
Nkiko Nsejimana

What can be done to transform Rwanda

Mr. Nsejimana is a member of the organization "Rwanda Pour Tous" (Rwanda For All). His speech has been translated from French and subheads have been added. He spoke on April 26.

My name is Nkiko Nsejimana; I am a member of "Rwanda Pour Tous," and I live in Switzerland. My intervention is based on three points: reform of the economic system; what form of government Rwanda should have, together with my organization's proposals; and the crimes against humanity being committed in this region.

We have just heard that there is a real opening from the Clinton government, and we would like to see some concrete gestures from that quarter, gestures which are easy to make, whose only price is a certain solidarity. As for reform of the international economic system, it seems to me that, today, 50 years after the Second World War, the economic cycle underlying the development boom in Europe has now come to an end. That cycle has lost all impetus, and must be reformed.

We should shift from a system based on, as Mrs. LaRouche put it, a "casino economy"—like derivatives—to a truly productive economy based on human creativity, and all the transformations that machine tools allow for. We are the ones who must act to bring about this reform, because we have been the main victims, and the Marshall Plan, which provided the economic upswing in Europe, never made it to our African countries.

Of course, we have to know which image of man we defend, what society we want to build, and what kind of world we wish to shape. This is basic to any attempt to redefine an international economic system. We need an ideal that we will promote in spite of all opposition. We also need projects, infrastructure projects of regional and continental scope, that we can propose to the rest of the world, as our projects for Africa. And then we can ask the Clinton administration to help us to work together, we who are dispersed throughout the world, and undoubtedly have some ideas about what to do.

I do have one small reservation. I am enthusiastic about reforming the economic system, but I am frightened by popular opinion which will not act to prevent a catastrophe. It is when the catastrophe is beginning to take place that it can be stopped. Africans have already experienced the catastrophe, but they carry no weight. I am afraid we will have to wait a

bit, until a small European or American catastrophe occurs, before the initiative we are asking the Clinton administration to take in re-creating a new international system, can actually come about. So much for the question of reforming the international system.

Investigate the authors of genocide

I would also like to ask for concrete actions on two other issues. Since 1990, Rwanda has been at war. During that time, over 100,000 Rwandans died before April 1994, most of them killed by the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front]. Even more important, after April 1994, there was genocide against Tutsis, wiping out more than 600,000 of them. There have been investigations on this, and those responsible must answer for their acts. No one can deny this reality. On the other hand, since that same date, in the zone controlled by one of the warring parties—in the region of Biumba—over April, May and June, the RPF systematically killed more than 400,000 inhabitants of Biumba. After the takeover in July 1994, in the death camps in Mutara, Butare, Gitarama, and Kigali, people were found who had been murdered by the ruling RPF government. We all know about the massacres in Kibeho in April 1994, those in Kaname in November 1995, and, since October 1996, in the refugee camps in Zaire, where, in the most cynical genocide, over 500,000 people have died or disappeared.

Just recently in Rwanda, on March 2, at a police station in Kigombe, I believe, more than 300 persons were killed by the RPF army. I think that if the United States really wants to help us build a new world, they should demand an exhaustive, independent investigation into this genocide as well, and that we find out who the authors of it are.

A second aspect that I would like the Clinton administration to help us with, concerns the form of government. We know that reforms were undertaken after the Second World War on two important levels. I have already mentioned the Marshall Plan, but there was also a movement for democratizing Europe, after it had fallen to fascism. If we want to build an international monetary system based on the nation-state, we have to ask ourselves what nation-state and what system? We believe a democratic system is what we need. Within a democratic system, with a great diversity of opinions, we can ward off segregationism and develop our countries economically.

Our association, "Rwanda Pour Tous," has identified and proposed six essential points for this government:

1. Recognizing the inalienable rights of the human person.
2. A far more consensual democracy, which somewhat takes up our traditional approach of *abachacha*, where we learn to take decisions together. That means involving the main political factions in the administration of the country.
3. Bicameralism: In this system, a lower chamber could reflect the popular vote—one man, one vote—and an upper chamber could be based on an attempt at ethnic and regional cohesion.

4. Decentralization: Decrease central power, because when that is too strong, people quickly fall into servitude. So we need more decentralization, more local power, and a greater role for non-politicians in political life.

5. Regional integration: This can help us to build toward a new international monetary system, in which Rwanda and other countries in the region, forming a larger economic entity, can really develop infrastructure and attain strong productive development. We also think that regional integration will help us to solve our big, and small, ethnic problems.

6. Demilitarization: We have seen what catastrophes our armies have created. Since 1990, and still today, we think that a demilitarized Rwanda, together with other such countries of the sub-region, could truly make progress toward peace, leave more financial means for economic development, and prevent any one group from getting a base of power or exerting violence against another group.

These are the basic points for which my association is fighting, and on which we would like President Clinton to urgently take a position, so that Rwanda may finally have a democratic government, with all factions represented, that will give the population greater opportunities and more trust, allow them to strive toward national reconciliation, and lead to justice.

François Nzabahimana

World community did nothing for Rwanda

Mr. Nzabahimana is president of the Rally for the Return of Democracy and Refugees (RDR), and former Rwandan trade minister. He spoke on April 26, and his speech is translated from the French. Subheads have been added.

I will restrict myself to mentioning some facts showing the role of the international community in the crisis and war in the Great Lakes region. I do not want to go into the details which you know better than I do, especially since some of Museveni's ex-friends here know the ins and outs of the situation, and our Burundian friends will complete the picture. In your folder, you have a memo written by Karoli, who sent it from Nairobi because he, unfortunately, could not come himself. We were supposed to present it together; it is the basis of my presentation.

But, first, I would like to read you a letter we received from Bukavu, which relates what happened a few days ago:

“His name is Marc Kasindu: This militarily trained Tutsi played and continues to play a big role in the genocide of Hutu refugees in eastern Zaire, and enjoys considerable support from the HCR [UN High Commission for Refugees], who gives him a frequency band on the HCR communications network, a jeep with the HCR emblem, regular supplies of gasoline, and a monthly salary. Officially, Marc Kasindu is the intermediary between the Democratic Forces Alliance for the Liberation of the Congo and UN agencies and other NGOs [non-governmental organizations]. His job is to identify those places where refugees are to be found, and inform the HCR, who then deploys the NGOs to take care of sending them back home.

“Unfortunately, this man is concretely helping the Tutsi rebels by informing them each time of the precise spot where there are refugees, which they then go to and massacre the refugees. Worse, Marc Kasindu, sitting in his HCR vehicle accompanied by Tutsi soldiers, scours the bush areas where the refugees are hiding, and when they see the HCR sign, the refugees approach. Kasindu takes advantage of that to radio where they are. Then the rebels come and butcher them.”

I could continue this report, which arrived this week from Bukavu and shows the involvement of international organizations in the ongoing massacres in Zaire. We cannot talk about the British Empire, or the role of the United States, without mentioning the reality on the ground.

In October, when the RPF attacked Bukavu and then the camps, I was in Zaire, and we clearly stated where the refugees were. There was a runaround over the number of refugees. Nominally, 750,000 refugees were dispersed in the forests and hills along the road. At the time, two missions were under way: There was an American mission taking aerial photographs to identify the whereabouts of the refugees, and the British mission. Canberra took the photographs and sent them off to Kigali. Members of the British Canberra mission visited some African countries and met with foreign ministers whom I personally saw later. They were confused, and told me: “You people in the RDR say there are still refugees, but members of the mission that flew over the area say there are none left there.” This was in October 1996, at the beginning of the war. So there was a definite aim to isolate and starve people. President Carter was very clear on this, when he visited the camps in Djibumba in 1995: “We have to find a way to separate the refugees. The good ones will go home, and the others should stay here because they have committed crimes. We will figure out how to solve that problem at a later date.”

For us, there is clearly international complicity in what is happening today in Zaire, in the crimes being committed. The first accomplice is the HCR, on the ground, which knew about the attack and which, from the very beginning, was giving computer data about the refugees to the military regime in Kigali. You know, in order to get food rations, the refugees must give their identity—their name, where they are living in the camp, in which hut, which quarter, and so on. So the HCR