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His Excellency Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary General
United Nations Organization
NEW YORK, USA.

Your Excellency Secretary General,

Allow me to,in respectful liberty,send you herewith, for your reference and attention, copies of the press communique that I signed jointly with the former minister of FPR, Mr Seth Sendashonga, on 30 November 1995 and a copy of my declaration of January 2, 1996 after my departure from Rwanda on November 10, 1995.

These two documents, following several others from Non-Governmental Rwandese Refugee Associations and other sources, such as Non-Governmental Organizations, Human Rights Associations, makes appeal once again to the World Authority on the precarious and dramatic situation of Rwanda since October 1, 1990.

More than 1 million and a half of human beings have been massacred during the course of this civil war: more than 2 million refugees live, for more than one year and a half, in situations beyond description; more or less 3 million are real hostages of their own country ... and yet the world seem to think that the Rwandan crisis is coming to an end! An example of this illusion: the retreat threat issued by the United Nations Mission for Rwanda Assistance while about 100,000 people of which the majority are innocent are detained without trail, simply on denunciation by the other members of the ethnic group. In addition, the majority of the population living in land, muzzled, without any defense, terrorized and crushed by an all powerful army that has power of death or life over the Rwandans who do not belong to their ethnic group, continue to be victims of hostages, disappearances, dispossession, assassinations. This in turn discourages those refugees who wish to return because many of the these repatriated refugees when threatened or frustrated, succeed in escaping the surveillance and oppression machine, and return to exile. In addition, no one doubts that the explosive situation in Burundi will inevitably have repercussions on that of the other, still extremely fragile, its brother country, Rwanda and even in the sub-region.

It would not be inappropriate to once again insist on the fact that the regime in Kigali is a minority regime that is afraid of on one hand democracy and on the other of the loss of other peoples properties that its agents have amassed. This then explains the double faced game of authorities in Kigali Who pretend to want the return of the refugees to their country while at the same time doing all possible to discourage them by imprisoning and even murdering, systematically not to talk of massively, all those, who learned or not, have eyes sufficiently opened and are courageous enough to dare, soon or later, reclaim their rights or properties. The list is endless and continuously updated of real or suspected criminals is part of another indication of this ambiguous attitude of the leaders in Rwanda.

The people of Rwanda are continuously crying out for help, but in vain. Because the dead bodies are hidden, or burnt, or buried in communal ditches far from indiscreet

eyes. Because the population remain silent in the prisons and in the hills under the threat of the omnipresent FPR soldiers, the world comforts itself with the good conscience by hiding its head under the sand, like the ostrich.

Then FPR army is still an occupation army that behaves like one and is loathed by the population. As regards what is referred to as integration of some elements of the FAR, this joke meant to manipulate the less informed refugees, public opinion and donors. In fact, there were about a hundred of these soldiers with 24 officers imprisoned (are they still alive?) without legal suit nor any sort of explanation (to who? the MINUAR at all costs avoids displeasing the winners...). Like imprisoned are also those who were supposedly integrated who only had the uniform and some important posts given to one or the other officer, a matter of protocol. The real power was given to their FPR colleagues. FPR abuses its power by pretending to forget this relative victory that was given to it all ready without peoples congress that FPR doesn't want. They prefer violence and exclusion to conciliation, comforted by promises that are never brilliant of those who put them in power.

The evidence I want to portray is truthful and exempt of all extremism. In fact, when going back to Rwanda from July 29 1994, I wanted to show my goodwill to participate in the reconstruction of my country and to also rekindle hope for a rapid peaceful return of my compatriots to their country, without too much suffering. This initiative, taken purely on my own risk, was very badly seen by the extremists of two sides: traitor for one, spy for the other. The evident proof if needed, that I do not belong to any extreme, conscious of the fact that Rwanda is a country for all Rwandans, equally before the law. I once again left the country on November 10, 1995, not so much because of the numerous well known death threats against me, but also and mainly after I was convinced following my own observation that FPR, unsure of its future, is a force decided on the subjugation on the population during the time of looting the national heritage. Those who assist this force are aware of the methods and objectives: it will be difficult for them to deny the fact that they are accomplices.

We do not need to continue to kill ourselves in cold blood but we should also reach peace and democracy, tolerance, conviviality and stability. We would like to call upon those who are world leaders with regard to ethics and human solidarity to be more stringent for human rights, for a better human environment and a veritable moral refurbishment for peace, stability and expansion of all the peoples of the world.

Is humanity really de-humanized, "immoralized" to the point of being insensitive to the suffering of some of their members? The human race will have then reached a level of an irreversible degeneration that would accord no importance to evil actions and to pitiless Machiavellianism?

Due to lack of satisfactory answers to several agonizing questions, no one, rightly or wrongly, thinks that there would be external forces that pull the strings of the Rwanda drama to further complicate a continuously complex situation. If this was the case, it is high time that the powers take count of the enormous destructions both human and material of this continuing tragedy in the region of the Great lakes. This region has been said to be on the verge of becoming an experimentation field and for strange research activities.

No doubt the interests that are still inadequately identified, or even may be the absence of interests, thus absence of interest, has made the powers only perceive the Rwanda problem in a fragment manner through deformed prism of misinformation and of manipulation, are not unknown to the Rwandan bloody mire. The distress of the people of Rwanda does not attract sufficient attention of the guards of universal democratic values, human rights, state rights...

Otherwise how does one comprehend the fact that while enjoying the fruits of democracy and of liberty, that gives power through the ballot box, they tolerate that fact that the Rwandans are dominated and oppressed by a minority power imposed by the guns to a disarmed country? If there are any crimes that the international justice should punish as a result of the tragedy of the war of October 1990, the Rwandan people should not be mistaken for the criminals who should be singled out.

We are all aware that all human life equal each other, humanly and juridically speaking: there is no classification to be done. Nothing in the world would justify the massacre, that I condemned and that I will always condemn, of hundreds of thousands of innocent people. But from a socio-political and psychological point of view, what does represent, in the eyes of the masses, the assassination of 3 heads of state, of its ministers, of its bishops ... after the hundred of thousands other people were massacred or chased out of their properties without provoking any international disapproval? Are those crimes justifiable? Who is really responsible for the Rwandan genocides? This question is addressed to political specialist, sociologists and all psychologists, all legal persons, historians, magistrates of the International Penal tribunal on Rwanda and other specialist of good will who deal with this embarrassing case. Those who had committed the horrible murder of Presidents Meilchior Ndadaye, Juvenal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira...were they unconscious of the inevitable consequences of such an ignominy? In any case, all justice worth of this name, in fact he international justice, cannot allow itself serious irreparable "voluntary errors". The truth is that there will have been, in Rwanda, two genocides: a massive genocide, spontaneous, inexpressible, broadcasted by the media of hate__of two wings (april to July 1994) following the assassination of the 3 heads of State Hutu and the panic of the population. The other is a planned and systematic genocide that started in October 1, 1990 and increased between April and July 1994 with in the zones of FPR and which is still continuing. It may be that the damage lamented from these two genocides, although of unequal important in relative terms, are comparable in absolute terms.

As said earlier, it is important not to unjustly penalize a people who are already victims of this unprecedented disaster. The International Community could, while punishing the guilty of the two sides accused of their crimes, envisage a political solution to a politico-ethnic problem in Rwanda. By establishing a political, military and judiciary plan of action that enables for remedies that are not feasible by Rwandese alone: repatriation of refugees in dignity and security, integrate the army forces, set-up temporary institutions, tranquilize the population and initiate a democratic process wiping out all the political forces responsible for the Rwandan drama. In addition new political parties should be formed taking into account our painful experience, would be a powerful psychological by-product for the whole of the elite as well as the Rwanda population.

We insistently encourage you, Your Excellency Secretary General, to continue to courageously resist all retrogressive forces in by doing everything possible to help Rwanda come out of its mortal situation that is an omen for its disappearance as an independent country if no vigorous and clear cut timely measures are taken. Rwandan people should be brought to finally show themselves as sufficiently mature, responsible, patriotic to assemble round a negotiation table in order to reconstruct their country in peace and mutual acceptance of the different communities of the Rwandan people.

For this to happen, the International Community should remain present and exercise its right to intervene to encourage the return of peace and installation of democracy that the population, in its enormous majority, calls ardently for. A conference on peace, security, reconciliation and democracy, under the responsibility of the International Community and associating all the parties concerned (FPR, Refugees, neighboring countries, OAU, UN.) will be indeed an important opportunity to prepare and propose to all decision making structures the proposal and the restructuring measures outlined above. A military and political integration under the aegis of the International Community is indispensable to definitely end this fratricidal conflict through a process based on the people's concurrence. This way, the survival of the minority as well as the majority will be maintained and that of the country as well. We believe that it is the duty of the International Community to assist the Rwanda and Burundi peoples (Their fates are inseparable even if their respective convulsions sometimes seem to mutually slip away. This, in fact, leads astray the distracted, or superficial or even conditioned observers of the geo-political situation of the Great Lakes..) to transcend their own sense of identity to meet, dialogue, re-educate themselves, accept each other and finally live in peace after an auto critic of all those who escaped the civil war and a national consensus which is a promise for a better future, where the past sacrifices should, after an individualized and impartial justice, independent of the parties in conflict, be a pedestal of the reconstruction and national reconciliation.

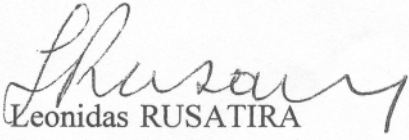
The eventuality of a federal repartition (and not a partition) of the country between two ethnic groups according to their percentages in the population (a preliminary census that seems relatively easy) would be chosen as a last solution, a stop-gap, a solution that would be less negative after the refusal of constructive solutions for such a small country. The essential thing is that the people get back their country with the guarantee of peace and durable security. It is important to know that FPR has already proceeded to an "ethnilandisation", thus showing that they are indirectly favorable to such a solution. In confirming to you my anxiety to be among those who wish to assist you to assist us so that the 21st century will find a Rwandan people liberated from its nightmare, please accept, Your Excellency, Secretary General, the assurances of my highest and most respectful consideration.

CC:

His Excellency Mr Bill Clinton
President of United States of America

His Excellency Mr Jacques Chirac
President of France

His Excellency Mr Salim Ahmed Salim
Secretary General
Organization of African Unity



Leonidas RUSATIRA
Brigadier General