

## MEMORANDUM TO THE TUNIS CONFERENCE ON THE GREAT LAKES REGION ( 3-5 March 1996)

1. The people of Rwanda are victims of two extremisms, hutu and tutsi, started off by the war of October 1990 that towered with interethnic massacres at a large scale from April to July 1994 consecutive to the assassination of the Heads of State of Rwanda and Burundi. The proportions in terms of human loss among the two main ethnic groups (without forgetting the important damage in the 3th group: twa) since October 1, 1990 to this day are certainly comparable, at least in absolute terms.

2. To favor one side is to show ignorance, consciously or not, of the Rwandan realities: it is to rekindle the fire that, moreover, has never been completely put out; it is to build on a moving sand. If it was to stand for somebody, it ought be for the people who have been attacked and now in exile.

3. The most desirable and most fair and so the most constructive solution would be to:

- Circle the responsible of the murders of the two sides and condemn them together; Determine the level of responsibility to bring before the International Tribunal on Rwanda and so enforce the --international law by punishing those crimes;
- Liberate all the prisoners who do not belong to this category, especially because most of them are detained because of their ethnic origin or their properties grabbed by the newcomers;
- The liberation of those innocent people would create one of the conditions (number 13 below) favourable to the voluntary and peaceful return of refugees, and a just and durable peace to Rwanda. To make prisoners appear before jurors who, directly or indirectly, occupy their properties would be a grotesque joke, just like that so-called integration of forces repeatedly announced in Kigali. We, instead, launch a SOS in favour of those miserables, without defense, so as to invite the International Community to come in their rescue in time.

4. It is important to keep in mind, whatever is said, that the one responsible for the April-July 1994 tragedy was the person who attacked Rwanda on October 1, 1990 and who additionally assassinated Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira, six months after the assassination of President Melchoir Ndadaye, all the hutu Heads of State killed after hundreds of thousands of other hutus and tutsis from different social backgrounds. The killer has to be found and be punished with other killers who imitated him.

The war of October 1990 is the origin of this disaster. It would be to lie to deny this obviousness. Therefore, it's important to integrate that factor in search of the satisfactory and durable solution of the Rwandese crisis.

5. It is unjust to wish to submit the Rwandan people to a system that doesn't represent them, but, which, wants to subjugate them for ever. The regime wants only a

subjected population:reason why this regime doesn't want the repatriation of neither the educated people nor the Army,and doesn't accept dialogue with representatives of the people.The International Community has to guess the consequences of such an unconstructive attitude.

- 6.The behavior motive and the unavowed schemes of the government in Kigali, are, on one hand, the fear of the democratic sweeping and,on the other hand,the certainty of losing squatted properties by newcomers if these properties were to go back to the rightful owners.
- 7.The regime does only want,at a pinch, the peasants and others voicelesses to come back to Rwanda. These are people who will not dare to have any political nor economic claims. It is during my stay in the country from July 29,1994 to November 10,1995 that I was able to realize these state of mind of the FPR falcons. It is only for this reason that almost all the hutu intellectuals or owners of large properties are labelled "genocide people", the continual update of the lists in Kigali is a sufficient proof.
- 8.It is not justice to only listen to the propaganda of FPR: one-who listens to one bell, only hears one sound. The war in Rwanda that was the origin of this tragedy of April 1994 started off in October 1,1990: it is not limited to the bloodiest period between April and July 1994. The establishment of responsibilities of this drama ought also take into consideration this verified fact.
- 9.All those, of good will, who wish to help Rwanda come out of its disaster and get back the peace so as to work towards reconciliation of its people ought make an effort to know the bottom of the Rwandan problem in all its complexity.

It is,in fact,a politico-ethnic problem: two ethnic groups are fighting for centuries for power, the war in October 1990 that reached its highest point in the assassination of the Rwandan Head of State and the blood bath that followed is only a phase of this secular war. Those who preach that there is not ethnic problem are manipulators that have the aim of minimizing the existence of the majority (hutu) and the minorities (tutsi and twa). The minority tutsi, supported by its propaganda people all over the world, wants to be alone in holding the power in pretending to ignore that problem,while at the same time maintaining the differences for attributing posts and privileges. Those who wish to be involved in the Rwanda file would have advantage to go to the field so as to realize this. The speech that Kigali gives out is completely false and it is not understood by our naive and misinformed observers.If there are no ethnic conflicts,how does one explain that only Tutsi were refugees before and now only Hutus are refugees?

If human groups, after staying alongside each other, manage to speak one language and to share some customs, this does not suppress their individual identity. If this is the case, the Americans and South Africans will one day become one race and all emigrants throughout the world ought change race or ethnic after along stay.The important thing is to live in harmony:it's not yet the case of Rwanda.

- 10.There are thus in Rwanda, two main ethnic groups which are fighting for a long time for the power :all the problem is here.That problem ought to give rise to a real

debate. Unfortunately, those who don't want to share are trying very hard to shun that debate in denying the evidence. Without that debate, without the dialogue between different political forces, after the peaceful and safe return of the refugees, we shall stay on cul-de-sac and the situation will worsen.

My conviction is that the distinct groups, hutu tutsi and twa, of Rwanda, have a legal right to live in their country, neither one of the three communities is more Rwandan than the others, that their interest lies in the mutual acceptance for peaceful and complementary co-existence.

11. They will arrive at this conviviality in appreciating, as a primordial and unavoidable condition for peace and stability, the °universal principles of democracy that indicates that ruling power must be given through the ballot-boxes. This will be the solution of the problem cited above. It is within this context that we, the people of Rwanda, need assistance and encouragement. It is neither the recognition of the accomplished act that is the power of the minority of FPR, nor the forced repatriation of the refugees that will bring peace to Rwanda.

12. To ensure a normal life for the majority as well as the minorities, it seems preferable to opt for democracy rather than give power to a minority, even though armed to the brim. It is futile to camouflage pertinent truths only to painfully admit them later.

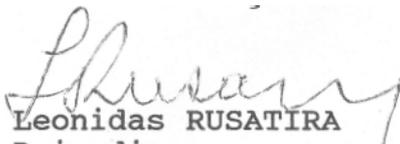
13. The International Community should be well inspired to establish a measure for:

- Liberate the thousands of innocent prisoners;
- Integrate the armed forces ( FAR and APR) according to the percentages of the population or, at least, in accordance to the Arusha Accord;
- Repatriate the refugees in dignity and security ;
- Establish a transitional government representative of the population based on the political forces of FPR and of the population in country as well as the refugees;
- Set up general elections so as to get a political majority to rule the country.

14.If all these reconciliation formulas proposed,in particular, in the present memorandum to give Rwanda a just and durable peace met insuperable obstacles, a form of decentralized, federal administration would be set up. This would give each ethnic group their territorial zone according to their numeric importance with an internal autonomy under

the control of a central government representative of all the population which is responsible for all the country.

15.My thought was to propose a way that would seem natural to create hope of seeing the people of Rwanda finally come out of their nightmare.

  
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Brigadier

26/2/1996