

#StopApartheidInRwanda



The Ibukabose-Rengerabose Foundation, Memory and Justice for All

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Manifesto against ethnic apartheid that threatens social cohesion and endangers peace and national unity in Rwanda, like never since the genocide of 1994.

April 27, 2019

A contribution to reconciliation and national unity, by promoting a common memory for all components of the Rwandan People.

Principles and objectives of the Ibukabose-Rengerabose Foundation, Memory and Justice for All:

PRINCIPLES

Equality, Truth, Reconciliation, Respect for difference in complementarity.

OBJECTIVES:

The Ibukabose-Rengerabose Foundation is a movement for equal rights and social justice in Rwanda.

Our objectives are

- To end ethnic and social discrimination*
- To promote equal rights under the law in Rwanda.*
- To fight for a fair and equal justice against all the persons responsible, for some reason, of the crime of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed against Rwandan citizens, in Rwanda and in the Democratic Republic of Congo.*
- To contribute to reconciliation and national unity, by promoting a common memory for all components of the national community.*

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, Rwanda's history has been marked by interethnic divisions, wars and massacres such as genocides, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by public actors, private actors, political and military authorities, as well as government or non-government criminal organizations using stated or hidden ethnic bases. This violence has caused the death of hundreds of thousands of Rwandan citizens.

The massacres culminated in the 1990-1994 war in which the warring parties pushed their followers to massacre their compatriots, breaking the centuries-old pact of our ancestors.

On the 6th of April 1994, the assassination of President Juvenal Habyarimana on the eve of the establishment of a new «transition government» formed via the Arusha Peace Accords (signed on the 4th of August 1993) provoked an unprecedented institutional power vacuum in Rwanda. As we know today and as the French and Spanish judicial investigations have shown, this assassination was planned and ordered by Paul Kagame, the current president of Rwanda. All United Nations reports suppressed to avoid a major crisis with the current regime in Kigali have reached the same conclusion: the Hutu presidents of Rwanda and Burundi Juvenal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira, their delegations and the three French crew members of the Rwandan presidential plane were assassinated on the orders of General Paul Kagame.

In addition, some books, published by individuals who took part in the so-called *Liberation War* of Rwanda or trusted researchers, have clearly shown that the aircraft of President Habyarimana was shot down by the RPF. In *US Made*, a former Rwandan journalist and RPF intelligence officer, under the pseudonym of J.E. Murphy¹, named four soldiers who loaded the missiles in a lorry at Mulindi, the headquarters of the RPF.² « Sergeant Moses Nsenga, Sergeant Tumushukuru, Corporal Stanley Rwamapasi and Corporal Seromba. » He also named two soldiers who fired the missiles. In *Praise of Blood*, Judi Rever, a former Canadian journalist, named a Sergeant who fired a missile that hit the aircraft. In *Le Secret d'un Genocide*, the ex-Lieutenant in the RPF, Abdul Ruzibiza, named the driver of a pickup that drove the missiles to the site. In *Healing a Nation*, Theogene Rudasingwa, who held senior portfolios- ex-Major of RPF, former ambassador in the US and ex-Secretary General of the RPF, confesses of selling to world the wrong narrative that Hutu extremists shot down the aircraft which triggered the genocide.³« Like many others in the RPF leadership, I enthusiastically sold this deceptive story line, especially to foreigners who by and large came to believe it, even when I knew that Kagame was the culprit in this crime.»

In the days and months that followed this criminal attack, thousands of Tutsi and Hutu opposition members were murdered by the thousands on suspicion of supporting the RPF responsible for the assassination of the president. A few months later, the international community was confronted with the evidence. In the territory controlled by the

¹ Jean Pierre Mugabe, journalist and former RPF intelligence officer.

² Murphy, J.E.(2015). U.S.MADE. Meadville : christian faith Publishers, p.50.

³ Rudasingwa, TH.HEALING A NATION.North Charleston: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform,p.415

government, there was genocide against the Tutsi and major massacres of Hutus belonging to the opposition.

At the same time in the RPF-controlled areas, Paul Kagame's troops were engaged in genocidal killings of ethnic Hutus. The RPF rebel movement convened trap meetings purported to raise awareness and distribute aid. The Hutu peasants, starving from four years of war, came naively believing in the purpose of the meetings, and once gathered in a stadiums or valleys as happened during the infamous massacre of Rwasave marsh in Butare, the RPF soldiers positioned around the place prior to the said "meetings" shot into the crowds. The bodies of the victims were disappeared by burning or burried in mass graves prepared in advance. This methodical, systematic and horrifying scenario was observed in several different places where mass crimes were committed against the Hutu populations by the Rwandan Patriotic Front. This criminal method designed to lure the victim into a trap by taking advantage of his naivety clearly and irrefutably demonstrates the criminal intent of these massacres, which are far from mere acts of revenge as widely claimed to clear Paul Kagame of these crimes but are indeed organized crimes falling under the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

In *Behind the Presidential Curtains*, Noble Marara, who served in Kagame's Protection Unit, testifies how the RPF lured Hutus to be massacred. ⁴ *"At some point they gave out sugar and salt, cooking oil and soap to the locals that our soldiers had looted from shops just to make them come out of the hiding only to be killed in the end. Our soldiers were taught to be friendly then open fire without warning or provocation."*

J.E.Murphy says, ⁵ *«In the logic of the RPF, the number of Hutu had to be reduced for fertile lands and farms to be cleared for oncoming settlers from the Tutsi in diaspora, and even Tutsi who were still living among Hutu in different areas faced the same fate as they responded to RPA calls for meetings along with Hutu...»*

1. CREATION OF THE ICTR

On 8 November 1994, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution No. 955 recognizing that the massacres of the civilian population in Rwanda constituted gross violations of international humanitarian law, described as genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity.

Art 1. Of the Statutes of the ICTR (Resolution No. 955) Jurisdiction of the International Tribunal for Rwanda

The International Tribunal for Rwanda shall have the power to prosecute persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for such violations committed in the territory of neighboring States, between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994, in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute.

⁴ Marara N. BEHIND THE PRESIDENTIAL CURTAIN, Amazon, UK,2017,p.57

⁵ Murphy J.E. U.S.MADE,Christian Faith Publishing, Meadville, 2015. P.57

In order to "*contribute to the process of reconciliation and restoration of peace in Rwanda*", the Security Council decided to establish the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) responsible for prosecuting and judging the perpetrators of these intolerable crimes perpetrated against innocent civilian populations between the 1st of January and the 31st of December 1994. The mandate given to the ICTR does not mention the genocide of the Tutsi or the genocide of Hutu, but the crimes committed in Rwanda by all parties.

Shamefully, the biased ICTR betrayed Rwandans by prosecuting only Hutu perpetrators; it will remain a permanent black mark in the history the UN.

In September 1996, the Rwandan tragedy was exported to the Democratic Republic of Congo also referred to as DRC (formerly Zaire), resulting in the massacre of civilians in that country and hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees hunted down and massacred in their host country. This situation is unprecedented in the history of Rwanda and the region at large.

It is also clear that successive changes in political regimes and governments have not brought appropriate solutions to the Rwandan problem and have not been able to prevent or effectively manage actual crises.

The state has failed to allow itself to serve as a place where individuals and groups can truly put their ethnicity aside in order to build a society that's greatly integrated.

Even today, many Rwandans are being murdered for ethnic or political reasons while others languish arbitrarily in prisons or flee their country because of ethnic or political violence. Meanwhile, the issue of Rwandan refugees scattered around the world is far from resolved.

Indeed, hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees were forcibly repatriated to Rwanda from DR Congo, Tanzania and Burundi in 1996/97; many more returned gradually under the UN sponsored repatriation program. Still the issue of refugees has not been resolved; despite the UN declaration of Cessation Clause on December 31, 2017, which deprived them of their refugee status, thousands of Hutu refugees have refused to return to their homeland.

Among the factors of this tragedy are: the exacerbated thirst for power, bad governance, ethnic discrimination, religious and regional exclusion, injustice and impunity, dictatorship, failure to respect human rights, and ethnic persecution.

Situation Summary

- Before 1990, the military power was dominated by a Hutu regional oligarchy.
- 1990-1994 : There were three and a half years of war pitting two warring parties against each other. And with this came consequences to human lives.
- 1994: genocide, war crimes and against humanity. Hundreds of thousands of dead; but also luckily millions of survivors who are of Twa, Hutu and Tutsi ethnicity.
- 1994: The advent of a new oligarchic power dominated by a Tutsi politico-military leadership. First decision taken establishing apartheid was that only survivors of the Tutsi genocide were to be considered survivors. Hutu and Twa populations were excluded.
- This created a pernicious and legal apartheid resulting in the creation of two categories of unequal citizens in daily life and under the law. The two categories remained living side by side but very divided behind closed doors. The government thus authorized Tutsi citizens to create Tutsi-only organizations as well as the establishment of Tutsi-only committees and assistance funds.
- The commemoration ceremonies are reserved for only Tutsi victims, a post-conflict justice has been tailored to serve Tutsi victims; scholarships reserved exclusively for Tutsis, financial aid for reconstruction reserved for Tutsis only, an army and an exclusively Tutsi-commanded police force, mental torture for Hutus, and Hutu have become accustomed to live while forced to accept the unacceptable.
- Rwandans, all ethnicities included, crumble under the oppressive yoke of the RPF-INKOTANYI regime led by the iron fist of General Paul Kagame
- Weaponizing of the 1994 Tutsi genocide in which killing squads of "technicians" of the Kagame's RPF actively participated in, both in Kigali and elsewhere in the country.
- Closing of the political space skillfully covered up by Rwandan media and Western professionals highly paid by the RPF regime
- Rwanda is domestically subtly covered by so called independent Rwandan medias and internationally spinned by highly paid Western companies and individuals.
- Massive violations of human rights
- Persecutions, harassment, arbitrary arrests of opinion leaders and political opponents
- Political killings, assassinations as well as mass unsolved disappearances of civilian political figures
- Massacres of Rwandan refugees and targeted killings of opposition leaders as well as other human rights activists in their host countries
- Targeted assassinations of several Tutsi survivors who financed the RPF military campaigns. Instead of thanking them, Kagame has robbed them of their properties and businesses. Those who do not comply with the RPF are murdered or forced into exile
- Terror, endemic violence, mass crimes constituting crimes against humanity and genocide against Hutu populations in Rwanda and Zaire / DRC (UN Mapping Report of 1/10/2010)

Let's examine the indicators of legalization of ethnic Apartheid in Rwanda one by one:

Ibukabose-Rengerabose wants to break the taboo surrounding the existence of a subtle and pernicious system of legalized ethnic segregation in Rwanda.

LEGALIZED STRUCTURAL MASSIVE DISCRIMINATIONⁱ

In addition to the political repression that spares no category of the Rwandan population, the IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE Foundation is banking on the truth before it is too late, to break the taboo in Rwanda that surrounds the existence **of a subtle system of institutionalized ethnic segregation**. This is done through laws and political decisions put in place by the regime of president Paul Kagame in order to forever marginalize the Hutu community considered unjustly as globally responsible for the genocide of the Tutsi.

In fact, as a result of the 1994 genocide, Paul Kagame's regime put in place a subtle legal arsenal legalizing the segregation and exclusion of the Hutu ethnic group in all areas of everyday life.

• Political Apartheid

Monoethnic command of the army, police and intelligence services: as testified by the authors of «Rwanda Briefing», the Rwandan government is dominated by the Tutsi minority at the expense of their Hutu and Twa compatriots.

On August 2, 2012, four former senior officials of the RPF regime of Paul Kagame published a memorandum called "*RWANDA BRIEFING*" in which they gave their testimony on the political, economic and social situation prevailing in Rwanda. Their former positions and their political profile in the RPF, around President Paul Kagame, both during and after the war led by this movement against the Habyarimana regime, give undeniable credibility to their testimony. All four are Tutsis who grew up in exile in Uganda and who belonged to the first circle of power today:

1. General Faustin Kayumba Nyamwasa, former Chief of Staff of the army and true number 2 of the RPF regime, former ambassador;
2. Colonel Patrick Karegeya, former Chief of External Intelligence;
3. Mr. Gerald Gahima, former Attorney General of Rwanda after 1994;
4. Dr. Theogene Rudasingwa, former Secretary General of the RPF, former Ambassador of Rwanda to the United States of America, former Chief of Staff of President Paul Kagame;

On pages 15-16 of their memorandum, the authors of "*RWANDA BRIEFING*" uncompromisingly address the Hutu-Tutsi ethnic problematic and point to the marginalization and exclusion of the Hutu community.

We quote:

"Marginalization and exclusion of the Hutu community

The authoritarian character of the government is compounded by its narrow political base. The Rwanda state has all the trappings of a democratic system of government, but real power lies in the hands of the President and a small group

of military officers and a handful of civilians. As will be elaborated on later in this paper, Rwanda has two parallel governments, an informal one and a formal one. The formal government is controlled by the informal one. The President and the inner circle of his close associates that monopolises political power and marginalizes and excludes the rest of the people of Rwanda from political participation constitute the informal government. The membership of the informal government that effectively controls the Rwandan state comes exclusively from the Tutsi minority group.

All Rwandans, regardless of ethnicity, are victims of the authoritarian character of the government that rules Rwanda. The core group that controls the Rwandan state does not represent or even act in the best interests of the entire Tutsi community. There are many in the Hutu community who are beneficiaries of the political system that prevails in Rwanda. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the Rwanda government is dominated by the Tutsi minority. The Tutsi constitute the inner circle that wields real power in Rwanda.

The Tutsi are disproportionately represented in institutions of the state responsible for the coercive use of power. The Tutsi dominate the command of the military and security institutions. The control of these institutions is crucial to sustaining the Kagame dictatorship. The Tutsi are also disproportionately represented in the key civilian appointments that the President Kagame and his inner circle make at all levels of government. The perception of majority of the Hutu population is that the government is dominated by the Tutsi and that the government discriminates against them. The RPF has failed to establish an inclusive political order, but has instead entrenched authoritarian, minority rule.

Space for political participation has narrowed even further, instead of expanding, since the 2003 elections. Lack of space for political participation has disenfranchised the Hutu majority. The RPF, under Paul Kagame, has failed to expand its popular base. The Hutu community is marginalised from a meaningful share of power. The Hutu who serve in government are only surrogates of the RPF who lack legitimacy in their community.

*They are kept in office, often for very brief periods, for the sole purpose of giving the government an appearance of embracing political pluralism. The Hutu community perceives the RPF as an instrument of political domination by the minority. The government is not considered legitimate by the **majority** of the population in general, and the Hutu community in particular."*

This testimony joins the previous analyzes of the Foundation IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE, our organization having never stopped denouncing this apartheid system which weakens the social fabric and risks irreparably destroying the cohesion of the Rwandan nation.

• Globalizing Guilt

Stigmatization and humiliation of members of the Hutu community during public meetings organized for this purpose;

- **Dehumanization of Hutu victims**

The RPF State denies the hundreds of thousands of Hutu victims who were massacred by the army of Paul Kagame and/or his de facto Interahamwe allies

- **Dehumanization of Hutu survivors**

The term "survivors" only applies to Tutsi survivors as if the Hutu survivors were subhuman or are inexistent. This distinction is the cornerstone of the legal framework on which ethnic apartheid has been built in all areas of life.

- **Political misuse of the term "survivor"**

The politicization of genocide survivors is the starting point of the classification and ethnic segregation in Rwanda since 1994. It is the founding element of apartheid that we denounce in this manifesto. For the RPF-Inkotanyi regime, survivors would be exclusively Tutsi born to Tutsi fathers and mothers who survived the 1994 genocide. This restrictive categorization excludes Tutsi born from Hutu mothers, Tutsis married to Hutu women, Tutsi women married to Hutu men even if they were killed by Interahamwe Hutu militia, Tutsis killed by the RPF in various circumstances, and children of mixed Hutu-Tutsi descent whose parents were killed by the Tutsi dominated RPF and/or by the Hutu dominated Interahamwe.

- **Ethnicization of aid funds**

Tutsis have the right to form "*associations*" composed exclusively of Tutsis. This is how IBUKA-Mémoire (Association for the memory of Tutsi victims of genocide), FARG⁶ (Tutsi survivor's aid fund), AERG (Tutsi student association), AVEGA-AGAHOZO (association of Tutsi widows) etc. were formed. Rwandans of tHutu ethnicity would not even dare to think of forming such organizations without being called genocide deniers or accused of conveying genocide ideology punishable by Rwandan laws. The two always go together.

- **Memory Apartheid**

Hutu victims and Hutu survivors have been excluded from official memorials. Victims have been divided into two camps: the good camp of Tutsis vs. the camp of Evil Hutus. This is a deliberate and incorrect designation by the government.

Hence the refusal to commemorate the hundreds of thousands of RPF victims designated to have never existed. Without Hutu victims or survivors, no Hutu memorial is allowed. The result of the dehumanization of Hutu victims is the prohibition of Hutu survivors from burying the remains of their parents or loved ones with dignity, commemorating them and paying homage to them. Hutus are not allowed to honor the memory of hundreds of thousands of Hutu victims of war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide committed by Paul Kagame's troops in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

⁶ Law n°81/2013 of 11/9/2013 establishing the Fund for support and assistance to the neediest survivors of the genocide against the Tutsi **committed between 01 october 1990 and 31 december 1994** and determining its mission, powers, organisation and functioning.

- **Ethnic Racism**

The most successful form of this ethnic racism shows up through the obsession with ethnic purity. As a consequence of it, Tutsi women married to Hutu men are excluded from being memorialized, Rwandans from mixed Hutu-Tutsi marriages whose parents were killed during the genocide cannot claim the status of survivor because one of their parents was Hutu. This shows the emergence of the theory of *ethnic purity* which constitutes a form of exacerbated racism.

- **Judicial Apartheid**

Rights to access the judicial process for victims massacred by the RPF has been refused: according to the government, such victims do not exist, how would anyone be able to pursue perpetrators of crimes committed by the RPF?

To complete the circle of this criminal conspiracy, all the United Nations reports have been expunged of all elements relating to the crimes of the RPF. This is an unfair treatment reserved to the reports on the events in Rwanda. To publish reports on the Tutsi massacres and classify all reports of the Hutu massacres takes away the Hutu survivors' right to lodge criminal or civil complaints against the killers of their parents and relatives;

- **Social Apartheid**

Hutu survivors, who are not considered survivors, do not have access to government and international aid for the families of the victims of the war and other mass crimes they have suffered. Only Tutsi survivors benefit from the Genocide Rescue Fund;

- **Apartheid in Education**

Ethnic Discrimination and unequal opportunities between Tutsi and Hutu Youth is done as a matter of policy particularly in access to the FARG (Genocide Rescue Fund) and AERG (Student Association Scholarships for Students Rescued from Genocide). In a country where the government officially asserts that ethnic groups no longer exist, careful qualitative as well as quantitative selection is done through a system listing all young Tutsi identified by a pin code used all over the country. This code replaces the old ethnic identity card and allows the government to identify young Tutsis and therefore allows them to be granted privileges without giving the impression of practicing ethnic discrimination. Any questioning of such an injustice is considered by the government as an act of negating the genocide born out of the seeds of genocide ideology. Genocide ideology is the weapon of mass destruction par excellence used by the apartheid regime of Paul Kagame;

- **The “Divide and rule” policy**

The RPF government has created and is maintaining ethnic divisions, antagonizing the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups, excluding the Hutu members of the population in order to keep them *into submission forever* as a practice of divide and rule.

- **Confiscation of private properties**

Properties owned by former Hutu dignitaries are confiscated for the benefit of the RPF/Kagame regime;

- **Policy of impoverishing the rural population**

Rural populations are dispossessed of their lands by the introduction of the new system of grouping them in villages known as "IMIDUGUDU" away from their ancestral lands. This allows the government to permanently control movement of the population;

- **Destabilization of the agricultural system**

With the unstated goal of favoring agricultural products exported by the RPF oligarchs' companies, the government forces farmers to produce export goods at the expense of everyday consumer products and foodstuffs, a primary need. This mode of production provoked a great famine nicknamed "NZARAMBA" which led to the exile of thousands of peasants to neighboring countries;

As demonstrated in the points above, the Rwandan institutions - political, military and administrative - are such that it is no longer permissible to speak of "living together" or of a national community, but apartheid. In fact, the RPF regime did everything possible to ensure that Hutus and Tutsis no longer live together. The two ethnic groups live side by side in ethnic segregation waiting for the breaking point.

Before 1994, political and military power at the national level as well as local levels was concentrated in the hands of Hutus only.

In 1994, this social model facilitated the organization and implementation of the elimination of members of the Tutsi ethnic group who were absent from decision-making structures.

Since the power seizure by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1994, political and military institutions have been progressively dominated by a Tutsi oligarchy revolving around the family of President Paul Kagame.

Such serious attacks on the principle of equality provoke repressed frustrations that can turn into anger within the Hutu community and eventually destroy social cohesion. Social cohesion is the only link to avoid an explosion and civil war.

*Rwanda is a time bomb whose
detonator is in the hands of a mafia
and criminal regime*

The country is divided into two categories of citizens: those who are protected by the laws and justice of their country and international justice, and those who cannot lay a claim and if they dare, they are accused of carrying genocide ideology.

Between those who have the right to honor the memory of their lost loved ones and those who are forbidden from honoring the memory of their loved ones.

To sum it up, the country is divided between citizens who no longer share history. Citizens are placed on opposite sides of a **wall of shame** that established an inequality between Rwandan citizens starting at birth. It's the wall of apartheid.

The last reason is the future of our people: Rwandans whether they like it or not must reconcile to rebuild their country together. But a people cannot be reconciled through lies and apartheid.

The first principle underlying citizenship in any country in the world is equality which first and foremost establishes an equal right to life and justice. If a category of the population of a country can be killed, massacred, exterminated with impunity without having the right to seek justice, it is called apartheid. In any case in such a situation, it would be an illusion to speak of equality before the law and even more illusory to speak of reconciliation,

A nation cannot be built based on lies and frustration of a large part of the population. This is true in any country in the world.

This manifesto aims to highlight the phenomenon of institutionalized judicial and memory apartheid which if the international community does not pay attention to may lead the Rwandan people into a new apocalypse.

We are not prophets of misfortune, but we daily feel and see the frustrations of a powerless people in total disarray who suffer and have difficulty dealing with the injustices of which they are victim. The greatest injustice is the people's lack of right to claim equal justice in their own country. It is a fundamental and existential discrimination that takes away both the right to life and the principle of equality for all citizens under the laws of their own country.

The international community is funding rehabilitation programs for survivors of the Rwandan genocide. At the peak is that these programs officially exclude Hutu survivors of massacres committed by the Interahamwe and the RPF. In fact, the regime of Paul Kagame will never change its attitude to this issue because the opposite would mean Kagame's admittance to the massacres he and the RPF committed. Paul Kagame and his

accomplices went too far and will never confess or admit their crimes. The reconciliation of Rwandan people (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) will not come from those leaders whose hands are stained with the blood of millions of their compatriots.

This manifesto is an appeal to our Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa compatriots, to all the friends of Rwanda and Rwandans, to all those who continue to proclaim their interest in the future of the Rwandan people to include this fact of an existing apartheid into their analytical journey of the past and present events of Rwanda, to have at heart the legitimate rights and legitimate interests of the communities that make up this country.

Vigilance must remain in place to counter any new risks of genocide. The best way to do that is to help Rwandans reconcile. It requires daring to denounce the crimes committed by all warring parties including those perpetrated by Paul Kagame's army against hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians. It requires accepting that the Tutsi perpetrators of some of these crimes are prosecuted and tried in the same way as the Hutu criminals responsible for the genocide of the Tutsis. It would be an illusion to claim to build the nation of Rwanda by treating Hutu (85% of the Rwandan population) as second-class citizens excluded from the right to life and deprived of the right to cry and bury their dead with dignity. Such memorial discrimination is simply unacceptable, dangerous and carries destructive germs for this little country once favored by the gods.

To know that hundreds of thousands of Hutus were murdered because they were Hutu and to refuse that their executioners be persecuted by the national and international justice set up for this purpose is simply to deny them humanity. This is to say that they are not human beings like their compatriots of other ethnicities and that is unacceptable.

As such, the manifesto of our Foundation is the expression of a struggle for equality, truth, justice and fairness; the only values that will enable Rwandans to rebuild a reconciled nation in which everyone will feel reassured and protected.

This is our fight against a form of a hidden apartheid that may lead Rwanda to a new ethnic apocalypse. We are absolutely unwilling to accept this apartheid; to do so would be cowardly.

Remaining silent would be failure of our duty. Not denouncing it would be criminal. We are doing this on behalf of our compatriots, victims of ethnic and political violence, and on behalf of the survivors of the 1994 carnage.

The Ibukabose-Rengerabose Foundation reminds the international community one of the main statutory missions of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, namely *"to contribute to the process of national reconciliation as well as to the restoration and maintenance of peace"* in Rwanda. The completion strategy adopted by the Security Council and guaranteeing impunity for RPF criminals is preparing our country for a new apocalypse. Our wish and that of many compatriots who love peace and justice, be they Tutsi, Hutu or Twa, is that the international community takes the exact measure of the current situation so that the great democracies of the world do their best to prevent Rwandan people from experiencing further frustrations arising from this judicial discrimination being honored by the highest levels of the United Nations.

CONCLUSION

We are seeing serious inequalities in political, economic and social matters. Inequalities are widening. This system of apartheid is intended to divide the Rwandan people into privileged and plague-stricken in order to allow Paul Kagame and the RPF regime to divide and conquer and to stay in power as long as possible.

Rwanda has now become a time bomb, a minefield whose detonator is in the hands of a gang of criminals anxious to keep their mafia interests, and ready to press the button to explode the Rwandan Nation.

No one can foresee or say precisely the TIPING POINT where inequalities and conflicts in the making will turn into insurrection and violence.

And as in 1994, the international community knows it but pretends to see nothing!

Based on this observation, it is safe to say that Rwanda could face a maximum risk of social explosion if nothing is done to stop the deadly machine that the current regime has established for almost 25 years.

If the set of "apartheid" mechanisms legalizing ethnic segregation were to continue, there would be a risk of a tragic events soon.

For all these reasons, Rwandan citizens who love peace and freedom together must ward off these threats and fight for the advent of full and lasting civil peace resulting from a process of genuine reconciliation between the communities that make up our nation.

WE WANT TO MAKE THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE

The Ibukabose-Rengerabose Foundation wants to break the taboo surrounding the existence of ***a subtle system of legalized ethnic segregation in Rwanda.***

In order to stop this evil machine and to defuse this ethnic bomb, the IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE Foundation - Memory and Justice for All – is launching an International Campaign to Combat Ethnic Apartheid in Rwanda. Under the slogan "STOP APARTHEID IN RWANDA", we will take strong actions to raise national and international awareness of this time bomb.

Honoring all victims by guaranteeing them equal access to justice without discrimination is a vital fundamental requirement and a non-negotiable condition conducive to living together in the nation of Rwanda. This is the price that it will take to achieve peace, unity and national reconciliation.

This alert reflects the concerns of most Rwandans, Hutu, Tutsi, Twa and mixed-ethnicity individuals who are doubly excluded and who often do not dare to express their frustrations for fear of being called revisionists, deniers or, worse yet, genocidaires.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA

The IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE foundation – Memory and Justice for All requests that the government of Rwanda does the following:

- Fulfil its constitutional commitments and practice as well as guarantee equality for all citizens before the law as required by article 15 and 16 of Rwanda’s constitution
- Ensure constitutional principles are applied by abolishing all discriminatory laws, funds and organizations in all aspects of life in Rwanda.
- Act against discrimination/exclusion and apartheid by ending all ethnic based privileges currently practiced in various sectors.
- Unconditionally abolish all unconstitutional laws that give ethnic based privileges
- Set up a High Council for Equality, an observatory charged with combating discrimination, promoting and protecting citizen equality

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RWANDAN POLITICIANS AND MEMBERS OF RWANDA’S CIVIL SOCIETY

IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE – Memory and Justice for All request of Rwandan political parties to adopt a common plan for the democratic opposition parties in order to efficiently contribute in ending various divisions and imbalances created by the Rwandese Patriotic Front Regime:

To contribute to dismantling this time bomb, the commonly adopted plan must recognize social, political, economic, and community realities of our country. This entails the following solutions and actions:

- Doing everything in their power to mitigate the risk of explosion due to the legalized ethnic discriminations that prevail in Rwanda as well as the social imbalances that threaten to plunge the nation of Rwanda into another apocalypse.
- Fight lies and denials of the existence of ethnic based organizations in Rwanda since they provide cover for the apartheid system setup by the government.
- To include in their plans for the country the dismantling of segregationist laws found in various aspects of national life, namely the right to life, memory and justice.
- Declare equality among all citizens as a major national cause.

- Take positive and concrete measures to ensure equality among Rwandan citizens.
- Make it a priority to end inequalities and discrimination.
- Tear apart the traps presented by discrimination and exclusion of a part of the population by the RPF government currently in power.
- Insist on strict respect of articles 15 and 16 of Rwanda's constitution as well as articles 1 and 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that determined equality as a basic principle which is a pre-requisite to building a democratic state of national unity and peace.
- Honor all victims of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide and strive to guarantee equal access to justice for all survivors without ethnic discrimination or discrimination of any other nature. This commitment is vital and is a sine qua non condition for a harmonious coexistence in the nation of Rwanda. This is the price to pay for national reconciliation and unity.
- Denounce and fight against all apartheid laws that institutionalize ethnic discrimination as the dominant political system in our country.
- Include in their respective political programs the abolition of such divisive and unconstitutional laws in order to re-establish the principles of equality in the awarding of scholarships and financial aid to families of victims across all ethnicities. The repeal of these apartheid laws must never stigmatize Tutsi victim beneficiaries by depriving them, but instead must aim to guarantee equal treatment to all Rwandan citizens as laid out in articles 15 and 15 of Rwanda's constitution.
- Engage in re-establishing necessary equalities in education across the nation. Indeed by adopting discriminatory laws in giving out scholarships from primary school to universities only to Tutsi survivors at the expense of Hutu and Twa victims of atrocities stemming from war and massacres committed by the army of the RPF-Inkotanyi, these laws have created a double standard in the national education system.
- Institute a pact of equality, unity and national reconciliation which is a requirement for setting up an authentic democratic system around the common plan in order to write in stone principles that guarantee establishing a democratic state that is just and impartial. This would help reassure the Rwandan people in order to gain their support for the momentum of national renewal.
- Strive for meaningful constitutional reforms to change the political system and end the all powerful presidential position and replace it with a parliamentary, consensus democracy in which all members of the nation will have a voice and recognize themselves all across local and national levels.
- This pact of equality, unity and national reconciliation will end up being fully established in a *highly inclusive dialogue* that will bring together all Rwandan political parties, civil society organizations, as well as independent individuals known for their technical and political expertise.

- Support setting up of a High Council for Equality charged with combating discrimination, promoting and protecting civil and political rights in Rwanda.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Context

- During the Spring and Summer of 1994, the UN treated the genocide of Tutsis and crimes by the RPF like business as usual. Who paid the bill? The families of Tutsis, Hutu and Twa people
- A government largely dominated by the winners of the war claiming to be of national unity was established on July 19, 1994.
- On September 20, 1994, while it was thought that genocide and war ended, then assistant secretary of the UN Mr. Kofi Annan gave a report to the government of Rwanda by the UNHCR group of experts. The report known as the Gersony report confirmed that the RPF soldiers were conducting systematic massacres by selecting Hutu people for such massacres in many parts of the country. After months of negotiations and pressure, the RPF was absolved of the crimes. Since then, crimes committed by the so-called “liberators” against thousands of Hutus are conveniently no longer mentioned.
- After the UN abandoned the Tutsis between April and June 1994, the Hutus who chose to rebuild the country alongside the Tutsi survivors felt betrayed by the UN. In just a few months, the UN had demonstrated very little regard for the lives of a part of the Rwandan people: various reports on other massacres committed by the RPF against Hutus emerged.
- After having spent millions of dollars to discover such crimes that the UN qualified as war crimes, crimes against humanity and «acts of genocide» committed in the DRC, the UN did not follow through with logical next steps and ended up violating international humanitarian law.
- Multiple investigative reports by UN staff and its institutions on crimes committed by Paul Kagame’s RPF remain under embargo without any explanation. They include :
 - The Gersony report of September 1994 on massacres committed in Rwanda by Kagame’s troops between July and September 1994
 - The affidavit by investigator Michael HOURIGAN concluding that the RPF was responsible for the terrorist act of shooting down the aircraft carrying President Habyarimana and Ntaryamira of Burundi which sparked the genocide

- The reports of massacres of more than 8000 Hutus civilian refugees in Kibeho in April 1995
- Various reports by ICTR investigators that demonstrated a genocide against Hutu people in 1994
- The report by Robert Garretton on acts of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by the RPF against Hutu refugees in the DRC (formerly Zaire) in 1996 and 1997
- The UN Mapping Report for the Democratic Republic of Congo released on October 1, 2010 on the most serious crimes against humanity committed between 1993 and 2003 in the DRC which has been shelved at the UN even though its findings are well under the jurisdiction of the ICC

The following additional reports also must be cited:

- Serious and credible investigations conducted by various international NGOs such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, FIDH, Agir Ensemble have all established the undisputable responsibility of the RPF currently in power in Rwanda in numerous crimes committed between January 1 and December 31, 1994 against Hutu populations. The *Mapping Report* exercise cited above ordered and paid for by the UN on massacres of Hutus in Zaire (now DRC) clearly shows without a shadow of a doubt the direct responsibility of the Rwandan government's army in war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide. When these crimes occurred, Paul Kagame who is now Rwanda's president was at the head of the Rwandan military

For our foundation, the systematic removal of such important reports by the UN and the ICTR constitute acts of complicity in crimes against international humanitarian law and demonstrates a will to *whitewash* a party responsible for crimes. It is a denial of justice that must be denounced as much as the crimes themselves.

DOUBLE STANDARD BY THE UN ON THE ISSUE OF MEMORY

On January 26, 2018, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution A/72/L.31 designating April 7 as an international day to reflect on the genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994 and recalling that Hutus and others who opposed the genocide were massacred as well. This new resolution modified the previous title of the day (international day for reflection on the genocide in Rwanda) put in place via resolution A/RES/58/234 adopted on December 23, 2003. In adopting such a resolution, the UN gave bad signals that seem to say to Hutus: **«Go away, there's nothing to see here»**.

This resolution of January 28, 2018 provides impunity to the authors of massive crimes against non-Tutsi populations resulting in memorial and Judicial apartheid which we have always denounced.

In adoption this *openly insulting and negationist* approach, the UN is affirming that the lives of hundreds of thousands of Hutus and Twas massacred by both the army of Paul

Kagame who are mostly Tutsi and the Interahamwe militias who are mostly Hutu; are nothing but a small detail in the Rwandan tragedy.

The UN is deliberately ignoring Hutu victims of crimes documented in official reports by UN staff members. Resolution A/72/L.31 of the UN general assembly is in fact a negationist decision made by an organization that is supposed to represent the people. The UN is instead protecting those in power against the people in this instance even if they happen to be notorious criminals such as Paul Kagame.

In this act, the UN succumbed to the powerful by choosing the side of the powerful who are responsible for serious violations of International Humanitarian Law at the expense of legitimate interests and grievances of civilian populations who are victims of atrocities.

The persistent unconditional support by the UN toward the criminal regime of the RPF-Inkotanyi has created lots of frustrations for many citizens who were set to peacefully coexist and work to rebuild a truly peaceful Rwanda.

These frustrations shared by populations of the Great Lakes Region of Africa create a risk in the long run of such frustrations turning into desperation, anger and hate

We cannot accept turning into accomplices of such resolution with immeasurable consequences in which Rwandan people are at risk once again of paying a high price

CONCLUSION

Deciding to disregard Hutu and Congolese Victims of crimes committed by Paul Kagame and his military which are well documented by global organizations contributes to ruining all opportunities for reconciliation of Hutu and Tutsi people and contributes to delaying the advent of lasting peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa;

In fact, the biased and unfair position of the UN caters to the old demons of hate that produced the atrocities of 1994 and plants a risk for new waves of violence;

Recalling that the spectrum of genocide remains real, the Foundation IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOS – Memory and Justice for All is appealing to the international community to activate the genocide prevention plan of action launched by the former UN Secretary General, the late Koffi Annan to address the situation prevailing in Rwanda as presented above.

While at the same time supporting all measures taken to pay respect to our parents who were victims of the genocide against Tutsis of 1994, all of us Rwandan citizens of Tutsi, Hutu, Twa as well as those of mixed ethnicity commonly known as HUTSI, members of the Foundation IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE – Memory and Justice for All, in partnership with other human rights organizations express our strong disagreement with the UN decision to officially state *ethnic preference among victims*

The UN has rejected reports assembled by its own committees that are rather neutral and has accepted reports by committees whose members have been coopted by the RPF. The apartheid is rooted in the unequal treatment of war crimes and unequal treatment of victims of such crimes by the investigative committees on Rwanda

In that regard, the foundation IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE – Memory and Justice for ALL denounces all mafia type maneuvers by certain members of the international community

that make every effort to stop the disclosure of the truth and therefore block reconciliation between Hutus and Tutsis.

In that regard, the foundation IBUKABOSE-RENGERABOSE – Memory and Justice for ALL calls on the UN Security Council and the whole of the international community to do the following:

- Pay very close attention to the issue of ethnic discrimination born out of unfair, unequal and discriminatory treatment of memory in Rwanda;
- Reaffirm commitment to the principles of right to life for all and equality for all citizens before the laws of their country;
- Recognize that in addition to the genocide against Tutsis, other war crimes and crimes against humanity as well as acts of genocide were committed against Hutus, Twas and those of mixed ethnicity, «Hutsi», in Rwanda and in the Democratic Republic of Congo/Ex-Zaire;
- Pay equal homage to all victims of genocide against Tutsis of 1994 and to Hutu victims of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide documented in various reports by official UN branches and staff such as the Mapping Report of 2010 and documented by international human rights organizations;
- Condemn with equal zeal and without discrimination all crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes committed in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region over the last 3 decades;
- Release all reports cited above currently collecting dust in UN drawers in order to allow equal access to justice for all victims and to contribute to true reconciliation of all Rwandan people without taking sides or discrimination;
- Show the same compassion to all Tutsi, Hutu, Twa and “Hutsi” victims in a real and sustained manner;
- Without delay, come up with a new resolution requiring the government of Rwanda to respect the principle of equality of citizens right to life and the right to memory and justice by officially allowing non-Tutsi citizens to openly exercise their constitutional right to honor and mourn their loved ones who were victims of massive crimes committed in Rwanda and the DRC;
- Adopt a new resolution to put in place an international tribunal in charge of pursuing authors of crimes against Hutu populations in Rwanda and in the DRC;
- Widen the scope of the resolution of January 26, 2018 and adopt a new resolution calling for a common and equal memory for all victims of atrocities committed against them by the belligerents between 1990 and 1994, during the genocide and after the genocide on Rwanda’s and DRC’s territories

To not do it would amount to condemning Rwandan citizens to ethnic based inequality when it comes to right to life. In doing so, the UN would be denouncing its own founding

principles and would have lost its impartiality in choosing to protect power holders who massacre their own people. We cannot accept this.

To not recognize equality among victims is to give impunity and the right to kill to the perpetrators of crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes against the Hutu and Twa people. It is also a way of insidiously spreading hate and ethnic conflicts which have been the basis of past massive crimes.

Legalized memory and judicial discrimination in Rwanda cause frustration and revolt. They can easily transform into hate. The world is once again allowing itself to be lied to by an ethnocentric regime that discriminates against its own people who it considers inferior.

In this regard, we advocate for a **common memory and equal justice for all victims of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and political assassinations.**

We say NO to a type of diplomacy that privileges prudence, complacency and sweet talk instead of words that are based in truth and reconciliation.

While our parents were being massacred like animals all over Rwanda in 1994 and later in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the international community stood by giving the impression that the killers had a blank slate or permission to massacre.

We therefore take this opportunity to thank the rare and few countries among the international community to come to the rescue of Rwandan people at the height of the genocide and other massacres that occurred before or after.

Our wish and that of many of our fellow countrymen and women be it Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa is peace and justice. Our wish is that the international community takes measures toward the current situation, and that powerful democracies of the world do all they can to prevent additional frustrations resulting from the system of Apartheid in Rwanda supported by certain members of the UN Security Council who have never hidden such support.

Paris on April 27, 2019

Ibukabose-Rengerabose Foundation, Memory and Justice for All

Ambassadeur Jean Marie Ndagijimana

Chairman and spokesperson

M. Emery Nshimiyimana

General secretary

This manifesto is conveyed to :

- Rwandans
- President Paul Kagame
- The government, the Parliament and the Senate of the Republic of Rwanda
- All member states of the UN
- All member states of EAC and SADC
- All member states of the African Union
- International and Regional Organisations
- All Rwanda's civil society and political organizations
- Churches in Rwanda
- Human rights organizations
- Activists and human rights defenders
- Press

**“STOP APARTHEID IN RWANDA”
MANIFESTO AGAINST ETHNIC APARTHEID THAT THREATENS SOCIAL
COHESION AND ENDANGERS PEACE AND NATIONAL UNITY IN RWANDA,
LIKE NEVER SINCE THE GENOCIDE OF 1994.**

*“Those who love peace must learn to organize as effectively as those
who love war.” – Martin Luther King Jr.*

The Ibukabose-Rengerabose Foundation, Memory and Justice for All

Paris April 27, 2019

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