

[Retour à la page principale](#)  
[Back to the main page](#)

[Retour au sommaire](#)  
[Back to the Table of Contents](#)



**REPORTERS SANS FRONTIERES**  
**RWANDA 1995**

**Population:** about 7 million, including 3 million refugees and displaced persons

**Area:** 10,170 square miles

**Form of government:** Multiparty

**Per capita GDP:** 214 dollars (before the war and genocide)

**Illiteracy:** 47.9%

**School attendance:** 36.4%

**Languages:** English, French, Kinyarwanda, Swahili

"Those who say the war ended with the Arusha agreements are wrong. The war has reached a critical point", the editorial, published in January 1994, read. The Hutu extremist fortnightly *Kangura* is known for its racist opinions, but in this respect it was accurate. Three months later, on 6 April, the killing of president Juvénal Habyarimana gave the signal for further violence. In the space of a few weeks some members of the Rwandan armed forces, the presidential guard and the Interahamwe

**militia, encouraged by *Radio Libre des Milles Collines*, had massacred the Tutsi minority and their supposed allies, Hutus who opposed the government. The Rwandan Patriotic Front, formed in Uganda and led by Paul Kagame, moved into action against the government troops, who retreated, forcing some civilians to flee to the Lake Kivu region of Zaire and to Benaco, Tanzania. Meanwhile, according to varying estimates, between 500,000 and a million people died. On 30 June the United Nations officially recognised the massacres as "genocide", the first in African history to be internationally acknowledged.**

Rwanda's Tutsi minority, who make up between 10% and 15% of the population, have often been the victims of massacres and persecution. Enjoying undivided power - with the support of the Belgian colonialists - until the Hutu uprising of 1959, the Tutsis have been kept off the political stage ever since. In 1973 Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, a Hutu from the north, seized power in a coup and intensified the policy of racial quotas, aggravating ethnic and regional tension.

In 1979 Tutsis who had fled to Uganda formed the Rwandan Alliance for National Unity, which became the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR) in 1987. Its aim was to secure the return of Tutsi refugees to Rwanda and an end to ethnic quotas and persecution. On 1 October 1990 the FPR launched an offensive at the border between Uganda and Rwanda and maintained a guerrilla force in eastern Rwanda, forcing the government to sign the Arusha agreements on 4 August 1993. Under the accord, power would be shared between Hutus and Tutsis and the two armies would be merged. A United Nations mission arrived in Kigali in December 1993 to oversee application of the agreements.

However, Hutu extremists decided to ignore the peace deal and prepared a plan to exterminate the Tutsis along with other opponents of the regime. The idea went back to the start of the 1990s, when the inner circle of the president and his wife, known as the "Akazu", formed the secret organisation Network Zero to kill opponents and embarrassing witnesses. This later became known as the time of the death squads. In 1993 the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development, the president's former single party, and its alter ego, the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic, set up their own militias: the Interahamwe ("those who attack together") and the Impuzamugambi (those who share the same aim). They received discreet training from the regular army, whose members were themselves trained by French military advisers.

These preparations were widely reported by the opposition press. For instance, a statement published in the newspaper *Le Flambeau* on 17 December 1993 said that according to "reliable military sources", 40,000 Interahamwe had just completed their training at several centres in the Akagera national park in eastern Rwanda. "They are to carry out a plot which the instigators will pass off as a civil war... The Rwandan fascists and their boss have decided to apply the 'final solution' to their compatriots whom they regard as enemies of the regime." Minister Félicien Gatabazi also denounced the preparations shortly before he was assassinated. In a letter dated 12 December 1993, senior officers loyal to the government warned General Dallaire, head of the United Nations mission, of the forthcoming massacre. But like the rest of the world, the mission ignored the warning.

Meanwhile, extremists of the ruling party's Hutu Power movement were orchestrating a national propaganda campaign to prepare their people psychologically for the genocide of the Tutsis. Hutu newspapers stirred up ethnic hatred and suggested that war was the only solution to the country's problems. They were filled with rallying slogans and explicit drawings by about a dozen so-called journalists, such as Thomas Kabonabake (*L'Echo des Mille Collines*), Julien Uwimana (*Ibyikigihe*), François-Xavier Hangimana (*Ijambo*), Thacien Hahozayezu (*Interahamwe*), Bernard Hategekimana (*Kamarampaka*), François Rwabutogo (*La Médaille-Nyiramacibiri*), Epa Habimana (*Vérité d'Afrique-Impamo*) and the staff of *Kangura* (Hassan Ngeze, Issa Nyabyenda, Joël Hakizimana, Noël Hitimana).

The editor of *Umurawanashyaka*, Gaspard Gahigi, turned out to be most harmful as head of a radio station. On the eve of the genocide *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTL)* was the only private station authorised in Rwanda. It was the extremists' answer to the Arusha negotiations, which seemed about to end in agreement. It was known that this would probably mean the national *Radio Rwanda*, previously dominated by Hutus, had to be shared with the opposition. In a country where 90% of the population lives outside cities and are mostly illiterate, the Hutus were anxious not to lose their grip on the essential propaganda weapon that radio provides and decided to set up their own station. Backing for *RTL* came from the highest level: some of the money was contributed by the family of the president's wife, Agathe Habyarimana, and from Félicien Kabuga, a businessman whose daughter had married Jean-Pierre Habyarimana, the president's son. Ferdinand Nahimana, a historian who did his PhD in Paris on the Hutu kingdoms of northern Rwanda, became the new station's programmes director. He had been head of the government information office before being sacked in March 1992 for using *Radio Rwanda* to call for the killing of Tutsis in Bugesera (at least 300 people died in the massacre).

*RTL*'s presenters were hired from among the Hutu Power movement's most militant activists. They were also qualified and experienced journalists. They included Valérie Bémériki ("the heart of the radio", "anti-Tutsi by birth" and with "the venom of a viper", according to colleagues), Kantano Habimana (already a well-known reporter who trained in the prestigious school of journalism in Saint Petersburg) and Georges Ruggiu (a Belgian who had espoused the Hutu cause and urged listeners to murder Belgian UN soldiers).

At about 8pm on 6 April 1994, the plane in which Juvénal Habyarimana and Burundian president Cyprien Ntaryamira were travelling was shot down as it was about to land at Kigali airport. *RTL* put out the story straight away, blaming the FPR, whereas *Radio Rwanda* only broadcast the news the next morning.

Soldiers and militia with a radio in one hand and a machete in the other started building barricades all over the capital, and the massacres began. Day after day, from April to July, *RTL* encouraged, guided and motivated the government troops and the Interahamwe in their bloody task, even giving addresses where people were thought to be hiding, including several journalists. Never before had the media played such a crucial role in preparing and carrying out a massacre.

When the FPR shelled and partly destroyed *RTL*'s installations on 17 April, the "journalists" had no scruples about helping themselves to equipment belonging to the national radio,

which had by then been taken over by the army, in order to resume broadcasts. *RTLM* also appropriated a mobile transmitter which allowed them to beat a retreat on 3 July, shortly before the FPR took Kigali. The station set up shop first at Butare, then at Gisenyi. Around 7 July programmes director Ferdinand Nahimana gave in to a request by a French officer and asked *RTLM* presenters to stop calling for the murder of members of the UN mission - but the Tutsis did not have the same luck.

On 16 or 17 July *RTLM* is believed to have made its last broadcasts from Gisenyi before moving to Goma, Zaire. The station no longer restricted itself to inciting to murder; it also urged Rwandans to flee before the arrival of the FPR, thus contributing to one of the biggest and most deadly population movements in recent history.

The station's equipment was obviously in safe hands somewhere, although opinions varied as to exactly where: a French military source said the Zaireans had taken it over, while Gaspard Gahigi claimed it was hidden in the refugee camps. For a few weeks the former national radio, *Radio Rwanda* in exile, took over from *RTLM*, adopting the same extremist tone. Then everything went quiet.

*Radio-Télé La Mort*, as *RTLM* has been dubbed, is the subject of much debate. Why did the Zairean authorities allow the station's bosses to move freely around their country? How come *RTLM* was able to broadcast for a time from the safe area occupied by French soldiers taking part in the humanitarian intervention Operation Turquoise? Why did no-one bother to stop and question people with radio equipment? Soldiers in the field claimed they had tried unsuccessfully to jam the broadcasts. But diplomatic sources in New York and Washington said it would have been technically possible to find and destroy or silence the mobile transmitter. "We are surprised that France did not regard this as a priority", one source said. French defence minister François Léotard retorted that jamming broadcasts and destroying transmitters were not part of France's mandate from the United Nations. Yet at the same time, the United Nations was issuing reports denouncing *RTLM*'s evil motives.

The victims of the war, genocide and political killings included at least 48 journalists. It is estimated that half the profession was wiped out in less than three months. Marie-Goretti Uwibambe, a journalist with *La Relève* and Kigali correspondent for the French news agency *AFP*, was one of the lucky ones: she was able to return home after five months. "I was going to be killed because I was a friend of prime minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana", she said. "It was my neck that saved me. The Interahamwe said I had a Hutu's neck, which is shorter than that of the Tutsis. Then a young militiaman I had helped when he was a street kid took us to my in-laws' village."

The fighting stopped in July and efforts were made to revive the press in Kigali. Paradoxically, in this ruined country where everything is in short supply, it is often news that people seek out first. The need to know and understand what is going on is of prime importance. What was left of the national radio was in the hands of the new government. Reporters Sans Frontières contributed to the re-establishment of printing works and helped a few journalists who had escaped the massacres to relaunch newspapers published before the war, such as *Kinyamateka*, *L'Ere de Liberté*, *Le Flambeau*, *Le Messenger*, *Le Tribun du Peuple*, *Nyabarongo* and *Rwanda Rushya*, or to start new ones, like *Imboni*, *Le Moniteur* and *Libération*.

Information minister Jean-Baptiste Nkuliyingoma said: "The journalists who were killed during the genocide and the war were very brave and defended democracy. We must pay tribute to them by introducing democracy and respecting freedom of speech in Rwanda." At the same time the press had to be made aware of the ideals of national reconciliation. The minister added that the government planned to give many young Rwandans journalistic training and to subsidise the press so that newspapers were affordable.

The government's other task is to punish journalists who worked for the extremists. Only one is behind bars at the moment: Joël Hakizimana, former editor of *Kangura* and a *Radio Rwanda* presenter, has even been chosen by his fellow prisoners as a sort of administrative leader. The other worst offenders are still at large, some of them working outside Rwanda.

In fact, since September there has been a disturbing resurgence of activity by extremist journalists living in exile in the refugee camps of Goma and Bukavu, Zaire, and in Nairobi, Kenya. The leading presenters of *RTLM*, *Radio Rwanda* in exile and journalists with several "hate newspapers" such as *Interahamwe*, *Kangura* and *La Médaille* have got together to form the Association of Rwandan Journalists in Exile (AJRE), chaired by Jean-Baptiste Hategekimana. The association's statutes were given to the justice ministry on 1 October and a month later an official request for authorisation was submitted to the governor of the Nord-Kivu region. The same journalists who openly incited the army to massacre from April to July are restarting their propaganda newspapers, barely bothering to hide their sympathies, and nothing is being done to stop them.

Hassan Ngeze, travelling frequently between Nairobi and Goma, managed to publish five issues of *Kangura* between September and December in which he announced the impending return of refugees to Kigali - if necessary by force. Former *RTLM* boss Gaspard Gahigi launched the AJRE's newsletter, *Amizero*, in Goma in early November. Contributors include Valérie Bémériki and Kantano Habimana of *RTLM* and Thacien Hahozayezu of *Interahamwe*. The photocopied newsletter is distributed in the camps by a well-organised network of militants. *La Voix du Réfugié Rwandais*, run by an anonymous group of refugees, contains systematic disinformation and maintains an atmosphere of general suspicion.

Whether they are now in Nairobi, Kinshasa, Yaoundé or Paris, those responsible for the genocide seem to have little to fear from the courts in Rwanda - and even less from the international court slowly being set up by the United Nations.

### **Murders and disappearances**

At least 48 journalists were killed between 6 April and mid-July. It is hard to determine exactly which were killed because of their ethnic origin (half the victims were Tutsis), their political activities (most belonged to opposition parties) or their work as journalists. What can be said is that most died in the early days of the massacre, as if the authorities wanted to silence any voices that might be raised against *RTLM* propaganda. Journalists killed while covering the fighting are also mentioned below. Those who died for other reasons, such as those who contracted cholera in the Goma refugee camp, are not listed.

Obed Bazimaziki of *Le Flambeau* was murdered near his home in Nyakabanda on 11 April 1994, along with Charles Bideri-Munyangabe of *Le Messenger-Intermwa*. Obed Bazimaziki had already been beaten by soldiers and detained several times in 1991. Prisca Burasa of *Le Partisan* was killed in the church at Nyamirambo. François Funga of *Dialogue* and Eugène Gakwaya of *Le Tribun du Peuple* are believed to have been killed by militia. The circumstances surrounding the death of Carpophore Gatera of the human rights newspaper *Kanyarwanda* remain a mystery. Aphrodice Habinez-Sibo of *Le Partisan* was apparently murdered by soldiers or militiamen at his neighbours' home in Gikondo. Augustin Habinshuti of *Umurwandashyaka* died in the shelling of Nyansa and may have taken part in the raids. Wilson Hategekimana of *Le Tribun du Peuple* was killed in Remera, Kigali, probably by the Interahamwe. Viateur Kalinda of *Radio Rwanda* was killed by the army after taking refuge at the seminary in Kabgayi, near Gitarama. Théotime Kamanayo of *Kiberinka* was murdered by the Interahamwe at his home in Mumena.

André Kameya, editor of *Rwanda Rushya* and a member of the Liberal Party, died at the hands of militia in Kigali. He had already received numerous death threats and been imprisoned several times, once because of a report on the training of militia by the Rwandan army. His wife and elder daughter were also killed. A *Rwanda Rushya* reporter, Martin Kamurase, was murdered by militia at his home in Nyamirambo. Emile Kanamugire of *La Griffé* was shot dead by the army in Kabuga. Fidèle Kanyabugoyi of *Kanyarwanda* was killed by the Interahamwe in April, at Nyanza-Kicukiro. Gratien Karambizi of *Imbaga* was murdered at his home in Kimisayara on 9 April, along with two of his children. His wife, a Hutu, and another child were left alone.

The murder of Charles Karinganire of *Le Flambeau* were described by his brother: "Charles and I were in the house at Kiyovu, Kigali. On 24 April soldiers and Interahamwe came to the house. They took Charles and killed him with machetes and knives, in front of my eyes." Marcellin Kayiranga of *Kanguka* was arrested at his cousin's home in Muhima, where he thought he was safe. His corpse was thrown into the latrines. Sixbert Mbuguje of *Imbaga* was killed by militia after being denounced by his neighbours. Félix Mbunda of *TV Rwanda* is thought to have been murdered by the Interahamwe. It is not known how Joseph Mudatsikira of *Rwanda-Rushya* or Eugène Mukama of *Le Tribun du Peuple* died; the latter was probably killed at Nyanza-Kicukiro. Winifrida Mukamana of *Reba Videwo* was murdered by soldiers at Remera, near Kigali airport, on 7 April. Jeanne d'Arc Mukamusoni, a subeditor with *Le Soleil*, which is close to the opposition Social Democrat Party, was killed by militia at the Nyakabanda roadblock as she was trying to leave Kigali with her husband, Antoine Mbarushimana. The militia let him go because he was a Hutu.

Gilbert Munama of *Le Flambeau* was apparently murdered by the Interahamwe in Gikondo, Kigali, on 8 April. At around the same time Bernard Munyakazi of *L'Observateur* was killed by the same militia at Remera. Jean-Claude Munyarigoga of the state-run *Orinfor* agency was killed at his home, also by the Interahamwe. Néhémi Mureramanzi of *L'Emancipation* is thought to have been among the victims of an Interahamwe night patrol near his home in Nyamirambo. Donat Mutesa of *Kanyarwanda* was also killed by the Interahamwe, as was Sylvestre Nkubiri of *Kinyamateka*, deputy chairman of the opposition Democratic Union of the Rwandan People, on 12 April. Joël Nkundimana of *Kanyarwanda* was reportedly killed by soldiers in the Gikondo church, two days before the FPR

liberated the town. Emmanuel Nsabimana, Gikongoro correspondent of *Orinfor's* radio section, died in unknown circumstances. On 7 April Eudès Nshimiryo of *TV Rwanda* was killed at his home in Nyamirambo. Alexis Ntaganzwa of *Rafiki* was murdered at the hostel where he was staying in June.

Venant Ntawucikayenda, a national television reporter and cameraman, was killed by a rocket just outside the TV offices on 10 May. His body was filmed by a crew from *Télévision suisse romande* shortly after the explosion. Aloys Nyimbuzi of *L'Observateur* was apparently murdered at his home in Gikondo on 7 April. Octave ???? of *Rafiki* was killed by the Interahamwe in June. Tharcisse Rubwiriza, of *Orinfor's* radio section, was murdered at his home on 8 or 9 April. Jean-Baptiste Rudahangarwa of *La Relève* reportedly met his death at the Saint André high school in Nyamirambo. Jean-Claude Rugaju of *Le Tribun du Peuple* was hacked to death by the Interahamwe at his Biryogo home in May. Ignace Ruhata, editor of *Kanyarwanda* and secretary of the human rights group of the same name, was killed by a government soldier during a patrol organised by inhabitants of the Nyakabanda neighbourhood, where he lived. Emmanuel-Damien Rukondo of *Rubyiruko-Rubanda*, who was also chairman of the Association of Newspaper Owners, was murdered on 24 April: he was tied naked to a truck and driven around the Rugenge neighbourhood before being hacked to death.

Alfonse Rutsindura, editor of *Amakuruki i Batare*, was stopped by militiamen as he riding home on his motorbike in the Butare region. They killed him with machetes. His wife, children and parents were also murdered. Alfonse Rutsindura had already been arrested on 5 October 1990 and detained for six months after publishing a report on the massacre of students at Butare by the army in May 1990. Vincent Rwabukwizi, a journalist with *Kanguka* and an official of the opposition Democratic Union of the Rwandan People, was murdered by soldiers outside his home in Kigali's Nyamenango neighbourhood as he was trying to run away between 10 and 12 April. He too had previously been arrested several times.

Félicien Semusambi of *Umuranga* was apparently shot by the FPR after they took Kigali. Anastase Seruvumba of *Imbaga* was killed on 29 April. He had returned to Rwanda only three months previously after completing a course at the University Institute of Development Studies in Geneva. Vincent Shabakaka of *Kiberinka* was killed by the Interahamwe at a neighbour's home in Nyamirambo. Félix Twagiramungu, a cameraman with *Iwacu*, a Kigali research and training cooperative which published a newspaper and videocassettes, was kidnapped by the Interahamwe at the Saint André high school in Nyamirambo before being murdered.

### **Arrests, imprisonment and torture**

On 28 February Janvier Afrika escaped from prison in Rwanda and fled to Kenya. The former editor of *Umurava* had been in jail since 14 September 1992. He has been unofficially accused of revealing the existence of death squads, the armed wing of the secret organisation Network Zero, in the August and September 1992 issues of *Umurava*. A former death squad member who left after a row over money, Janvier Afrika subsequently went into journalism. As a key witness in the case against the government who had already narrowly escaped an attempt to poison him, he was helped to escape from jail a few weeks ahead of the April massacres. In August, after the fighting ended, he returned

to Rwanda and relaunched *Umurava*. However, only two issues had appeared when he began to receive threats and he went into exile again in November.

On 18 September *Radio Rwanda* reporter Dominique Makeli was arrested by the army and accused of belonging to the Hutu Power movement of the former ruling party and of attending meetings of Interahamwe. In a letter to his wife on 30 September, he admitted that he had been a member of the party but said he supported the moderates. He denied any links with the militia. Witnesses confirmed that he had only been arrested after protesting at the occupation of his house by the army. His wife has since been allowed to return to the house but Dominique Makeli is still in jail and is being refused visits. No formal charges have been brought against him.

### **Threats and harassment**

Between January and April, opposition journalists were subject to daily harassment and provocation by *RTLM* and newspapers close to the Hutu Power movement and the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic. The extremist radio station continually attacked "cockroaches" (meaning the Tutsis) and their "internal accomplices" (moderate Hutus and political opponents). At the time this was merely insulting; from 6 April it became the equivalent of a death sentence. *RTLM* and later *Radio Rwanda*, which was taken over by the army on 7 April, started giving the names and addresses of journalists to be "worked on" (in other words, eliminated).

After the fall of Kigali in early July, the FPR took control of *Radio Rwanda's* wrecked premises and moved in a new editorial team led by David Kabuye. In early August he said: "We are not starting a second *Muhabura* (the FPR radio station based in Uganda). We are aware that as the national station, we are also a public station. We plan to concentrate on providing services and education to the masses. Our purpose is to change Rwandans' way of thinking. We must advocate unity and democracy and refuse propaganda. We must be the voice of Rwanda and not the voice of an ethnic group, of one camp against another."

### **Obstacles to the international free flow of information**

Between 7 and 14 April most foreign correspondents still in Rwanda were prevented from working and forced to take refuge in the Mille Collines Hotel. Eleven of them put out a plea for help on 14 April and were rescued by the UN mission and Belgian soldiers, who arranged for them to leave the country.

Jean-Christophe Klotz, a 32-year-old cameraman with the TV agency *Capa*, was shot in the leg on 8 June when militia opened fire on a group of refugees. He was treated at the International Red Cross hospital before being evacuated.

On 23 June, as French soldiers began arriving in Rwanda for Operation Turquoise, two special correspondents from the French news agency *AFP* were taken to the Rwandan-Ugandan border by FPR officials. Reporter Annie Thomas and photographer Abdelha Senna were initially taken to Byumba, in the north of the country, where the FPR's head of information, Wilson Rutayisire, told them: "I wanted to warn you of the risk you are running. Although we do not wish

French journalists any harm, you may come up against hostile reactions in the field." The two journalists were then taken to Kabale, Uganda.

A reporter from the French daily *Libération* and a crew from the TV channel *France 2* suffered similar treatment. When questioned about it, the head of the FPR's coordination bureau in Brussels, James Rwego, said there was no veto against French journalists.

Two others, reporter Isabelle Staes of *France 2* and José Nicolas, a photographer with the *SIPA* agency, were injured when FPR forces fired at them between Gikongoro and Butare, in the south-west of the country. Isabelle Staes was shot in the foot and the chest, José Nicolas in the knee. The two journalists were taken back to Kigali and treated at the International Red Cross hospital before being flown to Paris.

### **Interventions by Reporters Sans Frontières**

At the special session of the UN Commission for Human Rights devoted to the situation in Rwanda on 25 May, Reporters Sans Frontières asked the commission to condemn *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM)* and to demand that the Rwandan authorities shut down the station immediately. The organisation also called for all *RTLM* journalists and promoters to be prosecuted, and expressed the wish to set up an independent radio station in the region.

On 10 June RSF expressed grave concern about André Sibomana, editor of *Kinyamateka* and chairman of the Association of Rwandan Journalists, who had apparently gone missing.

On 8 July RSF issued a strong protest about an attack on two French journalists in the Butare region on 4 July.

On 28 July RSF, which had been planning to launch a radio station for two months, said in a press statement that it had obtained permission from the Zairean government to broadcast in the Lake Kivu region.

On 5 August RSF announced the start of broadcasts by *Radio Gatashya Goma* to provide news and information for Rwandan refugees in the Nord-Kivu region. The next day the organisation's second station, *Radio Agatashya Bukavu*, began broadcasting in the Sud-Kivu region.

On 8 August RSF announced that it had lodged a complaint against Agathe Habyarimana, Séraphin Rwabukumba, Protais Zigiranyirazo and Ferdinand Nahimana for "genocide, serious infractions of the Geneva Conventions, crimes against humanity, torture, and apologies for war crimes and crimes against humanity" because of their involvement in *RTLM*. RSF also asked the UN Security Council to adopt a resolution obliging member states to prevent broadcasts by *RTLM* and *Radio Rutomorangingo*, a Hutu extremist station covering Burundi from southern Rwanda.

On 7 September RSF handed documents in its possession concerning the responsibility of journalists and the media in preparing and organising genocide in Rwanda to the chairman of the special committee of the UN Security Council set up to investigate the massacres.

On 5 December RSF announced that the annual RSF-Fondation de France award would go to André Sibomana, editor of *Kinyamateka*, to mark International Human Rights Day on 10 December.

On 7 December, RSF expressed concern for Dominique Makeli, a former *Radio Rwanda* journalist imprisoned without charge in Rilima, and called for an inquiry.

On 8 December RSF asked the 15 members of the UN Security Council to adopt a resolution calling on member states, and especially Kenya and Zaire, to take all necessary steps to have the Association of Rwandan Journalists in Exile banned, as well as the extremist newspapers *Amizero* and *Kangura*, which had resumed publication in Goma, Zaire, and Nairobi, Kenya.

On 21 December RSF asked UNESCO secretary-general Federico Mayor to draw the attention of Zaire's representative to the dangers of extremist Rwandan journalists resuming their work in the Goma and Bukavu refugee camps.