



Imishyikirano-huriro NyaRwanda • Dialogue Inter-Rwandais • InterRwandan Dialogue

IMISHYIKIRANO-HURIRO NYARWANDA
DIALOGUE INTER RWANDAIS HAUTEMENT INCLUSIF
(DIRHI)
HIGHLY INCLUSIVE INTER RWANDAN DIALOGUE
(HIIRD)

DRC- MAPPING EXERCISE REPORT:

OPEN LETTER TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL BAN KI-MOON



POST BUS 2847, 6030 AC NEDERWEERT – NEDERLAND
TEL.: 0031-630897180 E-MAIL : dirhi2010@yahoo.fr, info@rwandadialogue.org
WEBSITE : www.rwandadialogue.org, www.veritasrwandaforum.org



International Network for Truth and Reconciliation in Central Africa
Réseau International pour la Vérité et la Réconciliation en Afrique Centrale



RWANDA

Brussels September 28, 2010

OPEN LETTER TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL BAN KI-MOON

Subject:

***Report of the Mapping Exercise documenting the most serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law committed within the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo between March 1993 and June 2003;
Due officially out OCTOBER 1, 2010***

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

1. October 1, 2010 will mark 20 years since the Rwandan Patriotic Front invaded Rwanda and set in motion a horrifically tragic war that is still ongoing in Rwanda to this day, and has spilled into neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo with cataclysmic consequences: more than 5 million innocent people dead.
2. The Report of the Mapping Exercise on crimes in DRC from 1993 to 2003 due out October 1, 2010 carries for millions of Rwandans as well as millions of Congolese, almost the effect of divine intervention, because many people had lost all hope after waiting 20 long years for elusive justice.
3. On behalf of Hotel Rwanda Rusesabagina Foundation and of Dialogue Inter-Rwandais Hautement Inclusif (DIRHI), and in memory of all innocent Rwandans from the three ethnic groups of Hutus, Tutsis, and Twas, of all innocent Burundian, Congolese, Belgian, Canadian, French, Spanish and other nationals who died in Rwanda and the Great Lakes Region of Africa because of this senseless war, I want to thank your Excellency for your wisdom to mandate the inquiry into these crimes, applaud Ms. Navanethem Pillay, UN Commissioner for Human Rights, for her wisdom, remarkable courage and humanity to manage and see the inquiry through, and commend the field experts for their outstanding professionalism in gathering all facts and bringing to light the horrors of man's inhumanity against man during this dark period. I thank you all for defending human life, our precious gift from God. I can assure you that throughout Rwanda and across the globe among Rwandan refugees, there has been a collective sigh of relief that this report finally puts an end to a long and bleak period of impunity while also clearing the dense fog out of the path to the future for future generations of Rwandans. At last, we feel that equitable justice that was long denied has finally been served, that truth that was long buried has finally triumphed, and the Rwandan people can begin the painful process of reconciliation in serenity.
4. The intrinsic value of this report is immeasurably huge. It does not just restore hope for Rwandans and Congolese, it gives a certain measure of credibility and respect back to the UN





which needs to be a world institution that has teeth and cannot be bullied around and toyed with by tyrants and dictators. Thanks to this report, we now can begin to dream big that a new era of global accountability has arrived, and our intimate hope is that this dream will not be crushed by bitter disappointment.

5. This new era of accountability must start with first things first: we all know that from October 1, 1990 to today, one bad mistake has led to another multiple times over. If the invasion of Rwanda on October 1, 1990 had been dealt with as the gross humanitarian crime that it was, the 1994 Rwandan genocide would not have happened, nor would the tragedy in DRC. Putting it more squarely, the RPF rebel movement and its leaders including General Paul Kagame, were more and more emboldened to continue on a violent path until, over a period of 20 years, they transformed criminal activity and state terrorism into a lucrative industry, satisfied that their previous infractions went unpunished.
6. What this means is that as far-reaching and significant as this Mapping Exercise report is, it will not achieve a true sense of complete justice and vindication if crimes committed outside of (prior to and after) the period of inquiry by the same RPF army and leadership are left unaccounted for. There were gruesome crimes committed before and after 1993 in Rwanda, and after 2003 both in Rwanda and DRC. In other words, Rwanda needs a UN Mapping Exercise report of its own: out of the official figure for 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus killed during the genocide, we need to know how many were Hutus and how many were Tutsis, as both warring sides engaged in large scale massacres; we need to find out what was the fate of our brothers and sisters from the Twa ethnic group during the genocide; the time has arrived to take a closer look at the objectivity and scientific value of Christian Davenport and Allan C. Stam's independent findings of "What really happened in Rwanda" and many like-minded researchers and historians (http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/East_Africa/Rwanda_WhatReallyHappened.html). Not conducting such neutral inquiries will continue to have severely adverse effects on the psyche and healing process of a whole nation where 85% are Hutus and 14% Tutsis.
7. What this also implies is that the long-shelved UN mandated reports by Robert Gersony, Roberto Garreton, Michael Hourrigan, and other experts must receive proper legal and judicial follow-up. It would be a tragic ending and a terrible waste of UN funds if this UN Mapping Exercise report were altered, gutted, or otherwise met the same fate as those other reports from earlier inquiries. Once this report is officially out, we expect the wheels of international justice to start moving. But above all else, the most fundamental implication of this report is that our world organization, the UN, should and must deeply re-examine its own line of often contradictory policies that have seriously dented its credibility and raison d'être, with catastrophic consequences. When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the invasion was overturned, but when the RPF invaded Rwanda, and Rwanda later invaded DRC, these invasions were allowed to stand. Similarly, if it's not OK for pirates to attack and pillage ships off the Somali coast, then it's equally not OK for President Kagame to send his army to pillage resources in the DRC. Pre-eminence should be given to the golden rule of diplomatic engagement and peaceful resolution of conflicts as enshrined in the UN Charter and so dear to current U.S. President Barack Obama. The world needs to be reminded that Kagame's RPF army invaded Rwanda on October 1, 1990 on claims that Tutsi refugees' issues had been neglected at a time when negotiations were far advanced between Rwanda, Uganda, the UN and Tutsi refugees representatives and neared a peaceful settlement. If that approach had been given a chance, we would not be talking about more than 5 million people killed in the DRC conflict today.
8. In a troubling way, these repeated contradictions appear to be underpinned by an apparent practice of selective justice and double standards. If former Liberian President Charles Taylor is incarcerated for crimes of war, including trading in blood diamonds, and Sudanese President Bashir is a pariah due to suspicions of genocide crimes, then something is wrong when





President Kagame, who is under similar suspicions as both Taylor and Bashir, is regularly feted at international functions and bestowed with numerous distinction awards. In 2009 alone, he was the recipient of many international awards; only less than a year after a UN Expert Report out in December 2008 blamed him for recruiting child soldiers in DRC, funding and arming the CNDP rebel army of renegade General Laurent Nkunda, and accused his army of massive rapes of girls and women. Something is terribly wrong when the UN contradicts itself in **Resolution 955 of November 8, 1994** where it has granted the ICTR (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda) full authority to prosecute all crimes committed from January 1, 1994 to December 31, 1994 and yet has excluded from prosecutorial process the April 6, 1994 shooting down of President Juvenal Habyarimana's aircraft - the one single incident that everyone agrees ignited the Rwandan genocide.

9. Allowing President Kagame to shine among world leaders follows in the same line of contradictions by the international community. To date, only Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero has refused to shake hands with this suspected criminal. It is beyond comprehension how Kagame is allowed to chair the UN Millennium Development Goals project with the kind of criminal allegations weighing against him. This is quickly becoming an interesting case of unprecedented character laundering, where a President facing these kinds of accusations is assigned lofty roles, showered with royal trappings including red carpet receptions, caviar meals and chandelier galas, all in an obvious attempt to shield him from prosecution. A majority of Rwandans are none too impressed by such a spectacle which is a flagrant perpetuation of impunity.
10. Two major controversies have erupted to the fore in the wake of this report. The first is whether some of the crimes committed by President Kagame's RPF army in the DRC do amount to genocide. Wikipedia defines "genocide" as *"the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group"*. Article 2 of the **1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of genocide (CPPCG)** provides a more legal definition of genocide as *"any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group"*. By either definition and from available evidence of what happened inside Rwanda starting October 1, 1990 and in the refugee camps in Zaire, an overwhelming majority of Rwandans have no doubt whatsoever that the RPF army committed the crime of genocide against the Hutu ethnic group. Hutu populations in the provinces of Byumba and Ruhengeri to the North, and of Kibungo to the east were decimated by the RPF army through ethnic cleansing operations primarily targeting male members, including young children. Upwards of 80% of all Hutu women in these areas have been rendered widows. That's why Rwanda truly needs its own UN Mapping Exercise report. There are many harrowing inside stories and eye witness accounts of people who trekked unimaginable distances on foot inside Rwanda and the entire Zairian territory ahead of an advancing RPF army, each time hoping to run as far away from the killing army as possible, only to be overtaken and mercilessly butchered, gunned down, or drowned in Kisangani, Tingi Tingi and other places, or Mbandaka in Western Zaire, simply because they were Hutus. Kagame can dismiss the allegations against him all he wants, but facts are stubborn things.
11. The second controversy surrounds President Kagame's threat to pull his army from UN Peace Keeping operations in Darfur if the Mapping Exercise report is not watered down to remove any suggestion of genocide by the RPF army. This is typical brinkmanship tactics Kagame has used throughout the conflict. But in a twist of irony, the threat unmasks Kagame as a selfish and cold-hearted hypocrite who couldn't care less about peace and does not give a damn (to use his own expression) about peace-keeping operations. If President Kagame had some humanity in him





and genuinely cared about peace, why should he make the people of Sudan suffer by withdrawing his army simply because of his legal problems, which they have nothing to do with? In April 1994, then rebel leader General Kagame dispatched his aides Claude Dusaidi and Charles Muligande to New York and Washington at the height of the killings to request the UN to stop its military intervention in Rwanda (<http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=18540>). But it's funny today, except it's tragic, how he blames the UN for not intervening in Rwanda to stop the genocide when he knows he's the one who told them to stay away. The cold-hearted man, who couldn't care about peace for his own people, certainly will not care about peace for the Sudanese, especially when his hold on power seems in peril. It would be deeply unsettling if the UN in one way or another caved in to the blackmail gambit of this President who is over-taken by his inglorious past.

12. The combativeness with which President Kagame is fighting the allegations against him makes one think he has something to hide, knows he's guilty, and is scared. If he had a clear conscience, had nothing to fear and really believed in his innocence, he would welcome his day in court as a chance to exculpate himself. This is the same man who has ferociously resisted the idea of an international independent inquiry into the assassination of his predecessor, President Juvenal Habyarimana, on April 6, 1994, preferring to insist that Habyarimana was killed by Hutu extremists from within his inner circle. But if he really believes in his innocence, why hasn't he agreed to such an inquiry which Hutus in the opposing camp have requested repeatedly - if only to clear his name from any suspicion?
13. In final analysis, the UN report of the Mapping Exercise is in many respects a vibrant and transcendent testimony to, and vivid reminder of, the cohesiveness and enduring spirit of mankind in the face of evil. Its over-arching message, which will reverberate for many years in the halls of power across the globe, is that so much blood in the Great Lakes region of Africa could not have been spilled in vain, and no matter how very cunning and entrenched evil may seem to be sometimes, even after 20 years of evidence destruction, intensive lobbying, evasions and stone-walling, truth and justice will always triumph. Whether it's the army that engaged in the extermination or those on the receiving end, those who made the painstaking gathering of evidence, risked their lives or endured threats during the inquiry process, the executives who made the tough decisions, the authorities who will meticulously adjudicate the final legal dispositions of this report, or the rest of humanity who welcome the report, we all feel a collective sense of finality that justice has finally arrived, and both Rwanda and the DRC will move forward in serenity and "build a better future where impunity has no place", to quote Ms. Navanethem Pillay. It is entirely possible that during military operations "Umoja Wetu", "Kimia I" and "Kimia II" in DRC, RPF criminals were able to return to their previous crime scenes and had a chance to dispose of all incriminating evidence, namely through the un-earthing and burning of bodies from mass graves. No matter. Crime of this scale and magnitude couldn't be altogether concealed, and ultimately truth is prevailing. But one thing and one thing only, will help make the entire Great Lakes region of Africa become whole again: the UN must ensure that the same crime meets the same punishment regardless of the suspects, whether it's in 1993 or 2003, or any time before, in between, or after.

Peace to Rwanda, the DRC, the Great Lakes region of Africa, and the world.
Paul Rusesabagina





President of the Coordination committee – DIRHI Initiative

CC:

Barack Obama, U.S. President
Mr Herman Van Rompuy , Président de l'Union Européenne
Jean Ping, African Union President
Pope Benedict XVI, Rome
Archbishop Rowan Williams of Canterbury, London
Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France
David Cameron, U.K. Prime Minister
José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, Prime Minister of Spain
Steven harper, Prime Minister of Canada
U.N. Permanent Security Council Members (all)
Hillary Clinton, U.S. Secretary of State
Ms. Navanethem Pillay, UN Commissioner for Human Rights
The Secretary General, East African Community Secretariat,
Nancy Pelosi, Speaker, U.S. Congress
Harry Reid, Majority Leader, U.S. Senate
Secretary General Salil Shetty, Amnesty International
Executive Director Kenneth Roth, Human Rights Watch
Executive Director Maja Daruwala, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative
President and CEO Louise Arbour, International Crisis Group
Media Outlets

