 at around 8.30 p.m.

After eliminating a number of politicians who opposed its ideas of seizing power through deception, lies and arms, the RPF committed the unspeakable by assassinating the head of state, whom it considered its number one enemy. The Rwandan presidential plane was carrying 12 people, all of whom were killed on the night of 6 April 1994. The aircraft was carrying: 6 Rwandans, 3 Burundians and 3 French crew members.

Names of passengers:

- Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda;

²⁹⁹ Rugomboka J.D. June 2020. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe June 2020.

³⁰⁰ Gasana James. GasanaViolencePolitiqueJuin1998.pdf. Bussigny-près-Lausanne, June 1998

- Cyprien Ntaryamira, President of the Republic of Burundi;
 - Bernard Ciza, Burundian Minister of Public Affairs;
 - Cyriaque Simbizi, Burundian Minister of Communication;
 - Déogratias Nsabimana, Chief of Staff of the Rwandan Army;
 - Thaddée Bagaragaza, Major and Head of the Rwandan President's Military Household;
 - Elie Sagatwa, Colonel, member of the Special Secretariat and Chief of Staff of the Rwandan President;
 - Juvénal Renzaho, Foreign Affairs Adviser to the Rwandan President;
 - Emmanuel Akingeneye, personal physician to the Rwandan President;
- Crew members:
- Jacky Héraud, pilot;
 - Jean-Pierre Minaberry, co-pilot;
 - Jean-Michel Perrine, mechanic.

The latter three were French nationals. The act was classified as terrorism. The Arusha Peace Accords were dead and buried. The UN, which was on the ground through UNAMIR, and the international community, which was supposed to assist the two parties in conflict in concluding these agreements, did not help them to agree on the implementation of these agreements. On the contrary, they abandoned the Rwandan people, took sides and helped the Rwandan Patriotic Front (APR/ANR) to seize power by force³⁰¹ *.

In April 1994, there were more than 2,000 young people from political parties and 7,000 FAR soldiers in Kigali. As for the RPF, it had between 3,600 and 7,200 soldiers in Murindi. According to Tite Rutaremara, it had more than 39,000 APR members infiltrated in all cells and more than 2,500 infiltrators recruited by Kajeguhakwa Valens. Behind the RPF, the NRA had support in terms of men and weapons, as well as the organisational support of President Yoweri Museveni, who had placed the country's administration and banks at its disposal. Victory was therefore assured. In addition, the American military presence on the ground gave them confidence.

6 April 1994: Assassination of Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi and all members of their delegation and companions³⁰² *. *The assassination of President Habyarimana was preceded by the weakening of the regime's power, which shows that there was a deliberate strategy to weaken the regime, create chaos and seize all power by force without sharing it. It will be remembered that Museveni used the same strategy in Uganda when he seized power in Kampala in 1986. In addition to the preparations made in Uganda, the RPF received multifaceted assistance that would help it achieve its Machiavellian objectives. The strategy consists of forcing the adversary to negotiate, lulling them into a false sense of security during the negotiations; at the same time, the NRA/RPF prepares for war with cunning and extreme malice in order to take the final step of evading the negotiations, then physically eliminating its adversary and their collaborators or (all those associated with them).*

VI.1.3.1. The fateful date and outcome of the Rwandan tragedy

6 April 1994: Assassination of Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi and the delegations accompanying them.

³⁰¹ Ntirikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that remain unpunished. (February 2014.^{2nd} revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil, page 59.

³⁰² Ntirikina F. Rwanda, Ibidem, Page 59

Two heads of state, from Rwanda and Burundi, assassinated



Photo no. 49.

Two presidents who perished in the Falcon 50 on 6 April 1994.

The circumstances surrounding the attack on the Rwandan presidential plane on 6 April 1994 are well known and not particularly controversial. President J. Habyarimana had travelled to Dar-Es-Salaam on the morning of 6 April 1994 for a peace meeting between the presidents of the sub-region.

Tanzanian President A.H. Mwinyi, Ugandan President Y. Museveni, Burundian President C. Ntaryamira and Kenyan Vice-President George Saitoti took part. Convened to find solutions to the problems in Burundi, the meeting reportedly only addressed the Rwandan crisis, in particular the difficulties in establishing the transitional institutions provided for in the Arusha Agreement. The Dar es Salaam summit lasted longer than expected, delaying President Habyarimana's return to Kigali.

For reasons that remain unclear, the Burundian president boarded the Rwandan president's Falcon 50 at the last minute. The other passengers included two Burundian ministers and those accompanying the Rwandan president. There were three crew members, all French. Details are provided in the paragraph above.

At 8:30 p.m., as the aircraft approached the runway at Grégoire Kayibanda International Airport from the east, the only runway authorised by MINUAR, one or two anti-aircraft missiles struck the aircraft, which crashed into the gardens of the Rwandan president's private residence near the airport. All twelve people on board the presidential jet were killed instantly. The positions held by those killed and, above all, the key nature of this attack in the aftermath of the Rwandan tragedy require that its perpetrators be unmasked, beyond the fanciful hypotheses put forward by those who want to cover their tracks or by those who are manipulated by them.

VI.1.3.2. Investigating the indicators of responsibility for the assassination

Anyone who wants to identify those primarily responsible for the attack of 6 April 1994 must analyse certain sets of evidence. These may be actions, omissions or statements. There are dozens, even hundreds, of clues that could be used in the investigation of the 6 April attack. Here, I do not wish to engage in a debate—which I am incapable of doing anyway—that would only serve to muddy the waters, which are already sufficiently and deliberately muddled³⁰³ *.

The exercise is simply to provide a set of clues which, from our point of view, when placed in the context of the circumstances surrounding the attack, are sufficiently suggestive: **1.** The brutality of the assassination **2.** The missiles used and their origin **3.** The individuals who fired

³⁰³ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice. - The civil war of April-July 1994.

(launched) the missiles, who are members of the APR 4. The preparations made by the RPF prior to the attack. 5. Who benefited from this attack?

They point directly to the responsibility of Yoweri Museveni, Paul Kagame, APR soldiers and others. However, the latter will do everything in their power to cover up the truth about those responsible for Habyarimana's assassination. Thus, during their lifetimes, investigator HOURIGAN's report, "From April 1996 to the end of February 1997," will not be updated. This investigation into the attack of 6 April 1994 to identify those responsible points the finger at Kagame's RPF, aided by foreign powers. Once drafted, the document was immediately sealed in a UN drawer on the orders of Koffi Annan. Mrs Albright and her president, Bill Clinton, were behind this pressure to stifle the truth in order to cover up the RPF's crime of terrorism.

The truth about the destruction of the presidential plane is disturbing and upsetting to all those gentlemen of good intentions who are accustomed to denouncing "France-Africa", a concept as outdated as it is widely used to castigate France's alleged neo-colonial policy. Moreover, several African countries no longer subscribe to this hypocritical policy. It can be said that Kagame benefited from a collective blindness that he fostered through effective intermediaries. While all the Western human rights watchdogs were demonising Habyarimana, who was suspected of organising the massacre of the Tutsis, Kagame's soldiers were actually committing even greater massacres, but far from the journalists and cameras. While academics and human rights journalists were convincing the public of the existence of so-called "death squads" led by Habyarimana, the RPF was carrying out terrorist attacks that everyone attributed to the "death squads", as attested by an influential member of the RPF, Christophe Hakizimana³⁰⁴ * or by other sources, including a memorandum from a US Army captain³⁰⁵ *. Hakizimana gives his testimony: "In the RPF/NRA's plans, this attack on President Habyarimana was intended to push the INTERAHAMWE, manipulated by their leaders within the RPF/NRA, to massacre the Tutsis and Hutus who sympathised with the RPF (so-called moderate Hutus), massacres that the RPF would exploit to seize and consolidate power by force in the first place, then use Rwanda to conquer Zaire and create a Hima-Tutsi empire in the Great Lakes region." This US Army captain compiled a document entitled: "Memorandum of US Army Captain recollection of documents showing planning of genocide in conjunction with RPA", which is part of the body of evidence proving the planning of the genocide of the Tutsi by the leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), the armed wing of the RPF.

Furthermore, the RPF message intercepted by the FAR on the night of 6 to 7 April 1994 and reproduced by the ICTR under number K0204595 A KO204597 is unequivocal³⁰⁶ *. "We inform you that the mission of our reinforced squadron has been a resounding success against the MRND-CDR and the FRODEBU."

We should add that journalist Michela Wrong has just published a book on Paul Kagame's assassinations, *Rwanda Assassins sans Frontières* (Rwanda Assassins Without Borders), in which the RPF's ruse is clearly explained: "The gentlemen of Good Intentions did not see that their idol was seeking civil war at all costs, trying to provoke massacres in order to seize power... Paul Kagame was the mastermind behind this tragedy, under the cover of foreign powers."

³⁰⁴ Kambanda Jean. August 2020, Editions Sources du Nil. Lille, France.

³⁰⁵ The US and the Genocide in Rwanda 1994: A National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book, William FERROGGIARO, Editor, 20 August 2001.

³⁰⁶ Document K0089297 of the ICTR: 27/09/94: Memorandum of US Army Captain recollection of documents showing planning of genocide in conjunction with RPA

After the attack, the Kagame regime deliberately allowed Hutu militiamen infiltrated by APR elements to 'clean up' the country. Even more incredible, it made people believe that the Hutus it had massacred in large numbers were Tutsis, before, once in power, hunting down the survivors who had settled in refugee camps. Finally, it was Kagame himself who had crematoria built to dispose of the bodies... The truth that should have been revealed is both grim and simple: it clearly shows that Kagame's regime is entirely genocidal.

On 7 April 1994: Assassination of Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and her husband. The truth about their assassination has not been fully revealed, nor has that of certain politicians from the internal opposition.

From 7 April 1994: Widespread killings throughout the Republic and attacks by the RPF on all FAR positions. At around 4 p.m., General Dallaire officially ordered the RPF to engage in combat and openly entered the CND. General Dallaire gave the RPF information on the positions of the FAR without the latter knowing the positions of the Rwandan Patriotic Army. General Dallaire had openly committed himself to helping the RPF. From that moment on, he could no longer provide good, neutral information to his superiors at the United Nations Council. On the same day, 7 April 1994, soldiers from the government army shot and killed ten Belgian peacekeepers because of rumours that it was the Belgians who had shot down the presidential plane (see Internet 2007 and Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda le fête du mensonge et de l'injustice [Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice]). - The civil war of April-July 1994 (*N.B. thirteen bodies were counted at the morgue: three bodies of Belgians killed were not registered with MINUAR*).

General Dallaire himself passed in front of the military camp in Kigali. If he had been attacked, it would have been the end of the UNAMIR mission. Meanwhile, on 8 April, we received disturbing information about the presence of a US Marine Corps unit in Bujumbura for several days. Knowing that the US Embassy evacuation plan went through Bujumbura, one wonders whether they were aware of what was going to happen on 6 April 1994 and afterwards...

Does the mystery of this US Marine Corps unit, observed following the evacuation of the US embassy in Kigali via Bujumbura, not tie in with another equally disturbing mystery, that of the three foreign bodies in the morgue among the ten bodies of Belgian peacekeepers?

From 7 to 23 April 1994: Confident of certain victory (assurances from the CIA, the UN, Uganda and other supporters of the RPF), the RPF refused to negotiate with the interim government, but offered the FAR three unconditional proposals:

1. Either join the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi,
2. Or withdraw from the war and do nothing,
3. Or agree to fight the RPF Inkotanyi and accept the consequences of defeat.

Despite the traitors within the army, the government forces did not accept these unconditional demands from the RPF. Interahamwe, Inkuba, Abakombozi, PL youths and RPF/APR/NRA infiltrators engaged in killings: they operated in all prefectures of the country where RPF soldiers had not yet arrived, i.e. in the area conquered by the RPF and the demilitarised zone that was in its hands.

Also on 7 April 1994: widespread killings throughout the territory of the Republic and attack by the RPF on all FAR positions. Among those killed, Nzamurambaho Frédéric, Minister of Agriculture from 1974 to 1984 and from 1992 to 1994, leader of the Social Democratic Party.

Nzamurambaho Frédéric



Photo no. 50

This political party was created on 1 July 1991 by Félicien Gatabazi and Frédéric Nzamurambaho, and was nicknamed the "Party of Intellectuals". It formed a bloc opposed to President Juvénal Habyarimana alongside the Liberal Party and the Mouvement Républicain Démocratique (MDR).

8 April 1994: On the afternoon of 8 April 1994 in Kigali (Rwanda), two non-commissioned officers of the French Gendarmerie on a cooperation mission to the Republic of Rwanda, as well as the wife of one of them, were brutally murdered. 8 April 1994: Negotiation meeting of political parties for the establishment of an interim government. The memorandum of understanding between the parties was amended on the same day. The political parties still hoped to be able to sit down at the negotiating table to implement the Arusha peace accords.

9 April 1994: Swearing-in of the new coalition government, an interim government led by Dr T. Sindikubwabo and J. Kambanda. Information from some people present in Dar-Es-Salaam indicates that French President Mitterrand attempted to telephone President Habyarimana via Habyarimana's security services to warn him of a possible ambush against him, but those attending the meeting at the Tanzanian services did not allow President Habyarimana to be seen. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to warn Habyarimana. The destruction of President J. Habyarimana's plane on 6 April 1994 was caused by an attack. Direct testimony: that of the commander of the presidential guard in Kanombe, that of the chief of staff to the president, that of two children of the head of state and finally that of others is corroborated by other witnesses. Material evidence was found at the scene of the attack. Whether it be the Michael Hourigan investigation, the Jean Louis Bruguière investigation, or the Spanish investigation, they all point to the same perpetrator, the current president Paul Kagame.

The death of the Head of State and President of the Republic, the Head of Security and the Chief of Staff of the Army seriously weakened the Rwandan army, whose mission was to defend the , the population and the territorial integrity of the country. MONUOR (the observer mission on the Uganda-Rwanda border) was unable to fulfil its mandate to prevent the infiltration of weapons from Uganda. The risk of being caught red-handed by the international community assisting the RPF is likely to have a moderating effect on President Museveni.³⁰⁷ * It is well known that Uganda provided the RPF with manpower (NRA soldiers), followed by equipment, ammunition and intelligence supplied by the United States of America. Thus, the real commander of the war that the RPF/NRA waged against Rwanda was Kaguta Yoweri Museveni, the Ugandan president, encouraged by Washington. The death of the President and the main army and security officials, triggering a cycle of deadly reprisals by part of the presidential guard against the opposition, provided a pretext for military intervention by the FFPR³⁰⁸ *.

The interim government repeatedly called for dialogue with the RPF, which refused. MINUAR, which had come to Rwanda to guarantee the protection and implementation of the Arusha peace

³⁰⁷ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs. Edition Mille et une nuit, département de la Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005. Page 517.

³⁰⁸ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994. Ibid.

accords, did not fulfil its mission properly. General Dallaire was busy locating the positions of the FAR in order to communicate them to the APR/NRA General Staff.

The appointment of Colonel Bizimungu as commander of the Ruhengeri operational sector demonstrated the determination of the Rwandan army. In this regard, the embargo against the FAR was one of the main causes of its defeat.

The international community rallied behind the RPF instead of giving a negotiated solution a chance to implement the Arusha peace accords. External aid (political, diplomatic and even military) from powerful countries was the culminating and decisive factor in the RPF's seizure of power. They chose to bury peace in favour of the RPF's violent and bloody seizure of power.

VI.1.3.3. The circumstances surrounding the attack on the presidential aircraft

The circumstances surrounding the attack on the Rwandan presidential plane on 6 April 1994 are well known and highly controversial. This point was described in the previous chapter, which discusses that fateful date. President J. Habyarimana had travelled to Dar-Es-Salaam on the morning of **6 April 1994** for a meeting between the presidents of the sub-region. Tanzanian President A. H. Mwinyi, Ugandan President Y. Museveni, Burundian President C. Ntaryamira and Kenyan Vice-President George Saitoti took part. Museveni arrived very late for the meeting and pretended to doze off during the meeting in order to delay it intentionally.

Convened to find solutions to the problems in Burundi, the meeting reportedly only addressed the Rwandan crisis, particularly the difficulties in establishing the transitional institutions provided for in the Arusha Agreement.³⁰⁹ *

The Dar es Salaam summit lasted longer than expected, which delayed President Habyarimana's return to Kigali at the scheduled time, i.e. before nightfall. For reasons that remain unclear, the Burundian president boarded the Rwandan president's Falcon 50 at the last minute. All twelve people on board the presidential jet were killed instantly³¹⁰ *; their names are listed above. At 8:30 p.m., as the plane approached from the east, the runway at Grégoire Kayibanda International Airport, the only one authorised by MINUAR, one or two anti-aircraft missiles struck the aircraft, which crashed into the gardens of the Rwandan president's private residence near the airport.

The positions held by the individuals killed and, above all, the key role played by this attack in the subsequent Rwandan tragedy demand that its perpetrators be unmasked, beyond the fanciful hypotheses put forward by those who want to cover their tracks or by those who are manipulated by them. At all costs, the true story of the Rwandan genocide will be rewritten to show all its facets, especially those obscured by the RPF, the media and part of the international community.

But to this day, 30 years after the crash, the instigators and their accomplices have done everything in their power to stifle the truth. They are in the UN or among the major foreign powers, fighting to avoid being brought to justice. They use all means, especially financial ones, derived from the taxpayers of the Rwandan people, to corrupt. The current RPF regime cannot give up or allow the truth to come out, because that would mean rewriting the history of the Rwandan genocide and automatically losing its power. But no matter what it does, the truth will eventually prevail. At the time of writing, the ten lies that covered up the Tutsi genocide are known. Soon we will be at the end of the ladder. The Great Lakes region and the whole of Africa are currently experiencing the epicentre of insecurity that has been shaking the region for more

³⁰⁹ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs. Published by Mille et une nuit, a division of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005. Page 516.

³¹⁰ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs. Published by Mille et une nuit, a division of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005.

than thirty years, namely Rwandan President Paul Kagame, supported by certain Western countries that are plundering the resources of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Now that everything is known, the Western world feels disturbed and it is high time to bury the issue once and for all and let black people get on with their own affairs, says Macron's France in 2022.

VI.1.3.4. Indicators - evidence of responsibility for the assassination

Primary responsibility for the attack of 6 April 1994 has been analysed on the basis of certain clues. These may be actions, omissions or statements made by the actors themselves. There are dozens, even hundreds, of clues that could be used in the investigation of the 6 April attack.

The UN, led by the powerful countries involved, obstructed serious and conclusive investigations into the attack of 6 April 1994. They did everything they could to deliberately cover up the evidence that was clear enough to prosecute those who ordered the attack. The exercise is not just to provide a set of clues which, in our view, fit the circumstances that prevailed at the time of the attack. They lead straight to the responsibilities of Yoweri Museveni, Paul Kagame, the APR/NRA military and others affiliated with this attack³¹¹ *.

The attack has been the subject of several investigations, notably those conducted by Judge Jean-Louis Bruguière and Judges Marc Trévidic and Nathalie Poux. The first led to the issuance of nine international arrest warrants against individuals close to President Paul Kagame. There was also Michael Hourigan, the ICTR Special Investigator: they identified the "Network Commando" led by Charles Kayonga, head of the CND section, driver Karakonje Didier, Hakizimana Éric and Nziza Franc, two missile launchers, Patiano, who provided security for the convoy, and the location of the shooter³¹² *.

In December 2018, investigating judges Jean Marc Herbaut and Nathalie Poux dismissed the case "due to insufficient evidence", which was confirmed by the Court of Cassation in February 2022.

VI.1.3.5. Political tricks and state lies in the land of a thousand hills

In order to understand the level of political trickery and lies perpetrated by the RPF and its foreign supporters, Major Ntilikina Faustin, then Secretary to the Chief *of Staff*, recounts the following: "It is 8 April 1994, around 9 o'clock in the morning. Barely thirty-six hours have passed since the attack on the presidential Falcon. David Rawson, the United States Ambassador to Kigali, informs me that the Americans are going to evacuate Rwanda and asks me to provide escorts for the convoy. At that moment, I imagine that the Americans intend to leave the country by air via Grégoire Kayibanda Airport³¹³(*) ."

According to Judge Bruguière, who was about to close his investigation into the 6 April 1994 attack on President Habyarimana's plane, "they were mercenaries in the pay of Kagame's RPF. It was therefore not the Hutu extremists of the Habyarimana regime who premeditated this coup d'état and its monstrous consequences. This is a big lie in our history, fabricated long ago outside Rwanda to exterminate the Rwandan people, who are well informed." (See also the chapter on the ten lies of the RPF and the chapter on the genocide.

³¹¹ Ntirikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that have gone unpunished. (February 2014.^{2nd}revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil.

³¹² Ndirabatware A. 2006. Sources du Nil Publishing. Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice.

³¹³ Ntirikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that remain unpunished. (February 2014.^{2nd}revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil.

Thus, the entire history of the genocide would have to be reconsidered, and Paul Kagame, now President of Rwanda, would undoubtedly appear to be the greatest war criminal still alive and free to move about. Because the propaganda of two leaders has given him a mask: "a visionary leader, our kind of man", "A visionary leader".

- Open letter from Janvier Afrika to the Security Council. In it, he claims to have been exfiltrated from Kigali prison by the RPF on 28 February 1994. A political lie.

- The RPF calls for votes for the leaders of the liberal party that has supported it since 1990.

- The report suppressed by the ICTR – In which Paul Kagame is named as the perpetrator of the attack.

The apprentice dictator did not hesitate to shoot down the plane of the head of state he wanted to replace, knowing full well that this would trigger terrible killings, particularly targeting people of his own ethnic group. Hitler? Stalin? Pol Pot? No, simply Kagame, whom history, once it has torn away the veil of manipulation, will undoubtedly classify as a bloodthirsty monster. A monster capable of exploiting for his own gain the attempted genocide that he knowingly unleashed. In short, a Führer who became director of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust museum... From the top of "his" mountain of bones, here he is dispensing verdicts and moral lessons to the entire ^{planet314(*)}.

After the attack, the Kagame regime deliberately allowed Hutu militiamen infiltrated by elements of the Rwandan Patriotic Army to "clean up" part of the country. Even more incredibly, it made people believe that the Hutus it had massacred in large numbers were Tutsis, before, once in power, hunting down the survivors who had settled in camps.

It was Kagame who had crematoria built to dispose of the bodies in Akagera National Park and Nyungwe Natural Forest, which today, , has been renamed a national park... The truth that should have been accepted is both grim and simple: Kagame's regime is much more ethnicist than Habyarimana's was^{315(*)}.

Kagame is in fact the greatest living and active war criminal, yet he is hailed as a respectable head of state by the international community.

The apprentice dictator did not hesitate to shoot down the plane of the head of state he wanted to replace, knowing full well that this would trigger terrible killings targeting people of his own ethnic group. Hitler? Stalin? Pol Pot? No, simply Kagame, whom history, once it has torn away the veil of manipulation, will one day classify as a bloodthirsty monster. A monster capable of exploiting for his own gain the attempted genocide that he knowingly ^{unleashed316(*)}.

If we look at the violence of the past, we can safely assume that Kagame draws his vengeance and extermination from his Rucunshu and Inyenzi circles. It is important to note that the RPF already occupied one third of the country, i.e. the entire north, the prefectures of Byumba and Ruhengeri, since its offensive on 8 February 1992. After taking power in July 1994, the RPF erected a large number of genocide sites, irrefutable proof of a Hutu genocide in northern Rwanda.

³¹⁴ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Black Fury, White Liars. Mille et une nuit publishing house, part of the Arthème Fayard bookshop, November 2005. Pages 19-21.

³¹⁵ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Black Fury, White Lies. Mille et une nuit publishing house, part of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005. Page 528.

³¹⁶ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994, Ibidem, page 19.

The RPF attempted to conceal this genocide by fraudulently introducing it to the UN as a second genocide, defined in its own terms, which took place from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994. A 1,550-day genocide that replaces the 100-day genocide established by the UN, which recognises the Rwandan genocide from 1 April 1994 to 31 December 1994 in accordance with UN Resolution 955.

The gratuitous lie spread by the RPF is that it entered the country to stop the genocide of the Tutsi on 1 October 1990. This was to increase the time allotted to the UN to show that the genocide of the Tutsis had been going on for a long time, to stir up hatred, and that it had come to stop the war that it had itself started on 1 October 1990. This genocide was not mentioned during the Arusha peace negotiations.

In Rwandan political tricks and lies, this issue of ethnicity was not addressed during the Arusha Peace Accords. The Arusha Accords concerning Rwanda took place between June 1992 and August 1993 in successive stages between the Rwandan State and Paul Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front in order to end the Rwandan civil war that began in 1990. Once again, the Rwandans were preparing for peace while Kagame was preparing for war. How sad for the Rwandans, and no one noticed!

Ethnicism and social inequalities sparked the 1959 revolution, which led to the exile of many Tutsis to neighbouring countries. The demand by the Tutsi in exile to return to their country was resolved by a civil war, followed by genocide or *Irimburabanyarwanda*, and the succession of violence led to the exile of thousands of Hutu between 1990 and 1994. Where is this country of a thousand hills and a thousand problems heading? The story continues... In its misguided strategy, the RPF ends up writing its lies and propaganda in important documents such as Google and Wikipedia, while the documents containing the truth, data and statistics that are unfavourable to it are removed and disappear or are banned from publication. And yet nothing can extinguish the truth, even that of Ruzibiza Abdul, a former APR lieutenant (Tutsi), on the involvement of certain Tutsi political leaders in the tragedy, which was revealed by the latter during his testimony at the ICTR: "I am convinced and I affirm that the APR massacred people of all ethnicities, with the aim of sowing anarchy to facilitate its seizure of power, even at the cost of exterminating an entire people"³¹⁷.*

VI.1.3.6. Large-scale targeted killings from 6 April 1994 in Kigali

(Below are a few examples of selected and well-targeted intellectuals. From 7 April 1994 onwards, Kigali City and its surroundings suffered unprecedented massacres; those murdered in the buffer zone are not included in the list below.)

As soon as hostilities resumed on 7 April 1994, the APR massacred hundreds of Hutu families in Kacyiru, Kimihurura, Remera, Gatsata, Rugenge, Gikondo, Kicukiro, Kagugu and Gisozi in the city of Kigali. According to Colonel Luc Marchal, commander of the Belgian contingent in MINUAR, on the morning of 7 April 1994, the RPF had already carried out 120 murders in Kigali, well before the Interahamwe. Here are some examples of people I knew who were killed by the RPF on 7 April 1994 in Kigali:

1-Mr Aaron Akamahari, businessman, murdered at his residence in Remera during the night of 6 to 7 April 1994;

³¹⁷Ruzibiza Abdul Testimony at the ICTR. I am convinced and I affirm that the APR massacred people of all ethnicities, with the aim of sowing anarchy to facilitate its seizure of power, even at the cost of exterminating an entire people. OP. 1920 LT Abdul Ruzibiza. Ruzibiza Abdul. Sunday, 14 March 2004.

2-Retired Gendarme Colonel Pontien Hakizimana, murdered with his entire family at his residence in Remera on 8 April 1994;

3-Major Gendarme Helene Bugenimana, wife of Lt Colonel Laurent Nubaha, murdered with her children at her residence in Remera on 8 April 1994;

4-Mr Sylvestre Baliyanga, Prefect of Ruhengeri Prefecture, murdered along with his entire family at his residence in Remera on 8 April 1994;

5-Mr Claudien Habarushaka, former Prefect of Kigali, murdered at his residence in Remera on 8 April 1994;

6-Mr Mathias Myasiro, businessman, murdered at his residence in Remera;

7-Mr Jean Baptiste Hategekimana, President of the Kigali Court of First Instance, murdered at his residence in Remera;

8-Mr Daniel Rwananiye, former Director General of the Commercial Bank of Rwanda, murdered at his residence in Kicukiro;

9- Dr Aloys Habimana, Director at the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, murdered with his entire family at his residence in Remera;

10-Dr Nsengiyaremye Théodore, pharmacist, murdered with his entire family at his residence in Remera;

11-Mr Frédéric Mupenda, senior official at BUNEP (National Office for Studies and Programmes);

12-Mr Marcel Munyengabe, former President of the Court of Auditors, murdered with his family at his residence on 8 April 1994;

13-Mr Célestin Ndagijimana, former Director General of the Rwanda Savings Bank;

14-Mr Emile Nyungura and his entire family;

15-Mr Emmanuel Bahigiki and his family; **16-Mr Iréné Kayibanda**, son of President Grégoire Kayibanda; and many others. There was also the assassination of ten Belgian UNAMIR peacekeepers on 7 April 1994.



Photo no. 51. Image of 10 Belgian soldiers

Ten Belgian soldiers were killed in the early days of the genocide (7 April 1994). Belgium decided to withdraw its contingent from MINUAR, representing half of its troops. Ten

paratroopers, peacekeepers, allowed themselves to be disarmed and were taken away and murdered at the Kigali camp after a Rwandan soldier attempting to enter the premises where they were staying had his Kalashnikov rifle snatched by the Belgians and was killed by them. The names of the ten paratroopers killed are: Lieutenant Thierry Lotin, First Sergeant Yannick Leroy, Corporals Bruno Bassine, Alain Debatty, Christophe Dupont, Stéphane Lhoir, Bruno Meaux, Louis Plescia, Christophe Renwa and Marc Uyttebroeck.

Let us recall once again a troubling mystery surrounding the bodies of the ten Belgian peacekeepers: 199 "thirteen bodies were counted at the morgue: three bodies of Belgians killed were not registered with MINUAR," as well as the mystery of a US Marine Corps body in Bujumbura found following the evacuation of the US Embassy in Kigali, which passed through Bujumbura. Only the declassification of archives on the Rwandan genocide at the UN and in Washington will be able to shed light on these mysteries.

VI.2. Progression of the war until the RPF took power

Here is a map showing the RPF's route to Kigali and its total conquest of the country.

Abdul Ruzibiza (RIP) in his testimony to the ICTR in the case of the soldiers (Bagosora, Ntabakuze, Kabiligi and Nsengiyumva), he spoke of the joy of the Inkotanyi-Inyenzi (APR) stationed at Mulindi as their headquarters, as soon as they received the message that President Habyarimana's plane had been destroyed and that no one had survived: "All of us in the courtroom were surprised to hear about Paul Kagame's behaviour at that moment: while everyone was shouting with joy, Kagame immediately went to the radio operator and sent a short message to all the attack units: 'The war is beginning, and it will be tough' (Intambara iratangiye kandi bizaba bibi = the war is beginning, and it will be bad)."

Brothers and sisters who love Rwanda, Kagame's words after Habyarimana's death on the night of 6 April 1994 are telling. What is it? For me, Kagame's actions show that he was well aware that he was doing something wrong, that countless Rwandans, especially those from the Tutsi tribe, were going to be killed. He sacrificed the Tutsis³¹⁸ *.

VI.2.1. Period from 7 to 9 April 1994: the 'vacuum period'

The vacuum period is the time when Rwanda was left without a president after the terrorist act of destroying the plane carrying two heads of state and their companions.

Colonel Charles Muhire, with part of Battalion 101 advancing from the commune of Miyove, was the first to cross Lake Muhazi and arrive in the commune of Giti. He had 550 soldiers divided into three companies, B, C and E. These companies were commanded respectively by Capt. Karyango, Capt. Camarade and Lt. Buregeya.

The Operations Officer (OPTO) of the 101st Battalion was Major Sam Bigabiro and the second Intelligence Officer (IO) was Lieutenant Claude Ruraza. Once on the other side of the lake, Colonel Muhire gave the order to clear the area and secure the passage of troops heading to Kigali. Approximately 300 civilians were killed. (Sam.090) Between April and May 1994, some of the local civilian population helped APR soldiers by providing them with lists of suspected Interahamwe members. These individuals were reportedly rounded up in houses and shops and

³¹⁸ Ruzibiza Abdul Testimony at the ICTR. I am convinced and I affirm that the APR massacred people of all ethnic groups with the aim of sowing anarchy to facilitate its seizure of power, even at the cost of exterminating an entire people. OP. 1920 LT Abdul Ruzibiza. Ruzibiza Abdul. Sunday, 14 March 2004.

executed by the APR using rifles and grenades. The shopping centre located in the heart of the commune of Giti was one of the sites of the massacre (Deb.079)³¹⁹ *.

Belgian Minister Claes Willy orders the departure of the peacekeepers supervised by Colonel Luc Marchal, who was Deputy Commander of MINUAR. Colonel Luc Marchal delays as long as he can at Kigali International Airport with the last Belgian peacekeepers. On three occasions, he ignores the order to withdraw from General Charlier, Chief of Staff of the Belgian Army. Marchal is concerned about giving Romeo Dallaire the time he needs for Ghanaian troops to move towards Kigali from the demilitarised zone. In another letter to Romeo Dallaire, Luc Marchal expresses his reluctance to leave Rwanda. The likely consequences of the Belgian withdrawal are known to all, but Marchal wants to put them in writing. In his view, it will result in bloodshed; thousands of people will be massacred.

Assassination of Hutu elites, including members of the RPF/APR such as High Command member Muvunanyambo, who was killed in 1992, as well as numerous civilian officials recruited throughout the demilitarised zone of northern Rwanda between 1992 and 1994. Once again, the districts most affected were Muvumba, Ngarama, Bwisige, Kiyombe, Mukarange, Cyumba, Kibali, Kivuye, Cyungo, Kinigi, Butaro, Cyeru and Nyamugari.

“Assassination of Hutu elites including members of the RPF/RPA such as Member of High Command Muvunanyambo who was killed in 1992 as well as many civilian cadres recruited in the entire demilitarised zone in Northern Rwanda between 1992 and 1994. Once again, the districts most affected include Muvumba, Ngarama, Bwisige, Kiyombe, Mukarange, Cyumba, Kibali, Kivuye, Cyungo, Kinigi, Butaro, Cyeru and Nyamugari.”

The Rwandan, April 2016: Furuma Alphonse, testimony given on 23 January 2001. Member of the RPF. Abdul Ruzibiza gives the same testimony in his book: *Le Secret du génocide (The Secret of the Genocide)*.

The route taken by the Rwandan Patriotic Army is shown here in photo no. 52. The route taken is marked/drawn in green. The route refers to the route taken by the APR for the final assault in 1994.

The route of the Rwandan Patriotic Army's advance

³¹⁹ Ruzibiza Abdul Testimony at the ICTR. Ibid.



Photo no. 52

Before the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana and the resumption of the war, the Rwandan administration was preparing to implement the Arusha Peace Accords. It was the political and military administration that was responsible for implementing them. Its organisation may be an indicator of the success or failure of the war, and of the preparation or lack of preparation for the genocide. The country's local political administration was led by individuals from a multi-party system in which all existing political parties took part. Furthermore, the north was occupied by the RPF/NRA and the rest of the country was occupied by the Government Forces (FAR).

VI.2.2. Territorial administration 1962-2006

The 10 prefectures of Rwanda (1962-1992, before the war); 142 communes in 1973; 143 in 1990, 145 in 1992; 154 in 1994, after the war: 30 districts in 2006.

The names of each prefecture were: 1. Byumba, 2. Ruhengeri, 3. Gisenyi, 4. Kibungo, 5. Rural Kigali, 6. Kigali City, 7. Gitarama, 8. Butare, 9. Gikongoro, 10. Kibuye, 11. Cyangugu.

These prefectures are divided into 143 communes, each headed by a mayor appointed by the President of the Republic from the 1973 coup d'état until 1991 (before the introduction of a multi-party system). Territorial administration from 1992 to 1994: 11 prefectures and 145 communes in 1994-1995: 12 prefectures and 154 communes (in April 1994) , the twelfth prefecture being Mutara in 1994-1995.

N.B.: In 1994, before the RPF took power, Rwanda (Photo No. 4 Rwanda: Municipal administrative map) had the following administrative entities: 145 municipalities, 1,500 sectors and 7,800 cells, not including the activity cells identified within public institutions and private establishments.

The administrative map of Rwanda in April 1994

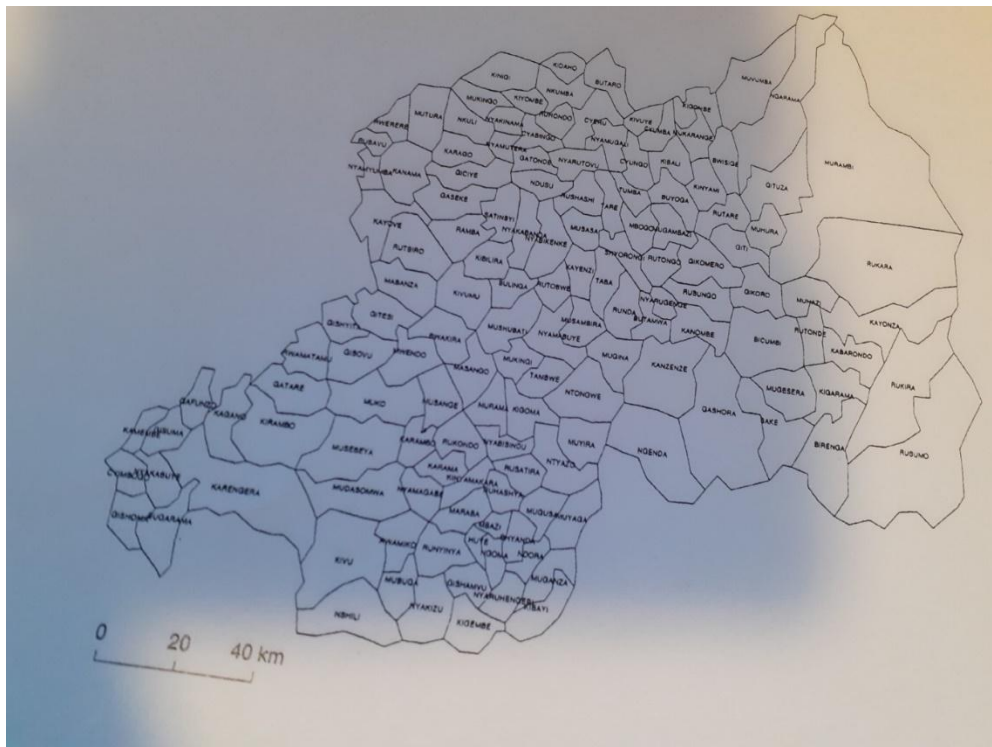


Photo No. 53 Administrative map of Rwanda in April 1994. Source : Ministry of the Interior and Information.

Territorial administration from 1992 to 1994: 11 prefectures and 145 communes in 1994-1995: 12 prefectures and 154 communes (in April 1994).

N.B.: In 1994, before the RPF took power: 145 municipalities, 1,500 sectors and 7,800 cells, not including the activity cells identified within public institutions and private establishments.

The toponymy of each prefecture was: 1. Byumba, 2. Ruhengeri, 3. Gisenyi, 4. Kibungo, 5. Rural Kigali, 6. Kigali City, 7. Gitarama, 8. Butare, 9. Gikongoro, 10. Kibuye, 11. Cyangugu.

While the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) was committing genocide under the cover of Kaguta Museveni's administration, which was working for the interests of the Bill Clinton administration (CIA), Great Britain, Belgium, Israel, etc., all of them were preparing to take power in Kigali at that very moment. They worked relentlessly to cover up the attack on President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane and pin the blame on the person who would take over as interim leader to unite the government, which had been unexpectedly decapitated, in order to sink the ship.

*Between 10 and 25 April 1994: the APR massacred several hundred Hutus in the Kiziguro region, Murambi commune, Byumba prefecture. Similar killings were perpetrated in the communes of Gikoro, Gikomero and Bicumbi, Kabuga (Rubungo) in the Kigali Rural prefecture.

*April 1994: The APR massacred hundreds of people with grenades after gathering them at the Shagasha and Gipfundo school centres in Mugambazi Commune (Kigali).

*Between 10 and 30 April 1994: The APR abducted hundreds of Hutus from the Amahoro National Stadium and King Faisal Hospital under the helpless gaze of UNAMIR peacekeepers and took them to the slaughterhouse.

*11 and 20 April 1994 Rwamatamu Kibuye: killings and massacres spread throughout the region during this period.

*12 April 1994 Rebero Kigali. He massacred the people of Rebero, killing more than 200 victims, going from house to house, then gathering some of them together to be used to transport ammunition, digging trenches and holes, before massacring them and burying them in mass graves.

12 April 1994: The FAR proposed to the RPF that fighting be suspended to allow for dialogue, but the RPF rejected the offer. On the same date, Belgian peacekeepers abandoned 2,000 Tutsis who were under their protection at the official technical school in Kicukiro, as described by Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice. The FAR command communiqué was signed by ten officers: L. Rusatira, M. Gatsinzi, Muberuka, A. Ntiwiragabo, Kanyamanza, Murasampongo, E. Hakizimana, E. Rwabilinda, A. Rwamanywa and E. Kanyandekwe. They called for dialogue with the RPF. Contrary to certain assertions, this communiqué was in no way directed against the government, and the government did not refute it. The guideline of the communiqué was exactly the same as that of the ^{government}^{320(*)}.

12 April 1994: At the request of the Rwandan Ambassador to the UN, the group of African ambassadors to the United Nations sent a request/letter to the President of the Security Council asking for an increase in the number of personnel and an extension of the mandate of UNAMIR. The first written request from the interim government to this effect dates from 13 April 1994, four days after its members were sworn in. A government delegation had already been sent to representatives of the countries on 9 April 1994.

*On 12 April 1994, a massacre took place at the Nyacyonga war refugee camp. Thousands of refugees were massacred and some of the victims are buried in the genocide memorials in Kigali.

12 April 1994: the interim government fled Kigali and moved to Gitarama.

*Mid-April 1994: massacre at the Kiramuruzi/Murambi shopping centre.

13 April 1994: The Belgian government unilaterally decided to withdraw its soldiers from MINUAR. Its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Willy Claes, notified the UN Secretary-General of this decision on the same day, at the same time as he recommended that MINUAR be terminated.

13 April 1994: The Belgian Government unilaterally decided to withdraw its soldiers from MINUAR. Its Foreign Minister, Willy Claes, notified the UN Secretary-General of this decision on the same day, at the same time as he recommended ending MINUAR.

*From 13 to 19 April 1994, massacre at the Nyabwishongwezi shopping centre.

13 April 1994: with the same manipulative intent, the representative of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) wrote to Ambassador Colin Keating, then President of the Security Council, a letter whose contents are unknown to many Rwandans, not even those who are being prosecuted before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The idea of creating the ICTR was launched on this ^{occasion}^{321(*)}. A formidable weapon against the former regime. * This is a

³²⁰ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: the celebration of lies and injustice.

³²¹ Karemera E., 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. The Rwandan tragedy. In essence, Mr Claude Dusaidi wrote: We wish to request the international community, through you Mr President, to immediately set up a UN war crimes tribunal, apprehend those who have committed crimes against humanity in Rwanda and bring them to justice. Mr President, the perpetrators of these atrocities in Rwanda are known and with UN assistance they can be brought to

point that will be developed as soon as the country returns to the path of law, but it had been set up prior to 6 April by the RPF and its Western and African advisers.

14 April 1994: End of the French Operation Amaryllis.

*15 April 1994 Kiziguro Kibungo, there was a veritable cleansing of the region; the RPF wanted to depopulate/empty the area and repopulate it with former refugees.

17 April 1994: The prefectural movement and the dismissal of opposing prefects.

*15 to 17 April 1994: The parish of Nyamasheke in the commune of Kagano was attacked between 15 and 17 April 1994. The Cyangugu public prosecutor's office estimated the number of victims at 10,000.

18 April 1994: The FAR command renewed its offer to cease fighting in order to resume dialogue, but the RPF rejected it.

20 April 1994: Security Council Resolution 912: At the outbreak of the genocide and the resumption of civil war, the adoption of Resolution 912 (21 April 1994) expanded the mandate of UNAMIR so that it could serve as an intermediary in negotiating a ceasefire, facilitate the restoration of humanitarian aid and monitor the safety of civilians who had taken refuge with the mission (easily found in the UN archives on Google).

21 April 1994: the UN Security Council passed Resolution 912 (1994), effectively ending MINUAR, whose personnel were reduced from 2,500 to a symbolic 270 with a mission of simply observing events. This withdrawal had the effect of accelerating the massacres and the RPF's seizure of power.

*22 April 1994: President Théodore Sindikubwabo's resignation refused. (Interim President)³²². *22 April 1994: massacre at the Mutete shopping centre and health centre. The APR used 122mm and 107mm shells and 120mm mortar bombs on the crowd fleeing the fighting.

*22 April 1994: more than 500,000 Hutu refugees crossed the Rusumo River towards the Tanzanian border and found refuge in the Benako camp in Tanzania.

*From 22 April 1994 onwards, decapitation of the minor seminary in Rwesero and **massacre** of priests and religious men and women in Byumba Prefecture. Some were killed at the minor seminary in Rwesero where they had gathered, others in Karushya where they had taken refuge after the attack on the minor seminary, while others were abducted and disappeared. These include:

- Hutu Abbots Joseph Hitimana, acting Rector of the minor seminary in Rwesero, Christian Nkiliyehe, former Rector of the minor seminary, Athanase Nkundabanyanga, General Treasurer of the Diocese of Byumba, Alexis Havugimana, Ladislav Muhayemungu, Gaspard Mudashimwa, Eustache Ngenzi, Célestin Muhayimana, Augustin Mushyenderi, Faustin Mulindwa and Fidèle Milinda, and Sisters Annonciata and Carolla.

It should be noted that Father Gaspard Mudashimwa, musician and poet, is one of the authors of the former National Anthem of Rwanda and author of several songs glorifying the Rwandan

justice. By doing this, Mr President, the UN will have rendered a noble service to the Rwandan people, who deserve it as members of this world community.

³²² Wikipedia. Théodore Sindikubwabo, born in Butare in 1928 and believed to have died in March 1998, was a Rwandan statesman, former member of parliament, several times minister, and President of the Republic of the Rwandan Interim Government between 9 April and 19 July 1994, during the genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda.

Armed Forces, notably Inzirabwoba, Intiganda, Imbangukirakubanza and Ingobokarugamba, not to mention Inyemeramihigo from Inyemeramihigo College.

Since April 1994, the RPF has assassinated several men of the Church with the intention of decapitating the Catholic Church. 21 April 1994: On 21 April 1994, the RPF mercilessly massacred the priests of the Diocese of Byumba in a widespread attack. It is known that on 5 June 1994, RPF soldiers under the command of General Sam Kaka cold-bloodedly murdered four Catholic bishops in Gakurazo in the commune of Mukingi, Gitarama Prefecture. The list of these victims is given below, while the complete list can be found in *La martyrologie des ecclésiastiques Rwandais durant le génocide* (The Martyrdom of Rwandan Clergy during the Genocide) written by Jean Bosco Mihigo³²³ * (*Appendix 4*)

*23 April 1994 Muhazi Kibungo, there was a veritable cleansing of the region; the RPF wanted to depopulate/empty the area and repopulate it with former refugees.

*23 April 1994, massacres of displaced persons at Byumba Stadium.

*On 23 April 1994, massacres at the Muhondo-Kibali Byumba school centre. The victims were thrown into mass graves.

*On 23 April 1994, massacre at the Karushya-Giti school centre.

*From 23 to 26 April 1994, massacre at the Giti municipal office.

*On 24 April 1994, massacre at the Byumba military camp.

*On 24 April 1994, the APR at the Episcopal Church of Rwanda in Byumba.

*From 24 April to early May, massacre at the Byumba School.

*From 24 April to early May 1994, massacre at the Byumba flour mill. The victims were thrown into mass graves.

*On 26 April 1994, massacre at the Kibali/Byumba School Centre. The victims were thrown into mass graves.

*On 26 April 1994, massacre at the Buhembe/Byumba School Centre.

*On 26 April 1994, massacre on Kageyo hill/Byumba.

*On 26 April 1994, massacre on Meshero hill/Byumba.

*Father Joaquim Vallmajo (Spanish) abducted and disappeared in Kageyo on 26 April 1994.

*On 26 and 27 April 1994, massacre at the Nyarubuye Centre and near the church.

*On 26 and 30 April 1994, massacre in Kisaro-Carrefour des axes.

*The APR dropped thousands of bombs on all neighbourhoods of the city of Kigali, particularly the Kigali market, killing many civilians.

*27 April 1994: The RPF took the small but important town of Rwamagana.

*On 27 April 1994, the APR fired multiple rocket launchers, killing several people at the Kigali Hospital Centre and damaging the AIDS project buildings, while similar attacks targeted the Kanombe Hospital Centre.

*27 April 1994: Massacre at the Zaza Minor Seminary.

*On 28 April 1994, massacre at the Sake Communal Office and Rukumberi Primary School.

*In April 1994, massacre in Gashora, near the municipal office.

*In April-May 1994, massacre in several locations in Kiziguro, notably at the school centre.

*Mid-April-early May 1994, massacre in the commune of Muhura.

*April-May 1994, massacre of Burundian refugees in Rilima.

*April-May 1994, massacre in Rukili.

Massacres in the Musebeya commune in Gikongoro. As at the national level, relatively few local authorities were involved in the killing campaign at the outset. One dissident was Higiyo, the mayor of Musebeya. This mountainous commune, far from the prefectural capital and bordered to the west by the Nyungwe Forest, was home to just under 40,000 people in April

³²³ Father Jean Bosco Mihigo: The martyrdom of Rwandan clergy in the Rwandan tragedy

1994, including only 300 to 400 Tutsis. Only one per cent of the population, the Tutsis were so few in number but so well integrated with the Hutus through marriage, friendship and patronage agreements - some of them spanning up to five generations - that Musebeya seemed unlikely to be a centre of virulent anti-Tutsi sentiment. Moreover, Higiroy was a member of the PSD and therefore considered sympathetic to the RPF and probably to the Tutsi in general.

* April-May 1994, massacre in the centre of Rukomo/Muvumba.

April-May 1994, massacre around the Rutare/Byumba shopping centre.

*Towards the end of April 1994, massacre in Sake (Kibungo), Bugesera (Kigali), Mugina (Gitarama), the Ruhango-Nyanza regions and other regions of Gitarama.

*On 30 April 1994, bombs were dropped on the Kigali Hospital Centre, one of which fell in the operating theatre. Several patients, including children, as well as carers and medical staff, were killed and others wounded.

*From 30 April to 5 May 1994, massacre of people fleeing the fighting in Rusumo. RPF troops took over the Rusumo bridge and closed the Rwandan-Tanzanian border at that point. The bodies of the victims were thrown into the Akagera River.

*30 April Rusumo Kibungo, there were fagia/cleansing operations in the region; the RPF wanted to depopulate/empty the area and repopulate it with former refugees.

*The massacres in the parish of Hanika and the communes of Kirambo-Gatare, as well as in the parish of Mibilizi in Cyangugu Prefecture in April 1994.

April 1994: Report from Gikongoro Prefecture Human Rights Watch Don't let anyone tell them...

¹May 1994: The RPF decides to close the Rwandan-Tanzanian border.

*On the afternoon of 1 May 1994, six 81 or 82 mm mortar bombs were fired from the Egyptian Embassy at the Holy Family parish, where more than 6,000 people displaced by the war had gathered. The provisional toll at 4 p.m. was 13 dead and 113 wounded, several of whom were in critical condition.

*On 2 May 1994, shelling of the Rubingo Refugee Camp, leaving five dead and a dozen wounded.

*On 3 May 1994, the Holy Family Church was bombed again, killing hundreds of people among those displaced by the war. The bombing destroyed the church.

5 May 1994: Under pressure from the UN and the OAU, a ceasefire was agreed between the FAR and the RPF, which was respected from 5 to 7 May 1994 in the city of Kigali, but the RPF shifted the war to the city of Ruhengeri, which fell into its hands without difficulty as it received direct assistance from Uganda.

*12 May 1994: massacre in Karundi/Muhura.

*Mid-May 1994: APR massacre in Musha Kw'isumo (crossroads).

Continued 1994: The UN Security Council proposes to impose an arms embargo on the Rwandan Armed Forces alone, while the Rwandan Patriotic Front, supported by Uganda and the US, continues to be supplied by them.

16 May 1994: All communications entering Kigali are cut off. Théodore Sindikubwabo³²⁴ : Politician: Born in Butare in 1928 and probably died in March 1998 in DR Congo, he was a Rwandan statesman, former deputy, several times minister, and president of the Republic of the Rwandan Interim Government between 9 April and 19 July 1994. He was no longer able to communicate with the outside world. This marked the complete removal of the Rwandan government from power and the consolidation of the RPF's power.

17 May 1994: under pressure from the US administration, which wanted to put an end to the interim government and the FAR, the Security Council adopted Resolution 918, which imposed an embargo on arms and ammunition destined for government forces, while supplies to the RPF, via Uganda, were not subject to any restrictions.

Théodore Sindikubwabo



Photo no. 54

17 May 1994: United Nations Security Council Resolution 918, adopted on 17 May 1994, authorised UNAMIR to contribute to the protection and security of refugees and civilians, including by protecting relief operations. This additional role led to an expansion of the mission's size. UNAMIR was also tasked with protecting the staff of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (resolution 965, adopted on 30 November 1994), which was investigating war crimes and genocide in that country.

18 May 1994: HRW (Leave none to tell the story...) Nyakizu: Administration of the genocide in Inyandiko Mvugo (PV) dated 3 July 1994. Nyakizu commune, "Inyandiko mvugo...18/5/1994." 89 "Inyandiko mvugo...3/07/1994."

According to the current mayor of Nyakizu, 21,015 people were exhumed from mass graves and reburied in the commune of Nyakizu in October 1995. Among the victims were most of the 11,213 Tutsis registered as living there at the start of the genocide. In addition, many Tutsis from other communes attempting to flee to Burundi were killed in Nyakizu, as were a number of Hutus, killed by Ntaganzwa and his men or by RPF soldiers who arrived after the young Interahamwe had left. (HRW Report 1999)³²⁵ *. Alison Des Forges. 1999. 'Leave none to tell the story'. Genocide in Rwanda. * A point that will be developed as soon as the country returns to the path of law.

*From 19 to 23 May 1994: massacres in Mugina, Mbat, Nteko, Mukinga and Kiyonza.

20 May 1994: The RPF fought fiercely around the airport and the Kanombe camp, which was guarded by wounded soldiers, and both locations fell on 23 May 1994.

*20 and 21 May 1994: massacre at the Mayange/Bugesera school centre.

*21 and 23 May 1994: massacre at the Nyanza-Kicukiro primary school.

³²⁴ Free Wikipedia

³²⁵ Alison Des Forges. 1999. 'Leave none to tell the story'. Genocide in Rwanda. (HRW Report 1999)

*22 May 1994: massacre in Muyanza within a 500-metre radius of the parish.

*23 May 1994: massacre at Gikomero Primary School.

*In May 1994, massacre in the mines in Gikoro.

*In May 1994, massacre in Bicumbi, on the hill.

*In May 1994, massacre in Kabuga Centre and surrounding area.

*In May 1994, massacre in Kimironko near Col Nsekalije's home.

*In May 1994, massacre in Muyira-Mututu in Butare Prefecture.

*From May to July 1994, massacre at the Gako-Bugesera military camp.

*23 May 1994: massacre at Gikomero Primary School.

23 May 1994: The APR/RPF seized Kigali airport and entered the residence of President Juvénal Habyarimana.

24 May 1994: RPF fighters seized the town of Butare. They then entered the Gitarama prefecture.

25 May 1994: Directives on civil self-defence.

25 May 1994: The United Nations Commission on Human Rights decides, by Resolution 1994 S-3/1, to appoint René Dégni Segui as Special Rapporteur for Rwanda. The findings of his report will be used to apprehend the first suspects of the genocide at the ICTR (see the ICTR investigation map, Photo 52).

25 May 1994: The legitimacy of the interim government was confirmed by the United Nations.

However, Claude Dusaidi's message was heard loud and clear by the Security Council, which was unable to resist pressure from the American, British and Belgian governments, resolutely united against the RUF and the interim government set up to fill the institutional vacuum created by the attack of 6 April 1994 and the assassinations that followed.

25 May 1994: Boutros Boutros Ghali complains about the UN taking a biased position on the Rwandan issue.

25 May 1994: The legitimacy of the interim government is confirmed by the United Nations. (This recognition hides the main objective of being able to attribute and endorse all crimes committed in Rwanda to this government).

29 May 1994: The interim government flees Gitarama and settles in Muramba in the commune of Satinsyi.

29 May 1994: The RPF issues an ultimatum to foreign armies to leave the country within 48 hours.

29 May 1994: The symbolic city of Nyanza, which is the symbolic seat of the Mwami.

29 May 1994: The RPF surrounds the entire city of Kigali. Half of it falls into their hands.

31 May 1994: The UN Secretary-General presents his report in which he states that *"what happened in Rwanda constituted genocide"*³²⁶. Ngirabatware comments as follows: "He explicitly implicated both sides in the conflict. But the presentation of this report to the Security Council allowed the countries that supported the RPF (the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, etc.) to relay the rebel movement's accusations of genocide against the interim government. Resolution 925 of 8 June, which resulted from the Security Council meeting, marked a turning point in the consideration of the two parties to the conflict. Declaring

³²⁶ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: the celebration of lies and injustice.

"genocide" before 8 June meant risking applying the concept clearly to both parties to the conflict. After 8 June, only the government forces were singled out. This gave the American administration an opportunity to pinpoint the interim government and pave the way for the creation of an instrument to neutralise it once and for all. That instrument is the ICTR. The American administration, both Democratic and Republican, has been virtually in control of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda since its creation until now. The main justification for the US's heavy-handed intervention in the tribunal's activities is officially to combat impunity and promote reconciliation between Rwandans. Unfortunately, the opposite has happened, as impunity reigns while reconciliation between Rwandans has been put on the back burner.

*May 1994: massacre in the mines at Gikoro.

*May 1994: massacre in Bicumbi, on the hill.

*May 1994: massacre in Kabuga Centre and surrounding area.

*May 1994: massacre in Kimironko near Col Nsekaliye's house Aloys

*From May to July 1994: massacre at the Gako-Bugesera military camp.

*From June 1994: massacre at the Kami military camp. Torture and death camp. Several people have lost their lives there since the RPF took power.

*In May 1994: massacre in Muyira-Mututu.

*From June 1994 onwards: massacre at the Kami military camp.

***In June 1994**: massacre in Kigoma, Ngwa sector.

***In June 1994**: massacre in Runda-Gihara.

9 June 1994: meeting of prefects on civil self-defence.

* **April-June 1994**: massacre in Gatsata-La Rwandaise.

***In June 1994**, massacre in Kigoma, Ngwa sector.

***In June 1994**, massacre in Runda-Gihara.

*During the same **month of June 1994**: massacre of the family of Josias Mwangereza and around 40 people who had taken refuge in his home in Murama, Gitarama Prefecture.

2 June 1994: The RPF enters Gitarama, Kabgayi.

3 June 1994: The RPF entered Gakurazo and took hostage the monks and nuns who had taken refuge in the ecclesiastical compounds of Kabgayi.

VI.2.3. Murder of numerous clergy by the APR in Gakurazo

5 June 1994: The APR assassinates numerous clergy in Gakurazo (Gitarama), including three Hutu Catholic bishops and two vicars, as well as the Superior of the Josephite Brothers (the fourth Hutu bishop from Rwanda will be assassinated by the same army in November 1996 in Goma) *. Below s the clergy who were assassinated: "On 5 June 1994, RPF soldiers under the command of General Sam Kaka cold-bloodedly murdered four bishops of the Catholic Church in Gakurazo in the commune of Mukingi, Gitarama Prefecture. They were:

- Monsignor Vincent Nsengiyumva, Archbishop of Kigali

- Monsignor Thaddée Nsengiyumva, Bishop of Kabgayi

- Monsignor Joseph Ruzindana, Bishop of Byumba and President of the Episcopal Conference of Rwanda

- Monsignor Innocent Gasabwoya, Episcopal Vicar in Kamonyi

- Mgr Phocas Nikwigize, Bishop of Ruhengeri, was abducted by RPF soldiers in October 1996 while returning from exile in Congo (formerly Zaire) after the destruction of the refugee camps, and was subsequently murdered.

- Many other priests and religious men and women suffered the same fate as these prelates.

A detailed account of their execution is given by Father Linguyeneza, who was an eyewitness. The APR also claimed more than 200 other victims in Gakurazo and at the Bishopric of Kabgayi.

The list of 248 religious killed during this violence is in Appendix 4.

The martyrology of Rwandan clergy during the 1994 genocide, according to Father Jean B. Mihigo, who listed more than 250 priests killed/murdered, is in Appendix 4.

On 5 June 1994, the APR murdered numerous clergymen in Gakurazo (Gitarama), including three Hutu Catholic bishops, two vicars and the Superior of the Josephite Brothers (the fourth Hutu bishop of Rwanda would be murdered by the same army in November 1996 in Goma) (see list above)³²⁷ *.

The Genocide against the Catholic Church 5 June 1994: 14 dead, victims of Gakurazo, three bishops, nine priests, one religious and an eight-year-old child named Sheja. The APR was led by Colonel Fred Ibingira, now a general, who was acting under the orders of General Paul Kagame. Fred Ibingira was also responsible for the genocide in Kibeho. He continues to serve to this day without concern for anything.



Certains Evêques du Rwanda en 1994

Photo no. 55.

VI.2.4. Crimes committed by Kagame and the RPF: Testimony of Furuma
(Testimony of Major Alphonse Furuma (Part 1. 23 January 2001.)

³²⁷ Testimony of Abbé V. Linguyeneza in *Revue Dialogue*, No. 213, November-December 1999, pp. 79-88

Furuma Alphonse writes: "From the negotiation of the Arusha Peace Agreement until 1996, you pursued a deliberate policy of using all possible means to reduce the Hutu population in the regions of Umutara, Kibungo and Bugesera. These areas were é deliberately resettled with former returnees from Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi respectively."

When the Arusha peace talks for Rwanda began in 1992, Paul Kagame launched a deliberate policy of creating a Tutsiland through massacres of Hutus, massive population displacements, property appropriations and land grabs in north-eastern, eastern, south-eastern and central Rwanda. This is the policy we saw implemented in 1993, 1994 and 1995.

“CRIMES COMMITTED BY KAGAME AND THE RPF Testimony of Major Alphonse Furuma (Part 1), 23 January 2001

Furuma Alphonse writes, verbatim: “From the time the Arusha Peace Agreement was being negotiated until as late as 1996, you carried out a deliberate policy of using all means possible to reduce the Hutu population in the Umutara, Kibungo and Bugesera regions. These areas were deliberately resettled by old caseload returnees from Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi respectively”.

When the Arusha Peace talks for Rwanda started in 1992, Paul Kagame launched a deliberate policy to create a Tutsiland through Hutu massacres, massive population displacement, property appropriation and land grabbing in Northeast, East, South East and Central Rwanda. This is the policy we saw at work in 1993, 1994 and 1995.”³²⁸

VI.3. Map of investigations not carried out by ICTR experts

This section includes a map of investigations carried out or not carried out by ICTR experts, the locations of special investigations by ICTR experts, the area not investigated by ICTR experts, the area covered by Operation Turquoise (Rwanda) and Operation Champagne.

N.B.: To simplify the work and reading, the map contains three key pieces of information: a) the zone occupied by the APR/NRA represented by parallel lines in the north of the country; b) the zone of investigation carried out by the experts represented by stars over two-thirds of the territory; c) the Turquoise Zone created on 22 June 1994; the humanitarian zone controlled by French troops established by the UN Security Council through Resolution 929 of 22 June 1994.

³²⁸ Furuma Alphonse 2001 in: The Rwandan, April 2016: Furuma Alphonse, testimony given on 23 January 2001. Member of the RPF.

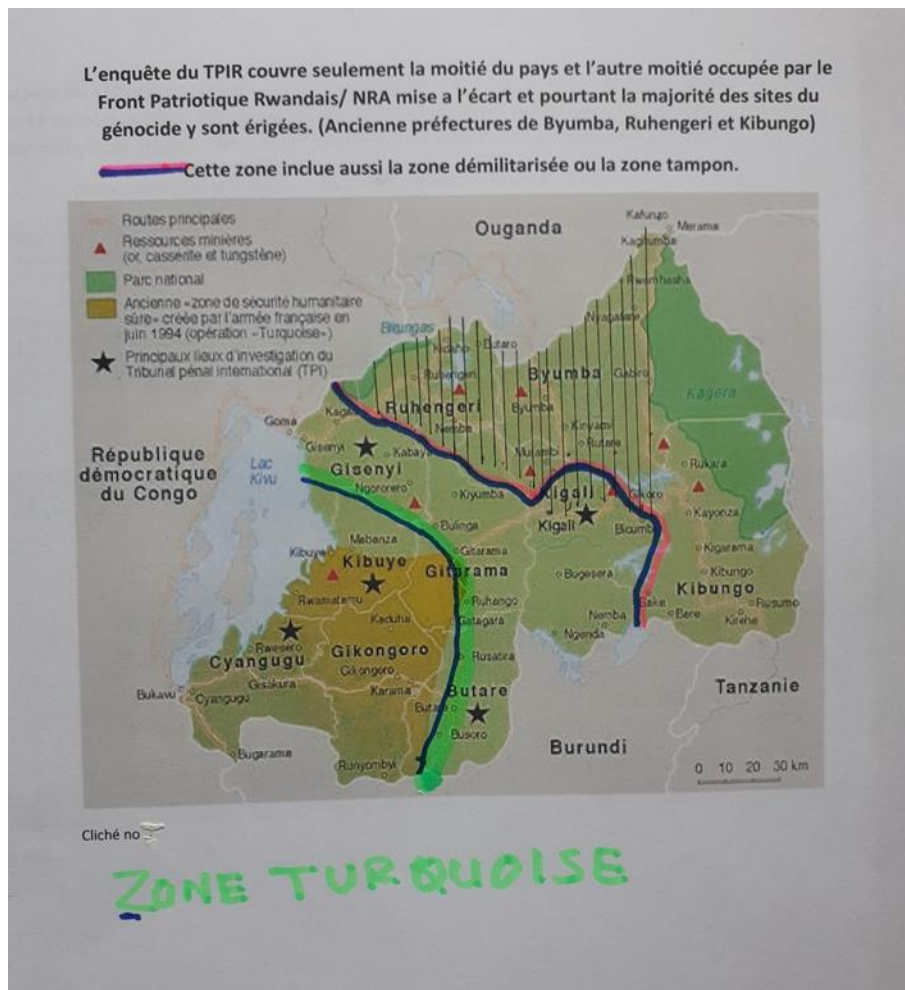


Photo No. 56 From left to right: Turquoise Zone, government zone, buffer zone and RPF/NRA zone

VI.3.1. The Special Investigation by ICTR Experts

Pierre Péan produced a text recalling the crimes of the RPF, criticising Emmanuel Macron's preference for Mushikiwabo over Canada's Michaëlle Jean at the Francophonie Summit in Yerevan on 11-12 May 2018. I quote: these massacres by the RPF/NRA "begin with the UN report conducted under the direction of the American Robert Gersony. In September 1994, after a rapid investigation covering about a third of Rwandan communes, he already estimated the number of victims of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). The armed wing of the RPF, under Kagame's command. The Americans contributed greatly to burying the document, to the point that today it is supposed to have never existed! What about the so-called "Mapping Project" report, also compiled by the UN in 2008 and 2009 and again relating to mass crimes, even genocide, committed in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) between 1993 and 2003 by Rwandan soldiers? Finally, we should recall the words of Spanish judge Fernando Andreu Merelles when, on 6 February 2008, he issued 40 arrest warrants against Paul Kagame's closest associates: "Once they had obtained power through violence, they used the same methods to establish a regime of terror and a criminal structure parallel to the rule of law."³²⁹ *

³²⁹ An exclusive text by Pierre Péan dated 27 September 2018: published in: <https://www.marianne.net/monde/exclusif-rwanda-la-verite-sur-les-massacres-de-l-armee-patriotique-de-kagame>

And yet the experts' report clearly shows that there were a few very tentative investigations, despite the omission of any mention of them on the map. This omission may justify the total absence of legal proceedings against members of the APR/NRA, since this area was entirely under their control.

A number of sites of genocide and massacres committed by the RPF were not taken into account during this investigation, which formed the basis of the ICTR's charges. This is why the investigation is described as biased and fallacious. It deliberately ignores or dismisses the genocide committed by the RPF, exonerating it from the despicable, abject crimes committed in this area. And yet the ICTR's mandate was clear: "To try only those persons alleged to be responsible for acts of genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens alleged to be responsible for such acts or violations of international law committed in the territory of neighbouring states between 1 January and 31 December 1994."

From the above, it is clear that the RPF is indeed one of those persons and Rwandan citizens presumed responsible, so why did the RPF not appear before the ICTR if its goal is really to "contribute to the restoration and maintenance of peace and national reconciliation" in Rwanda, as established by the Security Council?

With regard to the ICTR as a UN institution, if there were to be any damage control, the UN should set up ARUSHA II in order to move Rwanda in the right direction, to eradicate impunity, to promote a culture of dialogue and respect for the word given, and to promote reconciliation among Rwandans, above all to honour all the Hutu, Tutsis and Twa (see the ICTR investigation map or photo no. 56).

N.B.: A summary of the special investigation report is provided in the appendix for evaluation purposes³³⁰ *. ([ictr-report-special-investigations-concerning-rpa-crimes.pdf](#)).

The top-secret (American) report indicates that investigations into the crimes of the APR/NRA were first conducted in the commune of Giti and then extended to the prefecture of Byumba. Giti was unique in that it was the only commune that did not participate in the genocide, yet it did not escape the crimes of the APR/NRA. All the victims had their arms tied behind their backs at the elbows. During the genocide, many refugees were taken to the Byumba stadium by the APR/NRA on the pretext of ensuring their safety. The soldiers gained their trust. But after the last meeting, on the instructions of Lieutenant-Colonel Kabarebe, Lieutenant-Colonel Masumbuko gave the order to open fire on the refugees, who all perished. Kabarebe, who was Minister of Defence and second in command of the regime, created a special team to execute people in the area between Gabiro and Akagera National Park. "Between May and August 1994," the authors note, "this team killed between five and 20 people a day. The team then moved to Kigali, to Kagame's presidential guard camp, where the killings continued. (An exclusive text by Pierre Péan dated 27 September 2018: published in: <https://www.marianne.net/monde/exclusif-rwanda-la-verite-sur-les-massacres-de-l-armee-patriotique-de-kagame>: Referenced here. Written by Pierre Péan³³¹ *.

³³⁰ United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. <https://unictr.irmct.org> > ... > files > legal-library > PDF file. Report on the completion of the mandate of the International The enclosed report provides the most up-to-date information on the work of the Tribunal towards the completion of its mandate as at 15 November 2015, including the final schedule for the...

³³¹ Pierre Péan in Marianne. Exclusive - Rwanda: the truth about the massacres carried out by Kagame's Patriotic Army ... <https://www.marianne.net/monde>. 27 Sep 2018 — Exclusive - Rwanda: the truth about the massacres committed by Kagame's Patriotic Army. Info Marianne. By Pierre Péan. Published on 27/09/2018 at 18:01.

VI.3.2. Area spared from investigation by ICTR experts

The area controlled by the 'killing machine' was not investigated.

"Zone Fagia wale washenzi³³² *" cleans up the filth (human beings) from the area/Kubura uwo mwanda. For the RPF, the citizens who lived in Rwanda were "filth", i.e. dirty things that needed to be cleaned up.

The zone known as the buffer zone or demilitarised zone was established by the Kinyinya Peace Accords on 30 May 1993 and was 100% in the hands of the Inkotanyi. Apart from the RPF, none of the other belligerents were seen in the zone between the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana and the total takeover of the country on 5 July 1994.

The communes covered by this demilitarised zone are: The Kinyinya Agreement of 30 May 1993 identifies the demilitarised zone A: In Byumba Prefecture, it covers the communes of Cyungu, Tumba, Buyoga, Kibali, Mukarange, Bwisige, Ngarama and Muvumba.

Demilitarised Zone B: In Ruhengeri Prefecture, it covers the following communes: Cyeru, Nyamugali, Butaro, Nyarutovu, Ruhondo, Kigombe, Kidaho, Nkumba, Kinigi, Mukingo. It is a 15 km strip established between the area conquered by the RPF Inkotanyi and the area controlled by government forces. The Kinyinya Agreement document is attached as Annex 5.

Note: The demilitarised zone/buffer zone "without a star" is the one neglected by ICTR investigators, see map above.

VI.3.3. Operation Turquoise in Rwanda

Operation Turquoise³³³ * was a military operation organised by France and authorised by UN Security Council Resolution 929 of 22 June 1994. Launched in June 1994 and led by France, with support from Senegal, Operation Turquoise involved 2,500 soldiers. It is led by French General Jean-Claude Lafourcade³³⁴ *. Resolution No. 929 specifies that the Security Council: "... agrees that a multinational operation may be established in Rwanda for humanitarian purposes until UNAMIR is provided with the necessary personnel." It must be "a temporary operation, under national command and control, aimed at contributing, in an impartial manner, to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians in danger in Rwanda." (see Photo 56).

18-22 June 1994: President Yoweri Museveni met with President Clinton during a private visit. Museveni went to see President Clinton to confirm the imminent victory of the RPF and to ensure that the French would not return to the UN mission through Operation Turquoise.

13 June 1994, an anonymous family³³⁵ fled the commune of Kayanza where the massacres had begun. On the morning of the 13th, the church in Kabarondo was packed. More than 3,500 people lost their lives there, massacred by the RPF.

* On the night of 16 to 17 June 1994, the RPF battalion based at the CND raided the Saint Paul Pastoral Centre and massacred more than 200 people who had taken refuge there.

22 June 1994: UN Security Council Resolution 929 authorises France to intervene in Rwanda to protect the population. A contingent of 2,500 French troops is expected in Goma under the name Operation Turquoise.

³³² Swahili from the DRC (*) Swahili from EAC countries)

³³³ Operation Turquoise https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Op%C3%A9ration_Turquoise 22 June 1994

³³⁴ General Jean-Claude Lafourcade, born on 7 January 1943 in Talence Gironde, France.

³³⁵ A family that did not want to reveal its name.

23 June 1994: Operation Turquoise is launched.

29 June 1994: French Defence Minister François Léotard visits the soldiers of Operation Turquoise on mission in Rwanda.

*During the same month of June 1994, the family of Josias Mwangereza is massacred, along with around 40 people who had taken refuge in his home in Murama, Gitarama Prefecture.

1 July 1994, Mbazi Butare.

1 July 1994: The Security Council decided by Resolution 935 (1994) to establish a Commission of Experts on Rwanda. Creation and status of the ICTR. The UN Security Council decided to "establish an international tribunal with the sole responsibility of trying persons alleged to be responsible for acts of genocide or other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens alleged to be responsible for such acts or violations committed in the territory of neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994 (...)" (Resolution 955, 1994, referenced here³³⁶ *).

The ICTR's mission can be summarised in three objectives: to end the culture of impunity; to contribute to the reconciliation of all Rwandans; and to ensure peace and security in the Great Lakes region. In view of this mission, it must be noted that, to date, the ICTR seems to be interested exclusively in persons belonging to the Hutu ethnic group who are alleged to have committed serious crimes against members of the Tutsi ethnic group

According to a message intercepted on 21 April 1994, the commander of the APR unit operating in the locality of Zoko in Buyoga commune, Byumba Prefecture, overwhelmed by the flow of people fleeing the massacres perpetrated by APR combatants and heading towards the government zone, asked to speak directly to General Paul Kagame to explain the problem to him and ask him to take action. Paul Kagame replied in Swahili, saying: "Fagia wale washenzi", which means: "clean up/sweep away, liquidate these fools". As the conversation took place on the APR operational network, all APR units automatically understood what they had to do with the populations in their respective areas, and massacred them everywhere without hesitation and without mercy. Fagia/ Punguza/ ondoa are Kagame's Swahili words often used in his command to incite his troops to carry out cleansing massacres in the prefectures of Byumba and Kibungo³³⁷(). It should be recalled that the beheading of the minor seminary of Rwesero and the massacre of priests and nuns in the prefecture of Byumba on 22 April 1994 was noted above.

*After the capture of Butare on 3 July 1994, there was a massacre at the Butare market, where the population was gathered by APR elements before being killed with Kalashnikovs and grenades.

* April-June 1994: Massacre in Gatsata-La Rwandaise.

3-4 July 1994: Operation Champagne was carried out to save more than 250,000 residents of the city of Kigali.

³³⁶ Security Council. UNITED NATIONS | International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals. https://www.irmct.org/docs/res955-1994_en.PDF. S/RES/955 (1994). 8 November 1994. RESOLUTION 955 (1994). Adopted by the Security Council at its 3453rd meeting, on 8 November 1994. The Council...

³³⁷ Furuma Alphonse: The Rwandan April 2016: Furuma Alphonse, testimony given on 23 January 2001. Member of the RPF.

VI.3.4. Operation Champagne³³⁸ *

In early July 1994, in the midst of an embargo imposed by the UN Security Council³³⁹ *, the ex-FAR were desperately short of ammunition to defend the capital. The survival of the inhabitants of Kigali, numbering more than 250,000, depended entirely on the outcome of the initiatives of the FAR, their army. An eyewitness to the ensuing operations recounts in his book³⁴⁰ *, and I quote: *"It is 1 July 1994, and as fighting drags on in Nyamirambo, the RPF once again attacks the southern tip of Mount Kigali. The first shock was suffered by the camp of about twenty sick soldiers from the Huye commando battalion, hidden in the forest. It was the exchange of gunfire between the attackers and the guards who were looking after the sick that raised the alarm. This time, I had nothing with which to respond effectively and repel the enemy. The sector commander managed to find about fifty recruits, whom he entrusted to an officer from his staff. It was this officer who would have the heavy responsibility of defending this last line of defence and keeping this secondary retreat route open."*

On 1 July 1994, the RPF succeeded in establishing itself on the Gihara ridge and even pushed its forces towards Nyabarongo, opposite Kwa Muvoma and Nzove. Only the Nyabarongo River, with its wide marshy valley, separates the RPF forces on the two banks. Kigali was now surrounded, which meant that the FAR could only leave the city by military force.

The Army General Staff then prepared a plan to evacuate the city. The operation was scheduled for the night of 4 to 5 July. Its code name was Operation Champagne.

Observations made on the ground on 2 July by this same valiant officer allowed him to see that the situation was deteriorating and that the RPF was taking control of areas that endangered the population of Kigali. During the night of 2 to 3 July, the RPF's bombardment of Kigali doubled in intensity. Its assault groups were reactivated in all districts of Kigali from dawn on 3 July.

It was following the alert raised by the officer-witness that, aware of the danger that was about to befall the population of Kigali, the Rwandan Army High Command decided to bring forward Operation Champagne by one day. The exit from Kigali took place that same night, from 3 to 4 July 1994. The valiant officer led the way. Full details of Operation Champagne can be found in the book cited above. Overall, the operation was a success.

The Rwandan people are deeply grateful for the bravery of our valiant officers in the Rwandan Army and all the soldiers who remained faithful to their noble commitment to protect their people.

³³⁸ Ntilikina Faustin. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army by Faustin Ntilikina. Damning testimony for crimes that have gone unpunished. February 2014. 2nd revised and expanded edition. Editions Sources du Nil.

³³⁹ Resolution 918, paragraph 13, of the United Nations Security Council, 17 May 1994.

³⁴⁰ Ntilikina Faustin, The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army, damning testimony about crimes that remain unpunished. Editions Sources du Nil, Lille, 2014.



Photo no. 58: Photo: Major Ntilikina Faustin and Rugomboka Jean Damascène

4 July 1994: General Gratien Kabiligi: organisation of Operation Champagne, which saved Kigali. The account of Operation Champagne was published in Major Ntilikina Faustin's book, cited above.

General Gratien Kabiligi, National Hero of Rwandan history



Photo No. 59

4 and 5 July 1994. Nyabikenke-Ndiza Gitarama: Part of the population took the road to exile. The vast majority went to Nyabikenke. Another part headed for Kayenzi. This crowd of fugitives was infiltrated by elements of the RPF who incited the young people to come to Cyeza to loot the parish priest, Abbé Michel Gigi, a Belgian national, whom they called Inkotanyi. All these young people, estimated at 250, were to be massacred in Cyeza. The decomposing bodies

were buried under the supervision of the then sector councillor, Mr Charles Ndereyimana. He was arrested and then released. The RPF was waiting for other crowds at a bridge over the Bakokwe River, on the border between Nyabikenke and Rutobwe. They suffered the same fate as those who had been led to Cyeza.

* On 4 July 1994, civilians were massacred during the retreat in the Nyabarongo-Nzove Valley in the Shyorongi Commune. An unknown number of people were killed there. Others were killed mainly on 4 and 5 July 1994. They were returning to their homes after the bombing of Ndiza Mountain, as the path to exile was no longer possible for them. After the FAR withdrew from the city of Kigali on 4 July 1994, the RPF massacred several thousand Hutus found in the city. More than 250 sick soldiers who could not be evacuated were brutally massacred⁽³³⁹⁾ *.

5 July 1994 Satinskyi, Kibilira Gisenyi: people fled at the first sounds of the bombing of Ndiza, which echoed throughout the Nyabarongo Valley as far as Masangano de Nyabarongo-Mukungwa, in Vunga. They were caught up by RPF elements in several places. Some were caught in the commune of Ramba, others in the communes of Satinskyi and Giciye-Karago, all of whom were attempting to cross the Gishwati forest to return to Kanama near Gisenyi. A large number are believed to have been massacred as they returned to their homes. Around a hundred fugitives lost their lives there.

In July 1994, a list was drawn up of 700 people murdered in the Gitarama prefecture. There is talk of ethnic cleansing targeting the Hutus.

In July 1994, the RPF was reported in Byimana and Nyamabuye, where it committed abuses against several people.

*In July 1994, massacres in Kidaho/Ruhengeri, in the woods behind the communal office.

*July 1994, massacre at the Nkumba Communal Office.

* On 6 July 1994, massacre in Muhondo near the crossroads.

*Between 6 and 16 July 1994, massacre in the Rushashi region (rural Kigali).

*Between 14 and 16 July 1994, the APR massacred Hutu civilians in the communes of Nyakabanda (Gitarama), Kibilira, Satinskyi and Ramba (Gisenyi Prefecture). The families of military personnel and intellectuals were particularly targeted. I cite the example of this ex-FAR officer who found his parents and close relatives horribly massacred by Paul Kagame's APR () in the Nyagasozi cell, Hindiuro Sector, Satinskyi Commune, for the sole reason that he belonged to the FAR. This officer was Col. Ntiwiragabo Aloys.

*The massacres in Byumba, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi: an area designated for tobacco cultivation after its indigenous population had been decimated (cleansed).

The depopulation of certain areas inhabited mainly by Hutus to create a Tutsi land in northern Rwanda (the communes of Muvumba, Ngarama, Bwisigye, Kiyombe, Mukarange, Cyumba, Kibali, Kivuye, Cyungo, Kinigi, Butaro, Cyeru and Nyamugali); attacks on camps for war refugees (Rwebare, Rukomo, Kisaro, Buyoga, Kirambo, Rebero-Bwisige, Adventist Church of Shingiro-Mukingo-Ruhengeri, Nyacyonga); - Ethnic cleansing took place in Muhura Commune in 1994. The well-planned killings in this area were of a nature that constitutes unequivocal genocide.

*Several hundred people were killed on 16 July 1994 in the parish of Bweramana (Ramba-Gisenyi). In the sub-prefecture of Ngororero (Gisenyi).

* July 1994. Bombs dropped from Ndiza killed several civilians in Satinsyi (Gisenyi) and Ndusu (Ruhengeri).

*From 7 to 17 July 1994, the APR pursued the fleeing population with bombs, from Ruhengeri to Gisenyi. Others headed for Nyamutera - Giciye -Vunga

On 12, 13 and 14 July 1994, several hundred refugees were massacred on the Rwandan-Zairean border as they crossed into Zaire (now the DRC). The stampede and bombing caused dozens of deaths and injuries.

*On 17 July 1994, the APR bombed crowds of refugees fleeing to Goma (Zaire), killing more than 100 people.

*In July 1994, the APR carried out a massacre in Ndora, at the Gisagara shopping centre.

*In July-August 1994, massacre in Butare-Petit Bois behind the campus.

*In July-August 1994, massacre in Karago (several localities).

*In July-September 1994, massacre at the Bigogwe military camp.

*In July-September 1994, massacre in Ruhondo/Mutabo.

*In July 1994, massacre of several thousand Hutus in Masaka/Kigali.

12-18 July 1994: Biblical exodus of Rwandans to neighbouring countries (more than three million Rwandans fled the RPF).



Photo no. 60: Kagame had just won his war

* - After 18 July 1994, no national institutions remained standing and the RPF created new ones from 19 July 1994 onwards, starting with the presidency of the Republic and a government " " which it called the "government of national unity". The leadership of both institutions was entrusted to "Hutu officials" who would be ousted a short time later. The former President of the Republic, Pasteur *Bizimungu*, who was President of the Republic of Rwanda from 19 July 1994 to 23 March 2000, is currently free after having been imprisoned. Twagiramungu Faustin died in exile in Belgium. This confirms that the RPF took power under the shadow of the UNAR. The image of this power is described by Professor Rijtjens in 2022 (see apartheid table below) The domination of the Tutsi ethnic group in the RPF's power since 1994-2020 is real. This table clearly shows that the Tutsis dominate power and are doing everything they can to retain it. Indeed, the Rwandan state no longer respects the fundamental principles of human rights, which imply democracy, national unity, pluralism, and respect for public rights and freedoms. The RPF has drafted laws based on the Tutsi genocide, which allow it to monopolise power and institutions without sharing them in a façade of democracy. The RPF ignores the genocide of the Hutus. And yet, the perpetrator of these two genocides is indeed the RPF, despite the lies of the powers and media that support it and keep it in power. Both national and

international justice have so far been that of the victor over the vanquished, and the truth about the Rwandan genocide has been obscured.

VI.4. Broad-based transitional government of 19 July 1994

Formed after the appointment of a new President of the Republic "by consensus of the RPF Political Bureau" and the confirmation of the Prime Minister designated by the Arusha Accords on 17 July 1994, (it is composed of 17 ministers: 8 RPF, 3 MDR, 3 PL, 2 PSD, 1 PDC; 16 new ministers, 9 Tutsi members including the Vice-President and Minister of Defence; 7 RPF ministers come from abroad).

Corrected presentation of the government made in Kigali on 20 July 1994.

- President of the Republic: Pasteur BIZIMUNGU (RPF)
- Prime Minister: Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU (MDR)
- Minister of Defence and Vice-President: Major-General Paul KAGAME, Commander-in-Chief of the APR (RPF)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Seth SENDASHONGA (RPF)
- Minister of Rehabilitation of War Displaced Persons and Demobilisation: Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA (RPF).

The MRND was excluded from the new government, and all crimes committed were attributed to the interim government, even though it had not been alone in leading the country since 31 December 1991 (see **Appendix 6**). Succession of governments in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994), mistakes made by opposition parties that sat with the RPF rebellion, which soon muzzled them and established a bloody dictatorship.

Pastor Bizimungu, first president of the RPF



Photo no. 60.

Pastor Bizimungu, first president of the RPF after the assassination of President Habyarimana .

19 July 1994: Implementation of Operation Turquoise on 19 July 1994. It had been accepted by the UN on 23 June.

22 July 1994: The new Rwandan government calls for the return of refugees and the resumption of work by civil servants³⁴¹ *.

Operation Turquoise was a military operation conducted by France in Rwanda in 1994 under the mandate of the United Nations. The "multilateral" force consisted of 2,500 soldiers, 32 of whom were Senegalese and the rest French. The equipment included 100 APCs, 10 helicopters, a battery of 120mm mortars, 4 Jaguar fighter-bombers, 8 Mirage fighters and reconnaissance aircraft. The helicopters established a supply route for food, water and medicine, enabling refugees to escape to eastern Congo. Operation Turquoise is controversial for at least two reasons: accusations that it was an attempt to support the genocidal Hutu regime and that its mandate undermined UNAMIR. By facilitating the journey of 2 million Rwandan refugees to the Kivu provinces of Zaire, Turquoise set in motion the causes of the First Congo War. Wikipedia.



Photo no. 61

³⁴¹ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* (The Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)): University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P.535.

Faustin Twagiramungu

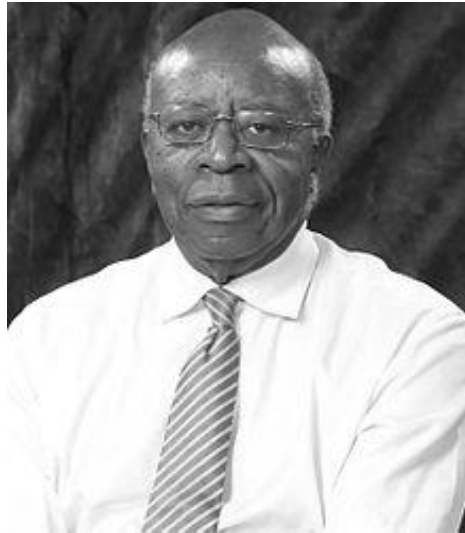


Photo no. 62. Wikipedia

Faustin Twagiramungu , is a Rwandan Hutu politician, naturalised Belgian, born on 14 August 1945 in the prefecture of Cyangugu. He is , Prime Minister of Rwanda from July 1994 to August 1995.
*³⁴²

July 1994: Creation of the Forum of Political Parties (FPP), which brought together the registered political parties: RPF, PDC, PDI, PL, PPC, PS Imberakuri, PSD, PSP, PSR, and UDPR. The MRND was excluded from all structures in the country.

Former members of this political party were persecuted, imprisoned, killed or murdered. The survivors were prosecuted in courts around the world and at the ICTR in Arusha, and subsequently imprisoned. No member of the RPF will be prosecuted, even though it was the RPF that triggered the genocide on 6 April 1994 and committed most of the massacres that followed.

³⁴² Faustin Twagiramungu Prime Minister of Rwanda from July 1994 to August 1995

Swearing-in of Rwanda's new leaders, July 1994

Photo from the web ^{1st}Bizimungu government , first president of the RPF government



Photo no. 63

From left to right: Asiel Kabera (Prefect of Kibuye), Théogène Rudasingwa (Secretary General of the RPF), Rose Kabuye (Prefect of Kigali), Aloysia Inyumba (Minister of Family Affairs), Kayumba Nyamwasa (Chief of Staff), Alexis Kanyarengwe (Deputy Prime Minister and President of the RPF), Laurent Munyakazi (Brigade Commander), Patrick Mazimpaka (Minister of Youth), Paul Kagame (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence), Pastor Bizimungu (President of the Republic), Joseph Sebarenzi (Speaker of Parliament (appointed in 1997)), Faustin Twagiramungu (Prime Minister), Seth Sendashonga (Minister of the Interior), Jean Mutsinzi (President of the Supreme Court), Jacques Bihozagara (Minister of Rehabilitation), Charles Ntakirutinka (Minister of Public Works), Alphonse Marie Nkubito (Minister of Justice), Emmanuel Habyarimana (Secretary of State for Defence), Augustin Cyiza (President of the Court of Cassation), Protais Musoni (Prefect of Kibungo). ...³⁴³ *

15 August 1994: Canadian General Guy Toussignant takes command of UNAMIR II. Its military strength is increased to 1,624 (out of the 5,500 initially planned by the UN Security Council)³⁴⁴ *.

³⁴³ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* [Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)]: University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P.535,

³⁴⁴ Guichaoua, Ibid. P.535

21 August 1994: Operation Turquoise troops begin to withdraw³⁴⁵ *. The French Turquoise contingent withdrew from the "safe humanitarian zone." During this period, the RPF's killings of civilians who had remained in the country were in full swing^{346*}.

*In August 1994, a mass grave containing more than 1,500 bodies was discovered in the volcano region on the Rwandan-Zaire border by Japanese journalist Takuji Tahara and his photographer Yushoka, guided by survivors of this massacre found in Jomba in North Kivu (Zaire).

*On 29 August 1994, several thousand recent corpses were discovered in Mbyo between Camp Gako and Nyamata in Bugesera.

*In September 1994, there was the Muramba massacre in the commune of Satinskyi.

*In the same month of September 1994, there was a massacre in the communal forest in Save, according to MINUAR observers.

* In the same month of September 1994, around a hundred bodies were counted in Kayumba in Bugesera by the UNAMIR team.

*According to the testimony of Karekezi Aimable, a former FAR soldier who joined the RPF and later deserted, appalled by its cruelty, the following emerged:

- More than 2,000 Hutus were killed by the APR near Lake Ihema and their bodies were burned. Others were thrown into Lake Ihema.

- Several people were massacred between the Akagera Hotel and the Akagera River and their bodies were thrown into the river.

- More than 5,000 Hutus were killed in Nyarubuye, and it was in this same place in Nyarubuye that the RPF erected a memorial to the "Tutsi genocide".

*The massacres in the parish of Hanika and the communes of Kirambo-Gatare Cyangugu in September 1994

October 1994: under pressure from the US, the UN Secretary-General seals the Gersony report detailing the elimination of 30,000 Hutus in three communes by the APR between June and September 1994.

10 October 1994: The Gersony report (sealed by the UN) confirms the large-scale massacres of unarmed and defenceless civilians, men, women, children, the elderly and the sick, committed by RPF/NRA soldiers from the end of April in the conquered areas, and establishes that these massacres continued after the RPF took power in July 1994. The Robert Gersony report of 1994 estimates the number of victims at between 5,000 and 10,000 per month³⁴⁷ *.

17 October 1994: Father Claude Simard, a Canadian national and parish priest of Ruyenzi in Butare, is assassinated. The Centre for the Fight against Impunity and Injustice in Rwanda gives an account of these events in its press release of 5 February 1997³⁴⁸ *. It states that "According

³⁴⁵ Guichaoua, André (ed.), 1995, *Les Crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)* [Political Crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)]: University of Science and Technology of Lille/Karthala. P.535,

³⁴⁶ Guichaoua, Ibid. P.535

³⁴⁷ Gersony's findings: A summary of Gersony's findings is available at Robert Gersony, 'Summary for UNHCR Presentation Before Commission of Experts, 10 October 1994

³⁴⁸ Ndirabatswe A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice. - Before the fact-finding mission, B. Debré stated that François Mitterrand wanted the operation to cover the whole of Rwanda in order to stop the massacres and restore democracy.

to the investigations of Captain Tim Isberg of Edmonton, who was in charge of the investigation into this murder, it was soldiers from the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) who killed him with a hammer, which they left at the scene. It was around the evening of 17 October 1994 and they had arrived in a blue Toyota pickup truck."

On 6 November 1994, while still in office, the MDR, which held the presidency, denounced the "incompetence" of the RPF. In a 32-page document, he also denounced *"a second genocide perpetrated by the RPF and the methods used to exterminate its opponents, all of whom were labelled Interahamwe, meaning, for the RPF extremists, Hutus in general."*³⁴⁹ *

8 November 1994: United Nations Security Council Resolution 955 establishing the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (with annexed statute), res. SC. 955, 49 The UN SCOR au __, The UN Doc. S / RES / 955 (1994). (*The main principles of the ICTR Statute*) "To try persons alleged to be responsible for acts of genocide or other serious violations of international humanitarian law." Without limitation to either party.³⁵⁰ *

15 November 1994: Report by the UN Commission of Experts describing the events that took place in the area under government control as genocide against the Tutsi and the massacres committed by the RPF as acts of revenge.³⁵¹ *

December 1994: A report by MININTER under the RPF administration estimates the number of victims of the 1994 genocide and massacres at more than 2.1 million. The number of Tutsi victims is 250,000. This figure is very important and decisive in understanding the truth, but above all in rewriting the history of the Rwandan genocide.

N.B.: Paradoxically, we will see that UN Resolution 955, which set the time limit for the genocide from 1 January to 31 December 1994 (one year), did not satisfy the RPF, which had ambitions to be the master of the game. It did not take long for it to change this period after the ICTR was established, registering 1st October 1990 to 31 December 1994 (four years instead of one year) to make it appear that it had started the war on 1 October 1990 to stop the genocide, which it had not mentioned during the Arusha Peace Accords signed on 4 August 1993.

On what basis did the UN accept this new date of 1 October 1990 and ignore the period from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994? The 365-day genocide will be dishonestly transformed, on the basis of a lie, into a 1,550-day genocide.

The second genocide committed by the RPF/RNA/Interahamwe infiltrated by the APR is defined as follows: it took place throughout the entire national territory of Rwanda, as can be seen on the map in photo no. 1, while the route followed during the offensive from the outbreak of hostilities on the night of 6 April 1994 is shown in green lines. (Route followed by the RPF in green lines from the area conquered after 6 April 1994. (See also photo 56).

³⁴⁹ Matata Joseph: Communiqué of 5 February 1997.

³⁵⁰ Ndirabatware A. 2006. Sources du Nil Publishing. Rwanda: A celebration of lies and injustice. - Through Resolution 955, the UN Security Council created the ICTR. Of the 15 members of the Security Council, 13 voted in favour (United States, Russian Federation, France, United Kingdom, Argentina, Brazil, Djibouti, Spain, Nigeria, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Czech Republic), 1 abstained (China) and 1 voted against (Rwanda). The RPF government delegate protested in particular against the absence of the death penalty among the sentences that the tribunal would be authorised to impose and against the fact that the trials would be held outside Rwandan territory.

³⁵¹ Hearing of Faustin Twagiramungu at the French National Assembly fact-finding mission on 12 May 1998, p. 11.

CHAPTER VII. The second genocide

VII.1. Assessment of the genocide committed in 100 days

The second genocide, known as IrimburaBanyarwanda, committed by the RPF/NRA/Interahamwe/Inkuba, Abakombozi, Impuzamugambi, Jeunesse du PL ... infiltrators from the APR/NRA took place between 6 April 1994 and 31 December 1994 (Table 9 (Genocide No. 2)). This is generally referred to as the 100-day genocide, referring to the period from 6 April 1994, when the RPF resumed fighting, to 19 July 1994, when the first RPF government was sworn in.

The scale of the massacres is summarised in the table below.

VII.2. The only genocide recognised by the UN on the basis of Resolution 955

(The only genocide recognised to date... 2025)

The only genocide recognised by the UN on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 955 establishing the ICTR. By its resolution 955 (1994) of 8 November 1994, the Security Council decided to establish the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, responsible for trying persons alleged to be responsible for acts of genocide or other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda between¹January and 31 December 1994. It therefore covers killings and massacres committed between 1 January 1994 and 5 April 1994, the day before the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana, as well as killings, massacres and other inhumane treatment committed between 6 April 1994 and 31 December 1994, i.e. the second genocide known as IrimburaBanyarwanda committed by the RPF/NRA/Interahamwe/Inkuba, Abakombozi, Impuzamugambi, Jeunesse du PL ... infiltrators of the APR/NRA between 6 April and 31 December 1994.

VII.3. Table of victims from 6 April 1994 to 31 December 1994

The table of victims from 6 April 1994 to 31 December 1994 below shows the massacres and killings committed in Rwanda after the assassination of the President of the Republic on 6 April 1994. It specifies the location and number on the map of the massacres and killings committed, the number of victims, the date, the commune where the victims were located, and comments or the code for the location of these atrocities.

Table 9 MASSACRES FROM 6 April 1994 TO 31 December 1994

Table 9_1

Location of site	Number on the map	Number of victims	Date	Municipality in 1994	Sponsors or location code
Amahoro Stadium (Remera): inside the stadium	1	1500	April–May 1994	Kacyiru	Capt Charles Karamba (I.O 3rd APR Battalion) and his team of intelligence agents
Bicumbi: Mwurire	3	10,000	April 1994 December 1994	Biumbi	Order from Gen Maj P. Kagame to Lt Charles Matungo and Lt Mugisha Johnson, both from the High Command unit
Bicumbi: On the hill	4	3,000	May 1994	Bicumbi	Order from Gen Maj P. Kagame to Lt Charles Matungo and Lt Mugisha Johnson, both of the High Command unit
Bigogwe: Military camp	5	1,500	July–September 1994	Mutura	Maj Alex Kagame, Lt Kayitare William. All from the 9th Battalion

Birenga: Kibungo town centre and surrounding area	6	18,500	Mid-late May 1994	Birenga	RW.KN.BI
Bugaragara		----	---	Bugaragara	RW.UM.BG
Bugarama: Rusizi	7	80	April 1994	Bugarama	RW.CY.BG
Bugarama: Municipal Office, surrounding area and shopping centres	8	1600	April 1994	Bugarama	RW.CY.BG
Butamwa: Communal Office and surrounding area	11	300	1994	Butamwa	RW.KR.BU
Butare: Small wood behind the Campus	13	1,200	July-August 1994	Ngoma	Lt Col Fred Ibingira, Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit. Capt John Zigira from the Training Wing and then from the G5 Gendarmerie
Buyoga: Muyanza: 500m radius around the parish	15	750	22/05/1994	Buyoga	RW.BM.BU
Bwakira: Birambo	16	2,000	1994	Bwakira	RW.KY.BW
Bwisige: Kisaro: Crossroads	17	1,300	26-30/4/1994	Bwisige	RW.BM.BW
Byumba: Episcopal Church of Rwanda	19	1,200	24/04/1994	Kibali	Gen Maj P. Kagame (direct order) to Lt James Ruzibiza Ahimbisiwe and S/Lt Steven Mugisha: all from the High Command Unit
Byumba: Stadium	2	2,000	23/04/1994	Kibali	Gen Maj P. Kagame

					(direct order) to Lt Emmanuel Ntingingwa and Lt Eustache Ngenzi (and his team of APR players) High Command Unit
Byumba: Military camp	21	1,500	24/04/1994	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, all from the DMI
Byumba: Social school	22	1,000	24 April–early May 1994	Kibali	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Balinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, Lt Theogene Rutiyombya: all from the DMI
Byumba: Flour mill Mass grave	22	130	24/4 early May 94	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Lt Col Augustine Gashaija (Military Police), Capt John Birasa (+) of the High Command

					Unit, Capt Dennis Karera of the APR Political Education Department
Byumba: Muhondo/Kibali School Centre + mass grave	23	1,000	23/04/1994	Kibali	Gen Maj P. Kagame (direct order) to Lt Emmanuel Ntingingwa and Lt Eustache Ngenzi (and his team of APR players) High Command Unit
Byumba: Kibali School Centre - Commune pit	24	450	26/04/1994	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, all from the DMI
Byumba: School Centre, Buhambe	25	600	26/04/1994	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, all from the DMI
Cyabingo/Ruhondo Several localities in these municipalities	26	500	1994	Cyabingo	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Lt Col Karake Karenzi Commander of the 408th

					Brigade, Maj Philbert Rwigamba 67th Battalion, Maj Firmin Bayingana Ruhengeri GD Group, Capt Misingo Karara Ruhengeri GD Group
Cyeru/Nyamugari/Nyarutovu/Ndusu and Tare: Rushashi, Tumba	27	4,000	1994	Nyamugari Cyeru	RW.RU.N M RW.RU.CR
Cyeru-Nyamugari	27				
Cyeru-Nyarutovu	27-2				
Cyeru-Ndusu	27-3				
Cyeru-Tare	27-4				
Cyeru-Rushashi	27-5				
Cyeru-Tumba	27-6				
Cyungo: Kinihira: Cyohoha Rukeri Factory	30	400	1993- 1994	Cyungo	RW.BM.C G
Gabiro: Military camp	31	20,000	April 1994	Gabiro	Lt. Col. Patrick Nyamvumb a, Capt Dan Munyuza and his team, Capt Joh Zigira, Lt Wellare Gahizi
Gako Gashora military camp?	37	30,000	May-July 1994		Ltcol Fred Ibingira and Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Gaseke: Kabaya: Market Square	34	350	May 1994	Gaseke	RW.GS.GA
Gashora: near the municipal office	36	700	April 1994	Gashora	Maj. W. Gumisiriza

					and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Gashora: Gako: Military camp	37	30,000	7/1994	Gashora	RW.KR.GA

Table 9-2

Site location	Number on map	Number of victims	Date	Municipality in 1994	Sponsors or location code
Amahoro Stadium (Remera): inside the stadium	1	1500	April–May 1994	Kacyiru	Capt Charles Karamba (I.O 3rd APR Battalion) and his team of intelligence agents
Bicumbi: Mwurire	3	10,000	April 1994 December 1994	Biumbi	Order from Gen Maj P. Kagame to Lt Charles Matungo and Lt Mugisha Johnson, both from the High Command unit
Bicumbi: On the hill	4	3,000	May 1994	Bicumbi	Order from Gen Maj P. Kagame to Lt Charles Matungo and Lt Mugisha Johnson, both of the High Command unit
Bigogwe: Military camp	5	1,500	July–September 1994	Mutura	Maj Alex Kagame, Lt Kayitare William. All from the 9th Battalion
Birenga: Kibungo town centre and surrounding area	6	18,500	Mid-late May 1994	Birenga	RW.KN.BI

Bugaragara		----	---	Bugaragara	RW.UM.B G
Bugarama: Rusizi	7	80	April 1994	Bugarama	RW.CY.BG
Bugarama: Municipal Office, surrounding area and shopping centres	8	1600	April 1994	Bugarama	RW.CY.BG
Butamwa: Communal Office and surrounding area	11	300	1994	Butamwa	RW.KR.BU
Butare: Small wood behind the Campus	13	1,200	July- August 1994	Ngoma	Lt Col Fred Ibingira, Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit. Capt John Zigira from the Training Wing and then from the G5 Gendarmeri e
Buyoga: Muyanza: 500m radius around the parish	15	750	22/05/199 4	Buyoga	RW.BM.BU
Bwakira: Birambo	16	2,000	1994	Bwakira	RW.KY.BW
Bwisige: Kisaro: Crossroads	17	1,300	26- 30/4/1994	Bwisige	RW.BM.B W
Byumba: Episcopal Church of Rwanda	19	1,200	24/04/199 4	Kibali	Gen Maj P. Kagame (direct order) to Lt James Ruzibiza Ahimbisiwe and S/Lt Steven Mugisha: all from the High Command Unit
Byumba: Stadium	2	2,000	23/04/199 4	Kibali	Gen Maj P. Kagame (direct order) to Lt Emmanuel

					Ntingingwa and Lt Eustache Ngenzi (and his team of APR players) High Command Unit
Byumba: Military camp	21	1,500	24/04/1994	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, all from the DMI
Byumba: Social school	22	1,000	24/04-early May 1994	Kibali	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Balinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, Lt Theogene Rutiyombya: all from the DMI
Byumba: Flour mill Mass grave	22	130	24/4 early May 94	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Lt Col Augustine Gashaija (Military Police), Capt John Birasa (+) of the High Command Unit, Capt Dennis Karera of the APR

					Political Education Department
Byumba: Muhondo/Kibali School Centre + mass grave	23	1,000	23/04/1994	Kibali	Gen Maj P. Kagame (direct order) to Lt Emmanuel Ntingingwa and Lt Eustache Ngenzi (and his team of APR players) High Command Unit
Byumba: Kibali School Centre - Commune pit	24	450	26/04/1994	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, all from the DMI
Byumba: School Centre, Buhambe	25	600	26/04/1994	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, all from the DMI
Cyabingo/Ruhondo Several localities in these municipalities	26	500	1994	Cyabingo	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Lt Col Karake Karenzi Commande r of the 408th Brigade, Maj Philbert Rwigamba 67th

					Battalion, Maj Firmin Bayingana Ruhengeri GD Group, Capt Misingo Karara Ruhengeri GD Group
Cyeru/Nyamugari/Nyarutovu/Ndusu and Tare: Rushashi, Tumba	27	4,000	1994	Nyamugari Cyeru	RW.RU.N M RW.RU.CR
Cyeru-Nyamugari	27				
Cyeru-Nyarutovu	27-2				
Cyeru-Ndusu	27-3				
Cyeru-Tare	27-4				
Cyeru-Rushashi	27-5				
Cyeru-Tumba	27-6				
Cyungo: Kinihira: Cyohoha Rukeri Factory	30	400	1993- 1994	Cyungo	RW.BM.CG
Gabiro: Military camp	31	20,000	April 1994	Gabiro	Lt. Col. Patrick Nyamvumb a, Capt Dan Munyuz a and his team, Capt Joh Zigira, Lt Wellare Gahizi
Gako Gashora military camp?	37	30,000	May-July 1994		Lt Col Fred Ibingira and Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Gaseke: Kabaya: Market Square	34	350	May 1994	Gaseke	RW.GS.GA
Gashora: near the municipal office	36	700	April 1994	Gashora	Maj. W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Gashora: Gako: Military camp	37	30,000	7/1994	Gashora	RW.KR.GA

Gashora: Rilima: Burundian refugees Large area	38	1,800	April 1994	Gashora	RW.KR.GA
Gashora				Gashora	RW.KR.GA
Gatare: Hanika and surrounding area	39	55,000	7/1994	Gatare	RW.CY.GT
Gatsyata: La Rwandaise (industrial complex)	41	3,000	April – June 1994	Rutongo	Capt Gacinya Rugumya and his team from the Bravo Mobile Unit
Gikomero: Primary School	43	1,500	23/05/1994	Gikomero	Lt Col James Kabarebe, Lt Alex Masumbuku, both from the High Command Unit

Table 9_3

Gikomero: Nduba and surrounding area	44	3,750	April 1994	Gikomero	RW.KR.GM
Gikomero: Kinyinya-Kami: Military Camp	45	10,000	June 1994	Gikomero	RW.KR.GM
Gikomero: Gasabo area	46	---	---	Gikomero	
Gikoro: Musha: Kw'Isumo (Crossroads)	47	700	Mid-May 1994	Gikoro	RW.KR.GR
Gikoro: In mining deposits	48	2,500	May 1994	Gikoro	Lt Charles Matungo Unite High Command on direct orders from Maj Gen P. Kagame
Gishamvu: Busoro and Nyumba and surrounding areas	49	25,000	7/1994	Gishamvu	RW.BT.GI
Gishoma: Mushaka-Karangiro	50	2,000	8-9/1994	Gishoma	RW.CY.GH
Gishyita: Bisesero and surrounding area	51	10,000	6-7/1994	Gishyita	RW.KY.GY
Gisovu: Gisovu and several localities in the commune	52	6,250	7/1994	Gisovu	RW.KY.GS
Gitesi: Town centre, Communal Office, Gatwaro and Saint Jean	54	4,000	1994	Gitesi	RW.KY.GT
Giti: Municipal Office	55	250	23-26/04/1994	Giti	Lt Col Martin Nzaramba, Maj F. Rusagara and others from the 21st Mobile Unit, Capt Dan Munyuza from the DMI
Giti: Karushya School Centre	56	400	23/04/1994	Giti	Maj Rusagara of the 21st Mobile Unit
Giti: Rwesero	57	600	22/04/1994	Giti	Lt Martin Nzaramba and Maj Anthony Rusagara of the 21st Mobile Unit
Giti: Kigaga Centre	58	60	22-23/1994	Giti	RW.BM.GT

Location: Municipal office +Nyakayaga+ Church	59	20,000	April 1994	Gituza	RW.BM.GZ
Hanika Parish-Kirambo	60	23,000	April 1994	Gatare-Kirambo	RW.CY.KI
Kabarondo: Communal office + Kabarondo Church	62	3,000	1994	Kabarondo	RW.KN.KB
Kabgayi: Gakurazo and Bishopric	63	4,000	June 1994	Nyamabuye	Lt Col Fred Ibingira and Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team, Capt Willy Bagabe, Sit Patrick Kamaramaza, Sgt John Butera, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Kabuga: Centre and surrounding area	64	2,000	May 1994	Rubungo	Colonel William Bagire (+) of the 7th Mobile Unit
Kabuye	?	6,000	April 1994	Rutongo	
Kacyiru: King Faisal Hospital	65	700	April–May 1994	Kacyiru	Lt Col Charles Kayonga of the 3rd Battalion
Kacyiru: Amahoro Stadium: Inside the stadium	See 1		1994	Kacyiru	RW.KV.KA
Kacyiru: Kimironko: Near Col. Nsekaliye's house	66	1,500	May 1994	Kacyiru	RW.KV.KA
Kacyiru: Rukiri: Several localities in this area	67	1,000	April–May 1994	Kacyiru	RW.KV.KA
Kagano: Rangiro, Karambi, Muzimu, Uwisumo and Gisuma	68	10,000	1994	Kagano	RW.CY.KG
Kageyo: On the hill	71	1,500	26 April 1994	Satinskyi	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama of the DMI, Lt Col Augustine Gashaija of the Military Police, Capt John Birasa (+) of the High

					Command Unit, Cat Dennis Karera , APR Political Department
Kahi		---	---	Kahi	RW.UM.KH
Kamembe: Town centre and surrounding area	73	4,000	1994	Kamembe	RW.CY.KM
Kami: Military Camp	74	30,000	June 1994	Gikomero ?	Lt Col Karake Karenzi Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Lt Jos? Nzabamwita from the DMI and others from the Unit
Kanombe: Masaka: Below the Medical Centre	80	50,000	July – Dec. 1994	Kanombe	RW.KR.KM
Kanombe: Military camp and surrounding area	81	10,000	July – Dec. 1994	Kanombe	RW.KR.KM
Kanzenze: Mayange: Mayange School Centre: School Centre and surrounding area	82	2,300	20-21/05/1994	kanzenze	RW.KR.KZ
Kanzenze: Nyamata, municipal offices and surrounding area	83	40,000	July – December 1994	kanzenze	RW.KR.KZ
Karago: Several localities	84	2,000	July/August 1994	Karago	Lt Col Charles Kayonga, S/Lt Richard Muhirwa, Capt Karega Mobile Unit Bravo
Karama: Cyanika, Communal Office	85	1,000	July-Dec. 1994	Karama	RW.GK.KA
Karambo: Kaduha and surrounding area	86	12,500	1994	Karambo	RW.GK.KB
Karangazi	---	----	---	Karangazi	RW.UM.KR
Karengera: Ntendezi, Mwezi	87	80	1994	Karengera	RW.CY.KR
Kayenzi: Bunyonga and several localities	89	2,250	1994	Kayenzi	RWA.GT.KA
Kayonza: Rwinkwavu and Communal Office	90	1,000	1994	Kayonza	RW.KN.KY

Kayove: Kinunu and surrounding areas	91	250	1994	Kayove	RW.GS.KY
Kibali: Byumba: Episcopal Church of Rwanda	19	(See Byumba)	24 April 1994	Kibali	RW.BM.KB
Kibali (See Byumba): Stadium	20	(See Byumba)	24 April–early May 1994	Kibali	RW.BM.KB
Kibali (See Byumba): Military camp	21	(See Byumba)	24/04–early May 1994	Kibali	RW.BM.KB
Kibali (See Byumba): Social school	22	(See Byumba)	24/04–early May 1994	Kibali	RW.BM.KB
Kibali (See Byumba): Muhondo	23	(See Byumba)	24 April–early May 1994	Kibali	RW.BM.KB
Kibali: Byumba: mass grave	24	(See Byumba)	24 April–early May 1994	Kibali	RW.BM.KB
Kibali: Byumba: School centre	25	(See Byumba)	24/04–early May 1994	Kibali	RW.BM.KB
Kibayi: Gikore, Municipal Office and surrounding area	92	1,250	1994	Kibayi	RW.BT.KB
Kibilira: Gatumba: several localities	94	2,500	April 1994	Kibilira	RW.GS.KI
Kibilira: Communal Office and surrounding area	95	175	April 1994	Kibilira	RW.GS.KI
Kibilira: Muhororo: Hospital and Parish	96	100	April – September 1994	Kibilira	RWA.GS.KI
Kibilira: Gasave, Gisezero, Mikingo	97	74	April 1994	Kibilira	RWA.GS.KI
Kicukiro: Nyanza – Kicukiro: Primary School	98	2,000	21–22 May 1994	Kicukiro	RW.KV.KI
Kidaho: Cyanika, Musanzu and several localities	99	1,500	July 1994	Kidaho	Lt Emmanuel Gasana and his team (July 94)
Kidaho: behind the communal office (wood)	100	1,500	July 1994	Kidaho	
Kigarama: Bugambira, several localities	102	300	1994	Kigarama	RW.KN.KI

Kigoma: Ngoma: Ngwa Sector	104	375	24/04/1994	Kigoma	Cat Willy Bagabe, Maj W. Gumisiriza, Ltcol Eric Murokore, Maj Mubarak Muganga, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Kimironko: Near Col. Nsekaliye's residence	107	50	May 1994	Kacyiru?	Capt Charles Karamba (DMI) and his team, all posts in the 3rd Battalion
Kinihira: Cyohoha Rukeri factory	See 30	1600	1994	Cyungo	Col Sam Kanyemera of the Alfa Mobile Unit, Capt Gacinya Rugumya, Lt G. Rumanzi of the Bravo Mobile Unit, Capt Gakwerere
Kinyamakara: Several localities, especially along the Butare-Gikongoro road	109	150	May 1994	Kinyamakara	RW.GK.KM
Kinyami: Rutare road and Rukomo	110	68	1994	Kinyami	RW.BM.KN
Kirambo: Karambi, Rangiro and surrounding areas	111	575	1994	Kirambo	RW.CY.KI
Kisaro: Crossroads	See 17	1,300	26-30/4/1994	Bwisige	Lt Col Augustine Gashaija (Military Police), Capt Dennis Karera (APR Political Department)
Kiziguro: Several locations/Gatsibo school centre Murambi		2,000	April-May 1994		Lt Col Fred Ibingira, Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team, Capt Rabooni Okwiri, Lt Innocent Kabandana, all

					from the 15th Mobile Unit
Kivu: Communal Office and several localities	112	2,250	1994	Kivu	RW.GK. KV
Kivumu: Nyange, Communal Office and surrounding area	113	450	April 1994	Kivumu	RW.KY.KI
Kiyombe: Mutete: Commercial Centre/Health Centre	115	350	22/04/1994	Kiyombe	RW.BM.KY
Kiziguro: Several locations/School Centre	116	2,000	April/May 1994	Murambi	RW.UM.MR
Mabanza: Kibuye-Gisenyi road, Kibuye Gitarama and surrounding area	117	625	April 1994	Mabanza	RW.KY.MA
Maraba: Karama Market in Kizi and surrounding areas	118	30,000	April 1994	Maraba	RW.BT.MA
Masaka: Below the Medical Centre	See 80	50,000	July – December 1994	Kanombe	Lt Col Karake Karenzi, Lt Col Rwahama Jackson, Lt Joseph Nzabamwita and his team) Maj Steven Barinda, Lt Francis Mutiganda, Capt Geoffrey Shema, Sgt Janvier M.: all from the DMI
Masango: Communal Office and surrounding area	119	100	1994	Masango	RW.GT.MA
Mayange: School centre	See 82	2,300	20-21/5/1994	Kanzenze	Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Mbazi: Several localities	120	500	1994	Mbazi	RW.BT.MB
Meshero: on Hill	122	800	26/04/1994	Kinyami	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza of the DMI and Capt Denis Karera
Mbogo: Nzove: Centre and surrounding area	see 193	800	4/07/1994	Mbogo	RW.KR.MB

Mubuga: Kibeho: camps for displaced persons and refugees	123	2750	1994	Mubuga	RW.GK. MB
Mudasomwa: Uwinkoko, Mubuga, Kigeme, Gasarenda and surrounding areas	124	5,000	1994	Mudasomwa	RW.GK.MD
Mugambazi: Muhondo	126	50	1994 - 1995	Mugambazi	RW.KR.MG
Muganza: Several localities	127	7,500	April 1994	Muganza	RW.BT.MN
Mugesera: Zaza minor seminary	128	1750	April 1994	Mugesera	RW.KN.MG
Mugina: Mbat/Nteko/Mukinga/Kiyonza/etc.	129	25,000	19-23/1994	Mugina	Col Charles Muhire, Maj Sam Biganiro, Capt Jimmy Muyango, all from the 101st Mobile Unit
Mugusa: Communal Office and surrounding area	130	100,000	April 1994	Mugusa	RW.BT.MS
Muhazi: Nyarubuye: Centre and near the church	131	6,000	26-27/04/1994	Muhazi	RW.KN.MH
Muhondo: Near the crossroads	132	2,500	6 July 1994	Rushashi	Lt Col Charles Kayonga gave direct orders to Maj Zubaire Rubayiza and Hassan Lumumba, both from the Bravo Mobile Unit
Muhondo/Kibali: School Centre + mass grave	See 23	1,000	23 April 1994	Kibali	Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Barinda, Capt Dan Munyuza, all from the DMI
Muhura: Karundi (entire area)	134	450	12/05/1994	Muhura	Capt Dan Munyuza, Sgt Tharcisse Idahemuka, both from the DMI
Muhura: Remains of the Commune	135	2000	Mid-April to	Muhura	Capt Dan Munyuza, Sgt

			early May 1994		Tharcisse Idahemuka, all from the DMI
Mukarange: Meshero, Kageyo, Kisaro, Mukarange parish	115	6,000	12-26 April 1994	Mukarange	Capt Dan Munyuza, Sgt Tharcisse Idahemuka, all from the DMI
Mukingi: Near the Communal Office	136	450	June 1994	Mukingi	Maj Mubarak Muganga Maj W. Gumisiriza, Capt John Ntaganda(+), all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Muko: Communal Office and surrounding area	138	175	1994	Muko	RW.GK.MK
Murama: Ruhango and surrounding areas	139	5,000	6-7/1994	Murama	RW.GT.MR
Murambi: Kiramuruzi Shopping Centre	140	350	Mid-April 1994	Murambi	Col William Bagire(+) Maj Ngumbayingwe(+), Diogene Mudenge, all from the 7th Mobile Unit
Murambi: Kiziguro: Several locations/School Centre	See 116		April/May 1994	Murambi	RW.UM.MR
Musambira: Communal office and surrounding area	141	5,000	24 25/5/1994	Musambira	RW.GT.MS
Musange: Several localities	142	2,700	May 1994	Musange	RW.GK.MN
Musasa: Communal Office	144	50	1994 - 1995	Musasa	RW.KR.MS
Musebeya: Several localities	145	75	1994-1995	Musebeya	RW.GK.MS
Musha: Kw'Isumo (Crossroads)	See 47	700	Mid-May 1994	Gikoro	Gen. Maj P. Kagame direct order to his guards from the High Command Unit
Mushubati: Several locations	147	750	April 1994	Mushubati	RW.GT.MT
Mutete: 2 Shopping Centre / Health Centre	148	350	22 April 1994	Buyoga	Ltcol Martin Nzaramba of the 21st Mobile

					Unit (fired 122mm and 107mm shells and 120mm mortar bombs into the crowd fleeing the fighting).
Muvumba: Rukomo (Muvumba) Centre and surrounding area	43	1	1,300	April-May 1994	Muvumba RW.BM.MV
Muyaga: Several localities	150		9,000	June 1994	Muyaga RW.BT.MG
Muyanza: 500m radius around the parish	151		750	22/05/1994	Buyoga Lt Col Kazintwari Kadafi, Maj Nkurunziza alias Karampenge, Maj Steven Karyango, Capt Mugisha, Capt Byakatonda(+), Capt Kamuhanda alias Commando, all from the 101st Mobile Unit, on orders from P. Kagame to clear the area.

Table 9_4

Muyira: Mututu and surrounding area	152	900	End of May 1994	Muyira	Lt Col Fred Ibingira, Maj Mubarak Muganga, Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team, all from the 157th Mobile Unit.
Mwendo: Several localities	153	3,750	April 1994	Mwendo	RW.KY.MW
Nasho: All around Lake Nasho	154	5,000	June 1994	Rukira	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Lt Col Karake Karenzi, Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Lt Col Jack Nziza, Lt Col Patrick Karegeya, Lt Col John Peter Bagabo, Maj Steven Balinda, Maj John Zigira, Capt Silas Udahemuka, Capt Joseph Nzabamwita, etc., almost all from the DMI, posted to various locations
Ndera: Psychiatric Centre and behind it	155	2,000	April-December 1994	Rubungo	Col Bagire(+) (7th Mobile Unit) Lt Col Rwahama Jackson and SLt Kirenga Edgar (under the command of Lt Col Karake Karenzi), all from the DMI.
Ndora: Gisagara Shopping Centre	156	2,000	July 1994	Ndora	Capt John Zigira, Lt. Wellars Gahizi of the Simba Mobile detachment of the

					Karama training wing.
Ndusu: Several localities	---	RW.RU.ND	See Cyeru	See Cyeru	See Cyeru
Ngenda: Several localities	159	750	End of May 1994	Ngenda	RW.KR.NG
Nkumba: Ruhondo: Mutabo	163	800	July – September 1994	Nkumba	Lt Emmanuel Gasana Rurayi and his team from the DMI.
Nkumba: Communal Office II	164	1000	July 1994	Nkumba	Lt Emmanuel Gasana Rurayi and his team from the DMI.
Nshili: Several localities	165	1,000	April 1994	Nshili	RW.GK.NS
Ntongwe: Communal Office and surrounding area	166	375	June-7/ 1994	Ntongwe	RW.GT.NT
Ntongwe: Market and several localities	167	750	June-7/ 1994	Ntongwe	RW.GT.NT
Ntyazo: Several localities	168	450	June-7/ 1994	Ntyazo	RW.BT.NT
Nyabikenke: Several localities	169	425	April 1994	Nyabikenke	RW.GT.NB
Nyabisindu: Centre and surrounding area	170	150	May 1994	Nyabisindu	RW.BT.NB
Nyabwishongwezi: Shopping Centre	171	2,000	13 to 19 April 1994	Ngarama	Capt Dan Munyuza, Capt John Zigira, Capt Tindamanyire(+), Lt Wellars Gahizi, Capt S.Gashegu, Slt Assouman, Slt Nkusi. Order Ltcol Patrick Nyamvumba of Simba Mobile
Nyacyonga: Displaced persons camps	172	3,500	12/04/1994	Rutongo	Capt Gacinya Rugumya and his team, including Lt Rwagasisi, Lt Karemera, Slt Manassé Manzi, Slt Richard

					Muhirwa, Slt John Karangwa , all from Mobile Unit Bravo.
Nyagatare: Kagitumba, Matimba and surrounding areas	173	1,500	1990, 1994	Nyagatare	RW.UM.NY
Nyakabanda: Communal office and surrounding area	174	1,250	April 1994	Nyakabanda	RW.GT.NK
Nyakabuye: Mashyuza, Nyabitimbo + Several localities	175	275	1994	Nyakabuye	RW.CY.NY
Nyakinama: UNR Campus	176	1,000	7/1994	Nyakinama	Col William Bagire (+) (211th Brigade). Col Karake Karenzi (408th Brigade), Col Kayumba Nyamwasa (Deputy Chief of Staff of the GD), Capt Justus Majyambere (DMI) stationed at the 408th Brigade
Nyakizu: Cyahinda and surrounding area	178	3,750	1994	Nyakizu	RW.BT.NK
Nyamabuye: several localities	179	85	April 1994	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamabuye: Communal Office and Surroundings	180	148	April 1994	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamabuye: Prison and surrounding area	181	1,500	June 1994	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamabuye: Kabwayi and surrounding area	See 63		1994	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamagabe: Town Centre and Surrounding Areas	183	5,000	April 1994	Nyamagabe	RW.GK. NY
Nyamyumba: Communal Office	186	25	1994	Nyamyumba	RW.GS.NY

and surrounding area					
Nyarubuye: Centre and near the church	See 131	6,000	26-27/04/1994	Muhazi	Capt Willy Bagabe, Capt John Ntaganda, Capt John Ntaganda, Capt George Kirindi
Nyarubuye II: Kirehe, Nyarubuye, Mareba, Burembo	187	14,000	1994	Rusumo	RW.KN.RS
Nyarubuye- Nyabitare: more refugees returning from Tanzania	188	4,600	1994	Rusumo	RW.KN.RS
Nyarubuye III: Musasa, Gabiro, Gitwa Rutsiro, Mabanza	See 117	600	1994	Mabanza	RW.Ky.MA
Nyarugenge: Kigali City and surrounding areas	202	65,000	7 April 1994	Nyarugenge	RW.KV.NY
Nyaruhengeri: Communal Office and surrounding area	191	125	1994	Nyaruhengeri	RW.BT.NR
Nyungwe: Ku Wasenkoko	192	1,125	9/1994	Kirambo	Capt Ignace M and Sgt Zuba Camille (Alpha unit), Lt Gasana Emmanuel Rurayi, Sgt Malingumu and others from the DMI.
Nyarutovu	See 27	See Cyeru	See Cyeru	Nyarutovu	RW.RU.NR
Nzove: Centre and surrounding area	193	800	4 July 1994	Mbogo	Gen Maj P. Kagame (direct order to Lt Col Kayonga Mobile Unit Bravo, Col W. Bagire(+) 7th Mobile Unit and Col C. Ngoga(+) 7th Mobile Unit and Col C. Ngoga(+) of the 59th Mobile Unit
Rilima: Burundian refugees, large area	195	1,800	April 1994	Gashora	Maj W. Gumisiriza and

					his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Rubungo: Ndera: Psychiatric Centre and behind it	See 155		April-December 1994	Rubungo	RW.KR.RB
Ruhashya: Several locations	199	10,000	April 1994	Ruhashya	RW.BT.RH
Ruhondo: Mutabo (see also Cyabingo)	26	800	July–September 1994	Ruhondo	Lt Emmanuel Gasana Rurayi Sgt Idahemuka Tharcisse, Sgt Aimable Rukundo, Sgt Jérôme Mukunzi, Sgt Rwakabishya and their DMI group.
Rukara: Several localities	200	3,000	June 1994	Rukara	RW.UM.RU
Rukira: Nasho: Around Lake Nasho	201	5,000	June 1994	Rukira	RW.KN.RK
Rukira: Communal Office and several localities	See 154	125	June 1994	Rukira	RW.KN.RK
Rukiri (Kacyiru): Large part of this area	202	250	April-May 1994	Kacyiru	Lt Col Charles Kayonga, Capt Charles Karamba, all from the 3rd Battalion.
Rukomo (Muvumba) Centre and surrounding area	203	1,300	April-May 1994	Muvumba	Capt John Zigira, Lt Wellars Gahizi(+) all from the Simba mobile unit
Rukondo: Communal Office and surrounding area	204	50	June 1994	Rukondo	RW.GK.RU
Runda: Gihara	205	900	June 1994	Runda	Col Charles Muhire, Maj Sam Bigabiro, Capt Jimmy Muyango, all from the 101st Mobile Unit.
Runyinya: Communal Office and surrounding area	206	325	June 1994	Runyinya	RW.BT.RN

Rusatira: Several localities	207	300	June 1994	Rusatira	RW.BT.RS
Rushashi: Muhondo: Near the crossroads	See 132		6/07/1994	Rushashi	RW.KR.RS
Rushashi: Several localities	See 27	See Cyeru	See Cyeru	Rushashi	RW.KR.RS
Rushashi: Communal Office and surrounding area	See 27	Cyeru	Cyeru	Rushashi	RW.KR.RS
Rusumo: Near the Tanzanian border	208	1,125	30 April 1994	Rusumo	Lt. Col. Eric Murokore, Maj. George Kirindi, Maj. W. Gumisiriza, Capt. Willy Bagabe, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Rutare: around the shopping centre	209	1,200	April-May 1994	Rutare	Lt. Col. Martin Nzaramba of the 21st Mobile Unit.
Rutobwe: Communal Office and several localities	210	250	April 1994	Rutobwe	RW.GT.RT
Rutonde: Several localities	211	625	1994	Rutonde	RW.KN.RT
Rutongo: Communal Office and surrounding area	212	1,800	1994	Rutongo	RW.KR.RT
Rutsiro: Congo-Nile Ridge	213	4,500	1994	Rutsiro	RW.KY.RU
Rwamatamu: Several localities	214	12,250	June 1994	Rwamatamu	RW.KY.RW
Rwamiko	215	750	June 1994	Rwamiko	RW.GK.RW
Rwanda: Between April and July 1994	216	50,000	April July 1994	---	The leadership of the APR led by Gen Maj Paul
Rwanda: Targeted killings on national territory, especially along roads	217	37,500	July–December 1994	---	The leadership of the APR led by Gen Maj Paul
Rwinkwavu: Quarry and mine deposit	222	1,400	Mid-December 1994	Kayonza	Lt Col Karake Karenzi, Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Maj Steven Balinda, Lt Joseph

					Nzabamwita, Lt Shema Geoffrey, all from the DMI.
Rwisorabo: ...	---	---	---	Rwisorabo	RW.UM.RW
Sake: Communal Office	224	1,600	28/04/1994	Sake	Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Sake: Rukumberi Primary School	225	1,600	28/04/1994	Sake	Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
Satinskyi: Ngororero: Market Centre, Rutunga	226	100	April 1994	Satinskyi	RW.GS.SA
Satinskyi: Kageyo hill and surrounding area	See 71		26/04/1994	Satinskyi	RW.GS.SA
Shyanda: several localities	227	325	June 1994	Shyanda	RW.BT.SH
Shyorongi: Along the main road and several localities	228	425	April 1994	Shyorongi	RW.KR.SH
Taba: Kibuza and several localities	229	3725	May 1994	Taba	RW.GT.TA
Tambwe: Several localities	230	5,000	May 1994	Tambwe	RWA.GT.TM
Tare: several localities	See 27	See Cyeru	See Cyeru	Tare	RW.KR.TA
Tumba: Base, Shopping Centre	25	600	1994	Tumba	RW.BM.TU
Tumba: Base, Shopping Centre	See 2	See Base	View Base	Tumba	RW.BM.TU
Zaza: Minor Seminary	See 128	1,700	27 April 1994	Mugesera	Maj W. Gumisiriza and his team from the 157th Mobile Unit
S.Total		1,063,770			
TOTAL		1,063,770			

N.B.: By the end of June 1994, the number of victims stood at 557,465 dead. If the UN had intervened in May 1994, Rwanda would have avoided the unnecessary loss of more than 2,039,377 lives. The last column indicates those responsible for these crimes.

Thus, the death toll or tally for the 100 days from 1 January to 31 December 1994 amounts to 2,100,000 victims. This section is unique in that it identifies those responsible or those who

ordered the crimes. However, it would be detrimental to play on propaganda and blame the interim government, which ruled the country in the midst of the genocide and lasted only 100 days, as being solely responsible for the Tutsi genocide, and then to ignore the trigger for this genocide and the opposition, which was its partner in the coalition government! Knowing the instigators with precise dates of the massacre sites, adding the RPF infiltrators revealed by Tite Rutaremara and Kajeguhakwa Valens in the chapter on genocide lies, we can state without ambiguity that the RPF/NRA is the perpetrator of the genocide; while the external powers and the UN via UNAMIR are the masters of the game of this Rwandan genocide (Irimbura-Banyarwanda).

Let us recall the paradox noted above

a) UN Resolution 955, which set the time limit for the genocide from 1 January to 31 December 1994 (one year), did not satisfy the RPF, which had ambitions and the supremacy to be the sole master of the political game in Rwanda. It did not take long to change this period after the establishment of the ICTR, setting it from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994 (four years instead of one year) as the duration of the genocide, in order to make people believe that it had started the war on 1 October 1990 to stop the genocide that was taking place, an ethnocide that it did not mention during the Arusha Peace Accords signed on 4 August 1993.

b) On what real basis, understandable to everyone, did the UN accept this new period from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994 and disregard the period from 1st January to 31 December 1994, which included the 100-day genocide, referring to 6 April 1994, the date of the resumption of fighting by the RPF, until 19 July 1994, the day of the swearing-in of the government of Faustin Twagiramungu and Pasteur Bizimungu?

c) Without outside help, the RPF alone did not have the capacity or the means to take power in Kigali within 100 days. The wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo since 1996 have been successive replicas by the same actors in 1998, 2012, and 2023.

VII.4. The complicity of powerful foreign countries and their allies in the RPF's seizure of power in Rwanda

How did the RPF seize power in four (4) months when it had been unable to do so in four (4) years of Arusha peace negotiations? The RPF took care to meticulously prepare for this war during the Arusha peace negotiations. With the help of Museveni, Kagame's master and mentor, and the Anglo-American powers, the French realised too late that they wanted to sideline them in the region. They are gradually losing their foothold in Africa due to the lack of foresight of their current president and even that of his predecessors.

VII.4.1. The Secrets of the 1990-1994 War in Rwanda

How the RPF Was Able to Seize Power in Four Months When It Had Been Unable to Do So in Four Years. A combination of several factors, it is a mystery to be unravelled.

One of the results of these secrets is that the RPF revised the genocide established on the basis of UN Resolution 955 and established it on the basis of a genocide defined by it as lasting between 1,550 and 1,825 days instead of 366 days. (See also the chapter: Where did the 1990 war really come from? Chapter VII, page 392). By extending the time frame of the genocide, the RPF also extended its power in time and space, its scope of action and the number of people affected.

VII.4.2. The secrets of war and genocide in one hundred (100) days

How was the RPF able to seize power in four months when it had been unable to do so during four years of war?

The Rwandan Patriotic Front's seizure of power in Kigali in July 1994 was preceded by preparations that had been planned and designed in advance in Uganda and in absolute secrecy by the Kagame-Museveni tandem () and their allied powers. Moreover, the method used was similar to that used in Uganda by Yoweri Museveni on 26 January 1986, when he seized power in Kampala. The strategy or method consists of lulling the authorities into a false sense of security with deceptive, illusory and diversionary negotiations with no known outcome, and then surprising the opponent with an irregular strategy involving irregular warfare. The aim was first to weaken the authorities politically and then to defeat them militarily after decapitating the country's leadership. (The government of the people and the people themselves are led astray like a flock of lost sheep). It does not give its adversary time to prepare. This is how the RPF won the war in four months after decapitating the government in Kigali on 6 April 1994.

But let us examine in detail what really happened. During the years of resistance and struggle by the NRA led by Yoweri Museveni to take power in Uganda, he was helped by President Juvénal Habyarimana, who wanted to separate from Obote, hoping that Museveni would solve the problem of Rwandan Tutsi refugees on Ugandan soil by offering them Ugandan nationality and permanent asylum. The expected result produced the opposite effect. Museveni had promised the Tutsis who helped him seize power in Uganda that he would put them in power in Rwanda once Uganda was liberated. At that time, he was already an ally of the US and the UK. True to his word, he preferred to work to put his Tutsi brothers in power in Kigali, the power that their fathers had lost in 1959. It was in this context that Museveni helped them with all his heart and soul to establish them in power in Rwanda. (Kagame's speech in Rebero, Bwisige Byumba, on 31 March 2003 talks about this long-term preparation.) This speech is referenced in³⁵² *. In this difficult struggle, the Tutsi refugees were already in contact with Roger Winter, a CIA agent who was head of the US Committee in charge of refugees.

He says that nothing was done at random, everything was meticulously and intelligently prepared to achieve a goal that had been set well in advance. This is irrefutable proof of Kagame's preparation for the Rwandan genocide.

They prepared well for the war politically, diplomatically, militarily and in the media, but failed to sway Habyarimana's government. After their attacks on the ground had failed more than six times, they decided to assassinate him in the air, where he would have no means of defending himself.³⁵³* The assassination of President Habyarimana was a cowardly and barbaric act. He was on his way to a peace talks meeting in Dar-Es-Salam. Shortly after the signing of the Arusha Peace Accords, the ideologues and strategists of the RPF, in a document entitled "Current and Future Environment of the Organisation", with a view to seizing power, advocated the scenario of removing President Habyarimana by force within a period not exceeding nine months from the date of the signing of the Arusha Peace Accords.

This is evidenced in an interview by Charles Onana with Col. Luc Marshal, who was the second-in-command of the United Nations Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) during 1993 and

³⁵² Speech by President Paul Kagame, Lycos.com. <https://rwandanet.tripod.com> > bwi... Speech by President Paul Kagame International Water Day Rebero, Bwisige District, Byumba Province 31 March 2003. Original text in Kinyarwanda, English...

³⁵³ Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that have gone unpunished. (February 2014.^{2nd} revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil.

1994, and General Augustin Ndindiliyimana, head of the Rwandan gendarmerie during the 1990-1994 clashes³⁵⁴ *. These are two key figures in Rwanda's recent history, who are still living eyewitnesses to these recent events. They claimed that Western powers and the UN obstructed the truth about the Rwandan tragedy from coming to light. What is the truth about who ordered the attack on the presidential plane, the mission of the ten Belgian peacekeepers shot dead at Camp Kigali, and their mission to Akagera National Park, Virunga Park and Masaka? No one knows, not even their direct superior (Col. Luc Marshal says he did not know about their mission), except for the person who sent them. (See the 11 October 2022 interview with Charles Onana and his two guests, Col. Luc Marshal and General Augustin Ndindiliyimana)³⁵⁵ (*).

The truth about the tragedies in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo is emerging. Little by little, tongues are loosening and the so-called official version is falling apart at the seams. Far from the propaganda media, so as not to be embarrassed and censored for their intimate knowledge of the facts, the actors and direct witnesses of what happened in the African Great Lakes region are finally speaking out. This can be read in an interview that the following three personalities: General Augustin Ndindiliyimana, General Habyarimana and Col. Luc Marshal gave to Charles Onana on 21 September 2022 and 11 October 2022³⁵⁶ (*).

The Belgian parliamentary commission and the French parliamentary fact-finding mission did not want to go any further in their investigations and analyses on this subject, as indeed on many other important points. Belgium's invisible hand in this case prevents it from going into depth to uncover the truth.

The ICTR (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda), for its part, has shown, contrary to all logic, no interest in this investigation, even though the assassination falls within the period covered by its mandate and was the trigger for the Rwandan genocide. Some people are rightly wondering why, despite recommendations from all sides, this investigation is not being carried out. Yet the tangible evidence that could serve as a basis for this investigation exists. A rigorous analysis of the evidence available to date on this despicable assassination already points to the most likely leads and even the most probable lead.

VII.4.3. The ICTR as an accomplice of the RPF during its mandate

Throughout its mandate, the ICTR did not have the will to address the heart of the 1994 cataclysm during its term of office from 8 November 1994 to 31 December 2015. Addressing the heart of the 1994 cataclysm would have allowed for fair justice and reconciliation among Rwandans, shed light on our history, and finally honoured the memory of all Rwandan victims. By refusing to investigate the assassination of President Habyarimana, the ICTR served the interests of the RPF and its foreign accomplices. In this case, the ICTR was set up to embellish the power that the RPF had just seized in a high-level conspiracy in the pay of foreign powers. What issues did the ICTR need to address during its mandate in order to clarify national and international opinion and to reveal the light and truth based on the knowledge provided by its investigations, ultimately enabling Rwandans to reconcile? Why did the ICTR not carry out its mandate in its entirety (from A to Z)? Was it due to a "lack of independence and judicial sovereignty" on its part?

³⁵⁴ Interview with Charles Onana and his two guests, Col. Luc Marshal and Gen. Augustin Ndindiliyimana, on 11 October 2022. Part 1.

³⁵⁵ Interview with Charles Onana ... Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Interview with Charles Onana and his three guests, Col. Luc Marshal, Gen. Augustin Ndindiliyimana and Gen. Habyarimana, on 11 October 2022. Part 2.

a- Were the Arusha Peace Accords concluded on 4 August 1993 supported by both signatory parties and the international community that accompanied them? Why were these agreements violated and by whom? The answers can be found in Bourgoutière, Michael Hourigan, Degni Segui, Enquête Espagnole, Carl Del Ponte, Bernard Lugan in *Un génocide en question*, Noel Ndanyuzwe, Abdul Ruzibiza, and in the agreement itself. The RPF is singled out as bearing responsibility for violating them.

b- If the Arusha Peace Accords were viable and fair, who violated them? And why? The answers can be found in Bourgoutière, Michael Hourigan, Degni Segui, Enquête Espagnole, Carl Del Ponte, Bernard Lugan in *Un Genocide en Question*, Noel Ndanyuzwe, Abdul Ruzibiza, and in the agreement itself. The RPF and the powers that supported it are held responsible.

c- Who shot down the plane carrying Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, as well as those accompanying them and the crew members of the plane transporting them? The answers can be found in: Bourgoutière, Michael Hourigan, Spanish Investigation, Lugan in *Genocide in Question*, Noel Ndanyuzwe, Abdul Ruzibiza... The RPF and the CIA, including the Clinton administration, which drove the propaganda machine of war and lies for the RPF.

d- Who planned and ordered the shooting down of the presidential plane? And their motives: The answers can be found in: Bourgoutière, Michael Hourigan, Spanish Investigation, Lugan in *a Genocide in Question*, Noel Ndanyuzwe, Abdul Ruzibiza, the RPF/NRA and the CIA.

e- What triggered the massacres leading up to the genocide? The answers can be found in: ICTR Special Investigations, Michael Hourigan, Degni Segui, Carles Del Ponte. The RPF, the NRA and the CIA ordered the shooting down of President Habyarimana's plane, knowing the reaction of the Rwandan population. The trigger is well documented.

f- Who gave the orders to start the hostilities, given that both sides were supposed to observe the ceasefire during this period? The answers can be found in: Louis Bourgoutière, Spanish judge Fernando Andreu Marelles ...

g- It is said that justice delayed is justice denied, so why did the ICTR/UN deny fair justice more than 30 years ago? The answers can be found according to Lugan and Noel Ndanyuzwe and others...

h- Why was the mapping report (1993-2003) on crimes committed in the DRC kept in the UN's drawers, even though this report details the crimes committed in the 650 mapped mass graves and identifies those who ordered them? The powerful countries that supported impunity bear a heavy responsibility for condoning criminal killers.

i - Why did the ICTR close its doors without having fully addressed all these issues? The answers should have been found if impunity had been eradicated by trying all the criminals of the APR/RPF.

j- Thousands of human lives were lost, more than 3,005,000 in Rwanda, and three-quarters of the killings were committed by RPF/APR soldiers, who have remained unpunished to this day. Since the damage caused by this injustice can never be repaired, will Rwandans at least have justice that brings reconciliation? The answers can be found in the judicial solidarity that will be established by a new regime that is responsible and accountable before the law.

k- Rwandans will have justice before history. The answers can be found in the establishment of the rule of law and ensuring that the relevant institutions set up fulfil their roles properly, with an emphasis on the priority of building a just and egalitarian nation.

I- Rewriting the history of our country as it really is is necessary to erase the lies that have divided us for so long in Rwandan politics and administration.

The answers to the above questions could have been found if the ICTR had properly fulfilled its mission entrusted to it by the UN, without interference from foreign powers³⁵⁷ *. All of the above-mentioned authors and witnesses point to the RPF as the initiator and beneficiary of the cataclysm in Rwanda and the African Great Lakes region. Its behaviour over the past thirty years clearly proves this. The first factor was to significantly weaken the government.

VII.4.4. The first factor was to significantly weaken the government

This section will cover the sequence of events and strategy to weaken Habyarimana's power, the content of tweets by President Kaguta Museveni's son, Rudahigwa Mutara III, the idol of Lt. Gen. Kaïnerugaba Muhoozi, the view of the M23 and other armed groups created by the Kigali government.

VII.4.4.1. The sequence of events and irregular strategy to weaken Habyarimana's power

In fact, President Kaguta Yoweri Museveni is the real architect and driver of the war machine for the extermination of the Bantu people in the African Great Lakes region and the ideologue of political lies. He is indeed the true founder of the Hima-Tutsi empire, he is the replacement (umusigire w'umwami) of King Rudahigwa, the Rwandan conqueror, as Kaguta Yoweri Museveni's son, Gen. Muhoozi Kaïnerugaba revealed this in tweets dated 22-27 March 2022 and 27 May 2022. These tweets are translated as follows: "He begins with a media tweet. 'It is not a crime to be Mututsi or Muhima or Muhema or Munyamulenge'. It is a very dangerous ethnic game to clumsily defend an ethnic group that represents less than 1% of a region with more than 450 ethnic groups. Which ethnic group is mistreated in the DRC among so many others? What is new? This means that he is taking over, the entry of Lt. Gen. Muhoozi Kaïnerugaba is taking over the conquest of the African Great Lakes region from his fathers Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame, who will soon be retiring due to age limits. Noel Ndanyuzwe describes this conquest, which is part of the creation of the Nilotic empire, in his book "The World War in Africa".

In his tweets, Lt. Gen. Muhoozi Kaïnerugaba reveals some very important things to us. The background to the wars in the African Great Lakes region since the conquest of Uganda. They have the ambition to create the Hima-Tutsi empire. Secondly, "TIP: Tutsi International Power" when he says, "It is not a crime to be a Mututsi or a Muhima or a Munyamulenge." He also reveals the overall plan for the reunification of the Great Lakes countries. This message is widely disseminated on YouTube IZURWA TV, which speaks Intara z'Unze Ubumwe bw'u Rwanda, "United States of Rwanda" by Norbert Muhire in what he calls "u Rwanda Rushya", meaning "The New Rwanda". In reality, this is a disguised misappropriation of what Noel Ndanyuzwe calls "The Hima Empire or Nilotic Empire". Towards the building of a great Nilotic empire in Africa,^{358(*)} this reveals the that is hidden behind the wars in the African Great Lakes region, initiated by Museveni, Kagame's real boss. He himself is the commander of the M23, not Kagame, whom I consider to be the leader of the M23 in relation to his master. His malice

³⁵⁷ 1. Memorandum on the assassination of President Habyarimana, 3 June 1999. And 2. Jean Pierre Mugabe. Le Tribun du Peuple. Itangazo, 1999.

³⁵⁸ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. The Anglo-American conspiracy for genocide in Rwanda. Investigation into the secret archives of the Ugandan National Army, June 2014. Editions Sources du Nil. Pages 435-508.

is hidden in the dialogue he initiates to prepare for war. If you ever accept their proposal and set aside your own solution, you will end up falling into their trap.

VII.4.4.2. A brief summary of Lt. Gen. Muhoozi Kainerugaba's tweets

We will discuss Tweeter Kainerugaba's tweets from 27 May 2022, Who is Rudahigwa Mutara III, the idol of Kainerugaba Muhoozi, son of Museveni? How should we view the M23, which was defeated in 2012, and finally understand that the M23 is inseparable from the RPF or other rebel groups created by Kigali?

1. There was a peace agreement on 23 March 2009 known as M23. (*This agreement became null and void after the movement's defeat in 2012*). M23 was formed on **4 April 2012** by 300 soldiers who deserted the CNDP. It is composed of a Tutsi ethnic group, supported by the RDF, which is the Rwandan army. It is active in North Kivu Rutshuru/Masisi.

2. The creation of a superpower always poses a problem. We have created unity between Uganda and Rwanda. This disturbs many people. Let's see where the power lies.

The Muhoozi team responds: "All enemies of Rwanda and Uganda must be eliminated (meaning the Bantu).

A colleague of General Muhoozi, Mr Kon Ruhanga, writes in response: "Power is with us." And power is with you! We entrust you with the power to love power.

3. No force on earth can stop an idea whose time has come. 'History is written by the patient'.

4. I am truly sorry for all those who think they can defeat me and unite me militarily. It will be a disaster for them. This is the last time. I will talk about this again. Let them come. We are more than ready.

5. After we are done with the ADF, we will focus on the Interahamwe in eastern DRC. Criminals who massacred our brothers and sisters in 1994. The time for talk is almost over.

6. All Interahamwe must surrender and report immediately to the nearest UPDF or RDF unit. We will win this final operation. We have decided to call it "Operation Rudahigwa". They are therefore fighting to accomplish what Mwami Charles Pierre Leon Rudahigwa would have accomplished had he lived longer.

N.B.: In this message from Kainerugaba, we can see that he does not clearly identify the enemy of the M23 or the ethnic groups he mentions by name: Tutsi, Hima, Banyamulenge, singled out from among the more than 450 ethnic groups that make up the DR Congo. He deliberately omits any mention of the genocide that was referred to in the 1993-2003 mapping report, which was committed by these ethnic groups that he glorifies. However, this report refers to the armies of Kagame and Museveni pursuing Hutu refugees in the equatorial forests of Congo. This message conceals the racial supremacy of the Tutsi ethnic group since the seizure of power in Kampala and Kigali, knowing that the attack on the DR Congo is merely an extension of this supremacy, even if it means spreading it to eleven African countries, the Hima-Nilotic empire," as discovered by Mr. Ndanyuzwe in his book "The African World War."³⁵⁹ *.

VII.4.4.3. Tweepers Kainerugaba, 27 May 2022

It is not a crime to be a Mututsi or a Muhima or a Munyamulenge, the ethnic group that makes up the M23. It has been seeking dialogue for years, to create the same scenarios that occurred in Uganda when Museveni took power in Kampala in 1986, or in Kigali on 6 April 1994. The East African Community should resolve this issue once and for all. The Congolese refuse to

³⁵⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Idem p.433-512

engage in dialogue with the RDF-M23 terrorists, which means that it must be resolved by force. Over the past two years, I have been at the forefront of all the wars in which the UPDF has been involved, and we have won all of them. Now that the UPDF and the RDF have joined forces, I pity anyone who stands in our way. This is the most powerful force in Africa³⁶⁰(*) .

The truth that Lt. Gen. Muhoozi Kainerugaba is conveying here is that the Ugandan Army and the Rwandan Army have merged. Rwanda is considered the sixth administrative region of Uganda. Since the conquest of Rwanda by the NRA/RPF, the two entities have never separated. The Rwandan administration is identical to that of Uganda, and the rebels who are wreaking havoc in the Great Lakes region are united by a communicating vessel from Uganda to the DRC via Rwanda. The prolonged occupation of eastern DRC, the influence of the Ugandan shilling, the foreign language, and the economic system of the occupiers will lead to the balkanisation of this colonised area.

VII.4.4.4. Who is Rudahigwa Mutara III, the idol of Kainerugaba Muhoozi?

Rudahigwa: Mutara III, born in Kamembe, near Cyangugu, in 1911 and died in 1959, was the penultimate ruler of the Kingdom of Rwanda. The first mwami (king, in Kinyarwanda) to convert to Christianity, he was baptised Charles Pierre Léon. Rudahigwa reigned from 12 November 1931 to 28 July 1959. A member of the Tutsi group, his reign was marked by attempts to bring together the different components of the Rwandan population, but also by a desire to Christianise the country with the support of the Belgian colonial authorities and missionary^{orders361}(*) .

King Rudahigwa Mutara III



Photo No. 64

VII.4.4.5. How is the M23, which was defeated in 2012, viewed?

Jean Yves le Drian, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, states: the M23 never existed; rather, it is the Rwandan army disguised as rebels and renamed M23 that is murdering people in eastern Congo with the deep complicity of certain multinationals and certain Rwandan, Ugandan and Congolese businessmen. The most surprising thing about this situation is the silence of Congolese President Felix Tshisekedi, who is slow to declare open war, because this is not a rebel group but a regular foreign army on Congolese soil. Roger de Carieux! On Twitter, France condemns the M23 attacks against MONUSCO on 27 July 2022³⁶² *. In France Diplomatie.

The M23 command is currently in Kigali, which is considered the fifth province of Uganda, therefore Ugandan President M7 is the real commander of the M23. Museveni's coalition and

³⁶⁰ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. The Anglo-American conspiracy for genocide in Rwanda. Investigation into the secret archives of the Ugandan National Army, June 2014. Editions Sources du Nil. Pages 435-508.

³⁶¹ Free Wikipedia

³⁶² France Diplomatie May 2022.

the Tutsi refugees take power in Uganda. They receive American and British support, which encourages them to create a Hima Tutsi empire. In their calculations, they acquired the territories of Uganda, South Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi, and it would be easy for them to acquire the rest of the territories of the DRC, Tanzania, Kenya, Sudan and Somalia. The plan to conquer these territories is described in Noël Ndanyuzwe's "La guerre mondiale africaine" (The African World War), The Anglo-American Conspiracy for Genocide in Rwanda. Editions Sources du Nil.

VII.4.4 6. The M23 is inseparable from the RPF and other rebel groups created by Kigali

After taking power in Kampala in 1986, Yoweri Museveni travelled to the United States to meet President Reagan. From this visit, he benefited from significant aid in the form of decommissioned weapons from the American arms stockpile. After the fall of Berlin, American policy changed and Kaguta Yoweri Museveni became an unconditional ally of the Americans in the region. First, there was a decommissioning of old weapons in the United States in 1989-1990 and the training of Kagame Paul in the United States. The well-calculated marriage took place: after his marriage in June 1990, he was sent to the United States for a military command course (Command Staff) at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas.

- Decommissioning of old weapons from the Pentagon in the United States in 1989-1990. Some of these weapons were bequeathed to the Ugandan government. These were the weapons used to eliminate the Acholi ethnic group in northern Uganda from 1986 to 2006. These were the same weapons used to attack and destroy Rwanda in October 1990.

Indeed, during the years of resistance and struggle by the NRA led by Yoweri Museveni to take power in Uganda, he was aided by President Juvénal Habyarimana, who wanted to break away from the regimes of Amin Dada and then Milton Obote, mistakenly hoping that Museveni would help him resolve the problem of Rwandan Tutsi refugees in the country by offering them Ugandan nationality. The assassination of President Habyarimana by Paul Kagame, with the unconditional and strong support of Kaguta Yoweri Museveni, was a cowardly and ungrateful act on the part of these assassins.

Below is the sequence of events and the irregular strategy to weaken Habyarimana's power: The assassination of President Habyarimana was preceded by real events that show that there was a deliberate strategy to weaken the regime and/or remove it from power. Apart from the preparations made in Uganda, the headquarters of the RPF/NRA, the powers that be were working to demonise Habyarimana's regime.

2 June 1992: Agreement on partnership/collaboration between the internal opposition/adversaries and the RPF in Brussels. As a reminder:

- The meeting of the opposition parties MDR, PSD and PL took place from 28 May to 2 June 1992 in Brussels in the Belgian Parliament building and was sanctioned by a joint communiqué

- The Belgian government sponsored a meeting between the RPF and the FDC parties in Brussels.

- These opposition political parties were part of the same government as the MRND. They left secretly without telling the other members of the government or the President of the Republic. They betrayed their country without realising the serious consequences of putting themselves in the hands of the rebels who had attacked the country. History will judge their actions as harmful to an entire people.

From 17 July 1993 onwards, the opposition led the government. The swearing-in ceremony for this new coalition government was led by Agathe Uwilingiyimana, who succeeded Dr D.

Nsengiyaremye after his fall in Kabusunzu. The MDR national congress of 23-24 July 1993 expelled its president, F. Twagiramungu, from the party. The Arusha Peace Accords were signed on 4 August 1993: President Habyarimana signed the Peace Accords proposed by the Western powers in Arusha, Tanzania, with the RPF.

VII.5. Distraction during negotiations to lull the authorities into a false sense of security

This section will discuss the Arusha Peace Accords, the investigations, reports and consistent testimonies that led to the establishment of responsibility for the assassination of President Habyarimana.

VII.5.1. Arusha Peace Accords

The Arusha Accords, concerning Rwanda, took place between June 1992 and August 1993 in successive stages between the Rwandan government and Paul Kagame's RPF in order to end the civil war that began in October 1990. The Arusha Accords were never implemented because, on 19 July 1994, the supposed end date of the Rwandan genocide, Faustin Twagiramungu took office as Prime Minister and Pasteur Bizimungu as President of the Republic. First, the MRND and the CDR were immediately excluded. (The Arusha Agreement is set out in detail at³⁶³ *). The assassination of President Habyarimana was preceded by events that show that there was a strategy to weaken the regime or undermine its power. This was in addition to the preparations made in Uganda. We can recall the agreement between the opposition/adversary and the RPF in Brussels, sponsored by the Belgian government³⁶⁴; the assassinations of major political leaders Emmanuel Gapyisi, Martin Gapyisi, Félicien Gatabazi³⁶⁵ *...; the betrayal of the opposition political parties that were part of the same government as the MRND but placed themselves in the hands of the RPF, which attacked the country³⁶⁶(*)... The Secret History (Testimonies collected from witnesses who were members of the RPF; Abdul J. Ruzibiza, *The Secret History*, 2005). The killers were: Lt Godfrey Ntukajyemo, alias Kiago, and Cpl Mahoro Aman, infiltrators from the RPF³⁶⁷ *(.).

On 25 February 1994 (Internet), MINUAR stated that government forces were easier to control than illegal movements. It should be noted that the RPF-FPR went so far as to refuse our observers entry to the CND (on 25 February 1994). This was one of the main violations of the Kigali Weapons Security Agreement, the KWSA³⁶⁸ *. Five to ten Inkotanyi would go to Mulindi to collect wood and return in groups of twenty or thirty. Once they arrived at the CND, they would change from their military uniforms into civilian clothes, go out and blend in with the population. It is estimated that more than 2,000 RPF combatants infiltrated the city of Kigali.

On the eve of that fateful day, the Rwandans still believed in the Arusha Peace Accords, while the RPF and its allies were finalising their plans to commit the irreparable after the meeting of

³⁶³ Arusha Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

³⁶⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arusha_Agreement.

³⁶⁵ Wikipedia: Investigation by the European Parliamentary Commission.

³⁶⁶ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arusha_Agreement.

³⁶⁷ Ruzibiza A. J., 2005. *The Secret History*. - This highly irresponsible criminal act was likely to set the country ablaze and provoke violent clashes between Gatabazi's opponents and supporters at a time when the political climate was extremely tense and highly volatile. It is reported that, while celebrating in bars in Kigali in the days following the capture of the capital, RPF agents publicly recounted, as acts of bravery, crimes they had committed in their struggle against the government, including the assassination of Gatabazi, which had spread terror throughout the country. (Testimonies collected from witnesses still alive; Abdul J. Ruzibiza, *The Secret History*, 2005). The killers are: Lt Godfrey Ntukajyemo alias Kiago and Cpl Mahoro Aman.

³⁶⁸ Ntilikina F. Rwanda. The capture of Kigali and the hunt for refugees by General Paul Kagame's army. Damning testimonies for crimes that have gone unpunished. (February 2014.^{2nd} revised and expanded edition). Editions Sources du Nil.

6 April 1994 in Dar Es Salam. On 5 April 1994, the arrival of American marines in Bujumbura was reported, and the extension of the UNAMIR mandate until 29 July 1994 was announced by Security Council Resolution 909. These preparations by the Americans and the UN concealed something sinister. On 5 April 1994, President Juvénal Habyarimana visited his counterpart, President Mobutu Seseseko, to persuade him to accompany him to the meeting in Dar Es Salaam. He felt the same fear that had gripped Jesus Christ as he prayed on the Mount of Olives. Mobutu refused to accompany him because he saw it as a trap.

It should be noted in passing that the Great Lakes region narrowly avoided the worst catastrophe in history, because what the Congolese do not know is that on the day Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira were assassinated, President Mobutu was also supposed to be there at the same time, but by a stroke of luck, he declined the invitation the day before the fateful peace summit in Dar-es-Salaam. The region would then have been engulfed in total violence, and the well-planned genocide would have taken place amid complete chaos.

A few hours before the assassination of J. Habyarimana, Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana was convinced that the RPF/NRA wanted to seize power by force. She was ready to sign the list of ministers proposed for the establishment of the GTBE, according to Enoch Ruhigira, Chief of Staff to President Habyarimana: "*She confirmed to me that she was comfortable with the list and the ceremony programme, and I quipped that this time, I hoped she would keep her word. She was quick to add that it was time to show the RPF that we were not slaves and that the country should not depend solely on its will, as if the other partners did not* ^{exist369(*)}(and)^{370(*)} *It should be noted that she should have been replaced by Faustin Twagiramungu under the terms of the agreements. However, she was assassinated on 7 April 1994, the day after the attack that killed President Juvénal Habyarimana and also prevented the implementation of the Arusha Accords. Jean Kambanda succeeded her in setting up the interim government, which attempted unsuccessfully to establish a ceasefire between the warring parties and to bring the RPF back to the negotiating table with a view to implementing the Peace Accords, also without success.*

6 April 1994: Assassination of Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi and their companions³⁷¹ *.

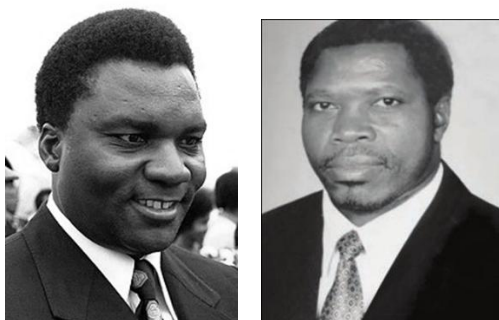


Photo no. 65. Two presidents who perished in the Falcon 50 on 6 April 1994.

³⁶⁹Ruzibiza Abdul J., *The Secret History*, 2005. Ibid.

³⁷⁰Enoch Ruhigira, *The Tragic End of a Regime*, vol. 1, La Pagaie Publishing, p. 202. In Noel Ndanyuzwe, *The African World War. The Anglo-American Conspiracy for Genocide in Rwanda*. Editions Sources du Nil, "Collective Memory" collection, p. 241.

³⁷¹ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Sources du Nil Publishing. Rwanda: *The Feast of Lies and Injustice. - The Civil War of April-July 1994*.

VII.5.2. Who will be held responsible for the assassination

Various investigations into the assassination of the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi have been conducted and have reached consistent conclusions.

VII.5.2.1. Michael Hourigan's investigation

Anyone wishing to identify those primarily responsible for the attack on 6 April 1994 must analyse certain studies or investigations already carried out in this regard.

's investigation Hourigan: Michael Hourigan led the ICTR's international team of 25 UN investigators , etc., who contacted sources (three men) in Kigali, Rwanda. These sources provided crucial information about the deadly rocket attack on the Rwandan presidential plane at around 8:30 p.m. on 6 April 1994.

Michael Hourigan



Photo No. 66

His investigation was immediately sealed. Michael Hourigan was dismissed from the ICTR by ICTR Prosecutor Louise Arbour under pressure from the Bill Clinton administration. Michael Hourigan's investigation was corroborated, for example, by those of Bruguière, the French investigator, and Mirelles, the Spanish investigator.

VII.5.2.2. Spanish judge Fernando Andreu Merelles issues 40 arrest warrants against Rwandan army leaders on 6 February 2008

On Wednesday 6 February 2008, a Spanish investigating judge issued forty arrest warrants against senior officers of the Rwandan army for acts of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and terrorism committed in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) between 1 October 1990 and 2002. The Spanish courts were seized of the matter in 2000 by relatives of Spanish victims killed in Rwanda – religious workers and humanitarian aid workers – and by Rwandan organisations in exile. In his ruling, Judge Fernando Andreu Merelles³⁷² * se declared that he did not have jurisdiction to prosecute Rwandan President Paul Kagame due to his immunity as head of state. The complaint was supported by Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo-Maria Pérez Esquivé and former US Senator Cynthia McKinney.³⁷³ *.

³⁷² Accusation_Spanish_judge_version France France Tutsi Genocide <https://francegenocidetutsi.org> › Fernando Andreu... PDF His Excellency D. Fernando Andreu Merelles, Judge. 20. Central Investigation Court No. 4 (Juzgado Central de Instrucción. 21. Número Cuatro) of the National Court ... p.182

³⁷³ Cynthia Ann McKinney former US Senator. Born on 17 March 1955, she comes from a family in Atlanta where her father, Billy McKinney, had a law firm. In 1992, she became an American politician, elected to the US House of Representatives as a Democrat in Georgia's^{11th} district. She thus became Georgia's first African-American representative. She was re-elected every two years between 1994 and 2000.

Cynthia McKinney



Photo no. 67

VII.5.2.3. A former French judge specialising in counter-terrorism

Jean-Louis Bruguière, born on 29 May 1943 in Tours, is a former French judge specialising in counter-terrorism. He was first vice-president of the counter-terrorism investigation section of the Paris High Court.³⁷⁴ *



Photo no. 68

Jean-Louis Bruguière



Photo no. 69

Fernando Andreu Merelles

In November 2006, when Judge Jean-Louis Bruguière drafted the order in which he named Paul Kagame as the instigator of the attack, issuing nine arrest warrants against various officials from the APR or the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front, the political wing of the movement), Faustin Kayumba Nyamwasa was second on the list of Rwandans suspected of involvement in the attack. It should be noted that this former officer, then Rwandan ambassador to India, was mentioned by almost all of the APR defectors on whom Judge Bruguière relied to support his case.

Although everyone agrees that the assassination was the spark that ignited the chaos and massacres perpetrated in Rwanda in April 1994, the alleged perpetrators have remained free to move about and no further investigation has been undertaken to date to bring the perpetrators of this despicable attack to justice.

³⁷⁴ 15 Feb. 2022. On Tuesday, the Court of Cassation put a definitive end to the investigation into the attack on the plane of Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana. Rwanda: French courts close investigation into attack... <https://www.france24.com> › France 24 › Africa.

VII.5.2.4. UN Special Rapporteur Degni Segui



Photo No. 70

René Degni Segui is from Côte d'Ivoire and is a law professor at the National University of Côte d'Ivoire in Abidjan. He was one of the ICTR experts and conducted investigations into the crimes committed in Rwanda.

The UN Special Rapporteur, **Degni Segui**, who was sent to Rwanda in June 1994 to investigate the massacres, acknowledged in his conclusions that the assassination of President Habyarimana was at the root of the tragedy. He stated that the assassins themselves were the instigators of these massacres. He recommended an investigation and promised to conduct his own inquiries to uncover the perpetrators of this cowardly assassination.

The UN Commission of Experts, established pursuant to Resolution 935/1994, reached the same conclusion as **Degni Segui** and also recommended an investigation into the assassination of President Habyarimana.

VII.2.5. Other experts have investigated the attack on the presidential plane

Other experts from the region also reached the same conclusions, with some going so far as to say that without this investigation, the truth about the Rwandan tragedy will never be known. Two notable examples are Mr Main De Brouwer and Reverend Father Guy Theunis:

I. In his open letter to Senator Destexhe in November 1996, Mr Main De Brouwer protested against the international community in these terms: "The absence of an international investigation into this attack is scandalous."

II. Reverend Father Guy Theunis did not hide his feelings of revolt when he testified before the Belgian Commission: "I will go to any lengths to find out the truth. I do not understand why neither the Belgians nor the French nor the UN have called for an official investigation into the attack. There is collusion between these different countries and even with the current government of Rwanda."

III. In the same vein as above, former Rwandan Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye stated before the same Commission: "We will not have an explanation for the scale of the massacres until the attack on the presidential plane has been clarified."

IV. Many other independent figures, including, and numerous experts from the region have expressed similar views. The answer is very simple. The truth means shedding light on what really happened in Rwanda: a genocide created to hide the gigantic Rwandan genocide committed by the RPF terrorists and the coup d'état organised by the powers under the banner of the UN to give power to the RPF. It is clear that once the truth is recognised as such, it will automatically remove the RPF from power, which has no place except through lies.

The Belgian Parliamentary Commission and the French Parliamentary Information Mission did not want to pursue their investigations and analyses further on this subject, as indeed on many other very important points³⁷⁵ *.

The ICTR (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda), for its part, has shown itself to be, contrary to all logic, uninterested in this investigation, even though this assassination falls within the period covered by its mandate. Some people rightly wonder why, despite recommendations from all sides, this investigation is not being carried out. Yet the tangible evidence that could serve as a basis for this investigation exists. A rigorous analysis of the evidence available to date on this despicable murder already points to the most promising leads and even the most likely lead.

VII.5.2.6. Testimony of Allison Des Forges, expert witness at the ICTR

Allison Des Forges, expert witness at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and Africa director at Human Rights Watch, told the ICTR on Tuesday that she did not understand why no investigation had been opened into the attack on Juvénal Habyarimana's plane. During her cross-examination at the trial of Tharcisse Renzaho, she said: "I agree with Judge Goldstone, the chief prosecutor of the ICTR, that this is part of the mandate of this tribunal." When questioned by François Cantier, Renzaho's lawyer, Ms Des Forges stated that she had no specific source but that it was "probable" that the RPF was behind the attack and that it was "of paramount importance that the ICTR issue an official statement in order to understand why such an investigation had not been conducted," she said. Ms. Allison Des Forges died in a plane crash, an accident that has not been properly investigated. Alison Des Forges, born on 20 August 1942 in Schenectady and died on 12 February 2009 in Buffalo, was an American historian considered one of the leading experts on the Rwandan genocide. Shortly before her death, she had discovered the lies of the RPF and disagreed with them. It is surprising to note that, according to the current prosecutor, Mr Aboubacar Jallow, the investigation into this attack, which triggered the genocide, does not fall within the mandate of the ICTR. This is completely false. In fact, Aboubacar Jallow served the interests of the Clinton administration rather than justice.

This investigation into the assassination of President Habyarimana was opened and conducted in 1997, notably by an Australian investigator from the prosecutor's office, Mr Michael Hourigan, who was prevented from continuing it by Richard Goldstone's successor, the Canadian Louise Arbour. Since then, only a French investigation, initiated following a complaint by the families of the French pilots of the aircraft, has been conducted in Paris. In November 1998, it concluded that individuals close to the current regime in Kigali were involved. Nine international arrest warrants were signed and the judge in charge of the case requested that the Rwandan president himself, Mr Paul Kagame, be brought before the ICTR. This case led to the breakdown of diplomatic relations between Rwanda and France³⁷⁶ *. *See also: ICTR mandate covers attack on Habyarimana (Desforges). (Agence Hirondelle 07/03/2007) Arusha, 6 March 2007. (FH)PB/AT/GF Agence Hirondelle.*

Allison Desforges

³⁷⁵ Information report by the National Defence and Armed Forces Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee on military operations conducted by France, other countries and the UN in Rwanda between 1990 and 1994.

³⁷⁶ Desforges Arusha, 6 March 2007: Desforges. (Agence Hirondelle 07/03/2007) Arusha, 6 March 2007. (FH)PB/AT/GF Agence Hirondelle.



Photo no. 7 1

Gathering evidence. This evidence may take the form of actions, omissions or statements. There are dozens, even hundreds, of pieces of evidence that could be used in the investigation into the attack of 6 April 1994. It should be noted that both investigations, that of Bruguière and that of Andrew Mirelles, were based on some of these clues: The prevailing local and international political situation. The clues about the planning, location and circumstances surrounding the attack are sufficiently suggestive. They point directly to the responsibility of Yoweri Museveni, Paul Kagame, the APR/NRA military and others. Unfortunately, widespread corruption, even within international institutions, is complicating matters and hindering justice and the search for truth.

VII.6. The complicity of Western powers and their allies

The complicity of Western powers and their allies in the RPF's seizure of power in Rwanda is undeniable. Indeed, who can explain how the RPF took power in four (4) months when it had been unable to do so in four (4) years of peace negotiations? The RPF took care to meticulously prepare for this war during the Arusha peace negotiations. It was aided by Museveni, Kagame's master and mentor, and by the Anglo-American powers. The French realised too late that they wanted to remove them from the African Great Lakes region. They are gradually losing their foothold in Africa due to the lack of foresight of their current president and even some of his predecessors.

VII.6.1. Those who helped the RPF take power

The RPF received foreign aid from countries and multinationals. The RPF/Museveni-Kagame tandem planned the war throughout the negotiations of the Arusha Peace Accords, both within the country, on the border between Rwanda and Uganda, and in Uganda itself. The RPF increased the number of CND soldiers to such an extent that it prevented MINUAR from entering the country to carry out inspections. It infiltrated all the country's political, military, social and civic institutions. No social group in the country escaped infiltration by the RPF. The weapons of the FAR/Rwandan Armed Forces were confined. In Rwanda, everyone in the country believed in the Arusha peace accords.

Behind the seizure of power by force in Kigali were foreign powers, allies of the RPF, multinationals and individuals who worked behind the scenes but contributed enormously to the RPF's victory through their complicity in its seizure of power in Rwanda! Among these men, Roger Winter was a shadowy figure at the heart of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. He was the embodiment of the Rwandan genocide in its conception, implementation and propaganda. He was the head of the US Committee for Refugees (USCR) and contributed to the dissemination of propaganda in the international media. It was Roger Winter who devised the strategy to be followed by the RPF to hold on to power for as long as possible.

In the following pages, we will attempt to shed light on this complicity by indicating the role of each individual and the assistance they provided to the RPF. We will examine this over time (i.e. by date). We can also mention the actions that led to or accompanied this assistance below.

The common denominator among those who directly or indirectly helped the RPF/NRA is that Kagame and Museveni are united in this Machiavellian project to serve foreign powers and the strategic political and economic interests of the Central African region, which is naturally rich in considerable natural resources. Below is a picture of each accomplice:

VII. 6.2. The image of the UN in Rwanda

The UN (UNAMIR and ICTR), through its presence in Rwanda, failed in its mission to mediate between the antagonists, pacify the country, unite the conflicting parties and reconcile the Rwandan people. The UN was the commensal of the RPF. The UN took sides in the conflict instead of being the separator of antagonistic communities (like two constituents, like a heterogeneous mixture or an immiscible liquid), where Rwandans became the lambs and the birches, the good and the bad, the wolves and the sheep, instead of being the catalyst, the symbiosis that brings together two species where both partners benefit from this association, where both gain the same advantages and suffer the same disadvantages.

In reality, if the UN was the catalyst, its mere presence enabled the RPF/NRA to accelerate its genocidal plan, cutting off the head of the country in order to increase the speed of the RPF/NRA's "killing machine". (Ref. The presence of MINUAR made it possible to provide the necessary information on the positions of the FAR and to assist in the movement of equipment and men to strategic locations such as Rebero and Jari).³⁷⁷ * Cfr. A former RPF combatant on the YouTube programme Isubyo on 7 March 2023. Hosted by André Kazigaba.

Given the UN's presence in Rwanda before, during and after the conflict, it should have done this work before the ICTR or any other judicial system was established in order to lay a solid foundation for impartial justice and avoid abuses. Investigations carried out by the ICTR show that the report on which the ICTR was based was biased and that the area conquered and occupied by the RPF, the demilitarised zone which was immediately invaded by the RPF after the assassination of Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira, was not investigated. (See map No. 56)

The precise information provided by the map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda shows a systematic extermination of the Rwandan population. It can be concluded without ambiguity that there were genocides in Rwanda: in the north in the prefectures of Byumba, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi in the Nyakimana cave, in the centre and east of the country and in the west of the country, including the Kibeho refugee camp during the period from 1994 onwards. The genocide targeted Hutus, Tutsis and Twa alike. There was genocide in Rwanda, as stated by American and British diplomats at the United Nations. This genocide was committed by Rwandans against Rwandans, but the United Nations (UN) was guilty and complicit through its silence and inaction, as well as through its impartiality in favour of the RPF. It failed to prevent or stop this genocide. Responsibility lies with several actors within this organisation: its Secretary-General, the Security Council, UNAMIR and certain of its Member States^{378(*)} (,)

Work of this kind is part of the efforts to reveal the truth about the war that began in October 1990 and ended on 6 April 1994, and which continues to this day; to raise global awareness of the need for impartial justice that would lead to reconciliation among Rwandans (Hutu, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa) and, finally, to preserve and allow for the recognition of the memory of all victims without distinction (Rwandans and foreigners). The following interview reveals some of what the UN knew.

³⁷⁷ Kazigaba Cfr. An ex-RPF combatant on the YouTube programme. Isubyo, 7 March 2023. Hosted by Kazigaba.

³⁷⁸ The United Nations and Rwanda, 1993-1996, p.64). (See also the ICTR map of investigations.

The other part of the UN's failures and shortcomings in Rwanda can be read in: The case of General Roméo Dallaire in chapter VII.6.7.

In Philippot's interview with Amadou Dème, a member of the UN troops' intelligence section under Romeo Dallaire, he states that Paul Kagame's RPF was armed and ready to attack before the assassination of President Habyarimana. "Shortly after the plane crashed, the RPF began using these multiple rocket launchers continuously without risk of being stopped by MINUAR. The gunners had the exact coordinates of all their targets in Kigali. It was these same weapons that enabled them to take Kigali and win the war. " Dallaire and his troops knew that the RPF was preparing to resume fighting during the eight-month Arusha peace negotiations: "There were many elements that left no doubt that the RPF would resume the war, but we did not know how it would happen. The UN troops were monitoring the government forces more closely than the RPF: "While the RPF was building up its unrivalled destructive and logistical capabilities, the government forces could not even supply their units with weapons and ammunition."

The RPF refused to cease fighting during the worst period of massacres, and the UN did not exert sufficient pressure to require the RPF to accept a ceasefire: "During the terrible period of killings, government forces repeatedly called for a truce so that they could restore order. For its part, the RPF always refused the truce because its war machine was already in motion." "Furthermore, the RPF should have accepted the request for a truce on humanitarian grounds, given the mass killings of people belonging to both ethnic groups. Refusing the truce was surely a terrible crime against humanity."

UN troops knew that the RPF had shot down the presidential plane: "I never met a military officer, especially among the military observers, who doubted for a moment that the RPF was responsible for the attack."

The case of the United States: The United States was closely monitoring the RPF's preparations. "[In 1993] we had to organise regular escorts to the RPF headquarters in the north of the country, mostly for the US ambassador and members of the US State Department. The UN, through the presence of UNAMIR, was aware of this superpower's actions in favour of the RPF and did nothing to prevent them.

Woe to the vanquished will be the fate of the majority of the Rwandan population.

Two generations were sacrificed.

(Vae Victis!)



Photo no. 72, The Sword of Brennus³⁷⁹

On 8 November 1994, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 955 establishing the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) with the mandate to "prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for genocide and similar crimes in neighbouring countries between 1 January and 31 December 1994" [*ICTR Statute as adopted by UN Security Council Resolution S/RES/955 (1994) of 8 November 1994*]. It followed the report of the Commission of Experts set up by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which concluded that "elements from both sides of the armed conflict had committed serious violations of international humanitarian law and crimes against humanity" (The United Nations and Rwanda, 1993-1996, p.64). (See also the ICTR investigations map, photo no. 56).^{380(*)}

1. The creation of the ICTR was greeted with enthusiasm by the Rwandan people, other peoples of the African Great Lakes region, and all those who love peace and justice and hoped to see an end to impunity for the perpetrators of these horrific crimes. Unfortunately, many years later, it must be noted that all these hopes have been dashed.

Indeed, while several members of the former government suspected of having committed war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity have been arrested, no member of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) suspected of having committed the same crimes has been prosecuted. Meanwhile, the operation of the RPT has cost the international community a trifling \$1.5 billion^{(*)381*}.

2. This situation is all the more incomprehensible given that several sources attest that the RPT is aware of horrific crimes committed by the RPF and that these crimes fall squarely within the jurisdiction of the ICTR. For example, Amnesty International states that "the crimes committed by the RPF in 1994 were brought to the attention of the Prosecutor's Office either privately through confidential information, through publications by non-governmental organisations and others, or through its own expert witnesses in Arusha" (Amnesty International, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda^{382(*)} – Trials and Tribulations, April 1998, p.17).

N.B.: Revelations by US Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney (Afrique Education, 1-31 January 2006). US Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, Bill Clinton's special envoy to Africa, reveals that the attack on the Rwandan president on 6 April 1994 was a coup d'état orchestrated by . She claims that the Clinton administration had decided to change the regime in Rwanda.

³⁷⁹ Wikipedia: The Sword of Brennus

³⁸⁰ The United Nations and Rwanda, 1993-1996, p.64). (See also the ICTR map of investigations

³⁸¹ Amnesty International, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Trials and Tribulations, April 1998, p.17

³⁸² Amnesty International, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Ibid.

That is why Paul Kagame came to power through violence and war. According to her, the International Criminal Tribunal, which only prosecutes Hutus, is a lamentable judicial circus.

VII.6.3 Belgium's image

*Belgium has special historical ties that justify its interest in Rwanda as a former colony. But its actions on the ground and its lack of neutrality in resolving conflicts and reconciling the Rwandan brothers are pitiful. It played along with the Clinton administration and the UN instead of maintaining its neutrality, even though it knew the two sides in the conflict better than anyone else.

*Belgium had to pay for the obsession it was constantly accused of, namely the Tutsi monarchy that the Belgian colonisers {the colonial period, first under German mandate (1899 to 1916), then under Belgian mandate and trusteeship (1916 to 1962)} had stripped of power and handed over to the Hutu. The monarchy, which went into exile in neighbouring countries, never came to terms with the 1959 revolution. It never accepted Hutu rule. It did not accept being ruled by a Hutu, and so they went into exile abroad. Upon their return, the Tutsi, seeking revenge, relentlessly sought to establish a monarchy disguised as a republic. The price paid by the Hutu since 1990 has been enormous and beyond comprehension. The Belgian authorities were complicit or repented by helping the RPF to seize power by force and trampling on the Arusha Peace Accords, which they had approved, agreeing to participate in the UNAMIR forces and thus facilitating the two parties to the conflict in putting them in place.

*Furthermore, Belgium interfered in the affairs to the point of refusing to deliver the weapons ordered by the Habyarimana government before the war, but delivered them to the RPF after the defeat of the FAR. Its assistance to the RPF is remarkably evident in its complicity in the overthrow of Juvénal Habyarimana's government. In his book "Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs" (Black Furies, White Liars), Pierre Péan devotes an entire chapter to "Brussels, the hub of the RPF's disinformation activities". The war launched by the RPF was fought as much in Brussels as in the hills of Rwanda. It was in the Belgian capital that the propaganda headquarters and an RPF office were set up in the months leading up to the RPF's military attack.

The RPF leadership, and Fred Rwigema in particular, tasked effective individuals with spreading the "good word" to the media and public opinion. With contacts in Germany, France and Switzerland, they formed a veritable hub for disinformation activities. They initially relied on a very active Tutsi diaspora, but they also sought out Hutus who, alone, could lend credibility to a universalist discourse on the "liberation movement" launched in the name of all Rwandans against the "tyrannical" regime that wanted to exterminate the Tutsis. These Hutus were merely figureheads and had no real power. Jean Barahinyura was recruited with the pompous title of "Commissioner for Information and Documentation". Fred Rwigema himself tried to convince him that the RPF was a democratic movement and that young Tutsis were eager to show solidarity with the Hutus. "We were just figureheads," says Jean Barahinyura today, who realised the deception in mid-1991 and left the RPF with a bang.

On the Tutsi side, lobbying efforts began to be carried out by the Isangano association and Tutsi officials from the European Common Market. The most active figures in the late 1980s were Servillien Sebasoni, Jean Baptiste Ndahumba, Immaculée Mugarewicyeza, Nyonga Kaligirwa, James Rego and, above all, Jacques Bihozagara, who was appointed director of international relations in Europe, and Gasana Ndoba, who went on to create the Committee for the Respect of Human Rights and Democracy in Rwanda (CRDDR). Gasana Ndoba, who completed his studies in Brussels and took Belgian nationality, would later play a decisive role in demonising the Habyarimana regime by amplifying all human rights violations and ignoring those

committed by the RPF. He skilfully managed to conceal his RPF affiliation under the guise of a human rights defender. This use of human rights organisations, based on two organisations created by the RPF, one in Brussels, the CRDDR, and the other in London, African Rights, by Rakiya Omar, was essential to the RPF's strategy.

But the greatest coup of the RPF activists in Brussels was to get Jean Gol, president of the Liberal Party, to support their cause, also bringing in various circles that gravitated around him: French-speaking liberals, Freemasons, the Free University of Brussels and members of the Jewish Secular Community Centre.

Jean Gol had been a lifelong supporter of Israel and the Zionist cause. He was approached by Immaculée Mugarewicyeza, Christian Bavastro and Gasana Ndoba to convince him of the righteousness of their cause... All of them emphasised the parallels between the Tutsis threatened with genocide and the Jews who had been victims of it: the Tutsis should be considered the 'Jews of Africa', still persecuted, still threatened by racist Hutus. Jean Gol was very sensitive to the idea of 'never again'. From the start of the war, it was clear that the Tutsi exiles wanted to take power by force and impose it on the Hutu majority... Jean Gol's entire team and the members of the RPF in Brussels can be read about in "Noires Fureurs, Blancs Menteurs" by Pierre Péan, pages 69-79³⁸³(*)

Jean Gol, leader of the Belgian Liberals



Photo no. 73 .

J. Gol was a Belgian politician born in Hammersmith (England) on 8 February 1942 and died in Liège on 18 September 1995. He was a member of parliament for Liège from 1971, then Secretary of State for the Walloon Regional Economy from 1974 to 1977. He led the Walloon Rally and worked with François Perin to establish the Walloon Reform and Freedom Party (P.R.L.W.). He chaired the group of Walloon and Brussels French-DDR-speaking liberals within the Liberal Reform Party (P.R.L.) and led it to victory **in the 1981 elections**. He formed three coalition governments with Wilfried Martens as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Institutional Reforms: the Martens V, VI and VII governments. Jean Gol was among those rewarded by the RPF, receiving UMURINZI as a reward. (See also the chapter on accomplices who were rewarded). It is also important to note the role played by the Belgian media before, during and after the RPF took power in demonising and weakening Habyarimana's power, as exemplified by a journalist from La Libre Belgique who wrote an article about Rwanda entitled "Une atmosphère de fin de règne" (An atmosphere of the end of a reign) accusing the Habyarimana regime of corruption³⁸⁴. On this subject, *Mr Shimamungu points out that "in the international media, the denigration of the government is systematic (Le Soir, 10-11 March 1990: 'Unprecedented crisis in Rwanda'), contrary to the reliable data provided by analysts such as those from the World Bank; corruption and ethnic and regional tensions are exaggerated to the extreme (La Libre Belgique, 31^{August} to 1 September 1989, and 22 February 1990). Rwanda, which at one point was considered a well-run country, a paradise*

³⁸³ Pierre Péan, 2005. Noires Fureurs, blancs menteurs. Editions Fayard. Pages 69-79.

³⁸⁴ Onana Charles. Rwanda. La Vérité sur l'Opération Turquoise in Shimamungu, E., op. cit., p. 48.

*for NGOs, where American, Chinese and many other nationalities were working together³⁸⁵, had become a kleptocracy through the manipulation of the international media orchestrated by the RPF. All the newspapers fell under its spell and indiscriminately spread falsehoods, given that Rwanda was a little-known country that the world was suddenly discovering³⁸⁶ *."*

"The journalist 'Colette Braeckman' served the interests of the RPF as an accredited member. Pierre Péan was the first to write that: 'Colette Braeckman was thus a major player in the Rwandan war. She lent credibility to the themes of the ideological war waged by the RPF and accompanied, even amplified, the RPF's attacks against the Catholic Church and against France³⁸⁷ * for its support of the Habyarimana camp.'

*The Rwandans' suspicion of Belgium is also based on the clumsy remarks made by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Willy Classe, who had looked down on President Habyarimana, saying: "It's five minutes to midnight, Mr President," urging him to set up broad-based transitional institutions as quickly as possible. Everything pointed to a Belgian plot in the service of the RPF; at least, that was the perception of Rwandan officials in the aftermath of the attack. The timing of his assassination was well known and imminent. Willy Classe uttered these words in February 1994, and President J. Habyarimana was assassinated on 6 April 1994. Who can say that he was not aware of the Machiavellian plan?

Willy Classe



Photo no. 74

Wilfried Achiel Emma Martens



Photo no. 75

Wilfried Achiel Emma Martens was a Flemish-Belgian politician from the CD&V and was Prime Minister of Belgium from April 1979 to March 1992. He helped to refuse the weapons that the Rwandan government had ordered before the start of the war in October 1990.

Guy Maurice Marie-Louise Verhofstadt (Pronunciation of a sound clip (info/explanation)) (Dermodonte, 11 April 1953) is a Belgian politician from the Open Flemish Liberal and Democrat Party (Open Vld). Guy Maurice Marie-Louise Verhofstadt was Prime Minister of Belgium from 12 July 1999 to 20 March 2008 in three governments. He is now a member of the European Parliament, where he was leader of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) from 2009 to 2019³⁸⁸ *.

Belgian officials rallied behind a bipartisan anti-Habyarimana journalistic discourse, which confronted the Rwandan tragedy with presentations that were as biased as they were unsubtle. This journalism, supposedly by Rwanda specialists, was forced to place all the victims in one ethnic camp and all the culprits in the other. It never took the time to seek the truth.

³⁸⁵ Onana Charles. Rwanda. The Truth About Operation Turquoise in (Debre, B. The True History of the Rwandan Genocides, Paris, Editions Jean Claude Gawsewitch, 2006, p. 73).

³⁸⁶ Onana Charles. Rwanda. The Truth About Operation Turquoise in Shimamungu, E., op. cit., pp. 48-49

³⁸⁷ Onana Charles. Rwanda. The Truth About Operation Turquoise in Pean, P. Black Fury, White Lies. Rwanda 1990-1994, Paris, Mille et une nuits, 2005, 544 p. p. 343.

³⁸⁸ Wikipedia



Photo no. 76

VII.6.3.1. The 'Michels' (Belgians), a calamity for Rwanda and Africa

The 'Belgian Michels' used their political positions to blindly support a bloody and ferocious dictatorship. The man currently known as the African Hitler, Paul Kagame. His despicable mass crimes cannot be ignored by the Belgian authorities, but they have chosen to turn a blind eye.

Louis Michel, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, from 19 to 25 June 2003 in Kigali, that he was satisfied with the elections that had taken place in Rwanda and that the results were "indisputable". Shortly before, a team of European Union observers had come to the opposite conclusion.^{389*} The following is a text written by Filip Reytsjens on 14 October 2003: Last week, Foreign Minister Louis Michel declared in Kigali that he was satisfied with the elections that had taken place in Rwanda and that the results were "indisputable".

The European Union observer mission consisted of dozens of investigators (examiners) who visited more than four hundred polling stations and counting centres. Their report noted many irregularities, fraud and intimidation and concluded that the elections had taken place "without any real opposition". Other independent reports on the presidential and legislative elections in Rwanda made the same findings as those of the Europeans. After a day of "observation", Louis Michel came to the conclusion that these critical reports had sometimes been concluded "somewhat hastily". He wondered whether the European observers were fully aware of the "specific context".

How can we explain this troubling stance taken by our Foreign Minister, the man who wanted to give Belgian diplomacy an ethical boost? Why is he suddenly embracing President Kagame, with whom he clashed not so long ago over the crimes committed by the Rwandan army in Congo, and after the Rwandan government spokesman's statement that "Rwanda had no lessons to learn about democracy from Louis Michel or Belgium"? Initially authoritarian, the Rwandan regime has since become totalitarian. It drafted a tailor-made constitution and crushed the opposition, which fell victim to the dissolution and non-approval of political parties, whose members were subjected to disappearances, arrests and exile. What remained of civil society and the press was muzzled. Despite its total control over the political, military, provincial and local systems, the RPF was clearly still so concerned that it committed large-scale electoral fraud.

The Kigali regime does not have weapons of mass destruction, but it has destroyed its own citizens and those of Congo on a massive scale. Since 1994, it has murdered far more citizens than Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq. It has twice invaded a neighbouring country and committed war crimes and large-scale looting there. Thanks to its greatest political asset – the 1994 genocide, which it likes to portray itself as the victim of – which it exploits shamelessly, the RPF has ensured its total impunity.

³⁸⁹ Filip Reytsjens. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 19-25 June 2003.

A few months ago, Claudine Vidal, a French specialist on Rwanda who in the past has shown great understanding for the RPF, wondered whether the donors who co-financed the Rwandan electoral process would feel that they had helped Rwandan voters to exercise their civil and political rights. "To believe so, they would need a remarkable willingness to turn a blind eye." (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 19-25 June 2003).³⁹⁰ (*) Louis Michel is not naive. So where does his attitude come from? Perhaps he is thinking in the short term. He believes that Kagame and the RPF have just won a seven-year mandate. Although he is aware of their major failings, he believes, no doubt because of "realpolitik", that he will be able to "do business" with them and that, in these circumstances, he must remain their valid interlocutor. He may even hope that the regime will improve and open up. If so, Louis Michel needs a wake-up call. The direction taken by the Rwandan regime for years has not been one of openness but of total control.

The "legitimacy" acquired by the RPF through elections will not encourage this party to engage in dialogue with the opposition, which continues to watch helplessly from abroad. Most Rwandans – Hutu and Tutsi – who are well aware of how badly they are being swindled, are frustrated, bitter and desperate. The structural violence that is so omnipresent in this torn country will resume in an exacerbated form in two, five or ten years' time. Today, we can read in the texts of opposition groups based abroad, which until now have radically rejected violence, that "*military strategy now has its place*" (Memorandum of the Igihango Alliance, 22 September 2003)³⁹¹.*

I have always supported Louis Michel's African policy and continue to do so, but on this crucial point I must dissociate myself from it. The policy of "critical but constructive engagement" has clearly reached its limits here. What signal is Belgium sending to Rwandans, including those within the RPF, who aspire to genuine democratisation and reconciliation? How can this position be explained to Rwandans and Congolese victims of oppression and violence? And what right does Belgium still have to encourage Burundi and Congo to conduct their transition to democracy in a proper manner?

Michel's carte blanche for the electoral farce is counterproductive and dangerous, and paradoxically comes at a time when other countries – "friends of New Rwanda" such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands – are beginning to review their position on the regime they have supported for many years. By denying the obvious, Louis Michel runs the risk of placing the Belgian government in a position similar to that of France, which until 1994 supported the regime responsible for the genocide.

Charles Michel: The President of the European Council, Charles Michel, has not spoken publicly on this subject since his meeting in Kigali with the Rwandan Head of State, a few days after a widely supported European Parliament resolution called for a fair and equitable trial for Paul Rusesabagina. Let us hope that he did so during the hearing.

I still believe that the discretion surrounding diplomacy has its methods and reasons. However, it is no longer possible to turn a blind eye. The agendas and those involved must be exposed. Not everyone is convinced, but many are. Not so long ago, I wrote: "After all, weren't we wrong about Paul Kagame and his Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)? The clever and attractive packaging of noble claims (return of refugees, democracy, power sharing, human rights) which were well received in 1990 by the international community, including Belgium, and by the internal opposition, served to hide his true intentions: to seize all power and secure it with an

³⁹⁰ Filip Reytsjens. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 19 to 25 June 2003.

³⁹¹ Alliance Igihango. *Military strategy now has its rightful place* (Memorandum from Alliance Igihango, 22 September 2003).

iron fist, to give free rein to interventionist ambitions in Congo..." Igihango Alliance. The military strategy now has its rightful place" (Memorandum from the Igihango Alliance, 22 September 2003³⁹² *).

Charles Michel

Louis Michel



Photo no. 77

The Belgians (who were part of the MINUAR peacekeeping contingent) are accused of being accomplices or of having shot down Habyarimana's plane because of a suspicious operation whose route passed through Masaka, very close to the shooting location on the morning of the assassination.³⁹³* The Rwandans now know the reason for Louis Michel's ambiguous position: after being trapped by the RPF regime through its pretty female aides, he had no reason to expose himself.

VII.6.3.2. Disagreement between Claes Willy and Col. Luc Marchal

Colonel Luc Marchal stalls for as long as he can at Kigali International Airport with the last Belgian peacekeepers. On three occasions, he ignores the order to withdraw from General Charlier, the Chief of Staff of the Belgian Army. Marchal is keen to give Romeo Dallaire the time he needs for the Ghanaian troops to move towards Kigali from the demilitarised zone. In a letter to Romeo Dallaire, Luc Marchal tells him that he is leaving Rwanda against his will. They are all aware of the likely consequences of the Belgian withdrawal, but Marchal wants to put them in writing. In his view, it would result in bloodshed; thousands of people would be massacred. His superiors asked him to keep his feelings to himself, but several years later, his anger still had not subsided: "To dare to take such a decision and then try to convince everyone to adopt the same attitude is inexplicable and inexcusable." This is all the more surprising given that a few weeks earlier, during a visit to the Belgian contingent of MINUAR, Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes had been full of praise for the peacekeepers, telling them how essential their work in Rwanda was. Willy Claes had assured them that he would support them no matter what. On 19 April, at 9 a.m., Luc Marchal was relieved of his command. At 11.30 a.m., after a final salute, he boarded the plane that would take him back to his country...

³⁹² Statement by President Charles Michel to the press following his visit to the Westerwelle Startup Haus in Kigali, Rwanda. 8 March 2021.

³⁹³ Faustin Ntilikina, *The Taking of Kigali and the Hunt for Refugees by General Paul Kagame's Army*, Lille, Éditions Sources du Nil, 2014, p. 101.

*Brussels, the capital, was home to the propaganda headquarters and an RPF office staffed by people tasked with spreading disinformation to the media and public opinion³⁹⁴ *. *Belgium supported Anglo-American geopolitical power. However, since the invasion of Uganda in 1990, Rwanda has been described as an eastern stronghold threatened with Anglo-Saxon submersion, and therefore as a pawn to be kept on the Francophone chessboard.

*MINUAR was an armed force of 2,548 men, including a contingent of 370 Belgian soldiers, to which some 150 expatriates were added (see the excellent statement of facts established by the Court of Appeal, judgment, 15 to 23)³⁹⁵ *. *The Belgian parliamentary report questions the consistency of strategies and the errors of military policy. Internal divisions clearly play a role in Brussels, where the Flemish Christian social movement is challenged by liberals and socialists. *How could one escape such an embarrassing reality and legal requirements that were no less so? Once again, a compromise was found in the form of a curious political and legal contortion around which a typically Belgian consensus was desperately sought: the unilateral decision to withdraw Belgian troops from MINUAR was deemed to be a 'collective responsibility' that had to be shared by the government that had taken the decision and, as an aggravating circumstance, had launched an all-out diplomatic offensive to end the MINUAR operation, by the Parliament, which had remained silent, and... by the international community. Although all members of the Senate committee agreed on the numerous shortcomings that had characterised the preparation, implementation and conduct of the MINUAR operation by Belgian political and military leaders, the expected consensus was not reached in committee on this chapter of the report, as the Green parties – under during the final nights of the Senate marathon, to strong pressure from their colleagues in both the opposition and the majority – ultimately decided to abstain rather than cast a negative vote on the manner in which the untimely withdrawal of MINUAR had been decided.

Colonel Luc Marchal, commander of the Kigali- s (KIBAT) sector, questioned by the Belgian Commission, stated the following (COM-R,1-15): "I learned that Lieutenant Lotin had escorted an RPF delegation to Kagera Park on 6 April. I was unaware of this. If I had had to make the decision myself, I would have refused because this type of operation was not part of the memorandum of understanding. The memorandum only required us to intervene to ensure the work and political contacts of both parties. Furthermore, we had no radio contact with the escort, which was contrary to my instructions. The escorts were granted by Force HQ and we were the service providers. I had given security instructions prohibiting night-time travel, for example. Whoever granted the escort violated the instructions.

Among the escort was a certain Kagiraneza Déo, a prominent member of the RPF who became prefect of Ruhengeri after the RPF victory. To date, no investigation has been conducted against him to find out more about the purpose of this mission and what he did on the ground. A path to the truth could emerge from this.

* A misleading analysis by Col. Luc Marchal, as he was unaware of the secrets of Dallaire and those he had served since the GOMN in Uganda. General Dallaire never gave up hope that the peace process would succeed, says his second-in-command, Col. Luc Marchal. " Every time the ministers sat down at the cabinet table, I wanted to believe that they would reach a compromise," he says. In his view, once the Broad-Based Transitional Government (GTBE) is finally installed, the moderates will take over the key ministries. The demobilisation process can then begin, giving rise to a true national army. This will contain the extremists and even marginalise them. Colonel Marchal, who is in charge of the weapons collection area in Kigali,

³⁹⁴ Pierre Péan, 2005. *Noires Fureurs, blancs menteurs*. Fayard. Pages 69-79.

³⁹⁵ See the excellent summary of the facts established by the Court of Appeal, judgment, 15 to 23.

shares this analysis. Every day, the two officers, who respect each other, work closely together. Dallaire values Marchal's experience in Africa. Marchal had served for five years in Zaire with a paratrooper unit as part of Belgian-Zairean military cooperation. He was convinced that the only way to bring Rwanda out of the crisis was to implement the provisions of the Arusha Accords. Although heavily criticised, these agreements did bring an end to the civil war. However, during the first months of 1994, a series of postponements led to constant delays in the new government being sworn in, and the political situation seemed to be stagnating³⁹⁶ (*)

Ultimately, there was no consensus at all in the Senate plenary session: during a most confusing meeting, the report was finally adopted by a majority vote against the opposition. We can therefore conclude without ambiguity that *The behaviour of the Belgian contingent within MINUAR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) played a very detrimental role in the failure of this mission. (Special Commission on Rwanda).

Colonel Luc Marchal



Photo no. 78

*Shortly after the massacres began on 21 April 1994, the UN Security Council decided to reduce the number of peacekeepers from 2,500 to 270. This is stated, among other things, in "note 060" of Noel Ndanyuzwe's book³⁹⁷ *.

VII.6.4. UN assistance to the RPF to end the war in Rwanda

For important figures on the role of the UN, see the reference below, which recounts the UN Mission in Rwanda³⁹⁸ *.

The withdrawal of Belgian peacekeeping forces of 2,500 UN peacekeepers prompted the Americans to reinforce their air force in Entebbe on 19 April 1994, while the French were supposed to retaliate. America sought the approval of the Security Council to send more troops under the UN flag to Kampala so that they could deal with any unrest in the tiny Central African Republic. Behind the argument was the question of French control (French security zones) after 15 July 1994. UN assistance to end the Rwandan war was in favour of the RPF. Important figures in the UN's role. /*UN assistance to end the Rwandan war in favour of the RPF. Important figures in the UN's role.*

*Withdrawal of Belgian peacekeeping forces from 2,500 UN peacekeepers incites (19 April 1994) Americans to empower their Air Force at Entebbe, as the French were thought to retaliate. America thought approval from the Security Council so that it could send more troops under the UN flag to Kampala so that they could encounter any disorder in the tiny Central African Republic. Behind the argument was the question of the French (French safe zones) after 15 July 1994, effective control by RPF (Entebbe Meet 19 July 1994). ATTENDANTS: Mr. Edwards, Y.K. Museveni, P. Kagame, army delegation from Tanzania and Burundi. (The objective is to

³⁹⁶ Linda Melvern . In *Complicités de génocide* (2010). (MINUAR in peril, February-April 1994). pp. 171-192

³⁹⁷ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *The Arcane World War*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Page 300.

³⁹⁸ Ndanyuzwe Noel, 2014. Ibid.

create a large army for the Hima-Tutsi empire). All plans were shattered on 29 August 1994 at a meeting on security in Kigali at the Kampala International Conference Centre following the French withdrawal from the safe zones on 22 August 1994.

To avoid political upheaval, Belgium conducted a tailor-made parliamentary inquiry. During this inquiry, the political majority ensured that it retained control throughout of an investigation that could have embarrassed the government, some of whose members, including the Prime Minister, were still in office. From the outset, Jean-Luc Dehaene made it clear to the families of the paratroopers murdered in Kigali "that the search for those responsible could lead to political problems that could even bring down the government. He could not go that far³⁹⁹() ·Special Commission on Rwanda, 19 February 1997, 1-1 com-r".

*It was a combination of circumstances, negligence, poor assessments and mistakes that led to the tragedy" (Belgian report).⁴⁰⁰ *

29 July 1994, President Clinton rejects it, argues for patience and safe thousands who are innocent (i.e., refugees), pledges US humanitarian aid operation to Rwandese refugees be carried out by US military basing on Entebbe International Airport.

*Furthermore, the way in which the debates were organised constituted another form of "lockdown". The special committee and the commission of inquiry were chaired by the President of the Senate himself, a conservative figure who was highly respectful of parliamentary rituals, which contributed to the hearings dragging on. "There is no collective accumulation and we are going round in circles," noted one member of the committee halfway through. Finally, although the committee surrounded itself with a number of experts, it very quickly stopped consulting international law specialists after they had highlighted the formidable issue of "non-assistance (by Belgium) to persons in danger". *The memorandum preceding the meeting between Minister Claes and Habyarimana in 1993. Finally, let us mention, without any illusions, the content of the "information" and opinions provided by the intelligence services: in Brussels and Paris, contradictions and malfunctions were reported; in France, the most obvious problem lies in the contrast between the discourse of the DGSE and that of the DRM (Military Intelligence Directorate), created in 1992, as revealed by the hearings and the report of the parliamentary commission.

The formidable question of "failure to assist (Belgium) persons in danger".

*The contrast between the Belgian and French interpretations of Habyarimana's policy in the early months of 1994 is very significant: in the former, the former Rwandan president manipulated the opposition and sought to divide it in order to build a blocking minority in the future assembly; in the second, he was trying to resist the RPF's efforts to control a majority opposition. Both approaches have their share of truth, but the French view (still reflected in the report) reveals a radical incomprehension of any political outcome that did not coincide with the famous natural majority. However, this three-way game that marked the years 1992 and 1993 represented Rwanda's hope of escaping the trap of a binary confrontation that had been repeated from generation to generation.

*Once reconciled, the Rwandan people will ask Belgium and the other powers that contributed to their extermination (directly or indirectly) the formidable question of "failure to assist a person in danger". Why did they allow such staggering carnage to take place?

³⁹⁹ Melvern, Linda. "MINUAR in Peril. February-April 1994," *Complicity in Genocide: How the World Betrayed Rwanda*, edited by Melvern Linda. Editions ... 2010, pp. 171-192.

⁴⁰⁰ Special Commission on Rwanda, (Belgian report). CRA 19 February 1997, 1-1 com-r.

*In reality, Belgium and other powers supported the RPF, the opposition also fell into the trap of the RPF and its allies, while the movement that supported Habyarimana's policy was unaware of the enemy's malice and political game to thwart them. Lady Bates Chalker, Baroness Chalker of Wallasey, is a British politician and diplomat from the Conservative Party . Chalker was a minister from 1979 to 1997 during entire periods of the cabinet of the time. (*ISO International Security Organisation)⁴⁰¹ *.

VII.6.5. Great Britain

The British plan for the remodelling of Rwandan territory: The plans and political secrets devised by the US and Great Britain, and approved without modification on 16 March 1993 by Uganda, require the future RPF regime to reshape Rwanda's 12 prefectures in order to erase the administrative entities of French-speaking Rwanda from the collective memory and replace them with new administrative entities after the RPF's military victory. This is what can be read in note^{055402(*)}: The overall plan devised by Lady Lynda Chalker was to eliminate the ethnic problem by reshaping Rwanda into five provinces, as the 12 prefectures that made up Rwanda were, in her view, "too ethnic". This is further proof that the two superpowers, the US and the UK, were involved in every detail of this war of conquest. Indeed, the aim was to remove Rwanda from the French-speaking sphere and integrate it into the Anglo-Saxon zone as an extension of Uganda, which is the case today.

VII.6.5.1. Baroness Chalker of Wallasey Lady Lynda Chalker, Tony Blair, Andrew John Bower Mitchell: all British

Great Britain is the architect of the political, physical and geographical administration. It has invested heavily to achieve what Mitterrand said: "We are on the edge of the English-speaking front." Uganda must not be allowed to do whatever it wants. President Museveni must be told that it is not normal for the Tutsi minority to impose its will on the 85.3% majority. Archives of the Presidency of the Republic, in Noires fureurs, Blancs menteurs⁴⁰³ *.

Lynda Chalker, born on 29 April 1942 (age: 80), Baroness Chalker of Wallasey, PC, FRGS, is a British Conservative Party politician who was Member of Parliament for Wallasey from 1974 to 1992. She was Minister of State for Overseas Development and Africa in the Foreign Office of the Conservative government from 1989 to 1997. Former Minister of State for Europe and North America of the United Kingdom (1986-1989). Member of the House of Lords of the United Kingdom (1992-2023). Her partners: Clive Landa (1981); Eric Robert Chalker (1967-). Her parents: Sidney Henry James Bates, Marjorie Kandell; Conservative Party. Education: Queen Mary University of London, University of Heidelberg, University of Westminster⁴⁰⁴ *.

Lady Lynda Chalker

⁴⁰¹ *ISO International Security Organisation

⁴⁰² Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Editions Source du Nil June 2014. Page 261

⁴⁰³ Pierre Péan. Blacks, Fury, White Liars. Rwanda 1990-1994.

⁴⁰⁴ Wikipedia, Lady Lynda Chalker



Photo no. 79

Despite the crimes that Paul Kagame continues to commit, British support remains constant to this day in the form of Tony Blair. During his visit to Rwanda on 31 December 2010, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair praised his unconditional support for President P. Kagame's oligarchic, despotic, tyrannical and warmongering regime in these terms: " (...) I am a believer in him, and I believe I will not be disappointed." This is a logical continuation of the Anglo-American global political plan initiated by Lynda Chalker and Bill Clinton^{405(*)}.

The conference-debate convened in London, the capital of the RPF/NRA's ally, has the diabolical aim of "mixing lies with truth, so that under the mask of plausibility, error passes for truth itself and deceives those who are easily seduced"⁴⁰⁶ *. This conference-debate is a continuation of a human rights propaganda campaign that began with the RPF's plan:

- to bring about the cessation of MINUAR's activities and its withdrawal;
- to implement the grand tactic of using the name of the Interahamwe militiamen to gain political and military advantages;
- incite a politically motivated genocide to win the hearts of Western donors;
- to implement the secret pacts concluded with the United States of America and Great Britain;
- and finally, to use them against former dignitaries of the Habyarimana regime in Western countries.

This conference-debate completes the vast system of illusion based on political fiction, to which are added historical and judicial fictions that only appear false after the truth has been established, as experience has made us well aware. Thus, there was an international policy to crush the former dignitaries of the Habyarimana regime and Hutu intellectuals in order to consolidate the power of the RPF, while the international community justified itself on the basis of false information, denunciations and propaganda from the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

VII.6.5.2. The UK is moving towards a project to recolonise Rwanda

The UK is moving towards a completely contrary recolonisation project, remotely controlled from London and Washington. In a document addressed to the parties responsible for the Great Lakes region via Anderson Green, Tiny Rawland, the former head of the LONRHO group, reveals this project and justifies the reasons for it. ⁴⁰⁷⁴⁰⁸ *. The plan devised by Great Britain was to use the UN flag to send its troops to Zaire for humanitarian reasons and to help more than a million Rwandan refugees, with the help of the RPF, to identify important figures in the Rwandan army (*.)

⁴⁰⁵ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Pages 261-262

⁴⁰⁶ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Page 171.

⁴⁰⁷ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Pages 103 and 261 British plan for the remodelling of Rwandan territory. Chap. 7.9.*

⁴⁰⁸ Ndanyuzwe Noel. Idem.

The aim was to round up all the dignitaries of the Habyarimana regime, any man designated as a real or fake "Interahamwe", In reality, those who managed to flee to other countries in Africa or Europe, rather than Asia or elsewhere, would never have been able to leave Zaire if this Machiavellian plan had succeeded, as it was conceived and carried out in a spirit of treachery, bad faith and disloyalty.

Thank God the Americans had a different strategy. The Clinton administration wanted to install the RPF, composed of a Tutsi minority, on a permanent basis and to gradually eradicate opposition to the RPF's power. Thus, after getting the UN to recognise the genocide, it became an immutable card to track down the dignitaries of the fallen regime and all those called genocidaires. This strategic context used by America was put forward to divert British troops from abandoning their initial plan. The fact that the British were unable to use the UN flag to commit their crimes in the great equatorial forests of Zaire allowed a number of Hutus to escape certain death. The aborigines in Australia can bear witness to their passage: *"Britain thought to use UN flag for its troops be sent to Zaire on humanitarian ground and help 1 million Rwandese refugees with help of RPF to spot out prominent figures"*⁴⁰⁹ *.

VII.6.5.3. The architects of the British plan for the recolonisation of Rwanda

The architects of this plan are T. Blair et Andrew John Bower Mitchell Mitchell.

Tony Blair, Sir Anthony Charles Lynton Blair KG (born 6 May 1953) is a British politician who was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1997 to 2007 and leader of the Labour Party from 1994 to 2007. Upon his resignation, he was appointed Special Envoy of the Quartet on the Middle East, a diplomatic post he held until 2015. He has been Executive Chairman of the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change since 2016. As Prime Minister, many of his policies reflected a centrist Third Way political philosophy. He is one of only two Labour leaders to have formed three majority governments, the other being Harold Wilson.

Andrew John Bower Mitchell Mitchell was elected President of the Cambridge Union in 1978. Before university, he served for several months as a United Nations military peacekeeper in Cyprus. He has extensive pro-government experience in the developing world and is the founder of Project Umubano, a Conservative Party social action project in Central and West Africa: in Rwanda and Sierra Leone, launched in 2007.

Tony Blair, Andrew John Bower Mitchell: Mitchell was elected President of the Cambridge Union in 1978. Before university, he served for several months as a United Nations military peacekeeper in Cyprus. He has extensive pre-government experience of the developing world, and is the founder of Project Umubano, a Conservative Party social action project in Rwanda and Sierra Leone in central and west Africa, launched in 2007. A fictitious project that serves to cover up the real activities of alienating Africa. Plan to establish English-speaking communities in central Africa.

Tony Blair

Andrew John Bower Mitchell

⁴⁰⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: La guerre mondiale arcane (The Arcane World War). Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Page 300.



Photo no. 80



Photo no. 81

For Tony Blair: For 20 years, his institute has set up expert cells with fourteen heads of state, such as Paul Kagame and Faure Gnassingbé. Tony Blair is also an advisor to Paul Kagame. His institute is a tool for extorting and swindling money from African heads of state, as well as supporting them in their dictatorship against their own people. These high-ranking British figures are the source of our misfortune and impunity in Rwanda.

VII.6.6. The British Government, Uganda and Tanzania

This is a conspiracy committee extended to several governments and private companies. Alongside the Ugandan, Tanzanian, British and American governments that fomented the conspiracy, there were also Rwandan lobbies and multinational companies that financed the operations to hunt down the Rwandan president. To compensate for the failure of the assassination attempts initially assigned to Special Forces trained in Russian and Cuban intelligence academies, the British Foreign Secretary, Lady Chalker, proposed extending the assassination mission to Ugandan forces trained at the British Intelligence College in Birmingham:⁴¹⁰(*)

The trigger for the round-ups of 4 October 1990 in the city of Kigali. They were justified by the concern of the Rwandan secret services, who were aware of this Ugandan military presence, which they had been facing since 1986. In these circumstances, the modus operandi of assassinating Juvénal Habyarimana in his presidential palace was far from irrational.⁴¹¹(*)

The failure of the Hima or Tutsi empire must be achieved today, now that the Rwandan invader has been clearly identified and recognised by the international community. Tomorrow will be too late when the coalition of Tutsis from DR Congo, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi begins the referendum process initiated by MONUSCO. The M23 has gained ground for their compatriots, who are in the process of being balkanised.

VII.6.7. USA: United States of America

In the recent history of Rwanda, it should be noted that the Clinton administration was the architect of the RPF regime and is 100% responsible for the wars in the African Great Lakes region, which caused more than 10 million deaths. This detail is provided and reinforced by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former Secretary-General of the UN, and US Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, Bill Clinton's special envoy to Africa, who reveals that the attack on 6 April 1994 against the Rwandan president was a coup d'état. It should be noted that details of Bill Clinton's involvement in the premeditated plot behind the genocide in Rwanda can be found at , with references at⁴¹² * .

⁴¹⁰Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Pages 95–96.

⁴¹¹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: Ibid.

⁴¹² Bill Clinton behind the premeditated plot in the Rwandan genocide. Video evidence: SCK.TV: Dan Simpson, US Ambassador to Kinshasa from 1995 to 1998, Jonson Stern, Peter Rosenblum of Mineral Fields (Little Rock, Arkansas): VID-20221129-WA008.

The Americans were in Bujumbura with Rangers and attack helicopters eight days before the attack. They were ready to finish the job if the Belgians/RPF/NRA failed to hit the target.

"The genocide in Rwanda is 100% the responsibility of the Americans," said former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali in July 1998, and this was also emphasised by Mahmood Madani. The Bill Clinton administration, through Bill Clinton himself and Madeleine Korbelt Albright, US Ambassador to the United Nations from 1993 to 1997 and US Secretary of State from 1997 to 2001, authorised the RPF to commit the Rwandan genocide.

Madeleine Korbelt Albright



Photo no. 82, Source: Biography

Noël speaks of an inevitable outcome of the secret American-Ugandan pacts against peace. The secret pacts concluded between Uganda and the United States of America establish that the Rwandan and Ugandan peoples now have only one dangerous common enemy: their respective governments, whose armies are in reality mercenaries in the pay of the , shadowy powers that include the United States of America. These powers are at the forefront of the countries behind the war of recolonisation of Africa, inciting the indigenous peoples themselves to deprive their populations of democracy: the US manipulated the Arusha peace negotiations and agreements, killed the democratisation process in Rwanda, caused the carnage of April-July 1994 and established the dominant strategy of the RPF/NRA in its final military victory. By favouring the rise of political forces promoting radical solutions to the problems of countries that are the target of a war of recolonisation, they are encouraging the resurgence of inequality, impunity and social injustice in Rwanda. Thus, Rwanda is ruled from outside, with no concern for the daily problems of the Rwandan people. The people are silenced by a fierce and bloody dictatorship blessed by the Anglo-Americans, which confiscates the region's essential resources.

VII.6.7.1. The CIA: The hidden agenda of the Dar-es-Salaam summit

The plan devised by the Bill Clinton administration via Bill Clinton, in collusion with Y.K. Museveni and Paul Kagame, had to be put into action. Noël Ndanyuzwe describes in his book "The African World War" the final stage of the operation to liquidate President J. Habyarimana.^{413*} "La lettre du Sud no. 22 of 18 April 1994, quoted by African International no. 272 of May 1994, confirms that a tour of the countries of the African Great Lakes region was carried out in March 1994 by officials from the US foreign service:

Prudence Bushnell, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa; Arlene Rendre, Director of the Central Africa Bureau at the State Department; and Patricia Irving, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Refugees (at the Pentagon), visited Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda in March 1994.

In Lettre du Sud No. 22 of 18 April 1994, quoted by Africa International No. 272 May 1994⁴¹⁴ *, it is confirmed that a tour of the countries of the African Great Lakes region was carried out in March 1994 by US foreign service officials:

⁴¹³ La lettre du Sud no. 22, 18 April 1994, quoted by African International no. 272, May 1994.

⁴¹⁴ Ndanyuzwe Noël: La guerre mondiale arcane. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Pages 424–425 in La lettre du Sud no. 22, 18 April 1994, cited by Africa International no. 272, May 1994.

According to reliable sources, officials from the State Department and the Pentagon conspired with (...) Museveni, [President] of Uganda, and the leaders of the RPF to carry out the assassination. Prudence Bushnell, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa:

Arlène Render, Director of the Central African Bureau at the State Department, and Patricia Irving, Under Secretary for Human Rights and Refugees [at the Pentagon], visited Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda in March 1994.

During their stay in Uganda, the American officials suggested to Museveni that he convince President Mwinyi of Tanzania to organise a meeting of the region's heads of state. They reassured themselves that the plan to eliminate President Habyarimana was finalised.

This meeting was intended to lure the "targeted dictators"⁴¹⁵ * to Dar es Salaam and into the trap [...]. Kigali airport was under the guard of Belgian troops under UN command. The security of the airport and the surrounding area was therefore their responsibility. An RPF contingent was camped on a hill near the airport (...). These visitors dotted all the i's and crossed all the t's during this last visit. (See: *Honoré N'Gbanda, Ainsi sonne le glas ! Les derniers jours du Maréchal Mobutu, Paris Editions Gideppe*). Before leaving for Arusha, Habyarimana had visited Mobutu at his property in Gbadolite by helicopter the day before to share his concerns about his safety and at the same time invite him to come with him to Dar es Salaam. Aware of the dangers surrounding this trip, Mobutu's security services forbade him from travelling to Dar es Salaam.

On 27 March 1994, the minutes of the meeting of ambassadors from countries in the region, convened and chaired by the Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs on 25 March 1994, served as an invasion at the summit of heads of state. The Tanzanian minister asked the ambassadors to inform their respective presidents of the date of the summit and that there would be no further invitations. This was recorded in the document. Two days before the summit, without any explanation, the venue initially planned for Arusha was changed and the meeting was moved to Dar-es-Salaam, which is further from Kigali and Bujumbura than Arusha.⁴¹⁶ *

The change led to several last-minute cancellations. The Tutsi Chief of Staff of the Burundian Army, Colonel Jean Bikomagu, was supposed to accompany his president. He was warned of the danger of the trip as he was about to board the plane to Dar es Salaam. He did not attend the conference. This withdrawal was followed by those of Presidents Mobutu and Arap Moi⁴¹⁷. Booh Booh himself had to "decline this invitation without an announced agenda" and, moreover, one that seemed to him "hasty and improvised"⁴¹⁸. Yet his primary mission was to promote all peace efforts. Y.K. Museveni arrived in Dar es Salaam two and a half hours late, even though the summit had been convened on his initiative. This delay affected the closing time of the meeting. During the meeting, he did everything he could to prolong and delay the discussions by pretending to be asleep and making diversionary jokes. Each time he woke up, he forced his partners to restart the discussions on the pretext that he had not followed the discussions properly.

⁴¹⁵ The "targeted dictators" were Juvénal Habyarimana, Mobutu Sese Seko and Daniel Arap Moi. The latter two were absent from Dar es Salaam. Mobutu had been warned by Juvénal Habyarimana himself the day before his trip that Belgian troops had invaded Kigali with sophisticated aircraft and surface-to-air missiles, which had no direct connection with their mission in Rwanda.

⁴¹⁶ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War)*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014.

⁴¹⁷ Honoré N'Gbanda, *Ainsi sonne le glas: les derniers jours du Marechal Mobutu (Thus Sounds the Death Knell: The Last Days of Marshal Mobutu)*, Paris Editions Gideppe.

⁴¹⁸ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

By doing so, Museveni intended to delay the closing of the meeting and force the Rwandan and Burundian presidents to travel at night. President Habyarimana made more than one motion asking President Mwinyi to call Museveni to order. These are the words of Major Désiré Mageza, confirming the testimonies given by other people who were present at the summit.

January 1992: Meeting between Presidents Habyarimana and Museveni in Arusha, facilitated by German parliamentarian Rudolf Decker of Prayer Breakfast. This American meeting was a trap. President Habyarimana was replaced by Minister James Gasana. President Mwinyi was the voice of Nyerere (see Noel Ndanyuzwe) Pages 424-425⁴¹⁹ * and⁴²⁰ *.

Since the coup d'état in 1973, President Julius Nyerere never got over the ousting of his friend President Grégoire Kayibanda. He was the architect of the demolition of President Juvénal Habyarimana's regime. He initially used the Nyerere Foundation to provide financial support to Rwandan opponents in exile, most of whom were Tutsis. His successor, President Mwinyi, involved President Yoweri Museveni in his project, believing him to be a supporter of Pan-Africanism. But in reality, Nyerere's project was different from Museveni's aims, who wanted to reward the Tutsi forces that had helped him in the bush to gain power against the central government in Kampala and at the same time to gain access to the wealth of Zaire, but also had expansionist aims for the Hima Tutsi empire.

After a mediocre experience with the IMF in the 1980s, which brought down the economy of the United Socialist Republic of Tanzania, President Nyerere declared that he was tired of leading a country forced to beg, contrary to his ideology of Ujamaa.⁴²¹* On 13 October 1985, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi succeeded him as president, having been elected on 19 April 1984 for a five-year term as President of Zanzibar and Unguja Pemba.

Tanzania is also implicated, via the Secretary of the African Union, as well as Uganda and the United States of America, in the premeditation and execution of mass killings in the Kibeho camp located within Rwanda. Indeed, Tanzania argued that the operations carried out in the Kibeho camp by refugees were likely to damage bilateral relations between Tanzania and Rwanda and that this issue had been discussed between Benjamin Mkapa and Museveni. No further details are given in this note. As we have already seen, the Tanzanian authorities had authorised Rwandan intelligence agents to enter the camps in Tanzania to carry out arrests. See note 186 in Noel Ndanyuzwe.⁴²² *. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni's seizure of power in Kampala in 1986 was a ploy by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. The same game was played by Museveni in 1994 when Paul Kagame seized power in Kigali, except that they took care to add an ingredient of genocide that would allow them to expand into an even larger region.

VII.6.7.2. The CIA: UN, MINUAR and Roméo Dallaire: CIAI

The CIA became the essential intelligence and communications tool, providing the initial figure of 500,000 used to publicise the genocide. Roger Winter, who was an intelligence agent undercover with the American Committee for Refugees, played a leading role. When the CIA entered into discussions with Paul Kagame about the attack, he spoke of 50,000 collateral victims. It would be a quick and decisive war. He wanted power and did not care about the

⁴¹⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *The Arcane World War*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Pages 424-425.

⁴²⁰ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *The African World War*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Page 25

⁴²¹ Ujamaa: the Swahili term Ujamaa is translated as "African socialism" by Nyerere himself. Nyerere reaffirms his desire to see the establishment of a society that embodies the socialist values he embodied...

⁴²² Ndanyuzwe Noel: *The African World War*. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Pages 424-425

victims. What followed after the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana was a gigantic genocide, "IRIMBURABanyarwanda", as planned by Museveni and Kagame.⁴²³ *.

Roger Winter, director of the American Refugee Committee, 75% funded by the US government, was a supporter of Museveni from the outset. In August 1988, Winter organised a conference in Washington for Tutsi associations in the Rwandan diaspora (united around RANU: Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (from Tanzania, Zaire, Burundi and Uganda at the end of 1987). At the end of this meeting, the RPF, created by these associations, considered that it had obtained a blank cheque from the US to take up arms and seize power in Rwanda⁴²⁴ (*). The RPF had to win the war at all costs in order to repay the debts it had incurred.

American troops in Kigali to test the waters: The United States of America sent a contingent of 40 American military representatives to Kigali as scouts a few days before the regional summit in Arusha, which was finally moved to Dar-es-Salaam at the last minute. This change took place after the official visit to Rwanda in March 1994 by Tanzanian Prime Minister John Malecera. These statements were confirmed on Radio Itakuka by former Rwandan Foreign Minister Dr. Anastase Gasana, former Kampala graduate Justin Bahunga, and Presidential Chief of Staff Enoch Ruhigira⁴²⁵ ().

VII.6.7.3. The CIA: UN, MINUAR and Roméo Dallaire: UN

UN assistance: Madeleine Korbelt Albright was the US Ambassador to the United Nations from 1993 to 1997, and then Kofi Annan became the spokesperson after Boutros Boutros Galli was removed because he was not prepared to obey their intransigence or fanaticism in installing the RPF/NRA rebels in power by force and scheming.

VII.6.7.4. The CIA: UN, MINUAR and Roméo Dallaire: MINUAR

MINUAR: General Roméo Dallaire's bias and his stance in defence of the RPF/NRA justify his incompetence as head of a UN force such as MINUAR, which is supposed to be neutral. In addition, he was trapped while staying in a bungalow at the Lando Hotel, constantly surrounded by a charming Amazon who had been sent by the RPF to disorient him in favour of the latter. Moreover, after the crash of President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane, he was nowhere to be found. MINUAR was responsible for more than 2,000 infiltrators in the city of Kigali⁴²⁶ * (see Desouter).

VII.6.7.5. The CIA: UN, MINUAR and Roméo Dallaire: Dallaire

Roméo Antonius Dallaire born 25 June 1946 Liberal political party, Liberal Party of Canada. Place of birth in Denekamp, *Netherlands* "Biography 'Mission in Rwanda' After Rwanda Awards and distinctions". He is best known for his humanitarian work in Rwanda as commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), the United Nations peacekeeping force in Rwanda, during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. He was one of the people who helped the RPF, particularly in terms of knowledge of the positions of the FAR, as the RPF's spokesperson to the United Nations and in establishing its power.

⁴²³ Ndanyuzwe N. The African World War. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014: the Bill Clinton administration via Bill Clinton himself, Madeleine Korbelt Albright, US Ambassador to the United Nations from 1993 to 1997 and US Secretary of State between 1997 and 2001, pp. 271-273.

⁴²⁴ Pierre Péan: Black Fury, White Lies. Rwanda. 1990-1994. Editions Mille et une nuit, November 2005, p. 58.

⁴²⁵ Ndanyuzwe Noel: La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War). Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. p. 271

⁴²⁶ Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

VII.6.7.6. The CIA: UN, UNAMIR and Roméo Dallaire: CIA2

The CIA: used a fabricated report⁴²⁷ *, a false report accusing France of the attack on 6 April 1994, to discredit the previous government using former Prime Minister Jean Kambanda. The main objective was to cover up the evidence implicating France in a terrorist attack, and to this day the investigation has yet to reach a conclusion.

VII.6.7.7. The CIA: UN, MINUAR and Roméo Dallaire: CIA3

The CIA, in collusion with General Roméo Dallaire, used false documents to cover up the big lie about "the genocide planned outside Rwanda," which put an entire nation in mortal danger and mortgaged the lives of an entire people. In June 2003, a Canadian lawyer, André Tremblay, appointed to defend a Rwandan officer reputed to be one of the masterminds behind the "planning of the genocide" in the military trial, wanted to find the original fax. He received a surprising response from the UN Secretary-General's assistant, Ralph Zacklin: "We conducted an extensive search of the UN archives to find both the original document signed by General Dallaire and sent from Kigali and the original transmission received in New York.

Indeed, after Jacques Roger Booh Booh's departure in June 1994, his successor, Mr Shaharyar Kahn, responded to fierce attacks from the Rwandan authorities, who accused the UN of doing nothing to prevent the genocide despite having been alerted in January 1994 by General Romeo Dallaire's fax. [...]. Wanting to understand what really happened, Mr Kahn launched an internal investigation and requested verification of all telegrams, faxes and other correspondence exchanged between Kigali and New York. He wanted to know whether General Dallaire's alarming fax had been overlooked. Above all, he wanted to know how information as important as "genocide planning" could have escaped the attention of all UN officials. He therefore set up a commission of inquiry composed of three senior officers. On 9 November 1995, Mr Kahn submitted his report, not only on Dallaire's fax but also on the planning of the genocide: "Shaharyar Kahn at the United Nations, New York." Special Representative of the Secretary-General of MINUAR. The result of his report showed that Dallaire's fax was false and that there was no evidence that the interim government of Sindikubwabo and Kabanda had planned the genocide.

Shahryar Mohammad Khan



Photo 83

Shaharyar Kahn: Shahryar Mohammad Khan , born on 12 March 1934, is a former Pakistani career diplomat who became Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan in 1990 and remained in office until his retirement in 1994. He then served as the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Rwanda (1994–1995) and wrote the book *Shallow Graves of Rwanda* about his experiences of what Rwanda went through. Since August 1999, he has been

⁴²⁷ CIA.⁴²⁷ Results of the investigation into the assassination of Presidents Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi and Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda on 6 April 1994. (Source: Document from the Central Intelligence Agency - "CIA" - USA) File Number 30904. *IstoRapportAttentat.pdf*. 4924198 bytes. November 1994.

the intermittent chairman of the Pakistan Cricket Board and also served as chairman of the Asian Cricket Council in 2016.

VII.6.7.8. What lies behind MINUAR's warning about genocide by the Rwandan government?

a. During the recent conference on genocide, Rwandan officials once again concluded that the RPF's warnings about a long-planned genocide by the previous government had been either suppressed [by the Secretary-General's Special Representative Booh Booh] or ignored [at United Nations headquarters after General Dallaire's reports]. The accusations are levelled against the UN, UNAMIR and the major powers, notably Belgium.

b. I appointed a committee consisting of Colonel Fletcher, Mr Tikoca, who was the chief military observer and present in Rwanda during the period, and Isel Rivero, who was responsible for Rwanda from United Nations headquarters at the time. The committee's conclusions are attached. They confirm the finding that there was no information, or indication of a planned genocide. There were, of course, warnings about armed clashes, violence, and killings for ethical reasons.

c. Mr Kahn sent a note and attached the telegrams and faxes to inform UN staff about the political climate in Rwanda. All this information was sealed.

This document is a real bombshell within the UN itself. Everyone sat on this report because it had already been widely reported that the tragedy in Rwanda was a "planned genocide" and that an international criminal tribunal was being set up for this purpose. Cornered in presenting evidence on the "planning of the genocide" and the authenticity of his fax, General Dallaire is struggling to extricate himself from this terrible trap, as is the ICTR. Eight days after Mr Kahn's conclusions, Dallaire's famous fax was mysteriously introduced to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations then headed by Kofi Annan. It allegedly came from an obscure British NGO called Connaughton Camberley Surrey. This organisation reportedly sent the document on 27 November 1995 from the number 0127625210 at 8:16 p.m. The aim was probably to insert the pseudo fax of 11 January 1994 into the United Nations archives one year after the events in Rwanda and thus validate the theory of a "planned genocide". The UN administration spotted this suspicious fax. A note from a UN employee states: "This cable was not found in the archives of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. This copy was added to the archives on 28 November 1995."⁴²⁸(*) For more information, read: Dr Tumba Tutu-De-Mukose. The Rwandan government full document is referenced at⁴²⁹ *.

VI.6.7.9. Bill Clinton behind the Rwandan genocide plot

Bill Clinton is behind the premeditated plot in the Rwandan genocide (see also reference⁴³⁰ *...). Video evidence: SCK.TV: Dan Simpson, US Ambassador to Kinshasa from 1995 to 1998, Jonson Stern, Peter Rosenblum of Mineral Fields (Little Rock, Arkansas): VID-20221129-WA008.

⁴²⁸ The CIA report accusing France of involvement in the attack of 6 April 1994. UN Archives 1995.

⁴²⁹ Les Archives du Monde - 27 November 1995 - view all articles online. Le Monde. <https://www.lemonde.fr/archives-du-monde>. Les Archives du Monde - 27 November 1995 - Le Monde.fr. 27 Nov. 1995 · View all articles and videos published on 27 November 1995 on Le Monde or in the newspaper. You can also find all publications in ...

⁴³⁰ Bill Clinton behind the premeditated plot in the Rwandan genocide. Video evidence: SCK.TV: Dan Simpson, US Ambassador to Kinshasa from 1995 to 1998, Jonson Stern, Peter Rosenblum of Mineral Fields (Little Rock, Arkansas): VID-20221129-WA008.

- Canadian multinationals, Ugandan commercial banks and other multinationals that financed the RPF to wage its war of conquest (Rwanda, DR Congo, etc.). The RPF/NRA had incurred debts that they absolutely had to repay. They had to win the war at all costs.

Bill Clinton



Photo no. 84

William Clinton, known as Bill Clinton, born on 19 August 1946 in Hope,^{42nd} President of the United States from 20 January 1993 to 20 January 2001.

In fact, the 40 American military officials passed through Uganda to hear the Assassination Committee's position on the conduct of operations. The Ugandan special forces of the Presidential Protection Unit, involved in these operations, were invited to ask questions of these officials, who remained in Kampala for a few days to finalise their plan to infiltrate Rwanda with the complicity of UNAMIR troops.

As a reminder, the 400 members of the American forces, under the command of Colonel Cohen, were deployed to Entebbe International Airport in Uganda with the mission of preparing to counter any direct intervention inside Rwanda if French or Belgian forces attempted to return there to prevent the RPF's victory. The Clinton administration did everything it could to protect the rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, even though they were massacring the population in their wake. "Killing machine" was the appropriate term used by General Kabarebe in front of university students in a hate- e speech delivered on 7 November 2022⁴³¹ *.

As for the 40 officials, they entered the city of Kigali after gathering all the information necessary to ensure the perfect organisation of operations in anticipation of the attack on the presidential plane.

This included avoiding any unfortunate unforeseen events during the operation, inspecting the missile launcher site, the missile launcher itself and its proper functioning, and ensuring that the gunners had received the necessary training in Naguru, Uganda, to carry out the attack successfully and that they would have time to escape unseen and unheard. As early as January 1994, it was already forbidden to take off or land to or from the west over the city of Kigali. This ban was imposed unilaterally by the RPF, which had threatened to shoot down any aircraft flying in that direction on the pretext that aircraft flying over the western sector were suspected of being on reconnaissance missions to locate its positions, which were limited to the CND plot. The ban was communicated by Romeo Dallaire to the FAR command.

The UN Secretary-General presented his report in which he stated that "*what happened in Rwanda constituted genocide*". He explicitly implicated both parties to the conflict. However, the presentation of this report to the Security Council allowed the countries supporting the RPF (notably the United States, the United Kingdom and New Zealand) to relay the rebel movement's accusations of genocide against the interim government.

Resolution 925 of 8 June, which resulted from the Council meeting, marked a turning point in the consideration of the two parties to the conflict. Declaring "genocide" before 8 June meant

⁴³¹ Hate speech "Killing Machine" delivered by General Kabarebe James to students at the University of Rwanda on 7 November 2023.

running the risk of clearly applying the concept to both parties to the conflict. After 8 June, only the government forces were singled out. This gave the American administration an opportunity to pinpoint the interim government and pave the way for the creation of an instrument to neutralise it once and for all. This instrument is the ICTR. The American administration, both Democratic and Republican, has been virtually in control of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda since its creation until now. The main justification for the United States' heavy-handed interventions in the tribunal's activities is officially to combat impunity and promote reconciliation between Rwandans^{432*}.

Everything was prepared down to the smallest detail to mislead any subsequent investigation. The operation produced the desired results, even the deception of the international community, which Nyerere was tasked with, among other "black and white liars", to quote the title of Patrick Brewaeys' book.^{433*}

Charles Onana gives us the details on how the RPF took power: ["On 27 July 1994, US General Jack Nix, commander of Operation Support Hope, met with General Dallaire in the afternoon and informed him that the United States had decided to move the mission's operational centre from Entebbe to Kigali. The military attaché at the US Embassy in Kinshasa (Zaire), Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Odom, was immediately seconded to Kigali for a period of ninety days. He came to participate in the reorganisation of the APR led by Paul Kagame. These seemingly innocuous acts were an essential step in the reconstruction of the new Rwandan army, but also in the preparation for the fall of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, which would not happen until two years later. In short, once the staging phase was complete, the military objectives of Operation Support Hope completely supplanted the strictly humanitarian ambitions initially stated.

On 29 July 1994, Kigali airport was relatively operational and open to American troops, whose main aim was to train the new Rwandan army, i.e. the Tutsi rebels converted into Rwanda's regular army. Military cooperation between Washington and Kigali had just begun, even though George Moose and Prudence Bushnell at the State Department were uncomfortable with the massive human rights violations committed by rebel troops and the risk of seeing the APR/RPF oppose any move towards national reconciliation. A question that the RPF has been unable to resolve after 30 years. The UN has become a means of imposing Anglo-Saxon unilateralism represented by the US and the UK. It is no longer an instrument for neutral multilateral decisions by everyone. The new world order has turned it into a sieve for all American and British personal interests.

VII.6.8. Uganda and Ugandan President Kaguta Museveni

President Kaguta Museveni Designer and commander of the war to create the Hima/Nilotic empire. He is the project leader mandated by the imperialists, including the US and UK. Since coming to power in 1986, Y. K. Museveni, the Bismarck of Africa and admirer of Adolf Hitler, has never stopped dreaming of a *lebensraum* encompassing Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. He gave the Hima-Tutsi empire as a gift to Mwami Rudahigwa via his son Kainerugaba Muhoozi. As the architect of the Great Unified Region, he enjoys Anglo-American

⁴³² Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: the celebration of lies and injustice. He explicitly implicated both sides in the conflict. But the presentation of this report to the Security Council allowed the countries supporting the RPF (the United States, the United Kingdom and New Zealand) to relay the rebel movement's accusations of genocide against the interim government. P.205.

⁴³³ Ndanyuzwe Noel: La guerre mondiale arcane. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014, p. 273, in Philippe Brewaeys, Rwanda 1994, in Pierre Péan, Noirs et blancs menteurs, Editions Racine – RTB, 2013, p. 149.

support. Kagame and his mentor Museveni, who are at the head of landlocked countries, share the same expansionist and hegemonic ambition, which is in line with the strategy of the Anglo-Americans and other African and Western allies in the region⁴³⁴ (*.)

The sum of 80 million Ugandan shillings was entrusted by Rwandan businessmen based in Uganda to the Ugandan Minister of Defence, Amama Mbabazi. He in turn handed the money over to Ugandan President Y. K. Museveni, leader of the "war of liberation". The prognosis was for a quick victory after the assassination of President J. Habyarimana. All the arguments convinced the financiers of this war, which, against all expectations, lasted four years. Y. K. Museveni's allied funders would be forced to either extend their funding or lose their investment. To honour their commitments, the Kagame-Museveni duo had no choice but to achieve military victory in Rwanda and immediately attack the former Zaire, where the plundering of mineral resources allowed all those who had invested in this war to hit the jackpot⁴³⁵ *. It should be noted that Ugandan banks are among the financiers of the RPF/NRA war against Rwanda.

Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda are a hub for the plan to exterminate the Rwandans: the forced repatriation of Hutu refugees from Tanzania to Rwanda was to precede the armed invasion of Congo-Zaire. The Tanzanian government agreed to repatriate 350,000 refugees from Karagwe and surrounding areas before the end of December 1996. This repatriation took place by force, in deplorable conditions, with no respect for human rights or the human dignity of those who had fled from hired killers⁴³⁶ *.

Ugandan military camps were used as places of detention, torture and execution of Hutus from Rwanda without trial. Following a meeting held on 30 August 1995 attended by President Museveni's First Secretary, a special delegation from the RPF, Minister of State for Defence Amama Mbabazi, Mugishamuntu and Ugandan Director of Prisons Joseph Etiima, the proposed places of detention were the military camps at Makindye, Lubiri and Mbuya, as well as the DMI (Directorate of Military Intelligence) prison at Basima House. The prisoners held there were generally accused of high treason. A contingent of 80 prisoners transferred to Bujumbura was massacred on 30 September 1996 for daring to go on hunger strike. Twenty survivors were transferred to the Makindye military prison in Uganda. It should be noted that the extrajudicial and judicial ethnic cleansing of Hutus was decided by Uganda, which transposed its accusatory and inquisitorial system to Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania, as indicated by this revelation⁴³⁷ *: Note 189, PRISONERS EXCHANGE AND TRIALS CONTINUED: [24th November 1995, Butare prison. Contingent of prison officers from Kampala headed by Mr. Joseph Etiima, head of Prisons Uganda, Colonel Kahinda Otafiire. Before trials take place, let there be screening for there are those prisoners who do not need to be tried.

Judge Kabira Thomas (KAH-THOM and CO's Adv.) argued that the Rwandan penal code provides for a mandatory death sentence to be imposed for premeditated murder, murder of persons who are not parents or children. There is no doubt that there is a need to neither continue nor waste time and public resources. Although no one has been tried in the past few years of the former regime, it is known that in July 1987 Juvenal Habyarimana commuted to life

⁴³⁴Public statement by President Yoweri Museveni on 7 April 2004 in Kigali. Well before this recent statement, the government newspaper New Vision of 17 September 1997 had written about the same position, which was also defended by President Museveni at the Harare summit in 1999, in a statement published in the journal African Alternatives, March/April 1999.

⁴³⁵ Ndanyuzwe Noel: La guerre mondiale arcane (The Arcane World War). Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Page 102

⁴³⁶ Ndanyuzwe Noel: La guerre mondiale arcane. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Page 425

⁴³⁷ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The Arcane World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Pages 426–428.

imprisonment a death sentence that had been confirmed on judicial appeal. Fifty-three prisoners benefited, but that was a low number. Rwanda has the highest number of prisoners in the region. They can neither be set free nor imprisoned for life. The death penalty must prevail.

The meeting ended with all parties in agreement. Only one sister disagreed, Mr Mutyara (Uganda Human Rights Activists and Documentation Centre).

Ndanyuzwe wrote on this subject: "Uganda itself was responsible for summary trials and extrajudicial executions of militiamen and military officers. On 9 October 1996, a session of the Mbuya military tribunal opened, with officers from Kigali, Burundi and Uganda sitting on the bench. After a brief overview by Colonel John Besigye, it was decided that the system would be transposed to Rwanda and Burundi. Previously, the system included a military bar. But this was deemed superfluous because, according to them, despite international pressure, Rwandan criminals had to be eliminated from society without any delay. At this meeting, Burundi, under the regime of Pierre Buyoya, obtained the transfer of its prisoners accused of high treason to Kampala, to the Makindye military camp. A contingent of 86 young Rwandans seeking to escape forced repatriation from Tanzania was sent to Kampala and handed over to General John Kazora for interrogation and detention.

The expected number of military personnel is 2,000,000 men. The armed special investigations branch already operational in southern Sudan, Rwanda and Uganda would be used to recruit officers and troops from Burundi, Eritrea, Sudan and Ethiopia for special training in Great Britain. The military bases would be located in northern Uganda and southern Rwanda with special British instructors. The uniforms would be made by a British company in Manchester, which has signed an agreement with the LONRHO group, whose representatives are Mr William Pike, Lynda Chaker, British Navy (Army) officers and an Ethiopian delegation. The meeting also discussed weapons whose shipment had been blocked by British officials, who are not among the most ardent supporters of the regional war of liberation. Particular attention, in terms of special security, was focused on Zaire, Burundi and the SPLA. Countries in the region that oppose this project would be economically isolated⁴³⁸ *.

"On 26 January 1996, a meeting was held between Presidents Mwinyi, Museveni and Kagame, at which they agreed that the Tanzanian Government should allow RPF soldiers to infiltrate Rwandan refugee camps in Tanzania to track down wanted persons. Burundi obtained the same favours. In December 1996, another agreement was concluded between Rwandan and Ugandan officers, according to which Rwandan officers on duty suspected of treason were also to be arrested. Paul Kagame proposed an execution post⁴³⁹ * according to Note 190: SPECIAL TRIALS AND EXECUTION OF FORMER ARMED MEN AND OFFICERS (RWANDA), 9^(TH) October 1996, Mbuya Military Tribunal OFFICERS FROM Kigali, Burundi, and Uganda.

Upon analysis of all these elements, as well as others not mentioned in this book, it is necessary to question, once again, the origin of the bodies of the victims of the 1994 genocide. Indeed, in April 2009, in Uganda, there was talk of the collective burial of the bodies of genocide victims. The remains of some 10,954 victims of the Rwandan Tutsi genocide found in 1994, washed away by river waters, will be buried at the Rakai memorial in the centre of the country (*Rakai is one of Uganda's districts*), according to the Rwanda Information Agency (ARI).⁴⁴⁰ *.

⁴³⁸ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The Arcane World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Pages 430–438

⁴³⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The Arcane World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Pages 426–429

⁴⁴⁰ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The Arcane World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Page 429

VII.6.9. Canada: Canadian General Roméo Dallaire

General Roméo Dallaire's grandfather was of Dutch origin. History will show that preparations were underway in the RPF camp and that General Roméo Dallaire was undoubtedly aware of this. Dallaire did not inform decision-makers about developments in the situation; he misinformed them, not to say that he simply lied to his bosses in New York.

To be convinced of this, one need only analyse the situation as it was perceived and the decisions that were taken in New York during the crucial period of the Rwandan crisis. Long before Roméo Dallaire's appointment, the future of the mission had been jeopardised, as Mrs Albright, former Secretary of State under the Clinton administration, writes in her book⁴⁴¹ *: "Unlike the UN force in Somalia, this was designed as a traditional mission, dependent on the willingness of the Hutus and Tutsis to abide by their agreement. A force of 2,500 was authorised, under the command of Brigadier General Roméo Dallaire of Canada, and told not to take sides or engage in fighting."

The infiltration of RPF soldiers and recruitment are acknowledged by General Dallaire and Colonel Marchal. The figures put forward by Lieutenant Nees, Ms Alison Des Forges and Abdul Ruzibiza vary between 4,000 and 10,000 men. Rutaremara Tite speaks of five people per cell. Overall, there were 5 x 7,800 cells, equal to 39,000 people throughout Rwanda, belonging to all political parties: MDR, MRND, PL, PSD, etc. N.B. Specialised cells are not included in this calculation. It should be noted that the major role of this infiltration is omitted or barely mentioned in the ICTR's prosecution of the Hutus, even though the infiltration was 100% RPF, well trained in Uganda to kill.

Subsequent events proved that the success of the mission did not depend on the willingness of the Hutus and Tutsis to abide by their commitments, but rather on Roméo Dallaire's commitment to one side in the conflict. Once Roméo Dallaire had taken up the cause of the RPF and committed himself to helping it seize power by force, the RPF no longer had any interest in respecting the Arusha Accords. In his book *Shake Hands with the Devil*, Roméo Dallaire confirms his preference for one side over another, which he describes as "extremist". According to him, this term means "Believers in Hutu Power, not prepared to bring refugees home, and unwilling to share power in a multi-ethnic, multi-party democracy respecting human rights. Predominantly MRND and CDR, but present in all parties other than the RPF."

"Believers in Hutu Power, not prepared to bring refugees home, and unwilling to share power in a multi-ethnic, multi-party democracy respecting human rights. Predominantly MRND and CDR but present in all parties other than the RPF"⁴⁴²(*) .

General Roméo Dallaire was always informed by the UN mission stationed in Kabale and placed under his authority that there were military supplies from the RPF coming from Uganda, but he never informed New York. In his book, he confirms the massive supplies of men and equipment coming from Uganda based on MUNUOR reports:

(a) There was also increased activity on the RPF side. On 28 February, I took one of the Belgian helicopters for an aerial reconnaissance of the RPF zone. As I flew over the green hills, sometimes low enough to come face to face with surprised RPF soldiers.

I saw large concentrations of troops undergoing training, as well as evidence of defensive positions dug in at the north-western border of the demilitarised zone, near the presidential stronghold of Ruhengeri. In the middle of the zone, where it narrowed to less than a kilometre

⁴⁴¹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *The African World War*. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014.

⁴⁴² Roméo Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil*, footnote on page 528.

near Vunga, I could see soldiers swarming around the rich sienna of the giant anthills flanking the town on both sides. It seemed that Kagame was realigning his forces, pushing for a secure starting line from which he could launch an offensive.

(b) The next day, I received a report from the new MINUAR sector commander, Colonel Azure Hague, confirming that shipments of arms and ammunition were going from the NRA to the RPF. At the same time, Claeys' intelligence team reported that Ugandan army officers had held meetings on supporting an RPF offensive to be launched in Byumba or Ruhengeri.

(a) "There was increased activity on the RPF side as well. On 28 February, I took one of the Belgian helicopters for an aerial reconnaissance of the RPF zone. As I flew over the green hills—sometimes low enough that I came eye to eye with startled RPF soldiers. I saw large concentrations of troops being trained, as well as evidence of defensive positions being dug on the north-western border of the demilitarised zone, near the presidential stronghold of Ruhengeri. In the middle of the zone, where it narrowed to less than a kilometre near Vunga, I spotted soldiers swarming around the rich sienna of freshly turned mounds of earth; they were like giant anthills bracketing the city on both flanks.

It looked like Kagame was realigning his forces, pushing for a good secure start line from which he could launch an offensive.

(b) The next day, , I received a report from the new commander of the UNOMUR Sector, Colonel Azure Hague, confirming that shipments of weapons and ammunition were going from the NRA to the RPF. At the same time, Claeys's intelligence team reported that Ugandan army officers had held meetings about supporting an RPF offensive to be launched at either Byumba or Ruhengeri.^{443*}

During the ceremonies marking the 10th anniversary of the genocide in Kigali, President Museveni boasted: "I hear people saying that they stood aloof when this genocide was happening. Uganda did not stand aloof when this genocide was happening. We stood with the RPF, and the RPF is the one that eventually saved the people it saved. (applause). Of course, we were under threat. Uganda was under threat. We were being investigated. The UN was investigating us. They were in Kabale, UNAMIR, to see whether anything was coming from Uganda to help the people of Rwanda to fight. They were watching me, not the genocidaires.

But I managed to pass through. (applause). You all know the story. So, Uganda does not plead guilty to the charge of standing aloof. Those who had the power, who are confusing the world should be the ones to plead guilty to this charge: a terrible crime which happened here."^{444*}

This public confession by a head of state, boasting of having circumvented the surveillance of the United Nations mission, UNAMIR, and of having maintained his military support for the RPF during the conflict with the Rwandan government, leaves no doubt as to the international nature of the conflict and its consequences, which, sadly, everyone is now aware of.

General Roméo Dallaire never informed New York that the RPF had brought missiles into its cantonment in Kigali, which constituted a serious threat to the peace that was being sought. This information had been passed on to UNAMIR by Colonel Cussac, head of the French military mission. Roméo Dallaire undoubtedly knew what these missiles would be used for and that their use would jeopardise the mission and the future of peace in Rwanda. If New York had been informed of the RPF's bellicose intentions, the decision-makers in New York would surely have reacted differently. General Roméo Dallaire's attitude can only be interpreted as

⁴⁴³ Roméo Dallaire: *Shake Hands with the Devil*, pp. 200–201.

⁴⁴⁴ Museveni. An article reprinted in the journal *L'African*. Alternatives, March/April 1999.

complicity in the assassination of President Habyarimana. To conceal the RPF's preparations for the coup, General Dallaire sent his superiors in New York the famous fax of 11 January 1994, in which he talked about everything except the acts that the RPF was preparing to commit, including the assassination of President Habyarimana. (*However, it turned out that the fax was fake and never existed. Charles Onana*) * ⁴⁴⁵

The RPF believed that the electoral process defined by the peace agreements could in no way satisfy its ambitions to take power and exercise it alone without sharing it. In her book, "Madame Secretary," Madeleine Albright writes: "On 23 February, Dallaire warned UN headquarters that Hutu militias were preparing for massive violence. A representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees also raised concerns." ^{446(*)}

Madeleine Albright writes: "On 23 February, Dallaire warned UN headquarters that Hutu militias were preparing for massive violence. A representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees also raised concerns." ^{447*} .

Why did she never mention the RPF's offensive preparations, which posed a real threat to peace in Rwanda and the region? In addition to Dallaire's informant , a certain Turatsinze ⁴⁴⁸ * who was a double agent working for the RPF, the information provided to the UN about the preparations was completely false.

In the same book, Madeleine Albright writes: "On 24 March, I began a two-week trip to Europe, Africa, the Balkans and South America. During my absence, my deputy, Ambassador Edward Walker, met with the new President of the Security Council to discuss the Council's agenda for April. No fewer than a dozen topics were reviewed, including four dealing with Africa. Rwanda was not on the list."

It took weeks for most of us to understand the nature and extent of the violence. At first, we only saw that the Rwandan president had been killed and that Hutu security forces were launching a coup against the civilian authority.

Many Western embassies had been evacuated, including ours, so official reports were curtailed. Dallaire was making dire reports to UN headquarters, but the oral summaries provided to the Security Council lacked detail and did not convey the full extent of the disaster.

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It would be weeks before most of us understood the nature and scale of the violence. At the beginning we saw only that the Rwandan president had been killed and that Hutu security forces were launching a coup against civilian authority", ...

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⁴⁴⁵ Chris Black: The Dallaire Genocide Fax Wednesday, 7 December 2005, 1:40

⁴⁴⁶ Madeleine Albright: "Madame Secretary", p. 148. Pm
Opinion: sandersresearch.com. www.sandersresearch.com

⁴⁴⁷ Madeleine Albright. Madame Secretary, p. 148

⁴⁴⁸ Turatsinze: was a Tutsi driver for the MRND and a double agent. He was assassinated in Tanzania by RPF agents.

provided to the Security Council lacked detail and failed to convey the full dimensions of the disaster.

Madeleine Albright writes: "On 23 February, Dallaire warned UN headquarters that Hutu militias were preparing for massive violence. A representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees also raised concerns."⁴⁴⁹*

Paradoxically, Dallaire did not give a copy to his boss on the ground, Mr Jacques Roger Booh Booh, as he mentions in his book " : Dallaire's Boss Speaks" (⁴⁵⁰).

As a result, the Security Council unrealistically hoped that each new day would bring a ceasefire. There was also confusion as to who was to blame.

The French, historically favourable to the Hutus, initially assumed that Tutsi extremists had shot down the presidential plane to provoke Hutu attacks and justify Tutsi counterattacks. American analyses unnecessarily narrowed the culprits down to radical Hutus, moderate Hutus and Tutsis—just about everyone. Meanwhile, those who were actually directing the killing put out a steady stream of lies about what they were doing and why. At first, we only saw that the Rwandan president had been killed and that Hutu security forces were launching a coup against civilian authority.

As a result, the council hoped unrealistically that each new day would bring a cease-fire. There was also confusion about who was to blame. The French, historically favourable to the Hutus, initially assumed that Tutsi extremists had shot down the president's plane to provoke Hutu attacks and justify Tutsi counterattacks. American analysts unhelpfully narrowed the culprits down to radical Hutus, moderate Hutus, and Tutsis – just about everybody.

Meanwhile, those actually directing the killing put forward a steady stream of lies about what they were doing and why."⁴⁵¹*. Thus, it must be concluded that world decision-makers, in New York and Washington, were misinformed or not informed at all. As former US Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright said, "Many Western embassies had been evacuated, including our own, so official reporting was curtailed. Dallaire was making dire reports to UN Headquarters, but the oral summaries provided to the Security Council lacked detail and failed to convey the full dimensions of the disaster."⁴⁵² *.

Such a summary report on an event of this importance does not accurately reflect the situation. An interim government has just been set up; what is its action plan? What is its message to the Rwandan people and the international community? General Dallaire says nothing about this, probably in order to sabotage this government, which he described as a "self-proclaimed government" and "composed of Hutu extremists"⁴⁵³ *. Clearly, General Dallaire had chosen to fight this government despite the interim government's calls for appeasement towards the RPF and its firm determination to do everything possible to stop the violence and find a negotiated solution with the RPF, through the mediation of the international community, represented by UNAMIR.

Also in her book, Madeleine Albright writes: "As I listened to the informal debate led by Nigerian Permanent Representative Ibrahim Gambari, I became increasingly convinced we were on the wrong side of the issue. I asked my deputy to take my seat and went to one of the

⁴⁴⁹ Madeleine Albright. *Madame Secretary*, p. 148

⁴⁵⁰ Jacques Roger Booh Booh discusses this in his book *Le patron de Dallaire Parle* (Dallaire's Boss Speaks).

⁴⁵¹ Madeleine Albright: "Madame Secretary", pp. 149-150.

⁴⁵² Madeleine Albright: "Madame Secretary", p. 153.

⁴⁵³ Roméo Dallaire: "Shake Hands with the Devil," pp. 200-201.

telephone booths in the hall. Even though my instructions came from the State Department, I thought I might be able to get faster action from the NSC, which played a critical coordinating role in peacekeeping and where Tony Lake's knowledge of Africa was crucial.

Speaking to one of his top aides, I described what was going on in the council and reported that the American position was being viewed as obstructionist. I first asked for more flexible instructions, then yelled into the telephone, demanding them. I was told to calm down. The NSC would look again at what to do... "On 20 April, I met with the Secretary-General, who described his dilemma. African members of the council wanted UNAMIR to be reinforced. The Belgians wanted a full UN pullout to cover their own withdrawal. African leaders were trying to arrange peace talks. If a ceasefire were reached, troops would be needed to monitor it. The decision on Rwanda would be critical to the image of the UN, so Boutros-Ghali wanted the UN mission to remain." The Clinton administration wanted the opposite, and Boutros-Ghali was immediately replaced by Kofi Annan, who was of their persuasion⁴⁵⁴(*) .]

Listening to the informal debate led by Nigerian Permanent Representative Ibrahim Gambari, I became increasingly convinced that we were on the wrong side of the issue. I asked my deputy to take my place and went to one of the telephone booths in the lobby. Even though my instructions came from the State Department, I thought I might be able to get faster action from the NSC, which played a key coordinating role in peacekeeping and where Tony Lake's knowledge of Africa was crucial.

Speaking to one of his senior assistants, I described what was happening in the council and pointed out that the US position was being seen as obstructionist. I first asked for more flexible instructions, then shouted into the phone, demanding them. I was told to calm down. The NSC would review what needed to be done... "On 20 April, I met with the Secretary-General, who described his dilemma to me.

Why did she never mention the RPF's preparations, which were offensive in nature and posed a real threat to peace in Rwanda and the region? The planned attack on President Habyarimana was an act of terrorism whose consequences were difficult to predict in all their dimensions. When it was committed, Rwanda went up in flames, and the flames spread in ways that the region is still suffering from today. How, then, can Roméo Dallaire be exonerated from this personal criminal responsibility?

VII.6.10. The Netherlands

I received anonymous information (*for his safety*) from an anonymous person. The Communication Centre before, during and after the 1994 war relayed information in Uganda (aircraft to evacuate the Dutch) to Kampain, and today the Dutch presence and policy in Rwanda confirms this. It acted as an intermediary between the powers.

The Hague in the Netherlands is the seat of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) 1993-2017. It was created by the UN Security Council through Resolution No. 827 of 25 May 1993. The Prosecutor of this tribunal also oversaw the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda until the two jurisdictions were separated: the ICTY and the ICTR. This separation was mainly intended to remove Carla Del Ponte from the ICTR, who wanted to indict the RPF for serious crimes, war crimes and genocide committed during its conquest of power.

⁴⁵⁴ Madeleine Albright: "Madame Secretary," p. 50

VII.6.11. Germany

Germany was not directly involved for constitutional reasons. Some prominent figures have commented on the uniforms worn by the RPF! What is well known is that Germany participated in the reconstruction of the country after the RPF seized power.

VII.6.12. UN/MINUAR General Roméo Dallaire

General Roméo Dallaire is the symbol of the derailment and serious failings of MINUAR/ICTR.

Roméo Antonius Dallaire, known as General Roméo Dallaire



Photo No. 85

, born on 25 June 1946 in Denekamp, the Netherlands, is currently a retired lieutenant general and Canadian politician. His grandfather was of Dutch origin. He is best known for his humanitarian work in Rwanda as commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), the United Nations peacekeeping force in Rwanda, before, during and after the 1994 genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda. His attempts to draw the international community's attention to the crimes being committed in Rwanda went unheeded, which he regretted and denounced upon his return from Africa. Lieutenant-General Roméo Dallaire, with the participation of Major Brent Beardsley and Lieutenant-Colonel Mailhot-Hallé, wrote a book entitled *Handshake with the Devil*, which recounts his experiences there⁴⁵⁵ *.

Dallaire and Beardsley write that the general was sent in October 1993 as commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and head of the military observers of the United Nations Observer Mission in Uganda and Rwanda (UNOMUR) in order, among other things, to help that country establish a Broad-Based Transitional Government (EBTG).

Since his return from Rwanda, Roméo Dallaire has suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder. He retired from the Canadian Forces on medical grounds on 22 April 2000. At the time of his retirement, he held the rank of Lieutenant-General⁴⁵⁶ *.

On 15 April 2000, he told the daily newspaper *La Presse*: "I live with the guilt of a commander who saw his mission fail. I also live with this guilt towards the Rwandans, who were given hope that their peace project would succeed and who, in the end, were massacred while looking at us with incomprehension as we stood by, powerless to do anything. It is normal for a commander to ask himself questions, to say to himself: 'Perhaps I argued my case, but I did not convince them. Perhaps I did not use the right methods'."⁴⁵⁷ *.

Blaming himself for the failures of his mission, he fell into a long depression. On 20 June 2000, he was rushed to hospital after being found on a park bench in Hull, Quebec. Intoxicated and suffering

⁴⁵⁵ Romeo Dallaire: I shook hands with the devil.

⁴⁵⁶ Sophie Hélène Lebeuf. Roméo Dallaire: A General in the Rwandan Storm [archive], Radio-Canada.ca.

⁴⁵⁷ Romeo Dallaire: I shook hands with the devil.

from a reaction to his antidepressants, the incident nearly put him in a coma. The story gained national attention and sparked a debate about the rules of engagement imposed on UN peacekeeping soldiers. Dallaire also set out to raise awareness among the authorities about the psychological problems experienced by veterans.

After the incident, Dallaire began writing a book, with the help of Major Brent Beardsley, about the events in Rwanda. He also participated in numerous symposiums and conferences. He was on the road to recovery. It was also during this period that he admitted that during his depression, he had attempted suicide several times. These latest revelations can be found in his book *Shaking Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, published in 2003⁴¹³⁸; in a more detailed article: *Genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda*.

Returning from Rwanda in 1994, Dallaire argued that the genocide had not been planned (Radio Canada): "I don't think anyone could ever have planned the scale of the outbreak. Ten years later, he stated exactly the opposite in his book *I Shook the Devil's Hand* (Ed. Libre Expression), declaring: "The responsibility for the Rwandan genocide lies solely with the Rwandans who planned, ordered, supervised and ultimately carried it out."

Nevertheless, according to Robin Philpot, he provides no new information or evidence to support his claims. Philpot also accuses him of bias in favour of Paul Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) army, whom Dallaire describes in his book as an "extraordinary man"⁴⁵⁸ *. By speaking about the Rwandan tragedy in such a vague and cowardly manner, is Roméo Dallaire trying to cover his tracks?

While in Belgium he is accused of cowardice for allowing Belgian peacekeepers to be massacred without sending them help⁴⁵⁹ *, the majority of Rwandans consider Dallaire's actions in Rwanda to be a failure. Dallaire would have played a positive role if he had led the mission in truth, but instead he led it in obscurantism and absolute lies.

Jacques-Roger Booh Booh, in his book *Revelations on the excesses of a UN general in Rwanda, Dallaire's boss, says: "General Romeo Dallaire could have played a more active and perhaps more decisive positive role if he had had the courage to tell the truth throughout his mission."*⁴⁶⁰ *.

Booh Booh accuses the soldier who was under his command of betraying the UN mission in Kigali and neglecting the safety of Rwandans and peacekeepers. He also claims that Dallaire took sides in the conflict by supporting the Tutsi rebels against the Rwandan army (ex-FAR).

For his part, Colonel Jacques Hogard, who intervened in Rwanda as part of Operation Turquoise, criticises Dallaire for his weakness in allowing the UN to strip him of^{9/10ths} of the troops under his command while the genocide was in full swing⁴⁶¹ *.

Bernard Lugan, an expert with the ICTR, in his book *Les Guerres d'Afrique (The Wars of Africa)*, offers a harsh analysis of General Dallaire's errors and failings during his command of the MINUAR mission⁴⁶² *: "In fact, Dallaire went off the rails in Uganda, while he was head of

⁴⁵⁸ The Rwandan tragedy - Is Romeo Dallaire trying to cover his tracks? [Archive], Robin Philpot, ledevoir.com, 6 January 2004.

⁴⁵⁹ Biography, Roméo Dallaire, a general in the Rwandan turmoil by Sophie-Hélène Lebeuf.

⁴⁶⁰ Jacques-Roger Booh Booh. Dallaire's boss speaks out: Revelations about the excesses of a UN general in Rwanda, Éditions Dubois, 207 pages.

⁴⁶¹ Jacques Hogard, *Les Larmes de l'honneur (Tears of Honour), 60 Days in the Turmoil of Rwanda*, Éditions Hugoboc, 2005, in particular pages 72 and 126-127.

⁴⁶² Bernard Lugan, *Les Guerres d'Afrique des origines à nos jours (The Wars of Africa from their origins to the present day)*, Éditions du Rocher 2013, pp. 335-338.

MUNIOR. " In other words, he had been corrupted before coming to Rwanda. The plan to eliminate President Juvénal Habyarimana had already been finalised.

VII.6.13. African members of the Security Council against a dark force

The African members of the Security Council wanted MINUAR to be reinforced, but a dark force led by the UN, the Clinton administration and Belgium was obstructing this : The Belgians wanted a complete withdrawal of the UN to cover their own withdrawal. African leaders were trying to organise peace talks. If a ceasefire was agreed, troops would be needed to monitor it. The decision on Rwanda would be critical for the UN's image, so Boutros-Ghali wanted the UN mission to remain. The Clinton administration wanted the opposite, and Boutros-Ghali was immediately replaced by Kofi Annan, who was loyal to them. The UN therefore failed in its primary mission to protect the unarmed civilian population. It packed up and left at the start of the massacres and refused to put pressure on the RPF to stop the war, even though if it had succeeded in stopping the war at the end of June 1994, more than two million victims could have been saved.

VII.6.14. Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan

According to Wikipedia: Boutros Boutros-Ghali was born in Cairo, Egypt, on 14 November 1922 into a Coptic Orthodox Christian family. His father, Yusuf Boutros Boutros Ghali, was the son of Boutros Boutros Ghali Bey, later Pasha (also his namesake), who was Prime Minister of Egypt from 1908 until his assassination in 1910. He was an Egyptian politician and diplomat who served as the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) from 1992 to 1996. He was replaced by Kofi Annan, who was favourable to the Clinton administration.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali is an academic who previously served as Egypt's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Boutros-Ghali was Secretary-General of the UN during a period that coincided with several global crises, including the break-up of Yugoslavia and the Rwandan genocide. He then served as the first Secretary-General of La Francophonie from 1997 to 2002.

Boutros Boutros Gali



Photo no. 86.

Kofi Annan



Photo no. 87

According to Wikipedia: Kofi Annan was a Ghanaian diplomat born on 8 April 1938 in Kumasi, Ghana, who died on 18 August 2018 in Bern, Switzerland. He was the seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations and the first to come from within the organisation's staff. He held this position from 1997 to 2006. On 10 December 2001, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The American authorities issued threats against government forces and the newly installed interim government, as evidenced by a State Department document dated 11 April 1994. There was talk of withdrawing MINUAR forces until peace was restored. Declassified Document No.

³⁴⁶³ * states that "the UN will likely withdraw all forces," and the US will not get involved "until peace is restored." This position is perfectly in line with the RPF's desire to remove all foreign troops stationed in Rwanda. It should be recalled that in his statement of 9 April 1994, Paul Kagame⁴⁶⁴ * issued an ultimatum to all foreign forces, giving them 48 hours to leave the country and allow him to restore peace on his own. It is support for this threat made by Paul Kagame that explains the incomprehensible position of the US Government, as the withdrawal of UNAMIR made any chance of a return to peace impossible. In reality, peace significantly hindered the RPF's real plan, which was to exterminate the Rwandan people. "Once again, the instigator of the genocide is clearly visible in the person of Paul Kagame through his position in making threats and in the powers that encouraged him to do so."

The conflict had pitted the two belligerents against each other for more than three years. As the situation deteriorated, the United States decided to withdraw MINUAR forces without discussion. This is evident from Declassified Document No. 4 of the "US National Archives unclassified documents". It should be remembered that this decision by the United States was endorsed by the Security Council on 21 April 1994; a serious mistake that Madeleine Albright would regret for a long time, saying: "Like others, I had become both defensive and cautious about UN peacekeeping in general and didn't see any practical way for the UN to restore order in Rwanda at this point."

Mindful of my conversations with the parents of Americans killed in Somalia, I worried that more of the lightly armed UN peacekeepers might be victimised. At the same time, I agreed with my Security Council colleagues that the UN should not withdraw completely. As I listened to the informal debate led by Nigerian Permanent Representative Ibrahim Gambari, I became increasingly convinced we were on the wrong side of the issue"⁴⁶⁵ *.

Although the lack of information does not explain all of Washington's and the United Nations' policy in Rwanda, much of it can be attributed to misinformation. It is clear that decision-makers did not have the right information at the right time. The regrets that everyone is ready to express, as many have already done, do not remove the responsibilities that must be placed at the appropriate level.

For example, the message⁴⁶⁶ *. James Gasana. Political violence in Rwanda 1991-1993, June 1998. A cable sent by General Dallaire to his friend and compatriot General Maurice Baril on 7 April 1994 shows how much Roméo Dallaire had taken up the cause of the RPF. It is clear that Dallaire was keen to hide the details of what was happening, even though he had all the information, including the following:

(a) The causes of the plane crash: soldiers stationed at the control tower had observed missiles hitting the plane⁴⁶⁷ *.

Dallaire cannot claim that this information did not reach him when it had been transmitted through the chain of command, as attested by the testimony of Belgian Corporal Gerlache Matthieu before the Brussels Gendarmerie⁴⁶⁸ *. Statement by Faustin Twagiramungu, former Prime Minister, before the French Parliamentary Information Commission.

⁴⁶³ 16 Documents were declassified on 20 August 2001 by the US National Archives.

⁴⁶⁴ Statement by Paul Kagame on 9 April 1994, giving an ultimatum to foreign forces.

⁴⁶⁵ Madeleine Albright: Madame Secretary, p. 150.

⁴⁶⁶ Gasana K. James. Political violence in Rwanda 1991-1993, June 1998.

⁴⁶⁷ Alison Desforges. No Witnesses Must Survive. The Genocide in Rwanda. Editions Karthala, pp. 842-843.

⁴⁶⁸ Statement by Faustin Twagiramungu, former Prime Minister, before the French Parliamentary Information Committee.

(b) Instead of passing on the real information, the military leaders of MINUAR invented an explosion at the ammunition depot, something implausible for professionals of their rank;

(c) Although he followed all the discussions from the very first minutes after the plane crash and the FAR did not hide any information in their possession from him, Dallaire lied about his knowledge of the victims of the attack.

(d) Although he was fully aware of the movements of RPF troops, Dallaire continued to ask the FAR to remain in their barracks, as if he wanted them to be caught like chickens in their coops⁴⁶⁹ *. Professor F. Reyntjens and S. Desouter. Rwanda. Human rights violations by the RPF/APR, June 1995, pp. 13 and 24.

(e) In all correspondence sent to New York in the days that followed, Dallaire never mentioned the ultimatum that the RPF had given to foreign troops. However, the Belgian military intelligence service informed its superiors in Brussels on 9 April 1994. Why was no connection made between this ultimatum and the Belgian government's decision to withdraw its unit from UNAMIR and to put pressure on the Security Council to prevent it from sending any UNAMIR troops?

Finally, we must ask ourselves who wanted the violence to escalate. Before talking about the Machiavellian plan to exterminate the Tutsis, we needed to analyse the motives that drove Paul Kagame and Roméo Dallaire to act and behave as they did⁴⁷⁰ *. He wrote: "When I woke up the next morning... I was convinced that we were on the verge of regaining the initiative or at least of throwing off the extremists off balance, making them vulnerable to defections, to panic, to making foolish mistakes"⁴⁷¹ *.

Roméo Dallaire has always worked according to this destructive logic. He combined efforts with the RPF to undermine the system from within and demolish it. While his mission was to maintain peace, he preferred to provoke and maintain chaos in order to bring the RPF to power. He was aware of the introduction of weapons from Uganda but did nothing to stop these operations. Dallaire participated in the study of the RPF's manoeuvre plans at the Meridien Hotel in Kigali. As his superior, Mr Roger Booh-Booh, points out, his objective was to bring down the Habyarimana regime⁴⁷² *.

1 / The infiltration of RPF soldiers and recruitment are acknowledged by General Dallaire, Colonel Marchal and LT Nees: As mentioned in the previous pages, the figures put forward by Lieutenant Nees, Ms Alison Des Forges and Abdul Ruzibiza vary between 4,000 and 10,000 men. Rutaremara Tite speaks of five people per cell. Overall, there were 5 x 7,800 cells, equal to 39,000 people throughout Rwanda belonging to all political parties: MDR, MRND, PL, PSD, etc. Dallaire was aware of all this information, but he concealed it from his superiors at the UN.

2/ It was MINUAR, in the person of Major Podevijn, Major Hock's collaborator, who announced on 5 January 1994 that there were weapons caches. Major Podevijn was an avowed RPF supporter. In February 1994, Alex Kanyaregwe took this information on board and reported it to the Belgian authorities. (See the letter from the Interahamwe committee dated 19 January 1994 and the report of the ad hoc group).

⁴⁶⁹ Professor F. Reyntjens and S. Desouter. Rwanda. Human rights violations by the RPF/APR, June 1995, pp. 13 and 24.

⁴⁷⁰ Professor F. Reyntjens and S. Desouter. Rwanda. Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Alype Nkundiaryemye. Note on the current socio-political situation in Rwanda, 24 June 1999, p.10.

⁴⁷² SOS Rwanda. Key dates for the UN to note in its investigations into the massacres of Rwandan refugees in Congo, August 1997-July 1998.

The MINUAR command allowed RPF men to wear UN uniforms to create confusion and facilitate attacks on sensitive targets and infiltration into FAR sectors and ranks. For example: "On 8 April 1994 at around 8 a.m., Headquarters warned that RPF elements were wearing blue helmet uniforms. This rumour was not verified"⁴⁷³ *. In fact, there was no need to verify it, as the UNAMIR command already knew about it because it had allowed it to happen. Immediately after the attack on the presidential plane, RPF infiltrators in the city of Kigali gathered at the UNAMIR cantonment without any problem. "At 11 p.m., sector HQ informs OSCAR (communications operator) that all refugees of Rwandan nationality must have left the barracks by 6 a.m. the following day... At 6 a.m., this indicates that Franciscus's fathers (ATS) oppose the UN's decision"⁴⁷⁴ *. During his cross-examination on 1 October 1997 in the Rutaganda case, Captain Luc Lemaire acknowledged that there were armed people in his cantonment. The ammunition confiscated by General Dallaire was not handed over to the Ministry of Defence. Some believe that it was given to the RPF⁴⁷⁵ *.

In its confidential report of 12 April 1994, the Belgian General Intelligence Service reported that, according to Ambassador François Ngarukiyintwali, the Rwandan Ministry of Foreign Affairs believed that "inexplicable failures" on the part of the Blue Helmets had "allowed criminals to shoot down the presidential plane". He also accused elements of UNAMIR of "actively participating in RPF operations against Rwandan army positions" in Kigali and of providing technical assistance to the RPF⁴⁷⁶ *. The Rwandan ambassador's statement has never been denied. In its confidential report of 13 April 1994, the Belgian General Intelligence Service reported the following: "The RPF claims to have brought 2,400 troops into the capital. It says it is waiting for the evacuation of foreigners to be completed before taking control of the city. It even stated that it believed it could achieve this objective on Wednesday, while the commander of UNAMIR, General Dallaire, believed that the FAR had no chance of defeating the RPF militarily"⁴⁷⁷ *. It is clear, therefore, that not only were Belgian MINUAR troops actively engaged alongside the RPF, but more importantly, General Dallaire was keen for the RPF to win and was actively working towards this end. He was particularly invested in a strategy that would bring the RPF and the so-called moderates together to take control after the assassination of President⁴⁷⁸ *.

In this commitment to create chaos, Major Delporte⁴⁷⁹ *. Read Roméo Dallaire's convictions in his book: "I Shook Hands with the Devil", pp. 335 and 374, will ensure that key institutions cannot function after the assassination of the President. The Public Prosecutor in Kigali, François-Xavier Nsanzuwera, put it this way: "Early the next morning, I called Major Delporte of the MINUAR civilian police. He told me that the GP had arrested the president of the Constitutional Court and that the GP had set up roadblocks. He told me to be careful. In fact, Major Delporte and I were working on the murder of Minister Gatabazi Félicien committed in February 1994, and our investigations had shown us that it was members of the GP who had assassinated the minister. Delporte advised me to leave my house because he felt threatened. He advised me to go to my neighbour's house, a Rwandan chief warrant officer in the

⁴⁷³ Alpe Nkundiyaemye. Note on the current socio-political situation in Rwanda, 24 June 1999, p. 38.

⁴⁷⁴ Shyirambere Barahinyura. Rwanda. Thirty-two years after the Social Revolution of 1959, Editions Izuba, 1992.

⁴⁷⁵ Jean Pierre Mugabe. The People's Tribune. Itangazo, 1999.

⁴⁷⁶ Rwanda. Human rights violations by the RPF/APR, by Reyntjens and Desouter, June 1995.

⁴⁷⁷ Report no. 940413 of 13 April 1994 from the Belgian General Intelligence Service.

⁴⁷⁸ Read Roméo Dallaire's convictions in his book: "Shaking Hands with the Devil", pp. 335 and 374.

⁴⁷⁹ This officer, who arrived in Rwanda before the establishment of MINUAR, must have had a special mission, as mentioned by Mr Willame in his book "Les Belges au Rwanda-le parcours de la honte" (The Belgians in Rwanda: The Path of Shame), GRIP 1997, p. 12.

gendarmérie"⁴⁸⁰ *. This investigation appears to be a red herring, unless the investigators into the death of F. Gatabazi had also chosen to side with the RPF, because we have seen above that the assassination of Félicien Gatabazi was the work of the RPF and not at all that of the GP: in A. J. Ruzibiza's *Secret History*, Félicien Gatabazi was assassinated by the RPF because "*it is reported that, while celebrating in bars in Kigali in the days following the capture of the capital, RPF agents publicly recounted, as acts of bravery, crimes they had committed in their fight against the government, including the assassination of Gatabazi, which had spread terror throughout the country. (Testimonies collected from witnesses still alive; Abdul J. Ruzibiza, The Secret History, 2005; the killers are: Lt Godfrey Ntukajyemo alias Kiago and Cpl Mahoro Aman.*"

As a reminder, it should be understood that MINUAR pretended to organise a meeting between the government and the RPF in Mulindi, the RPF headquarters, to take stock of this delay in November or early December 1993⁴⁸¹ *: On 28 December 1993, the RPF sent its alleged representatives to Kigali. On 5 January 1994, the President of the Republic was sworn in to open the swearing-in ceremonies for the other Broad-Based Transitional Institutions; the RPF intervened, demanding that its allies also be sworn in. It boycotted the swearing-in ceremonies of the members of the Transitional Institutions on 5 January and 25 March 1994. With the political parties split in two and unable to agree on a common list and present it for the swearing-in ceremony, it was Habyarimana who wrongly took responsibility for blocking the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement. The status quo persisted until his assassination on 6 April 1994.

However, behind this status quo lay the decisions of the American and British authorities, with the silence of the UN Security Council desired by the Clinton administration, which multiplied the double constraints and paradoxical injunctions. Despite everything, President Habyarimana intended to resume talks with the political parties, whatever the outcome, and despite the restrictions of the Peace Agreement, which did not give him full power, he had to make a decision on 8 April 1994, even if it meant dealing with the consequences.

Habyarimana had the goodwill to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement. But implementing it or not implementing it amounts to the same thing: the choice is always a "losing" one; but Habyarimana does not yet know this, and it is his life that is in danger. He did everything he could to avoid war, but he would have it in both cases, in collusion with the UN, the double constraint being imposed by the Anglo-American couple and the Tanzanians. Supported by these same powers, the RPF had no limits in creating and maintaining both a paradox and a conflict at different levels of the decision-making process. A Rwandan genocide was to be carried out by these same planners. Indeed, what Habyarimana must do to survive, to be safe, to maintain his integrity and fulfilment, is what threatens him on another level. Before his peers, he had affirmed "his willingness to implement the Arusha Peace Accords without delay".

In fact, implementing this agreement was a relief for everyone except the RPF/RNA and its allies. The majority of the Rwandan people were tired of war. The Rwandan Armed Forces, pleased with this development, received clear and precise orders to avoid any action that could compromise its implementation. In addition to meetings and conferences held at all levels of command and units to explain and raise awareness of its implementation, commissions were

⁴⁸⁰ Statement by Nsanzuwera on 18 September 1995 before the investigating judge at the Court of First Instance in Brussels.

⁴⁸¹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War)*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Page 263

set up to study ways and means of assisting in its implementation⁴⁸² *. On 12 October 1993 at 3 p.m., its members participated in a joint meeting with UNDP consultants at the UNDP headquarters in Kigali. Following this, the Minister of Defence appointed members of the Joint Demobilisation Commission to work closely with UNDP experts. He created the Commission for the Development of Joint Training Programmes, Instruction Syllabi and Disciplinary Regulations, in order to prepare, well in advance with the RPF, the basic courses for the National Army. On 8 December 1993 at 10 a.m., MINUAR organised a first high-level meeting between the FAR and the RPF in Ngondore. Other sessions followed until 23 March 1994. The RPF was inflexible; its delegates were not there to negotiate but to kill. MINUAR entered FAR military camps to carry out its checks without any restrictions.

The FAR were cooperative with the RPF. There are many examples of this. For example, on 17 February 1994, the FAR Command offered five Hilux pick-up trucks to the RPF battalion. On 22 February 1994, it made three buses available to MINUAR for the benefit of this battalion. On 10 January 1994, the members of the High Council of Army Command (HCCA) and those of the National Gendarmerie Command Council (CCGN) had already been appointed by presidential decrees.⁴⁸³ These concrete facts show that those who claim that the FAR did not believe in the Arusha Peace Agreement are spreading disinformation and creating political diversion. On the other hand, the RPF never took any action to show its adherence to the Arusha Peace Agreement, let alone indicate that its officers were ready to integrate into the new structure proposed by the peace agreements. In fact, the RPF command believed only in Dallaire and not in the Arusha Agreement, and so it never wanted to involve its troops in order not to distract them from the ultimate goal.

The command of the United Nations Mission for Assistance in Rwanda (UNAMIR), d Canadian General Roméo Dallaire, refused the Chief of Staff's request to confine the unit to the CND and prohibit it from leaving. He gave the RPF the opportunity to achieve its threefold objective: to recruit and strengthen the troops based at the CND and to infiltrate Kigali and the rest of the country.

It is important to explain how the RPF proceeded: RPF soldiers left the CND in vehicles and military uniform and went to stay with friendly families or their own families scattered throughout Kigali. They removed their military uniforms and gave them to recruits waiting for them in these families. In the evening, the vehicles returning to the city picked up these recruits instead of the soldiers and took them to the CND. The next day, these new recruits were taken to the RPF headquarters in Mulindi to reinforce the RPF fighters, under the pretext that they were relief troops.

The vehicles returned to Kigali with real soldiers who were supposed to relieve those who had been transported to Mulindi (at the time). This was more of a reinforcement, as no former trained soldiers had left the CND for Mulindi.

The soldiers who were taken to families in Kigali and who handed over their uniforms to the new recruits were given civilian clothes. Together with those who left the CND in civilian clothes, they were assigned to operational groups in the capital Kigali, while others were sent on reconnaissance and sabotage missions elsewhere in the country. It was therefore a well-planned mass infiltration, and MINUAR, which was responsible for the escort, was fully aware of it, if not complicit. Indeed, since 21 November 1993, EMAR had received dozens of reports

⁴⁸² Ndanyuzwe Noel: *La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War)*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014, p. 266.

⁴⁸³ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War)*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014, p. 267.

from various sources, all referring to the threat posed by the RPF. Here are some examples corroborated by the notes:

The information dated 21 November 1993 reports the presence of an RPF squadron infiltrated into the capital of Kigali to kidnap and assassinate the Head of State.

The information dated 5 January 1994 reported that the CND's RPF battalion possessed SAM7 missiles.

The intelligence report of 12 January 1994 reported that the RPF had attempted to kill President Habyarimana while he was travelling by road but had failed due to the security measures taken by the presidential guard, and that the president would be shot down on board an aircraft and that this would go unnoticed.

In January 1994, a letter addressed to Kagame and seized in Muhura-Byumba from a certain Zubere from Nyamirambo in Kigali said that it would not be easy to assassinate President Habyarimana without at least 100 men in civilian clothing. The courier had avoided the normal Kigali-Mulindi road and had used detours to take this report to Kagame.

On 14 February 1994, a military officer and UNAMIR executive reported that the RPF at the CND definitely possessed SAM7 missiles.⁴⁸⁴ *. Dallaire, who had orders from the CIA, knew him well. The report by this military officer and UNAMIR executive corroborates the information of 5 January 1994 concerning the presence of RPF missiles at the CND.

VII.6.15. Jacques Roger Booh Booh and Lt. Gen. Roméo Antoine Dallaire

In her statement broadcast on Radio Rwanda on 22 and 23 March 1994⁴⁸⁵ *, Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana announced that all obstacles had been removed, particularly the issue of the CDR, and that the GTBE and ANT were scheduled to be established on 25 March 1994. On that date, all parties arrived at the ceremony venue except for the RPF. Although, at the request of RPF representatives in Kigali, UNAMIR had sent vehicles to Mulindi the day before to bring back RPF officials, the latter refused to go to Kigali⁴⁸⁶ *.

Mr Roger Booh Booh summarises the RPF's attitude as follows: "Its mask had just fallen. It had been hiding its hand for a long time. But this time things were clear. This party certainly did not want to see the peace process succeed. It is very surprising to note that every time a solution was found with the MRND, the RPF in return brandished new demands and new conditions that were difficult to meet. There were indications that this movement was really against peace⁴⁸⁷ *."

In his book, Jacques Rogers Booh Booh was Dallaire's boss, but Dallaire, who was on a secret mission (from Madeleine Albright, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations during the Clinton administration), usurped his power. Dallaire excluded him from all meetings and did not give him any copies of the faxes sent to UN headquarters. In normal administration, this is called insubordination, which characterised Dallaire at the head of MINUAR. Several

⁴⁸⁴ Ndanyuzwe Noel: *The African World War*. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014, pages 269-270.

⁴⁸⁵ UN Political Prisoners.pdf. Memorandum by the UN Political Prisoners in Arusha appended to their letter of 6 October 2008.

⁴⁸⁶ Outgoing code cable of 25 March 1994 from Booh Booh to Annan/Goulding Efforts to install the transitional institutions (Exculpatory evidence DNT178 filed in the case of *The Prosecutor v. Bagosora et al* - ICTR-98-41-T. This same exhibit was filed in the case of *The Prosecutor v. Karemera et al* - ICTR-98-44-T under number DNZ-399).

⁴⁸⁷ Roger Booh-Booh. *Le patron de Dallaire parle, Révélations sur les dérives d'un général de l'ONU*, Editions Duboiris 2005, page 115.

testimonies from people close to President Juvénal Habyarimana stated that Jacques Rogers Booh Booh had informed him of a plan to eliminate him by the leader of the APR.

VII.6.16. Roméo Antonius Dallaire: Derailment and accomplice

Irrefutable proof that Roméo Antonius Dallaire is an accomplice in the first degree in the attack on President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane, the act that triggered the Rwandan genocide. He himself asked Paul Kagame this question a few days before 6 April 1994. I quote: Here is the question and the answer:

When I asked Kagame to go directly to Kigali to stop the massacres of the Tutsis, 'he replied that if there was a price to pay, the Tutsis inside the country would just have to pay it'⁴⁸⁸ *. Kagame and Dallaire both didn't give a damn about the Tutsis, and even less about the Hutu opposition who supported them. On 2 April 1994, three days before the assassination, Paul Kagame told General Romeo Dallaire: (...) we were on the eve of a cataclysm and that once it started, there would be no way to control it'⁴⁸⁹ *. The two commanders of UNAMIR and the RPF collaborated in the success of the United Nations' hidden agenda to assist the RPF's victory. Colonel Bagosora himself had suspected General Dallaire of complicity two days before the attack: General Romeo Dallaire asked me who Habyarimana's heir apparent was.

It has never been the intention of the current Rwandan government, nor of the alleged perpetrator of the attack, to deny responsibility for an act that triggered the genocide. It has only sought, not without success, to separate this terrorist act from its cause and consequences. To date, this is the only murderous act of 1994 that has not been taken into account by the ICTR. However, Carla Del Ponte was determined to work in accordance with Resolution 955, to bring to justice all those who committed crimes during the period ^{from} 1 January to 31 December 1994. She stated that **if "it turned out that it was the RPF that shot down President Habyarimana's plane, the history of the genocide would have to be rewritten."** She was immediately replaced by the force of Bill Clinton's administration⁴⁹⁰ *. The RPF government instead changed the period of the genocide and set it from 1 ^{October 1990 to 31 December 1994} to cover up its own crimes and lie to the world that it had started the war to stop the **genocide that never existed** October 1990 to 31 December 1994 to cover up its own crimes and lie to the world that it started the war to stop a genocide that never existed and that it never mentioned during the Arusha Peace negotiations. The ethnic group, which no longer had the size it had in the 1950s, was a hidden card that would be used at the right moment.

VII.6.17. The Role of Booh Booh during the Rwandan Genocide

Jacques Roger Booh Booh



Photo No. 88

⁴⁸⁸ General Dallaire in Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014, p. 340.

⁴⁸⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014, p. 340.

⁴⁹⁰ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014, p. 340.

Mr Booh Booh went on to say that Dallaire had invited the RPF rebels to the UNAMIR headquarters in Kigali to give them information on the positions of the Hutu forces. He was able to move freely between both sides without any concerns.

His life and career: Booh-Booh was born in Manak, Cameroon. He worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was Director of the African Affairs Department, Director of Asia and Africa, Deputy Permanent Director of the United Nations and Ambassador to Morocco, Greece and UNESCO. He was Cameroon's ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1981 to 1983 and ambassador to France from 1983 until he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs on 16 May 1988. He also wrote a book published in Paris in 1982, entitled *Décolonisation de la Namibie : le mandat Il m'a donné*⁴⁹¹ (Decolonisation of Namibia: the mandate he gave me to save the nation) (*).

During the Rwandan Genocide, Booh-Booh's role in Rwanda was heavily criticised, notably by Lieutenant-General Roméo Dallaire and his supporters, who claim that he played a major role in preventing any action by UN forces to stop the Rwandan genocide that appeared imminent in the country in mid-1994. An alibi that clearly shows that the plan to exterminate the Rwandans, beginning with the assassination of their president, was part of the aggressors' plan.

For his part, in his book *Dallaire Boss Speaks*, Booh-Booh criticised the stories and actions of Dallaire, who was the commander of the MINUAR ground forces in 1994. Booh Booh and General Roméo Dallaire blame each other, but in reality Dallaire is solely responsible for the harm done by MINUAR.

In 1993, Booh-Booh was the commander of a small UNAMIR force (approximately 2,548) sent by the United Nations to Rwanda to help implement the Arusha Agreement and maintain peace between the Hutus and Tutsis. According to Dallaire's autobiography, *Shake Hands With the Devil*, Dallaire had been warned by a reliable government source of an operation to exterminate Hutu extremists. He brought this information to UN headquarters in New York and announced his intention to check the weapons. He was ordered to do nothing, and his subsequent request to increase the UNAMIR force by 5,000 peacekeepers was also rejected.

Shortly before the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana, Booh-Booh was criticised for spending the Easter weekend of 1994 with Habyarimana, raising questions about the SRSG's impartiality. While Booh-Booh claimed that it was only an investigative exercise, the Rwandan Civil Rights Association filed a public complaint against Booh-Booh's impartiality. This strengthened the RPF within MINUAR⁴⁹² (*). The UN Secretary-General presented his report in which he stated that "*what happened in Rwanda constituted genocide*"⁴⁹³ (*). Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice. Booh-Booh explicitly implicated both sides in the conflict. But the presentation of this report to the Security Council allowed countries that supported the RPF (the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, etc.) to relay the rebel movement's accusations of genocide against the interim government.

Resolution 925 of 8 June, which resulted from the Council meeting, marked a turning point in the consideration of the two parties to the conflict. Declaring "genocide" before 8 June meant running the risk of clearly applying the concept to both parties to the conflict. After 8 June, only the government forces were singled out. This gave the American administration an opportunity to pinpoint the interim government and pave the way for the creation of an instrument to neutralise it once and for all. This instrument is the ICTR. The American administration, both Democratic and Republican, has been virtually in control of the International Criminal Tribunal

⁴⁹¹ Profile at Cameroonian government website Archived 17 January 2006 at the Wayback Machine (in French).

⁴⁹² *Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*: ISBN 0-679-31171-8, pg. 213.

⁴⁹³ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. Rwanda: The Festival of Lies and Injustice.

for Rwanda since its creation until now. The main justification for the United States' heavy-handed interventions in the tribunal's activities is officially to combat impunity and promote reconciliation among Rwandans.

The United Nations, blocked by the political interests of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the rejection of the international community, remained passive even during the genocide, which was predicted to claim up to 800,000 lives (some reports say millions) and took place from April to July 1994, finally ending when a large number of Rwandan Tutsi nationalists seized the country's capital, Kigali, on 18 July 1994. During the genocide, the UNAMIR peacekeeping force was reduced from over 2,500 to just 270 soldiers. Booh-Booh was replaced as Special Representative on 1 July 1994 by Shahryar Khan of Pakistan.

The United Nations representative confirms that Dallaire never reported to him on the attack of 6 April 1994 that triggered the genocide or on the killing of peacekeepers in Belgium⁴⁹⁴ (*). Mr. Booh Booh went on to say that Dallaire had invited RPF rebels to the UNAMIR headquarters in Kigali to give them information on the positions of the Hutu forces.

After ten years of silence, former Cameroonian minister and ambassador Jacques-Roger Booh Booh has chosen caution and humility in the face of the Rwandan genocide. Today, "LE BOSS DE DALLAIRE SPEAK" denounces the megalomania and excesses of the United Nations general who thinks he is General MacArthur. It should be noted that Jacques-Roger Booh Booh was Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) from 1993 to 1994.

VII.7. The ICTR: An investigation limited solely to the genocide of the Tutsis!

The investigation carried out in December 1994 reveals that the Tutsi represent 300,000 victims⁴⁹⁵ * while the Hutu and Twa represent the death toll of more than 3,000,000 souls⁴⁹⁶ *. The figure that officials are afraid to mention.

Since its opening in 1995, the Tribunal has indicted 93 individuals considered responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda in 1994. Among those indicted are senior military and government leaders in 1994, politicians, businessmen, religious authorities, militia leaders and media figures.

ICTR hearing in the Butare case

⁴⁹⁴ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: The Festival of Lies and Injustice. It explicitly implicated both sides in the conflict. But the presentation of this report to the Security Council allowed countries that supported the RPF (the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, etc.) to relay the rebel movement's accusations of genocide against the interim government. Resolution 925 of 8 June, which resulted from the Council meeting, marked a turning point in the consideration of the two parties to the conflict.

⁴⁹⁵ Aloys Ntwiragabo, Rwanda. The evil of the Great Lakes Region. From the war of October 1990 to the genocide of refugees 1996-2002, Brussels, Editions Scribe, April 2018, pp. 18-21.

⁴⁹⁶ Rugomboka J.D. Map of Genocide and Massacre Sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020.



Goldstone, Photo No. 89

Photo No. 90. Louise Arbour



Photo No. 91

Although the ICTR tried a large number of senior politicians involved in the genocide, it took no action against the war crimes or crimes against humanity or the genocide against the Hutus and/or Twa attributed to the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Prosecutor Carla Del Ponte, who attempted to conduct such investigations, was refused permission by the government formed after the RPF's victory, which considered that the prosecution of these crimes fell within its jurisdiction. The UN showed no political will or impartial justice for all Rwandans. **Ms Del Ponte's** term as prosecutor was not renewed in 2003, and her successor did not seek to continue her predecessor's investigations⁴⁹⁷ *. The powers that supported the RPF feared that the truth would undermine the regime they had installed by force in Kigali and, above all, they feared being implicated directly in the Rwandan genocide. Is it not a fool's game on the part of senior UN officials to prepare a press release to justify Carla Del Ponte's dismissal and deceive the international community?

VII.7.1. The ICTR: The fight against terrorism called into question!

The fight against terrorism must respect human rights, according to a draft resolution by the Third Committee. Unfortunately, the Security Council had just installed a group of bandits in power in Rwanda, claiming to be fighting terrorism. Woe to the vanquished. Below is the famous communiqué justifying the dismissal of Carla Del Ponte. Security Council, 4 September 2004, 819th meeting – morning. Meeting under the presidency of Mr Emyr Jones Perry (United Kingdom), the Security Council this morning appointed Ms Carla Del Ponte as Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and Mr Hassan Bubacar Jallow as Prosecutor of the

⁴⁹⁷ *See the interview with Ms Del Ponte [ICTR archive] during a symposium organised by the Démocraties club on 1 April 2014 at the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris. According to Ms Del Ponte, her non-renewal was the result of bargaining between the United States and Rwanda.

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda for four-year terms of office beginning on 15 September 2003.

These two appointments follow the unanimous adoption this morning by the 15 members of the Council of resolution 1504 (2003) and resolution 1505 (2003) on the International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991 (ICTY), and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Such Acts Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994 (ICTR). Under the terms of Resolution 1504 (2003) of the Security Council (), the Council appointed Ms. Del Ponte as head of the ICTY, while Resolution 1505 appointed Mr. Hassan Jallow to the newly created position of Prosecutor of the ICTR.

Ms. Del Ponte and Mr. Hassan Jallow



Photo 92

In the two texts adopted today, the Council also recalls its resolution 1503, by which it created a new position of Prosecutor of the ICTR. In that resolution, adopted on 28 August, the Council also took note of the letter dated 28 July 2003 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council, in which the Secretary-General stated that, after consultations with the members of the Security Council, he was convinced that the time had come to separate the functions of Prosecutor of the ICTY and Prosecutor of the ICTR into two positions to be filled by different individuals. "As both Tribunals approach the final phase of their work, I believe it is essential, in the interests of efficiency, that each Tribunal have its own Prosecutor who can devote his or her full energy and attention to the organisation, supervision, management and conduct of the investigations and prosecutions still pending," the Secretary-General said. In its resolution 1503, expressing its conviction that the two Tribunals would be able to fulfil their mandates more effectively and expeditiously if each had its own Prosecutor, and acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council also decided to amend the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and requested the Secretary-General to propose a candidate for the position of Prosecutor. In the same resolution, the Council welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to propose the appointment of Ms. Carla Del Ponte as Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Before adopting the resolutions this morning, the Council paid tribute to Mr. Mikhail Wehbe, Permanent Representative of Syria, who served as President of the Security Council in August and is leaving his post in New York for a new assignment.

Draft resolution (S/2003/846) The Security Council, Recalling its resolution 1503 (2003) of 28 August 2003, Noting that, by that resolution, it created a new post of Prosecutor of the

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Noting that, by its resolution 1503 (2003), it welcomed the intention of the Secretary-General to propose to it the appointment of Ms. Carla Del Ponte as Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Bearing in mind article 16, paragraph 4, of the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Having considered the nomination by the Secretary-General of Ms. Carla Del Ponte for the position of Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia,

Appoints Ms. Carla Del Ponte Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for a term of four years, effective 15 September 2003. Draft resolution (S/2003/847) The Security Council, Recalling its resolution **1503 (2003) of 28 August 2003**, Noting that, by that resolution, it created a new position of Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda,

Bearing in mind paragraph 4 of article 15 of the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, as adopted in its resolution 1503 (2003),

Having considered the nomination by the Secretary-General of Mr. Hassan Bubacar Jallow for the position of Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda,

Appoints Mr. Hassan Bubacar Jallow as Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda for a term of four years, effective 15 September 2003:

- The aim of separating the ICTY and the ICTR was to remove Carla Del Ponte from the ICTR and prevent her from investigating the crimes of the RPF.
- The ICTR, which ensured the RPF's impunity, made a very important contribution to supporting and consolidating its power.



Photo No. 93 Bubacar Jallow, prosecutor at the ICTR

VII.7.2. Various international tribunals established since 1990⁴⁹⁸ *

a. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was established by the United Nations to try individuals suspected of war crimes committed in the Balkans during the conflicts of the 1990s. Since its establishment in 1993, the Tribunal has radically transformed the landscape of international humanitarian law and enabled victims to be heard, to testify about atrocities and to describe their suffering. The ICTY is located at 1 Churchillplein

⁴⁹⁸ Wikipedia. Various international tribunals established since 1990

in The Hague, opposite the World Forum conference centre, approximately halfway between the city centre and the airport.

b. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established by the Security Council "to try persons alleged to be responsible for acts of genocide or other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and in the territories of neighbouring States between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994". The Tribunal is based in Arusha (Tanzania) and has offices in Kigali (Rwanda). Its Appeals Chamber. This resolution was not respected by the ICTR/UN, as the terrorism committed against President Habyarimana's plane was included in this resolution, but US policy interfered in the justice system and distorted the path to truth and reconciliation for Rwandans and jeopardised the future of international institutions such as the UN.

c. The International Criminal Court (ICC) is a permanent international criminal court with universal jurisdiction, responsible for trying individuals accused of genocide, crimes against humanity, crimes of aggression and war crimes⁴⁹⁹ *;¹July 2002, Rome, Italy; its headquarters are in the Netherlands, Province: South Holland. Address: Oude Waalsdorperweg 10, 2597 AK The Hague.

Carla Del Ponte



Photo no. 94.

Carla Del Ponte, born on 9 February 1947 in Bignasco, Switzerland, is a Swiss magistrate from Ressin. Former investigating judge in Lugano (1981). In August 1999, she was appointed prosecutor of the ICTY and ICTR . She uttered this unforgettable sentence: *"If the RPF is identified as the instigator of the attack on the plane carrying President Juvénal Habyarimana, the history of the Rwandan genocide will be rewritten."*

One day, the truth will come out of the UN's drawer. Or rather, the web of lies used to conceal it for as long as possible, because the real truth, clear as daylight, is well known to the Rwandan people and other children of light such as judges Jean-Louis Bruguière and Fernando Andreu Merelles, US Senator Cynthia McKinney, etc. ... What is currently at stake is that the RPF is fighting fiercely with all its might against this truth, which must soon come to light.

The real head of MINUAR in Rwanda, Jacques-Roger Booh Booh, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, gave his testimony about his mission and General Dallaire. *"The head of MINUAR at the time of the genocide, Mr Booh Booh announced that General Dallaire was plotting to destroy diplomatic activities by placing a secret microphone in his office to listen to all secret conversations with his boss. He monitored armed vehicles*

⁴⁹⁹ Wikipedia

heading towards the part of the country occupied by the Rwandan Patriotic Front while closely monitoring those under the Habyarimana regime. Their weapons depots were sealed. He supported the Tutsi rebels and agreed to live with his fellow Rwandans under the house. This irresponsible and, above all, reprehensible behaviour tarnishes the reputation of UNAMIR and, at the same time, discredits the work of the Blue Helmets.

The United Nations representative, Jacques-Roger Booh Booh, confirms that Dallaire never reported to him on the attack of 6 April 1994, which triggered the genocide, or on the shooting of Belgian peacekeepers in the Kigali camp. And yet, on the ground, it was Dallaire who was in charge. He placed himself at the top because he was the one who was actually tasked with helping the RPF take power, while Booh Booh was a figurehead, and the UN Security Council officials were well aware of this situation and their preference for achieving their goal. This is what the report of the independent commission on the actions of the UN says: During the genocide, Dallaire's telegram was indeed communicated by Baril to the officials of the DOMP, but it did not reach the Secretary-General or the members of the Security Council, even though the embassies of some members of the Council were informed. **In reality, this telegram never existed.** According to the report, it is also incomprehensible that no measures other than the meeting with President Habyarimana were considered. This serious dysfunction in the flow of information within the UN and in decision-making was particularly damaging. This dysfunction was deliberately created by Dallaire's usurpation of power in collusion with his UN superiors, including Mrs Albright and Kofi Annan⁵⁰⁰ *.

VII.8. United Nations Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)

The mission was brought forward on 22 June 1993: United Nations Security Council Resolution 846 established the United Nations Uganda-Rwanda Observation Mission (MONUOR) to monitor the movement of troops and military equipment at the border between Rwanda and Uganda. This mission achieved the opposite of its objective by facilitating the massive influx of RPF weapons into Rwanda. United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Rwanda (, MINUAR). The United Nations mission in Rwanda was established in 1993 and ended in March 1996. UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda). An observation mission between Uganda and Rwanda. This mission was led by General Roméo Dallaire. On 18 November 1993, the RPF ceased fighting and UNAMIR became operational. Rwanda and the RPF were assisted (at the instigation of the international community) by the Arusha peace negotiations from August 1992 to 12 July 1993, which were signed on 4 August 1993, so that they could implement the agreement. A total of twelve months of negotiations.

Kofi Annan recently opened the door to this possibility. However, Paris and Brussels have fundamentally different positions: permanent member of the Security Council on the one hand, partner of MINUAR on the other. Questioning the Belgian report means questioning in detail the peacekeeping procedures and the responsibilities for the failure on the ground, as well as pointing out the strange nature of Rwanda's entry into the Security Council in January 1994, when it was under a UN mission. France's interventions and votes in the Security Council also call for further clarification. Similarly, both reports leave us wanting more information on the precise course of the Arusha negotiations, where, alongside the Rwandan parties, observers were present not only from France, but also from Tanzania, Burundi, Zaire, Belgium, Germany, the United States, Senegal and the OAU. We await the other reports, which will be the next steps in an effort to understand how an African issue, long considered marginal, became a major crisis at the end of the 20th century.

⁵⁰⁰ The report of the independent commission on the actions of the UN.

There was one notable exception, however: the French "fact-finding mission" was able to hear from senior UN officials at the time of the events (Boutros Ghali and Kofi Annan) as well as General Dallaire. To this end, its rapporteurs travelled to Washington and the UN headquarters, as well as to Kigali (where they received a rather cold reception), while the Belgian Senate declined an invitation from the Rwandan Assembly to visit Rwanda and did not send any representatives to the UN. Although the UN, the United States and, more discreetly, Belgium are singled out in the report's conclusion, it is difficult to conclude that this was an elegant way of absolving itself of its own misdeeds. The UN's shortcomings and mistakes occupy only two and a half pages in the conclusion, with "American obstruction" and "Belgian trauma" each taking up half a page.

No, France did not either transport weapons under the cover of the operation to rescue French nationals in April 1994, contrary to what the Belgian MINUAR colonel, Marchal, claimed on the basis of the testimony of a Senegalese MINUAR officer or a report by Human Rights Watch, which did not provide any material evidence. Contrary to what European journalists had claimed, relaying the "testimony" of a Rwandan colleague, France did not train, let alone supervise, the Interahamwe or other militias, as there had been confusion between "militia training" and "identity checks" carried out under the aegis of French soldiers in 1993.

The RPF did not want the ceasefire. It had the assurance of Anglo-American and Belgian support, as well as that of the UN and the other countries mentioned in this chapter. The unilateral and unconditional ceasefire of 12 April 1994 proposed by senior RPF army officers was never notified to American or UN decision-makers to seek their support. Certainly, if the offer had been put on the table of Prudence Bushnell, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of African Affairs, the American government and the Security Council would have behaved differently. (See Fax K0091344 (K0086859-K0086863), the RPF does not want a ceasefire. See also the letter from the Chief of Staff of the Rwandan Army, General Marcel Gatsinzi, dated 17 April 1994, sent to UNAMIR.

The 12 April 94 unilateral and unconditional ceasefire offered by the high-ranking army officers was never notified to the decision makers in the US nor to the UN decision makers to seek their support. Surely if the offer had been put on the table of Prudence Bushnell, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of African Affairs, the US government, and the Security Council would have behaved differently. See Fax K0091344 (K0086859-K0086863) the RPF does not want any ceasefire. See also the letter from the Chief of Staff of the Rwandan Army, General Marcel Gatsinzi, dated 17 April 1994, addressed to MINUAR.

VII.8.1. African Union support for the RPF: Salim Salim Ahmed Salim



Photo No. 95

Salim Ahmed Salim Prime Minister, Tanzania 1984-1985; Secretary-General of the OAU, 1989 – 2001; The Commonwealth Observer Group for the National Assembly the Presidential Elections in Rwanda 2010.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), led by Tanzanian Salim Ahmed Salim, served as mediator in the interminable crisis that has shaken the region since 1996. UN forces in the region, GOMN, MONUOR and MINUAR, were deployed in Rwanda, but GOMN was under the supervision of Tanzanian Hashim Mbita, who defended the RPF with the OAU's role in attempts to resolve the Rwandan conflict. He favoured the RPF in the mediations that took place during the peace negotiations.

The ceasefire agreement was concluded in March 1991. These organisations worked alongside the RPF/NRA in seeking an opportunity to launch a full-scale and decisive offensive. When Museveni and his allies in the UN and OAU decided to deploy MONUOR and then MINUAR to Rwanda, the United States and Great Britain controlled the UN's actions in the peace process, steering it in the direction they preferred.

The following excerpt is taken from Noël Ndanyuzwe's book: In an interactive programme broadcast on the private Burundian radio station RPA Kabizi on 7 April 2014, the Director General of Burundian Security and bodyguard to President Cyprien Ntaryamira, Mr Deo Ngendahayo, demonstrated that he had not forgotten anything about the atmosphere that characterised this summit or the hours leading up to the departure from Dar Es Salaam⁵⁰¹ *. After the Tutsi-dominated RPF took power, he was the author of the Salim Ahmed Salim Plan to create a Hutu land and a Tutsi land, in this complex historical, geographical, social and political problem; he was pushed into it by the pro-RPF Europeans and Americans. 6 December 2017: by suggesting new border configurations, those in favour of revising them are mistaken (Ali Mazrui (Kenya), Wole Soyinka (Nigeria)). At the time of this campaign, Salim Ahmed Salim was unable to identify a Tutsiland in Rwanda, as they are very scattered and intermingled between Hutu and Tutsi. Thus, the failure of the plot gave rise, once again, to a miracle of the Virgin Mary of Kibeho, which is there for all Rwandans⁵⁰² *.

VII.8.2. Tanzania's support for the RPF

Nyerere: Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999), the ideologue of the war of liberation. Founder of Tanzanian socialism since 1976, which differs from "Marxist socialism". It is rather an African socialism based on "village solidarity, 'UJAMAA' or 'RURAL COMMUNITIES'".

At the same time, he became involved in the wars of liberation in southern African countries. Socialism encountered economic paralysis in the 1980s and faced the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), with the results of the Tanzanian experiment proving very mediocre. His country lacked everything financially (empty coffers, goods, spare parts, poor proactivity); it lacked flexibility and the ability to respond to urgent issues. Tired of leading a country forced to beg, J. K. Nyerere handed over the presidency of the Tanzanian Republic to President Ali Hassan Mwinyi on 13 October 1985. Thus forced into retirement on 13 October 1985, he nevertheless remained the central figure in Tanzanian political life, still at the head of the revolutionary single party *Chaman Cha Mapinduzi*, CCM⁵⁰³ *.

The CCM single party succeeded the former single party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), for mainland Tanzania, which he created and presided over from 5 February 1977 to 17 August 1990. Since independence, Nyerere had advocated for the liberation of Africans, but he did not condone coups d'état. In the same vein, he did not support the coup

⁵⁰¹ Ndanyuzwe Noël: *The African World War*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014, pp. 22-28.

⁵⁰² History and perception of borders in Africa from the 12th to the 20th century in the context of a culture of peace, Bamako, 1999. Document published in 2005: SHS/FPH/PHS/HI/05/PI/2. p.313

⁵⁰³ CCM. Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the CCM single party succeeded the former single party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), for mainland Tanzania, which it created and presided over from 5 February 1977 to 17 August 1990.

d'état by General Habyarimana Juvénal against his friend in the struggle for independence, President Grégoire Kayibanda. He made no secret of this, and his support for the Rwandan Patriotic Front is further proof of this. After retiring from the presidency, Nyerere created the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, from which he received the funds necessary to support these liberation movements.

A team was formed to assist the Foundation as advisors in clandestine missions to serve a contrary cause. The first to be served was Yoweri Kaguta Museveni in his seizure of power in Kampala in 1986. The heir apparent Museveni gained his initiation training in Mozambique in 1987 with his team, composed mostly of Tutsi refugees, who would become the future rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. In the meantime, J. K. Nyerere introduced his protégé Kaguta Museveni to the American and British authorities. Declassified American weapons were used to arm Museveni under the pretext of fighting the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army).⁵⁰⁴ *

The United States will use Ugandan troops to serve its agenda not only in Uganda's neighbouring countries, but also in Somalia and elsewhere on the African continent, as coordinated by AFRICOM, the US Command for Africa. It even used Ugandan troops in its own assaults on Iraq and Afghanistan.

Ann Garrison tells the story of "A Brilliant Genocide," the Acholi genocide that President Yoweri Museveni and his army committed against the Acholi people during their 20-year war and occupation of Acholi homeland in northern Uganda from 1986 to 2006. Museveni waged this war in the name of fighting Kony and claimed to be protecting the Acholi, not destroying them. The United States turned a blind eye and continued to give the Ugandan force proxy to strengthen itself. Nyerere and Museveni are two African presidents who created and helped the RPF take power in Rwanda. They served Anglo-American powers in establishing themselves in this region of the African Great Lakes at the expense of the French and Belgians, while Museveni and Kagame took advantage of this proxy to gradually build the Hima empire and satisfy their expansionist, communal, economic, financial and political ambitions. These ambitions can be traced in their speeches from 1980 to the present day.

VII.8.3. Burundi's support for the RPF

President J. B. Bagaza was part of the Hima/Nilotic Empire's plan. This is clear from the following lines. He was part of the preconceived plan, his country was part of the overall plan of conquest: thanks to Bagaza after the capture of Kigali in the name of "regional liberation". Having become a refugee in Uganda and advisor to President Y. K. Museveni on military affairs after the coup against him in 1987, J-B. Bagaza worked to overthrow the first elected government in Burundi led by Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye, who was assassinated on 21 October 1993. After the RPF took Kigali, P. Kagame thanked him for his financial and technical support in a confidential letter dated 10 August 1994 and written by the Brussels branch of the Rwandan Patriotic Front: *"RWANDESE PATRIOTIQUE FRONT -FRONT PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS- 3 Avenue de l'Observatoire, Box 8-1180, Brussels, Belgium."* A copy of this letter is appended to the report known as the *"GERSONY REPORT: HCR."* The letter is written in French while Paul Kagame is Minister of Defence and is signed by P.O. Rwego. (Not otherwise known)⁵⁰⁵ *.

To crown the action of the TPI (Tutsi Power International), several Burundians fought clandestinely alongside the RPF in Bugesera, crossing the Akanyaru to take the prefecture of Butare in May 1994.

⁵⁰⁴ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014, pp. 22-28.

⁵⁰⁵ Report known as the "GERSONY REPORT".

Below is the letter of thanks addressed to Jean Baptiste Bagaza for the work he did for the RPF:

"Dear brother Jean Baptiste Bagaza.

We are deeply honoured to express our sincere gratitude for your financial and technical support in our struggle, which has just ended with the capture of the capital, Kigali..."

VII.8.4. The RPF then admits to the existence of a comprehensive plan for regional liberation warfare

An admission of the existence of the overall plan for regional liberation warfare: "Rest assured that our plan will continue as we agreed at our meeting in Kampala. Last week, I communicated with our big brother Yoweri Museveni and we decided to make some changes to the plan.

Indeed, as you have seen, the capture of Kigali quickly caused panic among the Hutus, who took to the roads to Goma and Bukavu. We found that the presence of a large number of Rwandan refugees in Goma, and especially of the international community, could cause our plan in Zaire to fail. We will only be able to deal with Zaire after the return of these Hutus. Every effort has been made to ensure that they return as quickly as possible. However, our external intelligence services will continue to criss-cross eastern Zaire and our Belgian, British and American collaborators will continue to cover the rest of Zaire. Activity reports are expected in the coming days.

VII.8.5 The RPF announces its plan for Burundi

Regarding the plan for Burundi, we are very pleased with your work to thwart the FRODEBU's policy. We must continue to paralyse the FRODEBU's power until the situation completely deteriorates, in order to justify your action, which must not miss its target. Our soldiers are deployed, this time not only in Bujumbura but also in locations that you deem strategic. Our forces stationed in Bugesera are ready to intervene at any moment. The plan for Burundi must be executed as soon as possible before the Hutus of Rwanda can organise themselves⁵⁰⁶ *.

It should be noted that President Bagaza was part of the Hima/Nilotic Empire's plan. He thanked Bagaza after the capture of Kigali in the name of regional liberation. Like Museveni, he belongs to the Bahima ethnic group, which is related to the Tutsis, and they share the racist ideology of the Havila Institute, which advocates the reunification of the "lost tribes of Israel" to form the Tutsi-Hebrew Empire on the sacred land of Havila (the African Great Lakes region, which will encompass 11 countries)^{507(*)}. The main objective of Burundi's accession is to create the Hima-Tutsi empire, which will be the symbol of the supremacy of the superior Hima-Tutsi race. A concrete example of this is provided by a statement made by a pastor in Goma in 1995⁵⁰⁸ *. Statement by a pastor in a church in Goma...VID-20230206-WA0011.mp4 In a Banyamulenge church in DR Congo, the pastor publicly declared in 1995 that it was they whom GOD had given DR Congo to, and not the other tribes (450). Please follow this carefully and understand "Havila". And the reason for Kagame's war and the M23.

For his part, the former President of Burundi, Pierre Buyoya, declared at the Kilimanjaro Hotel to members of the Rwandan delegation who were then staying in Tanzania: "The collapse of public order and security and the fall of the regime are inevitable if pro-regime forces have started killing civilians"⁵⁰⁹ *. In this regard, reference can be made to Noel Ndanyuzwe's note below: The collection of Ethiopians, Ugandans, Rwandans, Burundians and future Sudanese as

⁵⁰⁶ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The Arcane World War. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Pages 307-308.

⁵⁰⁷ Eric Kennes in Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Page 72

⁵⁰⁸ Statement by a pastor in a church in Goma...VID-20230206-WA0011.mp4

⁵⁰⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Page 276

individual states had worked closely together. Regarding Burundi's participation in the regional future according to *Note 062*:

- plan to combine Rwandan and Ugandan forces to be integrated into the Burundian army in Burundi;
- prohibition of political activities as proposed by the British and Uganda until the situation is completely calm;
- "The collection of bands of Ethiopians, Ugandans, Rwandans, Burundians and future Sudanese as individual states had worked closely together. Regarding Burundi's participation in the regional future:
- Proposed special squads formed by the (Burundian) army in Rwanda as part of extended military aid from America covering Rwanda and Uganda; - Ban on political activities as proposed by the British and Uganda until the situation is completely calm; NB: Museveni South Africa, Kagame, United Kingdom Buyoya Uganda and Nyerere, United States⁵¹⁰ *. This note was taken from the book by Ndanyuzwe Noel: *La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War)*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014.

N.B.: All of them received "URUTI" as a reward for what they did for the RPF: Museveni, South Africa, Kagame, the United Kingdom, Buyoya, Uganda, Nyerere, the United States. They only forgot to include one thing in their plan: the time factor.⁵¹¹ He was caught up by history, which revealed the truth "before the cock crows, you will deny me three times" because too much blood had been shed, but the RPF's thousand-year reign over the Hima-Tutsi empire will be a project that has already failed in the history of the coming generation.

A band of Ethiopians, Ugandans, Rwandans, Burundians and Sudanese had been working closely together on their future as individual states.

Concerning Burundi's participation in the regional future:

- Proposed combination of forces from Rwanda and Uganda to be integrated within the Burundian army in Burundi.
- Proposed special trained squads of army (Burundians) in Rwanda under an extended military aid from America already covering Rwanda and Uganda.
- Ban on political activities as proposed by the British and Uganda until the entire situation is calm.

N.B.: Museveni, South Africa, Kagame, UK, Buyoya, Uganda, Nyerere, USA.

VI. 6. 3. 9. France's contribution to the RPF

At the 16th Franco-African summit in La Baule from 19 to 21 June 1990, French President François Mitterrand called for development aid, which he considered an integral part of democratic progress. It was with this in mind that he supported the Habyarimana regime, which had agreed to introduce a multiparty system despite the war. But the multiparty system proved fatal to him. The Rwandan opposition played a very negative role in bringing down the regime of which it was an integral part. It was treacherous. It contributed enormously to wresting power

⁵¹⁰ Ndanyuzwe Noel. Ibid. Page 309

⁵¹¹ Ndanyuzwe Noel. Ibid.

from the hands of the people. Thus, it installed the RPF in power without opposition, even though the latter had no chance of succeeding on its own.

VII.9. France's support for the RPF through President Mitterrand

François Mitterrand therefore supported the multi-party system initiated by Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana. However, the multi-party system created chaos, which was maintained by the leaders of the RPF/RNA within Rwanda with the sham negotiations of the Arusha Accords with Rwanda. This support is a source of controversy and debate both inside and outside France and Rwanda. The cooperation that dated back to 1975 was disrupted by the Rwandan Prime Minister on 7 March 1993. Here, it is useful to reread in the previous pages how the RPF managed to drive the French army out of Rwanda thanks to its secret agreement with Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye.

The French military returned in April 1994 under Operation Amaryllis, which was conducted between 8 April and 14 April 1994. The operation was initiated following the 6 April 1994 attack on President Juvénal Habyarimana. The powers that succeeded François Mitterrand did not necessarily follow his policy, especially when Sarkozy came to power, as he had political interests to defend. He bequeathed his deal to Macron, who in turn accepted France's responsibility for the Rwandan genocide, to the detriment of the French armed forces, which had nevertheless valiantly contributed to defending their country's honour by saving thousands of Rwandans!

VII.9.1. France had many supporters who were followers of the RPF

Although the list is not exhaustive, two main supporters can be highlighted: Médecins sans Frontières with Bernard Kouchner, and the French NGO Survie: 7-21 January 1993 during the international commission of inquiry into human rights violations with Jean Carbonara, who became personal advisor to the President of the Republic after the RPF took power. Their friendship was officially celebrated during the decoration ceremony for allied countries () in President P. Kagame's speech on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the liberation of Rwanda and the decoration of a dozen foreign supporters with the highest medals of honour and heroism, namely: **Uruti**: medal of courage and bravery for the person who killed 21 people in the enemy camp, medal of liberation of Rwanda (cf. guca uruti: to be decorated for killing 21 people in the enemy camp) and **Umurinzi** (cf. gusubira ku murinzi in relation to the cult of Ryangombe, which is to complete the second phase of the Ryangombe cult. Umurinzi or erythrina: a tree of the Fabaceae family: Erythrina abyssinica, which welcomed Ryangombe, leader of the Imandwa cult, and since then this tree has symbolised "protection": medal for the campaign to combat genocide)^{512(*)} . - This is an RPF propaganda medal designed to shape its image before the international community as a champion of human rights and a peacemaker.

VII.9.2. Médecins Sans Frontières' support for the RPF

Médecins Sans Frontières: Bernard Kouchner (see also France). It is well known that Bernard Kouchner invited himself onto the battlefield, deceiving the world by claiming that he was intervening in a humanitarian capacity in the area occupied by the APR/NRA. In reality, he was transporting medicines and food to treat and care for the sick and wounded of the RPF. Nineteen days after the attack, the French ambassador to Rwanda included this criminal act in the RPF's strategy. He wanted to bring France to its knees. The following individuals played a role in this. France: Médecins Sans Frontières: Bernard Kouchner, President Sarkozy and President Macron contributed to the confusion and destruction of the investigation file on the

⁵¹² Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Pages 307-308

attack on the Rwandan presidential plane, which was carrying Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi.

VII.9.3. The support of Jean Carbonare of the French NGO Survie

Jean Carbonare of the French NGO Survie was president of Survie from 1993 to 1994: he shaped French public opinion on behalf of the RPF by launching this accusation of complicity on the Antenne 2 television programme and in the columns of *Le Figaro*, before spreading it at countless conferences. Jean Carbonara, the man behind the scenes who helped the RPF take power, left many more traces than the official figurehead at the head of Survie. How many activists in the association know that its headquarters became, in the aftermath of the 6 April attack and from the very first days of the massacres, the RPF's headquarters in Paris, according to Ambassador Jean Marie Vianney, who was accredited in Paris at the time of the event and saw everything. He was previously a minister in the first RPF government, but is currently a refugee in France.

We can refer to Pierre Péan's text to describe what happened next: Ambassador Jean Marie Vianney knew the pro-RPF circles in Paris, whether Rwandan or French, and there was no ambiguity about the role of the Survie association, he said. "All the RPF leaders in Paris and the Franco-Rwandans who had taken up the cause of the RPF were there"⁵¹³ *. He cited Jean Carbonare, François-Xavier Verschave, Dr. François Rutayisire, the RPF leader in Paris, Augustin Gatera, a UNESCO official and president of the Rwandan Community in France, Jose Kagabo, historian and lecturer at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Joseph Ngarambe, and journalist Jean François Dupaquier. Alain Gauthier⁴, married to a Tutsi woman, and his Tutsi wife Daphrose Mukarumongi⁵, Jean Paul Gouteux, researcher at the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, married to a Tutsi woman, Jean Pierre Chrétien, director of research at the CNRS, Madelaine Mukamabano, journalist at RFI, etc. "All these people were there... all the RPF's statements against France came from there. Survie was the centrepiece of the RPF's communication strategy; the analysis grids for the situation were provided at Survie's headquarters; it was also Survie that collected aid to meet the needs of Rwandan refugees.

After the RPF moved to Kigali, Survie was in close contact with Rwanda's new leaders... Sharon Courtoux was the operational head of the system," explains Jean Marie Vianney, who is keen to mention two women: "Madelaine Mukamabano⁵¹⁴ * is one of the most active members of the pro-RPF lobby in Paris. Her parents were killed in 1959. She was a member of the RPF before the war began. She was the missionary who worked to charm and convince French personalities at all the seminars devoted to Rwanda." And she has perfectly "mastered" the Rwanda issue on RFI and France Culture, aided in this by Monique Mas and Théogène Karabayinga, another activist committed to the RPF-Tutsi cause.

Thanks to these adept fundraisers for the RPF, aid was provided and the exponential debts incurred by President Paul Kagame, closely linked to geostrategic, geopolitical, political, economic and eco-climatological interests, mean that the world's powers consider the African Great Lakes region to be the focal point for accessing the immense resources and wealth of the African continent. The unfortunate thing about all this is that Paul Kagame is the only one who benefits, along with his family and a few of his courtiers, and he uses these funds to create rebel groups to destabilise the region and reap the rewards in troubled waters. In reality, if the DR

⁵¹³ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994: Black Fury, White Lies. Mille et une nuit, a division of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005. Pages 143-145.

⁵¹⁴ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs (Black Fury, White Lies). Published by Mille et une nuit, part of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005.

Congo does not take the necessary protective measures on its borders, sooner or later it is doomed to balkanisation. They have a long-term plan spanning sixty to a hundred years.

France "Finally, France has been trying to mobilise its partners to prevent the whole region from going up in flames. Belgium, the former colonial power, Great Britain, which was involved in Uganda, and the United States, which is closely monitoring the situation, have expressed their willingness to contribute to the resolution of the Rwandan crisis. They wanted to establish themselves and maintain control of this geostrategic area, which is rich in natural resources (gold, coltan, cassiterite, diamonds, niobium, tantalum/cobalt, vanadium, zirconium, uranium, petrolatum, coffee, timber, etc.).

VII.9.4. France's contribution to the RPF nineteen years after the attack

Nineteen years after the attack, President Macron first buried the judicial case file on the terrorist attack of 6 April 1994, in which three French officers and citizens on official duty were killed, not to mention two sitting African heads of state. Kagame, who ordered the attack, made the burial of this case a sine qua non condition for granting peace to Macron's France. Imagine a notorious assassin demanding that a respectful head of state of a European country that respects the concept of human rights, which is by definition universal and egalitarian and incompatible with criminal systems and regimes based on superiority, cover up the heinous crimes of an assassin and roll out the red carpet for him without reservation. Then there was the hiring, by Macron and the European Union, of Kagame's mercenaries serving as his army to guard Total Energies' gas fields off the coast of Mozambique. The EU paid Kagame €20 million for this sale of mercenaries. We will never know how much money Macron paid him on behalf of France and Total Energies, as this remains a 'military secret'.

VII.10. Assistance from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

Below is an excerpt from Noel Ndanyuzwe's book: "Former Tanzanian President Julius Kambarage Nyerere became an outstanding ambassador for Third World countries. In 1995, fully aware of his role, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), led by Tanzanian Salim Ahmed Salim, approached him in an attempt to defuse the crises in the Great Lakes region, particularly in Rwanda. He surrounded himself, in his armed peace mission, with the office of his foundation, which included the following people: Major Mosha, Major Joseph Butiku, Brigadier H. Mbita, Walter Boya, Antony Nyaki Andrew Tibandebage, Mark Bomani, George Nhigula, Bhoke Mnanka, Joseph Warioba, General S. Sarakikia, and Benjamin Mkapa. Before being made official, this team had always existed and worked clandestinely to advise him in his pan-African crusade to overthrow all the "dictators" in the Great Lakes region of Africa. It was on the recommendation of this Bureau that, on 16 November 1983, the border between Kenya and Tanzania was reopened to allow the entry of thousands of Rwandan refugees in early 1984. Some were trained at Monduli (a military training camp). They were then armed and supported by thousands of Tanzanian soldiers to reinforce the troops of guerrilla leader Y. K. Museveni. They lent their support to the Mozambican government, which was fighting a rebellion in 1987. Before being sent to Rwanda, more than 50,000 were temporarily demobilised and settled in refugee camps to train their compatriots, then they were enlisted to continue the war in Rwanda in 1990.

The Nyerere Foundation is a parallel organisation whose real mission is to secretly serve a contrary cause. In reality, it was used to raise funds to finance regional liberation wars. Involved in this war are Tanzanian instructors of Rwandan origin who report directly to the venerable J. K. Nyerere.

Another association involved in money laundering or embezzlement should be noted: "Tony Blair, Andrew John Bower Mitchell Mitchell was elected president of the Cambridge Union in 1978. Before university, he served for several months as a United Nations peacekeeper in Cyprus. He has extensive pro-government experience in the developing world and is the founder of Project Umubano, a Conservative Party social action project in Rwanda and Sierra Leone in Central and West Africa, launched in 2007." Below is the original text in English.

Tony Blair, Andrew John Bower Mitchell Mitchell was elected President of the Cambridge Union in 1978. Before university, he served for several months as a United Nations military peacekeeper in Cyprus. He has extensive pre-government experience of the developing world, and is the founder of Project Umubano, a Conservative Party social action project in Rwanda and Sierra Leone in central and west Africa, launched in 2007.

For the record: As accomplices in the plot, the Tanzanian authorities were not going to act any differently. The end of the meeting coincided with nightfall to cover up the RPF attack on President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane. The Dar es Salaam summit was the final stage in the negotiations for the Arusha Peace Accords. These had allowed an RPF/NRA contingent to be installed in the city of Kigali, where it prepared the final lightning offensive following the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana.

President J. Habyarimana was also reportedly rebuffed by Tanzania when he asked to spend the night in Dar es Salaam to finalise the peace agreements and avoid flying at night. His counterpart refused to grant him the additional 12 hours on Tanzanian soil, on the pretext that the protocol services had not planned for this extension of his stay. Thus forced to return before all the documents were ready in both languages, he was asked to sign the French version of the summit conclusions, leaving behind the other members of the delegation to finalise the English version, which he was to countersign later KIGALI⁵¹⁵.*

For the record: Tanzanian security services reportedly intercepted "President Y. K. Museveni making a telephone call and transmitting information to Kigali concerning the schedule and arrival of the presidential plane". An agent of the Tanzanian security services was the first person to give me this testimony about President Y. K. Museveni's direct involvement in the preparation of the assassination of his Rwandan counterpart. And according to one of the members of the Rwandan delegation, Justin Munyemana, mentioned above, President Juvénal Habyarimana's entourage had itself, prior to his departure, said on the balcony of the Kilimanjaro Hotel that it had been informed that the RPF had missiles and was preparing to resume the war.

It was there that Juvénal Renzaho reportedly said to General Déogratias Nsabimana: "Let's hurry back early because we have information that the RPF is destroying the missiles to shoot down the planes." The latter replied that "even if they have missiles, we know how to get around them." Why were they unable to evade these missiles? This mystery remains to be solved. The Tanzanian security services "reportedly delayed the crew and the take-off of the presidential plane at Dar es Salaam airport for two hours," the Tanzanian security agent told me.

For the record: In an interactive programme broadcast on the private Burundian radio station RPA Kabizi on 7 April 2014, the Director General of Burundian Security and bodyguard to President Ntaryamira, Mr Déo Ngendahayo, demonstrated that he had not forgotten anything about the atmosphere that characterised this summit or the hours leading up to the departure

⁵¹⁵ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Black Fury, White Lies. Published by Mille et une nuit, part of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005.

from Dar es Salaam.^{516(*)} And for good reason: he was supposed to board the Falcon 50 and only agreed at the last minute to give up his seat to Bernard Ciza, Minister of Information, who wanted to take advantage of the flight to review a press release with the Head of State. He specified that the former Secretary-General of the OAU, Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, was the first to speak and talked at length about everything and its opposite. He added that the latter was followed by Y. K. Museveni, who rivalled him in speaking in riddles, while former Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi was, on the spot, making a sum. He confirmed that the summit had not been prepared in advance and that it was instead a trap set for President J. Habyarimana, with his counterpart C. Ntaryamira being merely collateral damage, as it was Ntaryamira who had requested the lift.

President Mwinyi was speaking on behalf of Nyerere. However, the Tanzanian authorities, in collusion with those who shot down the plane, deliberately delayed and dragged out the meeting in order to make Habyarimana leave after nightfall.

Noël Ndanyuzwe explains: "According to the former head of Rwandan state protocol, Major Désiré Mageza, and Ambassador Thomas Munyaneza, it was President Juvénal Habyarimana who asked his Tanzanian counterpart to put them up for the night of 6 April 1994, pointing out that it was too late to travel at night. But President Mwinyi refused to offer them hospitality, arguing that his protocol had not made the necessary arrangements^{517(*)}. The individuals concerned made this revelation to me in different ways, Major Mageza in Bukavu, in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo, in May 1995, and Ambassador Munyaneza in Douala, Cameroon, in April 1996. Given that they were in the company of the heads of state on both occasions and listened to their discussions, their testimony is more credible than that of the other members of the delegation.^{518(*)} .

VII.11. New Zealand

New Zealand participated in the conference held in London on 27 July 1997 to cover up the genocide committed by the RPF over a four-year period (1990-1994)⁵¹⁹ *. It therefore contributed to relaying the rebel movement's accusations of genocide against the interim government. The conference-debate convened in London, the capital of the RPF/NRA's ally, had the diabolical aim of "mixing lies with truth, so that under the guise of plausibility, error would pass for truth itself and deceive those who are easily seduced"⁵²⁰ *. It was part of a human rights propaganda campaign that began with the RPF's plan to implement, among other things, secret pacts concluded with the United States of America and Great Britain. New Zealand also agreed to the transfer of weapons from Israel to Rwanda (RPF).

VII.12. Israel

Israel's role in the RPF's seizure of power is very discreet and even secret, more complex than that of its American and British allies (), reveals Charles Onana⁵²¹ *.

⁵¹⁶ Ndanyuzwe Noël: *The African World War*. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014. Page 277.

⁵¹⁷ Ndanyuzwe Noël: *La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War)*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Page 278.

⁵¹⁸ Col. Aloys Ntiwiragabo, op. cit., p. 49 in Ndanyuzwe Noël: *La guerre mondiale africaine (The African World War)*. Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. Pages 290–291.

⁵¹⁹ St John Chrysostom in his commentary on the Gospel according to St Matthew in Noël Ndanyuzwe, p. 306.

⁵²⁰ Speech by P. Kagame in Rebero (Bwisige-Byumba) on 31 March 2003 *Impinduka ya politique*

⁵²¹ Onana Charles. Rwanda. 2019. *The Truth About Operation Turquoise*. Editions de l'Artilleur/Toucan Independent Publisher.

After seizing power in Rwanda, the RPF presented itself as a victim of genocide, like the Israel of Africa. This was a false identity, as the RPF/NRA entered Rwanda with weapons and ammunition in hand, killing, terrorising, massacring and oppressing the peaceful population. Its anger against the Hutu regime was directed at the villagers. These are two completely different things. In addition to a Rwandan genocide planned from outside Rwanda, it was carried out by RPF/NRA infiltrators (see the interview with Tite Rutaremara mentioned above). President Paul Kagame's speech delivered in Rebero (Bwisige - Byumba) on 31 March 2003, political change, clearly shows how the RPF/NRA planned this war well until victory⁵²² *. Despite these realities about the Rwandan genocide, Israel helped the RPF to take and consolidate its power acquired through blood and tears.

The RPF/NRA war was also intended to gain access to the natural resources of the soil and subsoil of the former Zaire (now DR Congo), and it is these resources that financed this war and will finance other wars if the current leaders of Rwanda and Uganda remain in power, as they have an expansionist plan to create a Hima Nilotic empire. However, Congo must first and foremost defend and protect its own territory and population. It is with this in mind that the Israeli diamond industry is a major player in the RPF war to remain the world's largest country for the processing of rough diamonds. The Israeli diamond industry guarantees that all its diamonds are 100% natural. It also wants to extend its influence in the African region. However, several reports indicate that Rwanda, which is one of the leading importers, does not produce diamonds on its soil. The proxy wars waged by Rwanda in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo target "conflict diamonds", which are distributed or exported worldwide via Rwanda. For Israel, this diamond industry benefits from the wealth of the Great Lakes countries, but especially from the DRC, which is the main supplier. This seems to be the opposite of the current situation.

Israeli journalist Michal Zak conducted an interview and wanted to know whether Israel armed Rwanda during the 1994 genocide. In his interview on 14 October 2014, he said that "a researcher has discovered evidence that Israel supplied weapons to Rwanda via Albania and Uganda after the UN embargo was imposed. All the weapons supplied during this period were used by the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

THE INTERVIEW: Did Israel arm Rwanda during the 1994 genocide?

In an interview published on Wednesday, 14 October 2015, Israeli researcher Michal Zak revealed evidence that Israel did indeed supply weapons to Rwanda via Albania after the UN embargo was imposed.

Several countries, including Albania and Uganda, supplied weapons to the Rwandan Armed Forces, which committed crimes against humanity during the genocide, despite a UN embargo on arms sales to this Central African nation ^{*523} .

The journalist's discovery is true, but what is incorrect is the recipient, which is a false statement because the weapons were supplied to the Rwandan Patriotic Front supported by Uganda's NRA. Israel's interest in the DR Congo is economic and strategic. It is the world's largest producer of rough diamonds. It wanted access to diamonds at a good price. It therefore took part in the war that Uganda (APR/NRA) imposed on Rwanda. For the imperialists, it is black people who die (10 million deaths in the region), and money brings happiness, even if that happiness is short-lived.

⁵²² Michal Zak The interview was published on Wednesday, 14 October 2015.

⁵²³ Ndanyuzwe Noel: The African World War. Editions Source du Nil June. 2014. Page 324

Indeed, on 17 May 1994, Security Council Resolution 918 imposed an embargo on the sale or supply of arms to Rwandan territory (see annex: 5.6) and created a committee of Security Council sanctions to monitor its implementation, while in reality violence and genocide were ongoing in the country. The UN Security Council imposed an arms embargo on Rwanda. This embargo was largely ignored, with arms continuing to arrive via Uganda to arm the RPF. **Resolution 918 imposed an arms embargo**, extended the mission's mandate and increased the strength of UNAMIR to 5,500 troops, but it took several months to reach this number. Rwanda, which sits on the Security Council, voted against the arms embargo.

VII.13. African Right by Rakiya Omar of the United Kingdom

Rakiya Omar is a Somali director of African Right based in the United Kingdom. She was recruited by the Rwandan Patriotic Front rebellion to work as a journalist during the conquest of power to spread disinformation in the Great Lakes region. She worked mainly to falsify investigations and incriminate the RPF's opponents. She used cunning tricks to conceal the truth in collusion with the RPF. This behaviour meant that the national and international community, which did not visit the area occupied by the RPF from 1990 to 1994, was unable to learn the truth about the atrocities and crimes committed by the RPF rebellion.

But these misdeeds were uncovered in 2010 when Rusesabagina was targeted by the Kigali authorities, who accused him of terrorism, etc., which Rusesabagina denies. On Sunday, 5 September 2010, Ms Rakiya Omar spoke under the title "A popular genocide? (V. I. People). In her view, Rwandans cannot reconcile. She considers the Tutsis - Inkotanyi - to be lambs and the Hutus on the other side to be wolves to be sacrificed. The genocide was planned, but the population enthusiastically took part in it, which is why, according to our friends, reconciliation will be difficult and may only be achieved after our death... encouraging. Reconciliation in the graveyards, so to speak. On the other hand, to understand the ins and outs of the UN Group of Experts' report on the DRC, read Rakiya Omar's letter to the Security Council below. However, when we know that Rakiya Omar is paid by Kigali for her dirty work, we cannot help but question the objectivity of this report ^{524*}.

VII.14. Spain's courage in the face of the RPF

A few months after Judge Bruguière issued the arrest warrants, Spanish judge Fernando Andreu Marelles issued forty arrest warrants against RPF army officers for various crimes committed in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, including the murder of Spanish nationals who were working in Rwanda at the time. The military personnel targeted by the Spanish courts are: **Generals** James Kabarebe, Faustin Kayumba Nyamwasa, Karenzi Karake, Fred Ibingira, Jack Nziza, Charles Kayonga, César Kayizari, Eric Murokore, Alexis Kagame, Samuel Kanyemera Alias Sam Kaka, Wilson Gumisiliza, Dan Gapfizi, Augustin Gashayija; **Lieutenant Colonels** Rugumya Gacinya, Gasana Rurayi, Joseph Nzabamwita; **Colonels** Rwahama Jackson Mutabazi, Willy Bagabe, Dan Munyuza, Twahirwa Dodo, Firmin Bayingana, Charles Musitu, Charles Karamba, Peter Kalimba, John Bagabo; **Majors** Frank Nziza, Denys Karera, Justus Majyambere, Steven Balinda, Silas Udahemuka; **Captains** Evariste Kabarisa, Joachim Habimana, Karara Misingo, Alphonse Kaje, Matayo, Frank Bakunzi, Godefroid Ntukayajyemo alias Kiyago; **Lnts** Wilson Ngabonziza, John Butera; Corporal Samuel Karenzi Alias VIKI.

Some of them have been charged twice, first by the French judge and then by the Spanish judge. Paradoxically, the international justice system under the auspices of the UN is not at all ready

⁵²⁴ Rakiya Omar: VOA: On Sunday, 5 September 2010, Ms Rakiya Omar spoke under the title "A popular genocide?"

or interested in breaking with the impunity that persists in the Great Lakes region. These targeted soldiers will never be heard in court.

VII.15. The NGO Human Rights Watch

Alison Des Forges was born on 20 August 1942 in Schenectady (United States) and died on 12 February 2009 in Buffalo, but after discovering the great lie, she tried to get back on the right track, only to find it was too late, as she died in a suspicious crash on 12 February 2009. (Subsequently, Des Forges became increasingly critical of the Rwandan regime, particularly following the wars in Congo, the 2003 elections and the trial of the former President of the Republic of Rwanda, Pasteur Bizimungu. At the time of her death, Alison Des Forges had just been declared *persona non grata* in Kigali)⁵²⁵. [She was one of the people who defended the RPF in the beginning. Later, she helped reveal the truth by publishing a book in 1999 entitled "No Witnesses Should Survive: The Genocide in Rwanda." When she discovered the truth about the crimes of the RPF, she was classified as an opponent of the RPF.]

N.B.: Most of those who have attempted to discredit the official version of the genocide or to shed light on the truth about what happened in Rwanda have encountered considerable resistance from the RPF, including death for some of them. Here are a few examples: Lt Ruzibiza J. Abdul, Michael Hourigan, Patrick Karegeya, Seth Sendashonga, Gérard Nitomugabo known as Nyamihirwa ... Alison Des Forges, Kiizito Mihigo, Ntwari John William in prison: Cyuma Hassani and many others. ... And prison for others, Me Victoire Umuhoza Ingabire, Dr Niyitegeka, Rashidi ...

VII.16. The disastrous contribution of Rwandans

Some Rwandans have facilitated, directly or indirectly, the disastrous task of the RPF

VII.16.1. The Rwandans' own assistance to the RPF

The following example shows the degree of infiltration of Rwandan youth (from the Interahamwe political parties of the MRND, Inkuba of the MDR, Abakombozi of the PSD, Impuzamugambi of the CDR, etc.) by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). In a programme broadcast on public television (Rwanda TV) on Monday 13 April 2020, Tite Rutaremara, one of the prominent members of the RPF⁵²⁶ *, spoke clearly about this infiltration, which he himself had engineered as the ideologue of the RPF party. (In a television programme, Radio Rwanda correspondent Barore interviewed Tito Rutaremara, who recounted his story, and I quote: "We were preparing for war in the Rwandan Patriotic Front, we had infiltrated them, we had sent more than 149 cells to Kigali alone⁵²⁷ *)

VII.16.2. Accomplices at the highest levels of government

The Arusha Peace Accords appointed TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin as Prime Minister of the Broad-Based Transitional Government (GTBE). He worked closely with Jean Pierre Turatsinze, the informant who provided false information to General Dallaire: [*"When he received the notorious Jean Pierre Turatsinze at his headquarters, Roméo Dallaire believed that he was dealing with an 'Interahamwe militia leader'. He knew that Mr Faustin Twagiramungu, who had introduced him, was a fierce opponent of the Habyarimana regime and that he had allied himself with the RPF-Inkotanyi, at the head of the Forces Démocratiques du Changement*

⁵²⁵ Ndanyuzwe Noel. The African World War. Source du Nil Publishing, June 2014.

⁵²⁶ Interview with journalist Barore and Tite Rutaremara on public television (Rwanda TV), Monday, 13 April 2020, Tite Rutaremara, a prominent member of the RPF.

⁵²⁷ A programme broadcast on public television (Rwanda TV) on Monday, 13 April 2020, Tite Rutaremara, a prominent member of the RPF.

(FDC). Since the meeting with the RPF-Inkotanyi in Brussels in May 1992, this Prime Minister-designate under the Arusha Accords had distinguished himself in particular by his statement about the war: "Niyo Byumba yafatwa...", meaning "even if Byumba were to be conquered or occupied..." by the RPF, that is understood..

The finalisation of the genocide plan can therefore be traced to the following individuals:

- General Paul Kagame, high command of the RPF, thinker, author, planner and designated supervisor of the genocide perpetrated against the Rwandans, including the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, from which he is happy to reap all the benefits;
- Faustin Twagiramungu, who works for the RPF within the FDC created by the RPF itself;
- General Roméo Dallaire, who worked for the RPF and for the UN via MINUAR;
- Jean-Pierre Turatsinze, who worked for the RPF alongside a death squad and within a network set up by Paul Kagame.

If an International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was created, it was mainly on the basis of the famous "genocide fax" sent by Roméo Dallaire on 11 January 1994 and after failing to find evidence of planning for the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsis on the part of the Hutu government. the ICTR Appeals Chamber resorted to its "49-3", i.e. judicial finding. It was because of this poison inoculated into the consciousness of the powerful of this world interested in this plan, concocted by the RPF to destroy the Hutu people forever⁵²⁸ * that the ICTR was created. [These three individuals contributed together, on 10 January 1994, to the false propaganda that plunged the country into the abyss. [(Jean-Pierre Turatsinze (informant provided by Twagiramungu), Roméo Dallaire, Paul Kagame).]

Those who helped the RPF in the most blatant manner were numerous individuals who held positions at the highest levels of the Rwandan state and at various other levels. The case of Marc Rugenera is distressing: a Rwandan politician and Managing Director of Radiant Insurance. Marc Rugenera, then Minister of Finance at the crucial moment, refused to place orders for weapons for the FAR when the RPF threatened to resume the war. A notorious traitor, Rwanda must classify him among other unworthy sons and daughters who have betrayed their country.

Another example we can mention is that of the military high command. The case of General Gatsinzi Marcel: he was a high-ranking Rwandan military officer who, at the start of the resumption of hostilities in April 1994, was an accomplice of the RPF. He is one of the country's high-ranking officers in the Rwandan e (formerly the FAR). In April 1994, he was in charge of the ESO-Butare. After the Rwandan head of state was killed, he was given command of the army because he was the highest-ranking officer. He had to be transferred to Kigali to lead the army. Because of his complicity, he was dismissed and replaced by General Kabiligi.

General Gatsinzi Marcel served in the GOMN and MINUAR during the sham Arusha peace negotiations. Among his conspiracies, he helped the RPF/NRA transport weapons and men to strategic positions such as the Rebero and Jari hills overlooking the city of Kigali, as well as to many other strategic locations around Kigali and even elsewhere in the country. He was in collusion with General Roméo Dallaire. This information, which we already knew, was confirmed by Kazigaba, a former member/soldier of the Inkotanyi. He revealed this information during a broadcast celebrating the death of their traitor, General Gatsinzi Marcel, on YouTube

⁵²⁸ Kambanda Jean. August 2020, Editions Sources du Nil. Lille, France. P45.

Isubyo on 7 March 2003⁵²⁹ *. Kazigaba confirmed that he was one of those who packed weapons at the CND to take them to Rebero. He confirmed that his information was also known to Mr Higiyo, a former comrade-in-arms of the RPF Inkotanyi, with whom he served. Mr Higiyo was in charge of the weapons store at the time of this act of treachery⁵³⁰ *.

General Gatsinzi Marcel



Photo No. 96

First-degree traitor: General Gatsinzi Marcel was born on 9 January/15 January 1948 in Muhima Kigali and died on 7 March 2023 in Brussels at the age of 74.

He graduated from the Military Academy in Kigali in 1970, the War College in Brussels, Belgium, in 1976, and the Institute of World Politics in Washington, D.C., USA, in 2000. With the rank of colonel, he served in the group of neutral military observers set up by the predecessor of the African Union (AU), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). This group of Neutral Military Observers was responsible for monitoring the ceasefire during the negotiations between the government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) during the Rwandan civil war (1990-1994). He also participated in the Arusha negotiations.

During the Rwandan genocide, from 6 to 17 April 1994, he was Chief of Staff of the Rwandan Armed Forces before being dismissed and replaced for being an accomplice of the RPF. He served as Minister of Defence from 2002 to 2010, for eight years, before being appointed head of the Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs, created in 2010. He was a member of the cabinet until February 2013. He retired from the army in 2013. Gen. Gatsinzi Marcel was not the only accomplice; we present him as one example among thousands of accomplices who claimed to serve the country in a negative way.

VII.16.3. Accomplices at the highest level of government: Internal opposition

2 June 1992: - Agreement between political parties within the opposition and their opponents, and the RPF, in Brussels⁵³¹ * *, Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil, Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice.

- The meeting between the opposition parties MDR, PSD and PL and the RPF took place from 28 May to 2 June 1992 in Brussels in the Belgian parliament building and resulted in a joint communiqué that betrayed the values of a sovereign country, as the representatives of the political parties had no mandate from any institution in the country to remove the head of state, who had a mandate from the people.

Indeed, it stated that the two parties had agreed to join forces to destroy the "Habyarimana system." On this subject, see Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification.

⁵²⁹ Kazigaba A.. Broadcast of 7 March 2023 copy of 070323 N'inyange zirapfa nkanswe ibiyiyoni, ngo Gatsinzi Marcel yapfuye.

⁵³⁰ Kazigaba A. Ibid.

⁵³¹ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice.

VII.16.4. Aspects of negligence, inattention and political distraction

Since the RPF attack in October 1990, the scale of political problems has grown. Ethnic divisions have re-emerged, as has regionalism, and above all the creation of political parties, which has added more divisions than solidarity among Rwandans and even in neighbouring countries:

a. The media or communication war: newspapers proliferated, benefiting RPF opinion manipulators who had also infiltrated all spheres of government, but especially political parties. They played the role of raising awareness among Hutus married to Tutsi women to turn them against the government they served.

b. Geopolitical influence, which created covetousness for the region's wealth at a time when the United Kingdom was preparing to leave the EU and, at the same time, positioning Kigali within the geo-Commonwealth. It is within the Commonwealth that Britain reaps many commercial benefits, and Rwanda is the strategic point for Congolese resources. At the same time, refugees returning from Uganda brought with them the English language, which they needed to establish in the region. The European Union anticipated that the Great Lakes region of Africa, rich in raw materials, would contribute to the economic development of European powers in particular.

c. The use of lies, trickery, slander, defamation and mirror accusations became formidable tools of war for the political opposition and the RPF. Anything that could be used to destroy Habyarimana's regime was fair game for the RPF and its accomplices or acolytes. Habyarimana was falsely accused of owning expensive properties abroad, having money stashed in foreign banks, etc. The RPF has told more than 1,000 lies, both in times of war and in times of peace. It governs through lies, going so far as to repeatedly deny ceasefire violations, deny its involvement in the attack on President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane, and disown its own soldiers when they are caught red-handed in Congo...

d. Naive trust, which led some Rwandans to rally behind a group of politicians with hope but without any real commitment from the RPF. The opposition-led government failed to recognise the false doctrines and that conditioned its hopes because they were cleverly laid traps designed to mislead them from their plan to seize power.

e. Placing trust in the peacekeeping forces instead of relying on their own resources, naively believing that they would be neutral and position themselves between the warring parties. Trusting the other side and forgetting their own camp. Giving themselves unreservedly and unscrupulously;

f. Some Rwandans, even those with prominent positions in the administration and intelligence services, fell into the hands of beautiful female spies who gathered classified information and passed it on to the enemy. These women were called "ibizungerezi" (= beautiful women who, with their charms, make the men who court them lose their heads) and were suppliers of men and places called "Munsi y'Igitanda" (drinking establishments under the bed). The defence secrets of the Rwandan state suffered greatly as a result.

g. Internal opposition was very damaging in dividing Rwandans and losing the war in a short period of time. It had not taken the time to get to know the RPF and its intentions to seize all power by force. The alliances made did not allow them to condemn the rebels (RPF) for their usurpation of power. The regime's advisers did not have a clear vision. It was not necessary to open two fronts at the same time; it was first necessary to end the military, media and diplomatic war, because the divisions within the country had become uncontrollable at the same time as the war was raging. The false accusations made by opposition political parties, combined with

the lies spread by the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the international community, continued to strengthen the RPF. The population suffered greatly as a result. Some members of the opposition realised this too late, and dissension arose within the political parties themselves, with accusations levelled at President Habyarimana for being the author of these divisions.

h. Rwandans are subjugated by the RPF and forced to lose their independence and freedom through bogus laws such as the requirement for monoculture, the destruction of crops in certain regions of the country (coffee plantations, banana plantations) and a new form of housing in towns... All these constraints constitute, in essence, a fierce, inhuman and bloodthirsty dictatorship.

i. 29/01/94: Communiqué from the MDR, PL and PSD parties, and the PDC, accusing the MRND of being behind the demonstrations and unrest in the city of Kigali⁵³² *, when in fact it was orchestrated by RPF infiltrators. In his book, Jean Kambanda⁵³³ * writes about the testimony given by a former RPF combatant, Colonel Christophe Hakizabera, on the recruitment of infiltrators since 1990 in Uganda: "The RPF representatives within the PSD hierarchy were: - Thomas Kabeja, from the commune of Gikoro in the prefecture of Kigali Rural, - Innocent Sabasajya, from the commune of Taba in the prefecture of Gitarama, - Jean-Marie Vianney Mbaguta from the commune of Mbazi, in the prefecture of Butare, - Augustin Maharangari, officially from Butare, near the commune of Mugusa. Within the MDR, the RPF was represented in particular by Anastase Gasana, Wellars Gasamagera and Ruzindana ... "There are more than 3,800 infiltrators, representing at least five infiltrators per cell, as stated by Rutaremara⁵³⁴ . Most of the infiltrators were known and even reported to the authorities, but the negligence and inattention of senior officials often prevented them from being countered.

Note: Regarding the issue of negligence and inattention, we have attempted to provide a few examples in the nine points above, but the subject is so vast that it deserves a separate article.

VII.16.5. Rwandans themselves /we are talking about certain Rwandans!

Rwandans themselves agreed to support the RPF because of their own intuitions and material, financial, political and social interests. Example: I have been promised the position of Prime Minister, so I don't care about the current rampant poverty issues; I will deal with them once I am in office. Too bad for me, the most important thing is that I get a place in the team that will be formed.

Here, are we not talking about certain Rwandans who are just as negligent ...! As their list is long, we will only give a few examples in the following lines. The campaign and funding to elect the leaders of the MRND Interahamwe Youth, who were infiltrators: Kajuga Robert as president, Phénias Ruhumuriza as vice-president, and Dieudonne Niyitegeka as treasurer, was led by Augustin Maharangari, who was Director General of the Rwandan Development Bank and a senior MRND activist before becoming a member of the PSD. He is among those hunted by the RPF and the ICTR but who, in the end, were never prosecuted by either of these two bodies.

VII.16.6. Kajuga Robert

A former member of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) currently in exile testified on Tuesday before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) that the former president of the

⁵³² Kambanda Jean. August 2020, Editions Sources du Nil. Lille, France. P51

⁵³³ Kambanda Jean. Rwanda. The Interahamwe of the RPF, at the heart of the planning of the genocide in Rwanda. Editions Sources du Nil. August 2020.

⁵³⁴ Tito Rutaremara, during a conference-debate organised by the Belgian Labour Party (PTB) in Brussels on 2 May 1997.

Interahamwe militia, Robert Kajuga, "worked on behalf of the RPF," the "former rebellion currently in power in Kigali."⁵³⁵ *. ICTR-09.11.10-ICTR/Karempera- *The president of the Interahamwe , worked for the RPF (witness Aloys Ruyenzi)*. The national president of the militia, Robert Kajuga, now deceased, "worked for us, like other members of the Interahamwe," said Aloys Ruyenzi, adding that Kajuga held the rank of corporal in the rebellion between April 1992 and April 1994. According to the witness, Kajuga, who was known to be Tutsi, and some of his men committed crimes for which the government was then blamed.

Ruyenzi Aloys is testifying before the ICTR at the request of former MRND president Mathieu Ndirumapfse, who is being tried alongside Eduard Karemera, former vice-president of the former presidential party. The two men are being held accountable for crimes committed by members of their political party, in particular the youth wing, the notorious Interahamwe of the MRND. "You cannot claim to know better than I do how the RPF works," insisted the witness, adding that at the time he was part of the close protection detail of current President Paul Kagame, then head of the RPF's armed wing. When questioned by Don Webster of the prosecution office about the exact nature of the crimes committed by Robert Kajuga in the context of his alleged collaboration with the rebels, he replied: "I know he worked for us; what he did was what our fighters who had infiltrated the country beyond government lines did: criminal acts." The men who threw grenades and killed innocent people were under his command. He has never appeared in court.

⁵³⁵ TPIR-09.11.10-TPIR/Karempera - the president of the Interahamwe worked for the RPF (witness Aloys Ruyenzi).

Kajuga Robert (Tutsi from the RPF), president of the Interahamwe militias



Photo no. 97

VII.16.7. The weaknesses of power

After the opposition parties entered the government and negotiations began with the RPF, President Juvénal Habyarimana was stripped of his power. Those who wanted to replace him found themselves divided and dislocated into several factions. Within their parties, there was the pro-democratic-republican Hutu Power faction and the pro-feudal-royalist Amajyojyi-Inyenzi faction, two antagonists with very different approaches to governance. A minority fringe group positioned itself according to its own interests, taking no open stance and aligning itself with neither the left nor the right. In addition to the pro-RPF powers (UN, USA, UK, Belgium), other countries contributed to the RPF's seizure of power: Canada, Finland, Ireland, New Zealand, OAU... This list is not exhaustive. It took time for the government to realise the shortcomings and missteps of General Roméo Dallaire, who sympathised with the RPF and worked on behalf of Bill Clinton's administration. MINUAR pretended to organise a meeting between the government and the RPF in Mulindi, the RPF headquarters, to assess the delay in implementing the Arusha Accords in November or early December 1993⁵³⁶ *.

- Multinationals, Canadians, Ugandan commercial banks and other multinationals that financed the RPF to wage its war to seize power (in Rwanda, DR Congo, etc.) ; demanded repayment from the RPF. It was then forced to win and seize the wealth of DR Congo since 1996 on the grounds of pursuing Hutu refugees (known as génocidaires). The honey they found there whetted their appetite, and since then, the RPF/NRA have not left the DR Congo under the guise of multiple fallacious motives, but in reality, there are foreign powers behind them plundering the country's natural resources. They even intend to balkanise it into several independent states, as revealed in note 025 in Ndanyuzwe's book: "sponsors report: British Minister of Foreign Affairs Lynda Chalker pledges British financial and material contribution but not the provision of personnel, as this will lead to direct intervention and negative international attitudes."

- LONDON BANKER'S TRUSTEE pledges £6 million;
- BRITISH GOVERNMENT 30 million pounds;
- FRIENDS OF OPPOSITIONS 6 million pounds;
- LONDON ARMS COMPANY materials worth £4.6 million;
- Ford and Rockefeller 9.6 million pounds.

⁵³⁶ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Sources du Nil Publishing. Rwanda: a celebration of lies and injustice. - By Resolution 955, the UN Security Council established the ICTR. Of the 15 members of the Security Council, 13 voted in favour (United States, Russian Federation, France, United Kingdom, Argentina, Brazil, Djibouti, Spain, Nigeria, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Czech Republic), 1 abstained (China) and 1 voted against (Rwanda). The RPF government delegate protested in particular against the absence of the death penalty among the sentences that the tribunal would be authorised to impose and against the fact that the trials would be held outside Rwandan territory.

Passed from External Security Organisation (ESO) to PPU; NRA ISO⁵³⁷ *.”

VII.17. Accomplices to the plot rewarded

The accomplices were rewarded by the RPF regime with national medals that served a dual purpose: first, to symbolise the campaign against genocide and, second, to ensure that the Hutu ethnic group would never return to power. It used the ancient symbols of the royal era with the ranks attributed to the Mwami's militiamen. "*Uruti, umudende, imhotore, umurinzi...*" Noel Ndanyuzwe described this decoration in his book "*La guerre mondiale*" (The World War). The term *uruti* refers to a *gucana uruti* ceremony in honour of a person who had killed 21 people during the fighting in the days of the Tutsi feudal monarchy. It was a military ceremony "involving a large wood fire" attended by the King, who rewarded the warrior with land to govern. *Umudende*, on the other hand, was a decoration for a person who had killed seven people in a row during combat. This was a bell that served as a talisman against blindness, a curse caused by the number 7: the bell had an honorary value and was worn during ceremonies, like *the imhotore*, a bracelet that was given to those who had killed 14 people. In current symbolism, *the uruti*⁵³⁸ * is a regional liberation medal from which J. K. Nyerere is paradoxically excluded for reasons that have been discussed in previous chapters. It has been awarded to Meles Zenawi, Y. K. Museveni, the American Roger Winter and the Eritrean Ambassador Haile Menkerios. Other foreigners have received the *Umurinzi* Medal: an American parliamentarian and head of the Africa Committee (Donald Payne), two Italians (Maria Pia Fanfari and the nun Antonietta Locatelli), and two Frenchmen (Dr Jean Paul Gouteux and Jean Carbonare). A Czechoslovak ambassador to the UN (Kerel Kovanda), a Nigerian ambassador to the UN (Ibrahim Gambari), a Belgian politician (Dr Jean Gol), a Senegalese captain (Mbaye Diagne), and a New Zealander (Kolin Keating). This information is taken from a chapter that the author, Noel Ndanyuzwe, calls "Continuation of the genocide of the Hutus under the pretext of revenge for the sacrificed Tutsis"⁵³⁹ *.

History will question certain individuals about the role they played in the recent events that have plunged our country into mourning; whether they were true politicians or good compatriots and/or whether they fought alongside the Rwandan people or against them. These individuals include: Twagiramungu Faustin, Kanyarengwe Alexis, Rugenera Marc, Bizimungu Pasteur, Iyamuremye Augustin, Biseruka Stanislas, Lizinde Théoneste, General Gatsinzi, Agathe Uwiringiyimana; the list is not exhaustive, as there are thousands of men and women...

⁵³⁷ Ndanyuzwe Noel. *La guerre mondiale arcane* (The Arcane World War). Editions Source du Nil, June 2014. P. 324

⁵³⁸ *Uruti*: National Medal for the Campaign Against Genocide: Symbolic Protection. P. 324

⁵³⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII. The War from 1995 to 2014

Introductory remarks

The third genocide took place during this "Chapter VIII" during the wars of 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999... 2014, during which time the Patriotic Front was in power. It ruled the country alone with an iron fist. It planned and carried out the well-known and unique massacres in the north of the country under the pretext of pursuing insurgents. It surrounded refugee camps in the interior of the country and strafed them with heavy weapons in Kibeho, in the caves of Nyakimana in the commune of Kanama. It invited people to deceptive meetings (ambushes) for the sole purpose of luring them there to kill them en masse. (Ambush meetings: to collect food, to enlist as RPF soldiers, to gather security information, etc.) Targeted killings are organised throughout the country over a very long period. He spreads death and terrorises the entire population, with some victims' bodies thrown into rivers and lakes.



Photo no. 98 Image before the attack

The Kibeho genocide took place from 17 to 22 April 1995 in a camp (housing more than 100,000 people) for displaced persons near Kibeho, in south-western Rwanda.



Photo no. 99 Image after the Kibeho massacres⁵⁴⁰ *

⁵⁴⁰ Images 81 and 82: Australian War Museum

VIII.1. Third genocide

Dates of massacres and killings after the RPF took power

Executions and massacres 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 ... 2014 (Operation Tuzahateza Itabi: operation to clean up the area where they are going to plant tobacco)

1995

1995-1999 ...: "Disappearances" in the context of the armed conflict affecting the north-west
A large number of people "disappeared" in the context of the armed conflict affecting the prefectures of Ruhengeri and Gisenyi in the north-west of the country.

13 February 1995 (S/1995/134): Consideration of the UN Secretary-General's report on his recommendation that Arusha be chosen as the seat of the International Tribunal for Rwanda.

February 1995: Major General P. Kagame delivers a speech in Ntongwe in which he likens dialogue and reconciliation among Rwandans to a disease.

22 February 1995: RESOLUTION 977 (1995) Adopted by the Security Council at its 3502nd meeting, on 22 February 1995. The Security Council, Recalling its resolution 955 (1994) of 8 November 1994, Recalling that it decided, in paragraph 6 of its resolution 955 (1994), that it would choose the seat of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 13 February 1995

22 February 1995: Decision to establish the seat of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha (Tanzania) by UN Security Council **Resolution 977**⁵⁴¹(*) .Created under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the ICTR was given the task of "trying persons alleged to be responsible for genocide or other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens alleged to be responsible for such acts or violations committed in the territory of neighbouring States between 1 **January** and 31 **December** 1994..." The Statute of the Tribunal entered into force.

27 February 1995: Resolution 978 of 27 February 1995 requires all UN Member States to cooperate with the ICTR.

3 April 1995: (RDR): RASSEMBLEMENT REPUBLICAIN POUR LA DEMOCRATIE AU RWANDA Formerly known as the "Rassemblement pour le Retour des réfugiés et la démocratie au Rwanda" (Rally for the Return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda), the RDR was founded on 3 April 1995 in Mugunga (one of the Rwandan refugee camps set up in the east of the former Zaire, now the DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo)⁵⁴² *.

Musabyimana lists the names of the steering committee: "François Nzabanimana was its first President, Aloys Ngendahimana and Claver Kanyarushoki were Vice-Presidents, Butare Innocent was Executive Secretary, Denis Ntirugirimabazi was Treasurer, Charles Ndereyehe was Political Commissioner and Chris Nzabandora was Spokesperson.

⁵⁴¹ Amnesty International: Rwanda. Breaking the Silence, 25 September 1997 (AFR 47/32/97) and Rwanda. Alarming Resurgence of Massacres, 12 August 1996 (AFR 47/13/96).

⁵⁴² Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda, p.. - The RDR wanted to be a "non-partisan organisation, bringing together all forces regardless of political, ethnic, regional or professional affiliation [and] not competing with other political groups in exile. The RDR's motto is: "a reconciled people in a state governed by the rule of law".

The RDR subsequently transformed itself into a political organisation at an ordinary congress held in Paris on 22-23 August 1998. That year, Mr. François Nzabahimana handed over to Charles Ndereyehe, who had just arrived in Holland.

In January 2001, Charles Ndereyehe was replaced by Ms Victoire Umuhoza Ingabire. Mr Emmanuel Nyemera was appointed vice-president. The RDR became a political party and published its social project on 18 August 2002.

17-18 April 1995: 2,500 APR soldiers stormed the Hutu displacement camps in Kibeho and expelled the refugees from their shelters to regroup them. Almost all of them were massacred on 22 April 1995 with mortars and machine guns, including children, men, women and the elderly, without distinction.

VIII.1.1. A genocide that meets all the criteria - The Kibeho massacre

The Kibeho massacre on 22 April 1995 was documented by the UN, which was on the ground (UNAMIR), by the Red Cross and by Médecins Sans Frontières: in one afternoon, the RPF army killed, according to sources, between 4,000 and 8,000 Hutu civilians in a camp for displaced persons in Kibeho in the presence of UN peacekeepers⁵⁴³ * and⁵⁴⁴ *. Australian UNAMIR peacekeepers watched as spectators, completely powerless, forbidden to intervene because, it seems, it was not part of their mission... There was a Hutu genocide in this camp in Kibeho.

April-May 1995: several Hutu refugees from the Kibeho camps who had escaped the massacres by the Rwandan Patriotic Army were massacred on their way back to their hills.

SOS wrote the following about the heinous massacre in Kibeho: "The massacres of refugees and the destruction of their camp in Kibeho with heavy weapons **on 22 April 1995** are a known fact. They are part of the same agenda developed and finalised by the RPF, without the government's knowledge, based on proposals by Jacques BIHOZAGARA, then an influential RPF commissioner and Minister in charge of refugee repatriation. Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA never hesitated to make statements and make it clear to the international community that the policy of the Rwandan Patriotic Front was beneficial to the Rwandan people and that they were entirely in favour of it.

The existence of Rwandan refugee camps within Rwanda and even outside its borders was a flagrant contradiction that a commissioner, ideologue and influential member of his ruling party could not accept to deal with as such in the face of strong pressure from the international community. The particular nature of the RPF's macabre plan was that such an operation had to be carried out in such a way that no investigation could find any traces or evidence, as had been the case in several places both inside and outside Rwanda. To ensure the plan to dismantle the Kibeho camp was carried out, the leadership of the Rwandan Patriotic Army battalion that carried out the atrocities was entrusted to the terrible Lt. Col. Fred Ibingira, one of General Paul Kagame's trusted men and close associates.

25 May 1995: First election of ICTR judges by the UN General Assembly.

⁵⁴³ SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel RWANDA 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation.

⁵⁴⁴ In its verdict of 10 December 2002 at the end of the trial of Ambassador Bihozagara against the newspaper Africa, the 14th Chamber of the Brussels Court of First Instance found that there was sufficient evidence to assert that former Minister Bihozagara was jointly responsible for these massacres.

25 May 1995: The Rwandan National Assembly solemnly votes on a motion to refuse the burial of Hutu Catholic bishops martyred by the RPF in Gakurazo.

¹June 1995: Creation of several genocide sites throughout Rwanda, including the demilitarised zone/buffer zone.

9 June 1995: It was not until mid-1995, almost a year after the establishment of a new government, that the mandate of UNAMIR was modified to reflect this new situation. On 9 June 1995, the Security Council approved Resolution 997 modifying the mission's mandate so that it could assist the new government in its efforts towards national reconciliation and reconstruction.

23/06/1995: Massacres of survivors of the Kibeho camp massacres. The newspaper *Libération* ran the headline *"60,000 displaced persons missing in Rwanda"* on 23 June 1995. The subheading read: "Two months after the killings in the Hutu camp in Kibeho, thousands of refugees are missing." Citing sources from the Integrated Operation Centre (IOC), the United Nations Humanitarian Coordination Centre, journalist Philippe Ceppi of the newspaper said: *"No matter how many times the IOC database checks and rechecks its figures, the total remains the same: 60,000 displaced persons have vanished into thin air."* According to Randolph Kent, Director of the United Nations Relief and Emergency Office in Rwanda (UNREO), quoted by *Libération* on 23 June 1995, *"Whatever the initial figures, the fact remains that tens of thousands of people have disappeared."* He goes on to say, *"It is clear that a number of people have died."*

29 June 1995: the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda enters into force.

29 June 1995: The first indictment at the ICTR against eight individuals was issued on 28 November 1995.

July 1995: Killings in Gasave I Ntaganzwa – Mikingo (Kibirira commune), where around 100 people were massacred on the spot and others were taken to Gitarama or Kigali to be tortured. Some names have been released: Gasarabuye Ntahompagaze, son of Ndege Denyesi and Mukarwego Rose, his son Salam Sana, while his younger brother Mupandasi Vedaste was killed in Bukavu during the first APR-AFDEL invasion of Zaire in 1996. The rest of the story about Gasave takes place in 1997.

18 August 1995: The Security Council lifts the embargo on arms and ammunition in favour of the Rwandan Patriotic Army, knowing that this arms embargo had been voted against the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) on 17 May 1994.

VIII.1.2. Executions and massacres 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 (Operation)

Operation Tuzahateza Itabi: operation to clean up the area where they were going to plant tobacco (the expression tuzateza ahantu itabi means to destroy a place completely).

Legal proceedings against APR soldiers accused of human rights violations, on 12 September 1995, a military court in Kigali sentenced four APR officers to 28 months' imprisonment (a travesty of justice) for their role in the massacre of more than 110 unarmed civilians in the commune of Kanama (Gisenyi prefecture). The defendants were acquitted of murder and complicity in murder, but found guilty of failing to assist persons in danger.

For more details on the Kanama massacres of 12 September 1995, please refer to Amnesty International's report published in February 1996, entitled *Rwanda and Burundi: The Return Home: Rumours and Reality* (AFR 02/01/96)⁵⁴⁵ *.

In each report, Amnesty International urged the Rwandan government authorities to respect human rights and the 1949 Geneva Conventions. It urged the government and military authorities to redouble their efforts to identify and bring to justice those directly responsible for these executions. Since its foundation, the RPF has neither recognised nor respected any law(⁵⁴⁶).

On 31 October 1995, eight APR soldiers, held responsible for the death of their commander, were brought before a court in Gitarama. Théoneste Hategekimana, a captain in the former Rwandan armed forces who had been integrated into the APR in 1995, was commander of the gendarmerie in the Gitarama-Kibuye area. He was assassinated by APR soldiers on the evening of 24 October 1995 in Rugeramigozi as he was leaving his office at the Gitarama-Kibuye gendarmerie. He had reportedly received death threats and had been physically attacked at least once in 1995. The military prosecutor sought the death penalty for the accused.

9 November 1995: a note from one of these officers, Colonel J Fletcher, to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, details all of Dallaire's cables to the UN since December 1993. [...].

On 20 November 1995, Mr Kahn submitted his report, not only on Dallaire's fax but also on the planning of the genocide: "Shaharyar Khan at the United Nations, New York. Accusations are being made against the UN, MINUAR and the major powers, notably Belgium. I appointed a committee consisting of Colonel Fletcher, Mr Tikoca, who was the chief military observer and present in Rwanda during the period, and Isel Rivero, who was in charge of Rwanda from the United Nations headquarters at the time. The committee's conclusions are attached. They confirm the finding that there was no information or indication of a planned genocide. There were, of course, warnings of armed clashes, violence and killings on ethnic grounds.

The note attached to the telegrams is sent to you for information on the political climate: "This document is a real bombshell within the UN itself. Everyone ignored this report because it had already been widely reported that the tragedy in Rwanda was a 'planned genocide' and that an international tribunal was being set up for this purpose. Cornered in presenting evidence of the 'planning of genocide' and the authenticity of his fax, General Dallaire struggled to explain himself, as did the ICTR. Eight days after Mr Kahn's conclusions, Dallaire's famous fax was mysteriously introduced to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, then headed by Kofi Annan. It came from an obscure British NGO called Connaughton Camberley Surrey. This organisation allegedly sent the document on 27 November 1995 from the number 0127625210 at 8:16 p.m. The aim was probably to insert the pseudo fax of 11 January 1994 into the United Nations archives one year after the events in Rwanda and thus validate the theory of a "planned genocide". The UN administration spotted this suspicious fax. A note from a UN employee states: this cable was not found in the archives of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. This copy was added to the archives on 28 November 1995. "

On 20 November 1995, four of them were sentenced to life imprisonment. The other four – who held higher ranks – were acquitted; among them was a second lieutenant who, according to the

⁵⁴⁵ 12 September 1995, Amnesty International report published in February 1996, entitled *Rwanda and Burundi: Return to the Country: Rumours and Reality* (AFR 02/01/96).

⁵⁴⁶ This document is an update of the report published by Amnesty International on 25 September 1997 entitled *Rwanda: Breaking the Silence* (AFR 47/32/97), which described the human rights situation in Rwanda between January and September 1997.

prosecution, had personally threatened to kill the victim. Exceptionally, this trial took place very shortly after the events, precisely one week after the assassination of Théoneste Hategekimana. On 1 December, six APR officers were tried by a military court in Kigali for their role in the killings in Kigombe (Ruhengeri prefecture).

24 November 1995: In a statement, Faustin Twagiramungu (Hutu),^{1st} Minister of the first government after the RPF took power, spoke of 250,000 victims of the RPF army during the first 16 months after it came to power.

28 November 1995: First indictment confirmed against eight individuals by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

8 December 1995: Damning testimony from Musangamfuru Sixbert, head of the intelligence service until 30 August 1995. His statement was made in exile in Kenya on 8 December 1995.⁵⁴⁷ The testimony of Musangamfura Sixbert is considered reliable due to the position he held in the government of Pasteur Bizimungu and Twagiramungu Faustin, formed on 19 July 1994. He was first evacuated in April 1994 from Kigali to Byumba

where the RPF/NRA had set up its headquarters. In this ^{first}RPF government, he became Secretary of the Government from 19 July 1994 to September 1994, before occupying the strategic position of Head of the Intelligence Service until 30 August 1995. His statement was made in Nairobi, Kenya, on 8 December 1995.

The extent of the genocidal massacres confirms the preparation and execution of the extermination of Rwandans. The following is his testimony, quoted verbatim: *"In April 1994, during the genocide and massacres, I was rescued by RPF troops and evacuated from Kigali to the Byumba camp for displaced persons, where I remained until July 1994. Together with a few politicians who had survived and had not been involved in the tragedy, I took part in the talks between the RPF and the survivors of the Democratic Forces for Change on the establishment of new institutions in the country. Subsequently, from 19 July 1994, I served as Head of the Civil Intelligence Service until 30 August 1995, when I resigned and committed myself to fighting the RPF dictatorship. Ever since my evacuation to Byumba, I had begun to receive information, with irrefutable evidence, about ethnic massacres committed by elements of the Rwandan Patriotic Army, RPF cadres, administrative officials and genocide survivors.*

Reliable data prove that by July 1995, the RPF had selectively and deliberately massacred around 312,726 people in reprisals and counter-genocide crimes. These figures are not exhaustive. The records of RPF victims by sector, commune and prefecture, collected jointly by my informants and a few expatriates until the end of July 1995, are as follows (see Table 10 below).

Table: 10. Crimes of reprisal and counter-genocide

Prefecture	Number of victims	Comments
1. Butare	33,433	
2. Byumba	73,365	
3. Cyangugu	16,360	
4. Gikongoro	17,455	

⁵⁴⁷ ICTR DOCUMENT, Testimony of Sixbert Musangamfura, Ref: ICTR-99-52-K-Def Exib.2D46; -Tendered on 3.7.2002-PW 46: Chrétien, "Genocide of the Hutu ethnic groups, ethnic cleansing and call for an urgent international investigation".

5. Gisenyi	3,100	
6. Gitarama	39,912	
7. Kibungo	39,745	
8. Kibuye	23,775	
9. Rural Kigali	37,410	
10. Kigali city	19,331	
11. Ruhengeri	8,750	
Total	312,726	

A total of three hundred and twelve thousand seven hundred and twenty-six victims of the RPF

From this figure, we have been able to compile lists of names, which are unfortunately not exhaustive, of more than 104,800 people killed by the RPF after it took power.

The bodies are often buried in mass graves (there are more than 173 throughout the country), piled up in latrines, schools and rural dwellings, thrown into the Akagera River, burned with petrol, transported by military trucks to Mutara, Akagera National Park, Nyungwe Forest, Rilima and other places where death squads from the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) and soldier gravediggers remain permanently. The so-called military zones, which are off-limits to MINUAR, NGOs, international human rights monitors, civil authorities and the population, are home to mass graves. Some areas are off-limits to overflights, while others are systematically locked down during massacres and clean-ups by specialised military units. (E.g. Byumba stadium in April 1994 after the massacre of 3,000 peasants, in Save in August and November 1994 during the massacre of more than 1,700 people, in Kabutare from August to November 1994, in Nshili in January 1995, etc.). The rest of Musangamfura's testimony can be found in reference⁵⁴⁸ *.]

12 December 1995: The mandate of MINUAR (Recalling its resolution 955 (1994) of 8 November 1994, establishing the International Tribunal for Rwanda, and its resolution 978 (1995) of 27 ...) was amended for the last time on 12 December 1995 by Resolution 1029, in session 3605, which tasked the mission with facilitating the safe return of refugees⁵⁴⁹ *.

19 December 1995: Sixbert Musangamfura, Director of Intelligence in the Prime Minister's Office, stated on Africa N°1 radio that he had established the figure of 312,726 distributed across more than 300 mass graves.⁵⁵⁰ *

VIII.1.3. The circumstances of the massacres and/or genocide

The characteristics of the sites of the massacres committed by the RPF and how the victims were killed. Most of the massacres took place on site or a short distance away before the victims' bodies were transported to the burial site, mass grave or cremation site:

⁵⁴⁸ ICTR DOCUMENT, Testimony of Sixbert Musangamfura, Ref: ICTR-99-52-K-Def Exib.2D46; -Tendered on 3.7.2002-PW 46: Chrétien, "Genocide of the Hutu ethnic group, ethnic cleansing and call for an urgent international investigation".

⁵⁴⁹ Resolution 1029 (1995) - United Nations Digital Library System. 12 Dec. 1995 · Security Council resolution 1029 (1995) [on extension and adjustment of the mandate of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda to assist the voluntary and safe repatriation ...

⁵⁵⁰ Musangamfura Sixbert: 1995 Director of Intelligence, he established the figure of 312,726 distributed across more than 300 mass graves.

- Gathering the population under the pretext of a security meeting, which ended in mass killings using grenades, sometimes after sorting out those who were to be massacred! Each time, there was a false pretext for gathering them.
- Murder young people recruited under the pretext of enlisting them in the army or giving them some kind of job.
- And this usually takes place not far from the cemeteries or mass graves where they will be buried; this ploy was intended to make international NGOs believe that these were burials of people who had died of natural causes.
- Simulating the escape of prisoners in order to eliminate them.
- Locking large numbers of people (children, women, men and elderly people) in caves, killing them with grenades and sealing the entrance to the caves with cement.
- Gathering people in houses and massacring them with small, worn hoes, grenades and gunfire.
- Blocking the passage of refugees fleeing or returning to the country, killing and massacring them.
- Ordering those who are to be killed to dig their own graves.
- Gather the corpses and burn them.
- Throwing people, alive or dead, into rivers or lakes.

Given these characteristics of the systematic elimination of innocent people, it is incomprehensible that some authorities speak of collateral victims due to stray bullets, revenge and reprisals. Yet eyewitnesses and survivors are there to testify. There was a genocide against the Hutus: it is not at all necessary to wait for court decisions to recognise the obvious events that took place thirty years ago! Denying that the Rwandan tragedy had an impact on all Rwandans is a strategy to sow discord among the Rwandan population on the part of those who defend only their own interests by plundering the country with the connivance of those who helped them destroy Rwanda!

Let us adopt the term "Rwandan genocide", known in Kinyarwanda as "IRIMBURA BANYARWANDA", before we ever agree on the Hutu genocide! For the (spontaneous) Tutsi genocide that we recognise was not planned by those who committed it, but rather by those who caused it.

VIII.1.4. The one hundred and ten (110) official genocide sites scattered across Rwandan territory

List of locations/sites, number of victims and date/period

N.B.: The numbers of the sites identified and indicated on the map correspond to the numbers in blue in the table of sites listed below.

Site specification Estimates of victims Date or period of creation Location Toponymic location Name of the commune/commune remains unchanged until 2002.

Table n⁰ 11: Places of remembrance of the Rwandan genocide

Site name / Specification	Estimated number of victims	Date or period of creation	Location	Toponymic location	Name of the commune until 2002
1/Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre	259,000	22 Nov. 2000 Dec.	City of Kigali, GASABO, Gisozi, Musezero, Gasave	Kigali City	Gikomero
2/Gisenyi (Komine Rouge)	4,613	1 June 1995	Western, RUBAVU, Gisenyi, Kivumu, Igisubizo	Rubavu	Rubavu
3/Nyundo	851	1 June 1995	Western, RUBAVU, Nyundo, Kavomo, Burambo	Rubavu	Kanama
4/Kanzenze	8,895	1 June 1995	Western, RUBAVU, Kanzenze, Kirerema, Kirerema	Rubavu Nyabihu	Rwerere/Mutura?
5/Mukamira	2,076	1 June 1995	Western, NYABIHU, Mukamira, Jaba, Butondwe	Nyabihu	Mutura
6/Kibirira	24,002	1 June 1995	Western, Ngororero, Gatumba, Gatsibo, Gasave	Ngororero	Kibirira
7/Kavumu	24, 188	1 June 1995	Western, NGORORERO, KAVUMU, Birembo, Buhuma	Kavumu	Rubavu /Ramba?
8/Ngororero	8,402	1 June 1995	Western, Ngororero, Ngororero, Mugano, Mpara	Ngororero Satinsyi	Satinsyi
9/Nyange	1779	1 June 1995	Western, NGORORERO, NYANGE, Bamiro, Bugabe	Nororero Nyange	Kivumu
10/Bisesero	50,000	1 June 1995	Western, KARONGI, Twumba, Kavumu, Murambi	Karongi	Gishyita/Gisovu

11/Gatwaro	12,614 - 15,000	1 June 1995	Western, KARONGI, Bwishyura, Gasura, Ruganda	Karongi	Gitesi
12/Birambo	6,959	1 June 1995	Western, KARONGI, Gashari, Birambo, Nyarusange	Birambo	Bwakira/M wendo
13/Kirinda	14	1 June 1995	Western, KARONGI, Murambi, Mubuga, Nyabwoma	Kirinda	Bwakira
14/Ngoma	42,000	1 June 1995	Western, KARONGI, Gishyita, Ngoma, Mataba	Ngoma Mugonero	Gishyita
15/Congo Nile	4,430	1 June 1995	Western, RUTSIRO, Gihango, Congo-Nile, Nkwiro	Rutsiro	Rutsiro
16/Kinunu	550	1 June 1995	Western, RUTSIRO, Boneza, Bushaka, Bikono	Rutsiro: Boneza Musasa, Ruhango	Kayove
17/Nyarubuye	2411	1 June 1995	Western, RUTSIRO, Musasa, Gabiro, Gitwa	Rutsiro	Mabanza
18/Nyanyumba	148	1 June 1995	Western, RUTSIRO, Kivumu, Bunyoni, Bureke	Rutsiro	Nyamyumb a
19/Nyamagumba	1,600	1 June 1995	Western, RUTSIRO, Gihango, Bugina, Gishushu	Rutsiro	Kigombe
20/Gashirabwoba	13,577	1 June 1995	Western, Nyamasheke, Bushenge, Gasheke, Gasheke	Nyamasheke	Gisuma
21/Shangi	10,080	1 June 1995	Western, NYAMASHEK	Nyamasheke	Gafunzo

			E, Shangi, Mataba, Mataba		
22/Nyamasheke	45,000	1 June 1995	Western, Nyamasheke, Kagano, Gako, Gasharu	Nyamasheke	Kagano
23/Rwamatamu	49,000	1 June 1995	Western, Nyamasheke, Gihombo, Butare, Rwatsi	Nyamasheke	Rwamatamu
24/Hanika	23,000	1 June 1995	Western, Nyamasheke, Macuba, Rugari, Gatyazo	Nyamasheke	Gatare
25/Mwezi	546	1 June 1995	Western, NYAMASHEK E, Karengera, Higiro, Gihaya	Nyamasheke	Gisuma
26/Ntendezi	74	1 June 1995	Western, Nyamasheke, Ruharambuga, Kanazi, Rubiha	Nyamasheke	Karengera
27/Nyarushishi	1,089	1 June 1995	Western, Rusizi, Nkungu, Gatare, Bahuro	Nyamasheke	Nyakabuye
28/Mibilizi	8,350	1 June 1995	Western, Rusizi, Gashonga, Birembo, Mariba	Rusizi	Cyimbogo
29/Karangiro	2,300	1 June 1995	Western, Rusizi, Nyakarenzo, Gatare, Bigando	Rusizi	Gishoma
30/Muganza	241	1 June 1995	Western, Rusizi, Muganza, Cyarukara, Gashinjano	Rusizi	Bugarama
31/Bweyeye	52	1 June 1995	Western, Rusizi, Bweyeye, Gikungu, Kibonajoro	Rusizi	Nyakabuye
32/Kibirizi	445	1 June 1995	Southern, NYANZA, Kibilizi, Mbuye, Binyana	Nyanza	Nyaruhengri
33/Ruhango	20,000	1 June 1995	Southern, RUHANGO, Ruhango, Buhoro, Buhoro	Ruhango	Murama?

34/Kinazi	60,000	1 June 1995	Southern, Ruhango, Kinazi, Gisali, Gisari	Ruhango	Muyira
35/Gitwe	6108	1 June 1995	Southern, RUHANGO, Kabagali, Karambi, Karambi	Ruhango	Murama
36/Murambi	50,000	1 June 1995	Southern, Nyamagabe, Gasaka, Kigeme, Gakoma	Nyamagabe	Nyamagabe
37/Mushubi	1181	1 June 1995	Southern, NYAMAGABE, Mushubi, Buteteri, Kagorwe	Nyamagabe	Muko
38/Cyanika	?	1 June 1995	Southern, NYAMAGABE, Cyanika, Gitega, Butare	Nyamagabe	Karama
39/Kaduha	50,119	1 June 1995	Southern, NYAMAGABE, Kaduha, Kavumu, Karehe	Nyamagabe	Karambo
40/Musange	26,316	1 June 1995	Southern, NYAMAGABE, Musange, Gasave, Gasura	Nyamagabe	Musange
41/Cyahinda	15,000-20,000	1 June 1995	Southern, NYARUGURU, Cyahinda, Cyahinda, Cyahinda	Nyaruguru	Nyakizu
42/Kibeho	29,000	1 June 1995	Southern, NYARUGURU, Kibeho, Kibeho, Agateko	Nyaruguru	Mubuga
43/Munini	5500	1 June 1995	Southern, NYARUGURU, Munini, Giheta, Gacumu	Nyaruguru	Mubuga/Rwamiko
44/Mata Tea Company	376	1 June 1995	Southern, NYARUGURU, Mata, Murambi, Mata	Nyaruguru	Mudasomwa

45/Muganza	4,497	1 June 1995	Southern, NYARUGURU, Muganza, Muganza, Muganza	Nyaruguru	Bugarama
46/Kibuza	47,314	1 June 1995	Southern, KAMONYI, Gacurabwenge, Gihinga, Kagarama	Kamonyi	Taba
47/Mugina	39,695	1 June 1995	Southern, KAMONYI, Mugina, Jenda, Kigarama	Kamonyi	Mugina
48/Bunyonga	9,000-10,000	1 June 1995	Southern, KAMONYI, Karama, Bitare, Kinkeri	Kamonyi	Kayenzi
49/Musha	2,548	1 June 1995	Southern, GISAGARA, Musha, Bukinanyana, Rwatano	Gisagara	Ndora
50/Gikonko	27,324	1 June 1995	Southern, GISAGARA, Gikonko, Gasagara, Gasagara	Gisagara	Mugusa
51/Mugombwa	34,505	1 June 1995	Southern, GISAGARA, Mugombwa, Baziro, Banzankuru	Gisagara	Muganza
52/Kansi	10,087	1 June 1995	Southern, GISAGARA, Kansi, Bwiza, Gitwa	Gisagara	Nyaruhengeri
53/Nyumba	58,895	1 June 1995	Southern, HUYE, Gishamvu, Nyumba, Gishamvu	Huye	Gishamvu
54/Karama	68,216	1 June 1995	Southern, HUYE, Karama, Buhoro, Kibingo	Huye	Maraba
55/Ruhashya	45,020	1 June 1995	Southern, HUYE, Ruhashya, Gatovu, Dutare	Huye	Ruhashya

56/UR/Huye Campus	563	1 June 1995	Southern, HUYE, Ngoma, Ngoma I	Huye	Ngoma
57/RAB (Rwanda Agriculture Board) old ISAR.	120	1 June 1995	Southern, HUYE, Rusatira, Gafumba, Kigari	Huye	Shyanda
58/Rusiga	6,390	1 June 1995	Northern, Rulindo, Rusiga, Kirenge, Kigarama	Rulindo	Shyorongi
59Mvuzo	6,673	1 June 1995	Northern, RULINDO, MURAMBI, Gatwa, Agatare	Rulindo	Gikomero
60/Mutete	1,015	1 June 1995	Northern, GICUMBI, Mutete, Gaseke, Nyamabuye	Gicumbi	Buyoga
61/Rutare	264	1 June 1995	Northern, GICUMBI, Rutare, Kigabiro, Rugarama	Gicumbi	Rutare
62/Buranga	?	1 June 1995	Northern, GAKENKE, Kivuruga, Cyintare, Bigogwe	Gakenke	Cyabingo
63/Ruli	208	1 June 1995	Northern, GAKENKE, Ruli, Busoro, Congoli	Gakenke	Musasa
64/Muhondo	207	1 June 1995	Northern, GAKENKE, Muhondo, Musagara, Cyenda	Gakenke	Mugambazi
65/Nyarubuye	56,016	1 June 1995	Eastern, KIREHE, Nyarubuye, Mareba, Burembo	Kirehe	Rusumo
66/Nyabitare	4,564	1 June 1995	Eastern, KIREHE, Nyarubuye, Nyabitare, Bicumbi	Kirehe	Rusumo

67/Nyakarambi	9,686	1 June 1995	Eastern, KIREHE, Nyarubuye, Nyarutunga, Nyarutunga	Kirehe	Rusumo
68/Kibungo	18,382	1 June 1995	Eastern, Ngoma, Kibungo, Gahima, Karenga	Ngoma	Birenga
69/Rukumberi	37,063	1 June 1995	Eastern, NGOMA, Rukumberi, Ntovi, Iyantende	Ngoma	Sake
70/Zaza (Kuri Minor Seminary)	11,990 More than 5,000 dead bodies from other sites	1 June 1995	Eastern, Ngoma, Zaza, Nyagasozi, Sugira	Ngoma	Mugesera
71/Kiziguro	14,334	1 June 1995	Eastern, Gatsibo, Kiziguro, Mbogo, Nyakabungo	Ngoma	Murambi
72/Mwurire	26,592	1 June 1995	Eastern, RWAMAGANA, Mwulire, Bicumbi, Bicumbi	Rwagamana	Bicumbi
73/Sovu	623	1 June 1995	Eastern, RWAMAGANA, Kigabiro, Bwiza, Gitega	Rwagamana	Rutonde?
74/Musha	19,724	1 June 1995	Eastern, RWAMAGANA, Musha, Akabare, Duha	Rwagamana	Gikoro
75/Muyumbu	14,093	1 June 1995	Eastern, RWAMAGANA, Muyumbu, Akinyambo, Kampigika	Rwagamana	Bicumbi
76/Muhazi	8,410	1 June 1995	Eastern, RWAMAGANA, Muhazi, Nsinda, Akabeza	Rwagamana	Muhazi
77/Ruhunda	8,000 – 9,000	1 June 1995	Eastern, RWAMAGANA, Gishali,	Rwagamana	Muhazi

			Kavumu, Uruyenzi		
78/Mukarange	8,685	1 June 1995	Eastern, KAYONZA, Mukarange, Bwiza, Abisunganye	Kayonza	Mukarange
79/Rwinkwavu	4,000	1 June 1995	Eastern, KAYONZA, Rwinkwavu, Gihinga, Akajevuba	Kayonza	Kayonza
80/Kabarondo	3,000	1 June 1995	Eastern, KAYONZA, Kabarondo, Cyabajwa, Busindu	Kayonza	Kabarondo?
81/Rukara	8,032	1 June 1995	Eastern, KAYONZA, Rukara, Rukara, Muzizi	Kayonza	Rukara
82/Ntarama	5,000	1 June 1995	Eastern, BUGESERA, Ntarama, Kanzenze, Nyamabuye	Bugesera	Kanzenze
83/Nyanza ya Kicukiro	11,000	1 June 1995	City of Kigali, KICUKIRO, Kagarama, Rukatsa, Nyanza	Kicukiro	Kicukiro
84/Rebero	14,000	1 June 1995	City of Kigali, KICUKIRO, Kigarama, Bwerankori, Gatare	Kicukiro	Kicukiro
85/Ruhanga	32,375	1 June 1995	City of Kigali, GASABO, Rusororo, Bisenga, Bisenga	Gasabo	Gikoro
86/Kibagabaga	25,000	1 June 1995	City of Kigali, GASABO, Kimironko, Bibare, Ubwiza	Gasabo	Kacyiru?
87/Jali	?	1 June 1995	City of Kigali, GASABO, Jali, Muko, Gahinga	Gasabo	Shyorongi
88/Nyamyumb a	148	1 June 2005	Western, RUTSIRO, Kivumu,	Perefegitura ya Gisenyi	Nyamyumb a

89/Nyanza	?	1 June 2005	Southern, NYANZA, Busasamana, Southern, NYANZA, Busasamana,	Nyanza	Nyabisindu
90/Kirambi	?	1 June 2005	Southern, NYANZA, Nyagisozi	Gaturika ya Kirambi Parish	Rukondo
91/Gatagara	?	1 June 2005	Southern, NYANZA, Mukingo	Nyanza	Kigoma/ Murama
92/Kabagari	6,108	1 June 2005	Southern, Ruhango, Kabagali, Southern, Ruhango, Kabagali, Southern, Ruhango, Kabagali,	Ruhango	Nyamabuye
93/Musebeya	?	1 June 2005	Southern, NYARUGURU, Busanze,	Nyaruguru	Musebeya
94/Kabgayi	?	1 June 2005	Southern, MUHANGA	Kabgayi	Nyamabuye
95/Kabuye	?	1 June 2005	Southern, GISAGARA, Ndora	Gisagara	Muganza
96/Kabakobwa	?	1 June 2005	Southern, HUYE, Mukura	Mukura	Huye
97/Mbazi	?	1 June 2005	Southern, HUYE, Mbazi	Mbazi	Mbazi
98/Simbi	?	1 June 2005	Southern, HUYE, Simbi	Simbi	Maraba
99/Mwendo	?	1 June 2005	Southern, HUYE, Gishamvu	Gishamvu	Gishamvu?
100/Kinazi	?	1 June 2005	Southern, HUYE, Kinazi	Kinazi	Ntongwe
101/Ngoma	?	1 June 2005	Southern, HUYE, Ngoma	Ngoma	Ngoma
102/Mpare	?	1 June 2005	Southern, HUYE, Tumba	Tumba	Ngoma
103/Rugarama	?	1 June 2005	Northern, BURERA, Rugarama	Rugarama	Kidaho
104/Muhoza	?	1 June 2005	Northern, Musanze, Muhoza	Muhoza	Kigombe

105/Busogo	?	1 June 2005	Northern, Musanze, Busogo	Busogo	Mukingo
106/Nyagatare	?	1 June 2005	Eastern, NYAGATARE	Nyagatare Ilibiri: Matimba, Gatunda and Kiyombe	Nyagatare
107/Nyamata	50,000	1 June 2005	Eastern, BUGESERA, Nyamata	Nyamata/UN ESCO	Kanzenze
108/Gashora	?	1 June 2005	Eastern, BUGESERA, Gashora	Gashora Commune: Gashora, Rweru, Rilima na Juru sectors	Gashora
109/Ruhuha	?	1 June 2005	Eastern, BUGESERA, Ruhuha	Ngenda Commune: Ngeruka, Nyakayaga and Kamabuye	Ngenda
110/Nkuzuzu	?	1 June 2005	City of Kigali, GASABO, Bumbogo	Bumbogo	Gikomero
Total	1,640,638				

The total in Table 11 is 1,640,638 victims.

N.B.: It is highly possible that the authorities created other sites after 2005.

Table 11: Each number corresponds to a genocide site. The total number of victims reveals the falsehood and inconsistency of the Rwandan Patriotic Front's claim that there was only one genocide of Tutsis and that the bodies lying in the memorials were Tutsis. As a reminder, however, the number of Tutsis living in Rwanda in 1994 did not exceed 650,000, and the number of 300,000 Tutsi victims has been established by several sources, including Brigadier General Emmanuel Habyarimana, former Minister of Defence of the RPF, who estimated the number of victims at 280,000. But the Rwandan Patriotic Front does not justify who owns more than 1,000,000 victims presented as merchandise in these genocide sites. The total number of victims **is 1,640,638**, not counting 23 sites that do not provide victim figures. If we take an average of 5,000 people per site, the 23 sites would total 115,000 victims, giving us an overall estimate of 1,755,000 victims (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa).

VIII.1.5. Genocide sites built in Rwanda

The genocide sites built in Rwanda since 1995 constitute a powerful weapon for the Rwandan Patriotic Front⁵⁵¹ *

⁵⁵¹ Rugomboka, J. D. 2020. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda

More than 110 genocide sites have been built since 1995, one year after the RPF took power. Contrary to Rwandan custom, which requires respect and dignified burial for victims, the remains of victims have been displayed like merchandise at these sites, a ritual apparently inspired by Uganda, since the victims of the Acholi genocide were also displayed along the roads in Kampala.

The above are the main reasons for erecting a large number of sites when a single one would have sufficed, without having to display the human remains of the genocide victims like merchandise.

1. To consolidate the power seized by force with the complicity of external powers, as this is the "cornerstone" of the edifice that guides the RPF ideologues in making it a political instrument that will help them build lasting and unchallenged power in Rwanda and serve to extend the Nilotic Hima-Tutsi empire.
2. An essential instrument for legitimising genocidal massacres. Killing as many Hutus as possible, because revenge is justified. With this political tool at its disposal, the RPF wanted to use it to reverse the balance of power between the communities living in Rwanda by turning a minority into a majority.
3. Commercial reasons: Every foreign visitor who comes to Rwanda must first visit the Gisozi genocide memorial and pay a donation in foreign currency. These genocide memorials are also featured on the government's website to attract donations from benefactors. The more there are, the more impressive they are and the more visitors they attract, and the government profits from this in foreign currency.
4. The large number of genocide memorial sites was intended to attract the sympathy of the international community, while at the same time attributing all the deaths to the Hutu community. It was a way of inflating the number of Tutsi victims. Instead of using the figure of 280,000 victims from the census carried out by the IBUKA association and the Ministry of the Interior in December 1994, they prefer to stick to the lie of 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 victims, but still avoid mentioning the Hutu victims who lie in these sites.
5. The RPF government wanted to hide its own massacres committed against the Hutus. Thus, they provided an additional effective means of genocide ideology, to signify that the entire Hutu community has in its blood an ideology that has no contours, no beginning and no end, because it is vague and contains vague ideas, knowledge and illusions. It should be remembered that genocide and the ideology of genocide are fundamental elements of the new Rwandan constitution, which has undergone more than four known amendments. It is this ideology that paves the way for the RPF government to pursue Hutu refugees in the Democratic Republic of Congo and wherever else they may be found.
6. The memorial sites also serve to terrorise the population living on the hillsides. The population has been living in a state of constant violence perpetuated by the government since 1994 to this day. The presence of the sites is a terrible and frightening reminder of the horror that has been ongoing since 6 April 1994, especially during the 100-day commemoration of the genocide.
7. Genocide and the ideology of genocide are political means of reducing the Hutu population. Evidence of this can be found in President Paul Kagame's speech⁵⁵² * and a message from a certain Kayitana, a refugee fighter from the Rwandan Patriotic Army⁵⁵³ *. Thus, genocide was

⁵⁵² Speech by President Paul Kagame at the 13th genocide commemoration. Murambi, 7 April 2007.
⁵⁵³553

a valuable tool in the political strategy against the Hutus, which coincided perfectly with the initial plan of Kaguta Museveni and Kagame, supported by the British, Americans, French, Israelis, Belgians, etc., to divide up the Congo and Africa in general.

VIII.1.6. Why did the RPF rush to build genocide memorials immediately after seizing power?

In 1995, just one year after the RPF took power, 110 memorials had already been erected, when one would have been enough!

In fact, a single memorial would have been enough if the RPF had not taken power through deceit and lies with the intention of staying there as long as possible, plundering the country and terrorising anyone who wanted to contradict them or reveal the truth! Thus, the RPF hastened to hide the bodies of those it had killed with the intention of covering up all traces and unjustly accusing the Hutus. According to the RPF, no Hutus were killed; the Hutu victims were collateral damage of the war!

Curiously, the perpetrators of the Acholi massacres in Uganda, which claimed more than 600,000 victims between 1982 and 1986, are the same perpetrators in Rwanda, except that they add the ingredient of Interahamwe + RPF to spice things up. The display of lifeless bodies in Uganda was done on the roads for a short period of time. These are the same executioners using the same methods operating in the DRC (Congo).

The display of the dead in Rwanda is a Machiavellian policy to create perpetual fear in the minds of the people, which is no different from the myth attributed to the "Karinga drum", a symbol consisting of the display of the sexual remains of men wrongly accused of not respecting the rules of the monarchy. This display of the dead is a pretence to spread lies and receive substantial aid out of compassion. Hiding, in haste, more than 2.5 million corpses of RPF victims and attributing them to the Interahamwe, even those who died in areas controlled by the Inkotanyi, notably , the buffer zone and the neutral zone, which were off-limits to the FAR and the Interahamwe, is part of this appalling Machiavellian political ploy.

The RPF in power wanted to establish a strong regime that would last as long as possible and over which it would always be the sole ruler. A regime of terror, which kills and murders, which makes people disappear and which plunders! Anyone who criticises it, who denounces what is wrong or who expresses a dissenting opinion is not tolerated at all. Those who help it to conceal the atrocities it has just perpetrated in Rwanda and attribute them to the Interahamwe, which it has infiltrated, are accepted.

To make the international community believe that genocide had already been committed throughout the country, even in regions where there were virtually no Tutsis, and that this had happened before the attack on President Habyarimana's plane, which was the trigger for the genocide! It is clear that the RPF fell into the trap it had set: it believed that by inflating the number of victims, the genocide would contribute to its political strength; unfortunately, this led it to be blinded by the atrocities it inflicted on the Rwandan people! Fear and malice, especially in April each year, are formidable weapons for ruling the country!

The RPF did not want those who had lost loved ones to bury them with dignity, as it knew full well that the survivors knew who was responsible for these crimes and did not want to be held accountable under any circumstances. That is why the RPF decided to hide the bodies in memorials over which it exercised strict control. Burial would have made it easier to count the number of people and their ethnicity; in that case, the RPF would not have been able to make them its property to manipulate as it wished. This is one of the ways it found to obtain massive international aid.

The memorials guarantee its inviolability and its right to put pressure on the international community by claiming that it did nothing to stop the genocide. Yet this international community helped it to seize power in a bloodbath and shield it from justice.

The memorials are thus used as a source of foreign currency revenue for the PRF state coffers, especially from tourists. The memorial site is a tourist attraction where the tourism industry flourishes. It is also a place of propaganda to sing the praises of the government and display its lies, as detailed below in this work.

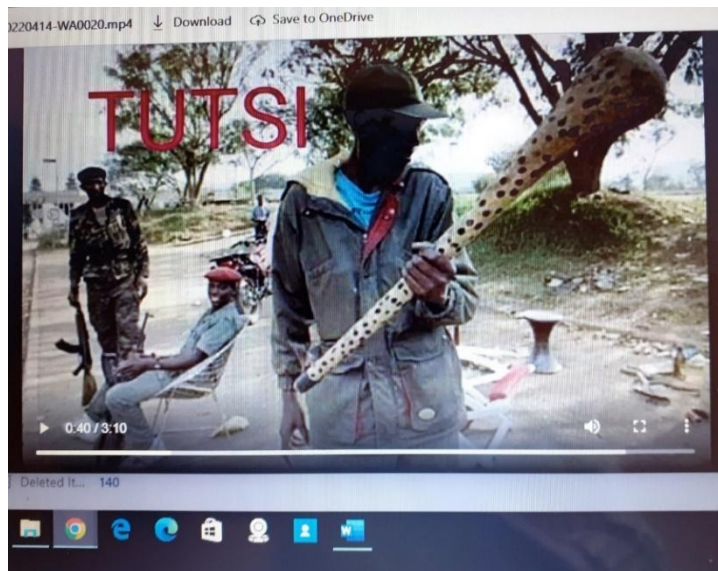


Photo No. 100: An RPF Tutsi soldier displays his club on a road near Gabiro .

The club, studded with several nails, is used to smash the victim's head. In Kinyarwanda, it is called "Ubuhiri" or "Ntampongano y'umwanzi", meaning "there is no better reward for the enemy". Another method used is the Akandoyi, which consists of tying the victim's elbows behind their back with their legs, sometimes hanging them from a tree until their chest breaks and they succumb to torture and suffering.

Other means of torture are used: covering the victim with a bag and suffocating them to death, pouring petrol into their ears, gouging or piercing their eyes, disembowelling pregnant women in particular, smashing the victim's head against the wall, especially children, cutting off the victims' limbs, etc. ...

MADE IN RWANDA!. BY FPR! 😞😞😞

Voir la traduction



Photo No. 101: A victim of the RPF using its "Akandoyi" method. Facebook, January 2002. Extreme torture of a Hutu in the far north of the country (his nickname: Barabas).

Pierre Péan spoke about the cruel torture that the RPF/NRA inflicted on its victims in the following lines: "For nearly four years, Paul Kagame commanded Basima House, where he tortured and massacred innocent Ugandans on a daily basis. It was Kagame who introduced the following forms of torture: suffocating the victim by covering their head with a plastic bag tightly wrapped around their neck until they died of suffocation; electric shocks to the testicles; attaching heavy rocks to the testicles, leading to death and permanent physiological and psychological damage. However, the most feared form is AKANDOYI, which consists of tying the arms and feet together behind the back, with the person forming a circle⁵⁵⁴ *.

This method has been used on thousands of victims who have died or been left with permanently damaged limbs. Pouring hot rubber or plastic onto prisoners; firing gunshots into the prisoner's

⁵⁵⁴ Pierre Péan. Rwanda 1990-1994 Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs (Black Fury, White Liars). Published by Mille et une nuit, a division of Librairie Arthème Fayard, November 2005.

ear, causing instant deafness; forcing the prisoner to drink urine, fuel oil, soapy water; beating prisoners with metal cables... (see Newsletter of the Uganda Coalition for Democracy (COD), vol. 3, this cruelty earned him the nickname '**Pilato**'⁵⁵⁵ .

1996

26 March 1996: (FRD): FORCES OF RESISTANCE FOR DEMOCRACY

The Forces of Resistance for Democracy were formed following the resignation of Faustin Twagiramungu's RPF government and some of his ministers.

The FRD came into being on the initiative of Sixbert Musangamfura and Eugene Ndahayo, among others⁵⁵⁶ *. The president was Eugene Ndahayo (France), while Jean de Dieu Tulikumana (Belgium) was Executive Secretary. It was not long before a disagreement broke out between Faustin Twagiramungu and Seth Sendashonga. The latter was killed in Nairobi by squads acting under the invisible hand of the RPF. The virus that was undermining the FRD spread. Jean Baptiste Mberabahizi, who had also just joined the FRD, and Jean Baptiste Nkuliyingoma, slammed the door. They joined the African Democratic Congress (CDA) led by James Gasana (Switzerland), Dismas Nsengiyaremye (France) and Nkiko Nsengimana (Switzerland).

Faustin Twagiramungu soon found himself at odds with his remaining partners, including Party President Eugène Ndahayo, and was forced to leave. Today, Eugène Ndahayo remains President of the FRD and Jean de Dieu Tulikumana remains Executive Secretary.

From January to September 1996: dead bodies were collected throughout the country, but there were no serious investigations or legal proceedings, which justifies the involvement of the RPF government, as it could not investigate its own crimes.

According to Matata Joseph, coordinator of CLIIR, the Rwandan Patriotic Army, the armed wing of the RPF, carried out simulated attacks to murder Hutus who were incarcerated in communal prisons. The premeditated, coordinated and well-prepared physical elimination of part of the community constitutes in itself an act of genocide.

On the night of 19-20 May 1996, 45 detainees in the Bugarama communal prison (Cyangugu prefecture in the south-west) were massacred by alleged infiltrators from the former Zaire who had come to "*liberate*" them. However, independent investigators proved that it was APR soldiers who shot them in cold blood, as there were no signs of violence on the outer walls of the prison that could justify the presence of infiltrators.

On the night of 18 to 19 May 1996 (one week after the assassination of Mayor Anne Marie Mukandoli, who was killed on 10 May 1996 by an armed man in her home located next to an APR military camp), the KARENTERA (Cyangugu) commune office was attacked and set on fire by *unidentified armed individuals* who allegedly freed 71 of the 123 detainees from the commune dungeon. This version of events was given by the Rwandan military authorities.

⁵⁵⁵ Newsletter of the Ugandan Coalition for Democracy (COD), vol. 3. This cruelty earned him the nickname **Pilato** (compared to Pontius Pilate, who, according to the Gospels, ordered the crucifixion of Jesus).

⁵⁵⁶ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda (Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda), p. - The founding act took place on 26 March 1996. The leaders of the FRD were Faustin Twagiramungu, but also former minister Seth Sendashonga, former chief of staff Eugene Ndahayo, former treasury director Eugene Ruberangeyo and former diplomat in Kinshasa Jean de Dieu Tulikumana.

VIII.1.7. 8, 9, 10 to 22 August Clean-up operation: Tuzahateza itabi

Operation Tuzahateza itabi: operation to clean up the area where tobacco is to be planted.

12 August 1996: Alarming resurgence of massacres on 12 August 1996 (AFR 47/13/96). According to some sources, the total number of people killed during military operations in Ruhengeri Prefecture on 2 and 3 March was higher than the number originally reported. Residents estimated that 400 to 500 people died in the commune of Kigombe alone on 2 March, including Marcel Munderere, Muberwa and his two brothers Léon and Nambaje. Soldiers reportedly took a man to a nearby banana plantation, where they interrogated him and subjected him to a mock execution. In such cases, it is often difficult to establish the identity of those responsible.

Witnesses generally describe them as "men in military uniform". However, it is believed that APR soldiers and members of armed opposition groups often imitate the other side's modus operandi in order to conceal their identity⁵⁵⁷ *. After being released, this man was reportedly arrested again in Kigali. The Organisation also received the names of other civilians murdered by APR soldiers during military operations organised around the Mahoko market in the commune of Kanama (Gisenyi) **on 8 and 9 August 1996**. Several of the victims were traders: Nahimana, his younger brother Gisaza, their brother-in-law Harelimana, Etienne, Ayigihugu and Rucagu. Emmanuel Burasanzwe, who "disappeared" on 10 August 1996 after being taken away by APR soldiers, had still not been found by the end of November. Investigations carried out in all the prisons in the region proved fruitless; it is feared that he may be dead. Other killings of civilians were reported in the commune of Kanama. At the end of August, for example, Nyirabigoli, a woman in her fifties, was reportedly killed in her home by APR soldiers, notably with bayonets, in the Kayove sector. Relatives found her body lying near the house. She was killed the day after armed clashes in the neighbouring sector of Bisizi. Many residents of Kayove had fled to escape the violence, fearing it would spread to their area. Nyirabigoli had stayed behind alone in her home. When the soldiers arrived, they reportedly asked her why she had not fled like the others and then killed her.

Also at the end of August, following the massacre of more than 130 Congolese refugees in the Mudende refugee camp on 22 August 1996, reprisal attacks were carried out in the commune of Mutura. The number of people killed during these reprisals by armed Tutsi civilians is unknown; according to some sources, APR soldiers also participated in the massacres. Among the victims were a young woman, Nyirantabire, her husband and several children who perished in the fire that destroyed their home.

¹October 1996: Louise Arbour, Prosecutor of the ICTR, takes office. A Canadian who worked for the US administration to cover up the crimes of the RPF.

VIII.2. Dates relating to the prolongation of the APR/NRA/RPF/AFDL war in the DRC

The refugee camps were bombed by aircraft bearing UN peacekeeper insignia. This dispute remains unresolved until there is peace, justice and a true account of the RPF war in Rwanda.

18 October 1996: Officially, this is the date when it all began. At the Lemera Hotel, in a town of the same name in South Kivu, four rebel movements signed a memorandum of understanding to create the AFDL. The alliance is led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila and supported by Rwanda, which is determined to intervene in Zaire to end the threat posed by the Rwandan Hutu rebels

⁵⁵⁷ Amnesty International: Rwanda. Breaking the silence, 25 September 1997 (AFR 47/32/97) and Rwanda. Alarming resurgence of massacres, 12 August 1996 (AFR 47/13/96)

of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR): "We had to react, and we had already identified Congolese who were willing to fight Mobutu for us, with our help," signed *Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda. Excerpt from Africa in Pieces: The Tragedy of the Great Lakes*. **Where does truth and justice lie in this "new form of colonialism disguised as international justice"?** Given the damage and deaths caused in the region and in the DRC by the RPF wars, which of the FDLR and the RPF is the most important to fight? The FDLR has become an alibi used to recolonise the DRC and the region.

Let us remember that there was cooperation between the DRC and Rwanda to eradicate the FDLR, which was done in good faith only on the part of the DRC. Since 2003, the FDLR has been decapitated, its leaders General Rwarakabije, General Ngendahimana, Col. Evariste Murenzi, Major Claudien Karegeya, spokesperson Laforge Bazeye, General Nsekanabo, and General Jean Pierre Abega, have returned to Rwanda. Since 2008, several operations against the FDLR have been conducted jointly by the FRDC, MONUSCO, and RDF, including Umoja Wetu, Kimya I, Kimya II, and Amani Leo. The full extent of these operations is not known, but they have resulted in more than 20,000 deaths, several injuries and thousands of refugees forcibly returned to Rwanda in deplorable conditions. Despite all these operations, more than 245,000 refugees remain in the forests of the DRC and are unable to fight to destabilise a stable country.

To conclude this point, the RPF has not brought peace to either the DRC or Rwanda; on the contrary, it remains the main factor destabilising the DRC since it took power in Rwanda. Ignoring the crimes committed by the RPF, turning a blind eye to the regional destabilisation caused by the RPF regime, and ignoring the fact that Rwanda needs good governance all seem to confirm that the RPF has the complicity of the international community in threatening peace in the African Great Lakes region with impunity. To prove the contrary, it should demand that Rwanda stop destabilising the DRC and accept the demands of the FDLR and the Rwandan civilian opposition, namely the opening up to democratic pluralism and the formation of a national army instead of a mono-ethnic army serving the community and family, because according to Filip Reyntjens, "In Rwanda, 80% of Rwanda's senior officials are Tutsis⁵⁵⁸ *." Thus, logically, just as the international community supports Rwanda, which gives it the right to cause so much misery and death in the DRC, so too does the DRC have the right to organise itself with its people to achieve peace, including cooperating with the FDLR, which protects 245,000 refugees, as long as Rwanda continues to support the M23 in threatening the power of the DRC.

VIII.2.1. Dates of complete decapitations of the Catholic clergy in Rwanda

"The martyrdom of Rwandan clergy during the 1994 genocide"

Father Jean B. Mihigo has listed more than 250 priests who were killed or murdered. This does not include those who died in prison from ill-treatment or who refused medical treatment.

- Bishop Phocas Nikwigize of Ruhengeri was abducted by RPF soldiers in October 1996 while returning from exile in Congo (formerly Zaire) after the destruction of the refugee camps, and was brutally murdered.

- Father Habakurama of the Diocese of Butare was murdered by the RPF on 12 May 1997 in Cyanika.

⁵⁵⁸ Reyntjens F. in *African Arguments*: "From ethnic amnesia to ethnocracy: 80% of Rwanda's top officials are Tutsi", 24 November 2021

- Many priests and members of religious orders suffered the same fate as these prelates.

On 27 October 1996, unidentified criminals murdered Mrs Judith Mukabaranga, Mayor of the commune of NYAKABUYE (Cyangugu), and set fire to part of the communal office. During this attack, all the prisoners in the communal jail "*escaped*", according to APR military sources.

October 1996: Amnesty International reported that between May and October 1996, 39 prisoners died of suffocation in Kibuye in prisons and death cells.

12 November 1996: RTBF reported in its radio news broadcast on 12 November 1996 that the attacks on the refugee camps on 25 and 26 October 1996 were carried out with heavy weapons from Rwanda and that these weapons were placed on Mount Muhe (Gisenyi), at a time when the Kibumba camp had already been under attack since 21 October 1996.

16 November 1996: First attack on the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire) by Rwanda, Uganda and (to a lesser extent) Burundi, who attacked refugee camps in the east of the DRC⁵⁵⁹ *.

18 November 1996: First attack on the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire) by Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, and attacks on refugee camps in eastern DRC. 18 October 1996: Officially, this is the date when it all began. (see above)

November 1996: The systematic massacres of Rwandan refugee camps in Zaire did not spare the ICRC warehouse guards, including a certain Uzakira Marcel, my biological brother, but the ICRC never denounced the killings of its staff who worked for its organisation.

October 1996 and May 1997: In Zaire/DRC (Kivu) territory, Paul Kagame ordered the bombing of Burundian refugee camps and the systematic massacre of Burundian refugees wherever his army found them. These massacres were ethnically motivated.

1997

Although the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) succeeded in ousting Mobutu Sese Seko from power on 17 May 1997, the three rebel groups that followed had different outcomes. Even if, with a few differences, they share a single common history marked by violence, domination, supremacy and absolute power..

9 January 1997: Start of the first trial before the ICTR, that of Jean-Paul Akayezu.

1996 and 1997: Several cases of massacres. Amnesty International and other organisations have documented several other cases between 1996 and 1997 in which detainees were summarily executed by APR soldiers in similar circumstances, following attacks on prisons allegedly carried out by armed groups.

In 1997: The massacres in Gasave continued in 1997, committed by the APR/NRA. They killed Ntawuruhunga Jean (50) with his two children, the sons of Kumpundu and Gategeye, Mukategera Concilie, wife of Balimenshi, and her son Tugane Jean Baptiste, Mukamuhutu, a young woman, and his wife, aged around 30, Ngirente, aged around 60, Gashabali Javin, an

⁵⁵⁹ Africa in pieces, the tragedy of the Great Lakes (parts 1 and 2). "18 October 1996: Officially, this is the date when it all began. At the Lemera Hotel, in a town of the same name in South Ku, four rebel movements signed a protocol agreement to create the AFDL. The Alliance was led by Laurent Desire Kabila and supported by Rwanda, which was determined to intervene in Zaire to put an end to the threat posed by the Rwandan Hutu rebels of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR).

"We had to react, and we had already identified Congolese who were willing to fight Mobutu for us, with our help." Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda. Excerpt from *Afrique en morceaux, la tragédie des grands lacs* (Africa in pieces, the tragedy of the Great Lakes), 12 December 2014.

elderly man over 70 who was mayor of Kibilira, Mbanzendore, Rutambika and his wife, Rutiyomba and his wife, Kwihangana, Mukamuhutu, daughter of Bikezi, Semanyenzi and more than 80 other people. (PTT-20230318-WA0005.opus).

From 22 February to 3 March 1997, prisoners at Kigali Central Prison (known as 1930) received virtually no food.

25 February 1997: Many Hutu priests and religious men and women were massacred by RPF soldiers in Congo (formerly Zaire). These included:

- Abbé Antoine Hategekimana, of the Diocese of Ruhengeri, murdered on **25 February 1997** in Kalima
- Abbé Etienne Kabera, of the Diocese of Butare, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Abbé Norbert Milimo, from the diocese of Butare, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Emmanuel Munyakazi, from the diocese of Cyangugu, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Abbé François Xavier Muyobokey, of the Diocese of Kabgayi, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Abbot Augustin Nkulikiyumukiza, from the Diocese of Gikongoro, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Abbé Urbain Twagirayezu, from the diocese of Nyundo, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Abbot Jean Uwizeyimana, from the diocese of Butare, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Abbé Cyprien Gasimba, from the diocese of Nyundo, murdered in August 1996 in Kashusha Bukavu
- Sister Marie-Françoise Nyirarukundo, from the Diocese of Cyangugu, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima
- Sister Félicité Mukamihigo, of the Abizeramariya congregation, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima.
- Sister Clotilde Nyirabakungu, of the Abizeramariya Congregation, murdered on 25 February 1997 in Kalima.
- Sister Agnès Mukabandora, of the Abizeramariya Congregation, murdered between 21 and 24 April 1997 in Kisangani.
- Sister Godelive Mukamunana, of the Abizeramariya congregation, murdered between 21 and 24 April 1997 in Kisangani.
- Sister Rosalie Uwamariya, of the Abizeramariya Congregation, murdered between 21 and 24 April 1997 in Kisangani.

On 2 and 3 March 1997, during which several hundred people were reportedly killed in a military operation. Major Claver Rugambwa, who was in charge of the offensive, was sentenced to 44 months' imprisonment for failing to prevent the massacre. The five others – a lieutenant, three second lieutenants and a sergeant – were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment for excessive use of force. See Recommendations Amnesty International's report published in September 1997, entitled Rwanda: Breaking the Silence, contains a series of recommendations aimed at preventing further massacres of unarmed civilians and other serious human rights violations. These recommendations were addressed to the Rwandan government, the leaders of armed opposition groups, foreign governments and intergovernmental organisations.

2 and 3 March 1997 and the extrajudicial executions of hundreds of people in and around the Mahoko market in the commune of Kanama (Gisenyi prefecture) between 8 and 10 August 1997. For further details, please refer to the two Amnesty International reports: Rwanda: Breaking the Silence, 25 September 1997 (AFR 47/32/97) and Rwanda: During the week of 3 to 9 March 1997, the situation did not improve, allegedly due to a lack of firewood.

From 7 March 1997 onwards, wardens at Kigali Central Prison and Gikondo Prison withdrew the authorisations issued by the Ministry of Justice to the families of prisoners whose state of health required a special diet.

According to information gathered by the Centre, a search was carried out over two days by several soldiers from the Rwandan Army. *Items belonging to the detainees were collected and loaded into vehicles. They were then thrown into the KINAMBA marsh on the road known as "Poids lourds" (Heavy Goods Vehicle).* These items were thrown away on 9 May 1998. The detainees were stripped of everything (clothes, plates, cups, toothbrushes, towels, shoes, blankets, toothpaste, medicines, sheets, etc.). 17 May 1997: After conquering all the major cities in the country, the AFDL arrived in Kinshasa. The day before, with the rebels at the gates of the capital, Mobutu Sese Seko fled to Gbadolite, then to Togo and Morocco. This marked the end of the Leopard's reign, who died less than four months later. The AFDL is composed of Rwandan, Ugandan, Burundian and Congolese soldiers whose goal is to oust Mobutu, but also to seize the wealth of the DR Congo.

In June 1997, at least 13 civilians, including children, and one APR soldier were killed in Kibuye. Among them were Séraphine Uwampinka and Calixte Kabandana. Survivors of the attack said they recognised the voices of some of the attackers and identified them as their neighbours before the genocide. They were young Tutsis who had joined the APR in Uganda before the genocide. Also in June 1997, 28 people, including several children, were killed and six wounded in Gisenyi. It is believed that among the dead were Tutsi survivors of the 1994 genocide as well as Tutsi refugees who had been living in Zaire for several decades and had recently returned to Rwanda. Among the victims were Mukarusagara and his one-year-old baby.

18 July 1997: Former Prime Minister of the Interim Government J. Kambanda is arrested by the ICTR Prosecutor⁵⁶⁰ *503.

July 1997: Mass forced expulsions of Rwandan refugees from Gabon. I am an eyewitness to this despicable expulsion, a shameful failure to assist a person in danger.

In July 1997: 18 local officials, along with their relatives and colleagues, were murdered in Kigali Rural: Vincent Munyandamutsa, mayor of Rushashi; Lauren Bwanacyeye, headmaster of Rwankuba High School; and Floribert Habinshuti, deputy prosecutor in Rushashi. All the victims, except Vincent Munyandamutsa, were killed on their way back from an ordination ceremony. They were travelling in two separate cars when they were ambushed and shot dead. Independent local witnesses believed that they had been killed by soldiers. Vincent Munyandamutsa was stabbed to death on his way home from a meeting. Witnesses reported that soldiers prevented them from intervening. Vincent Munyandamutsa had opposed human

⁵⁶⁰ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: the celebration of lies and injustice. -ICTR, The Prosecutor v. Jean Kambanda. Case No. ICTR-97-234. Annex A relating to the joint motion for consideration of an agreement between the Office of the Prosecutor and Jean Kambanda for the purposes of a guilty plea. Agreement for the purpose of a guilty plea, Arusha, 1998, p. 6. In this provisional appeal brief filed on 30 March 2000, Jean Kambanda retracted his confession, stating that his power over the government was "non-existent". See Ubutabera on the Internet, 12 June 2000.

rights violations under the previous government (Agathe Uwirngiyimana) and under the first RPF government.

¹August 1997: UN investigation report (Hourigan Report) implicating Paul Kagame in the assassination of J. Habyarimana and C. Ntaryamira. It should be noted that, as mentioned above, this report was embargoed by the UN Secretary-General but disclosed by the Canadian newspaper National Post in March 2000.

On 8 August 1997, the Rwandan military massacred more than 500 detainees in the communal prisons of KANAMA and RUBAVU (in Gisenyi in the north-west); between 8 and 10 August 1997, at a market in Mahoko (commune of Kanama). Other killings were also carried out in the surrounding area in the following days.

22 August 1997: The Mudende camp, which houses several thousand refugees from the DRC, had already been the scene of an attack during which armed opposition groups killed at least 130 Congolese refugees, most of them Tutsi.

Responsibility: Thousands of APR soldiers are believed to have participated in counterinsurgency operations under the command of Colonel Kayumba Nyamwasa, second-in-command of the national gendarmerie, now in charge of military operations in the north-west.

8 October 1997: Armed opposition groups reportedly launched an attack on Gisenyi airport. Amnesty International is unable to confirm the exact circumstances of this attack, nor the number of civilians who are believed to have been killed during the violent fighting between the attackers and APR soldiers deployed in the area. Following this attack, a large number of residents reportedly fled the surrounding communes of Rubavu, Rwerere and Mutura.

In October 1997: described how they destroyed doors and furniture (Ruhengeri prefecture) on the pretext of searching for weapons. APR soldiers set fire to houses and crops and committed numerous acts of looting. (Operation to clear the area where they were going to plant tobacco).

VIII.2.2. Dates of summary executions of ex-FAR members forcibly repatriated to Rwanda by the RPF

Around 100 members of the ex-FAR repatriated from Gabon in 1997 were loaded onto military trucks as soon as they disembarked from the plane at Kanombe airport and taken to an unknown destination. Several witnesses confirm that they were summarily executed without trial. The list of these soldiers can be found in the communiqué published by the Centre for the Fight against Impunity and Injustice in Rwanda on 14 August 1997.

Other members of the ex-FAR who returned from exile in **1996-1997** were murdered along with their families (31). These include:

- Retired Colonel Jean Ngayinteranya, murdered with his wife
- Lieutenant Colonel Stanislas Hakizimana, murdered in Muramba with his wife, children and the entire family who had taken them in, on the evening of 21 January 1997
- Colonel Stanislas Bangamwabo, *who disappeared* after his arrest in 1997
- Lieutenant Colonel Innocent Nzabanita, murdered in Gisenyi prison on 23 January 1997
- Lieutenant-Colonel BEM Antoine Sebahire, *disappeared* with his family after returning from exile in Tanzania in January 1997
- Major Lambert Rugambage, assassinated in January 1997
- Major Laurent Bizabarimana, murdered in Nyarutovu on the night of 18 to 19 January 1997
- Major François Xavier Uwimana, murdered with his six children on 23 January 1997

- Retired Commander Patrice Bivamvagara, murdered with members of his family and in-laws in Muramba in 1997
- Captain Ngerageze
- Captain Alexandre Mugarura
- Captain Théodore Hakizimana, murdered with his wife Julienne Ikimanizanye, their child and their entire family (14 people) in the commune of Butaro in January 1997
- Captain Hakuzweyezu
- Lieutenant Nsabimana, murdered in Gisenyi prison on 23 January 1997
- Lieutenant François Nsengimana, murdered in Mugina
- Second Lieutenant Edouard Nsengiyumva
- Chief Warrant Officer Sebutiyongera, murdered along with his entire family
- etc. ...

N.B. The execution of the ex-FAR took place at the same time. It was well planned and carried out methodically and systematically until all the ex-FAR who had agreed to integrate into the active life of the country were completely exterminated. The murders were well planned and carried out simultaneously between 15 and 25 January 1997⁵⁶¹ *. These murders of ex-FAR members and their families were also confirmed by Amnesty International in its report of 25 September 1997 on page 9. The Centre for the Fight against Impunity and Injustice in Rwanda also revealed, in a report compiled in May 1997, that several people had been "repatriated" from refugee camps. Many were imprisoned in inhumane conditions, where they were persecuted and humiliated.

VIII.2.3. The RPF staged a mock escape with the aim of assassinating the so-called escapees⁵⁶² *

October and December 1997: Some 4,500 Rwandan refugees were expelled between the beginning of October and the beginning of December 1997. Most of them came from regions of Rwanda affected by high levels of insecurity; for example, the majority of the 1,400 refugees returned to the border on 5 December 1997 came from the prefecture of Gisenyi.

N.B. Several of these refugees were murdered under the pretext of being "Abacengezi = infiltrators."

Also between October and December 1997, witnesses heard artillery fire and explosions near Gisenyi airport and reportedly saw APR troops digging trenches and setting up roadblocks around the airport.

Numerous reports indicated that APR forces were using helicopters for surveillance operations in areas affected by the armed conflict. Several different sources also reported that these helicopters were also being used to attack these same areas.

Massacres of unarmed civilians since October 1997. Massacres attributed to APR soldiers On 3 October, in the commune of Satinskyi (Gisenyi prefecture), APR soldiers allegedly killed seven members of Pierre Rwanzegushira's family and five children of Martin Semaganya, four girls and a young boy. The victims were reportedly murdered in their homes.

⁵⁶¹ Amnesty International in its report of 25 September 1997, p. 9.

⁵⁶² Matata Joseph, CLIRR coordinator, summary of documents, 2008.

On 13 October 1997, several farmers were killed in their homes in the Bwisha sector (Nyarutovu commune, Ruhengeri prefecture). Among the victims were Gervais Mvunabandi, 72, his wife Rose Nyampinga, 69, and their daughter Bernadette Kabagema, 36.

14 October 1997: Massacres attributed to armed opposition groups On 14 October, 37 civilians were reportedly killed by armed men in the commune of Mutura (Gisenyi prefecture). The victims – mostly Tutsis who had returned to Rwanda after more than 30 years in exile in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) – were living in a camp for displaced persons located near a major road. On 13 November, armed opposition groups reportedly shot and killed at least nine civilians in the commercial area of Gasiza, Birembo sector (Giciye commune, Gisenyi prefecture).

Mid-October 1997: Since these events, this displaced population – estimated at several thousand people – had been living in the Kigarama and Mukondo sectors. In mid-October, APR soldiers reportedly stormed the place where they had settled and tried to force them to return home. They reportedly tried to resist, explaining that the insecurity that had forced them to flee in August had not disappeared. The soldiers reportedly insisted and then opened fire on the crowd to force them to leave. An unknown number of people were reportedly shot dead on the spot and others on the way. The soldiers then reportedly massacred other civilians after escorting them back to their homes in the Kayove area of Kayove Commune.

Amnesty International report published on 25 September 1997: for information on the massacres in and around Mahoko market, please refer to the Amnesty International report published on 25 September 1997 entitled Rwanda: Breaking the Silence (AFR 47/32/97). Several people who managed to escape from the cave around 23 October were reportedly arrested in the commune of Kanama after reporting the facts to the local authorities. One of them, Pierre Claver Nzabandora, head of a local craft cooperative, was arrested while seeking help from the authorities to free his family, including several children⁵⁶³ *.

23 October 1997: To escape the soldiers, several thousand civilians took refuge in the Nyakimana cave in Kanama commune. According to one source, this cave was the only possible hiding place, as the military had set up roadblocks everywhere to prevent people from escaping. Around 23 October, APR soldiers reportedly attacked the cave with grenades and other explosives, killing many of those who had taken shelter there. They then reportedly sealed the entrance with cement and stones to prevent any possible escape.

NB: The Nyakimana cave in the commune of Kanama - Gisenyi should not be confused with Nyakinama in the commune of Nyakinama in Ruhengeri prefecture, although both caves saw similar casualties.

Amnesty International has received the names of some of the victims who are believed to have died in the cave. Among them are 20 members of the same family, mostly women and children, including Cécile Nyirabalisesa, 57, her daughters Nyiramajyambere, twenty-five, and Marie-Claire Nyirabazimenyera, twenty-nine, and her three young children – the eldest of whom was only six – and her son Jean-Bosco Nshimiyimana, twenty-seven, his wife and their baby, who was a few months old. Other victims included three sisters, Uwimana, aged 27, Dusabe, aged 13, and Murora, aged 8; a woman named Dathive, her husband and their three children; and five children from another family, the oldest of whom was only 12 years old. Amnesty International is continuing its investigations into this massacre in Nyakimana Commune Kanama.

⁵⁶³ Amnesty International report published on 25 September 1997 entitled Rwanda: Breaking the Silence (AFR 47/32/97).

Between 23 and 28 October 1997, the Nyakimana cave: Thousands of people killed in the Nyakimana cave. Between 23 and 28 October, numerous unarmed civilians – between 8,000 and 10,000 according to local sources – were reportedly killed by APR soldiers in the large Nyakimana cave in the Kayove sector (Kanama commune, Gisenyi prefecture). At the time of writing, Amnesty International was unable to confirm the number of victims, as independent investigators were denied access to the site. Most of the victims are believed to be displaced persons who had fled fighting in the Bisizi, Kanama, Kirambo and Kayove sectors, all located in Kanama commune (Gisenyi prefecture).

Entire communities abandoned their homes for safety following clashes between APR soldiers and armed opposition groups, while massacres committed by APR soldiers claimed several hundred victims.

24-28 October 1997: However, as mentioned above, information obtained from people present at the scene indicates that those killed between **23 and 28 October** were mainly unarmed civilians, including women and young children who had come to seek shelter. If the circumstances of the killings and the number of victims reported by local sources are confirmed, this would be the largest massacre of unarmed civilians – to our knowledge – perpetrated by APR soldiers in several months, if not two years. 24 By 27 October 1997: more than 10,000 people were massacred in the caves of Nyakimana and Kanama by troops led by the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Reported by Jean Pierre Mugabe on 24 June 2021, in his book U.S. Made. He recounts how Paul Kagame's army massacred the Bagogwe-Banyamulenge Tutsi and blamed the crime on Hutu infiltrators.

26 October 1997: at 1 p.m. A UN mission led by human rights expert Roberto Garretton concluded that the massacres of Hutu refugees committed between September 1996 and spring 1997 by AFDL troops could be classified as "crimes against humanity" and that a future mission would have to determine whether "genocide had been planned". This report also implicates the Rwandan Tutsi allies. (Le Monde, 13 and 14 July 1997). Emma Bonino, European Commissioner for Humanitarian Action, estimates that "around 230,000" refugees have disappeared and have certainly "succumbed to hunger, disease and systematic massacres". (Le Monde, 10 July 1997). For her, this number is equivalent to "the entire population of Luxembourg missing".

On 30 October 1997, in the Gihinga sector (Rushashi commune, Kigali rural prefecture), civilians were reportedly killed by APR soldiers. Among the victims were two sisters, Glyceria, aged 18, and Euphrase, aged 17, Musabyimana and the baby she was carrying on her back, two young boys who were herding cattle, Straton, aged 10, and Nkiriyehe, aged 12, as well as Gaspard, aged 20. These murders were allegedly committed in retaliation for the killing of a man named Rukera, believed to be an APR informant, who was killed there by unknown assailants.

31 October 1997: during a major military operation organised in the Rwinzovu, Busogo and Nyabirehe sectors (Mukingo commune, Ruhengeri prefecture) by APR soldiers, hundreds of civilians were reportedly massacred at random. In some cases, entire families were killed; in several cases, grandparents, parents and children were all killed, either in their homes or while trying to flee.

October 1997: cases of homicides committed with the help of APR soldiers by Tutsi civilians who had taken up arms. Gashyushya, in the Ntahangwa sector (Kibilira commune, Gisenyi prefecture) and fired randomly at people who were there, including elderly people, pregnant women and children. Further away in Gasave, Murora, who was fleeing the APR from Mubututu, Jean, Joseph, and several hundred other people were killed. APR soldiers allegedly

killed other people with machetes, knives, and agricultural tools. According to a list drawn up by the local authorities, at least 150 people were killed.

October 1997: Hundreds of people were massacred in the Ngurugunzu, Gatumba and Karehe areas (Kibilira commune). Everyone who was there (including elderly people, pregnant women and children) was killed.

Late October 1997: Massacre by the APR of 800 inhabitants of the commune of Kanama (Gisenyi) who had taken refuge in the Nyakinama cave.

November 1997: armed opposition groups and APR soldiers engage in battle.

5 November 1997: armed opposition groups and APR soldiers reportedly fought each other in the Matyazo area of Satinskyi commune (Gisenyi prefecture) for about three days.

On 5 November 1997, unidentified armed men reportedly entered the Vunga market – a major trading centre in Gisenyi – looted the stalls and slaughtered livestock to sell the meat. They then reportedly set up roadblocks at the nearest crossroads and stopped vehicles. According to some sources, people from Gitarama were not allowed to continue on their way; they were taken to a nearby river and killed. There is no explanation as to why people from Gitarama were targeted. Radio Rwanda announced that 24 civilians had been killed by "infiltrators" that day.

7 November 1997: cases of homicides committed with the help of APR soldiers by Tutsi civilians who had taken up arms. On 7 November, APR soldiers allegedly killed at least five people, including Fidèle Rwangarinde, Jean Rusingizwa, Mathias Zihuranye and his wife, during a military operation in the Bucyende sector (Gaseke commune, Gisenyi prefecture). All of these victims were reportedly too old to flee when the soldiers arrived.

10 and 11 November 1997: in the Gihira sector, Giciye commune, during which armed groups reportedly killed more than 50 APR soldiers. On 13, 14 and 16 November 1997, military helicopters reportedly opened fire on several locations in the communes of Gaseke, Giciye, Karago, Kanama and Satinskyi (Gisenyi prefecture), as well as in the neighbouring communes of Ndusu and Gatonde (Ruhengeri prefecture).

On the night of 11 to 12 November 1997: Amnesty International received the names of 47 victims, including at least 18 women; among them were Claudine, Nyirahabineza, Mukamana, Fortunée, Drocella, Nyiramanzi, Mukarusagara, Françoise, Vestine, Mukamuhire, Stéphanie, Liberata and Mukabalinda. During the night of 11 to 12 November, a family of 10 was reportedly killed by APR soldiers in the Nyarushamba sector (Rwerere commune, Gisenyi prefecture). Among the victims were Anastasie Nyiramajyambere and her two children, Nyirandayisaba, Gilbert Nkurunziza, Nkubito, Nyiranzage, Mwiseneza, Kantukimana and another woman. It is difficult to know who removed the bodies(⁵⁶⁴).

On the morning of 13 November 1997: at least 12 civilians, including children under the age of two, were reportedly shot dead by APR soldiers in a shopping area in Gasiza, in the Birembo sector (Giciye commune, Gisenyi prefecture). It is difficult to know who removed the bodies.

On 13 November 1997, five vehicles – a public taxi, two vans and a private car – were ambushed and burned in Ruvunda, Kimonyi sector, on the road from Ruhengeri to Gisenyi. The total number of victims is unknown. Some witnesses reported that the attackers wore military uniforms similar to those of APR soldiers, but their identity has not yet been confirmed. Several passengers who were forced out of their vehicle were reportedly killed while trying to flee; at

⁵⁶⁴ Amnesty International report published on 25 September 1997 entitled Rwanda: Breaking the Silence (AFR 47/32/97).

least three people were killed and four wounded. The others were reportedly taken to an unknown destination.

On 13 November 1997, during clashes between soldiers and armed groups in the Rubare area (Giciye commune, Gisenyi prefecture), many civilians – men, women and children – were reportedly pursued by APR soldiers as they tried to flee the fighting and then killed at random. Residents of the area reportedly counted the bodies of 197 victims.

On the night of 14 November 1997, the headmaster of a secondary school – the Institut Député Segatwa Ruhanga – and four teachers were killed by unidentified assailants in the commune of Kibilira (Gisenyi prefecture). During intense fighting that took place over several days, from 16 to 21 November, in and around the commune of Giciye between soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Army () and armed opposition groups, hundreds of people, including many civilians, were reportedly killed.

On 15 November 1997, APR soldiers surrounded the Gikoro sector (Mukingo commune, Ruhengeri prefecture) in order to find the perpetrators of an attack that had taken place two days earlier in Ruvunda, in the Kimonyi sector. The soldiers allegedly set fire to a house in which they had summoned the inhabitants to a meeting. Some 30 people were reportedly killed in the flames; others were reportedly shot for refusing to attend the meeting.

On 16 November 1997, APR soldiers stormed the communes of Gatonde, Satinsyi and Giciye, in the prefectures of Ruhengeri and Gisenyi, and shot a large number of residents.

17 November 1997: According to official statements, a group of approximately 1,200 rebels attacked a prison on 17 November; 88 prisoners caught in the crossfire between APR soldiers and rebels were reportedly killed, while 90 others escaped, leaving the prison deserted. The authorities stated that 200 militiamen and two soldiers were also killed. The killers of the prisoners in the Giciye prison have not been identified. According to one source, during the clashes on 17 November 1997, around 80 prisoners were taken away by APR soldiers and forced into a building, where they were shot. According to another source, APR soldiers attacked another nearby prison on the same day and killed 12 prisoners.

17 November 1997: More than 300 people were reportedly killed, including Twizerimana, Ndegeyingoma and his three-year-old daughter Hélène, Agnès Nyirasafari, Epaphrodite Munyentwali, Jeanne Mujawamariya, Gratia Uwamahoro, Alfred Dukundane, Ephrem Karasira, Rukeribuga and 20 members of his family, as well as Thadée Munyentwali and his four children. Also on 17 November, APR soldiers entered a Protestant church in Vunga (Gisenyi prefecture) during prayers. They ordered the women and children to leave, then reportedly killed around 45 men in the church. Around 17 November, Tutsi civilians and APR soldiers reportedly attacked civilians in the communes of Nkuli and Mukingo (Ruhengeri prefecture).

17 November 1997: A large number of civilians, mostly Hutus, were reportedly killed, particularly at roadblocks. Soldiers forced passengers out of their vehicles and killed those they believed to be Hutus. Among the victims were Zirimwabagabo, 47, his wife Béatrice, 43, and their children Yvonne, 22, and her two-year-old child Bienvenu, Théophile, 13, Tuyishime, nine, and a 13-month-old baby. The total number of victims is not yet known. This attack followed a massacre of mainly Tutsi civilians in Mukamira, Nkuli commune, on 17 November, in which between 20 and 30 people were reportedly killed (see section II.2 below). According to local sources, a large number of people were reportedly killed in reprisal by Tutsi civilians and APR soldiers; other sources indicated that the victims were so numerous that it was

impossible to count them. Still others claimed that survivors of this attack had organised massacres of Tutsi civilians in the area in retaliation.

17 November 1997: Armed groups killed 20 to 30 civilians belonging to seven different families in Mukamira (Nkuli commune, Ruhengeri prefecture). It appears that most of the victims were of Tutsi ethnicity and had returned to Rwanda after the RPF victory, having been in exile in Zaire for more than 30 years.

In Giciye (Ruhengeri), on 17 November 1997, around ten farmers were killed.

18 November 1997. An unknown number of civilians are reported to have died and many houses and other buildings are reported to have been set on fire. A primary school in Birembo (Kanama commune) was reportedly destroyed by a military helicopter on 18 November 1997, following an ambush by armed opposition groups that reportedly claimed the lives of many APR soldiers.

On 20 November 1997, APR soldiers carried out a simulated attack on the municipal prison in GICIYE (Gisenyi) and then claimed that around 1,200 Hutu rebels had attempted to free the prisoners. According to the Rwandan military authorities, approximately 88 detainees were killed and 93 were freed by the attackers!

On 21 November 1997, several hundred unarmed civilians were reportedly killed by APR soldiers in the Jenda area (Nkuli commune, Ruhengeri prefecture). The victims included men, women, young children and elderly people who had taken refuge in the forest for safety. Five hundred and thirty-nine bodies were reportedly counted, but the actual number of victims could exceed 1,500.

On 23 November 1997, several houses were destroyed during a helicopter raid in the Rwankenke sector (Gaseke commune).

On 24 November 1997, the bodies of six people, including a priest, were found in a forest in the Nyarutende sector (Mutura commune, Gisenyi prefecture). The identity of their killers is unknown, but it is believed that the victims had been interrogated by APR soldiers a few days earlier.

On 25 November, armed men forced their way into the home of André Ntezilizaza, located in the Nyarubuye cell, Karama sector (Mushubati commune, Gitarama prefecture) and killed his daughter. André Ntezilizaza managed to escape. It appears that this attack was carried out by an armed opposition group, several of whose members had been killed by APR soldiers a few weeks earlier after being reported to the local authorities by André Ntezilizaza.

26 November 1997: Other killings of unarmed civilians reportedly took place in Vunga on 26 November, but their number remains unknown as soldiers apparently prohibited access to the area.

Around 27 November 1997: Eight people were reportedly killed with machetes, sticks and firearms by armed groups near the Mudende refugee camp in the commune of Mutura (Gisenyi prefecture). Armed civilians, apparently including refugees from the camp, then avenged their deaths by killing 18 other people in the vicinity.

In November and December 1997: armed opposition groups released hundreds of prisoners held in several cachots (local administration detention centres). The civilian population is not only the victim of numerous massacres, but also suffers cruelly from food and medicine shortages caused by deliberate looting and destruction by soldiers of the national army and rebels. Several health centres, in the communes of Karago and Rwerere (Gisenyi prefecture)

for example, were reportedly forced to close after their stocks of medicines and other medical supplies were looted.

On the night of 1 December 1997, 18 people were reportedly killed in their homes in the Nyundo sector (Kanama commune, Gisenyi prefecture). Their attackers were armed with firearms, sticks and clubs.

On 1 December 1997, approximately 103 detainees in the municipal prison in RWERERE (Gisenyi prefecture) were "*freed*" following an alleged attack by Hutu rebels.

On 2 December 1997, armed groups reportedly attacked a prison in Rwerere (Gisenyi Prefecture) and freed around 100 detainees. An unknown number of civilians were reportedly killed, including a local official.

On 3 December 1997, an unknown number of people were killed during and following an attack by armed groups in the commune of Bulinga (Gitarama prefecture), which reportedly led to the release of more than 500 detainees from a prison. Several buildings in the commune were burned down. At least ten civilians were killed: Angélique Mukamana, Marceline Nyirandikubwimana, Marc Ndikubwimana, Judith Mukahigiro, Bernadette Mukangarambe, Janvière Muhimakazi, Dancilla Uwamahoro, Vestine, Grâce and Emerita Mukashyaka. Three soldiers, two police officers and four members of armed groups were also reportedly killed. The APR soldiers then launched a large-scale operation in the region. They reportedly used military helicopters to fire indiscriminately on the population of Bulinga on 3 or 4 December. The total number of victims (compared to this chapter 4 and the previous chapter 3) is probably higher, as the first list does not include the names of young children or victims whose bodies had not yet been found. Some bodies were buried in mass graves, others were thrown into the river, and still others were transported to unknown locations.

On 3 December 1997, approximately 630 prisoners from the municipal prison in BURINGA (Gitarama in the centre) were "*freed*" by an estimated 300 alleged rebels. Three days later, more than 450 prisoners voluntarily returned to the municipal office because their "*liberators*" had not taken them with them. These were the same detainees who disappeared during the second attack by alleged rebels on 27 February 1998 in Buringa! In Nyakabanda, the COFORWA water cooperative was looted and the private secondary school burned down!

3 December 1997. An unknown number of people are believed to have been killed during these raids. Thousands of APR soldiers are believed to have taken part in anti-insurgency operations under the command of Colonel Kayumba Nyamwasa, second in command of the national gendarmerie, now responsible for military operations in the north-west.

On 9 December 1997, more than half of the detainees who had been released returned to Buringa to voluntarily surrender to the authorities.

Additional information on massacres committed before **October 1997**: Amnesty International continued to receive information concerning massacres of unarmed civilians that took place between January and September 1997; some of this information relates to cases described in its September 1997 report. In particular, the organisation gathered information on two massacres: the extrajudicial executions of an estimated 150 to 280 unarmed civilians in the communes of Kigombe, Nyakinama and Mukingo (Ruhengeri prefecture).

On the evening of 9 December 1997, in the commune of Rutobwe (Gitarama prefecture), APR soldiers asked to be taken to the home of a man named Musafiri. Once there, they allegedly forced their way into the house and killed everyone inside, namely Musafiri, his wife and children, as well as the man who had taken them there. The exact reasons for these killings are

not known with certainty. Musafiri, a sector councillor under the former Rwandan government, had been arrested in 1995, imprisoned for several months, and then released.

On 10 December 1997, during the second MUDENDE massacre, more than 400 detainees from the MUTURA communal prison (Gisenyi) *disappeared* following an attack attributed to Hutu rebels who massacred between 271 Congolese refugees (according to Kigali) and 1,600 (according to Kinshasa).

11 December 1997: APR soldiers were reportedly responsible for the deaths of a dozen civilians. Radio Rwanda, which is controlled by the government, claimed that all these murders were attributable to "infiltrators". What is certain is that mirror accusations by the RPF were the order of the day. Among the victims were Rucamihigo, Mudeshi, Odette, Nyirimbibi and his wife, Mupanda, head of the Kibihekane secondary school, his wife and children, the children of the Rambura school principal and a district councillor. These murders took place following clashes between APR soldiers and armed opposition groups.

On the morning of 11 December 1997, following the massacre of around 300 Congolese refugees by the APR, which was attributed to armed opposition groups in the Mudende refugee camp, Tutsi civilians, with the help of APR soldiers, allegedly carried out a massive reprisal operation in this area of the commune of Mutura (Gisenyi prefecture). They allegedly killed unarmed Hutu civilians who were there in a systematic and indiscriminate manner. The victims were attacked with machetes, firearms and sticks, among other weapons. According to one source, more than 800 people, including men, women, children and elderly people, were likely massacred that day. Witnesses reportedly saw APR soldiers transporting the bodies in military trucks. Amnesty International is seeking further details on this information.

11 December 1997: APR attack during the night on a refugee camp in Mudende (Gisenyi), killing nearly 300 people, mainly Tutsi refugees from the DRC. This massacre was committed by the RPF⁵⁶⁵ *. The circumstances are similar to those of the attack of 22 August 1997 reported above. The RPF committed similar crimes in order to blame them on the government camp. It is currently continuing to play the same games in the DR Congo.

Amnesty International 1997 RWANDA: Civilians caught in the crossfire "The death toll is impossible to count ." Between October and early December 1997, Amnesty International received almost daily reports of massacres of unarmed civilians in Rwanda, including extrajudicial executions by soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and deliberate and arbitrary killings by armed opposition groups. This report describes particularly serious human rights violations committed by both sides. Most of the most serious events reported during the last quarter of 1997 took place in the north-west of the country, in Gisenyi Prefecture or the neighbouring Ruhengeri Prefecture. Recently, massacres have also been perpetrated in the prefectures of Gitarama and Kigali (rural area), located more centrally. This document is an update of the report published by Amnesty International on 25 September 1997 entitled Rwanda: Breaking the Silence (AFR 47/32/97), which described the human rights situation.

December 1997: An attack on Nyamutera (Ruhengeri prefecture) resulted in the disappearance of several young men during the attack. Some sources put the number of victims at between 20 and 30, but in fact at least 12 of them were reportedly killed by APR soldiers.

December 1997: However, in many cases, families who remained in the area claimed that these people had not returned. One such case was that of Emmanuel Tuyishime, a former local government official in his thirties, who left Gisenyi on 10 December 1997 to look for work in

⁵⁶⁵ Amnesty International report of 25 September 1997 entitled Rwanda: Breaking the Silence (AFR 42/37/97).

Kigali. He was last seen there on 16 December. Since then, his family has been searching for him, inquiring at detention centres in various regions where he was transferred, but he has never been found.

December 1997: Among the victims, who were reportedly murdered at random while they slept, were many women, young children and babies. More than 200 refugees were reportedly injured and hospitalised. Most of the injuries appeared to have been caused by machetes, but there were also gunshot wounds.

December 1997: Following the first attack on 22 August, the APR sent reinforcements to protect the refugees, but the soldiers were reportedly unable to repel the attackers during the attack on 11 December⁵⁶⁶ *. (See Amnesty International's report of 25 September 1997 entitled Rwanda: Breaking the silence (AFR 42/37/97)).

At the time of writing, the total number of victims had not been confirmed. It is unclear why the authorities did not move the refugees to a safer location after the first attack on 22 August. The Mudende camp is located just a few kilometres from the border with the DRC and in an area of Gisenyi Prefecture that had been the scene of violent insurrectionary and counter-insurrectionary operations. Despite repeated calls from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the obvious vulnerability of the population in the Mudende camp, the Rwandan authorities did not take the necessary measures to move the refugees to a better protected area. The total number of victims in December has not yet been confirmed, but this appears to be the deadliest massacre of unarmed civilians by armed opposition groups in Rwanda in more than two years. Just hours after the massacre, Tutsi civilians, aided by APR soldiers, reportedly launched massive reprisal operations against Hutu civilians (see sections II.1 and II.3 above: Massacres attributed to unidentified individuals or groups). Armed opposition groups were reportedly responsible for the deaths of nine other civilians. Radio Rwanda, which is controlled by the government, claimed that all these murders were attributable to "infiltrators".

The 1997 report published on 30 January 1998 reported **the deaths of 860 detainees** due to preventable diseases and inhuman and degrading treatment in Rwandan prisons. All these reports revealed only the tip of the iceberg, as many prisoners who died were not officially recorded.

The report notes that the first half of 1997 was marked by a sharp escalation in killings by members of the APR and armed opposition groups. It is estimated that more than 20,000 people (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, including babies, children, men, women and the elderly) were killed in the north of the country during 1997, in what amounted to a creeping genocide⁵⁶⁷ *. Amnesty International reports more than 1,000 deaths. This report describes particularly serious human rights violations committed by both sides, yet only one side has been brought to justice. *"The most serious events reported during the last quarter of 1997 took place mainly in the north-west of the country, in Gisenyi 2 prefecture or in the neighbouring prefecture of Ruhengeri. Recently, massacres have also been perpetrated in the prefectures of Gitarama and Kigali (rural area), located more centrally. This document is an update of the report published by Amnesty International on 25 September 1997 entitled Rwanda: Breaking the Silence (AFR 47/32/97), which described the human rights situation in Rwanda between January and September 1997.*

⁵⁶⁶ Amnesty International report. Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Amnesty International 1997: RWANDA Civilians caught in the crossfire of armed conflict "The death toll is impossible to count" 1 Introduction Between October and early December 1997, Amnesty International received almost daily reports of massacres of unarmed civilians in Rwanda, including extrajudicial executions by soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and deliberate and arbitrary killings by armed opposition groups.

The first half of the year was marked by a sharp escalation in killings by members of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and by armed opposition groups. More than 1,000 people are estimated to have been killed during the year. The report estimates that more than 1,000 people were killed per year.

1998

11-14 January 1998: Execution by the APR of more than 300 unarmed Hutu civilians in Cyeya in the commune of Rubavu, Gisenyi.

30 January 1998: The 1997 report published on 30 January 1998 reported the deaths of 860 detainees due to preventable diseases and inhuman and degrading treatment observed in Rwandan prisons. All these reports revealed only the tip of the iceberg, as many prisoners were not officially registered⁵⁶⁸ *.

March 1998: French anti-terrorism judge Jean-Louis Bruguière began investigating the attack on the Rwandan presidential plane on 6 April 1994.

March 1998: Request for "forgiveness" from Paul Kagame by Mrs Albright (December 1997) and Bill Clinton (March 1998) for allowing the genocide to take place without intervening. Bill Clinton behind the plot: "Bill Clinton collaborated with Paul Kagame and his accomplices in the plane crash of former President Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, see broadcast on Umutware TV on 8 March 2022."

24 April 1998: First judicial executions in Rwanda after the RPF took power (22 people "found guilty of participating in the genocide" were executed in public). Among those executed was Karamira Flodoard, one of the first members of the RPF. He knew too much about them, so he had to be eliminated first so that he would never reveal the secrets of the shadowy organisation (the RPF).

24 April 1998: The Rwandan government carried out the first executions of people convicted by national courts of participating in the 1994 genocide. Many of those executed did not receive a fair trial. Amnesty International believes that the public execution of these 23 people, as well as any subsequent executions, constitute a further step backwards for human rights in Rwanda, a serious regression that could dangerously compromise attempts to establish reconciliation and respect for human life in the country.

8 May 1998: Unilateral suspension by the Rwandan authorities of the United Nations Human Rights Mission.

16 May 1998: Assassination in Nairobi of Seth Sendashonga, a Hutu and former Minister of the Interior in the RPF government.

Assassination of Seth Sendashonga: Minister of the Interior and Community Development, who was also a member of the RPF's political bureau.

⁵⁶⁸ Matata Joseph. Summary documents on the massacres of Hutu civilians in Rwanda, 1994-1999. Centre for the Fight Against Impunity and Injustice in Rwanda (CLIIR) Rue de la Colonne, No. 54/4 1080 Brussels Tel/Fax: 0032.81.60.11.13 Mobile: 0032.476.70.15.69 Email: cliir2004@yahoo.fr

Born on 27 May 1951 in Kibuye Prefecture, Seth Sendashonga wrote a total of 762 letters to Paul Kagame, then Minister of Defence and the real strongman in Rwanda. Not a single one of these letters received a reply.

"At every stage of my life, I have embraced a cause because I believed in it without reservation, and every time I took action, I told myself that it was the best thing my disinterested conscience could lead me to do." Seth Sendashonga, October 1995.

Seth Sendashonga



Photo no. 102.

On 25 August 1995, in what would be his last meeting with the government, he left on 28 August 1995 and took refuge in Kenya, where he continued his political activities. On the evening of 26 February 1996, just a few months after leaving Rwanda, he was the victim of a first assassination attempt in which he and his nephew Siméon Nsengiyumva were wounded. As he was preparing to testify at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Seth Sendashonga was shot dead in Nairobi at the age of 46. For Alison Des Forges, a researcher with Human Rights Watch, the assassination of Seth Sendashonga "*shocked many people*" and destroyed "*enormous hope*" because "*Seth had become the symbol of a better future*"⁵⁶⁹ *.

Early June 1998: this young man still did not know whether his parents were dead or alive. A typical example of those who "disappear" while seeking safety is the story of a farmer in his sixties who has not been heard from since 1 December 1997. Following an outbreak of violence in the commune of Mutura (Gisenyi prefecture) where he worked, he fled to the neighbouring commune of Rwerere to escape the danger. He has not been seen since. Other similar cases of "disappearances" in this commune were reported in December 1997. Most of the victims are presumed dead.

13 July 1998: UN Security Council Resolution...⁵⁷⁰ *. 13 July 1998: UN Security Council Resolution 1422: peacekeeping by the United Nations (International Criminal Court). Adopted on 12 July 2002 during the 4572^(e) session⁵⁷¹ (*).

⁵⁶⁹ Jambonews, 20 August 2018 Alison Des Forges, researcher at Human Rights Watch. Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: the celebration of lies and injustice. –op. cit. pp. 225–226 Let us assume that this impunity is due to the lack of legal tools! In order to prevent a genuine genocide from going unpunished due to an inadequate judicial system, it seems that the best idea would be to expand the group of protected persons to include political, social and cultural groups, among others, in the definition of "genocide". This follows the example of the ICTR, which was "led to extend (...) the category of groups protected by the Genocide Convention, in light of the intention of its authors". Without commenting on how the Arusha court interprets the events in Rwanda in 1994, this extension should be welcomed. It should serve as an example to the UN Security Council to re-examine the case of the genocide against the Rwandan Hutu in eastern DRC, with a view to ensuring that no case of a crime against humanity is overlooked. And the doors are wide open for this UN enforcement body, since its resolution of 13 July 1998 [see above] provides that "additional measures" would be necessary to bring the guilty parties to justice.

⁵⁷¹ Wikipedia: Resolution 1422: United Nations peacekeeping (International Criminal Court) (adopted on 12 July 2002 at the 4572th meeting).

¹August 1998: Launch of a second attack by the Rwandan, Ugandan and Burundian armies against the Democratic Republic of Congo. *"1-2 August 1998: Laurent-Désiré Kabila, then President of the DRC, falls out with his Rwandan allies and asks them to leave the country. A new rebellion breaks out, led by the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD). At the helm are former members of the AFDL, notably Azarias Ruberwa, Bizima Karaha (Muheto) and Déogratias Bugera. Military command is entrusted to Colonel Jean-Pierre Ondekane, a former member of the deposed Zairean Armed Forces"*⁵⁷² *.

The RPF also murdered Catholic missionaries.

In 1998: Father Curick Vjechoslav, a Croatian national and parish priest of Kivumu, diocese of Kabgayi, was assassinated in Kigali in 1998.

Father Duchamp, a Canadian national, parish priest in the diocese of Ruhengeri. Similarly, Father Pinard, a Canadian national and parish priest of Kinoni, diocese of Ruhengeri, was shot dead during a Eucharistic celebration by the RPF death squad. Many other foreign clergy and religious were killed by the RPF (see the complete list in Appendix 4).

2 August 1998: Laurent-Désiré Kabila, then President of the DRC, fell out with his Rwandan allies and asked them to leave the country. A new rebellion breaks out, led by the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD). At the helm are former members of the AFDL, notably Azarias Ruberwa, Bizima Karaha (Muheto) and Déogratias Bugera. Military command is entrusted to Colonel Jean-Pierre Ondekane, a former member of the deposed Zairean Armed Forces⁵⁷³.

1998: Creation of the Forces de Résistance pour la Démocratie (FRD)

19-20 September 1998: Union of Democratic Forces of Rwanda (UFDR). Representatives of Rwandan democratic political parties abroad meet in Brussels and establish the Union of Democratic Forces of Rwanda (UFDR)⁵⁷⁴ *.

25 September 1998: (CDA): AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS

The CDA was founded on 25 September 1998 in Lausanne, Switzerland. The coordinating committee was composed of James Gasana, Samuel Hitimana, Joseph Kanzayire, Joseph Matata, Monique Mujawamariya, Joseph Ndahimana, Nkiko Nsengimana and Alexandre Rucyahana. The CDA has a rotating presidency. From its inception, the spokesperson for the CDA was Jean Baptiste Nkuliyingoma. The founding document of this union was signed by the participants and the Executive Committee was formed: President: Faustin Twagiramungu; Vice-President: Claude Rukeba.

1999

⁵⁷² The Democratic Republic of Congo: The August 1998 Rebellion and the Affected Groups Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, The August 1998 Rebellion and the Affected Groups, 1 December 1998, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a83c10.html> [accessed 18 July 2022].

⁵⁷³ Democratic Republic of Congo: The August 1998 Rebellion and Affected Groups Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, The August 1998 Rebellion and Affected Groups, 1 December 1998, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a83c10.html> [accessed 18 July 2022].

⁵⁷⁴ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda, p. Representatives of the Forces of Resistance for Democracy were present with Faustin Twagiramungu, the Initiative Group for Dialogue with Emmanuel Ndagijimana, the Rally for the Return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda (RDR) with Charles Ndereyehe, the Rwanda National Liberation Movement (RNLM) with John Karuranga, and the Rwandan National Union (UNAR) with Claude Rukeba.

15 February 1999: Assassination in Yaoundé of Pasteur Musabe, former Director General of the African Continental Bank in Rwanda and brother of Théoneste Bagosora.

26 February 1999: The 1998 report published on 26 February 1999 reported the deaths of more than 3,300 prisoners as a result of inhumane conditions and ill-treatment in prisons.⁵⁷⁵ *

7 April 1999: President Pasteur Bizimungu called on all Hutus to ask for forgiveness for the Tutsi genocide and ordered the public prosecutor to prosecute the Hutu Catholic bishop of Gikongoro, Mgr Augustin Misago, for the crime of genocide.

May 1999: Establishment of the "Independent Commission to Investigate the Actions of the United Nations in the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda". The Commission's report was submitted to the UN Secretary-General on 15 December 1999⁵⁷⁶ *. Mr Carlsson called on Member States to take this issue very seriously, as the UN is the only organisation that can bring global legitimacy to peacekeeping. However, the issue of the planning of the Rwandan genocide was put off indefinitely, with only evidence provided by the RPF being used, which distorted the outcome. The planning took place elsewhere, not in Rwanda⁵⁷⁷ *.

The same scenario described above has been repeating itself in Congo since 1996. The agreement will then be ratified by the rebel groups. They have the same guides, the same leaders, the same ideologues and the same strategies from Uganda to the conquest of Rwanda to the DR Congo. A strategy that consists of sowing illusion in the enemy camp, "Hit and Talk", striking and negotiating until the goal is achieved: the seizure of power or the balkanisation of the Congo. In 2025, the war in eastern DRC continues.

10 July 1999: - The Lusaka ceasefire agreement is signed between the DRC, Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia on the one hand, and Uganda (ally of Jean-Pierre Bemba's Congo Liberation Movement) and Rwanda (ally of the RCD) on the other. Foreign troops are asked to leave Congolese territory. The agreement is then ratified by the rebel groups. In reality, these agreements promote balkanisation. The Congolese do so out of ignorance, because the DRC's resources belong to Westerners and not to the Congolese. The rebel leaders will not be able to govern such a large country together; they will end up dividing it up (sharing the cake). They are neither free nor independent. They have not been able to do so for 20-30 years. The real distributor of the cake does so openly and takes advantage of the situation to manipulate them. In other words, the real leaders (players) and the real motives behind the war are not being revealed.

August 1999: First battle between the Rwandan Patriotic Army and the Ugandan army (UPDF) in Kisangani, resulting in the deaths of 600 Congolese civilians.

15 September 1999: Appointment of Carla Del Ponte as Chief Prosecutor of the ICTR and ICTY.

⁵⁷⁵ Human Rights Watch. 1998 report published on 26 February 1999 Data from the Centre for the Fight Against Impunity and Injustice in Rwanda (CLIIR): Coordinator Matata Joseph. Rue de la Colonne, No. 54/4, 1080 BRUSSELS Tel/Fax: 0032.81.60.11.13 Mobile: 0032.476.70.15.69 Email: cliir2004@yahoo.fr

⁵⁷⁶ Based on the report of the Commission of Inquiry ... 14 Apr. 2000 · "We had a responsibility to act and we failed to do so," said the Chairman of the Independent Commission of Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the...

⁵⁷⁷ the planning of the Rwandan genocide by the leaders of the RPF/RNA, planning is the missing piece of the puzzle in understanding what has perpetuated the power of the RPF-Inkotanyi and the longevity of the suffering of the Rwandan and Congolese people caused by two warlords, Kaguta Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame. file:///D:/rugomboka%20la%20PLANIFICATION%20du%20genocide1a%20(2)%20F. 25 September 2024.

October 1999: Accreditation of an official representative of the Rwandan government (RPF) to the ICTR in the person of Martin Ngoga.

3 November 1999: Order of the ICTR Appeals Chamber acquitting Jean Bosco Barayagwiza; withdrawal of the judgment a few weeks later following threats from the Rwandan government.

30 November 1999: The UN decides to establish the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), the predecessor of the current MONUSCO.

December 1999: The RPF reports that small groups of insurgents have resurfaced in the prefecture of Gisenyi, thirty kilometres from the city, and a massacre of Tutsis in Tamira by the RPF is attributed to the insurgents. A mirror accusation, typical of the RPF system.

VIII.3. Characteristics of international (ICTR) and local (Gacaca) justice

*The use of false testimony in international and local courts with the dual objective of first destroying and annihilating the family and then appropriating their material goods and property. Use of false accusations, as in the case of Me Nzabakikante Melani, where the authorities, wanting to usurp his property in Gisenyi (kw'Ikora), accused him of planning the genocide, even though he had died in 1989 before the war and genocide.

2000

2000: World Report 2000 ... The Rwandan government fought its armed opponents largely in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where its troops committed numerous violations of international humanitarian law. (See the section on the Democratic Republic of Congo). Its soldiers suppressed an insurrection in north-western Rwanda in 1998 and 1999, with enormous civilian casualties. But small groups of insurgents resurfaced in Gisenyi Prefecture in December 1999 at , thirty kilometres from the city, and a massacre of Tutsis in Tamira by the RPF was attributed to the insurgents by a mirror accusation.

25 February 2000: The 1999 report published on 25 February 2000 reported the deaths of 1,148 detainees from curable diseases, suspected HIV/AIDS infection, or the cumulative effects of prison overcrowding.

2 March 2000: The National Post (Canada) revealed the existence of the Hourigan investigation findings. The report, commissioned by the ICTR prosecutor, revealed that P. Kagame had ordered the assassination of the Rwandan and Burundian presidents on 6 April 1994. The report was embargoed by the Clinton administration (see Umutware TV programme, etc.).

23 March 2000: President Pasteur Bizimungu resigns. He is replaced by his vice-president, Paul Kagame, who is also president of the RPF.

Pasteur Bizimungu



Photo no. 103

Pasteur Bizimungu, born in 1950 in Gisenyi, is a Rwandan politician who served as President of the Republic of Rwanda from 19 July 1994 to 23 March 2000.

24 March 2000: President Paul Kagame and President of the RPF are sworn in.

7 April 2000: Belgian Prime Minister G. Verhofstadt asks Paul Kagame for "forgiveness" for allowing the genocide to take place without intervening.

12 April 2000: The Transitional National Assembly and the unelected government appoint Paul Kagame as President of the Republic of Rwanda.

17 April 2000: Carla Del Ponte, Prosecutor of the ICTR, told the Danish newspaper *Aktuelt*, "If it turns out that it was the RPF that shot down the plane, the general history of the genocide will have to be rewritten"⁵⁷⁸ *.

17 April 2000: Paul Kagame was elected president by Parliament after forcing President Pasteur Bizimungu to resign. He was elected in 2003 for a seven-year term, which was renewed in 2010, after imprisoning all his rivals.

May 2000: Insurgents killed nine people in Rwerere. In May 2000, they killed three other secondary school students and wounded three others in Kinigi, and killed two members of the local defence force in both Ruhondo and Ruhengeri. The insurgents recruited members, including so-called children, to serve as combatants⁵⁷⁹ *.

July 2000: Report of the International Panel of Eminent Persons to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and its Consequences in the Great Lakes Region. Addis Ababa, July, 600 pages⁵⁸⁰ * and (TPIR-97-31-T, Monday 5 March 2007, Des Forges). We therefore return to the highly insightful report drafted in 2000 by the OAU (Organisation of African Unity), which made the following observation:

⁵⁸¹ *. Lugan B, 2014. Rwanda: A Genocide in Question. Editions du Rocher. - "(...) while clearly seeing the existence of a plan, I was in no way, shape or form (able) to establish that the people who participated in this plan had the intention of committing genocide." (ICTR-97-31-T, Monday 5 March 2007, Des Forges). This brings us back to the highly insightful report drafted in 2000 by the OAU (Organisation of African Unity), which made the following observation:

[“(...) there is no document, no minutes of meetings and no other evidence that points to a specific moment when certain individuals, as part of a master plan, decided to eliminate the Tutsi (...). What we do know (...) is that from 1 October 1990, Rwanda experienced three and a half years of violent anti-Tutsi incidents, each of which can easily be interpreted in retrospect

⁵⁷⁸ (Karemera E., 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. Le drame rwandais). - Still on the same subject, she made comments reported by Agence France Presse on 2 June 2000 in which she suggested that she was relying on Judge Bruguière's conclusions to carry out her mandate to prosecute the perpetrators of the attack of 6 April 1994.

⁵⁷⁹ In retaliation, RPF soldiers massacred thousands of civilians suspected of being insurgents in Rubavu, Ruhondo, Giciye and Karago communes and imprisoned many others, some of them in military installations such as the Milpoc detention centre in Gisenyi, where they suffered harsh conditions and, in some cases, torture. In the south-east in the middle of the year, several bodies were seen floating on the Akagera River, and other people were reported to have "disappeared". Apparently reflecting fears of increasing violence, more than 3,000 mainly Rwandan Hutus from this region fled to Tanzania between April and July, twice the number for the whole of 1999.

⁵⁸⁰ Lugan B, 2014. Rwanda: A Genocide in Question. Editions du Rocher. - "(...) while I clearly saw the existence of a plan, I was in no way, shape or form (able) to establish that the people who participated in this plan had the intention of committing genocide."

⁵⁸¹ (ICTR-97-31-T, Monday 5 March 2007, Des Forges). This brings us back to the highly insightful report drafted in 2000 by the OAU (Organisation of African Unity), which made the following observation: "(...) there is no document, no minutes of meetings and no other evidence that points to a specific moment when certain individuals, as part of a master plan, decided to eliminate the Tutsi (...). What we do know (...) is that, starting on 1 October 1990, Rwanda experienced three and a half years of violent anti-Tutsi incidents, each of which can easily be misinterpreted in retrospect as a deliberate step in a vast plan. This is not the case. Most of the attacks can be attributed to the RPF.

as a deliberate step in a vast conspiracy culminating in the shooting down of the president's plane and the unleashing of genocide. However, all these interpretations remain speculation.

"Most people know who gave the order to shoot down the plane, we know about the violence involving grenades and anti-personnel mines across the country," *but no one can prove that the countless manifestations of anti-Tutsi sentiment during those years were part of a grand diabolical plan.* (OUA, 2000 report, 7/1)⁵⁸² *.

22 November 2000: Creation of the Gisozi Memorial Centre in the city of Kigali, containing more than 259,000 victims. However, the city of Kigali had a population of 232,770 residents, including 38,910 Tutsis.⁵⁸³ *.

30 September 2000: DEMOCRATIC FORCES FOR THE LIBERATION OF RWANDA (FDLR).

The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, known simply as the FDLR, is the main Hutu rebel group in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The FDLR was formed on 30 September 2000, following negotiations between the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALiR) and the military command of the Hutu resistance movement based in Kinshasa. The Chief of Staff of the ALiR was General Paul Rwarakabije and its general headquarters were located in North Kivu province. From 2001 onwards, the FDLR largely supplanted the ALiR forces. Paul Rwarakabije was appointed overall military commander of the FDLR.

2001

According to the "Report on Human Rights Practices in Rwanda in 2001" published on 4 March 2002 by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour of the United States Department of State, there were **708 deaths** in overcrowded prisons in 2001. Tens of thousands of other detainees, victims of arbitrary imprisonment, died without trial at the hands of the state⁵⁸⁴ *.

January 2001: RWANDA DREAM INITIATIVE (RDI)

The Rwandan Dream Initiative (RDI) party was founded in January 2001 by Faustin Twagiramungu, after a hiatus and after being dismissed from the FRD. The other founding members included Eugène Seminega, Evode Uwizeyimana, Ismaïl Mbonigaba, Alain Patrick Ndengera and Vénuste Mupenzi.

16 January 2001: Laurent-Désiré Kabila, President of the Republic, is assassinated. His son, Joseph Kabila, succeeds him as leader of the DRC Congo.

2001: Through deception, the RPF introduces civil death through Gacaca courts. Thousands of Hutus are sentenced to what is known as *burundu y'Umwihariko* (life imprisonment in quarantine), life imprisonment in total isolation, with no possibility of receiving visitors until death⁵⁸⁵ *.

⁵⁸² OAU, 2000 report, 7/1

⁵⁸³ General population and housing census supervised by the UNDP on 15 August 1991.

⁵⁸⁴ Report on Human Rights Practices in Rwanda in 2001, published on 4 March 2002 by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour of the US Department of State.

⁵⁸⁵ Ndahayo E, and Dufatanye A. A, 2015. Editions Sources du Nil. Political and military violence against women in Rwanda from Ndagaba to Ingabire. - The travesty of justice in the Gacaca courts was another way of "legally" institutionalising the anti-culture of discrimination. This masquerade of courts was able, for example, in trials where the defendants had no lawyers, to sentence thousands of Hutus to what is known as *burundu y'umwihariko*

February 2001: The 2000 report published on 23 February 2001 reports 1,100 prisoners who died from curable diseases, suspected HIV/AIDS infection, or the cumulative effects of prison overcrowding.⁵⁸⁶ *.

March 2001: (ARENA): The Rwandan Alliance for the Rebirth of the Nation (ARENA) was formed after Professor Alexandre Kimenyi (USA) and other members of the RPF disapproved of the criminal policies of the political-military movement of which they were members. They walked out.⁵⁸⁷ *.

April 2001: A group of associations denounced a country like Rwanda. These associations called for "pressure to be considered and applied by the international community to guarantee peace in the Great Lakes region"⁵⁸⁸ *.

Edouard Karemera, a man of law, drew up a series of rights that Rwanda must recover: "Civil and political rights: - the right to participate in public affairs, - the right to join the civil service, - the right to leave and voluntarily repatriate to one's country, - the right to express one's opinion, - the right to gather/meet/reunite and to form peaceful associations, - the right to privacy...

Economic, social and cultural rights: - the right to access the country's wealth and natural resources, - the right to property, - the right to education and training, - the right to access cultural heritage, - the right to communicate one's culture and social wealth. International human rights: - Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949: war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

25 October 2001: Flag of Rwanda. The current flag of Rwanda has been in use since 25 October 2001. The reason (given) for adopting a new flag was that the Rwandan government wanted the population to focus on the future... This is completely false; the RPF-UNAR wanted to get rid of the insignia of the Republic that emerged from the people's revolution.

25 October 2001: The seal of the Republic of Rwanda, the national symbol, was changed by the RPF government. It was redesigned in 2001 to match the colour scheme of the new flag...

12 November 2011: The national anthem was changed. The Kagame regime signed the end of the Republic and ushered in a disguised monarchy.

2002

January 2002: Change of symbols of the Rwandan Republic (national flag, national anthem, national motto, seal of the Republic, etc.). From this moment on, Rwanda is a monarchy disguised as a non-existent republic.

(life imprisonment in quarantine), life imprisonment in total isolation, with no possibility of receiving visitors until death.

⁵⁸⁶ Matata Joseph. CLIR Coordinator. Summary documents on the massacres of Hutu civilians in Rwanda, 1994-1999.

⁵⁸⁷ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda, p. - When it was founded in March 2001, the ARENA Coordination Committee was composed of Alexandre Kimenyi (USA), Joseph Ngarambe (France), Gratién Rudakubana (Canada) and Joseph Kabuye Sebarenzi (USA). When ARENA began to build ties with the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) under the leadership of Valens Kajeguhakwa, divisions arose within the organisation. Kimenyi and Rudakubana denounced this rapprochement, while Ngarambe and Sebarenzi approved it.

⁵⁸⁸ Karemera E., 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. The Rwandan tragedy. - Atrocities: Torture, murder, disappearances and abductions are further human rights violations committed by President Paul Kagame and his RPF, demonstrating once again the importance of international action/reaction to investigate and document these abuses through an international commission of inquiry.

4 March 2002: According to the "Report on Human Rights Practices in Rwanda in 2001"⁵⁸⁹ *

March 2002: (ACP): AMAHORO-PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Disagreements within ARENA led to the creation of another political party in March 2002, Amahoro-Congres du Peuple, with Alexandre Kimenyi as president, Jeff Nsengimana as vice-president and Gratien Rudakubana as secretary-general. This party has been led by Etienne Masozera since 14 April 2014, with Gallican Gasana as Secretary General and Dr Narcisse Gakuba in charge of planning.

14 and 15 August 2002: excerpt from the Belgian newspaper *Le Soir*... "However, in Rwanda, opposition circles denounce the systematic massacres that allegedly took place in 1994 in the regions of Mutara, Kibungu and Bugesera, citing figures of 10,000 (ten thousand) Hutu and 20,000 (twenty thousand) Hutus killed in each commune(killed by Tutsis and RPF soldiers).

5 October 2002: Official withdrawal of the Rwandan Patriotic Army from the DRC in accordance with the Pretoria Agreement.

12 October 2002: Creation of the Permanent Consultation of the Rwandan Democratic Opposition (CPODR), bringing together two alliances, namely the UFDR and ADRN-Igihango⁵⁹⁰ *.

October 2002: Change of name of the Rwandan army. The Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) is renamed the Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF).

30 October 2002: Forced repatriation of leaders of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) from the Democratic Republic of Congo to Rwanda by the United Nations Observer Mission with the complicity of the South African and DRC authorities.

10 December 2002: The^{14th} Chamber of the Brussels Court of First Instance, in its verdict of 10 December 2002 at the end of the trial of Ambassador Bihozagara against the newspaper *Africa*, ruled that there was sufficient evidence to assert that former Minister Bihozagara was jointly responsible for these massacres⁵⁹¹ *.

17 December 2002: Joseph Kabila agreed to share power with rebel groups and the unarmed political opposition. The so-called "comprehensive and inclusive" agreement was signed in Pretoria. From then on, the DRC had one president and four vice-presidents. This was the "1+4" formula: one president and four vice-presidents.

23 December 2002: A special parliamentary commission on the ideology of genocide was set up. It was composed of seven members of parliament, including Abbas Mukama (chair), Protais Mitari (vice-chair), Antoine Somayire, Antoinette Mujawamariya, Médard Rutijanwa, Jean Bosco Rudahusha and Adrien Rangira. It submitted its report on 14 April 2003, accusing the MDR of spreading genocide ideology, divisionism and racism, and proposing its dissolution.

⁵⁸⁹ Matata Joseph. CLIR Coordinator. Summary documents on the massacres of Hutu civilians in Rwanda, 1994-1999.

⁵⁹⁰ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda, p.37. - It was a platform for collaboration in certain areas such as diplomacy. It did not have a rigid structure. The presidents of the two alliances were in charge of the consultation process. The difficulties within the ADRN Igihango alliance spilled over into the CPODR, which broke up. Deo Mushayidi served as its permanent secretary and acted as its spokesperson.

⁵⁹¹ Verdict of 10/12/2002 at the end of the trial of Ambassador Bihozagara against the newspaper *Africa*, handed down by the 14th Chamber of the Brussels Court of First Instance on 10 December 2002

As the situation became untenable, the party's president, Célestin Kabanda, went into exile and its secretary-general, Pierre Gakwandi, was imprisoned.

The ideology of genocide, which is very poorly defined, became a divisive factor in the country and a political tool for repression and for sidelining or eliminating the opposition, either morally or physically. And yet, what is very serious is that the RPF enshrined it in the Rwandan constitution, automatically excluding Hutus (who were objectified) from power and the joint management of the country. The ideology of genocide became a political instrument for the repression of anyone who was not on the same wavelength as Paul Kagame's regime.

2002: appointment of Ambassador P.-R. Proposer as war crimes prosecutor, when American involvement in the ICTR's affairs was at its most intense⁵⁹² *.

2003

2003: Since the launch of the 2003 revision of the Rwandan constitution, several people suspected of belonging to the opposition have been subjected to harassment, intimidation, imprisonment, disappearance and assassination.

31 March 2003: Paul Kagame's speech in Rebero-Bwisige clarifies his policy of reducing the Hutu population. A Hutu genocide clearly revealed⁵⁹³ *. *"This excerpt from President Kagame's speech, just a few months before the last general election, reflects the mindset and political philosophy of the man who has presided over the destiny of the Rwandan people for more than 11 years. This policy fills prisons with men, whom women alone cannot feed alongside the family responsibilities that weigh heavily on them, as at least one in five women works to support a husband or son in prison. Rwanda's prison population numbers around ten thousand. "This criminal programme is complemented by the mass imprisonment of able-bodied men in official and/or clandestine death prisons. Men are rounded up by the thousands, with or without charges, and locked up for indefinite periods in order to isolate them from their families and leave their wives and children to their sad fate. With an estimated population of around 13 million, Rwanda had more than 87,621 official prisoners as of 12 February 2024. In 2023, Rwanda was ranked second in the world for the highest prison population after El Salvador⁵⁹⁴ *. The assassination of President Habyarimana, the resumption of war, the depopulation of certain*

⁵⁹² Ngirabatware A. 2006. Edition Sources du Nil. Rwanda: the celebration of lies and injustice. In fact, the budget allocated to the ICTR was around 94 million. The United States, which had contributed \$20.2 million, was the tribunal's largest donor. It was with the arrival of the African-American ambassador to the ICTR in 2002 that the US government financed a "significant expansion" of the ICTR, notably through the creation of 18 new judgeships, which would triple the initial staff. The United States has promised additional funding for these new positions, although the amount has not been disclosed. The US administration has indicated that it wants to speed up the processing of cases and enable the tribunal to meet its deadline (closing its doors in 2010). To this end, it has successfully pressured the Security Council to speed up the ICTR's proceedings because it wants to avoid any further discussion of the role it played in the Rwandan tragedy at the time.

⁵⁹³ Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel Rwanda 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. - President-General Kagame summed up this policy as follows: "Our policy was not the result of chance. It was first carefully thought out by the men who conceived it. Men with a strategy to achieve the goals they set for themselves, no matter what... The problem is that Rwandans are blind. Even when you show them something, they don't see it. They are like a dog that, before being killed, first loses the use of its nostrils, which become blocked {...}. Those who say they have a harvest of sorghum and maize, I tell them that we have mills, we will grind that maize and sorghum. "Translate: ... Those who think they are numerous (the Hutu), we have the means to crush them, Editor's note)."

⁵⁹⁴ See: <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=rwanda%2C+nombre+de+prisonniers> ; <https://fr.statista.com/statistiques/564954/pays-avec-le-plus-de-prisonniers-pour-100000-habitants-en-juillet/>

*regions of the country and the massacres of the population were all part of the RPF's plan to seize power by force of arms*⁵⁹⁵ *.

The newspaper *Médiateur – Umuhuza* of 18 May 2008 published an article entitled *Afrique des Grands Lacs: Etrange Discours de Kagame à Bwisige-Byumba* (Great Lakes Africa: Kagame's strange speech in Bwisige-Byumba). Among those who are leaving are those whom we are dismissing from their jobs because we know they want to leave the country, so we are letting them go. I don't care about those who leave. Others are tired of working for the Rwandans and want to leave. I don't care if they go. Others are tired of working in the service of the Rwandans. Those who want to leave, we will intervene to put them aside and continue. Those who boast of having ensured that the maize and sorghum are ripe, they do not die in vain. Indeed, Paul Kagame expresses his hatred for the Hutu, a visceral hatred that has been with him since childhood. Here, for example, in his speech in Bwisige in the north-east of the country, he used harsh words from his repertoire, threatening in particular to use his machine to crush maize or millet. He was referring to the Hutu majority, which cannot resist his destructive force. He made it clear that he was going to seriously hurt people and that he would put his words into practice⁵⁹⁶ *. It's just that Rwandans don't see it anywhere, it's like a dog's nose that dies first. Rwandans first... an illusion, because Rwanda and Rwandans belong to one man, Paul Kagame.

16 May 2003: the MDR was dissolved for "divisionism" after parliament approved the parliamentary commission's report, a few months before the first presidential and legislative elections, which took place in August and September 2003.

25 August 2003: Paul Kagame was elected with 95.05% of the vote, a Stalinist score, to the office of President of the Republic for seven years, renewable once...

26 May 2003: Approval by technical referendum of the Constitution with 93.42% of the vote and a turnout of 89.86%.

24-28 July 2003: Security Council Resolution No. 1493 imposes an embargo on arms and military support to all armed groups and foreign and Congolese militias operating in the territory of North and South Kivu and Ituri (DRC).

30 July 2003: Two days after the UN embargo came into force, the United States of America lifted its embargo on arms sales to Rwanda, which had been in place since 1994.

28 August 2003: UN Security Council decision to grant the ICTR its own chief prosecutor and the ICTY its own. Carla del Ponte retains the sole position at the ICTY. At the request of the UN Secretary-General and at the instigation of Rwanda, supported by the US and the UK, she loses her position at the ICTR.

In September 2003, the FDLR made a partial separation between its army and its civilian wings when an official armed branch, the Forces Combattantes Abacunguzi (FOCA), was created⁵⁹⁷ *.

September 2003: With the support of the Rwandan Patriotic Army, General Laurent Nkunda (Nkundabatware), a former member of the RCD rebellion, refused to integrate his men into the

⁵⁹⁵ UN Political Prisoners.pdf. Memorandum by the UN Political Prisoners in Arusha appended to their letter dated 6 October 2008.

⁵⁹⁶ Gaspard Musabyimana, 8 August 2007. Rwanda: the President's hate speech. Published on 13 May 2008.

⁵⁹⁷ * Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, p. – (FDLR –CMC): INTWARI PARTNERSHIP – MILITARY COMMAND FOR CHANGE. It was created as the second dissident faction of the FDLR under the leadership of Lt Colonel Christophe Hakizabera (Italy). It is chaired by Emmanuel Hakizimana (France).

new Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC). He launched the association "Synergie pour la concorde et la paix" (Synergy for Harmony and Peace), which in July 2006 became the rebellion of the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP), after lending his support to dissident Colonel Jules Mutebusi in Bukavu in 2004. *"Laurent Nkunda's CNDP was in line with the AFDL and the RDC, with the difference that it was not a Rwandan initiative under the Congolese flag, but a Congolese initiative with Rwandan support," writes David Van Reybrouck in Congo, a History. 17 November.* In July 2022, it became clear that this was in fact a vast conspiracy targeting the Hima-Tutsi empire, led by Museveni with Western support.

4 September 2003: Appointment of Boubacar Hassan Jallow as Chief Prosecutor of the ICTR. He took office on 15 September 2003.

6 September 2003: Introduction of the "Genocide Crime Act": Act No. 33 bis/2003 of 06/09/2003 punishing the crime of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. The Transitional National Assembly has adopted and we hereby sanction and promulgate Law No. 33 bis/2003 of 06/09/2003, the content of which is as follows, and order that it be published in the Official Journal of the Republic of Rwanda. The Transitional National Assembly, meeting in session on 15 July 2003.

29 September-1st 2003: Legislative elections with 75% of seats going to the RPF.

ICTR: As of 30 September 2003, a total of 67 people had been arrested and 18 people had already been tried, one of whom was released after trial at the ICTR in Arusha, Tanzania.

2004

24 January 2004: Gacaca courts. The following problems have been identified in the Gacaca courts: there are places where the Gacaca court assemblies and the population say the following: "We continue to talk only about the problems of the Tutsi victims of the genocide, but where has the problem of the Hutu victims of the inkotanyi been officially recorded? Republic of Rwanda, Report of Members of Parliament, Kigali, June 2004 Rwanda Crimes of the RPF: The ICTR has jurisdiction (Hirondelle). Posted online on 24/01/2004 "THE CRIMES ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED in 1994 by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the former rebel group now in power in Kigali, fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the new prosecutor, Gabonese Hassan Boubacar Jallow, said on Friday.

30 January 2004: Le Monde was able to consult the final report of the investigation into the crash of President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane by French anti-terrorism judge Jean-Louis Bruguière⁵⁹⁸. Karemera E. states: "The *damning confessions of the heads of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. Despite the prosecutor's prevarications in rejecting this connection, Judge Bruguière's report was admitted as evidence in an ongoing trial at the ICTR. The two UNAMIR authorities knew that President Habyarimana was going to be assassinated. No security measures were put in place to prevent this attack. Instead, MINUAR served as a catalyst for the Rwandan Patriotic Front's conquest of power, thus breaking with its duty of neutrality in fulfilling its mission to accompany the two signatories to the Arusha Peace Agreement and the Rwandan people towards reconciliation. This attack was covered up with a*

⁵⁹⁸ Karemera E., 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. The Rwandan tragedy. - This report entitled: "Results of the investigation by the National Anti-Terrorism Division of the Directorate-General of the Judicial Police", General Paul Kagame, former rebel leader and current Rwandan head of state, is named as the main decision-maker behind the attack, at the top of a list of ten senior RPF officers and the two "surface-to-air missile operators" who fired on the presidential plane, who are also identified.

thick web of lies that cast suspicion on the MINUAR mission leaders. Gradually, this web of lies is no longer standing up to the test of time or to the maieutic exercise undertaken by Edouard Karemera in his book.

30 January 2004: Le Monde was able to consult the final report of the investigation into the crash of President Juvénal Habyarimana's plane by French anti-terrorism judge Jean-Louis Bruguière⁵⁹⁹ *.

10 March 2004: The newspaper Le Monde reveals the results of the investigation by the National Anti-Terrorism Division into the main decision-maker behind the attack of 6 April 1994.

14 March 2004 on RFI, admitted to killing President Habyarimana to defend his rights. Only the military leader of the RPF, General Paul Kagame, sees no problem with killing President Habyarimana. He publicly does not care. On 14 March 2004 on RFI, General Paul Kagame declared: "I don't give a damn about Habyarimana's death; I couldn't care less. I'm not going to waste my time trying to find out how he was killed or who killed him; I don't give a damn about any of that. Why all this fuss about the plane, about the plane, about the plane, about Habyarimana? Habyarimana was a killer, he was a genocidaire, a dictator. At most, we can ask ourselves what happened to the plane, but we certainly shouldn't feel sorry for Habyarimana"⁶⁰⁰ *.

2005

2005: Operational launch of the Gacaca courts, officially adopted in 2001 to try more than 2 million defendants.

28 January 2005: Rwanda 2004 in the light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a report by Vzw SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL, Rue Paul Pastor 31, B-6230 Buzet, sos.rwabuco@skynet.be⁶⁰¹ *.

22 February 2005: Spanish complaint against the RPF for the murder of Spanish nationals and crimes committed in Rwanda and the DRC⁶⁰² * *"The complaint filed by Judge Merelles at the Madrid Court is based on the murder of nine Spanish nationals in Rwanda, as well as crimes against Rwandans and Congolese committed between 1 January 1990 and July 2002. The Spanish complaint sought to demonstrate the willingness of Kagame and his entourage to plunder the wealth of eastern Congo, where major international companies operate. The judgement was handed down on 6 February 2008, accompanied by an arrest warrant for 40*

⁵⁹⁹ Karemera E., 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ When questioned by journalist Stephen Sackur: "But you didn't have the right to shoot down his plane and assassinate him," Paul Kagame replied: "Well, I had the right to fight for my rights!"

⁶⁰¹ Vzw SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Rue Paul Pastor 31 B- 6230 Buzet sos. rwabuco@ skynet.be. - Human rights are based on the inherent dignity of every human being. This dignity and the rights to freedom and equality that derive from it belong to the State, which may regulate them but may neither abrogate nor violate them. Human dignity exists and must be recognised without any conditions. Human rights are universal in nature, acquired at birth by all members of the human family, regardless of "the political, legal or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs". The fundamental question is why, in a country such as Rwanda, the regime can violate this universal law with impunity both within and beyond its borders. Indeed, various reports and testimonies speak of more than 3 million Rwandans and more than 4 million Congolese who have all been victims of the war launched by the RPF.

⁶⁰² Siréas asbl, 2015. Rwanda: The historical controversy 20 years on. - The Spanish legal action in 2005 was launched after four years of investigation. The International Forum for Truth and Justice in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, joined by Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Argentine Nobel Peace Prize winner, is bringing a civil action against senior Rwandan officials.

*senior RPF officials for crimes committed in Rwanda and Congo (including the current Rwandan Minister of Defence, James Kabarebe)." and⁶⁰³ *. Projustitia 2005.*

The following individuals and organisations representing the complainants have joined this complaint:

- [• Cynthia Ann McKinney, African-American Member of Parliament (United States)
- Adolfo-Maria Pérez Esquivel, 1980 Nobel Peace Prize winner (Argentina)
- Juan Carrero Saralegui, Nobel Peace Prize nominee, President of the Fundació S'Olivar in Majorca
- Josep, Martí, Núria, Pilar and Maria Antonia Vallmajó Sala (brothers and sisters of Joaquim Vallmajó)
- Josep M^a Sirera Fortuny (brother of Flors Sirera)
- Fernando Valtueña Gallego (brother of Luis Valtueña, photographer for the COVER agency)
- Fernando Madrazo Osuna (brother of Manuel Madrazo)
- Edesio Rodríguez de la Fuente, M^a de los Ángeles Jorge de la Fuente (parents of Julio Rodríguez Jorge)
- Jesús Mayor García (brother of Servando Mayor)
- Cipriano and Gerardo Isla Lucio (brother of Miguel Ángel Isla Lucio)
- Agueda Uzcudun Pouso (sister of Isidro Uzcudun)
- Marie Béatrice Umutesi, sociologist, writer and Rwandan victim living in exile
- 6 Rwandan victims (protected witnesses)
- Assistance to Victims of Conflicts in Central Africa (Belgium)
- Pro-justitia Rwanda victims' association (Netherlands)
- Centre for the Fight Against Impunity (Belgium)
- Organisation for Peace, Justice and Development in Rwanda (United States)
- Cities of Figueres, Manresa, Navata, Seville and Trepmp
- Federation of Committees in Solidarity with Black Africa in Spain (12 Spanish committees in solidarity with Black Africa)
- Resource Centre of the NGO Solidarity Coordinator "CEDRE" (47 associations)
- Association "Drets Humans de Mallorca"
- Ciprano Isla Lucio, Gerardo Isla Lucio (brothers of Miguel Angel Isla Lucio)
- Segismundo de la Fuente (father of Fernando de la Fuente)
- Rocío Madrazo Candel, Belen Madrazo Candel (daughters of Manuel Madrazo)
- Bernadette Mukamana, Eric Ntwali, Belise Songa and Bernard Ngezi (widow and sons of Emmanuel Gapyisi)
- Cyriaque Nikuze Sendashonga (widow of Rwandan Minister of the Interior Seth Sendashonga)
- Sindicat de Treballadores i Treballadors - Intersindical de les Illes Balears - (STEI-i)
- Grup Balear d'Ornitologia i Defensa de la Naturalesa - (GOB).

December 2005: The body of former minister Juvénal Uwilingiyimana was found in a canal in Brussels. He had refused to give false testimony to "destroy" (in the words of the investigators) individuals suspected of genocide. He had been subjected to intense pressure from ICTR investigators.

2006

1-31 January 2006 Afrique Education: US Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, Bill Clinton's special envoy to Africa, reveals that the 6 April 1994 attack on the Rwandan president was a

⁶⁰³ Projustitia 2005. The following individuals and organisations representing the plaintiffs joined the complaint

coup d'état. She claims that the Clinton administration had decided to change the regime in Rwanda.

This is why Paul Kagame came to power through violence, lies and war. According to her, the International Criminal Tribunal, which claims to judge the Hutu, is a lamentable judicial circus. She is the only person to have organised a round table discussion in the US Congress on the attack of 6 April 1994 with FBI agents, CIA personnel, investigators from the International Criminal Tribunal and witnesses to the attack. She has submitted evidence to Judge Bruguière and is a key witness when the time is right. The same evidence was shared with Argentine Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel in the Spanish judicial investigation into the plundering of resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the crimes committed by Kagame in Rwanda and the DRC against Spanish priests, Rwandans and Congolese. It denounces a brutal and irresponsible US foreign policy in the Great Lakes region in particular, and in sub-Saharan Africa in general.

29 April 2006: Creation of the United Democratic Forces (FDU Inkingi = pillar). After consultations between the UFDR (FRD and RDR), ADR Isangano and CDA alliances, and independent figures, it was decided to establish a common framework for consultation under the name of the United Democratic Forces (FDU Inkingi = pillar)⁶⁰⁴ *.

Date unknown (RUD-URUNANA): Rally for Unity and Democracy.

This movement is chaired by Prof. Jean Marie Higiro (USA) with Dr Félicien Kanyamibwa (USA) as Secretary General.

The RUD has an armed wing in the Democratic Republic of Congo known as IMBONEZA.

17 June 2006: (PDR-IHUMURE): Party for Democracy in Rwanda.

This party, inspired by Paul Rusesabagina, hero of the film *Hotel Rwanda*, was created on 17 June 2006. Its Secretary General is Jérôme Nayigiziki.

The PDR-IHUMURE is a political party whose mission is to offer a reliable democratic alternative for the emancipation of the Rwandan people from all forms of past mistakes and for harmonious and sustainable development.

29 October 2006: Banyarwanda Party (PB)

Founded on 29 October 2006 in Brussels, PB is chaired by Boniface Rutayisire (Belgium), assisted by its Secretary-General Félicien Dufitumukiza (Netherlands). It sees itself primarily as a defender of the rights of Hutu (Rwandans born of mixed Hutu and Tutsi marriages)⁶⁰⁵ *.

⁶⁰⁴ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda, p. - The United Democratic Forces (FDU-INKINGI) were formed on 29 April 2006 by the declaration of a common programme and a charter signed by:

-Dr Jean Baptiste Mberabahizi for the Rwandan Democratic Alliance (ADR-ISANGANO);

-Eugene Ndahayo for the Forces of Resistance for Democracy (FRD);

-Victoire Umuhoza Ingabire for the Republican Rally for Democracy in Rwanda (RDR)

-Jean Marie Vianney Ndagijimana and Michel Niyibizi for independent political figures.

Its executive committee is composed of Victoire Umuhoza Ingabire as President, Eugene Ndahayo as Vice-President and Dr Jean Baptiste Mberabahizi as Secretary General and Spokesperson.

Ms Goretti Abayizigira (France) as Vice-President and Dr Augustin Dukuze (Canada) as Spokesperson.

⁶⁰⁵ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionnaire de l'histoire politique du Rwanda, p.37. - It was a platform for collaboration in certain areas such as diplomacy. It did not have a rigid structure. The presidents of the two alliances led the consultation process. The difficulties within the ADRN Igihango alliance spilled over into the CPODR, which broke up. Deo Mushayidi served as its permanent secretary and spokesperson.

17 November 2006: French judge Jean-Louis Bruguière issued international arrest warrants for Paul Kagame's entourage, reserving the ICTR for proceedings against Kagame himself⁶⁰⁶ * and⁶⁰⁷ *. A few months after Judge Bruguière's arrest warrants, Spanish judge Fernando Andreu Marelles issued forty arrest warrants against RPF army officers for various crimes committed in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, including the murder of Spanish nationals who were working in Rwanda at the time. The military personnel targeted by the Spanish courts are: Generals James Kabarebe, Faustin Kayumba Nyamwasa, Karenzi Karake, Fred Ibingira, Jack Nziza, Charles Kayonga, César Kayizari, Eric Murokore, Alexis Kagame, Samuel Kanyemera Alias Sam Kaka, Wilson Gumisiliza, Dan Gapfizi, Augustin Gashayija; Lieutenant Colonels Rugumya Gacinya, Gasana Rurayi, Joseph Nzabamwita; Colonels Rwahama Jackson Mutabazi, Willy Bagabe, Dan Munyuza, Twahirwa Dodo, Firmin Bayingana, Charles Musitu, Charles Karamba, Peter Kalimba, John Bagabo; Majors Frank Nziza, Denys Karera, Justus Majyambere, Steven Balinda, Silas Udahemuka; Captains Evariste Kabarisa, Joachim Habimana, Karara Misingo, Alphonse Kaje, Matayo, Frank Bakunzi, Godefroid Ntukayajyemo alias Kiyago; Lnts Wilson Ngabonziza, John Butera; Corporal Samuel Karenzi, alias VIKI. Some of them have been charged twice, first by the French judge and then by the Spanish judge.

2 December 2006: (Syfia Grands Lacs/Rwanda) Rwandans are tightening their belts. For the past six months, famine has been raging and food prices have risen sharply. This is due to the lack of rain and the measures taken by the government (information on the internet).

2007

7 April 2007: In his speech in Murambi on the occasion of the^{13th} commemoration of the genocide, Kagame said: "My only regret is that we were unable to exterminate all those millions of people who escaped us in 1994." Referenced here⁶⁰⁸ *.

13 July 2007: Under the guise of a bogus decentralisation programme, the Rwandan government changed the names of administrative entities to erase the locations of its massacres from public consciousness. It distanced the population by replacing the 144 communes and 10 prefectures with more distant entities: 30 districts and 5 provinces⁶⁰⁹ *. SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel RWANDA 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. I quote this remark: "In reality, the upheaval was intended to conceal the locations of the massacres committed by the RPF, the theft and plundering of conquered lands,

⁶⁰⁶ Karemera E., 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. The Rwandan tragedy. The damning confessions of the heads of the United Nations Mission for Assistance in Rwanda. Despite the prosecutor's prevarications in rejecting this joinder, Judge Bruguière's report was admitted as evidence in an ongoing trial at the ICTR. Both MINUAR authorities knew that President Habyarimana was going to be assassinated. No security measures were put in place to prevent the attack. Instead, MINUAR served as a catalyst for the RPF's conquest of power, thus breaking with its duty of neutrality in fulfilling its mission to accompany the two signatories to the Arusha Peace Agreement. This attack was covered up with a thick web of lies that cast suspicion on the MINUAR mission chiefs. Gradually, this web of lies is no longer standing up to the test of time or to the maieutic exercise undertaken by Edouard Karemera in his book.

⁶⁰⁷ Neretse E. 2010, Edition Source du Nil. Grandeur et décadence des Forces Armées Rwandaises (The Rise and Fall of the Rwandan Armed Forces). - Anti-terrorism judge Jean Louis Bruguière issues nine arrest warrants for: Generals James Kabarebe, Faustin Kayumba Nyamwasa, Charles Kayonga, Jack Nziza, Samuel Kanyemera Alias Sam Kaka, Lieutenant-Colonel Rose Kabuye, Jacob Tumwine, Major Frank Nziza and Captain Eric Hakizimana. In the same order, Judge Bruguière emphasised that Paul Kagame was behind the attack, but that he could not be prosecuted due to his immunity as head of state, although the ICTR could try him. In retaliation, Paul Kagame broke off diplomatic relations with France.

⁶⁰⁸ Referenced here* All text below in attached file (PDF)

⁶⁰⁹ SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel RWANDA 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation

the confiscation of property and businesses without compensation, and the falsification of the country's statistics. The upheaval in place names is taking place at all levels: prefecture, commune, sector, cell and hill."

Table 12 : Territorial administration: 1962-1992: 143-145 municipalities in 1994-1995: 154 municipalities

Prefecture		Prefect	Number of municipalities	Number of sectors	Units
1. Butare		Habyalimana J.B.	20		
2. Byumba		Bizimana Augustin	15		
3. Cyangugu			12		
4. Gikongoro		Habiyambere Joseph	13		
5. Gisenyi			12		
6. Gitarama			17		
7. Kibungo			11		
8. Kibuye			9		
9. Kigali Rural		Bizimungu Cosma	17		
10. Kigali-City		Renzaho Tharcice	3		
11. Ruhengeri		Bagambiki Emmanuel	16		
12. Mutara		---	10		
TOTAL			154	1,500	7,800

N.B.: In 1994, before the RPF took power, there were a total of 145 municipalities, 1,500 sectors and 7,800 cells, not including the activity cells identified within public institutions and private establishments.

Table 13: Old and new administrative prefectural/provincial place names

No.	Former names of prefectures	Current names of provinces
1.	Butare	South: Amajyepfo
2.	Byumba	North: Amajyaruguru
3.	Cyangugu	East: Iburasirazuba
4.	Gikongoro	West: Iburengerazuba
5.	Gisenyi	City of Kigali: Umujyi wa Kigali
6.	Gitarama	
7.	Kibungo	
8.	Kibuye	
9.	Kigali Rural	
10.	Kigali-City	
11.	Ruhengeri	

16 July 2007: The RPRK (Rwandese Protocol to Return to the Kingdom) was founded in

Nairobi, Kenya, with the following committee members: Eugene Nkubito, President; Jackson Munyeragwe, Secretary General; Emmanuel Gapfizi, Treasurer; Jean Paul Habimana, Political Advisor; Peter Bagabo, Mobilisation Commissioner. The RPRK supports the return of King Kigeri, who would reign over Rwanda as a constitutional monarch.

2008

23 January 2008: An alliance (RUD–RPR) is formed between the armed wings of the RUD and the RPR. During the Goma Conference (6-23 January 2008) on the peace process in the Great Lakes Region, representatives of armed groups present on Congolese territory, including Dr Félicien Kanyamibwa, Ms Goretti Abayizigira, Major Gérard Ntashamaje, and Lt Colonel Christophe Hakizabera, were touring the region and were received by the highest authorities of the DRC.

February 2008: Rwandan genocide. Deo Mushayidi is co-signatory of a memorandum entitled "Rwandan genocide: the people cry out for justice", an 80-page document accompanied by 139 pieces of evidence, addressed to the United Nations Security Council⁶¹⁰ *.

February 2008: "Indictment by Spanish judge Fernando Andreu Merelles against 40 senior RPF officers", Investigating Court No. 4, National Court, Administration of Justice, Kingdom of Spain, Madrid. - The UN has published a damning report: the Rwandan (patriotic) army allegedly committed genocidal crimes against Hutus in eastern Congo, {...}. The report describes how thousands of civilians - mostly children, women, the elderly and the sick - were massacred with hammers. Under the pretext of hunting down Hutu génocidaires in eastern Congo, militias supported by Paul Kagame's regime allegedly committed crimes against humanity {...}. See also (French court ruling on the terrorist attack of 6 April 1994, indictment for crimes committed by the RPF between 1990 and 2000 by Spanish judge F. A. MERELLES, 2008)⁶¹¹ *.

2009

10 January 2009: Creation of the royalist movement, the "Rally for Constitutional Monarchy in Rwanda" (RMC). On this date, around fifty Rwandans gathered in Washington (USA) around King Kigeri V. Among the participants were: Dr Christian Marara and Tite Gatabazi Rutikanga from France, Boniface Benzige, secretary and spokesperson for King Kigeri, François Utazirubanda and Léopold Munyakazi, both residing in the United States of America, Théodore Mpatswenumugabo from Niger, and businessman François Karekezi, living in Belgium. The meeting expressed the wish that King Kigeri return to stand in the 2010 presidential elections. It was with this in mind that he founded the RMC, appointing Dr Christian Marara as its president and Tite Gatabazi Rutikanga as its secretary-general. The king has still not returned to Rwanda as planned and his party is in a state of lethargy.

20 January 2009: A joint operation between the Congolese army and the Rwandan Defence Forces neutralises the last elements loyal to Laurent Nkunda and tracks down the FDLR.

⁶¹⁰ Mushaidi Déo and Charles Onana collaborated to publish: *Les secrets du génocide rwandais* (The Secrets of the Rwandan Genocide), Duboiris, 2002. Mushaidi is a politician and founder of the PDP Imanzi party. He has been imprisoned since ... Charles Onana investigated the secrets of international justice in the case of Rwanda.

⁶¹¹ Massacres in the DRC: the UN speaks of genocide and targets Kigali in a 'Mapping Report'. On Thursday 26 August 2010, the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* revealed excerpts from a "quasi-final" report by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) on the massacres committed in the Republic of Congo between 1993 and 2003. The document implicates Kigali and asserts that the attacks against Hutu refugees can be classified as "genocide."

(RPR): Rassemblement Du Peuple Rwandais (Rwandan People's Rally) Date unknown.

This group is chaired by Major Gérard Ntashamaje (former RPF officer). Its armed wing is called the "Army of the Rwandan People's Rally" (ARPR-INKERAGUTABARA, meaning "ready for battle"). (RDF), known as "Umoja wetu" ("Our Unity"), was launched for both the unified battlefield and 22 January 2009: Ousted General Laurent Nkunda, who was on the run, was arrested in Rwanda. The latter refused to try him or transfer him to the DRC.

18 March 2009: Report of the experts on human rights in Rwanda⁶¹² *.

Old and new administrative prefectural/provincial place names



Photo no. 104 Old and new administrative place names

1. The Northern Province

The Northern Province: The capital of the Northern Province is Byumba. It consists largely of the provinces of Ruhengeri and Byumba, as well as the northern part of Kigali (Kigali-Ngali). It includes the districts of Burera, Gicumbi, Gakenke, Musanze, and Rulindo.

2. The Eastern Province

The Eastern Province comprises the former provinces of Kibongo and Umutara, most of Kigali, and part of Byumba. It has seven districts: Bugesera, Gatsibo, Kayonza, Ngoma, Kirehe, Nyagatare, and Rwamagana. The capital is Rwamagana.

3. Southern Province

⁶¹² SOS Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel Rwanda 1989-2014, 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. - The 18 experts of the Human Rights Committee, who examined Rwanda's third periodic report, expressed their concerns about the conditions of detention in Rwandan prisons. With regard to Gacaca, many experts considered that they did not comply with the principles of equality before the law and, like the Tunisian expert, deplored the fact that they gave free rein to slanderous denunciations and settling of scores. ([Http://www.un.org/News/fr-press/docs/2009/DHCT704.doc.htm](http://www.un.org/News/fr-press/docs/2009/DHCT704.doc.htm))

The Southern Province comprises the former provinces of Gikongoro, Gitarama, and Butare, and is divided into the districts of Butare, Gatagara, Gikongoro, Gisagara, Gitarama, Kamonyi, Nyanza, and Nyaruguru. The capital is Nyanza.

4. Western Province

The Western Province comprises the former provinces of Cyangugu, Kibuye, Gisenyi, and a small part of Ruhengeri. It is divided into the districts of Cyangugu, Gasiza, Gisenyi, Kibuye, Ngororero, Nyamasheke, and Rutsiro. The capital is Kibuye.

5. Kigali

The capital of the Republic of Rwanda has a population of approximately 970,000 (2009) and is the largest city in the country. It is located in the geographical centre of the country and has been the epicentre of Rwanda's economic, cultural and transport life since it was founded as the capital in 1962. The President's main residence, the presidential offices and the ministries are located in Kigali. The city shares the borders of Kigali Province. The population has quadrupled since the population of Kigali was 229,290 in 1994, according to the UNDP census of August 1991.

23 March 2009: (M23). The new rebel group, led by self-proclaimed General Sultani Makenga, demands the implementation of the agreement of 23 March 2009 signed between the previous CNDP rebellion and the Congolese authorities.

1 July 2009: (UDFR-Ihamye): UNION FOR FEDERALIST DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA (UDFR-IHAMYE)

This party was founded in France on 1 July 2009 by Boniface Hitimana (46), who was born in Congo in the mining areas of Katanga. Coming from a mixed family (his father is Hutu and his mother is Tutsi), the young politician intends to put his assets and abilities at the service of the Rwandan people without discrimination.

16 November 2009: The first conference of ICTR defence lawyers in The Hague⁶¹³ *. "Co-sponsors include nearly 20 law schools, lawyers' associations and human rights associations in Europe, Africa and North America. The keynote speaker, former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark, when asked about the legality of United Nations criminal tribunals, which are not authorised under the United Nations Charter, said that "fairness before the ICTR is a fiction that we all agree has the most devastating damage...

The ICTR only prosecuted the side that lost the war in Rwanda, while the victors enjoyed total impunity...".

In December 2009: (FDRL): General Sylvestre Mudacumura was the overall military commander of the FDLR (political-military movement). In addition, the FDRL appointed leaders in the four corners of the world. Dr Ignace Murwanashyaka (Germany) was its president, and Alexis Nshimiyimana (Austria) was appointed spokesperson. In America, Prof. Jean Marie Vianney Higiro and Dr Félicien Kanyamibwa were advisers. General *Sylvestre Mudacumura was killed by the DRC and RDF armies on 18 September 2019 with the help of Israeli commando instructors.*

⁶¹³ SOS Rwanda - Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel Rwanda 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. - Excerpt from the press release: "For the first time in history, defence lawyers at international criminal tribunals held a self-sponsored conference to comment on and publicise the obstacles that prevent defendants from receiving fair trials, particularly at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

12 December 2009: Creation of the "People's Democratic Movement for Reconciliation/MDPR-Intiganda" (the courageous ones), founded in Germany by Abbé Théophile Murengerantwali. According to the party's founding charter, its aims include transforming Rwanda into a true constitutional state, concerned with the common good of the entire population. The party has stated its preference for a constitutional monarchy as the form of government. The MDPR has no known activities.

The acts that characterised this period of terror were atrocities: - Torture, murder, disappearances and abductions are further human rights violations committed by President Paul Kagame and his RPF, demonstrating once again the importance of international action/reaction to investigate and document these abuses through an international commission of inquiry. (See 2010 Expert Report).

- Civil and political rights: - the right to participate in public affairs, - the right to hold public office, - the right to leave and voluntarily repatriate to one's country, - the right to express one's opinion, - the right to assemble/meet/reunite and to form peaceful associations, - the right to privacy...

2010

09/01/2010: The party set up a structure responsible for supervising activists who remained outside Rwanda. It was named the "Coordination Committee" and was entrusted to Nkiko Nsengimana (Switzerland), who was then^{2nd} Vice-President of the party.

16 January 2010: Victoire Ingabire Umuhuza, president of the FDU-Inkingi, returned to Rwanda to register her party and stand in the presidential elections on 9 August 2010⁶¹⁴ *.

Victoire Ingabire Umuhuza, President of the FDU-Inkingi



Photo no. 105

19 February 2010: Ntawangundi, one of Victoire Ingabire's collaborators, was imprisoned.

19 February 2010: Permanent Consultation Council of Opposition Parties (CCP). The CCP was a platform for collaboration between opposition political parties, bringing together the FDU-Inkingi, PS-Imberakuri and Democratic Green Party of Rwanda. The platform was signed in Kigali on 19 February 2010 by the presidents of these parties, Victoire Ingabire Umuhuza, Bernard Ntaganda and Frank Habineza, respectively.

21-23 May 2010: Second International Conference of ICTR Defence Lawyers in Brussels, Belgium⁶¹⁵ *. "Defence lawyers from the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the

⁶¹⁴ The legend of Victoire Ingabire began on 16 January 2010. After sixteen years in exile in the Netherlands, this mother of three, employed by an accounting firm, decided to return home to take part in the presidential elections scheduled for August 2010.

⁶¹⁵ SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel RWANDA 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. - After two days of informative presentations and discussions covering topics related to the main theme, "Lessons learned by defence lawyers at the United Nations ad hoc tribunals and prospects for international justice at the International Criminal Court".

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and a former lawyer from the International Criminal Court, as well as lawyers, historians, experts in media science and collective memory, human rights activists and writers, addressed the 120 to 150 participants from around the world. All communications can be found on this website, along with videos of the presentations made during the conference. You will also find reports and impressions from some of the participants. (Internet link: Declaration of the Ad Hoc Organising Committee of the Brussels Conference).

July 2010: The president of the Imberakuri social party, Maître Bernard Ntaganda, is serving a four-year prison sentence for undermining state security, inciting ethnic division and organising an unauthorised demonstration.

August 2010: Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza knows what awaits her but decides to take on Kagame on his own turf.⁶¹⁶, the barrister from New York, denounced the atrocities inflicted on Ms Victoire Ingabire, who went to Rwanda to stand in the presidential elections. The authorities welcomed her to prison, after fabricating controversial crimes, for fear of democratic competition.

14 October 2010: Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza, accused by the regime of leading a terrorist movement and collaborating with the FDLR, was arrested and imprisoned on 14 October 2010⁶¹⁷ *.

October 2010: The UN Mapping Report on crimes committed in Congo between 1993 and 2003, culminating in the massacre of Hutu refugees between 1996 and 1998, was not released until October 2010⁶¹⁸ *. *"The report describes how thousands of civilians - mostly children, women, the elderly and the sick - were massacred with hammers. Under the pretext of hunting down Hutu génocidaires in eastern Congo, militias supported by Paul Kagame's regime allegedly committed crimes against humanity {...}. See also (French court ruling on the terrorist attack of 6 April 1994, indictment for crimes committed by the RPF between 1990 and 2000 by Spanish judge F.A. MERELLES, 2008)."*

In (Musabyimana G, 2011. Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, p.197). "The investigation officially began on 17 July 2008 with the deployment of some 20 human rights officers from the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to Congolese territory. They worked from October 2008 to May 2009 and were able to map the massacres. On 1 October 2010, in Geneva, Switzerland, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner

⁶¹⁶<https://m.facebook.com/sharer/sharer.php?u=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.nycbar.org%2Fpress-releases%2Fstatement-on-the-inhumane-treatment-of-victoire-ingabire-umuhoza-by-the-rwandan-government%2F>, March 2025.

⁶¹⁷ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda. - The party therefore preferred to formalise the negotiations through meetings in Brussels in December 2010 and then in Montreux in January 2011. On 25 January 2011, after four days of negotiations, they signed a platform in Montreux whose main objective was to establish democracy in Rwanda. A communiqué sanctioning the work was drafted, but Eugène Ndahayo opposed its publication against the advice of the negotiating team, which included four party officials: Nkiko Nsengimana, Jean Baptiste Mberabahizi, Sixbert Musangamfura and Charles Ndereyehe. They did not understand why a single individual, who had been kept informed on a daily basis of the progress of the negotiations, was blocking the communiqué, especially since it only summarised, in general terms, the points on which the two parties had reached consensus. The RNC was represented by Gervais Condo, Jonathan Musonera, Gérard Gahima and Joseph Ngarambe.

⁶¹⁸ SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel RWANDA 1989-2014, 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. - The UN has published a damning report: the Rwandan (Patriotic) Army allegedly committed genocidal crimes against Hutus in eastern Congo, {...}.

for Human Rights (OHCHR) published the final report, entitled the Mapping Report. It mentions 617 massacre sites."

9 November 2010: Arusha – A witness, Aloys Ruyenzi, a former member of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) currently in exile, testified on Tuesday before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) that the former president of the Interahamwe militia, Robert Kajuga, "worked for the RPF," the former rebel group currently in power⁶¹⁹ *. ICTR-09.11.10-ICTR/Karempera – Interahamwe president worked for the RPF.

The national president of the militia, Robert Kajuga, now deceased, "worked for us, like other members of the Interahamwe," said Aloys Ruyenzi, adding that he held the rank of corporal in the rebellion from April 1992 to April 1994.

According to the witness, Kajuga - known to be Tutsi - and some of his men committed crimes for which the government was then blamed.

Ruyenzi testified before the ICTR at the request of former MRND president Mathieu Ndirumapfse, who is being tried alongside Eduard Karemera, former vice-president of the former presidential party. The two men are charged with crimes committed by members of their political party, in particular the notorious MRND Interahamwe youth militia. "You cannot claim to know better than I do how the RPF works," insisted the witness, adding that at the time he was part of the close guard of current President Paul Kagame, then head of the RPF's armed wing.

When questioned by Don Webster of the prosecution's office about the exact nature of the crimes committed by Kajuga in the context of his alleged collaboration with the rebels, he replied: "I know he worked for us; what he did was what our fighters who had infiltrated the country beyond government lines did: criminal acts."

2011

On 25 January 2011, after four days of negotiations, several members of the *RNC party* signed a platform in Montreux whose main objective was to establish democracy in Rwanda.⁶²⁰ *. Musabyimana states that: "*A communiqué sanctioning the work was drafted, but Eugène Ndahayo opposed its publication against the advice of the negotiating team, which included four party officials: Nkiko Nsengimana, Jean Baptiste Mberabahizi, Sixbert Musangamfura and Charles Ndereyehe. They did not understand why a single individual, who had been kept informed on a daily basis of the progress of the negotiations, was blocking the communiqué, especially since it only summarised, in general terms, the points on which the two parties had reached consensus. The RNC was represented by Gervais Condo, Jonathan Musonera, Gérard Gahima and Joseph Ngarambe.*"

16 March 2011: An attack at around 7.50 p.m. with a Molotov cocktail at the residence of the president of the FDU-Inkingi, Ms Victoire Ingabire, in Kigali.

⁶¹⁹ TPIR-09.11.10-TPIR/Karempera - the president of the Interahamwe worked for the RPF (witness Aloys Ruyenzi).

⁶²⁰ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda. - The party therefore preferred to formalise the negotiations at the meeting in Brussels in December 2010 and then in Montreux in January 2011. On 25 January 2011, after four days of negotiations, they signed a platform in Montreux whose main objective was to establish democracy in Rwanda.

31 May 2011: Human Rights Watch report. Compromised Justice: The Legacy of Rwanda's Gacaca Courts.

¹October 2011: Public testimony in the United States by former ambassador and former chief of staff to Kagame, Théogène Rudasingwa, who said he was prepared to provide additional information to national and/or international courts. He had written to Judge Trévidic to this effect and was heard.

23 October 2011: King Kigeli V's latest initiative was to hold a meeting in Washington with 17 Rwandans from various backgrounds, during which the Royal Council of Rwanda (CRR) was adopted. This is a consultative and consultative body, not a political party. It will help the king implement his programme of reconciliation among Rwandans.

12 November 2011: Adoption and implementation of a new national anthem to replace the one used since Rwanda's independence. A symbol of the new regime's rejection of the republic.

2012

23 February 2012: Rwanda's Supreme Court upheld the life sentence handed down to Déogratias Mushayidi, president of the PDP Imanzi party, for undermining state security, using false documents and inciting the population to disobedience.

29 April 2012: Former CNDP rebels mutiny... again. Bosco Ntaganda, who fears he will eventually be handed over by Kinshasa to the ICC, is involved but remains in the shadows.

6 May 2012: - The mutineers announce the creation of the March 23 Movement (M23). The new rebel group, led by self-proclaimed General Sultani Makenga, demands the implementation of the 23 March 2009 agreement signed between the previous CNDP rebellion and the Congolese authorities.

30 October 2012: Sentenced to eight years' imprisonment by the High Court of Kigali. The Court convicted opposition leader Victoire Ingabire Umuhoro for "conspiracy against the authorities through terrorism and war" and "denial of genocide". In its publication dated 30 October 2012, Human Rights Watch stated: *"The guilty verdict handed down on 30 October 2012 in the trial of opposition party leader Victoire Ingabire is the culmination of a trial marked by irregularities and politically motivated charges."*

30 October 2012: (ARRDC-ABENEGIHUGU): ISANGANO ARRDC-ABENEGIHUGU PARTY: The Isangano-ARRDC party, "Alliance of Rwandans for Revolution and Democratic Change", was created on 30 October 2012 by Jean Marie Vianney Minani, president.

12 November 2012: Sultani Makenga is banned from travelling and his assets are frozen. This decision is taken by the Security Council Sanctions Committee, which suspects him of being responsible for several acts of violence against the civilian population in North Kivu.

20 November 2012: - The M23 seizes the city of Goma, capital of North Kivu.

27 November 2012: At the request of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), the M23 rebels agree to withdraw from the city of Goma. For its part, Kinshasa undertakes to "listen" to their demands.

9 December 2012: Talks begin in Kampala between the Congolese government and the M23.

2013

1 January 2013: - Roger Lumbala, elected representative of Miabi in eastern Kasai, joins the M23.

28 January 2013: (PI): ISHEMA PARTY. This party was created on 28 January 2013 by a dozen people from all walks of life, all religions and all regions of Rwanda, both Hutu and Tutsi. The founding members of the ISHEMA party are Abbé Thomas Nahimana, Secretary General, Déogratias Basesayabo, party leader in Belgium, Nadine Claire Kasinge, party spokesperson and training manager in Canada. The political leaders are: Jean Baptiste Kabanda, Dr Déogratias Basesayabo, Chaste Gahunde, Joseph Nkusi, Venant Nkurunziza and Ernest Nsenga.

24 February 2013: Under the auspices of the UN, 11 African countries, including the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda, sign the Addis Ababa Framework Agreement aimed at restoring peace in the Great Lakes region.

27 February 2013: Sultani Makenga, the military leader of the M23, dismisses Jean-Marie Runiga from his position as political coordinator of the rebel movement.

16 March 2013: (PPR-IMENA): RWANDAN POPULAR PARTY. This party was created on 16 March 2013. The founding members are: Hasani Bakundukize, Habimana Bonaventure, Kazungu Nyirinkwaya, Karengera Augustin, Rutayisire Phocas, Rubingisa Protogène, Kavurati Kayihura Bryan, Nyirinkindi Pierre and Hakizimana Célestin⁶²¹ *.

18 March 2013: Defeated by the M23 faction loyal to Sultani Makenga, Bosco Ntaganda fled to Rwanda and surrendered to the US Embassy in Kigali. A few days later, he was handed over to the ICC.

23 May 2013: Resolution No. 2013/26415(RSP) "European Parliament resolution on Rwanda: the case of Victoire Ingabire," which denounces and condemns an unfair, politically motivated trial aimed at removing a political opponent.

25 March 2013: For credible international organisations, the trial against Victoire Ingabire is political: For shady and unacknowledged reasons, Mehdi Ba, in his article, goes against the clear and thoughtful positions of credible international organisations such as the European Parliament, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

In its resolution 2013/2641(RSP), the European Parliament unequivocally condemned the political nature of Victoire Ingabire's trial.

In its article of 25 March 2013, Amnesty International emphasises that it "*has received information that detainees have been subjected to torture and other forms of ill-treatment at Kami camp. The fact that at least two men tried at the same time as Victoire Ingabire were imprisoned there for months before incriminating Ingabire raises serious concerns and must be investigated.*" The NGO adds: "*Victoire Ingabire's trial in the first instance was marred by irregularities, and international standards were flouted.*" Finally, "*after examining the evidence presented at the trial, Amnesty International sees no reason to believe that Victoire Ingabire intended to incite violence or hatred against an ethnic group.*"

28 March 2013: - The Security Council decides to deploy a United Nations intervention brigade to neutralise all armed groups in eastern DRC, including the M23 and the FDLR.

May 2013: (PRM): PARTI RWANDAIS DES MODERES PRM-ABASANGIZI. The PRM was created in Savannah, Georgia (USA) by Dr Gasana Anastase. This party advocates the existence of only two political parties in Rwanda. It also says that it will form its own armed

⁶²¹ Musabyimana G. 2011 – Editions Scribe Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda.

wing. At the time of its founding, its executive committee was composed of Dr Gasana Anastase, President; Mukeshimana Isaac, Vice-President in charge of Policy; Batungwanayo Janvier, Vice-President in charge of Rural Development; Bamara Prosper, Vice-President in charge of Security; and Akishuli Abdallah, Vice-President in charge of Coordination. The latter resigned from Mayotte on 25 May 2013.

30 June 2013: President Paul Kagame launched a vast dehumanising political campaign called "Ndi Umunyarwanda" (literally "I am Rwandan") to further stir up hatred and t between the two main ethnic groups in Rwanda, the Hutus and the Tutsis. In this exercise of stigmatising and demonising part of the population, the President asked young Hutus to ask for forgiveness for the crimes that their fellow Hutus allegedly committed against the Tutsis. The discourse of blaming the Hutus is a "genocide" that does not say its name. (Read: www.Musabyimana.net (under the pretext of Ndimunyarwanda: I am a Rwandan))^{622(*)} and^{623(*)} . The author explains the true content of this speech, which *"blames young Hutus for crimes they neither committed nor knew about and calls on young Tutsis to always be wary of their Hutu peers. Kagame also pointed out that Hutus did not have a natural and inalienable right to live in Rwanda and that if they still live there, it is solely thanks to his benevolence..."*

Is there not a total contradiction between a genuine policy of reconciliation and collective accusations that can only breed hatred and division? Is there not a total contradiction between such a speech and the thesis that ethnic groups do not exist, that all Rwandans are simply Rwandans? Such a speech is in fact a public incitement to racial hatred.

The document concerning the party: The Rwandan National Union (UNAR) in Kinyarwanda: Abashyirahamwe b'Urwanda. The Rwandan National Union (UNAR) party was founded on 3 September 1959 by François Rukeba, calling for Rwanda's independence by 1962. Contains a copy of "a statement from the UNAR" and a copy of the political party manifesto "Abashyirahamwe b'u Rwanda", which was drafted on behalf of the UNAR Steering Committee by its president, François Rukeba, and its secretary, Védaste Ntarugera; UNAR correspondence, 1959. The UNAR party held its first meeting in Kigali on 13 September 1959. Mr Lazare Ndazaro reported on it to the Belgian Resident (Belgian authority). The author is co-founder of RADER, the "civil servants" party opposed to UNAR^{624 *}. *"This movement, which emerged from members of the UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise) party in exile, was dominated by the military wing. However, it was unable to achieve any military victories. As a result, the young followers of the "Inyenzi" movement, stunned, founded the "Front de Libération du Rwanda" (FLR) in Bujumbura in 1965. It too was unable to do any better. Nor did it have much support among the refugees at the time. In the wake of this, the old faction, led by a certain Mudandi who had returned from training in China, also founded the "Rwandan Revolutionary*

⁶²² www.Musabyimana.net (The Rwandan Genocide: The Truth About the War in the Heart of Africa). -. According to Paul Kagame, all Hutus are perpetrators of genocide. On 30 June 2013, Rwanda's strongman Paul Kagame was invited by the Ministry of Youth and Sports (in front of 860 young people) to speak to young people at the "South Connékt Dialogue" event. The purpose of this meeting with post-genocide youth was to talk about the future, reconciliation and the role of youth in building a new Rwanda. However, General Kagame, known for his sharp rhetoric, resorted to denigration, accusations, slander and threats, particularly against the Hutus, Westerners, the opposition and Tanzanian Head of State Jakaya Kikwete. "The Hutus must ask for forgiveness for the genocide perpetrated in their name.

⁶²³ Siréas asbl, 2015. Rwanda: The historical controversy 20 years on. - In June 2013, during a speech addressed to hundreds of young people, Paul Kagame delivered a speech of rare violence: "Even if you did not kill, stand up and ask forgiveness for those who killed in your name. Why should you remain silent when there is someone who killed in your name?"

⁶²⁴ Documents concerning the party: The Rwandan National Union (UNAR) in Kinyarwanda: Abashyirahamwe b'Urwanda. (See also the history of UNAR dating back to 1959.) - The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) is an offshoot of the "Inyenzi" movement that attacked Rwanda between 1961 and 1967.

Movement" (MRR) in that country in 1968. This movement was also undermined by splits and embezzlement. It split into several factions, the best known of which is the Rwanda National Liberation Movement (RNLM), set up in Kampala, Uganda, by Jean Marie Vianney Karuranga in the early 1970s (...). In 1979, Rwandan refugees in Uganda founded the Rwandese Welfare and Foundation (RRWF), legally registered as a cultural organisation.

9 July 2013: Interview with Patrick Karegeya: "We know where the missiles came from", and RFI, 9/07/2013, Interview with Kayumba Nyamwasa "I am ready to provide all the evidence", on the Internet, see bibliography.

23 July 2013: The Rwandan police arrested 11 members of the Intwarane za Mariya, a Catholic prayer group, for illegal demonstration because they were marching towards the presidential palace in Kigali with the intention of submitting a petition to the President, asking him to carry out a series of reforms (Special Report).⁶²⁵ *

1 August 2013: MONUSCO establishes a "security zone" around Goma. From now on, no armed groups will be tolerated on the Goma-Sake axis. This is a decisive turning point in the implementation of UN Resolution 2098.

12 August 2013: Petition for a tribunal. Fifty-two prominent women call for the creation of an international criminal tribunal to try crimes committed in the DRC, particularly rape. The 52 women – including former French ministers Rama Yade, Roseline Bachelot and Ingrid Betancourt – signed a petition "on rape as a weapon of war ... The establishment of an International Tribunal for the Democratic Republic of Congo" to succeed the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, which is due to close at the end of 2014⁶²⁶ *. *In the report, investigators listed "617 violent incidents, but in total 'tens of thousands of people were killed, many others were raped and mutilated - by Congolese armed groups and foreign military forces'."*

"All political parties, civil society and local communities need to get involved, everyone needs to commit themselves with the support of the international community, otherwise I fear that everything will be botched.

Yet such a tribunal could really discourage those who want to do harm," said Angélique Kipu, president of the League for Congolese Women's Rights in Kinshasa.

The statement is addressed in particular to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, French President François Hollande, US President Barack Obama and African Union Commission Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma.

21 August 2013: After a few months of calm, fighting resumes between the Congolese army, supported by the United Nations brigade, and M23 rebels in Kibati, about 20 km from the city of Goma. Shells fired by the rebel movement even fall on the capital of North Kivu, killing civilians.

⁶²⁵ Maina Kiai: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, addendum. The Council extended the Special Rapporteur's mandate for the first time in September 2013 (resolution 24/5) and for the second time in June 2016 (resolution 32/32). The mandate was last renewed in July 2019 (resolution 41/12) for a period of three years.

⁶²⁶ Internet DHR, 2014. - The declaration, initiated by Congolese lawyer Hamuly Rély, is presented as an essential resolution for peace and justice in the Great Lakes region.

This ICC would be "responsible for prosecuting all crimes listed in the United Nations Mapping Report". The Mapping Report, which is over 550 pages long, concerns human rights violations committed between 1993 and 2003 in the DRC.

September 2013: At least 20 students were arrested after submitting a petition to the Prime Minister protesting against the tightening of conditions for access to state loans for students enrolled in public universities and colleges (Special Rapporteur⁶²⁷ *).

25 October 2013: While talks between the M23 and the Congolese government stalled in Kampala on three points (amnesty, reintegration and the future of rebel leaders), the army, supported by the United Nations intervention brigade, launched a counter-offensive on positions held by the rebels.

Week of 8 November 2013: (Week): Great Lakes, OCAPI: 13 November 2013: In the DRC, the week was marked by the complete defeat of the M23. After a final offensive against the mutineers' last strongholds and a ceasefire declaration by the movement's political leader, the FARDC continued their attack with the support of MONUSCO, which gave the green light to shell the last positions held by the rebels. On this basis, the Congolese government is talking of a "total victory".

For his part, the political leader of the M23 declared an end to the rebellion. As for the military leader, Sultani Makenga, who is on a UN sanctions list for serious human rights violations, he reportedly surrendered to the Ugandan army with more than a thousand of his men. Uganda, which has expelled more than 11,000 Congolese families who had sought refuge in the country, will not return the rebels to the DRC until a peace agreement has been signed, which Kampala says should be on 11 November. An unknown number of mutineers have also taken refuge in Rwanda, while many of those who fled the fighting are reluctant to return home and there are fears of reprisals against those who collaborated with the M23.

5 November 2013: - The Congolese government announces "total victory" over the M23. During the night of 4 to 5 November, the army, supported by the UN intervention brigade, launched a final assault on the last two rebel strongholds in the hills of Rutshuru. Sultani Makenga and his men fled in disarray to neighbouring Uganda and Rwanda. In the wake of this, the political wing of the M23 announced the "end of the rebellion" from Kampala.

8 November 2013: Buoyed by its military victory over the rebellion, the Congolese government maintained its position in Kampala, where talks with the political wing of the M23 were being held. For Kinshasa, there would be no "amnesty or wholesale integration" of the defeated ex-rebels.

For Christoph Vogel, an expert on the security situation in the Great Lakes region, the end of the M23 rebellion marks the end of a cycle for the actors involved. "For the first time, the leaders of the rebellion will not be able to hold important positions in the army or in politics again," he explains.

8 November 2013: (PDP-IMANZI): Popular Democratic Party: The political party PDP-IMANZI, whose name is the "People's Democratic Pact-Imanzi", was founded by Déo Mushayidi, President, Gérard Karangwa Semushi, Vice-President, and Jean Damascène Munyampeta, Executive Secretary.

11 November 2013: The Congolese government and the M23 failed to agree on the document to be signed: the Kampala peace agreement or declaration.

⁶²⁷ Maïna Kiai: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, addendum. The Council extended the Special Rapporteur's mandate for the first time in September 2013 (resolution 24/5) and for the second time in June 2016 (resolution 32/32). The mandate was last renewed in July 2019 (resolution 41/12) for a period of three years.

13 December 2013: The Supreme Court increased her sentence to 15 years following an unfair and unjust trial. Ms Victoire Ingabire Umuhoya, President of the FDU-Inkingi, has been in prison since 14 October 2010, following unfair and scandalous trials.

31 December 2013: Colonel Patrick Karegeya, former head of the Rwandan Secret Service and founding member of the opposition party, the Rwandan National Congress (RNC), was assassinated in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Colonel Patrick Karegeya



Photo no. 10 . 6.

Karegeya Patrick was born in Mbarara, Uganda, in 1960. Head of the Rwandan Intelligence Service, he fled Rwanda in 2007 and was granted political asylum in South Africa. He was assassinated on the night of 31 December 2013.

2014

¹January 2014: Assassination of Patrick Karegeya, former head of Rwanda's secret service. He was found dead in a hotel room in Johannesburg. Five months earlier, he had publicly revealed Kagame's responsibility for the attack on 6 April 1994⁶²⁸ *.

23 March 2014: In its final report at the close of Gacaca, the justice of the Inyenzi's political revenge against the Hutus : PRI gratefully acknowledges the financial support provided by the following government agencies to the Gacaca research programme: *The UK Department for International Development (DfID)

* The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)

* The Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs PRI would like to thank the Catholic Committee Against Hunger and for Development for its financial support for the publication of the Gacaca report. (CCFD) PRI would like to thank Jonathan Blagbrough for compiling and editing this publication⁶²⁹ *.

2 June 2014: The Minister of Local Government stated that approximately 16,000 people in the Ngororero region had disappeared without trace.

5 June 2014: Speech by President-General Paul Kagame in Nyabihu, in which the President publicly threatened to shoot on sight, in broad daylight, anyone who, in his view, threatened the

⁶²⁸ On 31 December 2013, in Johannesburg, Colonel Patrick Karegeya, former head of Rwandan foreign intelligence, was found dead in his hotel room. It took almost five years for the case to come to trial. He was 53 years old and was killed in his hotel room in Sandton, a suburb of Johannesburg. The hearings will begin in January, but neither of the two suspects will be present in Johannesburg, the prosecutor has confirmed. Both are foreign nationals and reside outside South Africa.

⁶²⁹ The final report at the close of Gacaca, the Inyenzi's political revenge against the Hutus: closed on 28 March 2014.

security of the regime. On 6 June 2014, fires broke out in the central prison in Muhanga (Gitarama), followed by another on 7 July 2014 in Nyakiriba-Rubavu (Gisenyi). Two months later, several bodies wrapped in plastic bags were discovered on Lake Rweru⁶³⁰ *.

6 June 2014: Following accusations by the US Government, which had strongly denounced arbitrary arrests, continued disappearances and attacks on freedoms in Rwanda, President Kagame threatened in front of a crowd of residents to kill his political opponents in broad daylight.

30 July 2014: In its report of 30 July, the Rwanda Prison and Correctional Service stated that more than 30,000 people sentenced to community service were missing.

30 August 2014: Global Research published an article entitled "Second Genocide in Rwanda: Slow, Silent, and Systematic?" The RPF is applying the "teaspoon" technique advocated by President Kagame himself in 2003⁶³¹ *. In August 2014: the world was shocked by the discovery by Burundian fishermen of more than 40 bodies carried by the Kagera River from Rwanda and floating on Lake Rweru on the border between Burundi and Rwanda. Some bodies were headless, some were tied up and locked in bags, a method known to the RPF to conceal the identity of the victim.

During August 2014: while prisoners were preparing a site to build a car wash not far from Nyarugenge prison in the heart of Kigali, they discovered a mass grave of recent corpses. This discovery was confirmed by the Commissioner General of the Rwanda Prisons and Correctional Services, Major-General Paul Rwarakabije, in an interview with a local newspaper on 14 November 2014.

1 October 2014: Broadcast of a one-hour documentary entitled "*Rwanda's Untold Story*" addressing the side of the history of the Rwandan genocide that has long been ignored by the media. It was broadcast by BBC2 on the programme "Out This World" on 1 October 2014 (rebroadcast on 2 October 2014). {Follow this link to watch the documentary: <http://vimeo.com/107867605> ⁶³² * Everything that President Paul Kagame of Rwanda says about the Rwandan genocide is completely different and contrary to the reality of the facts. *"He lied to the Rwandan people and to the whole world. It has been proven that Paul Kagame and his Front are responsible for the suffering of the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa since October 1990. On Thursday 1 October 2014 at 10 p.m., BBC Two broadcast a documentary by British director John Conroy: "Rwanda's Untold Story," which methodically deconstructs the terrible lies about*

⁶³⁰ SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel RWANDA 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. Muhanga prison (which housed 7,000 inmates in a space designed to accommodate 400) went up in smoke. The authorities claimed that the prisoners were not in their cells, but it is more likely that 3,500 prisoners were incinerated on that occasion. Finally, the article recalls that, in early July, more than 40 bodies were discovered by fishermen on Lake Rweru on the border between Rwanda and Burundi. Both countries have stated that they have no reports of missing persons. However, as we have just seen, thousands of people are missing in Rwanda. In particular, 14 well-documented disappearances have been reported by Human Rights Watch (article of 16 May 2014 at the following link: <http://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2014/05/16/rwanda-vague-de-disparitions-forcees>).

⁶³¹ SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Hotel RWANDA 1989-2014 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. A technique consisting of emptying a barrel with a teaspoon, that is, exterminating a population little by little. In her article, Ann Garrison denounced the disappearance of at least 50,000 people, which the Rwandan government acknowledges without conducting any serious investigation into what happened to them. The author cites in particular the 16,000 people from the Ngororero District and the 30,000 "tigistes" (prisoners sentenced to community service "TIGE"), all of whom disappeared without trace... See (<http://www.globalresearch.ca/second-genocide-in-rwanda-slow-silent-and-systematic/5398459>)

⁶³² Ndangali C.S. Edition Scribe, 2015. Rwanda ethnic groups, clans and socio-economic problems. Comparative study of practices under the sacred monarchy and the Rwandan Patriotic Front system. BBC Two contradicts the official line on the genocide.

*the tragedies that have devastated the Great Lakes region since 1990, lies spread in particular by the French media, which is very complacent towards Kigali. And one culprit is singled out, with supporting evidence: Paul Kagame. Everything is covered: the massacres to seize power, his responsibility for the destruction of the Rwandan and Burundian presidents' plane, the massacres and even crimes against humanity against Rwandans in Rwanda before and in 1994 (Kibeho, for example) and then in the camps in eastern Zaire, the terror he has spread in his country since he came to power, the imprisonment of his opponents, including Victoire Ingabire, and the political assassinations of some of his opponents, often former partners who want to speak out and denounce his crimes. The support of the British and American governments is strongly denounced, and Mr Clinton and Mr Blair are severely criticised for their unwavering support for the criminal dictator. France is not specifically implicated. Witnesses who have held high office or who are leading experts take the stand: Filip Reyntjens, Luc Marchal, Faustin Kayumba, Stam & Davenport, J. Lyons, Carla Del Ponte, Théogène Rudasingwa, etc. One can only rejoice to see that these are almost the same people who testified at the symposium held in France on 1 April 2014 at the Senate and which, curiously, was ignored by the French media (with the exception of RFI) and (⁶³³ * continued).*

26 November 2014: Disappearance of witness Emile Gafirita: Kenyan police do not open an investigation.info on the internet, see bibliography.⁶³⁴ *. *"According to testimonies gathered by RFI, Emile Gafirita was allegedly abducted in Nairobi, Kenya, by two men who handcuffed him and forced him into their vehicle. He was due to be heard shortly by judges Marc Trévidic and Nathalie Poux in the case of the attack on the plane of former Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana on 6 April 1994. Emile Garafita had moved to the Dagoretti neighbourhood of Nairobi two months ago under an assumed name, Emmanuel Mughisa. On Thursday 13 November, he went out for a drink with fellow Rwandans at the Dreams restaurant, a stone's throw from his home. According to witnesses, it was on his way home shortly before midnight that he was intercepted, handcuffed and dragged into a white Toyota van by two men. Attracted by the screams, two Kenyans came out of their shop and heard the kidnappers speaking to Emile Gafirita in a language they did not understand. According to his French lawyer, Maître François Cantier, Emile Gafirita had just received his summons when he was abducted on Thursday, but his name and his status as a witness for judges Trévidic and Poux had been known for several weeks to all parties, including figures in the Rwandan regime who have been charged in this case. "This situation is tragic, first because a man has disappeared, with a serious risk of assassination, and second because a piece of the truth about the assassination of President Habyarimana may not come to light," Maître Cantier told RFI. The Kenyan police say they are not responsible for the abduction and have decided to investigate the case. P. Amah.*

2015

⁶³³ (Continued). This documentary is still available on the BBC website (...) and we strongly encourage you to watch it to understand the gulf that exists between the extremely complacent view disseminated in France about the criminal regime led by Paul Kagame, the almost total silence on his crimes against humanity (even genocide), the lies and manipulations used to try to cover up his responsibility for the attack on the plane carrying the two Rwandan and Burundian presidents (...). This documentary, which is remarkably well argued and produced, does not take any shots at France. (...) And since they have already been widely publicised during the parliamentary commission, wouldn't it be better, if we are really seeking the truth, to ask Washington and London to do this work of transparency?

⁶³⁴ Afrique Infos (RFI) 20 November 2014: Rwanda. Disappearance of new witness in the case of the attack on the plane of former Rwandan President Habyarimana Juvénal.

16 February 2015: Start of Congolese army operations "against the FDLR" on 24 February 2015.

6 March 2015: On World Democracy Day, the European Union Human Rights Agency urges Rwanda to commit to true multiparty democracy and to peacefully open up political space to opponents.

10 March 2015: Presidential elections will be held on 25 October 2015 and... FARDC units in preparation for operations against the FDLR created...

25/11/2015: Jeune Afrique, in its article of 25/11/2015, published the European Resolution (Resolution 2013/2641 (RSP). The article published by Mehdi Ba in Jeune Afrique on 25/11/2015 contains too many generalisations and exudes blatant partisanship for Paul Kagame's dictatorship. During the hearings, Victoire Ingabire proved beyond reasonable doubt that the charges against her were not supported by any evidence or verifiable facts. This reveals that the trial was purely political.

29 November 2015. Recommendations No. 95/CSPOR/PK 1215. Recommendation of the joint conference of civil society and political organisations of the Rwandan diaspora on the common position regarding the implementation of the cessation clause applicable to Rwandan refugees from 1959 to 31 December 1998, held on 29 November 2015.

31 December 2015: The UN Security Council has just postponed the end date of the hearings to 31 December 2015. '*UN Security Council Resolution 2194 (2014)*'⁶³⁵*. In this search for guilt, experts and witnesses for the prosecution and the defence have been heard and re-heard for nearly 20 years. The prosecutor's charges are based on the work of people consulted as experts. The best known of these is the American historian Alison Desforges. Several experts were briefed by Rwandan human rights organisations close to the RPF, notably the Committee for the Respect of Human Rights and Democracy in Rwanda (CRDDR) and the Rwandan Association for the Defence of Human Rights (ARDHO), both created in 1990, i.e. on the eve of the RPF's invasion of the country. And⁶³⁶ *.

December 2015: the security services attempted to kidnap Twagilimana Boniface, Vice-President of the FDU-Inkingi, but the population intervened to defend their leader. Ashamed, the security services fled, leaving B. Twagilimana alone. Alfred Gasana, Director General at the Ministry of the Interior and Security (NISS 2011-2021), may have played a decisive role in his disappearance⁶³⁷ *.

2016

16 October 2016: Death of King Kigeli V Ndahindurwa in Oakton, Virginia, United States. He was born in 1936 in Kamembe-Shangugu. He was the last king of Rwanda, reigning from 1959 to 1961, when the monarchy was abolished. He died without leaving any official family.

⁶³⁵ Siréas asbl, 2015. Rwanda: The historical controversy 20 years on. – The ICTR began its investigations in 1995. This tribunal operates according to the rules of English law: the suspect is presumed guilty and it is up to the prosecutor to prove otherwise. Initially, the files are empty and the prosecutor is responsible for gathering all the evidence of guilt.

⁶³⁶ SOS Rwanda-Burundi ASBL Buzet, October 2014. Altar RWANDA 1989-2014, 25 years of thirst for truth, justice and reconciliation. - Jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The ICTR is empowered to try persons alleged to be responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens alleged to be responsible for such violations committed in the territory of neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994, in accordance with the provisions of this Statute.

⁶³⁷file:///C:/Users/Jean%20Rugomboka/Downloads/Scanned%20from%20a%20Xerox%20Multifunction%20Printer_240705_170739.pdf

President Paul Kagame refused him burial honours, the prerogatives of someone who had served as Rwandan head of state.

2017

The example of summary executions carried out by the RPF government: Human Rights Watch reports that the executions took place between July 2016 and March 2017 in western Rwanda. More than a hundred victims have been slowly killed over the past 30 years.

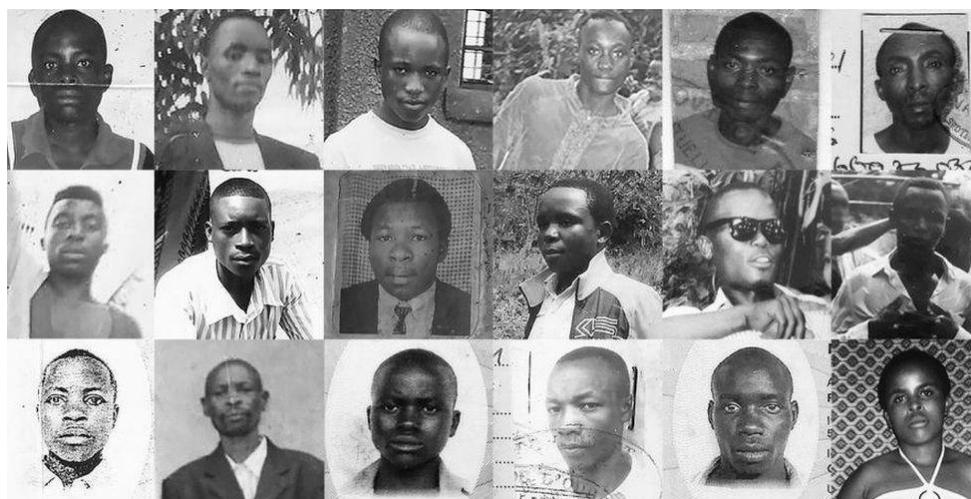


Photo no. 107 Image source, Human Rights Watch Published on 13 July 2017

Rwanda has killed 37 petty criminals, according to Human Rights Watch.

22 February 2017: "Formation of a Rwandan government in exile led by Abbé Nahimana Thomas", with the aim of preparing to replace the government of Paul Kagame, which has become illegitimate and undesirable to the Rwandan people and the African Great Lakes sub-region.

August 2017: Formation of a Rwandan government in exile by Thomas Nahimana, born in 1971, a former Rwandan Catholic priest and founder of the opposition party Ishema. After being prevented twice from returning to Rwanda to contest the August 2017 presidential elections, he created a Rwandan government-in-exile web , based in France .

Thomas Nahimana



Photo no. 108

October 2017: Imprisonment of FDU-Inkingi activists and members, including Twagilimana Boniface, Vice-President of FDU-Inkingi in Mageragere.

October 2017: The assassinations and imprisonment of opposition activists and members of the FDU-Inkingi, including Twagilimana Boniface, Vice-President of the FDU-Inkingi in

Mageragere, and those of DALFA Umurinzi, are part of a vast intimidation plan by the RPF government, supported by foreign governments. Despite this support, the denunciations did not waver in listening to the pleading voice (, see reference⁶³⁸ *). The author of the denunciations ended up being swept away by this criminal government, but the donor (government) made no gesture of compassion. An investigation was to be conducted to clarify the correlation between the denunciations made by Twagirimana Bonface via the FDU and the dishonest acts to make him disappear from the political scene.

2016–2020: Victims of enforced disappearances



Photo No. 109: Targeted assassinations of the Rwandan opposition

⁶³⁸ Rwanda. Authorities must release... - Amnesty International
www.amnesty.org/fr/latest/news/2024/12/rwanda-authorities-must-immediately-release-detained-journalist-and-members-of-political-opposition/
www.amnesty.org/fr/latest/news/2024/12/rwanda-authorities-must-immediatel

7 December 2018: Victoire Ingabire wins her case against the Republic of Rwanda before the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, Application No. 003/2014 and ruling on reparations. (See reference⁶³⁹ *)

14 September 2018: Victoire Ingabire Umuhoza, the opposition leader, is released from prison on parole.

3 October 2018: Twagilimana Boniface, Vice-President of the FDU-Inkingi, is transferred from Mageragere prison to Mpanga, where he is separated from other prisoners.

5 October 2018: Twagilimana Boniface, Vice-President of the FDU-Inkingi, is taken from his cell with a certain Aimable Murenzi and put into a car with a notorious killer who was in the same cell with him. He is never seen again.

In December 2018, investigating judges Jean Marc Herbaut and Nathalie Poux issued a dismissal order "due to insufficient evidence," which was upheld by the Court of Cassation in February 2022.

2019

18 September 2019: Sylvestre Mudacumura , nicknamed "Muhutu" at Inyemeramihigo College (in Gisenyi), the supreme leader of the Rwandan Hutu rebellion FDLR, was shot dead on Tuesday night, according to the Democratic Army of Congo⁶⁴⁰ *.

General Mudacumura, former deputy commander of the presidential guard



Photo no. 110

Additional information on General Mudacumura: one hero among many.

Commander of the FDLR, exercises influence over the policies pursued by that organisation; retains command and control of the FDLR, which is among the armed groups and militias referred to in paragraph 20 of resolution 1493 (2003); involved in arms trafficking in violation of the arms embargo, Mudacumura (or his staff) was in telephone communication with Murwanashyaka, leader of the FDLR in exile in Germany, notably at the time of the Busurungi

⁶³⁹ African Court on Human Rights: RFI: Ingabire case: defence welcomes court ruling ... 25 Nov. 2017 · The African Court on Human Rights has recognised a number of violations in the case of Victoire Ingabire, the Rwandan opposition leader who returned to participate in the...

⁶⁴⁰ Sylvestre Mudacumura, born in 1954 in Gatumba (formerly Gisenyi Prefecture in Rwanda), nicknamed **Muhutu**, was assassinated in September 2019 and was described as the "supreme commander" of the military wing of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), known as the Forces Combattantes Abacunguzi (FOCA). The International Criminal Court has launched proceedings against him.

He is said to have attended a military academy in Hamburg (probably the Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr) for two years. During the genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda, he is said to have served as deputy commander of the presidential guard of the Rwandan armed forces.

Sylvestre Mudacumura was designated for sanctions on 1 November 2005, in accordance with the arms measures established in paragraph 20 of Resolution 1493 (2003) and renewed in accordance with paragraph 1 of Resolution 1596 (2005).

massacre in May 2009, and with military leader Major Guillaume during the "Umoja Wetu", Kimia I and "Kimia II" in 2009. According to the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, responsible for 27 cases of recruitment and use of children by his troops in North Kivu from 2002 to 2007. A refugee child encounters many hardships and is different from a child living in a peaceful area. Mudacumura was still the commander-in-chief of the armed wing of the FDLR, had the rank of Lieutenant General, and was located in North Kivu Province in the Democratic Republic of Congo⁶⁴¹ *.

28 May 2020: Foreign Minister Biruta surrenders Rwanda to the United States through a highly controversial unilateral agreement, considered an act of treason against the sovereign country (*see Annex 9*).

Kizito Mihigo, born on 25 July 1981 in Kibeho and died on 17 February 2020 in Kigali, was a Rwandan gospel singer, author of liturgical songs, organist and composer who campaigned for peace and reconciliation.

Kizito Mihigo



Photo no. 1 11: Kizito Mihigo: Igisobanuro cy'urupfu⁶⁴² *: Martyr and Reconciler

On 27 February 2015, he was sentenced to ten years in prison for "conspiracy against the government" of President Paul Kagame. He was released by presidential pardon on 14 September 2018, along with Victoire Ingabire-Umuhoza. Arrested again on 13 February 2020, he died (was murdered) in his cell in Kigali on 17 February 2020. Officially, he died by suicide by hanging. However, this version of events is disputed by many Rwandans.

28 November 2020: Pope Francis ordained Antoine Kambanda as the^{first} Cardinal of the Catholic Church in Rwanda. Antoine Kambanda, born on 10 November 1958 in Nyamata, is a Rwandan Catholic priest who has been Archbishop of Kigali since November 2018, after serving as Bishop of Kibungo for five years. Pope Francis announces that he will be ordained Cardinal during the consistory on 28 November 2020.

Cardinal Antoine Kambanda



Photo no. 112.

⁶⁴¹ Wikipedia. Mudacumura-Muhutu Lieutenant General.

⁶⁴² Explanation of death.

February to October 2021: the destruction of the RPF's pillar of power, which is "the Tutsi genocide," through a series of broadcasts on Umutware TV⁶⁴³ *. Freeman Bikorwa directed and hosted the programme to bring J. D. Rugomboka onto his (television) channel to expose the seven (7) state lies that cover up the true face of the Rwandan genocide. *"The lie of Gisozi - Kigali memorial 259,000 victims out of 40,078 Tutsis residing in Kigali during the genocide, reveals the scandal and reflects the lies spread throughout the country. There are more than 110 memorials across Rwanda."*

The total number of victims in Kigali City in 1994 was 341,000. The city of Kigali had a population of 232,770 = 250,000. If all the inhabitants of Kigali had died, there would have been 341,000 – 250,000 = 90,330 more deaths from outside Kigali City. Thus, the memorials in Kigali house the three ethnic groups, namely the Hutus, the Tutsis and the Twas. It is false and a big lie to say that it was a genocide of the Tutsis when it was a Rwandan genocide in capital letters⁶⁴⁴ *.

21 September 2021: The abolition of the Itorero Commission, CNLG, FARG, AGR and NURC. The Rwandan government has created a new ministry, 'MINUBUMWE', bringing together several key government institutions that have been active since the 1994 genocide. It then proceeded to draft a bill repealing: "The National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG), the National Commission for Unity and Reconciliation (NURC), the National Itorero Commission and the Genocide Survivors Assistance Fund (FARG)". This was a free opportunity to secretly tamper with the Rwandan constitution as it saw fit, without national consultation to thoroughly criticise the objectives of this ministry.

The creation of the new ministry aims to blur the lines of segregation and inequality between Rwandan communities, and the lack of reconciliation, used by these institutions for:

- An intellectual, physical and socio-economic genocide against the Hutu that has been ongoing since the RPF took power,
- Make funds, aid received, state budgets and funds from genocide sites disappear, used to finance a single community (ethnic group), while another community (ethnic group) that has experienced the same treatment (genocide) is abandoned to its sad fate. Each institution will have to undergo an audit to determine how funds normally intended for all Rwandans have been used⁶⁴⁵ *.

15/10/2021: abolishing the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide and creating the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement. This abolition does not change the RPF's policy.

15 February 2022: a dismissal order "in the absence of sufficient evidence" which is confirmed by the Court of Cassation in February 2022: 3 July 2020, which, in the investigation followed up on their complaints against Ms [KY] [FP], Messrs [S] [RH], [PG] [SJ], [T] [NC], [Y] [HT], [B] [PF], [C] [PF], [J] [X], [U] [TL], on charges of criminal association with terrorists, murders in connection with a terrorist enterprise and complicity, confirmed the order to dismiss the case

⁶⁴³ A series of programmes broadcast on TV Umutware, with reference to: Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda, June 2020.

⁶⁴⁴ Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda, June 2020

⁶⁴⁵ Kabagire Edmond: CNLG, NURC, FARG, National Itorero Commission phased out, in comes Minubumwe. Written by Edmund Kagire, 22 September 2021.

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issued by the investigating judge. The full order can be found in this PDF dated 15 February 2022 Court of Cassation Appeal No. 20-86.394 PDF.

The order of 15 February 2022 Court of Cassation Appeal No. 20-86.394 PDF⁶⁴⁶ *. Criminal Chamber - Restricted panel excluding RNSM/NA. This dismissal will not last very long because these criminals will soon be brought to justice. And history will be able to rewrite the true story of the Rwandan genocide.

19 January 2023, RWANDA. DEATH OF A JOURNALIST

The Rwandan police announced that John Williams Ntwali had died in a road accident (false) in the Kimihurura neighbourhood of Kigali on 18 January at 2:50 a.m. and that the driver of the vehicle involved in the collision had been arrested.

Ntwali John Williams, murdered at the age of 44 on 18 January 2023. Human rights activist, consultant, journalist and editor-in-chief. He believed in positive change, fairness, equal rights and peace for all.

Ntwali John Williams, Journalist murdered



Photo no. 113

Note: After a questionable trial, 86 organisations reiterate their call for an independent investigation: The Rwandan authorities must allow an independent, impartial and effective investigation into the death of Rwandan journalist John Williams Ntwali, said 86 civil society organisations and journalists' associations on Friday 10 March 2023, reiterating their call of 31 January. Given the hasty conviction of the driver of the vehicle that allegedly hit the motorbike on which the journalist was travelling and the lack of transparency in the investigation, a credible process must be initiated.

March 2023: Paul Rusesabagina is released and regains his freedom. Paul Rusesabagina, born on 15 June 1954 in the commune of Murama, near Gitarama, was the manager of the Hotel Rwanda until 1994. The opposition figure and hero of Hotel Rwanda... had been living in exile in the United States and Belgium since 1996, before being arrested in 2020 in troubling circumstances... He was released from Mageragere prison on 24 March 2023. The hero of the film Hotel Rwanda had been sentenced in September 2021 to 25 years in prison.

Paul Rusesabagina



Photo no. 1 . 14

⁶⁴⁶ The full order is in (Appendix 21.) 15 February 2022 Court of Cassation Appeal No. 20-86.394 PDF.

VIII.4. The third genocide committed by the RPF/NRA

The sites of the massacres after the APR/NRA took power in 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999. (Massacres after the takeover in 1995).

VIII.4.1. War crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide committed by the RPF from 1 January 1995 to December 1999

The horrific massacre in Kibeho from 17 to 23 April 1995; the carnage at the wedding in Nyarutovu on the night of 18 to 19 January 1997; the horrors of the Nyakimana cave from 23 to 28 October 1997 and the cleansing in the commune of Kanama; the massacre of Hutus in Kayonza around Christmas, from 23 to 25 December 1998, which the RPF called Operation Fagiya, Fanyia; the ruthless reprisal campaigns against Abacengezi (1997-2000) and the ethnic cleansing of the Mutara region in 1995 and thereafter to prepare the ground for newly arrived refugees.

VIII.4.2. The RPF massacres to prepare for a mirror accusation

The massacre of more than 130 Congolese refugees in the Mudende refugee camp on 22 August 1996 led to reprisal attacks in the commune of Mutura. The number of people killed in these reprisals by armed Tutsi civilians is unknown. According to some sources, APR soldiers also participated in the massacres. Among the victims were a young woman, Nyirantabire, her husband and several children who perished in the fire that destroyed their home.

VIII.4.3. 8, 9, 10 to 22 August: The sites of Operation Tuzahateza Itabi

The sites of this cleansing operation are listed in the document entitled "Operation Tuzahateza itabi" : operation to clean up the area where they are going to plant tobacco.

VIII.4.4. 11-14 January 1998: Execution of more than 300 civilians by the APR

From 11 to 14 January 1998, the APR executed more than 300 unarmed Hutu civilians in Cyeya in the commune of Rubavu, Gisenyi.

There are many other heinous crimes and terrorist acts committed by the RPF between 1 January 1995 and 8 November 2020.

VIII.4.5. Sites of massacres after the APR/NRA took power 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999

These were massacres committed from 1995 onwards after the seizure of power . These massacres can be located on the map; the sole perpetrator is the RPF/NRA.

Summary table No. 14: Massacres committed by the RPF from 1995 onwards

Aho amaseta aherereye	Nomero ku ikarita	Umubare w'abishwe	Amataliki	Komini zomuri 1994	Abakoze ubwicanyi
Amahoro Stadium (Remera): in the stadium	1	1,000	1995	Kacyiru	Amahoro Stadium (Remera): inside the stadium
Bicumbi: Mwurire	3	20,000	December 1998	Bicumbi	Order from Gen. P.

					Kagame to Lt. Charles Matungo and Lt. Mugisha Johnson, both of the High Command unit
Bugarama: Rusizi	7	1700	December 1998	Bugarama	RW.CY.BG
Bugarama: Municipal Office, surrounding area and shopping centres	8	3,400	December 1998	Bugarama	RW.CY.BG
Bulinga: Municipal Office and Trade Centre	9	4,500	May 1995-December 1999	Bulinga	Major Moses and Butera mayors
Busozo: Communal office	10	50	1995–1998	Busozo	RW.CY.BS
Butamwa: Communal Office and surrounding area	11	750	1998	Butamwa	RW.KR.BU
Butare: Near the aerodrome	12	2,000	21-25/04/1995	Huye	Order and supervision by Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Maj Jack Nziza, Lt Emmanuel Gasana: All from the DMI
Butaro: In several localities in the commune	14	15,000	1999	Butaro	RW.RU.BU
Bwakira: Birambo	16	4,000	1998	Bwakira	RW.KY.BW
Byahi: North of Gisenyi aerodrome	18	1,000	8-9/10/1997	Rubavu	Lt Col Eric Murokore of the 21st Battalion Maj Jack Nziza, Sit Patrick Mucyo and the DMI team
Cyabingo/Ruhondo Several localities in these communes	26	1,500	1997-1998	Cyabingo	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Lt Col

					Karake Karenzi Commander of the 408th Brigade, Maj Philbert Rwigamba 67th Battalion, Maj Firmin Bayingana Ruhengeri GD Group, Capt Misingo Karara Ruhengeri GD Group
Cyabingo-Ruhondo	26				
Cyeru/Nyamugari/Nyarutovu/ Ndusu and Tare: Rushashi, Tumba	27	4,000	8/98- 1/99	Nyamugari Cyeru	RW.RU.NM RW.RU.CR
Cyeru-Nyamugari	27				
Cyeru-Nyarutovu	27-2				
Cyeru-Ndusu	27-3				
Cyeru-Tare	27-4				
Cyeru-Rushashi	27-5				
Cyeru-Tumba	27-6				
Cyimbogo: Municipal Office and Mibilizi	28	8,000	1995 1999	Cyimbogo	RW.CY.CY
Cyumba: Municipal office and business centres	29 30	7,000 1,200	1995	Cyumba	RW.BM.CB
Gabiro: Military camp	31	60,000	End of 1996	Gabiro	Lt Col Patrick Nyamvumba , Capt Dan Munyuz and his team, Capt Joh Zigira, Lt Wellare Gahizi
Gafunzo: Shangi and surrounding area	32	10,000	1995- 1996	Gafunzo	RW.CY.GF
Gaseke: Municipal Office	33	1200	Novemb er 1997	Gaseke	Lt Cassius John and Sgt Camille Zuba DMI agents

					stationed at the 9th Battalion
Gashora: Gako: Military camp	37	30,000	2000	Gashora	RW.KR.GA
Gashora				Gashora	RW.KR.GA
Gatare: Hanika and surrounding area	39	16,500	1999	Gatare	RW.CY.GT
Gatonde: Kirehe: Kirehe Unit/Gahanga Sector/Gatonde	40	450	mid-November 1997	Gatonde	RW.RU.GA
Gatuna: Mulindi, Byumba (The Usine)		4,000	1995	Cyumba	RW.BY.CM
Giciye: Communal office and surrounding area	42	400	17-19/11/1997	Giciye	Lt Cassius John 9th Battalion Maj Dan Gapfizi Charlie Unit
Gikomero: Nduba and surrounding area	44	11,250	Dec. 1995	Gikomero	RW.KR.GM
Gikomero: Kinyinya-Kami: Military Camp	45	20,000	2000	Gikomero	RW.KR.GM
Gishamvu: Busoro and Nyumba and surrounding areas	49	25,000	1995	Gishamvu	RW.BT.GI
Gishoma: Mushaka-Karangiro	50	2,000	1995	Gishoma	RW.CY.GH
Gishyita: Bisesero and surrounding area	51	20,000	1999	Gishyita	RW.KY.GY
Gisovu: Gisovu and several localities in the commune	52	18,750	1999	Gisovu	RW.KY.GS
Gisuma: Shagasha, Communal Office and surrounding area	53	10,000	1995	Gisuma	RW.CY.GS
Gitesi: Town centre, Communal Office, Gatwaro and Saint Jean	54	16,000	1998	Gitesi	RW.KY.GT
Location: Municipal office +Nyakayaga+ Church	59	60,000	1998	Gituza	RW.BM.GZ
Huye: Butare: Near the aerodrome	61	2,000	1995	Huye	RW.BT.HU
Kabarondo: Communal office + Kabarondo Church	62	3,000	1995	Kabarondo	RW.KN.KB
Kabaya: Market Square	See 34	350	November 1997	Gaseke	Lt Rutagerura Felicien of the GD Kabaya Brigade
Kabgayi: Gakurazo and Bishopric	63	6,000	1999	Nyamabuye	Lt Col Fred Ibingira and Maj W.

					Gumisiriza and his team, Capt Willy Bagabe, Sit Patrick Kamaramaza, Sgt John Butera, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Kagano: Rangiro, Karambi, Muzimu, Uwisumo and Gisuma	68	30,000	1998	Kagano	RW.CY.KG
Kagitumba: Rwempasha	72	20,000	1995	Kagitumba	RW.UM.KG
Kamembe: Town centre and surrounding area	73	6,000	1995	Kamembe	RW.CY.KM
Kami: Military Camp	74	30,000	2000	Gikomero?	Lt Col Karake Karenzi Lt Col Jackson Rwahama, Lt Jos? Nzabamwita from the DMI and others from the Unit
Kanama: Communal Office	75	220	8/08/1997	Kanama	Lt Manasse Manzi (5th Battalion), Slt Makaka (21st Battalion)
Kanama: Mahoko Market Square	76	300	8 August 1997	Kanama	Maj Bagirigomwa Gashaija (21st Battalion), Lt Manasse Manzi (5th Battalion?), Slt Makaka (21st Battalion)
Kanama: Nyakinama Caves/Kayove	77	8,000	24 On 27/10/1997	Kanama	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa (Deputy Commander

					of the GD), Lt Col Murokore (21st Battalion), C Charles Ruzibiza (Mechanised Unit), Capt Nelson Rugyema (Mechanised Unit and others)
Kanama: Nyakiliba	78	300	12/09/19 95	Kanama	Col William Bagire (+) (211th Brigade), Lt Col Karake Karenzi (DMI), Capt Jim? Muyango (DMI) stationed at the 211th Brigade, Lt Manasse Manzi (DMI stationed at the 5th Battalion)
Kanama: Nyundo School and Parish	79	260	1995	Kanama	RW.GS.KN
Karambo: Kaduha and surrounding areas	86	37,500	1995	Karambo	RW.GK.KB
Karengera: Ntendezi, Mwezi	87	60	1995	Karengera	RW.CY.KR
Kayenzi: Bunyonga and several localities	89	6,750	1998	Kayenzi	RWA.GT.KA
Kayonza: Rwinkwavu and Communal Office	90	3,000	1995	Kayonza	RW.KN.KY
Kayove: Kinunu and surrounding areas	91	750	1995	Kayove	RW.GS.KY
Kibayi: Gikore, Municipal Office and surrounding area	92	3,750	1995	Kibayi	RW.BT.KB
Kibeho: Parish and surrounding area and Kibeho camp	93	7,000	17- 24/1995	Mubuga	Gen Maj P. Kagame Col Kayumba Nyamwasa

					Lt Col Fred Ibingira (31st Brigade). Lt Col Eric Murokore (157th Battalion), Wilson Gumisiriza (301st Battalion) Capt John Zigira (prefect), Lt Peter Kalimba (DMI), Lt Gasana Emmanuel Rurayi (DMI), Lt Innocent Kabandana (301st Brigade)
Kibilira: Gatumba: several localities	94	7,500	May 1995	Kibilira	RW.GS.KI
Kibilira: Communal Office and surrounding area	95	525	1997-1999	Kibilira	RW.GS.KI
Kibilira: Gasave, Gisezero, Mikingo	97	225	May 1995	Kibilira	RWA.GS.KI
Kigarama: Bugambira, several localities	102	900	1995	Kigarama	RW.KN.KI
Kigembe: Communal Office, several localities	103 104	500 1,125	1995	Kigembe	RW.BT.KG
Kinigi: Several localities in this commune	108	1,200	1997-1998	Kinigi	Maj Augustin Gashayija, Capt Bertin Mukasa Cyubahiro
Kinyamakara: Several localities, mainly along the Butare-Gikongoro road	109	450	Dec. 1995	Kinyamakara	RW.GK.KM
Kinyami: Rutare road and Rukomo	110	202	1995	Kinyami	RW.BM.KN
Kirambo: Karambi, Rangiro and surrounding areas	111	1,725	1998	Kirambo	RW.CY.KI

Kirehe: Kirehe Unit/Gahanga/Gatonde Sector	See 40	450	Mid- Novemb er 1997	Gatonde	Capt Misingo Karara, Lt Alphonse Kaje, SLt Gendarme Jean Karenzi(+). Lt GD Evariste Kabarisa Ruhengeri GD group and Capt Justus Majyambere (408 APR Brigade)
Kivu: Communal Office and several localities	112	6,750	1995	Kivu	RW.GK.KV
Kivumu: Nyange, Communal Office and surrounding area	113	1,350	Decembe r 1995	Kivumu	RW.KY.KI
Mabanza: Kibuye-Gisenyi road, Kibuye Gitarama and surrounding area	117	1,875	Decembe r 1995	Mabanza	RW.KY.MA
Maraba: Karama Kizi Market and surrounding area	118	30,000	May 1995	Maraba	RW.BT.MA
Masango: Communal Office and surrounding area	119	300	1995	Masango	RW.GT.MA
Mbazi: Several localities	120	1,500	1995	Mbazi	RW.BT.MB
Mubuga: Kibeho: camps for displaced persons and refugees	123	8,250	22 April 1995	Mubuga	RW.GK.MB
Mudasomwa: Uwinkoko, Mubuga, Kigeme, Gasarenda and surrounding areas	124	15,000	1995	Mudasom wa	RW.GK.MD
Mudende: Refugee camp near the university	125	300	10- 11/12/19 97	Rwerere	Maj Jack Nziza, Capt Mutara Nkangura, Lt Bakunzi Frank (DMI)
Mugambazi: Muhondo	126	150	1995	Mugambaz i	RW.KR.MG
Muganza: Several localities	127	22,500	Decembe r 1999	Muganza	RW.BT.MN
Mugesera: Zaza minor seminary	128	4,500	Decembe r 1995	Mugesera	RW.KN.MG

Mugusa: Communal Office and surrounding area	130	22,500	December 1999	Mugusa	RW.BT.MS
Mukingo: Gataraga, Shingiro and surrounding areas	137	3,000	02/03/1997	Mukingo	RW.RU.MU
Muko: Communal Office and surrounding area	138	525	1995	Muko	RW.GK.MK
Murama: Ruhango and surrounding area	139	15,000	1995	Murama	RW.GT.MR
Murambi: Kiramuruzi Shopping Centre	140	1,050	December 1995	Murambi	Col William Bagire (+) Maj Ngumbayingwe (+), Diogene Mudenge All from the 7th Mobile Unit
Murambi: Kiziguro: Several locations/School Centre	See 116		December 1995	Murambi	RW.UM.MR
Musange: Several locations	142	2,700	Dec. 1995	Musange	RW.GK.MN
Musanze: Centre and surrounding area	See 106	600	02/03/1997	Kigombe	SO Cyiza (Feb. 93) (from Mobile Unit Charlie), Maj Gashaija Bagirigomwa (3/1997) 5th Bn
Musasa: Communal Office	144	1	1995	Musasa	RW.KR.MS
Musebeya: Several localities	145	225	1995	Musebeya	RW.GK.MS
Muvuba: Kagitumba, Nyagatare (Oct.)	See 173		May	Muvumba	RW.BM.MV
Muyaga: Several localities	150	9,000	end of 1999	Muyaga	RW.BT.MG
Mwendo: Several localities	153	15,000	December 1995	Mwendo	RW.KY.MW
Nasho: All around Lake Nasho	154	15,000	end of 1999	Rukira	Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Lt Col Karake Karenzi, Lt Col Jackson

					Rwahama, Lt Col Jack Nziza, Lt Col Patrick Karegeya, Lt Col John Peter Bagabo, Maj Steven Balinda, Maj John Zigira, Capt Silas Udahemuka, Capt Joseph Nzabamwita, etc., almost all from the DMI, posted to various locations
Ngeda: Several locations	159	2,250	December 1995	Ngenda	RW.KR.NG
Nkuli: Municipality and surrounding area	160	3,000	1997 - 1998	Nkuli	RW.RU.NL
Nshili: Several localities	165	3,000	End of 1998	Nshili	RW.GK.NS
Ntongwe: Communal Office and surrounding area	166	1,250	End of 1999	Ntongwe	RW.GT.NT
Ntongwe: Market and several localities	167	2,250	End of 1999	Ntongwe	RW.GT.NT
Ntyazo: Several localities	168	1,350	End of 1999	Ntyazo	RW.BT.NT
Nyabikenke: Several localities	169	1,700	End of 1998	Nyabikenke	RW.GT.NB
Nyabisindu: Centre and surrounding area	170	450	End of 1999	Nyabisindu	RW.BT.NB
Nyagatare: Kagitumba, Matimba and surrounding areas	173	4,500	End of 1999	Nyagatare	RW.UM.NY
Nyakabanda: Communal office and surrounding area	174	3,750	End of 1999	Nyakabanda	RW.GT.NK
Nyakabuye: Mashyuza, Nyabitimbo + Several localities	175	825	1995	Nyakabuye	RW.CY.NY
Nyakinama: UNR Campus	176	3,000	February 1998	Nyakinama	Col William Bagire (+) (211th Brigade). Col

					Karake Karenzi (408th Brigade), Col Kayumba Nyamwasa (Deputy Chief of Staff of the GD), Capt Justus Majyambere (DMI) stationed with the 408th Brigade
Nyakinama: Kabere 1, 2, 3	177	1,200	97/98/99	Nyakinama	Maj Bukenya Ngarambe Maj Firmin Bayingana, Capt Misingo Karara, Lt Alphonse Kaje and most of the GD Ruhengeri group.
Nyakizu: Cyahinda and surrounding area	178	11,250	1999	Nyakizu	RW.BT.NK
Nyamabuye: several localities	179	265	End of 1995	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamabuye: Communal Office and Surrounding Area	180	440	Dec. 1995	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamabuye: Prison and surrounding area	181	4,500	End of 1999	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamabuye: Kabwayi and surrounding area	See 63		1999	Nyamabuye	RW.GT.NM
Nyamagabe: Town Centre and Surrounding Areas	183	15,000	Dec. 1995	Nyamagabe	RW.GK.NY
Nyamugari/Cyeru/Nyarutovu/Ndusu and Tare: Rushashi, Tumba	184	See Cyeru 8,000	Mainly 8//98-1/99	Nyamugari Cyeru	Maj Eugen Nkubito, Capt Emmanuel Rugazola, Lt Wellars Gahizi(+) all from the 7th Battalion

Nyamutera: several localities	185	2,000	Mainly 8/98-1/99	Nyamutera	RW.RU.NT
Nyamyumba: Communal Office and surrounding area	186	11,250	1995	Nyamyumba	RW.GS.NY
Nyarubuye II: Kirehe, Nyarubuye, Mareba, Burembo	187	42,000	1995	Rusumo	RW.KN.RS
Nyarubuye-Nyabitare: more refugees returning from Tanzania	188	4,600	1995	Rusumo	RW.KN.RS
Nyarubuye III: Musasa, Gabiro, Gitwa Rutsiro, Mabanza	See 117	1,800	1995	Mabanza	RW.Ky.MA
Nyarugenge: Kigali City and surrounding areas	202	195,000	November 2000	Nyarugenge	RW.KV.NY
Nyaruhengeri: Communal Office and surrounding area	191	375	1995	Nyaruhengeri	RW.BT.NR
Nyungwe: Ku Wasenkoko	192	3,375	6/1996	Kirambo	Capt Ignace M and Sgt Zuba Camille (Alpha unit), Lt Gasana Emmanuel Rurayi, Sgt Malingumu and others from the DMI.
Nyarutovu	See 27	See Cyeru	See Cyeru	Nyarutovu	RW.RU.NR
Ramba: Communal office and several localities	194	1,500	June 1996-1999	Ramba	RW.GS.RA
Rubavu: Communal Office (jail)	196	200	8/9-8-97	Rubavu	Lt Col Eric Murokore (order to Lt John Murokore, Clement Kayihura(+)) all from the 21st Battalion.
Rubavu: Keya cell	197	250	11-12/1/1998	Rubavu	Lt Col Eric Murokore and his 21st Battalion
Ruhashya: Several localities	199	30,000	Dec. 1998	Ruhashya	RW.BT.RH

Rukara: Several locations	200	2,250	End of 1999	Rukara	RW.UM.RU
Rukira: Nasho: Around Lake Nasho	201	15,000	End of 1999	Rukira	RW.KN.RK
Rukira: Communal Office and several localities	See 154	375	End of 1999	Rukira	RW.KN.RK
Rukondo: Communal Office and surrounding area	204	450	End of 1995	Rukondo	RW.GK.RU
Runyinya: Communal Office and surrounding area	206	975	End of 1995	Runyinya	RW.BT.RN
Rusatira: Several locations	207	900	End of 1995	Rusatira	RW.BT.RS
Rusumo: Near the Tanzanian border	208	3,375	November 1995	Rusumo	Lt Col Eric Murokore, Maj George Kirindi, Maj W. Gumisiriza, Capt Willy Bagabe, all from the 157th Mobile Unit
Rutobwe: Communal Office and several localities	210	750	Dec. 1995	Rutobwe	RW.GT.RT
Rutonde: Several localities	211	1875	1995	Rutonde	RW.KN.RT
Rutongo: Communal Office and surrounding area	212	1,800	1995	Rutongo	RW.KR.RT
Rutsiro: Congo-Nile Ridge	213	4,500	1995	Rutsiro	RW.KY.RU
Rwamatamu: Several localities	214	36,750	End of 1995	Rwamatamu	RW.KY.RW
Rwamiko	215 216	2250 150,000	End of 1995	Rwamiko	RW.GK.RW
Rwanda: Killings of "infiltrators" (97-99) and targeted killings of Hutu families	217	112,500	96	---	Gen Maj Paul Kagame, Col Sam Kaka, Col Kayumba Nyamwasa, Col William Bagire(+), Col Charles Ngoga(+), Col Karake Karenzi, Ltcol Martin Nzaramba
Rwanda: 1999–2000 refugees returned to the country	219	100,000	1999 - 2000	---	Gen. Maj. Paul

					Kagame, Col. Sam Kaka, Col. Kayumba Nyamwasa, Col. William Bagire (+) Col. Charles Ngoga (+), Col. Karake Karenzi, Lt. Col. Martin Nzaramba
Rwerere: Mudende: Refugee camp near the University	221	300	10- 11/12/19 97	Rwerere	Maj Jack Nziza, direct order to Slt Edgar Kirenga, Ssgt Froduald Ntivuguruzw a, Sgt Joseph Mutangana, Sgt Eric Kazungu, all from the DMI operating in North Kivu.
Rwerere: Communal Office and surrounding area	221	2,000	August 1997	Rwerere	RW.GS.RW
Rwisirabo: ...	---	---	---	Rwisirabo	RW.UM.RW
Ryinyo: On the hill/ throughout the Sector	223	1,400	9- 12/05/19 97	Karago	Maj Firmin Bayingana, Capt Karara Misingo, Capt Albert Rugamba, Capt Ndore Rurinda, Capt Jimmy Muyango, Lt Alphonse Kaje (order and supervision of operations Lt. Col Martin Nzaramba, all from the

					211th Brigade and the GD group stationed in Ruhengeri
Satinskyi: Ngororero: Market Centre, Rutunga	226	300	1996	Satinskyi	RW.GS.SA
Satinskyi: Communal office and surrounding area	226-1	400	November 1997	Satinskyi	RW.GS.SA
Shyanda: several localities	227	975	End of 1995	Shyanda	RW.BT.SH
Shyorongi: Along the main road and several localities	228	1,275	End of 1995	Shyorongi	RW.KR.SH
Taba: Kibuza and several localities	229	15,375	End of 1995	Taba	RW.GT.TA
Tambwe: Several localities	230	15,000	End of 1995	Tambwe	RWA.GT.TM
Tumba: Base, Shopping centre	250	600	1995	Tumba	RW.BM.TU
Vunga: Market Square	231	1,000	November 1997	Giciye	Col Charles Muhire (Air Force), Col Kayumba Nyamwasa (Deputy Chief of Staff of the GD), Lt Col Nzaramba (211th APR Brigade), Capt Joseph Muzungu (Air Force)
Total		1,533,072			

The total number of victims in Table 14 above is 1,533,072.

The figures shown here are the same as those shown on the map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda⁶⁴⁷ *. They are reproduced here to facilitate consultation of the document and to enable the figures for the massacres to be updated in the future. We hope to gain a better understanding of the victims, as those from the former Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) are not included among the victims listed in this document, and even those from other foreign countries and those from rivers or lakes are missing from this grim tally.

⁶⁴⁷ Rugomboka J.D. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe June 2020. "Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda" A3 is available in year while the A0 map is available to order.

CHAPTER IX. General analysis of genocide sites

IX.1. Summary of tables of massacres and genocides

Massacres committed by the RPF continued;

Murders committed by the RPF continued.

The Belgian parliamentary commission rightly states that "On ¹December 1990, members of the Tutsi ethnic group among the Rwandan refugees attacked from the north-east of the country from Uganda. The attackers came from the less populated Mutara region in Akagera Park. Most of the attackers were rebels who had broken away from the Ugandan army. They came under the name of the military unit 'Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)'⁶⁴⁸ *, which was a carefully considered combination by the founder of this army, who is also the Ugandan president, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. He acquired his expertise during his training at the University of Dar-Es-Salam in Tanzania.

On International Water Day, Rwandan President Paul Kagame gave a public speech clarifying the true political strategy of Kagame-Museveni (see excerpt from his speech in Appendix 8). He says that the policy pursued in Rwanda is not the result of chance, but was carefully thought out and prepared by those who waged war from Uganda to Rwanda before it was implemented. He describes them as men of integrity. He advocates a segregationist policy of exclusion.

Guillaume Murere and Gaspard Musabyimana denounce the genocide against the Hutus on the basis of the analysis of Mushaidi Déo and General Habyarimana, who concluded, and I quote: *"in their document that 'Museveni, in his capacity as President of Uganda, and Kagame, as Commander-in-Chief of the RPF forces, must answer for the planning and execution of the Rwandan genocide, of which they are the main masterminds.'*"⁶⁴⁹ * *In this, they confirm the author's thesis that 'Kagame is the mastermind of the genocide of the Tutsis from within', as Ambassador Jean Mary Vianey Ndagijimana also shows in a book published on this subject*⁶⁵⁰ *. *Rugomboka Jean Damascène's research leads to the same conclusion*⁶⁵¹ *

Like other observers, including Kenneth Roth, the head of Human Rights Watch, who described the current regime in Rwanda as a "power of horror," Judge André Denis of the Superior Court of Quebec noted that "fifteen years after the genocide, Rwandans are afraid." The question that follows from this observation is: WHY ARE RWANDANS AFRAID?

The Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms states that:

1. Every human being has the right to life, as well as to the security, integrity and freedom of his or her person.
2. Every human being whose life is in danger has the right to assistance. Every person must assist someone whose life is in danger, either personally or by obtaining assistance, by providing

⁶⁴⁸ Belgian Parliamentary Commission 1997

⁶⁴⁹ The planning of the Rwandan genocide was a project of the RPF/NRA leaders. Planning is the missing key to understanding what perpetuated the power of the RPF-Inkotanyi and the longevity of the suffering of the Rwandan and Congolese people caused by two warlords, Kaguta Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame. <file:///D:/PLANIFICATION%20du%20genocide1a.pdf> 25 09 2024.

⁶⁵⁰ Ndagijimana Jean-Marie Vianney, Rwanda. PAUL KAGAME SACRIFICED THE TUTSI. Published by Editions la Pagaie, April 2009 –ISBN: 978-2-916380-07-01–Editions la Pagaie. [musabyimana.net](https://www.musabyimana.net) <https://www.musabyimana.net>

⁶⁵¹ The research of Rugomboka Jean Damascène reaches the same conclusion.

the necessary and immediate physical aid, unless there is a risk to themselves or to third parties or another reasonable reason⁶⁵² *. Guillaume Murere Gatineau, Quebec, Canada March, 2010.

A/ Table N° 8: (Genocide No. 1)

The first (unrecognised) genocide committed by the RPF/RNA/Interahamwe infiltrated by the APR took place between 1^{January} 1990 and 6 April 1994 in the buffer zone or demilitarised zone occupied by the APR/RNA.

Summary Table N° 8: (Genocide No. 1)

Summary table N° 8: (Genocide No. 1) summarises the sites of massacres from 1 October 1990 to 6 April 1994. The total number of victims in table No. 8 is 52,195.

B/ Table N° 9 Genocide No. 2

Summary table N° 9 Genocide No. 2 summarises the toll of the 100-day genocide in 1994.

Summary table N° 9 Genocide No. 2 summarises the sites of massacres from 6 April 1994 to 31 December 1994. The total number of victims in table No. 9 **is 1,063,770 souls.**

Summary table No. 11 shows **1,640,638 victims.**

The total number of victims in Table 13 is **1,533,072 souls.**

*C/ Table N° 14 Genocide No. 3 and 4 (Tutsi genocide + Hutu genocide)

Summary table: TABLE N° 14 Genocide No. 3 and 4 (Tutsi genocide + Hutu genocide). The recognised genocide is that of the Tutsis, except that the Hutu victims who are in the genocide sites are not recognised as such. The RPF regime considers that no Hutus lost their lives during the entire period of the war, except for a dozen bodies buried in Rebero. So the question arises: where are the millions of Hutu victims?

IX.2. The cumulative total of Tables: A Table N° 8 + B Table No. 9 + C Table No. 14 equals: 2,649,037 souls

*D/ Table of the genocide n° 11

The 110 official genocide sites scattered throughout Rwanda (Tutsi genocide) of 1,640,638 souls. The problem with this figure is that it is truncated because a significant number of these sites do not show the number of victims they contain.

N.B.: The sites were established between 1995 and 2002. The numbers of the sites identified and indicated on the map correspond to the numbers presented in the table of sites listed below. Site specifications, estimates of victims, date or period of creation, location or place name, name of the commune/commune remains unchanged until 2002.

⁶⁵² Guillaume Murere Gatineau, Quebec, Canada March, 2010

{* The cumulative total A Table N° 8 + B Table N° 9 + C Table N° 14 equals: 2,649,037 souls, while D Table of the genocide n° 11 represents 1,640,638 souls, a difference of 1,008,399 souls that is found nowhere except at the massacre sites.}

It should be noted that Table No. 10 is treated separately because it concerns only the genocide sites, while the other tables concern all massacres. The RPF shows us genocide sites throughout the country, including a site in Rebero with about ten victims, where political opponents killed after the attack on President Habyarimana's plane are buried. The RPF does not show any Hutu graves, nor does it show where other people who died or were killed during its conquest of power or after its victory are buried.

The difference between the victims listed at the massacre sites and the remains scattered across the 110 official genocide sites throughout Rwanda (Tutsi genocide) is: **(A+B+C) – D = 2,649,037 souls -1,640,638 souls equals 1,008,399 souls.**

The victims from 1 October 1990 until the RPF took power on 5 July 1994, adding the period of the genocide decided by the Security Council in Resolution 955: the period **covered** by tables A and B = table no. 8 **is 52,195 souls + table no. 11 is 1,063,770 souls equals 1,115,965 souls.**

The victims listed from 1 October 1990, the start of the war, until the end of the period allocated to the genocide' from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994: **1,115,965 souls, are** fewer than the victims listed in the 110 official genocide sites, 1,640,638 souls. This confirms that the genocide sites contain victims of all ethnic groups killed by the RPF. (According to Ibuka's census⁶⁵³ of December 1994, there were 300,000 Tutsi victims). From July 1994 to 1995, the RPF was the sole leader of the country until today.

IX.3. The date is key to the Rwandan conflict in determining the responsibilities of the antagonists in the conflict.

Table 15: Key dates concerning the victims and responsibilities in the Rwandan conflict.

⁶⁵³ Rwaka Former Minister of Justice in the Bizimungi Pasteur and Twagiramungu Faustin government. In a programme on Isinijuru television, October 2022

Date	Number of victims	Specific location	Responsibility	Remarks	Presence
From 1 October 1990 to 5 April 1994	52,195 victims Table A	Demilitarised Zone, Buffer Zone	RPF/NRA	Genocide due to the presence of genocide sites	Hutu, Tutsi, Twa and others RPF unpunished
From 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994	1,115,965 victims Table (A+B)	Rwandan territory	Interim Government and RPF/RNA	Rwandan genocide by Resolution 955	Hutu, Tutsi, Twa, foreigners and others RPF unpunished
From 6 April 1994 to 30 June 1994	557,465 victims Table B (1/2)	Rwandan territory	Interim Government and RPF/RNA	Rwandan genocide under Resolution 955	Interim Government before the ICTR RPF unpunished
From 1 July 1994 to 31 December 1994	506,305 victims Table B (1/2)	Rwandan territory	RPF/NRA after its victory	Rwandan genocide by Resolution 955	Interim government before the ICTR RPF unpunished.
From 6 April 1994 to 31 December 1994	1,063,770 victims Table B (1/2+1/2)	Rwandan territory	RPF/NRA after its victory	Rwandan genocide by Resolution 955	Interim government before the ICTR RPF unpunished.
1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999	1,533,072 victims Table C	Rwandan territory	RPF/NRA	Unrecognised Rwandan genocide	Hutu, Tutsi, Twa, foreigners and others RPF unpunished
Official genocide sites	1,640,638 victims T.D. included In (A+B+C)	Rwandan territory	RPF/NRA Interim Government	Rwandan genocide by Resolution 955	RPF unpunished Remains poised to commit further genocides
Total	2,649,037 T. A+B+C	Rwandan territory			Hutu, Tutsi, Twa and others RPF unpunished

What this table shows:

If the Arusha Peace Accords had not been violated by the Rwandan Patriotic Front, there would have been only 52,195 victims between 1 October 1990 and 5 April 1994.

If the war had been stopped as soon as the conflict resumed, as requested by the Kambanda interim government in several communiqués addressed to the RPF and the UN⁶⁵⁴, the loss of life would have been 557,465 victims between 6 April 1994 and 30 June 1994.

If the conflict had been stopped six months after the RPF took power, the loss of life would have been 506,305 victims between 1 July 1994 and 31 December 1994.

If the war had ended on 31 December 1994, the total number of victims would have been 1,063,770.

IX.4. The fifth (fourth) genocide was committed by the RPF/NRA in the former Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo, in 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, ... 2023.

IX.4.1. The Mapping Report in DR Congo

The Mapping Report provides an overview of the despicable acts committed by the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPF), the National Resistance Army (NRA) and the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL) against Hutu refugees in former Zaire. The following is an excerpt from the report: *"The UN Mapping Report was prepared by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and describes the most serious violations of human rights and international law committed in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) between March 1993 and June 2003. It is a dense and detailed document, based on extensive and rigorous research carried out by a team of some 20 Congolese and international human rights professionals over a period of 12 months. The report examines 617 cases of the most serious incidents that occurred throughout the Congo over a 10-year period and provides details on serious cases of massacres, sexual violence and attacks against children, as well as other abuses committed by a range of armed actors, including foreign armies, rebel groups and Congolese government forces. According to Musabyimana G, 2011. Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, p.197). "The investigation officially began on 17 July 2008 with the deployment of some 20 human rights officers to Congolese territory"*⁶⁵⁵ *

The report indicates that women and children were the main victims of most of the acts of violence documented by the team. In order to "adequately reflect the scale of these acts of violence committed by all armed groups" against the most vulnerable, the report devotes specific chapters to crimes of sexual violence against women and girls, as well as violence against children. It also devotes a chapter to the role played by the exploitation of natural resources in relation to crimes committed in the Congo.

Finally, the report concludes that the majority of the crimes documented can be classified as crimes against humanity and war crimes. With reference to a particular series of events that took place between 1996 and 1997, the report raises the question of whether certain crimes committed by the Rwandan Patriotic Army and its Congolese ally, the rebel group Alliance of

⁶⁵⁴ the report dated 5 May 2015 on the strategy for completing the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Security Council Resolution 1534 (2004), 15 May 2015. UN S/2015/340.

⁶⁵⁵ Musabyimana G, 2011. Dictionary of the Political History of Rwanda, p.197).

Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL), against Rwandan Hutu refugees and Congolese Hutu citizens (see below for further details) could be classified as crimes of genocide. The report states that it would be up to a competent court to make such a decision. The rest of the mapping report can be found on Google^{656(*)}.

IX.4.2. Rwandan population in 1991 : Population situation according to the "General Population and Housing Census of 15 August 1991"^{657 *}

Table 16. Resident population by nationality, ethnicity, gender and prefecture, including victims from 1990-2001.

Prefecture	Nationality							Total	Victims	
	Rwandan					Foreign	Undetermined			
	Hutu	Tutsi	Twa	Others	Total					
RWANDA										
Both sexes										
Butare	620,805	128,145	5,485	300	754,735	9,175	885	764,795	203,550	
Byumba	760,425	10,805	1,840	70	773,140	5,980	545	779,665	124,260	
Cyangugu	453,730	55,345	2,845	1,905	513,825	2,670	640	517,135	116,280	
Gikongoro	402,675	58,155	3,470	225	464,525	1,325	440	466,290	129,800	
Gisenyi	702,695	21,730	2,355	210	726,990	1,925	940	729,855	138,440	
Gitarama	764,640	78,405	5,415	565	849,025	1,700	420	851,145	139,388	
Kibungo	596,810	44,405	1,120	210	642,545	3,000	1,010	646,555	177,400	
Kibuye	399,470	71,225	1,490	380	472,565	1,055	300	473,920	152,200	
Kigali	826,370	80,070	2,650	530	909,620	7,520	830	917,970	279,350	

⁶⁵⁶ Title: "Report of the Mapping Project on the most serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law committed between March 1993 and June 2003 on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Congo."

⁶⁵⁷ Republic of Rwanda: General Population and Housing Census as of 15 August 1991. National Census Commission. Ministry of Planning. National Census Service B.P. 48 Kigali. July 1993.

Kigali City	177,390	38,910	580	890	217,770	14,420	580	232,770	268,200
Ruhengeri	761,275	3,705	1,915	215	767,110	1,305	700	769,115	67,300
Umutara									115,000
Grand total	6,466,285	590,900	29,165	5,500	7,091,850	50,075	7,290	7,149,215	2,411,168
Urban	305,765	56,370	1,215	1,170	364,520	17,515	990	383,025	560,588
Rural	6,160,520	534,530	27,950	4,330	6,727,330	32,560	6,300	6,766,190	237,869
Rwanda*									*600,000
SUBTOTAL	6,466,285	590,900	29,165	5,500	7,091,850	50,075	7,290	7,149,215	2,411,168
Grand Total									2,649,037

Source: 1991 ONAPO population census⁶⁵⁸ The last column represents victims⁶⁵⁹ *

IX.4.3. Analysis of the figures for survivors in relation to those for victims

N.B. The last column in red is a visual comparison added for clarity. Counts taken on different dates give a total of **2,649,037** victims (**Hutu, Tutsi, Twa and others**), **not including those from the Akagera and Nyungwe crematoria.**

*Rwanda: These are the bodies of victims scattered and collected on the hills, especially on the escape routes and on the way back to their villages.

After summarising the sites of the genocide and massacres, the exact dates of the events, those responsible or those who carried them out, as well as the motives and explanations accompanying certain dates, we ask the following question: "Is it 'denialism' to say that both Tutsis and Hutus were victims of the Rwandan genocide from 1 October 1990?" The following text provides a clear and precise answer to this question.

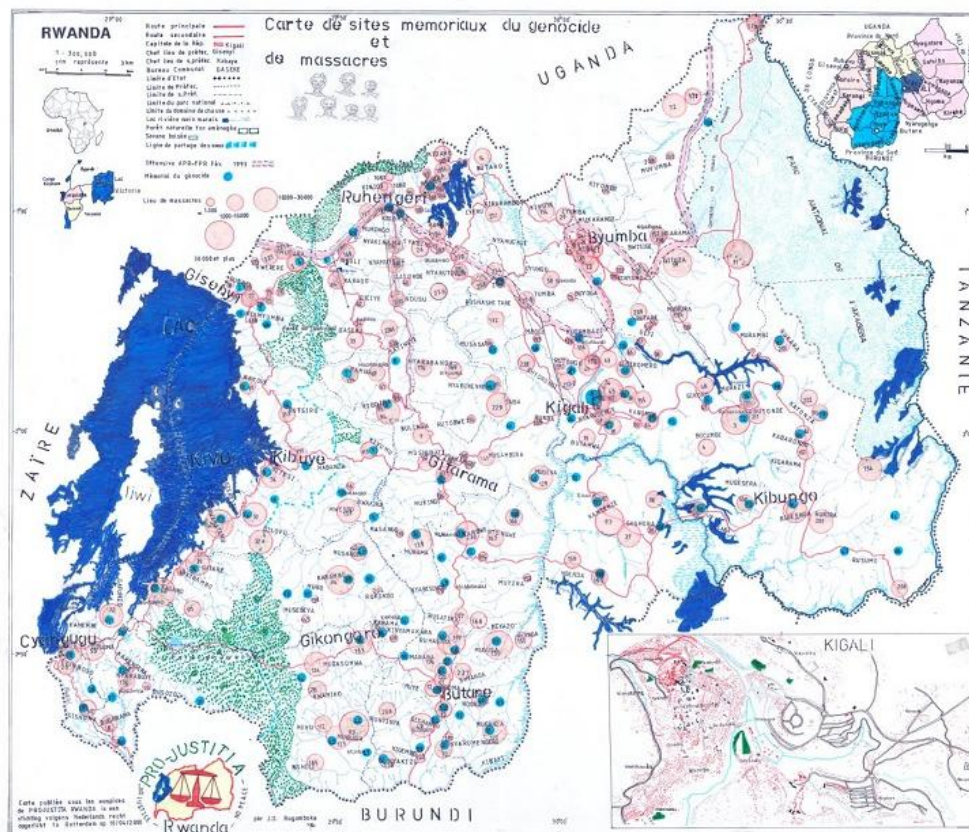
The answer can be understood in light of the events that took place in Rwanda between October 1990 and July 1994. This is then illustrated by the map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Thus, Map No. 1: Genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda is used to decipher the resulting figures⁶⁶⁰ *. Tables 8, 9, 10, 13 and 14. 10 October 2020

Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda

⁶⁵⁸ General Population and Housing Census as of 15 August 1991. National Census Commission. Ministry of Planning. National Census Service P.O. Box 48 Kigali. July 1993.

⁶⁵⁹ Rugomboka J.D. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020.

⁶⁶⁰ Rugomboka J.D. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda. Editions Scribe, June 2020.



Cliché No. 1

N.B.: The map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda "A3" is attached, while map "A0" is available on request: info@editions-scribe.com.

IX.4.4. Why, how and by whom was this map drawn up?

This map was specially designed to show the sites where the genocide was committed and other locations of large-scale massacres committed in Rwanda during the period 1990-1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999. The aim is to provide a visual representation on a map of the quantitative results of a macabre plan to exterminate the Rwandan people. It was commissioned by Projustitia-Rwanda, a human rights association founded in 2000, and was produced by Jean Damascène Rugomboka⁶⁶¹ *. The A0 map is available to order from info@editions-scribe.com

IX.4.4.1. What does the map show and what does it confirm?

The map was then labelled according to the theme: "Sites of massacres and genocides committed in Rwanda". The data and information come from a compilation of testimonies on the names and number of sites of massacres and genocide received by Projustitia since 2000. It is also the result of the work of volunteers throughout Rwanda's prefectures. Finally, it draws on authoritative reference books on the events in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994.

IX.4.4.2. What this map clearly shows

As for the content itself, the map clearly shows the locations of the massacres and genocide (see also Tables 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13).

It shows the locations of the positions held by the RPF-Inkotanyi until February 1993. It should be remembered that after the signing of the Arusha Accords on 4 August 1993, the RPF was

⁶⁶¹ Rugomboka J.D. Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda, 2020

authorised to occupy the Rwandan Parliament building known as the CND (National Council for Development) in the centre of Kigali. The person who annotated the map also shows how the names of places were intentionally changed to mislead and confuse people in order to dispossess their legal owners of their land. This was done in parallel with the falsification of population statistics to establish the ideology and political lies of the new regime* (*see below: the eight big lies of the RPF*). The change of names is called the "toponymic upheaval of Rwanda", with the main objective of hiding the massacres committed by the Rwandan Patriotic Army and the National Resistance Army of Uganda (RPF/NRA). Shaping the constitution to consolidate Paul Kagame's bloody dictatorship. 'Technifying' statistics according to his interests in the figures and enabling him to plunder the land of the disappeared. The technical details can be found in the above-mentioned document.

Finally, the map makes it possible to take up the challenge of exposing the blatant lies hidden behind the dozens of genocide memorials erected throughout Rwanda by the RPF regime.

IX.4.4.3. The evolution of the war since October 1990

We have identified three phases of this war in order to better understand the nature and specificities of the killings and massacres that followed one another or overlapped.

First, the RPF invasion from Uganda on 1 October 1990, until the signing of the Arusha Accords on 4 August 1993.

Then there was the RPF offensive to violate the Arusha Accords from 6 April 1994 until it seized total power in July 1994.

Finally, the war that the same RPF has been waging against the Rwandan people since it took power in 1994 until today in 2022.

These three phases lead us to speak of THREE GENOCIDES, coupled with the genocide of the Tutsis, which together make up the "**Rwandan Genocide**." The description of these genocides is detailed in "*Rugomboka: Map of Genocide and Massacre Sites in Rwanda, 2020*."

IX.4.4.4. The numbers of victims of the genocide and other massacres

The analysis and comparison of the numbers of victims for the massacre sites and genocide memorials provide an understanding of the issues and complexities of the genocide. These are shown in Tables A/ Table No. 8: (Genocide No. 1), B/ Table No. 9 Genocide No. 2, *C/ Table No. 14 Genocide No. 3 and 4, which total 2,649,037 victims, or * The cumulative total of the tables: A Table No. 8 + B Table No. 9 + C Table No. 14 equals: 2,649,037 souls. Table No. 14 is also a summary of Tables A, B, C and D, with the advantage of specifying the dates for each table.

IX.4.4.5. Overview of results by prefecture/province

Table No. 17: Number of victims by prefecture/province

Prefecture	New place name	Number of victims
BUTARE	Huye	203,550
BYUMBA	Gicumbi	124,260
Cyangugu	Rusizi	116,280
Gikongoro	Nyamagabe	129,800
GISENYI	Rubavu	138,440
GITARAMA	Muhanga	139,388
KIBUNGO	Kirehe	177,400
KIBUYE	Karongi	152,200
Kigali Rural	Gasabo	279,350
Kigali City	Kigali	268,200
RUHENGERI	Musanze	67,300
Rwanda		600,000
UMUTARA	Nyagatare	115,000
Urban		560,588
Other		237,869
S/TOTAL		2,411,168
Grand total		2,649,037

Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda, June 2020

****N.B.: 237,869 ** others:** These are victims not yet located on the map because the data was received after the map was completed. It will be updated every five and ten years through digitisation.

**** 600: *Rwanda:** These are victims scattered and collected on the hills, especially on the escape routes and on their return to their villages after the destruction/dismantling of the refugee camps.

The total number of **deaths** at the massacre sites is **2,649,038**. The number of deaths given for the genocide memorials is **1,640,638**. The difference is **1,008,400** victims. This difference cannot be identified at the genocide sites; it can be classified among those who have not yet been officially buried (probably scattered across the hills, in forests, lakes or marshes, etc.).

Faced with such biased and unsubtle presentations of the Rwandan tragedy, it is as if we were forced to place all the victims in one ethnic camp and all the perpetrators in the other. This misinterpretation was intentionally created by the RPF government, the international community and the media, who rushed to use the figure of 500,000 deaths, a figure announced by Kouchner and the CIA.

The figure of 500,000 victims put forward by other sources did not come about by chance. During the planning of the resumption of hostilities after the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement, the CIA estimated and notified Paul Kagame that the new war would cause popular clashes resulting in at least 500,000 victims, most of them Tutsis. Meanwhile, General Paul Kagame said that it would be a lightning war and that there would be "only" 50,000 victims. It is therefore no coincidence that Bernard Kouchner spoke of 500,000 killed in May 1994, when no one had yet counted the victims. The "genocide" was thus planned elsewhere and the culprits, the scapegoats, were designated in advance. "The pre-planned genocide was that of the HUTUS

and not that of the TUTSIS." The sudden deaths of two heads of state, Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira, were a godsend for Museveni and Kagame. Their sudden deaths, which had been planned by Museveni and Kagame, triggered the genocide of the Tutsis, which was not part of their plan. This allowed them to complete their initial plan. From a legal point of view, there was a Hutu genocide and not a Tutsi genocide.

This was the main reason why the RPF quickly built 110 genocide sites in 1995, as it had just obtained a formidable weapon against the Hutus, who would never return to seek power because of Cain's original sin against Abel. The genocide deliberately called the Tutsi genocide is a political tool to stay in power for as long as possible, an effective means of removing the Hutus who were supposed to share power under the Arusha Peace Accords. The genocide sites are listed below:

IX.4.4.6. These three phases lead us to talk about THREE genocides, coupled with that of the Tutsis, which together make up the "Rwandan Genocide".

Looking closely at the figures for the Rwandan genocide: ultimately, as we saw above with , we have identified four genocides resulting from three phases, because the one in April 1994 encompasses two genocides. One genocide, that of the Tutsi, is recognised, while the other, that of the Hutu, is ignored, despised and trivialised, even though it is real. Moreover, it is the only one that Kagame and Kagame planned, and all the evidence is there to prove it. The analytical details are set out in the chapters below.

It is clear that the total number of victims of the massacres and genocide exceeds **2,649,038 deaths**. This does not include the bodies thrown into rivers or burned in Akagera Park and the Nyungwe natural forest, which currently has the status of a national park. While the official total number of what is categorised as genocide is , **1,640,638** s are currently on display at genocide memorial sites. So, if the total number of Tutsi skulls in the memorials categorised as genocide is 1,640,638 according to the RPF government, but around twenty sites are missing figures, this means that the total number far exceeds two and a half million. It should be noted that the actual total number of Tutsis in genocide memorials is estimated to be between **280,000 and 300,000** nationwide, according to the Ibuka census of December 1994.

The total known number of **2,649,038** deaths, victims who can be located at the sites of the massacres, minus the victims who can be located at the sites of the genocide, **1,640,638** deaths, means that **1,008,400** victims remain without an official burial and cannot be remembered, and we cannot officially remember them.

The number of Hutus and Twa found in memorials scattered throughout the country is estimated to be **1,360,638** dead, if we subtract this from the total number of massacres recorded in tables A, B and C: **2,649,038** dead, we obtain a difference of 1,288,401, **which is** the number of Hutus not yet identified at the **genocide** sites. **There** would then be more than **1,300,000 - 2,500,000** (not yet officially buried), either scattered across the hills of Rwanda, burned or incinerated, or thrown into rivers and lakes...

The Ministry of Planning published the results of the general population census conducted by the UNDP on 15 August 1991, showing that the total population of Rwanda was **7,155,391**, including 250,077 foreigners. This population was distributed as follows: Hutu 85%, Tutsi 14%, Twa 1%. More specifically, the census showed that there were 597,459 Tutsi in total . Taking into account the growth rate of 3%, it could therefore be estimated that in 1994, their number had reached **650,000**. In another census carried out by the RPF in December 1994, the number of Tutsi survivors was estimated at **400,000**. However, IBUKA revised this figure downwards and arbitrarily set it at **300,000**, remaining faithful to its policy of lying and falsifying reality. It

should be noted that ONAPO also published the population figures for Rwanda as part of its mission as the National Population Office. These statistics are shown in the table below.

IX.4.4.7. ONAPO Table No. 18 showing the distribution of the population in 1991

Resident population by nationality, ethnicity, sex and prefecture of origin

Prefecture	Nationality							Population
	Rwandan					Foreign	Other	Total
	Hutu	Tutsi	Twa	Others	Total			
RWANDA								
Both sexes								
Butare	620,805	128,145	5,485	300	754,735	9,175	885	764,795
Byumba	760,425	10,805	1,840	70	773,140	5,980	545	779,665
Cyangugu	453,730	55,345	2,845	1,905	513,825	2,670	640	517,135
Gikongoro	402,675	58,155	3,470	225	464,525	1,325	440	466,290
Gisenyi	702,695	21,730	2,355	210	726,990	1,925	940	729,855
Gitarama	764,640	78,405	5,415	565	849,025	1,700	420	851,145
Kibungo	596,810	44,405	1,120	210	642,545	3,000	1,010	646,555
Kibuye	399,470	71,225	1,490	380	472,565	1,055	300	473,920
Kigali	826,370	80,070	2,650	530	909,620	7,520	830	917,970
Kigali City	177,390	38,910	580	890	217,770	14,420	580	232,770
Ruhengeri	761,275	3,705	1,915	215	767,110	1,305	700	769,115
Grand total	6,466,285	590,900	29,165	5,500	7,091,850	50,075	7,290	7,149,215
Urban	305,765	56,370	1,215	1,170	364,520	17,515	990	383,025
Rural	6,160,520	534,530	27,950	4,330	6,727,330	32,560	6,300	6,766,190

Source: 1991 ONAPO population census⁶⁶² *

N.B.: The number of Tutsis throughout the country was 590,900, lower than the figure of 800,000 hastily published in the international media, specifying that the majority of Tutsis had died. And yet the number of Tutsi victims does not exceed 280,000 according to the Ibuka renunciation of December 1994⁶⁶³ *. The city of Kigali is taken here as a sample to extrapolate across Rwanda.

⁶⁶² Source: 1991 ONAPO population census

⁶⁶³ Aloys Ntiwiragabo, Rwanda. The evil of the Great Lakes Region. From the war of October 1990 to the genocide of refugees 1996-2002, Brussels, Editions Scribe, April 2018, pp. 18-21.

IX.4.4.8. Comparison of the official figures accepted by the RPF regime with scientific and realistic statistics

The Rwandan population was therefore distributed as follows:

*6,466,285 Hutu;

* 590,900 Tutsi;

* 29,165 Twa;

*7,149,215 in total

If we take the number of victims of the massacres, which is 2,411,168, and subtract the number of Tutsi survivors, which is 300,000 according to IBUKA, the remaining 2,111,168 victims are therefore Hutu and Twa: Kigali-Gisozi Genocide Memorial is indeed the "Rwandan Genocide".

To illustrate this point, let us take a single site as an example to analyse and easily detect the glaring contradiction in the figures: In December 2000, the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre in Gisozi officially housed the remains of 259,000 victims.

In 1991, the prefecture of Kigali City had a population of 234,472. Taking into account an estimated growth rate of 3%, Kigali City had a population of approximately 255,574 in 1992, which is slightly less than the number of victims whose remains are on display at the Gisozi Memorial in Kigali City. In absolute terms, this would mean that all the inhabitants of Kigali City, Hutu, Tutsi and Twa alike, would have been exterminated and their remains would lie in this genocide memorial.

And when we take into account the fact that the last census estimated the number of Tutsi in Kigali City at 40,078, significantly lower than the 259,000 victims whose remains are displayed in this memorial, we can therefore conclude that the difference of 218,982 (259,000 - 40,078) is the number of Hutu and Twa victims displayed in this memorial in Kigali-Gisozi, because even if all the Tutsis in Kigali City had been killed, which is not the case, as there were survivors who testified, the number of Tutsi victims would not reach the number of skeletal remains of people displayed at the Gisozi memorial.

Assuming that the number of Tutsis killed throughout the country was between 280,000 and 300,000, this would mean that they were all buried or displayed at the Kigali Gisozi Memorial. This is not the case. In fact, the Ibuka organisation, which defends the rights of genocide survivors, initially estimated the number of Tutsi survivors at 400,000 before retracting and reducing their number to 300,000 in order to increase the number of victims. By deduction, the number of Tutsi victims would be 250,000 souls⁶⁶⁴ *.

The Rwandan government estimated that the death toll was 338, according to the (then) President, Pasteurs Bizimungu, in agreement with Vice-President Paul Kagame, the real strongman, who is now President of Rwanda⁶⁶⁵ *.

This raises the question of where the remains of other supposed Tutsi victims, scattered across several memorials throughout the country, came from. This is all the more puzzling given that even in certain regions (prefectures or communes) where Tutsis were very rare or even unknown, the RPF regime erected several memorials supposedly housing the remains of Tutsis.

⁶⁶⁴ Aloys Ntiwiragabo, Rwanda, April 2018, pp. 18-21. Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Kambanda Jean. August 2020, Editions Sources du Nil. Lille, France. P.81.

For example, Ruhengeri, which had only 3,705 Tutsis in the entire prefecture according to the latest census, has dozens of "genocide" memorials in each commune. So everyone can compare what they know about their municipality or prefecture with the information on the map regarding the sites of massacres and genocide to understand the reality of what I have called and continue to call "Rwandan genocide or IRIMBURA-BANYARWANDA". Once you have a clear understanding of what really happened, more people will be on the same wavelength, rather than tearing each other apart.

CHAPTER X. The Ten Great Lies of the RPF

The Ten Great Lies are intertwined in these SEVEN modules, which serve as strategic guidelines for the RPF's policy aimed at maintaining power rather than political performance itself, which focuses on the socio-economic development of its people.

- Module 1. **Political genocide**: It was proclaimed to be public knowledge without any evidence of the planner and the planning, as it was intentionally concealed. Those involved in this case did not want to look for it where they should have looked, but looked where they should not have. What matters to them is not the consequences for those who will suffer from this ill-conceived genocide, but achieving the main objective of establishing the RPF in power and obtaining all the desired benefits.
- Module 2. **Drafting laws based on the Tutsi genocide** that will allow it to **monopolise power and institutions** without sharing them, with a facade of democracy.
- Module 3. **State terrorism**: Killing, massacring and oppressing to frighten the population. Coercing citizens into not expressing themselves freely...
- Module 4. **State lies**: Lies and tricks to make people believe that the oppressor is the victim, commit atrocities and make false accusations.
- Module 5. **Servitude and starvation**: impoverishing the population, enslaving them, keeping them in misery, muzzling them: turning a community of people into second-class citizens, which is unacceptable as a national policy.
- Module 6. **Plundering the country**, a friendly country with the help of mercenaries and having expansionist aims. Rwanda has been plundered of every last national resource, aid and loans have been stolen. Not satisfied, it invaded the DR Congo to plunder its natural resources. Most observers say that the RPF cannot survive without plundering the Congo.
- Module 7. **Dividing the Rwandan people**: its policy of division is one of the strategies put forward to remain in power for as long as possible. First, by using genocide, the living and the dead are two points that never meet. On one side, the government has classified the victims, and on the other, the perpetrators. The genocide memorials belong to the Tutsis, without showing where the more than two million Hutus and Twas who were also victims of the genocide are. Here we show just one example, but Rwandans are divided in all sectors and at all levels of Rwandan society. This analysis opens the chapter on the ten big lies that cover the sites of the "Tutsi genocide", which we approach scientifically and mathematically without committing the sin of denialism.

X.1. The Ten (10) Big Lies of the RPF State

In power since 1994, they have been immortalised since 1995, when genocide memorials were established.

X.1.1. The lie of Gisozi - Kigali genocide memorial

The lie of Gisozi - Kigali Genocide Memorial reflects the lies spread throughout the country, with more than 110 memorials across Rwanda . These 110 memorials constitute the heart of power and the driving force of the RPF.

In this regard, Pierre Péan reveals the following: "Contrary to popular opinion, we have come to believe that the victims of this violence were as much Tutsis as Hutus; among other things,

it appears that there were simply not enough Tutsis in Rwanda at the time to account for so many victims."

The death toll in Rwanda is estimated at between **2,500,000** and **3,000,000**, with more than **600,000** Rwandan Hutus and **10,000,000** Congolese in the DRC (see the recent publication of Charles Onana's book⁶⁶⁶).

By touching on the memorials to the Tutsi/Igiti kiturirwa genocide⁶⁶⁷ *, the forbidden tree to climb, we touch directly on the heart of power, because the truth lays bare all these lies. All these victims are under the responsibility of the RPF/NRA. The Rwandan and Ugandan armies were together on the ground exterminating the Bantu. Unfortunately, the art of lying allowed them to pin all the crimes committed on the governments they replaced. This is what we call mirror accusations. A practice that has been used since 1939 and even before that date.

Understanding the lies surrounding the genocide is essential for anyone who wants to understand Rwanda and the life of its people since the RPF took power in 1994. The facts are presented fairly, and everyone is free to exercise their critical faculties by consulting writings that reveal the obvious truths about the genocide memorials, which simply help to open our eyes to this horrific "death machine", a "machine of schemers" obsessed with seizing power, ready to do anything to massacre (its) people and dominate them as in times immemorial. "The genocide in Rwanda is 100% the responsibility of the United States," said former UN Secretary-General Pierre Boutros Boutros Ghali in July 1998. And as Mahmood Mamdani pointed out, "[...] the victims become killers"⁶⁶⁸ * (,)

Below are the ten (10) major state lies of the RPF on the genocide.

X.1.2. This analysis opens this chapter on the Ten Big Lies of the RPF government in power since 1994

These lies have been immortalised since 1995, when memorials to the IRIMBURABANYARWANDA OR RWANDAN GENOCIDE OR ITSEMBA BANYARWANDA were erected.

X.1.2.1. The ten lies about the Gisozi genocide memorial in Kigali

1. Lie about statistics
2. Lie about the name or designation of the Tutsi genocide and the denial of the Hutu and Twa genocide
3. Lie about the instigators
4. Lie about the use of manipulation and propaganda to obscure the truth.
5. Lie about the duration of the genocide: 100 days versus five years or 1,550 days.
6. Lies about the juxtaposition of two genocides
7. Lies about the use of mirror accusations to evade one's own responsibilities
8. Lies about the use of genocide memorial sites as a commercial tool

⁶⁶⁶ Onana Charles: Holocaust in Congo - The Omerta of the International Community by Charles Onana, published by L'artilleur. More than 10 million dead, 500,000 women raped... Holocaust in Congo - The Omerta of the International Community... Original publication date: 2023.

⁶⁶⁷ A quote from Ms Ivonne Iryamugwiza Idamange, human rights activist, who launched a message of alarm on YouTube to challenge the authorities during the COVID-19 period in 2021. The authorities were deliberately starving the population.

⁶⁶⁸ Mahmood Mamdani: When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, the Genocide in Rwanda; goes on to explain the Rwandan genocide in a much broader context, as other studies do. This book explores the logic of interactions and ??? (to be completed)!

"When victims become killers: colonialism, nativism, the genocide in Rwanda; goes on to explain the Rwandan genocide from a much broader context as other studies do. This book explores the logic in interactions and ..."

9. Lies about the use of genocide memorial sites as a political tool.

10. The RPF's big lie is that it proclaims, with the help of foreign media, that it stopped the genocide when in fact it was the planner and perpetrator of it.

N.B.: The details of each lie are explained in full below.

These lies about the Gisozi Memorial in Kigali reflect the lies spread throughout the country, with more than 110 memorials across Rwanda. These 110 memorials constitute the heart of the RPF's power and driving force. On this subject, Pierre Péan reveals the following: "Contrary to popular opinion, we have come to believe that the victims of this violence were as much Tutsis as Hutus; among other things, it appears that there were simply not enough Tutsis in Rwanda at the time to account for so many victims."

Knowing the lies of the genocide is essential for anyone who wants to understand the Rwanda we have been living in since the RPF took power in 1994. The facts are simply presented, and everyone is free to exercise their critical faculties by consulting the truthful and evident writings on the genocide memorials, which simply help to open our eyes to this horrible "669 * death machine" "machinery of schemers" obsessed with seizing power and willing to do anything to massacre and dominate us as they have done since time immemorial. The genocide was perpetrated, that much is clear. But the propaganda and manipulation of figures and information reveal the misdeeds of a totalitarian power in decline.

"The genocide in Rwanda is 100% the responsibility of the United States," said former UN Secretary-General Pierre Boutros Boutros Ghali in July 1998. And as Mahmood Mamdani pointed out.^{670*}

The list of the ten (10) big state lies of the RPF on the genocide are as follows:

The first lie about statistics

X.1.2.1.1. The first lie about the Tutsi genocide instead of the Rwandan genocide does not match the statistics on victims and crimes committed

Indeed, according to the victim statistics in the memorials, it is clear that the genocide memorials house all three ethnic groups (Hutu, Twa and Tutsi) and even foreigners. It is not true to say that the genocide memorials only house Tutsis. "Memorials to the Tutsi genocide". The number of Tutsis living in the city of Kigali at the time of the crime in 1994 **was 40,078**, although the total number of deaths is lower. The Gisozi Memorial houses **259,000** victims. If you subtract the **40,078**, assuming that all of them died, which is not the case. The rest would be Hutus and Twas. However, other victims are in the memorials of:

Nyanza Kicukiro 11,000,

⁶⁶⁹ Kabarebe declaration. The statement by General James Kabarebe, advisor to President Paul Kagame, during a meeting with young people in April 2022: in a television programme <https://youtu.be/onhwYDlziek> FPR ni Killing Machine nk'uko Kabarebe abyemeza: mu kiganiro Kabarebe yagiranye n'urubyiruko rwiga muri za Kaminuza, yababwiye ko nyuma y'urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema, Kagame said that the RPF's leaders were like a machine that killed people (Killing Machine). Kabarebe's words were repeated in Bizimana's words, which were like the words of the Abatutsi!

⁶⁷⁰ Mahmood Mamdani: When victims become killers: colonialism, nativism, the genocide in Rwanda; goes on to explain the Rwandan genocide in a much broader context, as other studies do. This book explores the logic of interactions and

"When victims become killers: colonialism, nativism, the genocide in Rwanda; goes on to explain the Rwandan genocide from a much broader context as other studies do. This book explores the logic in interactions and ..."

Rebero - Kicukiro 14,000,

Ruhanga - Gikoro 32,375,

Kibagabaga - Kacyiru 25,000. These localities are an integral part of the city of Kigali.

The total number of victims in Kigali City is 341,000. The city of Kigali had a population of 232,770 = 250,000. If all the inhabitants of Kigali had died, there would have been 341,000 – 250,000 = 90,330 more deaths than inhabitants from outside Kigali City. Thus, the memorials in Kigali house the three ethnic groups, namely the Hutus, the Tutsis and the Twas. It is false and a big lie to talk about the genocide of the Tutsis when it is actually the Rwandan genocide in capital letters.

If you were not Rwandan and did not know the exact situation at the beginning of the massacres in late 1993, you would understand that this figure is a complete and utter lie.

The population of Kigali has more than tripled, because there was a huge camp for displaced persons from the war, housing almost 800,000 people (Hutus, Tutsis and Twas) since 8 February 1992. These people had fled the fighting that was taking place in the north of the country. Most of the people massacred who are in the memorials in Kigali came from these camps, while others came from surrounding villages and other regions in the north and east of the country. That is why it is wrong to say that the remains are Tutsi or that the majority are Tutsi. This lie, which aims to divide Rwandans along ethnic lines, also appears in the Rwandan constitution (in articles that refer to genocide, genocide ideology and genocide denial); a division between communities that cannot help to build a Rwandan nation. The most serious consequence is that these laws make all Hutus and Twas feel guilty and ensure that they remain a second-class population forever, if nothing changes. These laws degrade the majority of the population by treating them as second-class citizens!

The second lie is the term "Tutsi genocide"

X.1.2.1.2. The second lie is the term "Tutsi genocide" and the denial of the Hutu and Twa genocide.

The second lie is the term "Tutsi genocide" and the denial of the Hutu and Twa genocide, which is in fact untrue. These sites contain fewer Tutsi (300,000 Tutsi, which is less than the 1,340,638 Hutu) because the genocide sites show 1,640,638 deaths (see the Ibuka investigation, which shows 280,000 victims)⁶⁷¹ *

The second lie, called the "Tutsi genocide" is completely absurd, as the large number of victims found in the genocide memorials are Hutu, not Tutsi, as proclaimed by the RPF in collusion with the international community, which spoke of 500,000 to 1,000,000 Tutsi. According to the 1991 UNDP national census⁶⁷² *, the number of Tutsis did not exceed 650,000 in 1994. The real figures show that more than 2,500,000–3,500,000 Hutus were also victims of the genocide. The number of Tutsi victims was 250,000–300,000, according to the census conducted by Ibuka in December 1994. Even if you estimate that the total number of Tutsis in the country is 650,000 out of 2,500,000 Hutus, and that they were exterminated, you will find that 2 million Hutus, not counting those in the DRC Congo, far exceed the number of Tutsis. Of the more than 110 memorials in the country, the more than 2,500,000 people buried there are Hutus and Twas.

⁶⁷¹Rwaka Théobald, former Minister of the Interior, is an eyewitness to the December 1994 investigation.

⁶⁷² Source: 1991 ONAPO population census.

The third lie of the instigator

X.1.2.1.3. The third lie: the lie of the instigator

The third lie: the lie of the sponsor is that some of the Interahamwe killers were infiltrated by RPF commandos, who were in a sense the real leaders of the massacres in Rwanda.

The Interahamwe appear, in part, on the genocide memorials, while the other part is secretly covered up, that of the APR, which was the architect of the massacres and genocide in Rwanda (The RPF/APR prepared and carried out the infiltration of the entire Rwandan administration, including the infiltration of the Interahamwe, as confirmed by Tito Rutaremara⁶⁷³ * and Kajeguhakwa Valens. The lie of not telling the truth about the killers: all the killings are attributed to the youth of the MRND party, when in fact they are young people specialised in killings by the RPF, trained in Uganda and Mozambique during Museveni's wars. The young people of the RPF trained the Rwandan youth from political parties to carry out the killings planned in advance by the RPF. It is the policy of wolves turning into lambs. The infiltration concerned the youth of all political parties (MRND, PL, PSD, etc.). Tite Rutaremara said, and I quote: "In Rwanda, we worked in absolute secrecy. We sent 100, 200, 300 to those in the camps, and to the administrative cells, we sent five people to each cell, and they did not know each other, they only knew the person above them, their leader for example: the one from the Ministry of the Interior did not know the others from the ministry, but he knew Kajuga Robert."

The fourth lie is the use of propaganda to manipulate and obscure the truth.

X.1.2.1.4. The fourth lie: using propaganda as truth

The fourth lie, or propaganda as truth, is the manipulation of opinion and propaganda that differs from the truth. The RPF spreads propaganda in the media to make itself heard by the international community. By declaring higher figures than the actual figures, the RPF's strategy was to show the world that the Tutsis were the only victims. The lie of disguising/concealing oneself.

When the RPF brings every foreigner visiting Rwanda to the genocide memorial site (presented as that of the Tutsi victims) without telling them the truth about the bodies stored at the memorial? This is for propaganda purposes. An estimate of 800,000-1,000,000 is that the majority are Tutsis? When only 250,000 Tutsis are buried there among the 2,500,000 Hutus? The majority drowned, forgotten and omitted by political will and lies. At this point, the involvement of the international community in the Rwandan war was obvious. The RPF's policy, as propagated by its media, is to use opinions that differ from the truth. But the truth emerges from serious and scientific research.

The fifth lie concerns the duration of the genocide: 100 days or five years (1,550 days).

The fifth lie: the 100-day genocide recognised by the UN and the international community is manipulated or boycotted by the RPF, which uses the genocide it has set itself, that of 1,550 days since 1996.

X.1.2.1. 5. The fifth lie: The RPF's version of the genocide versus that established by the UN

The fifth lie. The 100-day genocide recognised by the UN and the international community and established by UN Resolution No. 955. This resolution sets the date of the genocide from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994. The RPF skilfully manipulates this, introducing it into Rwandan law and setting it itself from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994, thus becoming the

⁶⁷³ Rutaremara Tite and Infiltration of Rwandan youth by members of the RPF

1,550-day genocide since 1996 *"Organic Law of 30 August 1996 on the prosecution of offences constituting the crime of genocide or crimes against humanity committed from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994"*.

The fifth lie: (the 100-day genocide is that) the RPF managed to deceive the UN into recording two overlapping genocides. What happened at the UN to allow the RPF to recognise two separate genocides? The UN's contradiction can be seen in the confusion within the United Nations over the acceptance of two different genocides overlapping in time and space: The UN recognises - The Rwandan genocide from 1 April 1994 to 31 December 1994 in accordance with UN Resolution 955 (the 100-day genocide).

- The UN also accepted the genocide of the Tutsis, which was adopted from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994, Article 14 on genocide and the 2008 massacre. Approved by the RPF (the five-year genocide). This genocide was never mentioned by the RPF during the Arusha Peace Accords (in Tanzania), which took place from 8 June 1992 to 4 August 1993. We therefore have: A. Rwandan genocide (UN), B. Tutsi genocide (RPF and certain allies).

The first Tutsi genocide lasted from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994, or 100 days or one year, according to UN Resolution 995.

This fifth lie is that the RPF regime, through the UN, changed the name of the "Rwandan genocide" to "Tutsi genocide," a lie that would give it perpetual power in an endless regime, ignoring the truth/hiding the truth. With the second genocide as defined by the RPF, which took place from 1 January 1990 to 31 December 1994, Article 14 of the 2008 law on genocide and massacres, that of the RPF lasted five years or 1,550 days: Tutsi genocide registered with the UN by the RPF and some of its allies. The world does not widely recognise this genocide, or else it is confused by the RPF. Rwandans (especially from the Hutu community) acknowledge this genocide, recognising that it was committed by the RPF/RNA in the north of the country in Byumba and Ruhengeri, and especially in the demilitarised zone or buffer zone, where a large number of genocide sites have been established.

The Tutsi genocide was registered with the UN by the RPF and some of its allies. The world does not widely recognise this genocide, or else it is confused by the RPF. However, Rwandans, especially those from the Hutu community, recognise this genocide as established by the UN, acknowledging that it was committed against them by the RPF/NRA in the north of the country in Byumba and Ruhengeri, and especially in the demilitarised zone or buffer zone, where a large number of genocide sites have been established.

The sixth lie is the juxtaposition of two genocides since 1996

X.1.2.1.6. The sixth lie or two juxtaposed genocides

The sixth lie, or two genocides, have been juxtaposed since 1996: the first genocide lasting 100 days and the second genocide lasting 1,550 days. The sixth lie of two juxtaposed genocides is that the RPF changed UN Resolution 955 on the Rwandan genocide by changing the initial name of this "Rwandan genocide" first to "Tutsi genocide" and then adding another one that began on 1 October 1990, believing that perhaps the lie would allow it to remain in power indefinitely and gain acceptance that it had entered Rwanda to stop the ongoing genocide, when in fact it was the RPF itself that triggered the war on 1 October 1990 and the genocide on 6 April

1994, by assassinating Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira at the same time as he buried the Arusha Peace Accords of 4 August 1993.

To say that the RPF left Uganda to stop a genocide that never existed is a lie. It started the war on 1 October 1990 to install a fringe group of Tutsi extremists who had lost power in 1959.

Let us also examine the sixth and seventh lies of the RPF about the genocide. The RPF speaks of a genocide that took place from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994 (the 100-day genocide known to the international community). Article 14 of the 2008 law on genocide and massacres goes beyond the definition of time set by the UN (1 year) because the RPF government defines genocide as lasting 5 years. This is completely different from the Rwandan genocide recognised by the UN, which lasted from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994, in accordance with UN Resolution 955.

This big lie is that the RPF regime, in its usurpation of the UN, changed the name of the "Rwandan genocide" to "Tutsi genocide", a lie that would give it perpetual power over an endless Tutsi regime, ignoring the truth/hiding the truth from its people and the whole world and placing the burden of genocide on a single community. It hides its irrefutable responsibility for triggering the genocide on 6 April 1994 and then committing serious crimes in the demilitarised zone, including genocide from 1 October 1990 to the present day.

With the sixth lie of the genocide as defined by the RPF, the genocide lasted from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994, a period of five years (1,550 days) according to Article 14 of the 2008 Rwandan law on genocide and massacres. This is the lie that it is trying to spread, namely that it entered the country to stop the genocide of the Tutsi on 1 October 1990. The fact of extending the time allotted to the UN is intended to show that the genocide of the Tutsis lasted longer than the UN defined it, which has the effect of stirring up hatred between ethnic groups in the country, thus masking the fact that it was he who started the war on 1 October 1990 from Uganda.

Furthermore, he fails to mention the area he occupied from 1 October 1990 to 6 April 1994, for five years, also known as the buffer zone or demilitarised zone, which was 100% conquered by him in the north of the country (Byumba Ruhengeri). There, it erected memorials to the genocide committed by the RPF itself, being the only one to have occupied this part of the country throughout the war period until today.

On this basis, the RPF established "Law No. 18/2008 of 23/07/2008 on the Suppression of the Crime of Genocide Ideology." This law targets the Hutu community alone. You can imagine and understand the damage this law has done to the unity and cohesion of the Rwandan people. It is a law that marginalises part of the population. The Rwandan constitution prohibits any mention of ethnicity, and this law deliberately violates the constitution by promoting the Tutsi ethnicity. This law highlights the difficult task of nation building. This law is the foundation of the Rwandan constitution for consolidating the power of the RPF, dividing Rwandans into two different communities that will never meet: the good and the bad, the victims of genocide and the perpetrators of genocide!

The seventh lie about using mirror accusations to evade one's own responsibilities

X.1.2.1.7. Seventh lie about using mirror accusations to evade one's own responsibilities

Responsibility lies in the preparation, triggering and execution of the Rwandan genocide.⁶⁷⁴ *

THE SEVENTH LIE of the prosecution in mirroring to evade its own responsibilities) . The seventh lie is that the RPF/APR is wrong to call the sites in the north "Tutsi genocide", when it is the sole perpetrator of these sites and the massacres that took place there, because the northern part of the country, (Byumba, Ruhengeri), known as the demilitarised zone and buffer zone, was 100% occupied by the RPF at the start of the 1994 genocide. And yet this area contains a significant number of genocide sites, attributable solely to the APR, which occupied it. **The deceitful policy of an aggressor who turns himself into a saviour.** The birch tree presents itself as a saviour through the complicity of external powers.

The UN was in Rwanda before the war, during the war, and after the war. It was supposed to remain neutral between the warring parties during the clashes. This was not the case. It should be held accountable for these serious failings.

The APR/RPF is responsible for the cries of genocide, massacres and killings in the area it controlled after 6 April 1994, as the parties to the conflict are located in the so-called government zone and are excluded from the buffer zone. The paradox is that all the crimes in this zone have been attributed to the interim government, thus becoming a mirror accusation.

Other examples to illustrate mirror accusations: on 22 August 1996, the Mudende refugee camp was attacked in retaliation by insurgents in the commune of Mutura. Upon their arrival, soldiers massacred more than 130 Congolese refugees. The number of people killed during these reprisals by armed Tutsi civilians is unknown; APR soldiers are also believed to have participated in the massacres. They took advantage of Madeleine Albright's⁶⁷⁵ * visit to Kigali on 14 February 1996 to use this attack as a mirror accusation to invade the Republic of Congo.

During the same period, more than 8,000 people hiding in the Nyakimana cave⁶⁷⁶ * were killed with grenades, and the RPF then sealed and cemented the cave entrance to kill everyone inside. The attack was falsely attributed to Hutu insurgents, as it was perpetrated by the Rwandan Patriotic Army (^{408th} Brigade) led by Col. Kayumba Nyamwasa (Deputy Chief of Staff of the GD).

The primary responsibilities for the attack on 6 April 1994 were analysed on the basis of certain clues and indications. Serious investigations into this attack on 6 April 1994 (Louis Bruguière, Spanish judge Michael Hourigan, etc.) have been completed and point directly to the responsibilities of Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame. They are irrevocable. They blamed this

⁶⁷⁴ file:///D:/rugomboka%20la%20PLANIFICATION%20du%20genocidea1a%20(2)%20F.

PLANNING OF THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE PROJECT BY THE LEADERS OF THE RPF/NRA PLANNING IS THE MISSING PIECE OF THE PUZZLE IN UNDERSTANDING WHAT HAS PERPETUATED THE POWER OF THE RPF-INKOTANYI AND THE LONGEVITY OF THE SUFFERING OF THE RWANDAN AND CONGOLESE PEOPLE CAUSED BY TWO WARLORDS, KAGUTA YOWERI MUSEVENI AND PAUL KAGAME.

⁶⁷⁵ Rwanda: United Nations situation report. https://grandslacs.graduateinstitute.ch › files_on_st... PDF. Ms Madeleine Albright: 14 February 1996 — The United States Ambassador to the United Nations visited Rwanda on 20 and 21 January as part of a mission to five African countries.

⁶⁷⁶ Jambonews. <https://www.jambonews.net › actualité › 20181024-ny....> 24 Oct. 2018 — Between 23 and 28 October 1997, soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) killed between 5,000 and 8,000 civilians who had...

assassination on Hutu extremists. A mirror accusation of the century, as the UN remained on the side of the liar.

The work of drawing up the map of the sites of the genocide and massacres in Rwanda shows that it should have been done by the United Nations before the judgments were carried out by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the Gacaca courts. The map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda contains irrefutable evidence if one takes into account the dates, locations of the crimes and those who ordered them.

This proves that the UN, representing the international community, was a partner or accomplice in the crimes committed by the RPF. Is it afraid of one day being brought before the courts? The RPF will be accused of planning/preparing the genocide and carrying it out, as indicated by prominent RPF members Tite Rutaremara and Kajeguhakwa Valens, through massive recruitment and infiltration of the country's population and institutions. This infiltration was discovered and reported by the leadership of the MRND's Interahamwe Youth Wing and was denounced on 1 February 1994 (see the chronology dated 10 January 1994).

What interested them was seizing power through propaganda about the Tutsi genocide, which had been well planned in advance in Uganda. (See Noel Ndanyuzwe in *La Guerre Mondiale Africaine*, June 2014, Editions Source du Nil). Its political dishonesty lies in the depoliticisation of public opinion in the face of the tragedy it has just created, the most ridiculous in the world, criminalising the innocent and victimising the perpetrators.

Only the truth will liberate all Rwandans and be a source of solidarity between Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. It is realistic to talk about the Rwandan genocide or IrimburaBanyarwanda instead of talking about the Tutsi genocide, which only existed in propaganda. It is well documented that the genocide memorials house Hutus, Tutsis, Twas and even foreigners, including Burundians and Congolese, among others.

The real explanation is that there are 110 genocide memorials throughout the country and 287 massacre sites housing the remains of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa and even foreigners (2,500,000 victims). This has been illustrated in the map showing the locations of the genocide and massacres throughout Rwanda. So, if we accept their claims, where are the remains of the 2,000,000 Hutu?

The eighth lie is the use of genocide memorial sites as a commercial tool.

X.1.2.1.8. Eighth lie: Use of genocide memorial sites as a commercial tool

The eighth lie is the use of genocide memorial sites as a commercial tool.

Genocide memorial sites have been misused to serve as both graves and memorials, in order to be used as a lucrative means of bringing foreign currency into the coffers of the RPF party.

A grave is a place where one or more bodies or the remains of a dead body are laid to rest. This place is then filled in or covered over. This act, called burial, is intentional in the anthropological sense and is usually accompanied by a ritual.

Firstly, the display of bodies on display stands/stalls is a transgression of Rwandan custom. Throughout the country, there are keepers of knowledge and tradition who, through various rituals, symbols, taboos and beliefs, ward off evil and various kinds of plagues. Unfortunately, these ritual practices fell into disuse with the arrival in power of the uninitiated, who pursued hidden interests.

The two roles that were to be assigned to the memorial sites have been hijacked by the ruling party (RPF/NRA), which uses them for purely political and commercial purposes and to extract aid that benefits neither the survivors of the genocide nor the Rwandan state, but rather a political party that has become a religious sect. A memorial refers to two different things that nevertheless have the same purpose: a written record of what we want to preserve as a memory. "A document in which we write down what we want to keep as a memorial, and/or - - A symbol or memorial monument that shows the memory of something that opposes a certain action... a memory of the past that we keep to honour it. "Martyr's Memorial · Vimy Memorial · Shoah Memorial · ACT Memorial⁶⁷⁷ * "The Acte Memorial is part of UNESCO's Slave Route Project, a global initiative to promote rapprochement between peoples through the shared heritage of this tragedy."

A reminder: Genocide is a crime against humanity aimed at the total or partial destruction of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group; Genocide includes deliberate attacks on life, physical or mental integrity, subjection to conditions of existence that endanger the life of the group, birth control and forced transfers of children aimed at achieving such an end.

This crime was committed against all ethnic groups in Rwanda: Hutu, Twa, Tutsi... in the same manner during the same period from 1 October 1990 to the present day, and it continues in the Democratic Republic of Congo against Hutu refugees who are still wandering and living in the forests of Congo, where they are being killed savagely and en masse.

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Firstly, the display of bodies on display stands/stalls is a transgression of Rwandan custom. Throughout the country, there are keepers of knowledge and tradition who, through various rituals, symbols, taboos and beliefs, ward off evil and various natural disasters. Unfortunately, these ritual practices fell into disuse with the arrival in power of the uninitiated, who pursued hidden interests.

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The political power of the RPF tramples on respect for bereaved families, human beings and the human body, local customs, and specific rituals for wakes and burials. With the RPF, Rwandan families are suffering staggering and unprecedented psychological trauma.

The remains of our dear parents, brothers and sisters, friends, neighbours, companions and compatriots are not respected or honoured as human beings and as is customary in our Rwandan culture. Instead, they have been displayed on shelves like merchandise since 1995 to this day. The monetisation of memories is an immoral, dishonourable industry that is not in keeping with our Rwandan culture.

Rwandans must free the memorials from the hands of the Satanic sect: for they are in reality the graves of Rwandans. Why do I take care of the graves of my parents, my brother and sister? Because they are different from the so-called memorial described above. They represent us in

⁶⁷⁷ Martyr's Memorial · Vimy Memorial · Shoah Memorial · ACT Memorial

another form. They must be returned to their Rwandan owners so that we can honour our loved ones with respect and dignity.

The ninth lie is the use of genocide memorial sites as a political tool.

X.1.2.1.9. Ninth lie: the use of genocide memorial sites as a political tool

The two roles that were to be assigned to memorial sites have been hijacked by the ruling party (RPF/NRA), which uses them for purely political purposes and to extract aid that benefits neither the genocide survivors nor the Rwandan state, but rather a political party that has become a party-state.

The use of genocide memorials as a political tool was part of the RPF's plan to seize power, but it has clearly gained ground since the introduction of the "Organic Law of 30 August 1996 on the prosecution of offences constituting genocide or crimes against humanity committed between 1 October 1990 and 31 December 1994". This innocent law acquits the APR of all crimes committed since 1 October 1990 and places them among the victims and survivors.

This policy of exploiting the genocide was reinforced in 2001, when Rwanda launched a resolutely unprecedented judicial experiment intended to address the terms of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi between April and July 1994. The RPF deliberately fails to mention the Hutu and Twa victims, with the aim of reaping all the political and financial benefits and escaping justice once and for all. It dresses itself in the skin of a Tutsi lamb, victim of the genocide committed by the Hutu executioner. It creates two distinct communities instead of uniting them as one nation.

The RPF succeeded in enshrining Law No. 18/2008 of 23 July 2008 in the constitution, meaning that genocide alone does not allow them to go further in pinpointing and hunting down the Hutu community and opponents of the regime wherever they may be.

Since then, the genocide, the ideology of genocide and genocide memorial sites have become political tools to oppress, eliminate and imprison any dissidents.

Visitors and dignitaries who come to Rwanda are the first targets of the government, which seeks to indoctrinate them with the official history and the reasons for the genocide memorial sites. This narrative is contrary to the truth.

The RPF political regime needed these sites to instil permanent trauma in the population, a persistent tool that it brings out whenever it finds itself in a difficult political situation, but above all a tool that allows it to remain in power indefinitely.

The tenth lie is that it entered Rwanda on 1 October 1990 to stop the genocide

X.1.2.1.10. The tenth lie of the RPF is that it proclaims, with the help of the foreign media, that it stopped the genocide when it invaded Rwanda on 1 October 1990, when in fact it was the planner and instigator of the genocide.⁶⁷⁸ *

The wrong question produces false results. The genocide that has been known and dealt with since 7 April 1994, without being able to look at the previous period, investigate seriously, clarify and untangle the lies and the truth clearly on the basis of evidence about the planner and the perpetrator or perpetrators, leads to the production of a falsehood. This is where the problem of the Rwandan genocide lies⁶⁷⁹ *. The RPF did not stop the genocide. It was the planner, the instigator and the main perpetrator.

⁶⁷⁸ file:///D:/PLANIFICATION%20du%20genocidea1a.pdf

⁶⁷⁹ file:///D:/Mr Secretary-General of the United Nations F.pdf

How could it have been their objective to stop the genocide when they did not mention it during the Arusha peace negotiations from 19 February 1991 to 4 August 1993?

By introducing **the genocide from¹October 1990 to 31 December 1994**, the APR/NRA rebels who came from Uganda and entered with weapons in hand, massacring everything in their path, want to wash themselves clean and cover up the crimes they committed during this period.

In its long-standing project, the RPF went through the UN to gain international recognition for its thesis. Thus, via a letter dated 11 April 2014, addressed to the Secretary-General by the President of the Security Council, a Security Council meeting was convened, which allowed the RPF to introduce the instruments of genocide and the ideology of genocide into UN texts^{*680}. It was from this meeting (S/2014/265) that the RPF put its plan into action: the genocide from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994. The RPF claims, based on the UN, that it entered Rwanda to stop the genocide, when we know full well that the APR/NRA invaded Rwanda on 1 October 1990.

What this means is:

- All RPF rebels (APR/NRA) are victims of genocide, even those who had no family in Rwanda.
- All Tutsis (fighters and their families) who came from Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, DR Congo, etc. became victims of the genocide.
- The wars waged by Rwanda and Uganda in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo have their roots in this genocide, which has been misinterpreted by the international community.

The real victims of the genocide, who should have been the first to benefit from financial and political aid, appear to have been sidelined or neglected.

The RPF-led government wanted to maximise the political gains of the Rwandan genocide and blindly implemented changes without taking into account the comments made by several UN member states, including the United States, Great Britain and Japan⁶⁸¹ *... Instead, it sought to consolidate community policy, segregationist and xenophobic laws, and established:

A ministry that encompasses all Tutsi community associations without exception, namely: IBUKA, FARG, Agahozo, AVEGA, AERG, GAERG, etc. Hutu and Twa community associations are not admitted to this ministry; fortunately or unfortunately, they do not exist within the country. The government establishes laws to consolidate the genocide and funds to finance the benefits and gains of the genocide and the ideology of genocide and wars that financially protect the government. The funding allocated to these associations benefits only the leaders of the RPF and the aforementioned associations on paper. But the laws are designed to defend the community of genocide survivors in theory and, in reality, to protect and perpetuate the power of the RPF. It would not be an exaggeration to say that this is the Ministry of Apartheid. Thus, the establishment of the Rwandan Ministry of Genocide with the false name "Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement" is a manipulation by those in power and a deception of the Rwandan people.

⁶⁸⁰ United Nations / Security Council Distr.: General 14 April 2014 English Original: English. Letter dated 1 April 2014 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the Secretary-General S/2014/265.

⁶⁸¹ Letter dated 11 April 2014 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General resulted in the Security Council meeting that allowed the RPF to introduce the instruments of genocide and the ideology of genocide into UN texts^{*681}.

N.B.: These lies constitute a denial of the Rwandan nation. They aim to perpetuate and perpetuate division between communities, hatred and violence not only in Rwanda, but also throughout the Great Lakes region where these communities coexist.

X.1.2.1.11. Infiltration of Rwandan youth by members of the RPF

Infiltration of Rwandan youth (from the Interahamwe, Inkuba, Abakombozi and Impuzamugambi political parties and the youth of the PL/RPF, etc.) *TIP by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)

N.B.: *TIP. PL/RPF youth wear hats with the letters TIP on them, which stands for Tutsi International Power.

In a television programme, Radio Rwanda correspondent Barore interviewed Tito Rutaremara, who recounted his story, and I quote: "We were preparing for war, we had infiltrated them, we had sent more than 149 cells to Kigali alone. Our methodology was different from theirs (the methodology of the Rwandan government and political parties): to ensure the training of these cadres, to know the political line, to listen to it, to recognise it, to make it their own and then to go and teach it to others before it was implemented: the objective of this structured training was to deliver the message to be conveyed.

In Rwanda, we worked in absolute secrecy. We sent 100, 200, 300 to those in the camps, and to the administrative cells, we sent five people to each cell, and they did not know each other, they only knew the person above them, their leader for example: the one from the Ministry of the Interior did not know the others from the ministry, but he knew Kajuga Robert.

Those who knew the RPF's plan and those at the top: Kajuga Robert, who led the Interahamwe... Rutaremara Tito, who built the system.

In total, there were 5 x 7,800 cells, equal to 39,000 people throughout Rwanda, belonging to all political parties: MRND, PL, PSD, etc. It is clear that the RPF is an integral part of the Rwandan tragedy. During the war in Uganda, it acquired methods of torture, cruel killing, rape and concealment of the evil done to the population.

It should be noted that in his book Rwanda: From Land of Peace to Land of Blood and Beyond, Kajeguhakwa Valens was one of the main architects of the clandestine brigades, a kind of fifth column on behalf of the RPF Inkotanyi that attacked the country (more than 250 commandos).

He worked behind the scenes to set up relay groups within the country, whose actions were decisive in Paul Kagame's seizure of power in Rwanda in July 1994. Three thousand five hundred (3,500) cells were already in place in the country when the war broke out in October 1990, according to one of the founders of the RPF, Tito Rutaremara, during a conference-debate organised by the Belgian Labour Party (PTB) in Brussels on 2 May 1997⁶⁸² *.

1 /The infiltration of RPF soldiers and recruitment are acknowledged by General Dallaire and Colonel Marchal.

The figures put forward by Lieutenant Nees, Ms Alison Des Forges and Abdul Ruzibiza vary between 4,000 and 10,000 men. Rutaremara Tito speaks of five people per cell. Overall, there were 5 x 7,800 cells, equal to 39,000 people throughout Rwanda, belonging to all political parties: MDR, MRND, PL, PSD, etc. All this information was hidden from their superiors at the UN and the ICTR. A revision of the history of the Rwandan genocide is urgently needed.

⁶⁸² Tito Rutaremara, during a conference-debate organised by the Belgian Labour Party (PTB) in Brussels on 2 May 1997.

N.B. Paradoxically, we will see that UN Resolution 955, which established the time frame for the genocide: from 1 January to 31 December 1994 (one year), did not satisfy the RPF, which had ambitions to be the sole master of the game. It did not take long to change this period after the ICTR was established, registering¹ October 1990 to 31 December 1994 (five years of genocide instead of one) as the duration of the genocide in order to make it appear that it had started the war on 1 October 1990 to stop the genocide that was underway, a genocide that he did not mention during the Arusha Peace Accords signed on 4 August 1993.

It should be noted that the majority of RPF infiltrators in Rwandan social life and institutions prior to 1994 were eliminated by the current regime, as they were considered a hindrance to any future justice in Rwanda, such as a new ICTR.

X.1.2.1.12. The consequences of lies about the genocide

The Rwandan genocide was a high-level conspiracy in which man sought to destroy man, as in the time of the zinjanthropus, which was destroyed before the arrival of Homo sapiens.

Through lies, deceit and violence, the RPF has violated the rules of society that are normally made by society itself, within itself and for itself, with man at the heart of that society. The consequences are the result. Rwandan men are mistreated, abused and brutalised to the extreme. The European imperialists who created this situation view the naivety of black people as if it were nothing. The Rwandan society that was being built well before 1994 is currently in disarray and dismembered, divided into several community groups: Agatsiko, Abavantara, Abasajya, Abasope, Ibipinga, Inyenzi, Interahamwe, Ndumunyarwanda, etc. It knows no "strong man" other than the law. The legislator is the guardian of its interests.

The administrator, the politician, the judge and the military are its servants. In Rwanda, things are upside down.

- It is impossible to heal the wounds of the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa survivors.
- Transgression of Rwandan custom without a care in the world,
- It is impossible to unite the Rwandan communities once they have been divided.
- It is impossible to reconcile the Rwandan nation.
- Impossible to help the many victims, more than 1,500,000 orphans (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa combined), widows and widowers left alone (number unknown, estimated at 2,000,000),
- Creation of community categorisation or apartheid associations in the country belonging to a single ethnic group (Ibuka, Avega, FARG, etc.) while masking ethnicity by prohibiting the use of ethnic terms, theoretically creating a division in the population where the 'Ndumunyarwanda' are the only ones in power.
- On 1 October 1990, an invader occupied the north of the country (Byumba, Ruhengeri), massacred millions of Hutus, and erected memorials in this area occupied by him during the time of conquest and committing this Hutu genocide, but cynically calling them **memorials to the Tutsi genocide** (it was a demilitarised zone inhabited by very few Tutsis).
- The APR/NRA soldiers committed barbaric and amoral atrocities there.
- Incomplete, truncated and biased investigations by the ICTR led to biased judgements that did not take into account both sides of the conflict.
- Burial ceremonies for the dead exist for only one community, the Tutsi community, while the others are neglected.
- Propaganda and manipulation of national and international opinion, which led to serious errors in the condemnation of an entire community... It will take a long time (a long journey) for the truth to prevail.

- There is a need to honour the memory of all Rwandan victims and martyrs who lost their lives in barbaric and immoral atrocities.
- We will never be able to repair the mistakes caused by the lies of the genocide: delays in justice and reconciliation, reparations for orphans and widows, injustice suffered at all levels, ICTR, Gacaca and in other countries, the single justice system conducted for more than 30 years by the ICTR and Gacaca has caused considerable damage among Rwandan families and damaged the cohesion of Rwandan society as a whole.
- The justice of the ICTR and Gacaca has been the justice of the vanquished. The UN and the international community have played along with the RPF and have been given carte blanche to remain unpunished, allowing them to sow insecurity in the Great Lakes region of Africa in particular and in Africa as a whole.
- The UN institutions themselves were infiltrated, making this institution complicit at crucial moments when the Rwandan people needed it most.



Photo no. 115.

Generals Marcel Gatsinzi, Romeo Dallaire and Frank Mugambage

Generals Marcel Gatsinzi, Romeo Dallaire and Frank Mugambage were mandated by the superpowers to betray their intelligence and give way to complicity. Generals Marcel Gatsinzi, Romeo Dallaire and Frank Mugambage.

Mandated by the Western powers that exploit them, they use their intelligence to capitalise on their expertise, giving way to complicity and tacit agreement aimed at favouring one of the parties in conflict. The United Nations (UN) has one success to its credit: enabling the conquest of Rwanda by Tutsi elements of the Ugandan army in 1994. The following is an excerpt from an article by Emmanuel Neretse, published by Gaspard Musabyimana on 10 May 2016. *"The United Nations Mission in Rwanda is the only operation in the world that this international institution has succeeded in, as it enabled it to grant power to an armed group of its choice. Paradoxically, the same UN is accused by the regime it installed in Rwanda of 'inaction and failure to assist persons in danger', etc. And the UN takes it without flinching and even indulges in ridiculous 'mea culpa' sessions. The more the UN engages in self-flagellation, the more the military and dictatorial regime installed in Kigali in July 1994 drives the point home with diversionary tactics and genocide blackmail, even going so far as to demand accountability from the same UN that failed to intervene to "stop the genocide" in 1994! To try to understand*

*this game of deception, it is necessary to take a closer look at the UN's actions in Rwanda at that time.*⁶⁸³ *.

a- Since then, we have been ruled by a power that has long been based on lies. Some are naive, others are ignorant, others are disinterested; but the most serious thing is that all these categories of Rwandans believe that this is the truth. We have been governed by lies, deceit and violence for a very long time because of ignorance; the powerful evil one wanted to appropriate the resources of the DR Congo without hiding his intentions, and the minority and anti-social power served as a bridge.

b- On what basis did the UN accept this new date of 1 October 1990 and disregard that of 1 January to 31 December 1994? The 100-day genocide (referring to 6 April 1994, the date of the resumption of fighting after the attack on the presidential plane of President Juvénal Habyarimana), until 19 July 1994, the day of the swearing-in of the government of Faustin Twagiramungu and Pasteur Bizimungu?

c- The RPF built its power on the cornerstone of the RPF, which is genocide dressed up in lies, propaganda of lies, cunning and violence. It received this cornerstone from the Clinton administration, the UN and the international community. It is a false genocide because it was fabricated on a false basis. Through its methods of lies, deceit and corruption, it managed to convince the Security Council and push through its vision of genocide, which it itself began **on 1 October 1990 and continued until 31 December 1994** (five years). Thus, the UN conceded to his prerogatives when it allowed the RPF to change Resolution 955, which had set a one-year period **from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994**. N.B. The RPF's well-honed and accurate presentation style: commit a crime and present it as a mirror accusation.

d- This erroneous view of the RPF's power had two main objectives: to show and convince the national and international community that for its attack on 1 October 1990 from Uganda, it had come to stop the genocide that was being committed on Rwandan territory by the regime of President Juvénal Habyarimana, and therefore justified the reason for the war it had imposed on the Rwandan people, automatically concealing its responsibility and involvement in the genocide.

e- The second objective was to obtain a political instrument, a psychological and ethical weapon that would cause amnesia and aphasia in the international community. This valuable instrument would help him in his diabolical plans to mortgage Rwanda as his private property and create instability in the Great Lakes Region and Africa. The UN granted the "1990-1994 Tutsi genocide" carte blanche to kill the Bantu wherever there were Tutsis in order to stop the genocide: in Burundi, DR Congo, Tanzania, etc.

f- [Genocide and genocide ideology] A fundamental part of the construction of the RPF system, the current power in Kigali, whose essential function or role is to govern with Tutsi predominance in all political, economic, social and geostrategic areas without concern for other communities living in the same territory.

g- The RPF is a mafia-like organisation or enterprise with dictatorial power that is disconnected from the social life of the population. It uses genocide and the ideology of genocide to sideline part of the Rwandan community, and it is used whenever it needs to get rid of political

⁶⁸³ The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. Published by Neretse and Gaspard Musabyimana on 10 May 2016.

See also "The historic failure of the UN in Rwanda". <https://www.dw.com › léchec-historique-de-lonu-au-rw...8> Apr. 2014 - When the genocide began on 7 April 1994, the UN had been present in the country for four months with MINUAR, the United Nations Mission in Rwanda.

opponents, others suspected of being opponents, or those who are inconvenient and uncomfortable for those in power.

The Rwandan constitution is built on genocide to destroy the country's history without paying the price, as it is international amnesia. The country is very fragmented, and inter-Rwandan dialogue will be necessary to find a consensus on governance if we really want a Rwandan nation state.

h- The centrepiece of the Rwandan constitution, the "**Tutsi genocide and genocide ideology**", was used to draft the Rwandan constitution and set aside the Arusha Peace Accords and the 2003 constitution. The RPF did this "methodically and step by step", as we will try to explain in the following lines. From the sole perspective of the Tutsi genocide and genocide ideology, because the entire current constitution contains anomalies and inconsistencies. It deserves to be completely revised once there is a government after Kagame, to reflect the democratic, republican and multiparty values that were institutionalised on ¹July 1962.

i- After removing the founding members of the RPF, Democrats and pro-Republicans from power, the government had to put in place a constitution that was presentable to the international community, but dissuasive and intimidating to the Hutu community. A constitution that criminalises part of the community through discriminatory articles and consolidates the dictatorship (a disguised monarchy) that is not prepared to share power under a multiparty regime.

The tampering with the constitution began immediately after the RPF took power by creating the post of vice-president, which did not appear anywhere in the Rwandan constitution or in the Arusha peace accords. The RPF's satellite political parties hastily agreed to share power, without regard for the RPF's political and military forces, even though it had just broken the Arusha Accords. All those who participated in the formation of Faustin Twagiramungu's government distorted the political game. It was first necessary to adhere to the spirit of the Arusha Peace Accords in order to respect the power-sharing arrangement as defined in Arusha, so that it could be used as an effective political instrument by introducing the principle of the Arusha Peace Accords into the constitution in a methodical and gradual manner.

X.1.3. How the Rwandan government built its power based on the principle of the Tutsi genocide and the ideology of genocide

The constitution begins with a preamble, which I quote: "FOREWORD. The new Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda was published in the Official Journal of the Republic of Rwanda on 4 June 2003. (See reference⁶⁸⁴ *).

For important reasons, the Constitution has undergone four revisions, on 2 December 2003, 8 December 2005, 13 August 2008 and 17 June 2010, respectively.

The first two revisions focused mainly on the organisation and powers of state bodies, particularly those relating to justice and the Office of the Ombudsman, as observed in the implementation of the Constitution, and on its adaptation to the new administrative entities of the national territory.

The third revision addressed issues that had not been resolved by previous constitutional amendments, in particular: the term of office of certain high authorities of State bodies; the

⁶⁸⁴ Gazettes.Africa <https://gazettes.africa> > archive > rw · PDF file.

Official Gazette of Journal Officiel Republic... APPOINTMENT OF A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ELECTRICITY COMPANY OF THE GREAT LAKES COUNTRIES "SINELAC" The Prime Minister. 2003

flexibility of the Constitution; and the adaptation of certain transitional provisions to the current context.

Finally, the fourth revision aimed to resolve the issue of details contained in the 2003 Constitution that required amendments whenever minor changes occurred, particularly in the organisation of a particular body.

This revision also reviewed the procedure for appointing the country's senior authorities, the number of organic laws, the terms of office of certain judges and prosecutors, and the names of certain state bodies.

Given that reading the scattered constitutional provisions is not easy for users of this text, the Ministry of Justice has coordinated this important text into a single document, incorporating the latest revisions mentioned above into the initial text of the Constitution of 4 June 2003.

This coordination of the Constitution and its revisions will certainly have the merit of providing users with a single, easy-to-use text instead of five different Official Gazettes of the Republic of Rwanda. The booklet is in common use.

"It does not replace the Constitution as previously published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda. Tharcisse KARUGARAMA Minister of Justice / Keeper of the Seals.

Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 4 June 2003 (Special Official Gazette of 4 June 2003)

Constitutional Revision No. 01 of 2 December 2003 (Special Official Gazette No. of 2 December 2003)

Constitutional Amendment No. 02 of 8 December 2005 (Special Official Gazette of 8 December 2005)

Constitutional Revision No. 03 of 13 August 2008 (Special Official Journal of 13 August 2008)

Constitutional Revision No. 04 of 17 June 2010 (Special Official Journal of 17 June 2010)

PREAMBLE We, the Rwandan people,

Title Law No. 18/2008 of 23/07/2008 on the suppression of the crime of genocide ideology J.O No. 20 of 15/10/2008,

Date of promulgation: 23/07/2008 Date of publication: 15/10/2008 Status: In force. (See Annex 23).⁶⁸⁵ *

X.1.4. Multiple revisions of the Rwandan Constitution

The repeated revisions of the constitution undertaken since the seizure of power were aimed at creating a disguised anti-democratic law in order to concentrate power in the hands of a single individual surrounded by a small oligarchic group, with a view to protecting themselves and maintaining the primacy of the individual over the community, as well as exercising political forces, institutionalised at the centre of secure state power, without any hindrance, even if it appears ... without respect for democratic principles and the alternation of power. In a word, it is a constitution that ensures absolute monarchy.

The law is very fluid and vague, and the lines of this ideology are not clearly defined at all. The fact that only the Tutsi are mentioned means that other ethnic groups are not covered by this

⁶⁸⁵ Revision of the constitution (from 1994 to 2021) Official Gazette of Rwanda.

constitution. It is therefore institutionalised segregation against unmentioned communities, whereas the genocide as it was prepared and carried out, and its consequences, affect all Rwandans equally without distinction. It is a law that aims to divide Rwandans. It aims to exclude a community of Rwandans from socio-economic and political life. Above all, it aims to make them feel guilty, enslave them and turn them into exiles in their own country.

X.1.5. By turning away from the Rwandan genocide, the RPF has managed to play a trick on the UN, the Rwandan people and the international community to its own advantage

It was by superimposing two genocides in Rwanda and the perception of both genocides that the RPF played a trick on the UN, the Rwandan people and the international community to its advantage.

X.1.5.1. The superimposition of two genocides in Rwanda

Will the United Nations (UN) ever intervene to rectify this deception by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF): "THIS 1,550-DAY GENOCIDE IN RWANDA IS A BIG LIE" by the RPF and Paul Kagame's regime. Although he had it recorded in the UN, this 1,550-day genocide never existed and was never discussed during the peace agreement negotiations that took place from February 1992 to 4 August 1993 in Arusha, Tanzania. *"However, it would have existed if the war had followed the plan initially conceived in 1989, which could not be executed due to the delay by the team responsible for assassinating President Habyarimana. This war had genocidal aims against the Hutu regime in Rwanda, whose occupation by the Ugandan army could only be achieved through the armed return of Tutsi refugees."*

Kagame seriously misled the UN. He obeyed his master, Museveni. During the 20 years of Juvénal Habyarimana's reign, after the tragic events of 1973, there were no ethnic incidents in Rwanda. However, we know what happened in Rwanda from 6 April 1994 to 31 December 1994: a 100-day genocide took place. But Rwandans and the rest of the world know that it was a genocide that took place from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994, as defined by UN Resolution 955. The UN set it at 100 days (April to July 1994). But the Rwandan Patriotic Front changed it to 1,550 days, distancing itself from the 100-day genocide, and enshrined it in the Rwandan Constitution. A false genocide, enshrined in the Rwandan Constitution, produces a false national constitution. This RPF constitution divides Rwandans into two communities that are impossible to reconcile without dialogue between them to jointly write a reliable constitution that concerns national life as a whole.

The genocide was conceived by the Rwandan Patriotic Front with stated motives: the reason it entered Rwanda on 1 October 1990 was to stop the genocide and fight the government that was committing it. This was a false argument, because what it really wanted was to hide its own responsibilities and the crimes it had committed in the region. That is why it decided to carry out a genocide specifically targeting the Tutsi. This was a big lie to the Rwandan people and the international community: it was a strategic genocide to conceal his crimes and justify the wars he has been waging since 1 October 1990.

X.1.5.2. Perception of the two genocides

Genocide known to the world (G.A.) and genocide fabricated by the RPF regime (G.B.)

Table 19. Perception of genocide by the RPF, the UN and the international community

	Year 1990	Year 1991	Year 1992	Year 1993	Year 1994	Total	UN	FPR+ Supp o

Year	1	2	3	4	5	5		
Rwandan	1 st -10-1990 war	29-03-1991 trader.	Jan. 1992 Meeting with Haby. Museveni.	4 August 1993	6 April 1994			
UN = International Community = the world					1 Jan. to 31 Dec. 1994	100 days		
	3 months	1 Year	1 Year	1 year	1 year			
FPR=Kigali Power	90 days	365 days	365 days	365 days	365 days	100 days	365 days	1550 days
⁶⁸⁶ *							G.A.	G.B.

Table 19 shows how two genocides occurring on different dates are juxtaposed side by side, with the complicity of the UN, an international institution that no longer plays its role of neutrality when it comes to settling a conflict between two brothers.

Comments:

- 1stOctober 1990: start of the RPF/RNA war against Rwanda: 29 March 1991: Signing of the N'Sele ceasefire agreement in Zaire, an agreement between the RPF rebellion and the Rwandan government . [...Considering that all these meetings were primarily aimed at establishing a ceasefire to allow both parties to seek a solution to the war through direct negotiations;...

Having regard to the N'sele Ceasefire Agreement of 29 March 1991, as amended in Gbadolité on 16 September 1991 and in Arusha on 12 July 1992; ... the agreement was signed in Arusha on the fourth day of August 1993 by HABYARIMANA Juvénal, President of Rwanda Major General, KANYARENGWE Alexis Colonel President of the Patriotic Front and the stakeholders⁶⁸⁷ *.]

- January 1992: Meeting between Presidents Habyarimana and Museveni in Arusha, facilitated by German parliamentarian Rudolf Decker.

- 4 August 1993: All the Arusha peace agreements are signed by President Juvénal Habyarimana and KANYARENGWE Alexis, President of the RPF.

- 6 April 1994: Assassination of Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi and their entire accompanying delegation.

G.A. = 100-day genocide recognised by the entire world, according to UN Resolution 955 (G.A. = current genocide).

⁶⁸⁶ G.A. Genocide accepted and recognised as such by the entire world. G.B. Genocide accepted only by the RPF and its supporters.

⁶⁸⁷ Arusha Accords (Rwanda). Wikipedia. [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/accords_d'Arusha_\(Rwanda\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/accords_d'Arusha_(Rwanda)). The final agreement was signed on 4 August 1993. These agreements provide for the eventual political and military integration of the various internal components.

From 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994 = three months of 1994 or 100 days.

G.B. = Genocide perpetrated by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and its supporters after discovering that the demilitarised zone had been the scene of genocide and that the only occupant during this period was the RPF itself. (G.B. = biased genocide)

From 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994 = 5 years or 1,550 days. A difference commensurate with the lie.

The RPF fabricated this genocide scenario to justify its invasion of Rwanda on 1 October 1990, claiming that it had come to stop the ongoing genocide perpetrated by the Habyarimana regime. The genocide was never mentioned during the three years of negotiations. At the same time, it could hide the leading role it played in the genocide committed in northern Rwanda in particular and throughout the country in general. Five years equals 1,550 days .

After deceiving the Tutsi genocide, the Rwandan Patriotic Front began the next stage, which consisted of enshrining the genocide and the ideology of genocide in the national constitution in order to consolidate its dictatorial power and gain the right to remove anyone who opposed its power or held divergent opinions. This law has been used primarily to remove a large community of Hutus.

X.1.6. Law No. 81/2013 of 9 November 2013 establishing the Support and Assistance Fund for the most needy survivors of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi between 1 October 1990 and 31 December 1994 and determining its mission, competence, organisation and functioning

What we know:

The genocide committed by the RPF is a certainty and has been deliberately ignored. It was the RPF/NRA and the UN that deliberately concealed the genocide that was perpetrated in the demilitarised zone/a zone without military operations/the buffer zone occupied and controlled solely by the RPF during the genocide and where the genocide monuments were erected to confirm what happened there.

a. The UN approval replacing the first resolution 955, which was subject to pressure from Israel, was accepted by the Security Council, but the Americans and British, as well as Japan, refused to go through the UN General Assembly. There are several reasons for this refusal. Although the genocide has been classified as public knowledge, the inconsistency of several facts leads us to reflect carefully on this genocide. The planner is well known, but the ICTR did not want to identify him. The trigger for the genocide is very well known, but the ICTR and the UN sealed all the investigations that incriminated the person who triggered it. The buffer zone was occupied by the RPF as the sole ruler of the area, where it set up genocide sites to display the remains of victims under its responsibility.

b. The special investigation conducted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was biased and incomplete. The area occupied by the APF/RPF was not investigated. The investigation that served as evidence to try the ICTR defendants, the part occupied by the RPF, i.e. the buffer or demilitarised zone, was omitted. The evidence implicating the RPF was not taken into account, and the ICTR was protected by complicity.

The fact that the first point did not mention the genocide, nor was it mentioned in the Arusha peace negotiations, shows that this is a lie that contains hypocrisy and extreme cruelty.

Having created the second genocide, he deliberately misled the UN, sought to hide his responsibility for the genocide, and wanted to use the genocide as a political tool to remove the Hutu community from power by opening the way for the amendment of Constitution No. 04 of 17 June 2010⁶⁸⁸. This is a lack of honesty, a deception of his own people and the international community:

"The latest [(amendment to Constitution No. 04 of 17 June 2010 (Official Gazette, Special Edition of 17 June 2010)⁶⁸⁹ *.

Amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 4 June 2003 (Official Gazette No. 4 of June 2003)

Amendment to the Constitution No. 01 of 2 December 2003 (Special Official Gazette No. of 2 December 2003)

Amendment to the Constitution No. 02 of 8 December 2005 (Special Official Gazette No. of 8 December 2005)

Amendment to the Constitution No. 03 of 13 August 2008 (Special Official Gazette No. of 13 August 2008)

Amendment to the Constitution No. 04 of 17 June 2010 (Official Journal, Special No. of 17 June 2010)

* Article 50: Was caring for the lives of vulnerable survivors of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsis against the Hutus and Tutsis?

*Article 52: Should monuments to the genocide against the Hutus and Tutsis be preserved?

Amendment to the Constitution No. 04 of 17 June 2010 (Official Gazette, Special Issue of 17 June 2010)

The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 4 June 2003 (Official Journal No. 4 of June 2003)

Constitutional Amendment No. 01 of 2 December 2003 (Special Official Gazette No. of 2 December 2003).

These are the reasons why the RPF has created laws aimed at crushing and enslaving the Rwandan people forever.

Article 14: The lives of victims of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi and other vulnerable persons (Revision No. 03 of 13/08/2008). The genocide against the Tutsis took place in Rwanda from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994, targeting disabled people, the poor, the elderly and others who were not treated.

N.B.: This means that only disabled, poor, elderly, orphaned, widowed and widowed Tutsi are covered by this law. Hutu, Twa and others with the same problems as the Tutsi are excluded. Strangely, Tutsi soldiers and their partners who were in Uganda at the time of the genocide are included in this law.

It is based on Law No. 16/2004 of 19/6/2004, which determines the nature, powers and functions of the Gacaca courts, which have tried more than 1,200,000 people. Once again, all Hutus living in Rwanda before the outbreak of war on 1 October 1990 will be affected/prosecuted for genocide, which becomes an 'original sin'. Moreover, some place the beginning of the genocide in 1959 after the fall of the monarchy, meaning that the generation of the fathers of independence are genocidaires.

⁶⁸⁸ Rwandan Constitution: Rwandan Constitution.pdf - theguides.org. Amendment No. 04 of 17/06/2010). The President of the Republic and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies shall not belong to the same ... 17 June 2010.

⁶⁸⁹ Amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 4 June 2003 (Official Journal No. 4 of June 2003

These laws, which were included in the constitution, had a major impact on certain ethnic groups and further divided the Rwandan people. Ambassador Ndagijimana Jean Marie Vianney, interviewed by journalist Sebahire Célestin on a television programme on Radio Urumuri on 19 January 2001, said, and I quote: "He says, 'The Rwandan memory laws are a legal and political deception'".⁶⁹⁰ *

From 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994 = Law No. 066/2021 of 15 October 2021 abolishing the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide and creating the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement. However, since the introduction of this law into the constitution, there has been no amendment to the constitution to rectify the situation. There has been day-to-day tinkering according to circumstances that suit the RPF's power. The details of this change can be found in *Law No. 066/2021 of 15/10/2021: Special Gazette No. of 21/10/2021: 60th Year Official Journal No. 066 Special of 21/10/20*.

This is what RPF member James Munyandinda said in an interview with Claude Gatebuke and James Munyandinda, a former bodyguard of Kagame, on YouTube on 10 September 2019: (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5K8CezuWDz>).

"On the issue of Tutsi genocide survivors? James Munyandinda: Thank you very much, Gatebuke, my brother. What I would add is that Rwandans must have the courage to tell Kagame what they think. They must not be afraid to call him a *genocidaire hors catégorie*, since they have sufficient evidence provided by his former close associates, who know him well and who were eyewitnesses to his actions. They must call him a '*genocidaire*' because that is the name that suits him. Furthermore, Rwandans must speak proudly, demonstrating their thirst for truth for their country. The persistent discord among the population, based on the one hand on the Hutu's guilt for having committed genocide, and on the other hand on the Tutsi's sense of being survivors of genocide as a whole, with even returnees from Uganda like myself being lumped together with the survivors, is a trump card that Kagame is currently playing.

And to conclude, I would like to repeat this in a few words: the Hutu population as a whole never committed genocide in Rwanda. The genocide was carried out by the Interahamwe, by commandos under Kagame's orders, by Kagame himself, Kayonga and Kabarebe. It cannot therefore be attributed to the Hutus as a whole, just as it cannot be attributed to the Tutsis outside Rwanda as a whole. I would also like to remind Rwandans that the genocide was perpetrated against the Tutsis inside Rwanda only; those outside Rwanda were not affected. This too must be clearly explained to them. I, who had a mother in Uganda, could not consider her a survivor. You understand, we must not generalise, must we? If there are survivors, if there are victims of the genocide, they are the Tutsis from within Rwanda. This is the plain truth. That is how I would conclude this interview.

The Tutsis who came from Uganda, including the military, did indeed benefit from the aid intended for Tutsi survivors. Hutu, Twa and mixed Tutsi and Twa or Hutu-Twa and Twa-Tutsi survivors, or vice versa, as well as others who did not belong to the Tutsi community, did not receive any other kind of aid. The law on the aid fund for Tutsi survivors only is segregative and discriminatory.⁶⁹¹ *

⁶⁹⁰ Ambassador Ndagijimana Jean Marie Vianney interviewed by journalist Sebahire Célestin on a television programme on Radio Urumuri on 19 January 2001, said, and I quote: "He says 'Rwandan memory laws are a legal and political deception'."

⁶⁹¹ Kambanda Jean: 2020: The Interahamwe of the RPF at the heart of the planning of the genocide in Rwanda. James Munyandinda, IN: Interview given to Claude Gatebuke and James Munyandinda by a former bodyguard of Kagame on YouTube on 10 September 2019: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5K8CezuWDz>" Editions Sources du Nil. P. 153-154

X.1.7. The law on genocide and genocide ideology

The law is very vague and ambiguous, and the lines of this ideology are not clearly defined at all. It does not even define its *raison d'être*. The fact that it mentions only the Tutsi means that other ethnic groups are not covered by this national constitution, excluding them from the Rwandan nation. Yet the genocide, as it was planned and carried out, and its consequences, affected all Rwandans equally, without distinction. It is a law that aims to divide Rwandans. It aims to exclude a community of Rwandans. Above all, it aims to make them feel guilty, enslave them and turn them into slaves in their own country. It is a national law that was hastily drafted with a single vision, without broad consultation to gather a wide range of views and opinions in order to correct errors and establish a reliable law.

The constitution remains the basis of all the phobia, the untimely impulse resulting from the haunting fear of the great responsibility for the millions of deaths in Uganda, Rwanda and the DR Congo who were exterminated by the Rwandan Patriotic Army and the National Resistance Army of Uganda (APR/NRA).

The balkanisation of the DR Congo is inevitable, since the powers' appetite for the DR Congo is not only for its subsoil (minerals), but also for its arable land, forests, plants, water and air. The region is the cradle of natural life. The powers will continue to covet this African heritage and use minorities/the weak to continue to gradually destabilise the region until they achieve their objectives, as in Uganda, Rwanda and South Sudan. I imagine that this plan for balkanisation is a long-term one, lasting up to a hundred years.

The RPF has an impulse phobia, which is the fear of losing control of absolute power and committing absurd, inappropriate and even dangerous acts (arbitrary imprisonment, torture and even the killing of innocent people).

This law, which is the basis of the Rwandan constitution, refers only to the Tutsis as the sole victims of the genocide! It completely discredits the Rwandan Patriotic Front's ability to work for the Rwandan people.

We recommend that the RPF/NRA government return to the genocide recognised by the world and the UN (G.A.): 100 days, and abandon the lies that consist of constructing the genocide perpetrated by the RPF government (G.B.), established over the period from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994: 1,550 days. Corrections must be made at all levels, nationally and internationally:

- Nationally in Rwanda, organise a referendum to change the constitution

Internationally: The UN Security Council must rule based on the truth and available information, if necessary conducting a new investigation on the ground. It must establish a resolution to confirm the new situation.

- The African Organisation (AO) must do the same and maintain accurate and reliable data.

All other organisations and embassies must be informed of any new resolution once it has been established.

X.1.8. Crimes committed by the RPF alone, without any other conflicting forces against it or opposition, and crimes shared by the parties to the conflict

N.B.: The phases of the war correspond to the number of recognised and unrecognised genocides.

The APR/NRA invaded Rwanda on 1 October 1990 and began the killings. According to General Kabarebe, aide-de-camp to rebel leader Paul Kagame, "the statement by General James Kabarebe, advisor to President Paul Kagame, during a meeting with young people in April 2022: in a television broadcast <https://youtu.be/onhwYDlziek> FPR ni Killing Machine nk'uko Kabarebe abyemeza: mu kiganiro Kabarebe yagiranye n'urubyiruko rwiga muri za Kaminuza, yarbwiye ko nyuma y'urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema, Kagame yahise afata ubuyobozi bwa FPR maze abwira inkotanyi zose ko zigomba guhinduka ikimashini cyo kwica abantu (Killing Machine). Iyi mvugo ya Kabarebe ikaba itandukanye n'invugo ya Bizimana wita inkotanyi imana y'Abatutsi!! From Kagitumba to the signing of the peace accords on 4 August 1993 in Kigali and the RPF's breach of these accords, more than 60,000 victims were counted in the north-east of the country.

X.1.8.1. First genocide carried out by the RPF alone in the buffer zone

The RPF controlled the buffer zone in place of UNAMIR in accordance with Resolution 812 of 13 March 1993. The RPF committed genocide in the north of the country in Byumba and Ruhengeri, and especially in the demilitarised zone or buffer zone, where it set up a large number of genocide sites. Since the outbreak of war in 1994, it was the only party to carry out mass killings, as it had driven out the 250 men of MONUOR. The RPF is therefore solely responsible for this genocide.

X.1.8.2. War from 1 October 1990 to 5 April 1994: The RPF's first genocide against Rwanda (before the Rwandan presidential plane was shot down)

During this period, the RPF committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide, including the attack on the town of Ruhengeri on 23 January 1991, the political assassinations of 21 February 1994 and 23 February 1994, the Butaro massacre in May 1992, the notorious massacres in Ruhengeri and Byumba on 8 February 1993, as well as the political assassinations in the buffer zone and that of 18 May 1993. The target community was that it was necessary to eliminate as many Hutus as possible, especially those belonging to the MRND, CDR and MDR parties.

(From 1 October 1990 to 5 April 1994) see Photo No. 43, which includes the buffer zone or demilitarised zone. There were more than 66,000 victims during this period.

X.1.8.3. From 6 April 1994 to 31 December 1994: The second genocide

From 6 April 1994 to 31 December 1994, the second genocide/IrimburaBanyarwanda was committed by the RPF/NRA/Interahamwe/Inkuba, Abakombozi, Impuzamugambi, etc., infiltrated by the APR.

After the violation of the Arusha Accords and the assassination of Presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi and their entourages, RPF soldiers left their barracks at the CND to massacre people. The anger of the Interahamwe, the youth of the MRND and young people from opposition political parties became uncontrollable. From 6 April 1994 to 30 June 1994, the figure in Table B (1/2) shows a total of 557,465 victims throughout Rwanda. This is the period during which the genocide recognised by the UN took place, with a greatly inflated figure of 800,000 deaths and biased reporting (a genocide against the Tutsi) instead of the Rwandan genocide.

X.1.8.4. The third and fourth genocides committed by the RPF/NRA: the sites of the massacres from 1995 onwards...

The third and fourth genocides committed by the RPF/NR are the sites of the massacres of 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999 ... (Massacres after the RPF took power alone in 1995 following the defeat of the government forces).

From 1995, 1996-1999 ... 2003, mass massacres against Rwandan Hutus were committed. The war, which was supposed to have ended on 17 July 1994, intensified and large-scale massacres were committed by the new ruler of the country. The crimes committed during this period remain unpunished. This was the third phase after the two phases of the war, which were: the first from 1 October 1990 to 5 April 1994, and the second from 6 April 1994 to 17 July 1994 (100 days according to the UN). This second phase is considered to be the year from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994, which is the limit set by United Nations Security Council Resolution 955.

Among other war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide committed by the RPF from 1 January 1995 to December 1999, the following can be noted: the horrific massacre in Kibeho from 17 to 23 April 1995 (this camp was guarded by United Nations peacekeepers); the carnage at the Nyarutovu wedding on the night of 18 to 19 January 1997; the horrors of the Nyakimana cave from 23 to 28 October 1997 and the cleansing in the commune of Kanama; the massacre of Hutus in Kayonza around Christmas: from 23 to 25 December 1998, what the RPF calls Operation Fagiya, Fanyia; the ruthless reprisal campaigns against Abacengezi (1997-2000); the ethnic cleansing of the Mutara region in 1995 and thereafter to prepare the ground for newly arrived refugees.

X.1.8.5. Massacres in the north, north-east, centre and south of the country

The heinous massacres in Byumba at several sites, including the Byumba stadium, the flour mill, schools, etc.; the selective massacre of intellectuals from 7 to 9 April 1994; the targeted massacre of young people in Kabuye in April 1994; the Kiziguro slaughter in April 1994, the bodies floating in the Nyabarongo River in May 1994, the selective massacre of an entire Hutu family in Nyanza in June 1994: the massacre in Murama in Gitarama Prefecture, the massacre in Vunga, Giciye - Gisenyi. The massacre in Nyamutera, the cold-blooded massacre at the wedding, the massacre in Byumba at the end of April 1994, the beheading at the Catholic church on 5 June 1994: The Rwandan Patriotic Front committed massacres against religious figures, the most well-known sites being Gakurazo on 5 June 1994 and the massacres in Rwesero Byumba. A list of more than 245 religious figures has been compiled in Appendix 4 of the document. The dismantling of the Nyacyonga camp at the gates of Kigali, which housed more than 800,000 displaced persons.

X.1.8.6. The RPF massacres to prepare a mirror accusation

The massacre of more than 130 Congolese refugees in the Mudende refugee camp on 22 August 1996 led to reprisal attacks in the commune of Mutura. The number of people killed during these reprisals by armed Tutsi civilians is unknown. According to some sources, APR soldiers also participated in the massacres. Among the victims were a young woman, Nyirantabire, her husband and several children who perished in the fire that destroyed their home.

- The sites are listed in the document. From 8, 9, 10 to 22 August (Operation Tuzahateza Itabi: operation to clean up the area where they were going to plant tobacco).

- 11-14 January 1998: Execution by the APR of more than 300 unarmed Hutu civilians in Cyeya in the commune of Rubavu, Gisenyi.

- Other crimes and terrorist acts committed by the RPF from 1 January 1995 to 8 November 2020, the date this work was first written.

X.1.8.7. A massacre, nothing less than genocide: The Kibeho massacre

The Kibeho massacre on 22 April 1995 was documented by the UN, which was on the ground (UNAMIR), the Red Cross and Médecins Sans Frontières: in one afternoon, the RPF army killed, according to sources, between 40,000 and 80,000 Hutu civilians in a camp for displaced persons in Kibeho. Australian UNAMIR peacekeepers watched helplessly, forbidden to intervene because it was not part of their mission... There was a genocide of Hutus in the Kibeho camp. Most of the bodies were transported by truck to Uwisumo in the Nyungwe forest.

X.1.8.8. One genocide among many: the massacre in the Nyakimana cave

Between 23 and 28 October 1997, thousands of people were killed in the Nyakimana cave. Many unarmed civilians – between **8,000 and 10,000** people according to local sources – were reportedly killed by **APR** soldiers in the Kayove sector of Kanama commune, Gisenyi prefecture. At the time of writing, Amnesty International was unable to confirm the number of victims, as independent investigators were denied access to the site. Most of the victims are believed to have been displaced persons who had fled the fighting in the Bisizi, Kanama, Kirambo and Kayove sectors, all located in the commune of Kanama. Entire communities abandoned their homes for safety following clashes between APR soldiers and armed opposition groups, and massacres committed by APR soldiers, which left several hundred people dead.

X.1.8.9. The genocide against Hutu intellectuals in the city of Kigali

Ruzibiza Abdul testifies before the ICTR: "I am convinced and I affirm that the APR massacred people of all ethnicities with the aim of sowing anarchy to facilitate its seizure of power, even at the cost of exterminating an entire people." OP. 1920 LT Abdul Ruzibiza. Ruzibiza Abdul. Sunday, 14 March 2004. Excerpt from the book by Abdul RUZIBIZA, pages 262 to 263.⁶⁹² *

X.1.8.9.1. The hunt for Hutu intellectuals and intelligentsia in Kigali

Since 13 April 1994, the units have shared the task of exterminating the Hutus in Kigali. The 3rd Battalion, the most experienced in the city, was given the mission of protecting the RPF political leaders and supplying ammunition to the *59th Mobile*, the *101st* and *Alpha Mobile*. Another important task was to rescue the political leaders still alive in the opposing camp, whom the RPF planned to use after taking power. Apart from a few individuals who were to be deliberated, no rescue plan for the Tutsis was put in place. The 3rd Battalion was aware of the massacre of Tutsis at the ETO (Official Technical School of Kicukiro), which was not far away, but never intervened. Identical massacres took place at the Christus centre in Remera, and nothing was done to stop them. Worse still, in Kimihurura, there was no intervention to save the Tutsis massacred at the Salesian Brothers' centre, very close to the positions of the APR's 3rd Battalion.

X.1.8.9.2. The selection and abduction of Hutus by RPF extremists

The other task carried out by the 3rd Battalion, the DMI and RPF extremists was the selection and abduction of Hutus, wherever they were taken prisoner by the APR in the city of Kigali. They were rounded up to be liquidated later. This task was carried out by people who knew the city of Kigali well and by politicians protected by the RPF. Captain Charles KARAMBA, Captain Jean Damascène SEKAMANA, Sergeant Deus KAGIRANEZA and other intelligence agents drew up lists of Hutus to be killed on the pretext that they were educated Hutus or had influential families. The task was easy because they gathered information from Tutsi families who had taken refuge at the CND or the Amahoro stadium in Remera. Among these civilian informants were GATETE Polycarpe, Paul MUVUNYI, Jean Marie MUNYANKINDI,

⁶⁹² Lt. Ruzibiza Joshua Abdul. Ruzibiza Abdul. Ibid.

Théoneste MUTSINDASHYAKA and, in particular, Tito RUTAREMARA, who had lived in Kigali for some time, as well as others. The most senior leaders, such as Tito RUTAREMARA, who did not know many politicians in the city of Kigali, sought information from those who knew the city, such as Deus KAGIRANEZA, in order to identify those who were to be killed. One example is the case of Emmanuel BAHIGIKI, who had been Secretary General at the Ministry of Planning and who headed the IWACU Centre⁶⁹³ *. The reason for his assassination was that he had declared that he was in possession of a list of at least 100 people murdered by the APR (Rwandan Patriotic Army) in the buffer zone for refusing to follow the ideology of the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front), as well as local leaders elected by the population who refused allegiance to the RPF. His assassination was ordered by Captain Charles KARAMBA. Emanuel Bahigiki was assassinated along with his wife and their four children. He was also acting president of AFRICONSULT⁶⁹⁴ *, replacing Emmanuel Gapyisi, who had also been assassinated a few days earlier, on 18 May 1993, in front of his office by the RPF: AFRICOSULT: A Consultancy and Project Studies Office.

N.B.: Sergeant Deus Kagiraneza, a member of the RPF since 1990, was in charge of intelligence. He was the man who led the delegation of 10-11 Belgian peacekeepers to Akagera National Park (a secret mission that did not have the permission of Colonel Marshal, head of the Belgian peacekeepers in Kigali) on the day of President Juvénal Habyarimana's assassination. He has information on the role of the peacekeepers in the attack on the presidential plane. It is surprising that he has been living in Belgium for several years and has not been questioned about this matter, nor about the role of RPF infiltrators in the city of Kigali. After the RPF took power, he was prefect of Ruhengeri prefecture and was the first to implement Operation Guteza itabi = kill the entire population and plant tobacco in its place in this region of the country. Kagiraneza's full testimony is in Appendix 25. He describes the massacres carried out in the Ruhengeri prefecture.

X.1.8.9.3. Organised crimes against French-speaking intellectuals in Rwanda

New organised crimes against the Hutu intelligentsia and, more generally, against French-speaking intellectuals (of all ethnicities) are being committed in full view of the major Western powers that sponsor and support the bloody dictatorship of Rwandan President General Paul KAGAME.

The dehumanisation of French-speaking intellectuals, which began in July 1994 with the seizure of power by Tutsi rebels of the RPF, has now reached cruising speed with the abolition of the French language in schools and in all public and private services in Rwanda. This decision, taken unilaterally by President Paul Kagame and imposed on the Council of Ministers on 8 October 2008, has just been implemented with the dismissal of those who worked in the civil service. With this decision by Paul Kagame, effective since 16 October 2008, English has become the language of instruction in primary schools and up to university level in Rwanda. On the eve of the Francophonie Summit, which opens tomorrow in Quebec, Rwanda has decided to adopt English as the language of instruction at all levels and also as the language of administration⁶⁹⁵.

Most political opponents, independent journalists and courageous leaders of Rwandan civil society have been either assassinated, forced into exile or imprisoned. Even opinion leaders who kneel and remain silent are not spared. This was the case for Mr. François BYUMA, Secretary General of LIPRODHOR (Rwandan League for the Promotion of Human Rights). He

⁶⁹³ Iwacu Centre

⁶⁹⁴ Africonsult: Research and Consultancy Office.

⁶⁹⁵ La Presse. <https://lapresse.ca> Rwanda replaces French with English. Canada, 16 October 2008

was arrested on 13 May 2007 and arbitrarily sentenced in August 2007 to 19 years in prison by the Gacaca court of the BIRYOGO sector, presided over by a certain Imanzi SUDI. The latter was criticised in the newspapers and finally dismissed shortly afterwards for his interference in numerous Gacaca trials that resulted in arbitrary convictions, even outside his jurisdiction. This conviction comes on top of the exile of 13 LIPRODHOR leaders who were forced to flee their country in 2004 after the publication, on 30 June 2004, of a highly controversial and contested report by a commission of Rwandan parliamentarians. The members of this commission arbitrarily accused several political opponents, NGOs (non-governmental organisations) and religious denominations of spreading genocidal ideology and divisionism in Rwanda. This forced many religious leaders and political opponents to flee the country.

To ensure impunity, General Paul KAGAME's military junta is determined to silence any voice that could exert any kind of counter-power. This is why civil society was perceived as "*dangerous*" insofar as it had already begun to take shape during the presidency of Juvénal Habyarimana in July 1993.

The military junta's objective is to destroy the useful and influential cooperatives of the associative movement in Rwanda. For the RPF, the priority is to impoverish the Rwandan population because "*a hungry stomach has no ears*" ("*a hungry stomach does not think, therefore it does not protest*"). The best strategy was to eliminate, by any means necessary, the leaders or influential figures of Rwandan civil society and replace them with RPF "servants". Any cooperatives or associations that the military junta was unable to infiltrate and take over were dissolved or are in the process of being dissolved. The strategy for taking over or dissolving cooperatives or associations remains the same. Those leaders who are incorruptible or irredeemable are simply either shot dead, poisoned, forced into exile or arbitrarily imprisoned under various pretexts, which are never lacking in Rwanda, where networks of informers have been established and exploited by the Tutsi extremists in power since April 1994.

According to Human Rights Watch, "the commission's interpretation of 'genocidal ideas', which are prohibited by Rwandan law, is so broad that it includes any dissent from the government's plans for land consolidation"⁶⁹⁶ *. Amnesty International fears that the content of this document, which appears to be based on uncertain allegations and sloppy research, may pose a threat to certain individuals. In addition, several members of parliament have called for the death penalty for those responsible for the above-mentioned institutions. In the current social context in Rwanda, the heads of these NGOs could simply be assassinated without trial. Before the international community, the authorities will put forward arguments relating to uncontrolled elements of the security forces, certain traumatised genocide survivors or "unidentified criminals" from the . If necessary, these leaders will be imprisoned to limit their contact with their families and NGOs.

The Rwandan government led by the RPF is well aware that it will not be easy to govern the Rwandan people as long as light has not been shed on the mass killings organised by the Rwandan Patriotic Army in Rwanda and the forests of Congo from October 1990 to the present day. This government also knows that excluding the nation's driving forces from the management of public affairs in order to rely on small groups with bellicose ideas is a policy with no possible outcome, given the current problems of the national economy. The Rwandan authorities also know that the war in Congo is only being waged to plunder its wealth and that it only benefits General Kagame's immediate entourage. Furthermore, Rwandans see that the living conditions of the population are deteriorating day by day and that rural areas do not have

⁶⁹⁶ Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International

access to basic infrastructure. Organisations that have direct contact with farmers have understood this. They could propose new approaches to help Rwandans find their way out of the maze of post-war problems and think about long-term development goals...

Well aware of the dynamics of development in Rwandan society and the role that civil society can play in raising public awareness of development issues, and the current trend among donors to support projects aimed at self-centred development of populations and empowering them to take charge of their own affairs, the current authorities feel their survival is threatened and know that they can no longer base their power on lies. Thus, civil society organisations are muzzled and international NGOs that have a certain reputation among the population are intimidated. The RPF's methods of intimidation, harassment and/or elimination are now well known. The RPF does not tolerate criticism, it never negotiates, it eliminates. This is the fate reserved for those who do not speak the same language as it does. The only hope and future for Rwandans lies in this regime changing without bloodshed, but unfortunately this scenario is highly unlikely for a criminal regime that seized power through violence, deceit and lies.

X.1.8.10. From the study conducted by Ms Maryline Hermans of the University of Rotterdam (Netherlands)

The study conducted by Ms Maryline Hermans after the RPF seized power reveals that its soldiers, assisted by a few survivors and returnees from exile in Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and Congo (formerly Zaire), committed acts of genocide. We can quote her text here: "In our study, we limited ourselves to the Bugesera region, populated by Tutsis who were victims of the post-independence unrest in the 1960s⁶⁹⁷ *." *For further information, "The full text of her testimony is published in 'Kambanda, Les Interahamwe du FPR Au cœur de la planification du génocide au Rwanda/RPF Killers'."*

Through her testimony, Ms Maryline Hermans wanted to give a voice to the victims so that they would not be forgotten: ["Never forget your victims; they were your children, cousins, parents, husbands or wives, friends, neighbours, classmates or teammates, groups or simply your generation.

(...) Please do not think of avenging them with the same punishments, for only weak minds imitate what they have seen. On the contrary, demand justice, for that is the only way to honour their memory. Do not lose heart if justice is slow in coming. Delays are indeed part of human action. While waiting for justice, avoid denial, rebellion, hatred, revenge, anger, and indignation, for none of these things bring strength or joy to life. Do not always be victims. Remain rescuers in Karpman's drama triangle, rescuers of yourselves and others.⁶⁹⁸ * »]

Below is Karpman's drama triangle, which President Paul Kagame skilfully exploits in place of the victims of the Rwandan genocide.

⁶⁹⁷ See the investigation conducted by Ms Maryline Hermans of the University of Rotterdam (Netherlands) into the massacres committed by APR elements in the commune of Ngenda (Kigali Rural Prefecture).

⁶⁹⁸ The drama triangle, also known as the 'Karpman triangle', is a transactional analysis model proposed by Stephen Karpman in 1968, which highlights a rational scenario between victim, persecutor and rescuer (these roles being symbolic, the same person can change roles).

Karpman's drama triangle ⁶⁹⁹



Le triangle dramatique de Karpman

Persécuteur (ou bourreau)

Le persécuteur fait souffrir autrui pour tenter de canaliser ses propres peurs et douleurs. Quand on endosse le rôle de persécuteur, on tente de s'imposer ouvertement (je dois leur dire comment il faut être et agir car je sais mieux et j'ai raison).

Sauveteur

Le Sauveteur vole au secours d'autrui (même quand autrui n'a rien demandé) pour son propre bien (parfois au détriment de celui d'autrui). Quand on endosse le rôle de Sauveteur, on cherche à dominer en se rendant indispensable (les autres sont faibles, je dois les aider).

Victime

La Victime se sent impuissante et irresponsable et espère que quelqu'un soulagera son malaise interne. Quand on endosse le rôle de Victime, on cherche à dominer en apitoyant autrui (je suis faible et on doit m'aider).

matransformationintérieure.fr

Image 116: Karpman's Drama Triangle , Rotating Triangle

X.2. ANALYSIS OF THE GENOCIDE

Premeditation, plans and motives behind the genocide committed in Rwanda

A political genocide premeditated in Uganda by Kaguta Museveni and Paul Kagame was initially intended to build a Nilotic (Hima-Tutsi) empire stretching from Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, DR Congo, CAR, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. This led us to reflect on **the homothety of genocide**, which is discussed further below. The primary goal was to secure a guaranteed rear base to access the region's natural resources, especially those of the DRC, and thus fulfil the mission of the European imperialists.

⁶⁹⁹ Wikipedia.com/matransformationintérieure.fr.

Museveni, who had studied political science at the University of Dar-Es-Salam in Tanzania, was able to read the geopolitics of the moment and closely followed the policy initiated by Kambarage Julius Nyerere. Both Kaguta and Nyerere were able to join the project of a larger Anglo-American empire and clearly demonstrated the use of Rwandan refugees at the time (from the Rwandan Patriotic Front) as a means to achieve this. Nyerere had just liberated the countries of Southern Africa, and Museveni's soldiers, most of whom were Rwandan Tutsi refugees, had fought in Mozambique and had enough combat experience to conquer these 11 countries. To ensure the success of this Machiavellian plan, an empire of lies and concealment was built by the leaders of the RPF/NRA and their allies. In their attempt to reverse their proven roles and based on secret pacts between the Anglo-American powers, they continue to manipulate information and distort the facts about the premeditation, plans and main motives behind the genocide perpetrated over four years in Rwanda. Although the Rwandan genocide may have had ethnic motives, it should also be noted that it was political, as the circumstances and evidence demonstrate. Ndanyuzwe describes this genocide using note 061, which I mention below.

Note 061

"London meets ref: RW/766/ln.

We are planning to dominate the upcoming GREAT GENOCIDE DEBATE CONFERENCE OF 27/7/97, LONDON.

They will give us a chance to crack down on former regime officials in the West.

The following countries will participate: Belgium, Canada, Finland, Burundi, France, Uganda, Ireland, UK, TZ, GR.

We have to pass all the information to our friends before the conference date before France passes propaganda. High on the agenda we have the commission to handle this.

CC: NKSr ST HSE RW EMB.

The conference-debate convened in London, capital of the RPF/NRA ally, has the diabolical aim of "mixing lies with truth, so that under the mask of plausibility, error passes for truth itself, and deceives those who are easily seduced".⁷⁰⁰ * This conference-debate is a continuation of a human rights propaganda campaign that began with the RPF's plan:

- to bring about the cessation of UNAMIR's activities and its withdrawal;
- to implement the grand tactic of using the name of the Interahamwe militiamen to gain political and military advantages;
- incite a politically motivated genocide to win the hearts of Western donors;
- to implement the secret pacts concluded with the United States of America and Great Britain;
- and finally, to crack down on former dignitaries of the Habyarimana regime in Western countries.

It completes the vast system of illusion based on political fiction, to which are added historical and judicial fictions that only appear false after the truth has been established, as experience has made us well aware, Noel Ndanyuzwe⁷⁰¹ *.

⁷⁰⁰ Ndanyuzwe Noel. The African World War. Editions Sources du Nil June 2014 page 171.

⁷⁰¹ Ndanyuzwe Noel. Ibid. pp. 305-315.

X.2.1. Crimes committed by Kagame and the RPF: Testimony of Major Alphonse Furuma (Part 1) on 23 January 2001

Furuma Alphonse writes the following: "From the negotiation of the Arusha Peace Agreement until 1996, you pursued a deliberate policy of using all possible means to reduce the Hutu population in the regions of Umutara, Kibungo and Bugesera. These areas were deliberately resettled by former returnees from Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi respectively."

When the Arusha peace talks for Rwanda began in 1992, Paul Kagame launched a deliberate policy of creating a Tutsiland through massacres of Hutus, massive population displacements, property appropriations and land grabs in north-eastern, eastern, south-eastern and central Rwanda. This is the policy we saw implemented in 1993, 1994 and 1995.

“CRIMES COMMITTED BY KAGAME AND THE RPF Testimony of Major Alphonse Furuma (Part 1), 23 January 2001; Abdul Ruzibiza gives the same testimony as Furuma in his book: *Le Secret du génocide* (The Secret of the Genocide)

X. 2.2. The genocide reduced to only Tutsis by the RPF regime and its friends

The genocides in the Great Lakes region of Africa were well prepared and supported from abroad. The Rwandan genocide was a continuation of the experimental genocide in Uganda carried out by the NRA, first in the Acholi homeland in northern Uganda from 1986 to 2006.

Noel Ndanyuzwe writes in his book "The African World War": "The Rwandan genocide was planned in Uganda by Anglo-American sponsors. The results of our investigation lead us to conclude that the genocide committed in Rwanda from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994 should be described as 'Rwandan'. It was planned in Uganda by Yoweri K. Museveni and his Anglo-American sponsors, who had it carried out by Rwandans against their own population, for motives that were clearly identified and admitted by the masterminds and their accomplices, without actually admitting it. It cannot be reduced to the Tutsis alone, but must be extended not only to all Rwandans, but also to all the Bantu populations of the Great Lakes region of Africa, who, although in the majority, are considered enemies of the establishment of the Nilotic empire, which is to encompass 11 countries in the region. The genocide reduced to the Tutsis alone by the RPF regime, a criminal organisation created by Uganda, which is increasingly being caught up by its terrorist past, is a fraud on reason and on humanitarian and international law.⁷⁰² *.

The Rwandan genocide was only possible after the barbaric acts of disembowelling women, cutting off heads, etc. Similar acts had been going on for five years with total impunity, thanks to the complacency and inflexibility of the international community towards the RPF cause. President Paul Kagame explains these acts in his speech (Appendix 8): *"On International Water Day, 31 March 2003, Byumba... This process of change is irreversible, even for those who want to be brought down before they understand (...) This change is not the result of chance, it is being brought about by men. We have strategies to achieve it at all costs":*

- **A-** Spread misinformation that a genocide is being planned.
- **B-** The propagandists and planners took care to prepare public opinion in advance of their dirty work, in order to discredit Habyarimana's government.
- **C-** Execute people to provoke and stir up hatred among the targeted community.
- **D-** Simulated attacks and mirror accusations.

⁷⁰² The Rwandan, April 2016: Furuma Alphonse, testimony given on 23 January 2001. Member of the RPF.

- **E-** Incite people who had long been passive to engage their own people and justify the genocide that was sought at all costs to achieve objectives that were unavowable because they were immoral, illegal, illegitimate and, a fortiori, inhuman.
- **F-** Dehumanising the people to be conquered in order to claim to civilise them and make them more humane.
- **G-** The recent attacks by the M23 and the lies and media propaganda that accompanied their premeditated crimes exposed them in time before they could set the whole country ablaze.

X.3. Uganda: a brilliant genocide / A brilliant genocide

(See full text: Ann Garrison, journalist,⁷⁰³ *)

American troops went to Uganda in 2012, ostensibly as advisers to the Ugandan army, a long-standing American proxy force. Others have since disappeared, and American and Ugandan troops have set up outposts in South Sudan, the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo, all in the name of fighting the infamous Kony. The idea was to create a modern army equipped with the most advanced weaponry, intelligence and surveillance technology in the region. Museveni took advantage of this to fulfil his political ambitions of building the "Hima-Tutsi" empire. An empire that does not wish to coexist with the Bantu.

The purpose of this section is not to explain in detail the Hima-Tutsi civilisation, also known as Hamitic or Nilotic, but rather the benefits Museveni and his ilk gained from implementing the plans he had had since coming to power in Uganda in order to get rid of their Bantu (Bantu-Hutu) rivals once and for all.

Helen C Epstein⁷⁰⁴ *: America's secret role in the Rwandan genocide: The violence that shocked the world in 1994 did not come from nowhere. While the CIA looked on, its allies in the Ugandan government helped to spread terror and fuel ethnic hatred.

Ann Garrison, a competent and uncompromising journalist who has written about this genocide, published an article on her Facebook account. Here are some excerpts:

"A Brilliant Genocide": "America is part of the problem in the Great Lakes region of Africa right now. The Americans knew very well that Kony was not the problem in Africa in the 1990s. Where there are oil wells, American troops are there, and the government in power. It doesn't matter if that government is Museveni killing his own people. It's not democratic, but it's a friend. "A Brilliant Genocide" tells the story of the Acholi genocide that President Yoweri Museveni and his army committed against the Acholi people during their 20-year war and occupation of the Acholi homeland in northern Uganda from 1986 to 2006. Museveni waged this war in the name of fighting Kony and claimed to be protecting the Acholi, not destroying them. The United States turned a blind eye and continued to strengthen its Ugandan proxy force. "Despite this appalling and shocking violation of human rights," says American-Ugandan publisher Milton Allimadi in the film, "the Ugandan military machine continued to be funded without interruption by the United States." Museveni's troops eventually drove two million Acholi, or 90% of the population, into concentration camps to, he said, protect them from Kony and the LRA. The camp's living quarters were traditional mud huts with thatched roofs, but they

⁷⁰³ Ann Garrison: Uganda. A brilliant genocide. 22 Sept. 2016

⁷⁰⁴ Helen C Epstein: America's secret role in the Rwandan genocide: The violence that shocked the world in 1994 did not come from nowhere. While the CIA looked on, its allies in the Ugandan government helped to spread terror and fuel ethnic hatred.

were tightly grouped together in a way that was not at all traditional. The Museveni government did not provide food, water, sanitation or healthcare.

In 2005, the World Health Organisation reported that 1,000 Acholi were dying every week from violence and disease, mainly malaria and AIDS. This was, they reported, 1,000 above normal mortality rates. Starvation is a formidable weapon that was used in the past to destroy Hutu refugees in the former Zaire. This weapon is also currently being used in Rwanda for the same purpose of killing large numbers of people without spending money or using conventional weapons.

This enormous and prolonged displacement of the population has caused more death and destruction than the war itself. All elements of Acholi society – agriculture, education, gender relations and family life – have been shattered. In the camps, the Acholi, who were previously self-sufficient, have become completely destitute and dependent on the United Nations World Food Programme. Ugandan soldiers "The next Rwanda", as in Libya, Syria and, more recently, Burundi, and whatever unfortunate nation may be next. Few people have heard of the Acholi genocide because it exposes the shameless US foreign policy of supporting and empowering the dictator Museveni.

Museveni and his protégé Paul Kagame have one thing in common. Without mentioning their Hima-Tutsi affiliation to dodge racist ideology, they are the creatures of the Anglo-Americans who are making the most of the region's riches: coltan, uranium, nickel, cobalt, oil, timber, etc. The people of this vast region of equatorial Africa, larger than Europe and America combined, do not benefit from the riches they own. But the time has come, the promise is that they will wake up, open their eyes and soon become masters of themselves, and their current masters will become their workers, even if those masters had established a long-term plan using the two enemies of the Bantu people, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and Paul Kagame, to take over this region, which is still ecologically untouched.

The United States and its allies wanted to overthrow the government of Burundi, so they continued to sound the alarm that Burundi was preparing a genocide, a narrative from President Paul Kagame that his supporters swallowed whole, chanting loudly: "We must stop another genocide or 'the next Rwanda' ." Genocide is the code or political tool used in mirror accusations because it is "easy to sell to the international community and the media and to make a community whose members had to coexist feel guilty"⁷⁰⁵ *. They are sounding the same alarms about the Beni region in the DRC because the elimination of its population would facilitate the accomplishment of their long-standing agenda, which is the dismemberment of the Democratic Republic of Congo, just as they dismantled Yugoslavia and Sudan.

The United States has used Ugandan troops to serve its agenda not only in countries bordering Uganda, but also in Somalia and elsewhere on the African continent, under the coordination of AFRICOM, the US Command for Africa. It has even used Ugandan troops in its own assaults on Iraq and Afghanistan. When anyone, including Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International, says that we must invade another sovereign nation to stop genocide and mass atrocities, we must remember the horrific genocide against the Acholi people that the United States committed or facilitated because they themselves or their agents, such as Museveni and (his rebels composed of Ugandans and Tutsi refugees), served American interests, but also because they wanted to reward the Rwandan Tutsis who had fought alongside the Ugandan rebels to seize power in Kampala in 1986⁷⁰⁶ *, meaning that among the 500,000 Tutsi refugees, some young boys were recruited to fight alongside Museveni. After Museveni's victory, some

⁷⁰⁵ Ndanyuzwe Noel. The African World War. Editions Sources du Nil June 2014 page 171.

⁷⁰⁶ Ann Garrison Facebook Twitter Reddit Email 16 September 2016 ann@afrobeatradio.com

were not allowed to live decently because they were Rwandan. They were placed in refugee camps and denied food to force them to volunteer to leave the Ugandan army, but also to prepare them for the next war, the one in Rwanda.

These 50,000 demobilised soldiers taught the young men and women in the camps how to use weapons. All of these young men and women were sent to Rwanda, where they infiltrated and interfered in all aspects of Rwandan social life with the aim of helping the RPF to seize power. Others were trained to kill and destroy Rwanda's development ^{infrastructure}^{707(*)}. This tactic made it easy for them to recruit Rwandan youth (Interahamwe, Impuzamugambi, Inkuba, Abakombozi, PL youth, etc.) who would carry out the dirty work of genocide.

When the RPF launched its invasion, Kagame, then a senior officer in the Ugandan army and the NRA, was in Kansas at the United States Army Commandant and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth. He was studying field tactics and psychology, as well as propaganda techniques to win hearts and minds. After the RPF attacked Rwanda and four RPF commanders were killed, Kagame told his American instructors that he was abandoning his studies to join the invasion of Rwanda.

General Kabarebe, in a message addressed to students at the University of Rwanda on 3 November 2022, broadcast on the history of the war of 1 October 1990, he said that His Excellency "Kagame Paul" came to the training ground and said the following, and I quote: "The RPF must be a killing machine." Go kill everything that moves and breathes, clean up." Hence the title of this document, "IRIMBURA=BANARWANDA." This title was well chosen before General Kabarebe's speech, because the interpretation of events is convincing for this extraordinary "Gigantic Genocide." The continued invasion of Zaire, now the DRC Congo, by Rwanda and Uganda, which are the main visible instigators, clearly shows the existence of genocide planning in this region of Africa's Great Lakes.

Museveni is the boss and Kagame is his second in command. But both are instruments of the colonisers. They hide behind proxy rebellions: the AFDL (Alliance of Forces for the Liberation of Congo), the RCD (Congolese Rally for Democracy), the CNDP (National Congress for the Defence of the People) and the M23 (Movement of 23 March 2009), rebellions created, commanded, financed, armed and effectively led by Paul Kagame, who intended to put into practice the theory of balkanisation, if not the conquest of this country. Paul Kagame can only be the organiser, given that their so-called leaders, such as Laurent Nkunda and Bosco Ntaganda, were trained in Rwanda by the Rwandan Patriotic Army and then deployed to Congo-Zaire as part of the Rwand . It should be noted that the leaders of the rebellions defeated in 2012 retreated to Rwanda (Jules Mutebutsi, Laurent Nkunda (Batware) and Bosco Ntaganda) or Uganda (Sultan Makenga) and the remnants of the M23⁷⁰⁸ *. When we take a closer look at the scenarios of Master Museveni and his pupil Kagame and child disciple Kaïnerugaba Muhoozi:

First: there was the Acholi genocide in Uganda, which was the first test. This was the work of the disguised NRA-APR (UNAR).

Next: - the Hutu-Tutsi and Twa genocide in Rwanda, which was the work of the RPF, NRA, (incubation of the AFDL, RCD, CNDP and M23).

⁷⁰⁷ Bibliography of President Museveni. P. 114 and .176

⁷⁰⁸ Ndanyuzwe Noel. The African World War. Editions Sources du Nil June 2014, pages 352-353.

And then: - the genocide of the Congolese was the work of the RPF, NRA AFDL, RCD, CNDP and MM23 (incubation RED Tabara (= Burundian rebel movement of the Resistance for a State of Law (*RED*)- *Tabara*) composed of Burundian putschists).

Then: - the genocide of the Burundians incubated with the coup plotters and RED Tabara (composed of APR, coup plotters and Burundian refugees).

And finally: - the fight, which will be very, very long if we analyse Museveni's communiqué published on 30 March 2023, leaves a difficult task for the new generation.

This communiqué: "The Buzukulu and all Ugandans", i.e. the generation of grandchildren and all Ugandans. It explains the reason for his army's untimely entry into Bunagana to save his pupil Paul Kagame and his M23 comrades who were fighting to restore the Hima-Tutsi empire. It should be noted that the tweets of Muhoozi Kainerugaba, son of Ugandan President Kaguta Museveni, explain that these people are waging the war of Mwami Mutara III Rudahigwa.

The chaos was created and maintained by the leaders of the RPF/NRA inside Rwanda during the sham negotiations of the Arusha Accords. They did not expect the Tutsi genocide. The emergence and declaration of the Tutsi genocide, first by Kouchner and then by the media, was perceived as a godsend. The initial plan was "IRIMMBURA-BANYARAWA", or "HOMOTHETIE DU GENOCIDE" in the Great Lakes region of Africa, starting with the Hutus of Rwanda. It was by accident/unforeseen circumstances/chance that the Interahamwe blindly followed through with the massacres, even though on 2 February 1994, the INTERAHAMWE national committee had vigorously condemned, denounced and accused the infiltrators and banned them from wearing their uniforms to commit unspeakable acts and tarnish their reputation. It had been able to publicly unmask the killing machine hiding in its uniform. Unfortunately, however, MINUAR/UN, which was supposed to support peace, did not play its role of neutrality and standing by the people, and instead, at least its leader, General Dallaire, chose to support the rebels.

Thus, the genocide reduced to only the Tutsis by the RPF/NRA regime, a criminal organisation created by Uganda, is increasingly being caught up by its terrorist past; the Tutsi genocide, supported by part of the international community, is a fraud against reason and humanitarian and international law.

CHAPTER XI. Mathematical classification of genocide in the Great Lakes region

This mathematical classification of genocide in the African Great Lakes region mainly concerns four countries: (UGANDA, RWANDA, DR CONGO, BURUNDI, etc.)

The specificity of genocides in the region: one cuts off the head or the brain, the shepherd, so that the sheep are scattered. The assassination of the region's heads of state is therefore not a coincidence, but a long-term plan. It results in a "HOMOTHETIE of GENOCIDE". A succession of identical events with the alibi of stopping the "genocide being committed against the Tutsi", who are protected neither by the state nor by other communities that have lived together for centuries. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and Paul Kagame, soon to be joined by Kainerugaba Muhoozi, all obey their leaders who will protect them in order to retain power and get their hands on the resources of the DR Congo and establish the Hima Tutsi empire there. There has been no truth about the genocide, but rather a political consensus that has allowed the RPF to do whatever it wants in the African Great Lakes region. Not even scientific truth, but a range of knowledge put together to establish a concept acceptable to several actors... The ICTR was unable to detect this genocide legally despite the tools at its disposal. The genocide took place on Rwandan soil, the genocost on Congolese soil... but they were planned elsewhere.

XI.1. Definition of genocide

Genocide under international law, the convention defines the following acts as crimes: "a) genocide; b) conspiracy to commit genocide; c) direct and public incitement to commit genocide; d) attempt to commit genocide; e) complicity in genocide"⁷⁰⁹ *. The text of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 9 December 1948 is clear on this point⁷¹⁰ .

Bernard Lugan, speaking of the case of Rwanda, titles his book *"A Genocide in Question."* A political genocide preconceived in Uganda by the duo Kaguta Museveni and Paul Kagame was initially aimed at building a Nilotic (Hima-Tutsi) empire that would stretch from Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, DR Congo, CAR, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. This led us to develop the idea of **the homothety of genocide**, which is discussed below.

Museveni, who had studied political science at the University of Dar-Es-Salam in Tanzania, was able to read the geopolitics of the moment and closely followed the policy initiated by Kambarage Julius Nyerere, the policy of liberation of southern Africa. Both Kaguta and Nyerere were able to join the project of a larger Anglo-American empire and clearly demonstrated the use of Rwandan refugees at the time (from the Rwandan Patriotic Front) as a means to achieve this. Nyerere had just liberated the countries of Southern Africa, and Museveni's soldiers, most of whom were Rwandan Tutsi refugees, had fought in Mozambique and had sufficient combat experience to conquer these 11 countries. The United Kingdom was preparing to leave the European Union and would depend on itself or, in fact, return to its traditional sphere of influence, the Commonwealth. This intention on the part of the UK is evident at the time of writing (2020). To ensure the success of this Machiavellian plan, they have built an empire of lies and concealment, constructed by the leaders of the RPF/NRA and their allies. In their attempt to reverse their proven roles, they continue to manipulate information and distort the

⁷⁰⁹ Ndanyuzwe Noel. The African World War. Editions Sources du Nil, June 2014, pages 352-353.

⁷¹⁰ <https://www.un.org › documents › atrocity-crimes>. PDF. The following acts shall be punishable: (a) Genocide;. (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;. (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;. Page 2. (d) ...

facts about the premeditation, plans and main motives behind the genocide perpetrated over four years in Rwanda, based on secret pacts between the Anglo-American powers. Although the Rwandan genocide may have had ethnic motives, it should also be noted that it was political, as the circumstances and evidence demonstrate. Ndanyuzwe describes this genocide using note 061 as mentioned above.

XI.2. Genocide created to be the leitmotif for advancing projects

Before getting into the subject, think about the children who lost their fathers and mothers (Tutsi (300,000), Twa (8,000), and Hutu (more than 2,510,000)). The only Tutsi child is supported throughout their schooling by the FARG fund from primary school until the end of their higher education. How would you compare the three children in the labour market and society in general? This categorisation of Rwandans into unequal communities, as enshrined in the constitution, will have serious short- and long-term consequences for the coexistence of this people, as it amounts to a double genocide for the Twa and Hutu.

The text above clearly shows the preparation for the ^{first} genocide which took place in Uganda, where it originated and was tested as early as 1986. The initiator or starting point took root in the training of Tutsi refugees in Uganda. Uganda is the experimental field, with seeds sown in several places: Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, DR Congo... The Bantu people are therefore Museveni's main enemy.

The machine that sowed death arrived in Rwanda on 1 October 1990 in Kagitumba-Muvumba. It was immediately set in motion to kill, cleanse and kill everything in its path, Hutus, Tutsis, Twas and even foreigners, without discrimination. This was the second genocide, but in reality it was "IrimburaBanyarwanda", which is well documented in the document "The map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda".

XI.3. How can genocides be situated within the mathematical framework?

A mathematical set is a collection of different elements or distinct objects that often share similar aspects. In the genocides in the Great Lakes region of Africa, we can identify similar elements such as peoples, cyclical conflicts, dictatorial leaders in the region, land, natural resources, time, and different forms of power (democratic, dictatorial, monarchical/royal, republican, etc.). These commonalities help us to make objective assessments and analyses.

In this summary, we will explain the example used as a key tool for understanding the links between the elements mentioned above in the Venn diagram (the persecutor, the saviour and the victim).

The mathematical set (if we use an axiomatic approach) .

Let us take the set E, which is equal to I.

I (Irimbura-Banyarwanda) is equal to the set of genocides committed throughout Rwandan territory. **I** represents Irimbura-Banyarwanda, the **massive genocide** against Hutus, Tutsis and Twa, also equal to the Rwandan genocides logically GR, whose elements are:

Genocide against Hutus = H

Genocide against Tutsis = T

Genocide against Twa = T

We have used a **Venn diagram** to illustrate the various genocides in the African Great Lakes region.

N.B.: Burundians and Congolese are classified as Bantu or Hutu, so as not to confuse the reader.

Set I comprises subsets A, B, C, D, and E, as defined below.

The definition of **Set I** means that $I = \{H, T, T\}$ means that the list of elements **H, T, T** $\in I$ and no other elements belong to **I**.

It can also be defined by comprehension, which means that we give a property characterising the elements of the set: Hutu, Tutsi, Twa and Bantu.

Set I = GR = the total number of victims is **2,039,377**.

If E=I=GR, we can summarise what we have described above using the example of: Byumba and Ruhengeri in northern Rwanda, Gisenyi a Nyakimana-Kanama, Gikongoro-Kibeho, Mutara – Kibungo in the Fagiya/Fanyia area, Gitarama Butare in central Rwanda, then Rwanda and DRC Congo = GR

N.B.: A small part of Congo, the islands of Lake Kivu and the refugee camps invaded in 1996⁷¹¹.

All the genocides mentioned in the drawing, **photo no. 117**, can be verified in this document or on "The map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda".

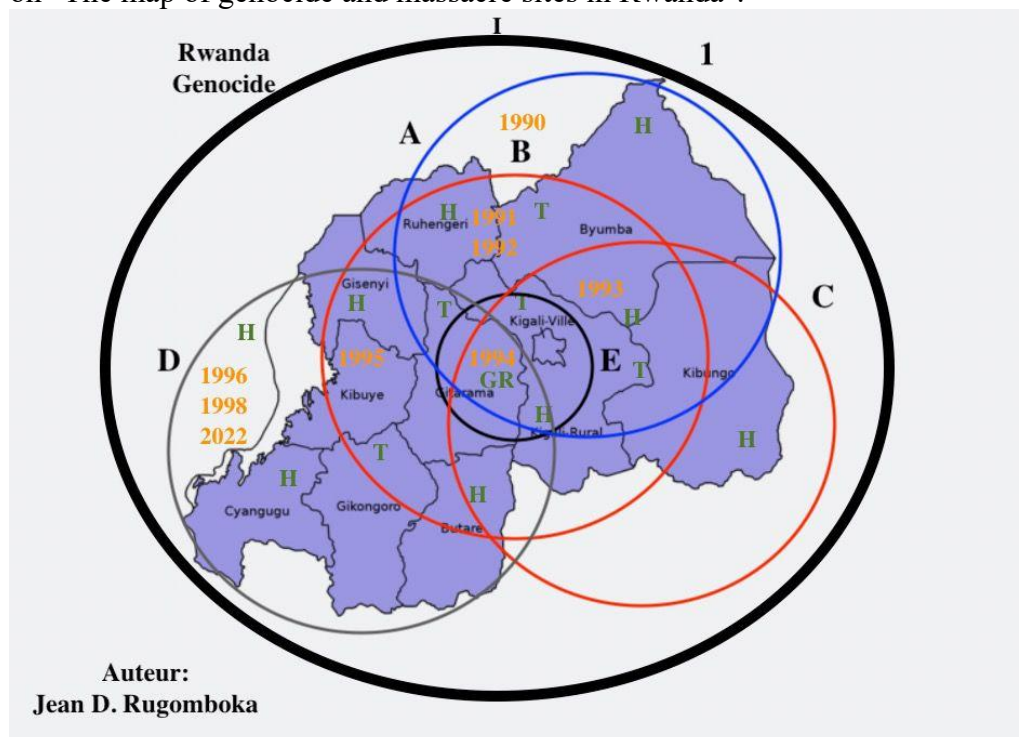


Photo no. 117: Venn diagram illustrating the locations of genocides in the African Great Lakes region.

Diagram no. 1: **Set I** comprises sub-sets A, B, C, D and E, which are defined as S/E (sub-sets)

Subset A: is the ^{first} genocide in northern Rwanda: 1. The war from 1 October 1990 to 5 April 1994, waged by the Patriotic Front and the NRA against the Rwandans.

⁷¹¹ The genocide of the Congolese Hutu will not be discussed here, as it is covered in more detail in the mapping report. It is only mentioned here as an example in the general context of the Great Lakes region.

Sub-sets **B** and **E**: **2.** The second genocide/Irimbura-Banyarwanda committed by the RPF/RNA/Interahamwe/Inkuba, Abakombozi, Impuzamugambi, etc., infiltrated by the APR, took place between 6 April 1994 and 31 December 1994.

Sub-sets **C** and **D**: **3.** The third genocide committed by the RPF/NRA: the sites of the massacres after the **APR/NRA** took power in **1995, 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999**. (Massacres after the takeover in 1995).

Sub-sets **B, C** and **D**: **4.** Represent the massacre: genocide, no more and no less (with irrefutable evidence): The Kibeho massacre on 22 April 1995.

Sub-groups **A, B** and **D**: **5.** Carnage: genocide, nothing less (with irrefutable evidence). Between 23 and 28 October 1997, the Nyakimana cave in the commune of Kanama (Gisenyi).

Subset **E** is unique in that it is shared by all the subsets; it contains the largest genocide memorial site in Gisozi, with more than 259,000 souls.

N.B.: The number of victims exceeded the number of inhabitants (250,000) residing in the city of Kigali, and the number of Tutsis was 40,078.⁷¹² *

XI.4. Homothety of the genocide

Note on the HOMOTETHY OF GENOCIDE:

The definition contained in Article II of the Convention describes genocide as a crime committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. It excludes political groups or the concept of "cultural genocide".

This means that genocide becomes the homothety of genocide: it must fulfil the characteristics of genocide according to its definition, and there must be at least two genocides, resulting from three or more similar or identical points, which are: A, B and C, clearly defined below.

There is a homothety between the genocides that took place in the Great Lakes region. Even though the world knows of only one that took place in 1994, it turned a blind eye to the other genocides committed by the Rwandan Patriotic Front so as not to incriminate it and bring down its regime. The international community and foreign powers, led by the United States, Great Britain, the Europeans and Israel, fully supported his power and did everything they could to legitimise it, even using the ICTR (UN), which is one of the international institutions, to stifle the truth. Above all, there must be no justice that would shed light on what happened in Rwanda and the DR Congo, which would hinder their plan to seize the Congo's resources. For the manifestation of truth meant fair justice in the trials. Truth and justice would not have allowed the RPF to remain in power for so long and to create wars with its neighbours in order to destabilise them permanently, thus creating the conditions for balkanisation.

The similar points of these genocides form a similar triangle that reflects, mirrors and reproduces itself, retaining the characteristics of genocide:

XI.5. Planning is essential evidence for proving the crime of genocide

The meetings that took place to guide the RPF/NRA war reveal the truth about the actual planning of the genocides that took place in the Great Lakes region. The evidence can be found

⁷¹² The general population census supervised by the UNDP on 15 August 1991.

in the document referenced here⁷¹³ and in chapter VII.6.1, "Those who helped the RPF take power."

"The secret pacts concluded between Uganda and the United States of America establish their direct involvement in this project. The conspiracy committee was expanded to include several governments and private companies. Alongside the Ugandan, Tanzanian, British and American governments that fomented the conspiracy, there were also Rwandan lobbies and multinational companies that financed the operations to first decapitate the head of state and finalise the plan. In addition, "La lettre du Sud No. 22 of 18 April 1994, cited by African. International No. 272, May 1994, confirms that a tour of the countries of the African Great Lakes region was carried out in March 1994 by US foreign service officials: Prudence Bushnell, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa; Arlene Rendre, Director of the Central Africa Bureau at the State Department, and Patricia Irving, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Refugees (at the Pentagon), visited Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda in March 1994."⁷¹⁴ *.

XI.6. The multiple actors in the Rwandan genocide

The various actors in the Rwandan genocide: the actors are from two ethnic groups (Acholi, Nilotic, Museveni: Hima (NRA: Bantu/Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) young people: Interahamwe, Abakombozi, Impuzamugambi: Leaders: Kambanda (Hutu), Kajuga Robert (Tutsi), The RPF: President Kanyarengwe Alexis, Hutu, rebel leader Kagame Paul (Hutu, Tutsi), AFDL, DRC, M23: Bantu, Hutu Tutsi, Bagogwe and Nilotic); they are found in all ethnic groups and all countries to legitimise the Ugandan, Rwandan and Congolese genocides.

The current president of the DR Congo has uncovered the enigma of Museveni and Kagame's game and has chosen to deal with them separately on a specific point. He has put forward six reasons for refusing to negotiate with the M23, summarised in six points: 1. The country (the DRC) is sovereign. 2. The M23 has no legitimacy. 3. The M23 is a terrorist movement responsible for serious crimes on Congolese soil. 4. The M23 is equivalent to Rwanda itself; it is an empty shell. 5. The M23 wants to negotiate to defend the interests of Rwanda, not those of the DRC. 6. The M23, as an armed group, must refer to the Nairobi process⁷¹⁵ *. This is an inter-Congolese dialogue, and Rwanda should not interfere in the affairs of a sovereign country. In a programme on YouTube on 9 June 2025, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Transport of the DRC, Jean Pierre Bemba Gombo, stated that former President Hyppolite Kanambe, alias Kabila, who calls himself the son of Laurent-Désiré Kabila, is a Rwandan⁷¹⁶ * (on both his father's and mother's side) who infiltrated the Congolese government to carry out missions for the Rwandan and Ugandan governments.

⁷¹³ Rugomboka Planning the genocide1a (2) Fr.pdf. Planning the Rwandan genocide. Project of the RPF/NRA leaders. Planning is the missing key to understanding what perpetuated the power of the RPF-Inkotanyi and the longevity of the suffering of the Rwandan and Congolese people caused by two warlords, Kaguta Yoweri Museveni and Paul Kagame.

⁷¹⁴ The letter from the South No. 22 of 18 April 1994, quoted by African International No. 272 May 1994, confirms that a tour of the countries of the African Great Lakes region was carried out in March 1994 by officials from the US foreign service.

⁷¹⁵ Presidency_DRC #DRC. The reasons for the President of the Republic's refusal to negotiate with the M23 summarised in six points.

⁷¹⁶ FACE TO FACE Jean-Pierre BEMBA on TOP CONGO FM.Gombo
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7VLj3y_luu8

XI.7. There are numerous facts based on the loss of life s

A crime committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, political or religious group. Orphans, widowers, widows, not to mention physical and spiritual damage and the social cohesion between people...

XI.8. The locations: in Uganda, Rwanda, DR Congo, Burundi...

The enactment of laws such as Law No. 81/2013 of 11/9/2013 establishing a fund to support and assist the most needy survivors of the genocide perpetrated against the **Tutsi** between 1 October 1990 and 31 December 1994 and determining its mission, competence, its organisation and its operation". This law has no right to exist, as we have explained at length above. The national constitution no longer exists; it has become a community constitution, because it is there to defend the Tutsi community and not the whole country, excluding the Hutu and Twa communities. Yet all communities are equally devastated by this catastrophe. The law that divides Rwandans into two antagonistic camps (two separate communities, even though they have suffered the same hardships, pain and consequences) is a segregationist law that should not be allowed in Rwandan society.

Furthermore, the time frame allocated to the genocide by the RPF from 1 October 1990 to 31 December 1994 differs from that established by the UN/ICTR from 1 January 1994 to 31 December 1994. (This point is discussed in detail in the chapter on Lies). These two anomalies, which have been enshrined in the Rwandan constitution, automatically disqualify its existence as a guarantee of the "rule of law". In other words, its application violates the Rwandan constitution since 2013, which does not allow "segregation".

XI.8.1. Who attacked and assaulted whom?

The Rwandans or the Congolese did not attack Uganda, Zaire (DR Congo) did not attack Rwanda or Uganda, Burundi did not attack Rwanda... but the RPF/NRA attacked Rwanda and Zaire/DR Congo after testing and committing genocide in Uganda.

Homothety of genocide to build the Hima-Tutsi empire.

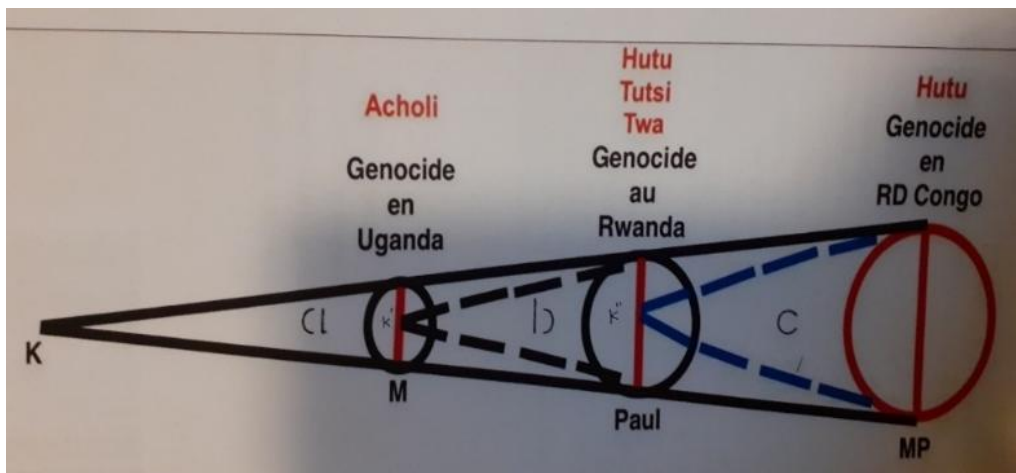


Photo no. 118. The homothety of genocide for the purpose of building the Hima-Tutsi empire

"Map of genocide and massacre sites in Rwanda"

Diagrams No. 118 Homothety of genocide

XI.8.2. The homothety of genocide preserves equivalence

Triangle **a**, which represents the genocide of the (Lowero) Acholi = K, U, K, K, is a projection of triangle **b**.

Triangle **b**, which represents the Rwandan genocide (Hutu Tutsi and Twa) = K', R, P, K, is also a projection of triangle **c**.

Triangle **c**, which represents the Rwandan and Congolese (Bantu) genocide = K'', RC, MP, K, is a projection of triangles **a** and **b**.

The point Kaguta represents the preparation or starting point of the genocide.

Triangle **a** = Acholi genocide in Uganda K, U, K, K is a projection of triangle **b** = Irimbura-Banyarwanda: Gigantic Genocide: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa or genocides in Rwanda K, R, P, K which is also a projection of triangle **c** = Rwandan Hutu + Congolese Hutu and other Bantu K, RC, MP, K. This pattern tends towards the Hima or Nilotic empire. Uganda – Rwanda – DR Congo – Burundi.

XI.9. Patterns No. 3 of the Homothety of Genocide in the Great Lakes Region

Uganda, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo with a probability of spreading to other countries in the region. The genocide in Ethiopia, Somalia, Burundi, Tanzania ... is no open secret (eleven countries are affected by the Nilotic-Hima empire).

See the discoveries in the Mwangacucu vault in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These are documents relating to the preparation of this Nilotic-Hima empire: there are lists of the people involved, documents, maps, money and weapons of war, etc.

"One genocide can hide another genocide, just as one tree can hide a forest."

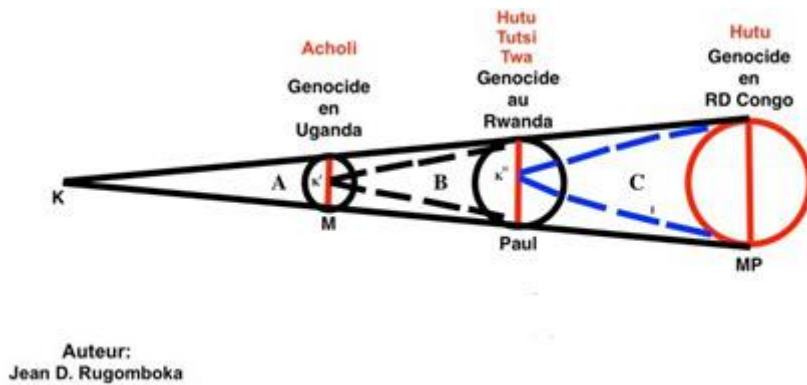


Photo no. 119. The homothety of genocide and the gigantic genocide

The drawing shows that homotheties A, B, and C maintain equivalence.

The triangle $a = K, U, M, K$ is a projection of the triangle $b = K', R, P, K'$, which is also a projection of the triangle $c = K'', RD, RD-MP, MP-K''$.

The size of the circle shows the extent of the loss of human life. If the actors are not stopped, the catastrophe will be great.

The point K Kaguta and/or Kagame represents the preparation and/or the start of the genocide.

In this document, it takes the name Irimbura-Banyarwanda (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa), the Gigantic Genocide. There is no mixed race (Hutu+Tutsi, Hutu+Twa, Tutsi+Twa) in Rwandan culture; it is the man who determines the ethnic group "Ubwoko", the ethnicity or race (in a patriarchal society).

The letters represent the actors K P, Kagame Paul, KM, Kaguta Museveni or MP, Museveni and Paul. And the countries U, Uganda, R, Rwanda and DR, Democratic Republic of Congo.

Point U is Uganda, it is also the outcome of triangle $a = \text{Acholi Genocide in Uganda, triangle a}$.

Points K, U, M, K are reproduced in triangle $b = K, R, P, K$, becoming $K' R, R P, P K'$ and $K'RP K'$, which is the Rwandan genocide in Rwanda. **Triangle b is a homothety of triangle a.** (b) is a replication of (a),

The points K, R, P, K are reproduced in triangle $c = K'', RD, MP, K''$, becoming $K''RD, RD MP, MP K''$, which is the genocide in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Triangle c is a homothety of triangles b and a. (c) is a replication or exact copy of (a) and (b), of one or the other or both at the same time. There is a risk of it happening again if the planners (KKK) are not stopped.

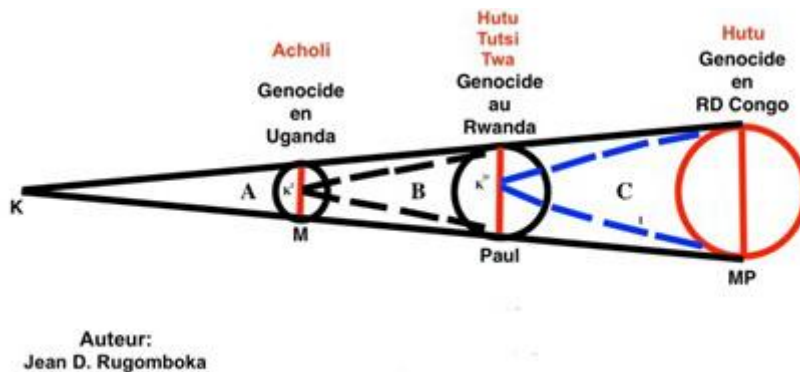
XI.10. The homothety increases or decreases according to the number of victims of the genocide

Uganda, triangle $A = K, U, M, K$ (50,000)

Rwanda, triangle $B = K', R, P K'$ (3,000,000)

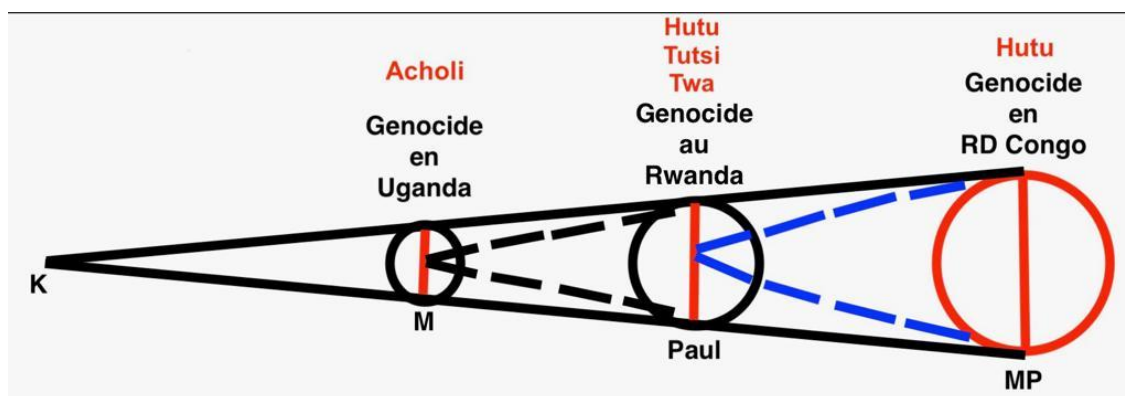
DR Congo, triangle $C = K'', DR, MP, K''$ (12,000,000)

"One genocide can hide another genocide, just as one tree can hide a forest."



Cliché No. 120 The size of the homothety of a given genocide does not diminish the value of its synonym.

Taking into account the definition, the actors, the facts and the locations, we observe a close linguistic *homothety*, and that there is an equivalence of results with regard to the genocides in Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Thus, homothety preserves equivalence. A person or group of people may have planned and supervised or directed its execution.



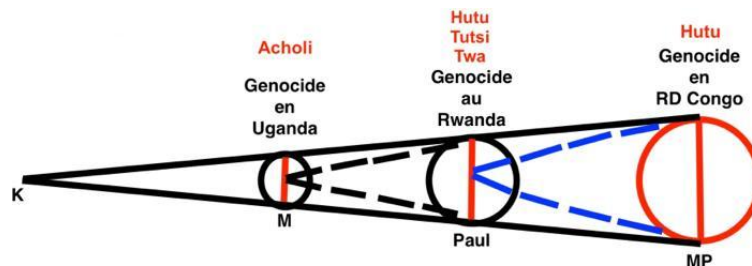
Cliché No. 121. Homothety of genocide: Homothety in time and space

XI.11. Rwandan genocide "Irimburabanyarwanda"

Rwandan genocide "Irimburabanyarwanda" by ethnicity and date - Byumba in October 1990, Byumba and Ruhengeri 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996,

- The whole country: 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, ... 2015 2022
- DRC Congo/Zaire: 1993, 2003 Mapping Report

A French court (the 17th Judicial Court of Paris) ruled that the RPF and President Paul Kagame cannot use the "Tutsi genocide" to hide the massacres they perpetrated before, during and after the 1994 massacre. Interesting, isn't it!



Le dessin montre que les homothéties conservent l'équivalence

Le triangle $a = K, U, M, K$ est une projection du triangle $b = K, R, P, K$ qui est aussi une projection du triangle $C = K, RC, MP, K$.

Le point Kaguta représente la préparation ou le départ du génocide.

Le triangle $a =$ Acholi génocide en Uganda K, U, M, K est une projection du triangle $b =$ Irimbura-Banyarwanda : Hutu, Tutsi et Twa génocides au Rwanda

K, R, P, K qui est aussi une projection

du triangle $C =$ Hutu Rwandais et Hutu Congolais K, RC, MP, K .

Auteur:
Jean D. Rugomboka

ce schémas a tendance vers l'empire Hima ou Nilotique

Photo no. 121. Homothety of the genocide in the demilitarised zone before, during and after the 1994 massacres? *

Five heads of state assassinated by the perpetrators of the bloodshed that has ravaged the region



Photo no. 122.

1. Ndadaye M., 2. Ntaryamira C. 3. Habyarimana J., 4. Mobutu S., 5. Kabila L. D. All were assassinated because they defended the interests of their peoples... aided by Museveni, Kagame-Cain, a murderer of his brothers, the African Hitler, who opened the floodgates to looters of African natural resources, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo! He set in motion the homothety of genocide in the African Great Lakes region!

1. Melchior Ndadaye, born on 28 March 1953 in Murama, in the commune of Nyabihanga, in the province of Muramvya in Burundi, and his assassination during a coup d'état on 21 October 1993 in Bujumbura.

2. Cyprien Ntaryamira, born on 6 March 1955 in Gitwe Hill, in the Mageyo region, Mubimbi commune, Bujumbura province, Burundi, and killed on 6 April 1994 in Kigali, Rwanda, was a Burundian statesman and President of the Republic of Burundi for only two months, from 5 February to 6 April 1994.

3. Juvénal Habyarimana, born on 8 March 1937 in Rwanda-Urundi and assassinated on 6 April 1994 in Kigali, was a Rwandan military officer and statesman. He was President of the Republic of Rwanda from 1973 until his death in a plane crash. On 6 April 1994, the aircraft carrying Juvénal Habyarimana, a Hutu, and Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down by a SAM7 missile as it was landing at Grégoire Kayibanda Airport in Kigali.

4. Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Za Banga, commonly abbreviated to Mobutu Sese Seko, Joseph-Désiré Mobutu, born on 14 October 1930 in Lisala (Belgian Congo) and died on 7 September 1997 in Rabat (Morocco), was a statesman, military leader and dictator who ruled the Democratic Republic of Congo from 1965 to 1997.

5. Laurent-Désiré Kabila was a Congolese statesman. He was President of the Democratic Republic of Congo from May 1997 until his assassination in January 2001. He had been involved in opposition to the Mobutu regime since the 1960s.

The homothety of the Rwandan genocide proves that this genocide was prepared outside Rwanda. The time for rewriting the history of the Rwandan genocide is over; the Rwandan people have the right to claim their true and painful history.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Communiqué from the Episcopal Conference



CONFERENCE EPISCOPALE DU RWANDA

Secrétariat Général

B.P. 357 Kigali / Rwanda

Tél. : (+250) 252 575 439

E-mail : egliseecatholiquerwanda@gmail.com

N/Réf.: C.7 – 23

ITANGAZO RIREBA ABAKRISTU GATOLIKA BOSE MU RWANDA

Pasika ya Nyagasani Yezu Kristu y'uyu mwaka w'2023 irahurirana n'iminsi y'icyunamo, igihe cy'akababaro n'agahinda twibuka abazize jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994. Muri Pasika, tuzirikana urukundo ruhebuje rw'Imana rwatumye Umwana wayo w'Ikinege Yezu Kristu yemera kudupfira ku musalaba kugira ngo aducungure adukize urupfu rw'iteka n'icyaha. Amizero ya Pasika aradukomeza muri ibi bihe bikomeye by'akababaro n'agahinda kuko Imana idukunda irahari ntishobora kudutererana.

Mu cyunamo, twunamira abacu bacujwe ubuzima na jenocide, tukanafata ingamba zo gukomera ngo twirinde guheranwa n'agahinda, inabi n'urwango. Twe abemera tubikora dusabira abavandimwe bazize jenocide yakorewe abatutsi kandi dusenga ngo ayo mahano atazongera kubaho.

Ni yo mpamvu, buri wese asabwa kwitwararika ngo adakomeretsa mugenzi we ubabaye.

1. **Ku wa Gatanu Mutagatifu** hazaba ari ku itariki ya **7 Mata**, hazatangira icyunamo mu Gihugu cyose.
 - ✓ Guhera mu gitondo tuzibuka kandi twunamire inzirikarengane.
 - ✓ Ku gicamunsi, ku isaha ya **saa cyenda (15h00)**, tuzazirikana ububabare bwa Nyagasani Yezu.
2. Mu **Gitaramo cya Pasika** no ku munsi mukuru wa Pasika nyine nta sakramentu rya Batisimu rizatangwa, ni ugutegereza nyuma y'icyunamo.
 - ✓ Koko rero, ni ngombwa kwirinda ibikorwa bijyana no kwishimisha bihabanye n'imyitwarire iranga icyunamo.
3. N'ubwo tuzaba turi mu cyunamo, tuzashishikarire gucengera iyobera rya Pasika riduha ukwizera kugira ngo dushobore kwibuka twiyubaka kandi tubashe no kuba hafi abihebye n'abigunze, bityo baronke ukwizera ubugingo bw'iteka.

Bikorewe i Kigali, ku wa 30 Werurwe 2023

✠ **Antoni Karidinali KAMBANDA**

Arikiyepiskopi wa Kigali akaba na Perezida

W'Inama y'Abepiskopi Gatolika mu Rwanda



Appendix 2. Letter from the Uganda-Rwanda archives

**Une lettre découverte dans les
archives de la conquête
Ug-Rw-Bur**

24. Arrêter tous les congolais non favorables à notre régime Hima par centaine, par milliers qu'ils traînent dans les prisons pendant plusieurs années y subir les mauvais traitements et finalement mourir à la durée des souffrances sans aucun procès (il faut multiplier les maisons de détention).
25. Affaiblir le secteur Santé par le non accès aux soins de santé, en désorganisant les agents spécialisés de santé "médecins" ainsi que les organismes internationales de santé.
26. Détruire et paralyser le secteur de communication locale, nationale et internationale.
27. Installer nos propres chefs coutumiers en organisant des collectivités partout au Zaïre/Congo surtout dans le Kivu.
28. Les pays de grands lacs deviendront l'empire "Hima" plus tard et les Etats Unis d'Amérique placeront leur base militaire sur le territoire de l'île d'Idjwi pour notre protection.
29. Les territoires de : Beni, Lubero, sous contrôle de l'Ouganda, Rutshuru, Masisi, Goma, Walikale, Kalehe, Kabare, Idjwi, Walungu, Mwenga, Shabunda sous contrôle du Rwanda, Uvira, Fizi jusqu'à Moba sous contrôle du Burundi.

La frontière de notre empire Hima sera placée à 250 km de la limite du Congo.

30. Les Hutu et leurs frères Zaïrois/Congolais n'auront la liberté que dans les territoires non cités pour nous permettre la stabilité dans les territoires préférés par nous.
31. Nous imposerons la langue anglaise comme langue internationale pour nous servir d'appui aux Américains et aux Britanniques contre les francophones.

Extrait du texte par trichement, notre ami NKURUZIYA du conseil de sécurité du Rwanda.

Pour le conseil de planification de guerre
de conquête des Tutsi "les Bahima"

- PAUL KAGAME
- MUSEVENI KAGUTA
- BIZIMANA KARAMUHETO



Appendix 3. *The Ten Commandments of the Hutu* (also known as the "Ten Commandments of the Hutu" or "Ten Commandments of the Muhutu" or "of the Bahutu").

The Ten Commandments of the Muhutu

The commandments of hatred

Kangura

magazine

Kangura No. 6



The following text (published in France on 2 July 1994 by the newspaper *L'Humanité*) is further evidence of how anti-Tutsi racism and hatred against Hutu democrats were exacerbated in Rwanda in the years leading up to the genocide.

In December 1990, a few months after the intervention of a French expeditionary force alongside the repressive forces of General-President Habyarimana, the magazine *Kangura* [1] (meaning "*the awakening*", an unofficial periodical of the presidential movement) published "*the ten commandments*" of hatred.

Significantly, on the last page of the same issue was a large portrait of François Mitterrand, with a caption quoting a local saying that "*true friends are found in times of trouble*"...

Here are these "commandments"

1. Every Muhutu must know that Umututsikazi [2], wherever she may be, works for her Tutsi ethnic group. Consequently, any Muhutu
 - who marries a Mututsikazi;
 - who makes an Umututsikazi his concubine;
 - who makes an Umututsikazi his secretary or protégée.
 2. Every Muhutu must know that our Bahutukazi daughters are more dignified and conscientious in their role as wives and mothers. Are they not pretty, good secretaries and more honest!
 3. Bahutukazi, be vigilant and bring your husbands, brothers and sons to their senses.
 4. Every Muhutu must know that every Mututsi is dishonest in business. He seeks only the supremacy of his ethnic group.
- Therefore, any Muhutu
- who forms an alliance with the Batutsi in his business dealings;

- who invests his money or state money in a Mututsi business;
 - who lends or borrows money from a Mututsi;
 - who grants favours to the Batutsi in business (the granting of import licences, bank loans, building plots, public contracts, etc.).
5. Strategic political, administrative, economic, military and security positions must be entrusted to Bahutu.
6. The education sector (pupils, students, teachers) must be predominantly Hutu.
7. The Rwandan Armed Forces must be exclusively Hutu. The experience of the October 1990 war teaches us this. No soldier must marry a Mututsikazi.
8. The Bahutu must stop feeling pity for the Batutsi.
9. The Bahutu, wherever they may be, must be united, show solidarity and be concerned about the fate of their Bahutu brothers.
- Bahutu inside and outside Rwanda must constantly seek friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with their Bantu brothers.
 - They must constantly counter Tutsi propaganda.
 - The Bahutu must be firm and vigilant against their common enemy, the Tutsi.
10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961, and Hutu Ideology must be taught to all Muhutu at all levels. All Muhutu must widely disseminate this ideology. Any Muhutu who persecutes his Muhutu brother for reading, spreading, and teaching this ideology is a traitor.
- Kangura*, December 1990.

— Source: RwandaNet

KANGURA-No. 6 by Izuba.info

Appendix 4. The martyrdom of Rwandan clergy during the 1994 genocide

Jean B. Mihigo has listed more than 250 priests who were killed/murdered.

This list, which includes 248 clergymen, is undoubtedly incomplete! In fact, it includes only 4 bishops, 103 priests (100 diocesan priests from all 9 dioceses in the country and 3 Jesuit religious fathers), 47 brothers from 7 institutes, including 29 Josephites, 2 Franciscans, 6 Marists, 4 Brothers of the Holy Cross, 3 Brothers of Mercy, 2 Benedictines and 1 Brother of Charity. She also reminds us that there were 65 nuns belonging to 11 institutes: 10 Benebikira nuns, 13 Good Shepherd nuns, 11 Bizeramariya nuns, 8 Benedictine nuns, 6 Assumption nuns, 2 Charity of Namur nuns, 2 Dominican Missionaries of Africa, 2 Daughters of Charity, and respectively, 1 nun from the Auxiliatrices de Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil and the Little Sisters of Jesus. We cannot forget 30 lay people of consecrated life from 3 Institutes, namely 20 Auxiliaries of the Apostolate, 8 from the Institute "Life and Peace", and 2 from the Institute of Saint Boniface. All lost their biological lives during the Rwandan genocide.

In the following lines, we present their first and last names, their service in the Church, the place of their death, and the date on which they were martyred.

Bishops

Mgr Vincent Nsengiyumva, Archbishop of Kigali, murdered in Gakurazo on 5/6

Mgr Joseph Ruzindana, Bishop of Byumba, executed in Gakurazo on 5/6

Mgr Thaddée Nsengiyumva, Bishop of Kabgayi, Gakurazo, 5/6

DIOCESAN PRIESTS (BY DIOCESE)

Diocese of Butaré

Diocese of Byumba

Diocese of Cyangugu

Diocese of Gikongoro

Diocese of Kabgayi

Diocese of Kibungo

Diocese of Nyundo

Diocese of Ruhengeri

Archdiocese of Kigali

Abbot Firmin Butera, parish priest of Higiro Butaré 31/5

Abbot Justin Furaha, parish priest of Save Butaré 31/5

Abbot Alexis Kayumba, curate of Cyahinda Kiruhura early July

Abbot Charles Ncogoza, parish priest of Cyahinda Cyahinda?

Abbot Matthieu Ngirumpatse, curate of Nyanza Nyanza at the end of April

Abbot François Ngomirakiza, parish priest of Karama Ndago 5/7

Abbot Callixte Nkeshumpatse, curate of Gakoma Bugesera?

Abbé Segond Ntibaziga, director of nursing schools Gakoma 7/5

Abbot Innocent Nyangezi, vicar of Nyanza Nyanza end of April

Abbé Tharcise Rubingiza, professor at Nyakibanda Gisagara Seminary 26/4

Abbé Jean Bosco Yilirwahande, parish priest in Nyanza Nyanza end of April

Abbé Félicien Muvara?

In addition, four other priests died after 7 April, sick and without care: Boniface Musoni, Jean Ntiyamira, Vital Rutayire and Narcisse Semuliro.

Diocese of Byumba

Abbot Alexis Havugimana April

Abbot Joseph Hitimana, end of April

Abbot Augustin Mashyendeli Nyinawimana April

Abbot Gaspard Mudashimwa, professor at the Rwesero Seminary Rwesero 21/4

Abbot Ladislav Muhayemungu April

Abbot Célestin Muhayimana Nyinawimana April

Abbot Fidèle Mulinda April

Abbot Faustin Mulindwa April

Abbot Christian Nkiliyehe April

Abbot Athanase Nkundabanyanga, diocesan bursar April

Abbot Thaddée Ciza (believed to have been killed) April

Diocese of Cyangugu

Abbé Joseph Boneza, parish priest of Mibirizi Cyangugu 19/5

In addition, Abbé Innocent Gashugi died after falling ill and receiving no medical care.

Diocese of Gikongoro

Abbot Straton Gakwaya, diocesan bursar Kigali 7/4

Abbot Boniface Kanyoni, vicar of Kibeho Kigali 7/4

Abbot Pierre Canisius Mulinzi, vicar of Mbuga Gikongoro 13/5

Abbot Aloys Musoni, vicar of Cyahinda Gikongoro 13/5

Abbot Pierre Ngoga, Dean of Kibeho Butaré 31/5

Abbé J.M. Vianney Niyirema, parish priest-dean of Kaduha Kigali 7/4

Abbot Joseph Niyomugabo, parish priest-dean of Cyanika Cyanika 24/4

Abbot Irénée Nyamwasa, parish priest of Mbuga Gikongoro 13/5

Abbé Alfred Nzabakurana, head of education Kigali 7/4

Abbé J.M. Vianney Rwanyabuto, parish priest of Muganza Gisagara 26/4

Abbé J.M. Vianney Sebera, parish priest of Simbi Ndago 5/7

Abbé Callixte Uwitonze, Vicar of Gikongoro Nyanza Cathedral, end of April

Diocese of Kabgayi

Abbé Fidèle Gahonzire, hospital chaplain of Kabgayi Gakurazo 5/6

Abbé Tharcisse Gakuba, curate of Muyunzwe Kabgayi 24/5

Monsignor Innocent Gasabwoya, former vicar general Gakurazo 5/6

Abbot Alfred Kayibanda, cathedral vicar of Kabgayi Gakurazo 5/6

Abbot Alphonse Mbuguje, parish priest of Kinazi Cyangugu May

Abbot François-Xavier Muligo, parish priest of Kabgayi Cathedral Gakurazo 5/6

Abbot Callixte Musonera, parish priest of Kayende Kabgayi 24/5

Abbot Sylvestre Ndaberetse, diocesan bursar Gakurazo 5/6

Abbé Célestin Niwenshuti, curate at Byimana Kabgayi 24/5

Abbot Bernard Ntamugabumwe, head of education Gakurazo 5/6

Abbot Jean Baptiste Ruzigana, curate in Gitarama Kibangu mid-July

Monsignor J.M. Vianney Rwabilinda, vicar general Gakurazo 5/6

Abbé Emmanuel Uwimana, superior of the minor seminary in Gakurazo 5/6

Abbot François Twagilimana, vicar in Kinazi Masango July

Abbot J.M. Vianney Rusinghizandekwe (missing and presumed dead)

Diocese of Kibungo

Abbé Joseph Gatare, headmaster of Mukarange School Mukarange 12/4

Abbé Elisée Mpongano, parish priest of Bare Kibungo 15/4

Abbé Jean Bosco Munyaneza, parish priest of Mukarange Mukarange 12/4

Abbé Evode Mwanangu, curate of Rukoma Rukoma 8/4

Abbot Michel Nsengiyumva, parish priest of Rukoma Kibungo 18/4

Abbé Justin Ruterandongozi, curate of Rukoma Rukoma 7/4
Eugène Ntagungira, senior seminarian Kabarondo?

Archdiocese of Kigali

Abbé Ananie Rugasira, bursar of the minor seminary in Ndera Ndera 9/4
Abbé Felix Kabayiza between Rutongo and Byumba April
Abbot Alexandre Ngeze died in Rilima, victim of malaria and ill-treatment.
Abbots Joseph Harerimana and Canisius Ndekezi were reported missing and are presumed dead.

Diocese of Nyundo

Abbot Mathias Gahinda, parish priest of Mubuga Kibuye April
Abbot Edouard Gakwande, curate of Nyundo Nyundo 9/4
Father Silas Gasake, parish priest of Kibingo Nyundo 9/4
Abbot Albert Gashema, parish priest of Mubuga in the forest April
Mgr. Louis Gasore, parish priest of Muhororo Muhororo April
Abbé Thaddée Gatore, parish priest of Kivumu Kivumu 13/4
Abbot Antoine Habiyambere, vicar of Rambura Rambura 7/4
Abbot Spiridion Kageyo, parish priest of Rambura Rambura 7/4
Abbé Callixte Kalisa, head of education Nyundo 9/4
Abbot Clément Kanyabusozo, parish priest of Mushubati Nyundo 9/4
Abbot Ferdinand Karekezi, curate of Nyundo Nyundo 9/4
Abbot Robert Matajyabo, vicar of Mushubati Nyundo 9/4
Abbot Denis Mutabazi, curate of Kibingo Gakurazo 5/6
Abbé Silvère Mutiganda, curate of Murunda Murunda 8/4
Abbot Herman Mwambali, retired in Nyundo Nyundo 9/4
Abbot Antoine Niyitegeka, vicar of Rambura Rambura 7/4
Abbot Augustin Nkezabera, parish priest of Muramba Muramba 7/4
Abbé Vénuste Nsengiyumva, curate of Kivumu Kivumu 7/4
Abbé Augustin Ntagara, parish priest of Gisenyi Gisenyi 7/4
Abbé Vedaste Nyilibakwe, professor at Kabgayi Major Seminary 24/5
Abbé Adrien Nzanana, parish priest of Kibingo Nyundo 7/4
Abbé Aloys Nzaramba, Chancellor Diocese of Nyundo Nyundo 9/4
Abbé Innocent Ruberizesa, parish priest of Birambo Birambo April
Abbé Théophile Rutagengwa, curate of Muramba Kibuye April
Abbé François Rwigenza, parish priest of Muhororo Muhororo April
Abbé Deogratias Rwivanga, curate of Kibuye in the forest April
Abbot Alfred Niyitegeka between Rutongo and Byumba April
Abbot Narcisse Sebasare, curate of Birambo Birambo April
Abbé Joseph Sekabaraga, parish priest of Biruyi Biruyi 13/4
Abbé Boniface Senyenzi, curate of Kibuye Kibuye April
Abbot Deogratias Twagirayezu, teacher at the minor seminary in Nyundo 7/4

Diocese of Ruhengeri

Abbot Jérôme Sembagare, headmaster of Janja School Goma 16/7

RELIGIOUS MEN, RELIGIOUS WOMEN AND CONSECRATED LAY PEOPLE SACERDOTI

Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers)

P.A. Caloone, French, and P. J. Vallmajo, Spanish. Included in the list of missionaries killed in 1994.

Jesuit Fathers

P. Patrick Gahizi, Superior General of Rwanda Kigali 7/4

P. Chrysologue Mahame Kigali 7/4

P. Innocent Rutagambwa Kigali 7/4

Josephite Brothers

Brother Anicet Butera, novice in Gisenyi April

Brother Pierre Gacamumakuba, on leave Nyamirambo 10/6

Brother Viateur Gakwerere, student Nyundo 7/6

Fr. Stanislas Gofi, on leave Nyamirambo 7/6

Fr. Emmanuel Itegekwanande, resting in Nyamirambo 7/6

Brother Aloys Cadali, teacher in Kabgayi, April

Brother Louis Kaneza, director of the vocational school Nyamirambo 7/6

Brother Alexandre Kayitera, student at Kabgayi Nyamirambo 7/6

Brother Aimable Mazimpaka, teacher in Nyundo Nyundo 9/4

Brother Emmanuel Mugabo, secretary general in Kabgayi Kabgayi 24/5

Fr. Martin Munyanshongore, former Superior General Kabgayi 24/5

Fr. Fidèle Murekezi, Director at Kabgayi Kabgayi 24/5

Br. Guillaume Murangwa, teacher at Nyamasheke Nyamasheke 14/4

Fr. Michel Murenzi, student at Nyamasheke Kabgayi 24/5

Brother Anaclet Musonera, bursar at the school in Nyamasheke Nyamasheke 14/4

Brother Jonathan Mwitirehe, novice at Nyundo Nyundo 9/4

Brother Mathias Mwumvaneza, former bursar general Kicukiro 9/5

Brother Boniface Ndayisenga, director of Cerai in Birambo Birambo 25/4

Fr. Louis Nsengiyumva, student at Kabgayi Kabgayi 24/5

Brother Jean Baptiste Nsinga, Superior General Gakurazo 5/6

Brother Frédéric Nyakaytru, director of the school in Gisenyi Gisenyi 8/4

Fr. Théophile Rusezerangabo, student at Kabgayi Kabgayi 24/5

Brother Jean Baptiste Rutagengwa, student at Nyamasheke Kabgayi 24/5

Brother Louis Rwahigi, on leave in Nyamirambo Nyamirambo 7/6

Fr. Gérard Rwaka, documentation officer in Nyamirambo Nyamirambo 7/6

Fr. Joseph Sahabu, head of studies in Birambo Birambo 25/4

Fr. Ladislav Sinigenga, director in Nyamasheke Nyamasheke April

Brother Vivens Mugwiza, prefect of discipline, and Brother Balthazar Ntibagendeza, novice master in Gakurazo, disappeared on 23/7/1994 and are presumed to have been killed.

Franciscan brothers

Fr. Georges, from the community of Mbazi (Butaré)? April

Brother Jacques Gashugi, ill and without assistance, died in Cyangugu on 17 May 1994.

Marist Brothers

Brother Fabien Bisengimana, aged 45 Kabgayi 24 May

Brother Gaspard Gatari, aged 41 Kabgayi 24/5

Brother Christophe Manson, assistant Save 1/7

Brother Pierre Canisius Nyilinkinde, aged 35 Kabgayi 24/5

Brother Joseph Rushigajiki Save 1/7

Brother Etienne Rwesa, former provincial superior on the border with Burundi 26/4

Brothers of Mercy

Brother François Bizimana Butaré 8/5

Brother Jean-Baptiste Gahamanyi Butaré 8/5

Brother Faustin Rukelibuga Butaré 8/5

Benedictine monks

Brother Gaétan Gatera Gihindamuyaga 22/4

Brother Antoine Rutagengwa Gihindamuyaga 22/4

Brothers of Charity

Brother Dominique Munyurangabo ?

Brothers of the Holy Cross

Four Brothers from the Rango convent (Butaré, missing and presumed murdered.

NUNS

Auxiliary Sisters

Sr. Liberata Marie Grâce Mukagatare Kigoma May

Benebikira Sisters

Sr. Alphonse Muhororo April

Sr. Benigna Nakana, project manager Nkunganire Kabgayi 24/5

Sr. Candida Nyundo 9/4

Sr. Edmonde M. Nyirabudeyi, Superior of Nyumba Nyumba April

Sr. Emilienne, Administrator of Nyundo Minor Seminary Nyundo 9/4

Sr. François Xavier, Superior of Muhororo Muhororo April

Sr. Gerarda Mariya, bursar Muhororo April

Sr. Jeanne, serving at the bishopric Nyundo 9/4

Sr. Jullien, serving at the bishopric Nyundo 9/4

Sr. Letizia, primary school teacher Nyundo 9/4

Sr. Marie Augustin, APSB project manager Nyanza April

Sr. M.Claire Mukabisangwa, teacher at Kicukiro social school 6 or 7/4

Sr. M.Francoise Mukampalirwa, superior in Nyanza Nyanza April

Sr. Marie Paule Simbi 18/4

Sr. Pélagie, bursar Simbi 18/4

Sr. Pierre Claver Yankulije, head of the health centre Simbi 18/4

Sr. Régis, teacher Muhororo April

Sr. Carola, administrator of the minor seminary Rwesero Rwesero April

Benedictine Sisters of the Monastery of Sovu, near Butaré

Sr. Stéphanie Kamanzi Ndago 5/7

Sr. Theonilla Kayitesi Ndago 5/7

Sr. Fortunée Mukagasana Ndago 5/7

Sr. Thérèse Mukarumbibi Ndago 5/7

Sr. Julienne Mukankusi Ndago 5/7

Sr. Hermeline Musabyemungu Ndago 5/7

Sr. Agnès Nyirahabimana Ndago 5/7

Sr. Bernadette Nyirandamutsa Ndago 5/7

Sisters Bizeramariya

Sr. Candide Mukabaziga Gisenyi

Sr. Marie Mukamusana Gisenyi

Sr. Alphonsine Mukandamage on the road to 10/5

Sr. Marie Grâce Mukanyangezi May

Sr. Yolande Mukarugina on the road to Byumba 10/5
 Sr. Maria Mukashema on the road to Byumba 10/5
 Sr. Séraphine Nyirandamutsa on the road to Byumba 10/5
 Sr. Antonia Nyiragirinka on the road to Byumba 10/5
 Sr. Dominique on the road to Byumba 10/5
 Sr. Tatiana on the road to Byumba 10/5
 Sr. Marie Salomé Nyirakanani, who died as a result of ill-treatment
 Sisters of Our Lady of Good Counsel
 Sr. Annunciata Mukarugina, head of the Rwesero health centre 5/5
Sisters of the Assumption

Sr. Gratia Maria Kangofero, aged 58 Birambo 26/4
 Sr. Boniface Eugénie Mukambara, aged 48 Birmabo 26/4
 Sr. Hilda Maria Mukandenda, novice, aged 28, Birmabo 26/4
 Sr. Anne Marie Mukashema, novice, aged 30, Birmabo 26/4
 Sr. Alphonse Marie Nyirangilimana, aged 50 Birmabo 26/4
 Sr. Kristophe Nyirabatware, aged 55 near Tumba April
 Sisters of Charity of Namur
 Sr. Cassilde Mukankwaya, superior of Ndera (Kigali) Kigali 15/4
 Sr. Marie Bernard on the road to Byumba 10/5

Sisters of the Good Shepherd

Sr. Démetrie Kangabe Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Anatholie Kayiranga Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Marguerite Kayitesi Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Vestine Mujawayezu Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Epiphanie Mujuganye Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Francine Mukamusoni, professed since 20/9/1992 Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Jacqueline Mukangarambe Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Marie Espérance Mukashema Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Beata Muteteli Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Enatha Mwanayire Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Démetrie Niyirora Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Pascasie Umugiraneza Kamonji 22/5
 Sr. Marie Goretti Uwayezu Kamonji 22/5
 Dominican Missionary Sisters of Africa
 Sr. Espérance, candidate prefecture of Byumba
 Sr. Christina, candidate prefecture of Byumba

Sisters Daughters of Charity

Two postulants were killed in Birambo in April.
 Little Sisters of Jesus
 A nun was killed in Makasa in April.

CONSECRATED LAY PEOPLE

Secular Institute "Vita et Pax"

Marie Rose Mukabadege killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7 April
 Francine Mukakayange killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7/4

Winifrida Mukamana killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7 April
Immaculée Mukamuligo killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7 April
Bellancila Mukayitesi killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7 April
Therese Murekeyisoni killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7 April
Béatrice Nyirangirababyeyi killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7 April
Florence Umutesi killed at the Christus Centre in Remera on 7 April
More than 20 Apostolate assistants were killed.
Father Jean Bosco Nsengimana Mihigo, msscc

Annex 5. Kinyihira Agreements

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA AND THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON THE RETURN AND RESETTLEMENT OF WAR DISPLACED PERSONS IN THEIR PROPERTY AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEMILITARISED ZONE DONE AT KINYIHIRA,

30TH DAY OF MAY 1993

The delegations of the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) met in the office of the Sub-Prefecture of Kinyihira, Byumba Prefecture, from 8 to 30 May 1993 for negotiations on the return and resettlement of war-displaced persons to their property and the administration of the demilitarised zone.

The Rwandan Government Delegation was led by Colonel BEM NDIDILYIMANA, Chief of Staff of the National Gendarmerie and representative of the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Rwanda. The other members of the delegation were:

- Mr. Jean NIRAGIRE
- Mr Justin MUNYEMANA
- Colonel Anselme NSHIZIRUNGU
- Mr Vincent RUHAMANYA
- Ambassador Bonaventure UBALUORO
- Mr Stanislas NYILINKWAYA
- Mr. Laurent KANYARUBIRA
- Mrs. Odette UBONABENSHI
- Lt. Col. Anatole NSENGIYUMVA
- Lt. Col. Ephrem RWABALINDA
- U. Col. Balthazar NDENGEYINKA
- Major Venant HATEGEKIMANA
- Mr. Ildephonse HABİYAKARE

The Rwandan Patriotic Front Delegation was led by Mr. Tito RUTAREMARA, member of the Executive Committee and Chief Coordinator of the RPF. The other members of the Delegation were:

A - Commander Kayumba NYAMWASA

- Major Theoneste LIZINDE
- Ms Christine UMUTONI
- Commander Wilson RUTAYISIRE
- Commander Frank MUGAMBAGE
- Commander Charles KAYONGA
- Commander Geoffrey BYEGEKA
- Commander Francis RWAGASANA
- Commander Gerald BUTERA

3. The Chairman of the negotiations was Major-General EKUNDAYOOPALEYE, Commander of the Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG), as stipulated in the Joint Communiqué signed by the Rwandan Government and the RPF in Arusha on 19 April 1993.

4. Her Excellency Dorah N.J. MBEZI, Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania to the Republic of Rwanda and Representative of the Facilitator participated in the meeting.

5. Representatives of the following humanitarian organisations also participated in the meeting: ICRC, Belgian Red Cross, MSF, CARITAS RWANDA, RWANDA Red Cross, as well as representatives of the following international organisations: UNDP, World Bank, UNICEF, WFP and EEC.

6. Observers representing the Republic of Zaire, Republic of Burundi, Republic of Uganda, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, France and the USA also participated in the meeting.

7. The two delegations started by appointing multidisciplinary reconnaissance teams to carry out an evaluation of the present state of the socio-economic infrastructures and equipment in the Demilitarised Zone. The two delegations then embarked on intensive negotiations on the return and resettlement of war-displaced people to their property, as well as the modalities of administration in the Demilitarised Zone.

8. The negotiations were held in a frank and fraternal atmosphere and both delegations reached agreement on all the items on the agenda, namely:

- the definition of the Demilitarised Zone and the field of application of the Agreement to be signed;
- the structures and organisation of the Demilitarised Zone;
- principles of administration in the Demilitarised Zone.
- the modalities of elections in the Demilitarised Zone.
- security in the Demilitarised Zone.
- the procedure for resettling displaced persons;
- accessibility to the Demilitarised Zone; and finally,
- humanitarian aid.

9. The two parties considered that the signing of the Agreement beat a Ministerial level, as the high level stipulated in the Arusha Joint Communiqué of 19th April 1993 mentioned above.

10. The two parties agreed that the Agreement signed today on the return and resettlement of war-displaced persons to their property and administration of the Demilitarised Zone, as well as Annexes A and B, which are respectively the Election Guidelines and the Report of the Reconnaissance Mission in the Demilitarised Zone and evaluation of the state of socio-economic infrastructure and equipment, shall constitute the reference documents to be used henceforth in the exercise for the return of the displaced persons in the Demilitarised Zone. These documents will be circulated by the government for information of the participants and the various humanitarian and development aid agencies.

11. The two parties expressed their deep gratitude to the Secretary General of the OAU, His Excellency Dr. SALIM AHMED-SALIM and the Facilitator, His Excellency ALI HASSAN MWINYI, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the invaluable contribution of their representatives towards the success of these negotiations whose objective is indeed the return and resettlement of the war displaced persons in their property and the modalities of administering the Demilitarised Zone.

12. Both parties expressed their gratitude to the observers for their advice as well as the constructive role they continue to play for the wellbeing of the Rwandan people and in the search for a lasting peace in Rwanda.

Done at KINHIRA, this 30th day of May 1993 in French and English.

For the Government of the Republic of Rwanda

Dr. James GASANA

Minister of Defence

For the Facilitator

H.E. Dorah N. J. MBEZI

Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania to Rwanda.

For the Rwandan Patriotic Front

Tito RUTAREMARA

Member of the Executive Committee and Chief Coordinator of the RPF

For the Secretary General

Of the OAU

General EKUNDAYO OPALEYE

Commander of the Neutral Military Observer Group

The Government of the Republic of Rwanda hereafter referred to as the "Government" on the one hand, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front hereafter referred to by its initials "RPF" on the other, agree on the following:

CHAPTER I: FIELD OF APPLICATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND DEFINITION OF THE DEMILITARISED ZONE

Article I: This Agreement governs the return and resettlement of war-displaced persons to their property and the administration of the Demilitarised Zone, pending the conclusion and implementation of a Peace Agreement between the Government and the RPF.

Article 4: Article 3:

CHAPTER II.

Article 2: The Demilitarised Zone means that part of the territory of the Republic of Rwanda between the RPF positions before 8 February 1993 and the Rwandan Government Forces positions on 17 March 1993, as identified and mapped by NMOG and confirmed by both parties.

CHAPTER 2. STRUCTURES AND ORGANISATION OF THE DEMILITARISED ZONE

Article 3 The Administrative entities which are partly or completely in the Demilitarised Zone are: the cell, the sector, the commune and the Sub-Prefecture

The socio-economic activities in the fields of education, health, justice, youth, commerce, agriculture and animal husbandry which are at the level of the above-mentioned administrative structures shall be maintained.

Article 4: Any incomplete administrative entity within the Demilitarised Zone shall fall under the direct authority of the Sub-Prefecture of Kirambo or Kinihira, as the case may be.

CHAPTER 3. PRINCIPLES OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEMILITARISED ZONE

Article 5: Socio-economic services shall remain under the direct responsibility of the Government. However, NMOG shall be informed of any movement of exit or entry by persons employed by those services.

Article 6: The leaders of the commune, sector and cell in the Demilitarised Zone shall be elected through universal suffrage by any Rwandan citizen fulfilling the conditions defined in the guidelines on special elections in the Demilitarised Zone appearing in Annex A of this Agreement.

Article 7: The Broad-Based Transitional Government shall decide on the expiry or continuation of the mandate of the cell leaders, counsellors of sectors and mayors of the communes to be elected in accordance with this Agreement.

Article 8: The Sub-Prefers of Kinihira Sub-Prefecture in Byumba Prefecture and of Kirambo Sub-Prefecture in Ruhengeri Prefecture shall be appointed. To this effect, the Government proposed six candidates to the RPF, of whom two were selected and are to be appointed by the Government.

Article 9: The incumbent Prefects of Byumba and Ruhengeri at the date of signing of this Agreement shall not be allowed to enter the Demilitarised Zone, nor to exercise their authority there.

Article 10: The Sub-Prefects of Kinihira in Byumba Prefecture and Kirambo in Ruhengeri Prefecture shall cover the entire Demilitarised Zone in those Prefectures. The Sub-Prefects shall be directly accountable to the Minister of Internal Affairs and Communal Development and shall inform the RPF accordingly through its representatives on the Commission mentioned in Article 15.

Article 11: Political activities are authorised in the Demilitarised Zone. However, the NMOG may take restrictive measures against those activities in order to preserve the security of the Fe.

Article 12: In each Sub-Prefecture of the Demilitarised Zone, a commission responsible for monitoring the implementation of this Agreement shall be established. It shall be composed of six permanent members, all of them civilians, three representatives of the RPF and three representatives of the Government.

This commission shall supervise:

- _ the implementation of this Agreement,
- _ the distribution of humanitarian aid,
- _ security-related activities in the Demilitarised Zone.

Article 13: The members of the Commission for the follow-up of the implementation of the Agreement and a representative of NMOG are part of the Sub-Prefecture Security Council in addition to the usual members, except the Intelligence Officer. The security council is convened by the Sub-Prefecture on its own initiative or at the request of the representatives of the RPF, those of the Government or those of NMOG. The meeting shall be held once every two weeks. However, the members of the security council may decide to reduce the frequency to at least one mandatory meeting per month, depending on the matters to be discussed.

The members of the Commission may attend meetings of the Commune Council after informing the relevant Mayor.

Article 14: The follow-up Commission shall work under the instructions of the Sub-Prefect from whom it receives assignments. However, it may take its own initiatives and inform the Sub-Prefect and NMOG accordingly. The Commission shall start work after the elections when all the local authorities have taken office. The Government shall be responsible for the subsistence allowance of the members of the Commission, provide supporting personnel (such as typists and drivers) and necessary materials.

Article 15: The Commission for the follow-up of the implementation of this Agreement, together with the Commission charged with resettlement, preparation and supervision of elections (CRE), shall live with the members of the NMOG team. The latter is entrusted with the security of the members of the two Commissions.

CHAPTER IV ELECTION PROCEDURES

Article 16: Elections of cell leaders, sector counsellors and commune Bourgmestres shall be held in the following communes: Kinigi, Nkumba, Kidaho, Cyeru, and Nyamugali in Ruhengeri Prefecture, as well as the communes of Cyungo, Bwisige, and Tumba in Byumba Prefecture. The cells or sectors fully situated in the demilitarised Zone which are at the same time part of the communes not mentioned in the preceding paragraph will only elect the cell leaders or the sector counsellors.

Article 17:

Cell leaders and sector counsellors shall be elected by direct suffrage by show of hand. An electoral college composed of cell leaders and sector counsellors will elect the Bourgmestres through indirect suffrage by secret ballot, in writing, on the basis of free candidature.

Article 18: No one shall be permitted to hold the offices of cell leader, sector counsellor or Bourgmestre concurrently. When a person is elected at a higher level, they shall be replaced at the lower level by the candidate who followed them immediately in terms of votes. In the event of a tie or failure to find a replacement, new elections shall be organised.

Article 19: Elections at cell level shall start one week after the end of the exercise of return of the war displaced people to the Demilitarised Zone. They shall be followed by elections at the sector and commune level respectively as provided (or in the Elections Timetable. Annex A of this Agreement.

Article 20:

The elections shall be supervised by a commission made up of civilian representatives from the Government and the RPF and members of the NMOG

This commission shall also be responsible for the resettlement of displaced persons. It shall consist of 10 representatives of the RPF, 10 representatives of the Government and some members of the NMOG. Its mandate shall end with the entry into service of the Bourgmestres.

CHAPTER V: SECURITY THE DEMILITARISED ZONE

Article 21:

The administrative entities that are partly or completely within the Demilitarised Zone are: the cell, the sector, the commune and the sub-prefecture. Any incomplete administrative entity within the Demilitarised Zone shall fall under the direct authority of the Sub-Prefectures of Kirambo or Kinihira, as the case may be. The socio-economic activities in the fields of education, health, justice, youth, commerce, agriculture and animal husbandry which are at the level of the above-mentioned administrative structures shall be maintained. , Demilitarised

Zone means that part of the territory of the Republic of Rwanda between the RPF positions before 8 February 1993 and the Rwandan Government Forces positions on 17 March 1993, as identified and mapped by NMOG and confirmed by both parties. This Agreement governs the return and resettlement of war-displaced persons to their property and the administration of the Demilitarised Zone, pending the conclusion and implementation of a Peace Agreement between the Government and the RPF. Article 4: Article 3: CHAPTER n. Article 2: Article I: C

RECOGNITION OF THE DEMILITARISED ZONE AND CONDITION OF SOCIAL AGREEMENT TO THE AGREEMENT OF Kinyinya OF 30 MAY 1993 • In accordance with the mandate given by the Commission of Experts meeting in Kinyinya to study the issue relating to the return of displaced persons to the demilitarised zone, a joint team of technicians and neutral observers visited the BYUMBA and RUHENGERI zones to: • Identify communes and sectors falling within the demilitarised zone (DMZ) • Assess the condition of social infrastructures in the DMZ (administrative offices, centres, schools, camps for displaced persons, churches, roads and water, electricity and telecommunications installations). • James GASANA Minister of Defence For the Rwandese Patriotic Front Tito RUTAREMARA Member of the Executive Committee and Chief Coordinator of the RPF For the Facilitator H.E. Dorah N. J. MBEZI Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania to Rwanda For the Secretary General of the OAU Major-General EKUNDAY OPALEYE Commander of the Neutral Military Observer Group • Estimate the costs and time needed to repair the damaged social infrastructures. After examining the report presented by the two reconnaissance teams, both delegations 3 (the following documents, general observations and recommendations: A. ADOPTED DOCUMENTS I. Identification of the DMZ II. Military situation of communes falling in the DMZ III. The condition of supply routes for the DMZ IV. The condition of social infrastructures falling within the DMZ V. . Camps for displaced persons and free space in the DMZ B. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS. 1. The DMZ already hosts a considerable part of the population and the displaced persons are not returning. 2. The walls of most of the administrative, sanitary, school and church buildings are intact. However, some roofs were hit and destroyed by shells or had their iron sheets removed. - All equipment and electrical installations disappeared or were destroyed. - All archives were looted. - Many doors and windows were damaged. 3. Most of the roads are safe except for the following: - Byumba-Cyeru-Rebero: (not clear, needs to be checked by NMOG) - Byumba-Mukono-Bwisige-Ngararna: the Byumba-Mukono section is mined - Ngarama-Nyagahita-Gihengeri-Bwisige: (not clear, needs to be checked by NMOG) - Ngarama-Nyagahita-Gihengeri-Kabone: there is a broken bridge between Gihengeri and I< - Ruhengeri-Nkumba-Kidaho-Cyanika: blocked between Kidaho and Cyanika 5. Some infrastructure was not visited, mainly due to the inaccessibility of the areas and lack of time. This applies to: - the health centre in Kigogo in the commune of Kibali, as the road is mined - the primary school in Rulenge in the commune of Muvumba. This school is located between two belligerent military positions - some schools in Nyamugali due to lack of time :20 4. Of the 25 camps for displaced persons that existed before 8 February 1993, - three are still inhabited, namely Kidaho with 5,265 displaced persons, Kinigi (Nyange) with 220 and Cyeru (Ndago) with 30,042 displaced persons - thirteen of these camps are supplied with clean water - eleven of these camps have enough space to set up distribution centres. 4. TO the Military Neutral Observer Group

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- Commander Charles KAYONGA
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Appendix 6: Succession of governments in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994 ...

MRND Government of 9 July 1990

MRND Government of 4 February 1991

First so-called "multi-party" government of 31 December 1991

2nd Multi-party Government of 16 April 1992

Third multi-party government of 18 July 1993

"Broad-based transitional" government, theoretically to be installed on 5 January 1994

New composition of the "broad-based transitional government" announced by Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU on 18 March 1994

"Broad-based transitional" government of 19 July 1994

Succession of governments in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994

MRND government of 9 July 1990

(17 MRND ministers, including 6 new ones; one Tutsi minister)

- President of the Republic and Minister of National Defence: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Jean-Marie Vianney MUGEMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation: Dr Casimir BIZIMUNGU (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri)

MRND Government of 4 February 1991

(17 MRND ministers, including 6 new ones; 2 Tutsi ministers)

- President of the Republic and Minister of National Defence: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation: Dr Casimir BIZIMUNGU (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Faustin MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali)
- Minister to the Presidency of the Republic in charge of Defence and National Security: Colonel Augustin NDINDILYIMANA (independent, Hutu, Butare)

First so-called "multi-party" government of 31 December 1991

(17 ministers: 15 MRND, 1 PDC, 1 "non-party" military officer, including 7 new ministers; 2 Tutsi ministers) - (appointed on 13 October 1991, the Prime Minister spent several weeks negotiating a possible opening to opposition parties before finally resigning)

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- (he resigned for the first time from the post of Minister of National Defence, which he had held since 1965)
- Prime Minister: Sylvestre NSANZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gikongoro), appointed on 13 October 1991
- Minister of Foreign Affairs: Dr Casimir BIZIMUNGU (MRND, Hutu, Ruhengeri)
- Minister of National Defence: Colonel Augustin NDINDILYIMANA (independent, Hutu, Butare)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Faustin MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali)

Second multi-party government of 16 April 1992

(19 ministers: 9 MRND, 3 MDR, 3 PL, 3 PSD, 1 PDC; 1 Tutsi minister)

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Prime Minister: Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE (MDR, Hutu, Gitarama)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Boniface NGULINZIRA (MDR, Hutu, Ruhengeri), assassinated by the presidential guard
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Faustin MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali)
- Minister of Defence: James GASANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)

Third multi-party government of 18 July 1993

(19 ministers: 9 MRND, 3 MDR, 3 PL, 3 PSD, 1 PDC; 1 Tutsi minister)

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Prime Minister: Ms Agathe UWILINGIYIMANA (MDR, Hutu, Butare)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Anastase GASANA (MDR, Hutu, Kigali)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Faustin MUNYAZESA (MRND, Hutu, Kigali)
- Minister of National Defence: James GASANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba) threatened with death, he did not take up his post and went into exile in Switzerland on 19 July 1993; he was replaced on 30 July 1993 by Augustin BIZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)
- Minister of Information: Faustin RUCOGOZA (MDR, Hutu, Byumba) assassinated on 7 April 1994 by the presidential guard.

"Broad-based transitional" government theoretically to be installed on 5 January 1994

(20 ministers and secretaries of state: 5 MRND, 5 RPF, 3 MDR + Prime Minister, 3 PL, 3 PSD, 1 PDC; 4 Tutsi ministers) - (Joseph KAREMERA has apparently been considered "Twa" since August 1994)

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Prime Minister: Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU (MDR, Hutu, Cyangugu)

- Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Refugee Reintegration: Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA (RPF, Tutsi, Gikongoro)
- Minister of Defence: Augustin BIZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Jean-Marie Vianney MBONIMPA (MDR, Hutu, Kibuye)
- Minister of the Interior: Pasteur BIZIMUNGU (RPF, Hutu, Gisenyi)

New composition of the broad-based transitional government announced by Faustin Twagiramungu on 18 March 1994

(20 ministers and secretaries of state: 5 MRND, 5 RPF, 3 MDR + Prime Minister, 3 PL, 3 PSD, 1 PDC; 5 Tutsi members)

- President of the Republic: Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Gisenyi)
- Prime Minister: Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU (MDR, Hutu, Cyangugu)
- Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Refugee Reintegration: Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA (RPF, Tutsi, Gikongoro)
- Minister of Defence: Augustin BIZIMANA (MRND, Hutu, Byumba)
- Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation: Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE (MDR, Hutu, Gitarama) or Boniface NGULINZIRA (MDR, Hutu, Ruhengeri)
- Minister of the Interior: Pasteur BIZIMUNGU (RPF, Hutu, Gisenyi)

"Broad-based transitional" government of 19 July 1994

Formed after the appointment of a new President of the Republic "by consensus of the RPF political bureau" and the confirmation of the Prime Minister designated by the Arusha Accords on 17 July 1994

(17 ministers: 8 RPF, 3 MDR, 3 PL, 2 PSD, 1 PDC; 16 new members, 9 Tutsi members including the Vice-President and Minister of Defence, 7 RPF ministers from abroad)

Corrected presentation of the government made in Kigali on 20 July 1994.

- President of the Republic: Pasteur BIZIMUNGU (RPF)
- Prime Minister: Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU (MDR)
- Minister of Defence and Vice-President: Major-General Paul KAGAME, Commander-in-Chief of the APR (RPF)
- Minister of the Interior and Community Development: Seth SENDASHONGA (RPF)
- Minister of Rehabilitation of War Displaced Persons and Demobilisation: Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA (RPF)

Source: "Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)" [Political crises in Burundi and Rwanda (1993-1994)], edited by André Guichaoua, University of Science and Technology of Lille (Diffusion KARTHALA)

Appendix 7. Museveni leaves the task to future generations



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

The Bazukulu and all Ugandans.

Greetings and I wish you a happy Easter which is soon coming (*amazuuukira, okuhimbuuka*).

On this occasion, I want to clarify to the Ugandans and the outsiders, the deployment of our troops in Congo. The other year, we deployed our troops, with the permission of the Congo Government, to fight the ADF terrorists in the areas of Beni, Virunga (Biruunga) National Park, Semuliki, Mbooga and areas of Ituri. With our Congolese brothers and sisters, we have seriously degraded ADF, so much that, most of them, the remnants, are running towards Mambasa-Komanda areas, quite far from the border. The Congolese Farmers were able to harvest their Cocoa for the first time, in many years. There is peace where we have operated. Our effort there, is code-named "Operation Shujaa" (Opn Brave).

In a separate effort, the Commander Land Forces, yesterday, the 29th of March, in the Kisoro Area, flagged off a force that we have contributed to the East African Force that is mandated to help the Congolese stabilize that part of Congo: the Rutshuru-Goma area,



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

where one of the Groups, known as M-23, has been operating against the Congolese Government.

However, contrary to what I saw on the Al-Jazeera, the Daily Vision and others reporting, in that effort, we are not going to "battle", "fight", etc. the M-23. The Congo Government and the M-23, have agreed to a peace plan, which involves: cessation of hostilities (fighting), withdrawal of the M-23 from some of the specified areas they had captured to other areas that have been agreed upon, etc.

Meanwhile, the peace talks between the M-23 and the Congo Government have been going on and should continue so that the problem is handled politically. Our initial mission, therefore, is to occupy some of the positions that the M-23 has handed over to the East African Force as a neutral force, instead of the Congolese Army which the M-23 see as enemies or armed opponents in their internal politics. We are, therefore, going to the Bunagana-Rutshuru area, not in order to fight the M-23, but to act as a neutral force as the Congolese use the time to sort out their political problems. Unless we are attacked, we are not there to fight. Fighting may come later if one of the



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non-state armed groups does not accept peace on what we all regard as reasonable conditions.

The East African Authority (the Heads of State) would, then, have to mandate us to fight if one of the stakeholders refuses to implement the Peace agreement we have agreed on.

That, however, is not the case now. The UPDF is fighting other terrorists in another part of Congo as explained above.

Signed

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Y. Museveni'.

Gen (rtd).

Jajja wa Abazukulu

30th March, 2023

Appendix 8 Kaguta Museveni's speech of lies delivered to the people of Butare in 1987, three years before invading Rwanda.

Below is an excerpt from Eugene Shimamungu's letter explaining Museveni's words in Butare in 1987, before Rwanda was invented in 1990.

Museveni applauded at the Butare stadium in... October 1986

Before the invasion of Rwanda, the refugees had finalised both their attack plans and their communication strategy. Upon coming to power, President Museveni visited Rwanda in October 1986. He attempted to convince the Rwandans that there would be no armed attack from Uganda. But when he spoke in Butare, he began his speech with a few words in *Kinyankole*, a language similar to Kinyarwanda, saying, among other things: *umanyi Balinga, umanyi umuravunga, umanyi rwiziringa* "do you know *umuravunga*, do you know *rwiziringa*, do you know *Balinga*?": *umuravunga* is a very bitter medicinal plant, *rwiziringa* is a kind of vine that wraps itself around shrubs to stifle their growth, and *balinga* is a ghost. These are the three images or three methods chosen by President Museveni to overthrow the Habyarimana regime: the attack will be prepared in a sneaky way, it will be devastating, and it will last until the regime falls. No one was able to decipher Museveni's words.

In the rest of his speech, Museveni tried to drown out his initial statements with soothing words:

Recently there have been a lot of rumours circulated by people who are politically ignorant that the refugees from Rwanda in Uganda will use Uganda as a base to come and attack Rwanda. This is not possible, and it will not happen, and I would like to assure all the people here that it will not happen at all.

(...) If you want to get them back, you can come and call them, and they will come back here. If you cannot have them back, they will stay in Uganda until we find another solution for them. So there is no problem at all on that issue.

It was not a word of friendship that the crowd gathered at the Butare stadium applauded, but a veritable declaration of war against itself.

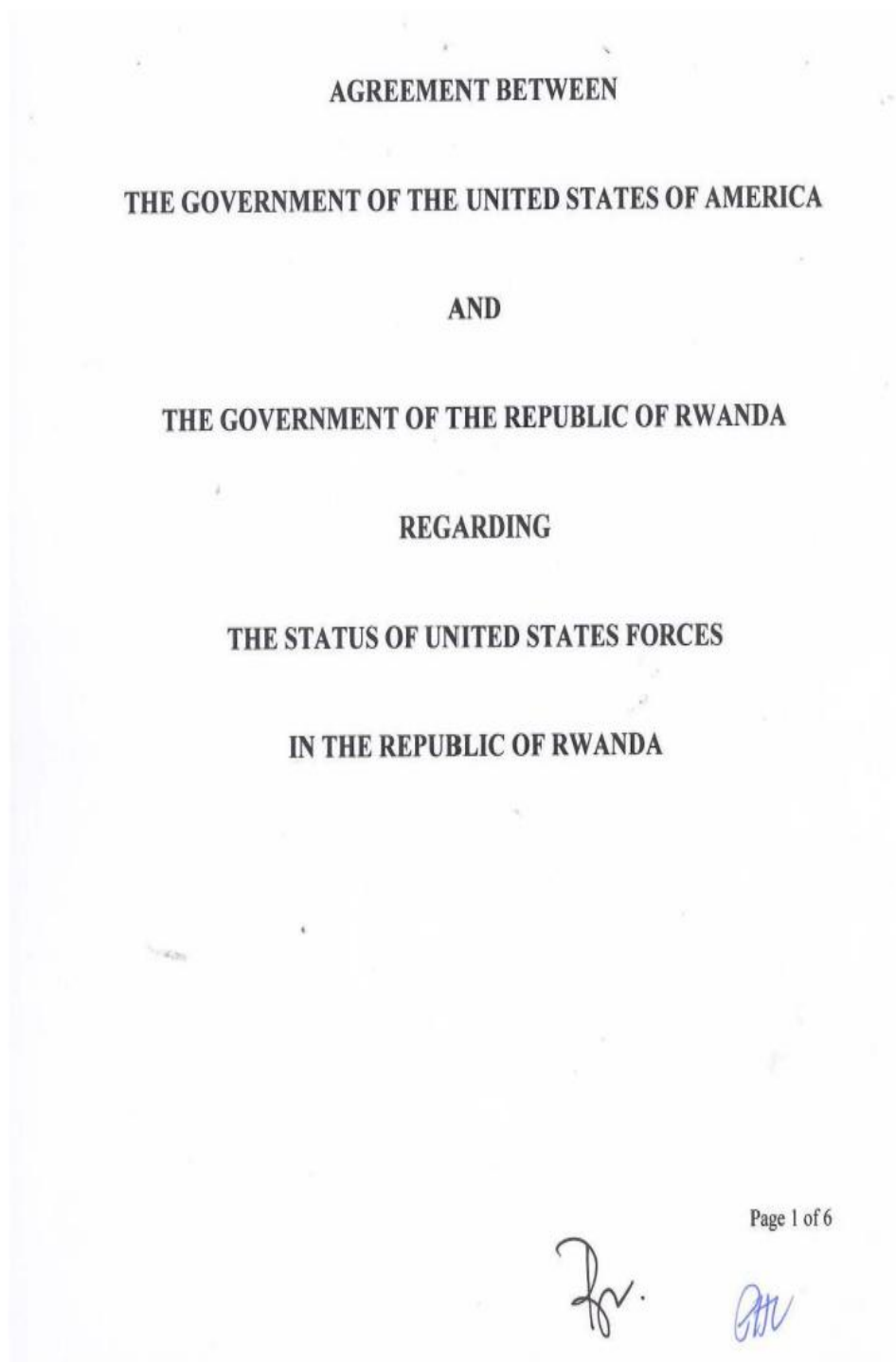
An attempt to attack had already been made a few months after the capture of Kampala. Since then, preparations for war had been made more covertly, but developments in the democratisation process in Burundi and Rwanda were worrying the RPF. In 1988, they were ready and a special effort was made to create clandestine cells in Rwanda itself. According to G. PRUNIER (1997), around forty "RPF Brigades" were created, and their members were almost all Tutsi. In early 1989, a reconnaissance detachment was sent by the RPF to prepare the ground. They were spotted by the population, which prevented the immediate launch of a large-scale operation planned by the RPF. In fact, the Rwandan intelligence services, which had infiltrated the RPF, knew what was going on.

The Rwandan government had reported this to the embassies accredited in Kigali, notably those of the United States and Belgium, which had reassured the Rwandan authorities that, according to their own intelligence services, no attack was being prepared. The rest of the story would reveal the involvement of these two countries in the conflict that would ravage Rwanda. Other

countries such as Spain, France, Italy and Russia would inform Museveni that they were aware of the preparations for the attack on Rwanda and make it clear to him that they favoured the peaceful return of refugees rather than war.

Excerpt from Eugène Shimamungu (2004) Juvénal Habyarimana, l'homme assassiné le 6 avril 1994, Lille, Editions Sources du Nil

Appendix 9. Agreement between the United States of America and Rwanda



The Government of the United States of America (hereinafter "the United States") and the Government of the Republic of Rwanda (hereinafter "Rwanda"), hereinafter collectively referred to as "the Parties" and singularly as a "Party;"

DESIRING to promote and strengthen closer bilateral defense and security cooperation,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I Scope and Purpose

This Agreement shall apply with regard to U.S. personnel and U.S. contractors who may be temporarily present in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda in connection with ship visits, training, exercises, humanitarian activities, and other activities as mutually agreed.

ARTICLE II Definitions

1. "U.S. personnel" means members of the U.S. Armed Forces and civilian employees of the U.S. Department of Defense.
2. "U.S. contractors" means non-Rwandan companies and firms, and their employees who are not nationals of Rwanda, under contract to the U.S. Department of Defense.

ARTICLE III Privileges, Exemptions, and Immunities

1. U.S. personnel shall be accorded the privileges, exemptions, and immunities equivalent to those accorded to the administrative and technical staff of a diplomatic mission under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961.
2. Rwanda recognizes the particular importance of disciplinary control by U.S. Armed Forces authorities over U.S. personnel and, therefore, authorizes the United States to exercise criminal jurisdiction over U.S. personnel while in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda.

ARTICLE IV Entry, Exit, and Travel Documentation

1. U.S. personnel may enter and exit the territory of the Republic of Rwanda with U.S. identification and with collective movement or individual travel orders.

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2. U.S. personnel shall have freedom of movement and access to and use of mutually agreed transportation, storage, training, and other facilities required in connection with activities under this Agreement.

ARTICLE V Licenses

1. Rwanda shall accept as valid all professional licenses issued by the United States, its political subdivisions, or States thereof to U.S. personnel for the provision of services to authorized personnel.

2. Rwanda shall accept as valid, without a driving test or fee, driving licenses or permits issued by the appropriate U.S. authorities to U.S. personnel for the operation of vehicles.

ARTICLE VI Uniforms and Weapons

U.S. personnel are authorized to wear uniforms while performing official duties and to carry arms while on duty if authorized to do so by their orders.

ARTICLE VII Taxation

1. The U.S. Department of Defense and U.S. personnel shall not be liable to pay any tax or similar charge assessed within the territory of the Republic of Rwanda.

2. The U.S. Department of Defense and U.S. personnel may import into, export out of, and use in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda any personal property, equipment, supplies, materiel, technology, training, or services in connection with activities under this Agreement. Such importation, exportation, and use shall be exempt from any inspection, license, other restrictions, customs duties, taxes, or any other charges assessed within the territory of the Republic of Rwanda.

ARTICLE VIII Security

The Parties shall cooperate to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure the security and protection of U.S. personnel, property, equipment, records, and official information in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda.

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ARTICLE IX
Payment of Fees and Other Charges

1. Aircraft, vessels, and vehicles operated by or, at the time, exclusively for the U.S. Department of Defense may enter, exit, and move freely within the territory of the Republic of Rwanda with respect for the relevant rules of air, maritime, and land safety and movement, and such vehicles (whether self-propelled or towed) shall not be subject to the payment of overland transit tolls.
2. Aircraft and vessels owned or operated by or, at the time, exclusively for the U.S. Department of Defense shall not be subject to the payment of landing, parking, or port fees, pilotage charges, lighterage, and harbor dues at facilities owned and operated by Rwanda.
3. Aircraft owned or operated by or, at the time, exclusively for the U.S. Department of Defense shall not be subject to the payment of navigation, overflight, terminal, or similar charges when in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda.
4. The U.S. Department of Defense shall pay reasonable charges for services requested and received at rates no less favorable than those paid by the Rwandan Defense Force.
5. Aircraft and vessels of the U.S. Government shall be free from boarding and inspection.

ARTICLE X
Contracting and Contractors

1. The U.S. Department of Defense may contract for any materiel, supplies, equipment, and services (including construction) to be furnished or undertaken in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda without restriction as to choice of contractor, supplier, or person who provides such materiel, supplies, equipment, or services. Such contracts shall be solicited, awarded, and administered in accordance with U.S. laws and regulations.
2. Acquisition of articles and services in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda by or on behalf of the U.S. Department of Defense in connection with activities under this Agreement shall not be subject to any taxes or similar charges in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda.
3. U.S. contractors shall not be liable to pay any tax or similar charges assessed within the territory of the Republic of Rwanda in connection with activities under this Agreement. Such contractors may import into, export out of, and use in the territory of the Republic of Rwanda any personal property, equipment, supplies, materiel, technology, or services in fulfillment of contracts with the U.S. Department of Defense in connection with activities under this Agreement. Such importation, exportation, and use shall be exempt from any license, other restrictions, customs duties, taxes, or any other charges assessed within the territory of the Republic of Rwanda.
4. U.S. contractors shall be granted the same treatment as U.S. personnel with respect to professional and drivers' licenses.

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ARTICLE XI
Telecommunications

Rwanda recognizes that it may be necessary for the U.S. Armed Forces to use the radio spectrum and, therefore, authorizes the U.S. Department of Defense to operate its own telecommunication systems (as telecommunication is defined in the 1992 Constitution and Convention of the International Telecommunication Union). This shall include the right to utilize such means and services as required to ensure full ability to operate telecommunication systems, and the right to use all necessary radio spectrum for this purpose. Use of the radio spectrum shall be free of cost to the United States. The United States, in the interest of avoiding mutually harmful interference, shall make every reasonable effort to coordinate the use of frequencies with the relevant Rwandan authorities concerning the use of frequencies.

ARTICLE XII
Claims

1. The Parties waive any and all claims (other than contractual claims) against each other for damage to, loss, or destruction of the other's property or injury to or death of personnel of either Party's armed forces or their civilian personnel arising out of the performance of their official duties in connection with activities under this Agreement.
2. Claims by third parties for damages or loss caused by U.S. personnel shall be resolved by the United States in accordance with U.S. laws and regulations.

ARTICLE XIII
Implementing Arrangements

The Parties, or their designated representatives, may enter into implementing arrangements to carry out the provisions of this Agreement. In the event of conflict between an implementing arrangement and this Agreement, the terms of this Agreement shall govern.

ARTICLE XIV
Settlement of Disputes

All disputes shall be resolved exclusively through consultation between the Parties, or their designated representatives, and shall not be referred to any national or international court, tribunal, or similar body, or to any third party for settlement, unless otherwise mutually agreed.



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NOTE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Pursuant to Public Law 89—497, approved July 8, 1966
(80 Stat. 271; 1 U.S.C. 113)—

“...the Treaties and Other International Acts Series issued under the authority of the Secretary of State shall be competent evidence ... of the treaties, international agreements other than treaties, and proclamations by the President of such treaties and international agreements other than treaties, as the case may be, therein contained, in all the courts of law and equity and of maritime jurisdiction, and in all the tribunals and public offices of the United States, and of the several States, without any further proof or authentication thereof.”

ARTICLE XV
Entry into Force and Amendment

1. This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.
2. Upon entry into force, this Agreement shall supersede the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Rwanda regarding the status of United States military and civilian personnel of the United States Department of Defense who may be present in Rwanda in connection with the military airlift of Rwandan military forces in support of operations in Darfur and future mutually agreed activities, effected by exchange of notes at Kigali, July 5 and 11, 2005, which entered into force July 11, 2005, and the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Rwanda regarding the status of United States military and civilian personnel of the United States Department of Defense who may be present in Rwanda in connection with ACOTA training and other activities as mutually agreed, effected by exchange of notes at Kigali, August 21 and November 1, 2006, which entered into force November 1, 2006.
3. This Agreement may be amended by written agreement of the Parties.

ARTICLE XVI
Duration and Termination

This Agreement shall continue in force unless terminated by either Party on at least one year's written notice, through diplomatic channels, to the other Party.

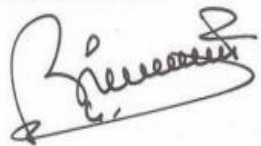
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement.

DONE at KIGALI, on this 23rd day of May, 20 20 in duplicate, in the English language.

**FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:**



**FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF RWANDA:**



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58. Controversy over the Nyakimana cave massacre: www.economist.com › international › 1997/12/11 › terrible-anyhow. Rwanda - Terrible, anyhow | International | The Economist. 11 December 1997 - THERE was a stench at the mouth of the cave and human remains were ... at the Nyakimana caves, 16 kilometres (ten miles) east of Gisenyi, ... army of killing more than 8,000 civilians sheltering in these caves in late October 1997.

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60. Dallaire, Roméo, 2004, *Shake Hands with the Devil, the Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, London: Arrow Books.142-151.

61. Statement by Paul Kagame on 9 April 1994, giving an ultimatum to foreign forces.

62. Statement by President Charles Michel to the press following his visit to the Westerwelle Startup Haus in Kigali, Rwanda. 8 March 2021.

63. Degni-Ségui, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, under paragraph 20 of Commission resolution E/CN. 4/S-3/1 of 25 May 1994.: Security Council. United Nations Digital Library System. <https://digitallibrary.un.org> › S_1994_867-EN. PDF. 25 July 1994 — ... Rwanda. Mr. Degni-Ségui, who visited Rwanda and neighbouring countries from 9 to 20 June 1994, published his first report (E/CN.4/1995 ...

64. De Lame, Danielle, 1996, *Une Colline entre mille ou le calme avant la tempête*, Transformations et blocages du Rwanda rural, Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa. P.74.

65. DE LAME, Danielle, 1997, "Le Génocide Rwandais et le vaste monde, les liens du sang" (The Rwandan Genocide and the wider world, blood ties), *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs, 1996-1997 yearbook*, L'Harmattan.

66. Statement by Nsanzuwera on 18 September 1995 before the investigating judge at the Court of First Instance in Brussels.

67. Des Forges, Alison. No Witness Shall Survive: The Genocide in Rwanda, 1 January 1999 - Alison Des Forges wrote this book, which was published in 1999. Sadly, she was on board the plane that crashed in Buffalo (State of ...)

68. Des Forges, Alison. Human Rights Watch, Alison Des Forges (ed.), 1999, *No Witness Shall Survive: The Genocide in Rwanda*, Karthala.

69. Desforges Arusha, 6 March 2007: Desforges. (Agence Hirondelle 07/03/2007) Arusha, 6 March 2007. (FH)PB/AT/GF Agence Hirondelle.

70. Desouter S. 2007 L'Harmattan. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical Clarification, p.39. The trend was towards institutionalised violence, the glorification of the strongest, the plundering and even the crushing of the weakest. The seeds of endogenous ethnicism were already there.

71. Desouter S. Rwanda: The Trial of the RPF. Historical clarification, l'Harmattan, 2007.

72. Dialogue No. 146 May-June 1991. p.94

73. Dialogue No. 146 (May-June 1991), No. 148 (Sept.-Oct. 1991), No. 149 (Nov.-Dec. 1991), No. 151 (February 1992), No. 152 (March 1992), No. 154 (May 1992), No. 156 (July 1992), No. 157 (August 1992), No. 159 (October 1992), no. 160 (Nov. 1992), no. 161 (Dec. 1992), no. 163 (Feb. 1993), no. 167 (June 1993), no. 172 (Jan. 1994).

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110. HRW Report - Leave None ... Nyakizu: The Massacres (HRW Report - Leave None to Tell ... 17 December 2019 - The elite were also able to pay for at least some of their children to *leave* the commune to attend secondary school, making it far more likely that ...

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118.https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=134245041265130&id=100040389037934
Long live the RPF Inkotanyi, long live Paul Kagame. Writer: SAM KAYITARE. 3 October 2019

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120. <http://www.mondialisation.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=8283>

121.<https://www.nytimes.com › 1997/02/06 › world › un-pulls-its-staff-from-wes...> 6 February 1997.

122.<https://www.nytimes.com › 1997/02/06 › world › un-pulls-its-staff-from-wes...> 6 February 1997.

129. <http://www.econ.kuleuven.be/ces/discussionpapers/default.htm> May 2001

130. Human Rights Committee reviews the report of Rwanda.

18 March 2016 - The *Human Rights* Committee today concluded its consideration of the ... provided more remedies for rights *violations* where they occurred. ... Allegedly, they had pressured *civil rights* organisations to publicly *denounce* their reports. ... The *Government* had filed a *response* to the United Nations Security...

131. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interview, Butare, 19 December 1995.

132. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interviews, Butare, 19 and 29 December 1995, 2 January 1996.

133. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interviews, Butare, 26, 28, and 29 October 1995.

134. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interview, Neuchatel, 16 December 1995.

135. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interviews, Butare, 25 October 1995 and 13 January 1996; Brussels, 12 December 1995; ICTR-96-4-T, Testimony of Dr. Rony Zachariah.

136. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interview, Kigali, 14 February 1997;

137. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interviews, Butare, 2 September 1996; 27 February 1997; Alter-Ciné interview, Nairobi, March 1996 (Alter-Ciné).

138. Human Rights Watch interview, Kabgayi, 28 August 1994. 16 Human Rights Watch/FIDH interview, Brussels, 26 February 1997.

139. Human Rights Watch/FIDH interview, by telephone, Nairobi, 7 March 1998. 52 Human Rights Watch press release, 6 June 1994. 53 Human Rights Watch/FIDH interview, by telephone, Nairobi, 9 May 1998; Joseph Matata, “La Responsabilité du FPR dans le Génocide.” 54 Human Rights Watch/FIDH interview, by telephone, Nairobi, 9 May 1998.

140. Human Rights Watch, Alison Des Forges (ed.), 1999, *No Witnesses Left Standing: The Genocide in Rwanda*, Karthala.

141. Human Rights Watch, Alison Des Forges (ed.), 1999, *No Witness Should Survive: The Genocide in Rwanda*, Karthala.

142. Human Rights Watch: www.hrw.org > news > 2017/12/16 > rwanda-needs-take-torture-serio...Rwanda Needs to Take Torture Seriously | Human Rights Watch

143. Human Rights Watch report Leave None to Tell the Tale...

Musebeya. 30 November 2013 Prefecture of Gikongoro Human Rights Watch report Leave None to tell them....Musebeya. 30 November 2013

Published by **La Tribune Franco-Rwandaise**. Rwandan generals accused of war crimes in one job. By Judi Rever - Rwanda witness. 30 November 2013.

144. Human Rights Watch. Gikondo Transit Centre, April 2015. The Rwandan authorities are arbitrarily arresting and unlawfully holding some of the country’s most vulnerable people in an unofficial detention centre, Human Rights Watch said in a report released today. The 48-page report, “‘Why Not Call This Place a Prison?’: Unlawful Detention and Ill Treatment in Rwanda’s Gikondo

Transit Centre,” documents prolonged and unlawful detention in the centre, in the Rwandan capital, Kigali, between 2011 and 2015.

145. ICTR. THE PROSECUTOR AND NTAGERURA ANDRÉ...
[www.ictrcaselaw.org › docs › doc42167](http://www.ictrcaselaw.org/docs/doc42167). 25 February 2004

146. Public statement by President Yoweri Museveni on 7 April 2004 in Kigali. Well before this recent statement, the government newspaper New Vision wrote on 17 September 1997, expressing the same position, which was also defended by President Museveni at the Harare summit in 1999, in a statement published in the journal African Alternatives, March/April 1999.

147. Important sites of massacres of Tutsi in different areas of ...[cnlg.gov.rw › news-details](http://cnlg.gov.rw) 13 April 2017.

148. Important sites of massacres of Tutsi in different areas of ...[cnlg.gov.rw › news-details](http://cnlg.gov.rw) 13 April 2017.

149. Inyenzi: Acronym Inyenzi: name given to themselves by Tutsi fighters from 1962 to 1967. It is an acronym for "Ingangurarugo Ziyemeje kuba Ingenzi" id: meaning brave fighters, vanguard attackers, determined to be exemplary, the best. According to statements by Aloys Ngurumbe himself, founder and leader of the Inyenzi, military adviser to General Paul Kagame in 1998.

150. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh (born 5 February 1938) is a Cameroonian politician and diplomat. He was the Minister of External Relations of Cameroon from 1988 to 1992^[1] and the head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

151. Jambonews. [https://www.jambonews.net › news › 20181024-ny....](https://www.jambonews.net) 24 Oct. 2018 — Between 23 and 28 October 1997, soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) killed between 5,000 and 8,000 civilians who had...

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153. Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda, 1996, "The International Response Conflict and Genocide", Humanitarian Aid and Effects, 3: 31-41.

154. Kagame Paul's War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity, and ...
[www.france-rwanda.info › 2018/05 › paul-kagame-s-war-crimes-crimes-a...](http://www.france-rwanda.info)

20 May 2018.

155. Kambanda Jean. August 2020, Editions Sources du Nil. Lille, France.

156. Kambanda Jean: 2020: the Interahamwe of the RPF at the heart of the planning of the genocide in Rwanda. James Munyandinda, IN: Interview: during an interview with Claude Gatebuke and James Munyandinda, a former bodyguard of Kagame, on YouTube on 10 September 2019: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5K8CezuWDz>, Editions Sources du Nil. pp. 153-154.

157. Karemera E., 2006. Editions Sources du Nil. The Rwandan tragedy. The damning confessions of the heads of the United Nations Mission for Assistance in Rwanda. Despite the prosecutor's prevarications in rejecting this connection, Judge Bruguière's report was admitted as evidence in an ongoing trial at the ICTR. Both MINUAR authorities knew that President Habyarimana was going to be assassinated. No security measures were put in place to prevent the attack. Instead, MINUAR served as a catalyst for the Rwandan Patriotic Front's conquest of power, thus breaking with its duty of neutrality in fulfilling its mission to accompany the two signatories

to the Arusha Peace Agreement. This attack was covered up with a thick web of lies that cast suspicion on the MINUAR mission chiefs. Gradually, this web of lies is no longer standing up to the test of time or to the maieutic exercise undertaken by Edouard Karemera in his book.

158. Kayonza officials pay homage to Genocide victims | The New ...
<https://www.newtimes.co.rw> › section › read. 31 March 2008.

159. Killings where the identity of the perpetrators has not been established. Killings in Gitarama. www.refworld.org › docid "Disappearances" and Killings Continue on a Daily ... – Refworld 23 June 1998 - It *is no* longer possible to record all cases of *killings* and "disappearances" in ... Several sources in Gisenyi, Ruhengeri and *Gitarama* have reported that helicopters ... The *identity* of the *perpetrators has not been established*.

160. In its verdict of 10 December 2002 at the end of the trial of Ambassador Bihozagara against the newspaper Africa, **the 14th Chamber** of the Brussels Court of First Instance found that there was sufficient evidence to assert that former Minister Bihozagara was jointly responsible for these massacres:

161. "The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) or the partition of Africa" [[archive](#)] [video], *La Fabrique de l'Histoire programme*, France Culture, 26 January 2010.

162. Lake Muhazi - Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org> › wiki › Lake_Muhazi

Remains of 200 Genocide victims in Kayonza District still...

<https://www.newtimes.co.rw> › section › read. 15 April 2016.

163. La lettre du Sud no. 22, 18 April 1994, cited by African International no. 272, May 1994, confirms that a tour of countries in the African Great Lakes region was carried out in March 1994 by US foreign service officials.

164. The Byumba flour mill, here when it was still under construction in the mid-1980s. The current authorities in Kigali buried the bodies of thousands of civilians they had killed in the town of Byumba in 1994 in the septic tanks of the flour mill (p. 276, Rwanda, *l'histoire secrète* [Rwanda, the secret history], Lieutenant Abdul Joshua Ruzibiza, Editions du Panama, 2005).

165. La Presse. <https://lapresse.ca> Rwanda replaces French with English. Canada, 16 October 2008.

166. Democratic Republic of Congo: The August 1998 Rebellion and Affected Groups Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, The August 1998 Rebellion and Affected Groups, 1 December 1998, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a83c10.html> [accessed 18 July 2022].

167. LEMARCHAND, René, 1970, *Rwanda and Burundi*, London: Pall Mall Press.

168. CIA report accusing France of involvement in the attack of 6 April 1994. UN Archives 1995.

169. Final report on the closure of Gacaca, the Inyenzi's political revenge against the Hutus: closed on 28 March 2014.

170. The report dated 5 May 2015 on the strategy for completing the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Security Council Resolution 1534 (2004), 15 May 2015. UN S/2015/340.

171. lerwandais.com. <https://www.lerwandais.com> › af...Translate this result. BILL CLINTON CASE: Bill Clinton behind the plot.... On 6 April 1994, Bill Clinton ordered the Pentagon to send 450 US Rangers to Burundi to assist CIA agents in Rwanda in carrying out the assassination...

172. Les Archives du Monde - 27 November 1995 - view all articles online. **Le Monde.** <https://www.lemonde.fr/archives-du-monde>. Les Archives du Monde - 27 November 1995 - Le Monde.fr. 27 Nov. 1995 · See all articles and videos published on 27 November 1995 on Le Monde or in the newspaper. You can also find all publications in ...

173. The Kinyihira massacres from 1993 to 1999. List of RPF-Inkotanyi agents who massacred more than 10,000 people in the former Kinyihira (Byumba) sub-prefecture from 1993 to 1999.

174. Letter dated 11 April 2014 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General, leading to the Security Council meeting that allowed the RPF to introduce the instruments of genocide and the ideology of genocide into UN texts*¹.

175. LETTER DATED 9 December 1994, ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL. In my letter dated 1 October 1994 to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1125), in which I transmitted the interim report of the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 935 (1994), I indicated that I would bring the final report of the Panel of Experts to the attention of the Security Council as soon as it was in my possession. The Chairman of the Panel, Mr. Atsu-Koffi Amega, provided me with the final report of the Panel in Geneva on 3 December 1994.

176. The drama triangle, also known as the 'Karpman triangle', is a transactional analysis model proposed by Stephen Karpman in 1968, which highlights a rational scenario between victim, persecutor and rescuer (these roles being symbolic, the same person can change roles).

177. Linda Melvern in Complicities in Genocide (2010). [UNAMIR in Peril](#), February-April 1994.) pp. 171-192.

178. LINDEN Ian, 1999, Christianity and Power in Rwanda (1900-1990), Karthala.

179. Read Roméo Dallaire's convictions in his book: "Shaking Hands with the Devil", pp. 335 and 374.

180. List of RPF-Inkotanyi agents who massacred more than 10,000 people in the former Kinyihira (Byumba) sub-prefecture between 1993 and 1999. (Translated from Kinyarwanda by Eugène Shimamungu) (Additional article on the Byumba massacres: musabyimana.be)

181. LONGMAN, Timothy, 1995, "Genocide and Socio-political Change: Massacres in two Rwandan Villages", *Issue, A Journal of Opinion*, 23: 18-21.

182. Maryline Hermans. See the investigation conducted by Ms Maryline Hermans of the University of Rotterdam (Netherlands) into the massacres committed by APR elements in the commune of Ngenda (Kigali Rural Prefecture).

183. Massacres in Kinyihira from 1993 to 1999. List of RPF-Inkotanyi agents who massacred more than 10,000 people in the former Kinyihira Sub-Prefecture (Byumba) from 1993 to 1999.

184. Massacre Sites in Rwanda. americanradioworks.publicradio.org/justiceontrial/massacre/Butare.

185. Massacre Sites in Rwanda. americanradioworks.publicradio.org/justiceontrial/massacre/Butare.

186. Massacres in Kayonza. Remains of 200 Genocide victims in Kayonza District still missing. 15 April 2016 - Remains of 200 Genocide victims in **Kayonza** District still missing ... in their **massacres** have refused to reveal where they dumped them," he...

187. Byumba Stadium massacres. 2 June 2009 - Keywords: RPF crimes, Juvénal Habyarimana, **Byumba Stadium massacres**, ... the communes of **Cyumba** and Karama in the former prefecture of **Byumba**. Keywords: RPF crimes, Habyarimana Juvénal, Byumba stadium massacres, RPF cadre massacres, Kinyihira massacres, Paul Kagame crimes, Hutu refugees, Rwanda 1994 night patrols, Rwanda infiltrators. Published on 2 June 2009. by Gaspard Musabyimana.

188. Matata Joseph. CLIR coordinator. Summary documents on the massacres of Hutu civilians in Rwanda, 1994-1999.

189. Matata Joseph Matata, "Massacres of Hutu Civilians in Nyamabuye-Gitarama Commune.

190. Matata Joseph. Summary documents on the massacres of Hutu civilians in Rwanda, 1994-1999. Centre for the Fight Against Impunity and Injustice in Rwanda (CLIR) Rue de la Colonne, No. 54/4 1080 Brussels Tel/Fax: 0032.81.60.11.13 Mobile: 0032.476.70.15.69 Email: cliir2004@yahoo.fr

191. Mbonigaba Ismail The Byumba Massacres, Testimony of Ismaïl Mbonigaba ... The **Byumba Massacres, Testimony of Ismaïl Mbonigaba**. Editions Sources du Nil 2 June 2009. Justice and Human Rights. Hello Eugene and Gaspard. *editions-sources-du-nil.over-blog.com* › tag. **Justice and Human Rights - Editions Sources du Nil: The Byumba Massacres**, ... who appears on the list of Kinyihira's assassins (and why not the assassins of **Byumba**?).

192. Memorandum on the assassination of President Habyarimana, 3 June 1999. And 2. Jean Pierre Mugabe. Le Tribun du Peuple. Itangazo, 1999.

193. Martyr's Memorial · Vimy Memorial · Shoah Memorial · ACT Memorial

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