RWANDA:
A HISTORICAL NOTE

SHAKE HANDS WITH THE DEVIL

The Journey of Roméo Dallaire

Rwanda, the "land of one thousand hills," located in the middle of the continent, is one of Africa's most densely populated countries with 819 persons per square mile. Tensions between the two major ethnic groups, the Hutus and Tutsis, go back for centuries. The Hutu agriculturalists were first to arrive around 1000 BCE. Around 1400 another ethnic group, the pastoralist Tutsi, moved into the same region. Eventually the two groups came to share the same language, customs and even intermarried. Today the population is 90% Hutu and 10% Tutsi.

Over the centuries a system of clientage emerged with Hutus and poor Tutsis receiving land, cattle and protection in return for services and a share of the crops from Tutsi overlords. In rare cases a Hutu could acquire enough wealth and prestige to become considered a Tutsi so the system had some fluidity. During the early 19th century, a Tutsi monarchy was established covering most of Rwanda. At the Berlin conference of 1884, where the European powers divided Africa between themselves, Rwanda was assigned to the Germans. They governed indirectly through the existing Tutsi hierarchy and regarded the Tutsi as racially superior because of their tall, thin stature according to the spurious racial theories of the time. The Tutsis called on German troops to repress Hutu uprisings.

After Germany's loss in World War I, Rwanda was given to Belgium which again ruled through the Tutsi ruling class who collected taxes and recruited labor for them, greatly increasing the burden on the Hutu peasantry and leaving them dangerously vulnerable to famine. The Belgian administration further institutionalized the difference between Hutus and Tutsis by stamping identity cards with one ethnicity or the other. They also favored the Tutsi's in the colonial administration, in education advancement and in the administrative service.

During the 1950s as independence approached Tutsi fears grew as the implications of potential ethnic voting blocs became clear. Furthermore Belgian favoritism looking to post-independence relations shifted to the Hutus. In 1961 in U.N. supervised elections, Rwanda voted to eliminate the Tutsi monarchy and replace it with a democratic system inevitably dominated by Hutus. In 1963 an attack by Tutsi rebels came within 5 miles of Kigali before it was repulsed; in revenge the president ordered the massacre of 10,000 Tutsi. In 1973 another revolution established Hutu Gen. Juvénal Habyarimana as President of a one-party state and established a regime not so much based on Tutsis vs. Hutus as on nepotism.

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In 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF,) composed largely of Tutsi refugees in Uganda, invaded Rwanda. A ceasefire was reached and plans for a transitional government reached in August, 1993. In November the U.N. dispatched a 2500 person peace keeping mission to Rwanda headed by Canadian Lt. General Roméo Dallaire; this is when **Shake Hands with the Devil** begins. Hard line Hutu groups adamantly opposed the ceasefire. Meanwhile an increasingly inflammatory media began to play a key role in shaping Rwandan popular opinion. The radio station *Mille Collines* urged listeners to regard as a traitor every Hutu who did not support the anti-Tutsi movement and to "kill the inyenzi or cockroaches," as Uganda-born Tutsi were called. The Tutsi, especially refugees, were presented as potential land-grabbers in chronically over-populated Rwanda.

After a plane carrying the presidents of Burundi and Rwanda was shot out of the sky, on April 6, 1994 the *interahamwe* ("those who stand together") Hutu militias began killing both Tutsi and Hutu moderates on lists drawn up before the plane's downing. The radio stations gave them until May 5th to "cleanse the country of all Tutsi." The U.N. reduced its force to 250 as soon as the genocide started. The U.S., chief among other Western powers, tied the U.N.'s hands fearing another peace keeping mission like Somalia, in which U.S. soliders were killed. France, however, secured the southwest part of the country allowing an escape route for many Hutu militiamen. The RPF took control of the capital on July 4, 1994 and proclaimed a new government headed by two Hutu moderates but real power, most agreed, was held by RPF leader Paul Kagame. In November 1997 trials began under the U.N. established International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania charged with "prosecuting persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law." The large number of Tutsi and Hutu refugees in the Great Lakes region of Africa, especially in the eastern Congo contributed to an on-going guerilla warfare, famine and disease responsible for the death of up to 3,000,000 people.

The facts for this brief overview come from Kate Tuttle and Roger Fry's entry in *The Encyclopedia Africana.*



UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE

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Approved and proposed for signature and ratification or accession by General Assembly resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948
***entry into force* 12 January 1951, in accordance with article XIII**

The Contracting Parties,
Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world, Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required, Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

Article 1 - The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article 2 - In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
(a) Killing members of the group
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 3 - The following acts shall be punishable:
(a) Genocide
(b) Conspiracy to commit genocide
(c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide
(d) Attempt to commit genocide
(e) Complicity in genocide.

Article 4 - Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article 5 - The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention, and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article 6 - Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article 7 - Genocide and the other acts enumerated in article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition. The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article 8 - Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article 9 - Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

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Article 10 - The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Article 11 - The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any nonmember State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid. Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 12 - Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article 13 - On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a proces-verbal and transmit a copy thereof to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article 11. The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession. Any ratification or accession effected, subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 14 - The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force. It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period. Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 15 - If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

Article 16 - A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General. The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article 17 - The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in article XI of the following:
(a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with article 11
(b) Notifications received in accordance with article 12
(c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with article 13
(d) Denunciations received in accordance with article 14
(e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with article 15
(f) Notifications received in accordance with article 16.

Article 18 - The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations. A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

Article 19 - The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.



GENERAL DALLAIRE'S FAX TO THE UN JANUARY 11 1994

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OUTGOING CODE CABLE
DATE: 11 JANUARY 1994
TO: BARIL\DPKO\UNATIONS
NEW YORK
FROM: DALLAIRE ONAMER\KIGALI
SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR PROTECTION FOR INFORMANT
ATTN: MGEN BARIL

1. FORCE COMMANDER PUT IN CONTACT WITH INFORMANT BY VERY VERY IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT POLITICIAN. INFORMANT IS A TOP LEVEL TRAINER IN THE CADRE OF INTERHAMWE-ARMED MILITIA OF MRNQ.

2. HE INFORMED US HE WAS IN CHARGE OF LAST SATURDAYS DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH AIMS HERE TO TARGET DEPUTIES OF OPPOSITION PARTIES COMING TO CEREMONIES AND BELGIAN SOLDIERS. THEY HOPED TO PROVOKE THE RPF BN TO ENGAGE (BEING FIRED UPON) THE DEMONSTRATORS ENTRY OR EXIT FROM PARLIAMENT. BELGIAN TROOPS WERE TO BE PROVOKED AND IF BELGIANS RESORTED TO FORCE A NUMBER OF THEM WERE TO BE KILLED AND THUS GUARANTEE BELGIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM RWANDA.

3. INFORMANT CONFIRMED 48 RGF PARA CDO AND A FEW MEMBERS OF THE GENDARMERIE PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATIONS IN PLAIN CLOTHES. ALSO AT LEAST ONE MINISTER OF THE MRND AND THE SOUS-PREFECT OF KIGALI WERE IN THE DEMONSTRATION. RGF AND INETRHAMWE PROVIDED RADIO COMMUNICATIONS.

4. INFORMANT IS A FORMER SECURITY MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT. HE ALSO STATED HE IS PAID RF150,000 PER MONTH BY THE MRND PARTY TO TRAIN INTERHAMWE. DIRECT LINK IS TO CHIEF OF STAFF RGF AND PRESIDENT OF THE MRNO FOR FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT.

5. INTERHAMWE HAS TRAINED 1700 MEN IN RGF MILITARY CAMPS OUTSIDE THE CAPITAL. THE 1700 ARE SCATTERED IN GROUPS OF 40 THROUGHOUT KIGALI. SINCE UNAMIR DEPLOYED HE HAS TRAINED 300 PERSONNEL IN THREE WEEK TRAINING SESSION AT RGF CAMPS. TRAINING FOCUS WAS DISCIPLINE, WEAPONS, EXPLOSIVES, CLOSE COMBAT AND TACTICS.

6. PRINCIPAL AIH OF INTERHAMWE IN THE PAST WAS TO PROTECT KIGALI FROM RPF. SINCE UNAMER MANDATE H HAS BEEN ORDERED TO REGISTER ALL TUTSI IN KIGALI. HE SUSPECTS IT IS FOR THEIR EXTERMINATION. EXAMPLE HE GAVE WAS THAT IN 20 MINUTES HIS PERSONNEL COULD KILL UP TO 1000 TUTSIS.

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7. INFORMANT STATES HE DISAGREES WITH ANTI-TUTSI EXTERMINATION. HE SUPPORTS OPPOSITION TO RPF BUT CANNOT SUPPORT KILLING OF INNOCENT PERSONS. HE ALSO STATED THAT HE BELIEVES THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT HAVE FULL CONTROL OVER ALL ELEMENTS OF HIS OLD PARTY\FACTION.

8. INFORMANT IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE LOCATION OF MAJOR WEAPONS CACHE WITH AT LEAST 135 WEAPONS. HE ALREADY HAS DISTRIBUTED 110 WEAPONS INCLUDING 35 WITH AMMUNITION AND CAN GIVE US DETAILS OF THEIR LOCATION. TYPE OF WEAPONS ARE G3 AND AK47 PROVIDED BY RGF. HE WAS READY TO GO TO THE ARMS CACHE TONIGHT-IF WE GAVE HIM THE FOLLOWING GUARANTEE. HE REQUESTS THAT HE AND HIS FAMILY (HIS WIFE AND FOUR CHILDREN) BE PLACED UNDER OUR PROTECTION.

9. IT IS OUR INTENTION TO TAKE ACTION WITHIN THE NEXT 16 HOURS WITH A POSSIBLE H HR OF WEDNESDAY AT DAWN (LOCAL). INFORMANT STATES THAT HOSTILITIES MAY COMMENCE AGAIN IF POLITICAL DEADLOCK ENDS. VIOLENCE COULD TAKE PLACE DAY OF THE CEREMONIES OR THE DAY AFTER. THEREFORE WEDNESDAY WILL GIVE GREATEST CHANCE OF SUCCESS AND ALSO BE MOST TIMELY TO PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT INPUT TO ON-GOING POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS.

10. IT IS RECOMMENDED THE INFORMANT BE GRANTED PROTECTION AND EVACUATED OUT OF RWANDA. THIS HQ DOES NOT HAVE PREVIOUS UK EXPERIENCE IN SUCH MATTERS AND URGENTLY REQUESTS GUIDANCE. NO CONTACT HAS AS YET BEEN MADE TO ANY EMBASSY IN ORDER TO INQUIRE IF THEY ARE PREPARED TO PROTECT HIM FOR A PERIOD OF TIME BY GRANTING DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY IN THEIR EMBASSY IN KIGALI BEFORE MOVING HIM AND HIS FAMILY OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

11. FORCE COMMANDER WILL BE MEETING WITH THE VERY VERY IMPORTANT POLITICAL PERSON TOMORROW MORNING IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL IS CONSCIOUS OF ALL PARAMETERS OF HIS INVOLVEMENT. FORCE COMMANDER DOES HAVE CERTAIN RESERVATIONS ON THE SUDDENNESS OF THE CHANGE OF HEART OF THE INFORMANT TO COME CLEAN WITH THIS INFORMATION. RECCE OF ARMED CACHE AND DETAILED PLANNING OF RAID TO GO ON LATE TOMORROW. POSSIBILITY OF A TRAP NOT FULLY EXCLUDED, AS THIS MAY BE A SET-UP AGAINST THE VERY VERY IMPORTANT POLITICAL PERSON. FORCE COMMANDER TO INFORM SRSG FIRST THING IN MORNING TO ENSURE HIS SUPPORT.

13. PEUX CE QUE VEUX. ALLONS-Y.



UN'S FAX RESPONSE TO GENERAL DALLAIRE

SHAKE HANDS WITH THE DEVIL

The Journey of Roméo Dallaire

TO: BOOH-BOOH/DALLAIRE, UNAMIR ONLY
NO DISTRIBUTION
FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK
NUMBER: UNAMIR: 100
SUBJECT: Contacts with Informant

1. We have carefully reviewed the situation in the light of your MIR-79. We cannot agree to the operation contemplated in paragraph 7 of your cable, as it clearly goes beyond the mandate entrusted to UNAMIR under resolution 872 (1993).

2. However, on the assumption that you are convinced that the information provided by the informant is absolutely reliable, we request you to undertake the initiatives described in the following paragraphs.

3. SRSG and FC should request urgent meeting with the President. At that meeting you should inform the President that you have received apparently reliable information concerning the activities of the Interhamwe militia which represents a clear threat to the peace process. You should inform him that these activities include the training and deployment of subversive groups in Kigali as well as the storage and distribution of weapons to these groups.

4. You should inform him that these activities constitute a clear violation of the provisions of the Arusha peace agreement and of the Kigali weapons-secure area. You should assume that he is not aware of these activities, but insist that he must ensure that these subversive activities are immediately discontinued and inform you within 48 hours of the measures taken in this regard, including the recovery of the arms which have been distributed.

5. You should advise the President that, if any violence occurs in Kigali, you would have to immediately bring to the attention of the Security Council the information you have received on the activities of the militia, undertake investigations to determine who is responsible and make appropriate recommendations to the Security Council.

6. Before meeting with the President you should inform the Ambassadors of Belgium, France and the United States of your intentions and suggest to them that they may wish to consider making a similar démarche.

7. For security considerations, we leave it to your discretion to decide whether to inform the PM(D) of your plans before or after the meeting with the President. When you meet with the PM(D), you should explain to him the limits of your mandate. You should also assure him that, while the mandate of UNAMIR does not allow you to extend protection to the informant, his identity and your contacts with him will not be repeat not be revealed.

8. If you have major problems with the guidance provided above, you may consult us further. We wish to stress, however, that the overriding consideration is the need to avoid entering into a course of action that might lead to the use of force and unanticipated repercussions. Regards.

