

MARXIST-LENINIST RESEARCH BUREAU Report No. 1

RWANDA

Geographical Introduction

RWANDA is a land-locked state in central Africa, just south of the Equator, bordered on the west by Zaire, on the north by Uganda, on the east by Tanzania and on the south by Burundi.



The country has an area of 10,100 square miles and a population of 7.1 million. This population is composed of three ethnic groups: Hutu (85%), Tutsi (14%), and Twa (1%). The Twa are believed to have been the earliest inhabitants. The Hutu and Tutsi share a common language and kinship systems. With an average density of population of 762 per square mile, Rwanda is the most densely populated country in Africa,

It is a mountainous country. The climate is tropical -- hot and humid in the lowlands, but cooler in the highlands. The average temperature is 75 degrees Fahrenheit. The average annual rainfall 40-50 inches, and the major rainy season from February to May.

The economy is based almost entirely on agricultural and pastoral farming -- some 93% of the economically active population deriving their livelihood from subsistence farming or the processing of farm produce. The chief cash crops are coffee, tea and pyrethrum -- with coffee accounting for 74-82% of export earnings. The major minerals exported are tin, cassiterite and wolframite.

In 1989,

". . . industry, including manufacturing, power and construction,

employed about 3% of the population".
('Europa World Year Book: 1993', Volume 2; London; 1993; p. 2,421).

The working class is, therefore, very small: in 1966

" . . . some 84,000 persons were employed, temporarily or permanently, for wages".
(Randall Fegley: 'Rwanda'; Oxford; 1993; p. xxvii).

that is, about 1.2% of the population.

There are two official languages -- Kinyarwanda, the native language, and French.

Some 50% of the population adhere to animistic beliefs, while most of the rest are Christians, mainly Catholics.

The unit of currency is the 'Rwanda franc', valued at approximately 79 to the dollar.

The capital is Kigali, with a population of 182,000.

As Imperialist Colony (1899-1962)

In 1899, the territory now known as Rwanda was occupied by German troops and made part of German East Africa.

In 1916, during World War I, the territory was occupied by Belgian troops. After the defeat of Germany, in August 1923 it was handed over -- together with the neighbouring territory of 'Urundi' (later 'Burundi') --- to the Belgian imperialists under the name of 'Rwanda-Urundi' as a colony in the guise of a 'League of Nations Mandate'.

After the Second World War, this colonial position was continued under the guise of a 'United Nations Trust Territory'.

Already, in pre-colonial days, the Tutsi had become

" . . . the dominant force in Rwandan society. . . .
The Hutu . . . were placed in a position not unlike the serfs of mediaeval Europe".
(Randall Fegley: op. cit.; p. xix, xxii).

Both the German and Belgian colonialists attempted to follow a strategy of 'divide and rule' -- according privileges to the minority Tutsi tribe and enlisting their help in ruling the people:

"Under Belgian control, indirect rule via the Tutsi has continued".
(Randall Fegley: ibid.; p. xxii).

"The Tutsi form the ruling class over the vast majority of the population, who belong to the Hutu. . . . The population also includes a number of pygmies of the Twa tribe, who are virtual serfs of the Tutsi".
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 12; p. 17,146).

"The Tutsi . . . exercised political control over the other groups. .

The Belgians, like the Germans, governed Rwanda through its traditional authorities, retaining the established structure based on Tutsi supremacy".
(*'Encyclopedia Americana'*, Volume 24; Danbury (USA); 1992; p. 54, 56).

For example, they gave royal powers to the chief of the Tutsi tribe, who became known officially as

' . . . 'Mwami' (King) . . . of Rwanda".
(*'Keesing's Contemporary Archives'*, Volume 12; p. 17,146).

"The Rwanda monarchy was essentially a Tutsi monarchy".
(*'Encyclopedia Americana'*, Volume 24; Danbury (USA); 1992; p. 55).

The Transition from Colony to Neo-Colony (1959-62)

In November 1959 there was

" . . . a great and bloody uprising of the Hutu against the minority Tutsi aristocracy".
(William L. Langer (Ed.): *'An Encyclopaedia of World History: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern'*; London; 1972; p. 1,272).

The Belgian authorities declared a state of emergency,

" . . . troops were sent from the Congo",
(*'Keesing's Contemporary Archives'*, Volume 12; p. 17,146).

and eventually these succeeded in regaining control.

However, these events convinced the Belgian imperialists that a 'divide and rule' policy based on the Tutsi minority was insufficiently stable, and therefore no longer tenable. They therefore promoted the Hutu to the position of their privileged agents:

"In the years following World War II, tensions increased between the Tutsi aristocracy and the Hutu. . . .

Violent clashes erupted. . . .

Neither willing nor able to stem the tide of Hutu unrest, Belgium lent the full support of its administrative apparatus to the Hutu".
(*'Encyclopedia Americana'*, Volume 24; Danbury (USA); 1992; p. 56).

"Control of local government in Rwanda passed from total Tutsi domination to almost total Hutu domination".
(Randall Fegley: op. cit.; p. xxiii).

But the transfer of Belgian support from the Tutsi minority to the Hutu majority, made possible the introduction of 'democratic reforms' into the colony. In November 1959, the Belgian Minister for the Congo and Rwanda-Urundi, Auguste de Schryer,

" . . . announced . . . a programme of reforms designed to lead to eventual self-government for the territory of Rwanda-Urundi".
(*'Keesing's Contemporary Archives'*, Volume 12; p. 17,146),

In October 1960,

" . . . a provisional government was set up, composed primarily of members of the all-Hutu 'Party for the Emancipation of the Hutu Masses (PARMEHUTU). . . .

In January 1961 the government declared Rwanda a republic and deposed Mwami (King -- Ed.) Kigeri V".
('Encyclopedia Americana', Volume 24; Danbury (USA); 1992; p. 56).

In September 1961,

" . . . the PARMEHUTU scored a landslide victory in legislative elections and, in a UN-sponsored referendum conducted at the same time, the monarchy was formally abolished".
('Encyclopedia Americana', Volume 24; Danbury (USA); 1992; p. 56-57).

In July 1962 the territory -- now known as Rwanda -- was transformed into an imperialist neo-colony, that is, it was given nominal 'independence', while continuing, in fact, to be dominated and exploited by foreign imperialism.

In the same month, Rwanda was admitted to membership of the United Nations.

('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 13; p. 18,895).

The Constitution adopted in November 1962

" . . . established a presidential republic".
('Collier's Encyclopedia', Volume 20; New York; 1992; p. 308).

which was, in fact, a one-party dictatorship under Grégoire Kayibanda:

"The first president of the republic was Grégoire Kayibanda. Formerly a teacher and a journalist for a Catholic newspaper, he founded PARMEHUTU (Party for the Emancipation of the Hutu People), which became the sole political party in Rwanda. He was re-elected in 1965 and 1969".
('Collier's Encyclopedia', Volume 20; New York; 1992; p. 308).

The neo-colonial status of Rwanda was clear from its inception. After the 'Independence' ceremony,

" . . . President Kayibanda expressed his 'sincerest gratitude' to Belgium. . . .

President Kayibanda said in a press interview on July 4 (1962 -- Ed.) that Rwanda had no intention of asking for a Belgian military withdrawal by August 1st".
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 13; p. 18,895).

The Kayibanda dictatorship, based on Hutu supremacy, pursued a policy of discrimination against the Tutsi minority:

"Tutsi who remained in Rwanda faced restricted access to schooling and public employment".
('Collier's Encyclopedia', Volume 20; New York; 1992; p. 308),

which from time to time became a policy of outright genocide. British travellers in Rwanda testified that Kayibanda was carrying out a

" . . . deliberate policy of genocide",
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 14; p. 20,085).

in which there were

" . . . many thousands killed . . . in a bitter renewal of the conflict between the two main ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi".
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 14; p. 20,085).

Kayibanda having

" . . . sent his Ministers to the provinces to conduct a wave of killings among the Tutsi tribe".
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 14; p. 20,085).

The Habyarimana Military Dictatorship (1973-94)

By July 1973, however, it had become clear that the Kayibanda dictatorship was incapable of maintaining power against the growing opposition of the people, and on 3 July 1973 army officers, led by the Minister of Defence Major-General Juvénal Habyalimana, staged a military coup.

A statement by the High Command on the day of the coup stated

" . . . that all political activity throughout Rwanda had been suspended; that the National Assembly was dissolved; that the Government . . . had been dismissed . . .; that a 'commission for the restoration of peace', composed of officers . . ., would replace the former Government.
. . .

President Grégoire Kayibanda (49) was reported to be under house-arrest".
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 19; p. 26,003).

In July 1974, it was announced

" . . . that eight persons, including ex-President Grégoire Kayibanda and several members of his Government . . . had been sentenced to death, but that their sentences had been commuted to life imprisonment".
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 20; p. 26,644).

In February 1975, a convention establishing relations of 'economic co-operation' between the European Economic Community and 46 'developing' countries' (including Rwanda) was signed at Lomé, (the capital of Togo).

('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 21; p. 27,050).

In July 1975

" . . . a new ruling party, the 'National Revolutionary Movement for Development' (MRND), was formed".
('Europa World Year Book: 1993'; op. cit.; p. 2,419).

In December 1978, a new Constitution was adopted

" . . . in which power would be concentrated in the hands of the President. . . . A National Development Council . . . would have legislative powers. . . . The 'National Revolutionary Movement' (MRND), set up by President Habyarimana in 1975, would be the country's sole political organisation".
('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 25; p. 29,487).

Habyarimana was declared 're-elected unopposed' as President in December 1983 and for a third term in December 1988.

('Europa World Year Book: 1993': op. cit.; p. 2,419).

In February 1979 the government announced

" . . . the granting of a posthumous amnesty . . . to former President Grégoire Kayibanda, who had died in December 1976".

('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 27; p. 30,740).

The Habyarimana military dictatorship attempted to continue Rwanda's neo-colonial status. In February 1980,

" . . . the Belgian Government . . . announced . . . an aid programme amounting to the equivalent of \$180 million over four years".

('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 27; p. 30.740).

and in May 1980

" . . . President Habyarimana visited five West European countries (Belgium, France, West Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland) . . . for discussions concerned principally with development policy and economic assistance".

('Keesing's Contemporary Archives', Volume 27; p. 30.740).

The National Revolutionary War (1990-)

On the night of 30 September/1 October 1990, a revolutionary guerilla force entered Rwanda from Uganda with the aim of overthrowing the Habyarimana regime:

"The 4,000-strong rebel army, known as the 'Rwandan Patriotic Front', (FPR) . . . was composed mainly of Rwandan Tutsi refugees, including its leader, Major-General Fred Rwigyema, a deputy commander in Uganda's armed forces. . . . The FPR's avowed aim was the overthrow of the Habyarimana regime and the repatriation of all Rwandan refugees".

('Europa World Year Book: 1993', Volume 2; op. cit.; p. 2,420).

Naturally,

" . . . the FPR was condemned by a number of foreign governments, including those of Belgium, France and the USA".

('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,304).

The Peace Negotiations (1990-93)

The Rwandan government and imperialist troops found themselves incapable of destroying the forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front and their position was further weakened by internal civilian opposition.

In these circumstances, the regime was compelled to make further 'democratic' gestures, and to support, at least in words, the concept of peace negotiations with the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

In November 1990, President Habyarimana

" . . . announced plans to abandon the one-party rule and set up a commission, whose brief was to make recommendations on the country's future political system".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 37; p. 38,046).

In April 1991, the ruling party changed its name to the

" . . . 'National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development' (MRNDD).
('Europa World Year Book: 1993', Volume 2; op. cit.; p. 2,420).

In June 1991, constitutional amendments were promulgated:

"The tenure of the President was to be limited to a maximum of two consecutive five-year terms of office, . . . a new post of prime minister was to be created. . . . A new law to regulate the formation of politica; parties was adopted simultaneously".
('Europa World Year Book: 1993', Volume 2; ibid.; p. 2,420).

However, the Rwandan Patriotic Front

" . . . rejected the constitutional changes and continued fighting".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 37; p. 38,277).

In September 1991,

" . . . negotiations to reach a peace settlement, conducted under the aegis of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) . . . in Zaire (and attended by President Habyarimana, the Presidents of Burundi, Zaire and Nigeria, the Prime Minister of Tanzania and the Ugandan Minister of Foreign Affairs, resulted in a commitment . . . to . . . a . . . cease-fire. . . . Several days later, the Rwandan Minister of Foreign Affairs announced the Government's readiness to enter into an unconditional dialogue with the FPR".
('Europa World Year Book: 1993', Volume 2; ibid.; p. 2,420).

In October 1991

" . . . Sylvestre Nsanzimana, the Justice Minister, was appointed . . . as Prime Minister".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 37; p. 38,520).

In November 1991 and January 1992,

" . . . the major opposition parties . . . which had been excluded from participation in the transitional government for having insisted that the Prime Minister be chosen from a party other than the MRNDD, organised anti-Government demonstrations, demanding the removal of the Prime Minister".
('Europa World Year Book: 1993', Volume 2; op. cit.; p. 2,419).

In December 1991, Nsanzimana

" . . . announced the composition of a two-party transitional government. All but two of the portfolios in the new government, formed in co-operation with the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) were, in fact,

allocated to members of the MRNDD".
(*'Europa World Year Book: 1993'*, Volume 2; *ibid.*; p. 2,419).

By this time, there was widespread realisation that the government's promises of 'power-sharing' were not genuine. In December 1991,

" . . . church leaders condemned the government's 'pseudo-negotiations' with the FRP, and called for real talks conducted by a new and independent transitional government".
(*'Economist Intelligence Unit: 'Country Report: Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi'*, No. 1, 1992; p. 22).

Following these protests, in April 1992 the President agreed to further concessions, to

" . . . the installation of a new transitional government, with Dismas Nsengiyaremye of the MDR as Prime Minister. Of the 19 ministerial posts to be awarded, nine were to be retained by the MRNDD, while the remainder were to be divided between the opposition parties".
(*'Europa World Year Book: 1993'*, Volume 2; *op. cit.*; p. 2,419).

However, in July 1992

" . . . the two parties committed themselves to a . . . cease-fire. The cease-fire would be monitored by a Military Observer Group (GOM)".
(*'Keesing's Record of World Events'*, Volume 38; p. 38,996).

In August 1992, it was agreed for the first time at peace talks in Arusha (Tanzania) between the transitional government and the PFR that

" . . . members of the FPR were to be brought into a new transitional government".
(*'Keesing's Record of World Events'*, Volume 39; p. 39,040).

In January 1993,

" . . . a power-sharing agreement signed in Arusha (Tanzania) . . . was immediately rejected by President Juvénal Habyarimana's National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRNDD). . . .
The agreement had involved allocating seats in the transitional parliament and in the government (with the FPR and the MRNDD to get five seats, while four would go to the Republican Democratic Movement (MDR), three each to the Social-Democratic Party (PSD) and the Liberal Party (PL) and one to the Christian Democratic Party (PDC)".
(*'Keesing's Record of World Events'*, Volume 39; p. 39,257).

In these circumstances, in February 1993,

" . . . the FPR abandoned peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania, and launched a new offensive".
(*'Keesing's Record of World Events'*, Volume 39; p. 39,304).

In May 1993, the Rwandan government,

" . . . conceding to FPR demands, agreed to a nine-month demobilisation programme involving 13,000 troops and 6,000 members of the gendarmerie. . . .

The two sides agreed to the creation of a buffer zone. . . . Security in the zone would be maintained by the neutral Military Observer Group (GOM) set up under the July 1992 cease-fire". ('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,542).

In July 1993 President Habyarimana

" . . . named Agathe Uwilingiyimana, of the Republican Democratic Movement (MDR) as Prime Minister. . . . Her appointment followed the rejection in June of Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye". ('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,547).

In August 1993,

" . . . the peace accord to end the rebellion launched in October 1990 by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR), was finally signed by President Juvénal Habyarimana and the FPR's Colonel Alex Kanyarengwe in Arusha, Tanzania. . . .

It was agreed that the transitional period begin on September 10 (1993 -- Ed.), when the National Development Council (legislature) would be replaced by a Transitional National Assembly and Faustin Twagiramungu, president of the Republican Democratic Movement (MDR), would assume the office of Prime Minister of a broad-based transitional government. . . . His administration would supervise the period leading to the elections scheduled for June 1995". ('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,586).

Imperialist Military Intervention (1993-94)

On 4 October 1990, three days after the Rwandan Patriotic Front had launched its assault upon the Rwandan military dictatorship, French and Belgian troops entered Rwanda, and played the principal role in holding back, for the time being, the FPR forces:

"The containment of the rebellion was largely attributed to the presence of 300 French and 535 Belgian troops dispatched by their governments on October 4, ostensibly to protect their citizens". ('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 36; p. 37,766).

The French government poured

" . . . arms into Rwanda, all destined for the Hutu, from 1990 to 1993. . . .

One reason why France backed the Hutu government with weapons was to retain Rwanda within the francophone group of African states. French has been the second language in Rwanda since 1916, but it was seriously feared in Paris that the dissident and exiled Tutsi FPR, which is backed by Uganda, might link the country to an anglophone East African union. So . . . France delivered everything from light machine guns to field artillery, Alouette and Gazelle helicopters and Guerrier warplanes to the Hutu forces. The French arms were accompanied by 150 'development experts' (that is, French marine paratroops, who trained the soldiers who later manned the Hutu death squads". ('Evening Standard', 24 June 1994; p. 13).

In February 1993,

" . . . a company of French troops arrived in the country to reinforce the French force stationed there since October 1990. These were joined by a further 250 soldiers".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,305).

In June 1993, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 846

" . . . to establish the 'UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda' (UNOMUR) to monitor the Uganda-Rwanda border to verify that no military assistance was reaching the FPR".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,496).

In August 1993, in accordance with UN Resolution 846,

" . . . the 'UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda' (UNOMUR) began deployment on the Ugandan side of the border . . . to verify that no military assistance reached the FPR. Members of an international peace-keeping force were expected to arrive by the beginning of September to augment the existing Military Observer Group (GOM). This force would maintain security in the buffer zone between the two sides, oversee the demobilisation process and ensure the creation of an integrated army".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,586).

In October 1993,

" . . . the UN Security Council . . . adopted Resolution 872 establishing the 'UN Assistance Mission to Rwanda' (UNAMIR) to assist in the implementation of the peace agreement signed in August".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 39; p. 39,672).

The Removal of Habyarimana (1994)

The power-sharing concessions which the Habyarimana regime had been compelled to make to the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the Rwandan people were unacceptable to the imperialists and their agents in the Rwandan military.

On 6 April 1994, President Juvénal Habyarimana, together with the President of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira, were killed when the plane in which they were travelling was shot down while approaching Kigali airport.

"Initial reports indicated that it had been hit by gunfire",
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,943).

and reliable press reports spoke bluntly of

" . . . the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana".
('Guardian', 20 June 1994; p. 9).

The Rwandan Patriotic Front

" . . . accused extreme Hutu elements in the army, and this view was later endorsed by Faustin Twagiramungu, president of the Republican Democratic Party (MDR) and Prime Minister-designate of the planned future broad-based transitional government. Speaking on April 25, Twagiramungu argued that the FPR had 'nothing to gain' from the death of Habyarimana, and suggested that it was more likely that Hutu extremists in the army had killed him, to 'revive the civil war' because they resented sharing

power with Tutsi".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,943).

A United Nations report dated June 1994 said that the more extreme elements in the government were

" . . . happy to sacrifice Habyarimana as an excuse to launch long-planned massacres of the Tutsi. A Belgian newspaper claimed last month that the men who fired at the plane were . . . French".
('Sunday Times', 3 July 1994; p. 23).

Certainly, with the killing of Habyarimana the peace accords reached between his regime and the Rwandan Patriotic Front were abruptly annulled:

"The accords between the Kigali government and the RPF collapsed with the killing of President Juvénal Habyarimana".
('Evening Standard', 24 June 1994; p. 23).

As soon as the news of the killing of the President spread on 7 April,

" . . . Kigali quickly descended into chaos. Members of the security forces, together with armed youths, rampaged through the streets wielding machetes, clubs and guns. . . . Targets of the violence included not only the 600 FPR combatants based in the city under the UN-supervised peace plan, but also opposition politicians and anyone, Tutsi or Hutu, who was thought to be sympathetic to the FPR rebels. Hundreds were killed within the first few hours, including the Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and members of her family, who were murdered by the Presidential Guard".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,944).

"The killing of President Juvénal Habyarimana . . . unleashed a wave of massacres. Half a million people are estimated to have died".
('Evening Standard', 24 June 1994; p. 23).

Reliable observers repudiate the myth that the internal conflict in Rwanda is simply inter-ethnic in character:

"The myth is that the Rwandan conflict is an ethnic one. . . . But this obscures the reality of a war in which one side, the government, has used ethnicity to whip up opposition to the RPF's demands for a share in a democratic society".
('Guardian', 24 June 1994; p. 22).

On 9 April 1994,

" . . . Theodore Sindikubgabo, Speaker of the National Development Council (CND) (legislature) announced that, in accordance with the Constitution, he had assumed the presidency.

He named a new transitional government, which included members of the five political parties in the outgoing Cabinet"
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,944).

but did not include any representative of the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Jean Kambanda was appointed Prime Minister.

An FPR radio broadcast on 9 April

" . . . described the members of the new government as 'strong opponents' of the Arusha agreement, desperate to cling to power".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,944).

and in a broadcast on 12 April,

" . . . the FPR rejected the legitimacy of the new government, announcing its decision to resume fighting, . . . branding the new government a 'murderous clique'"
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,944).

Imperialist Military Intervention (1993-1994)

On 9 April 1994, Belgium and France deployed further troops in Rwanda, ostensibly

" . . . to ensure the safety of their nationals.

The evacuation of almost the entire expatriate community, completed by April 14, was facilitated by an agreement between UNAMIR and the FPR to ensure the safe passage of evacuation convoys".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,944).

But the reign of terror and the imperialist military intervention did not hold up the advance of the Rwandan Patriotic Front forces. Already on 12 April

" . . . as FPR forces closed in on Kigali, the new government fled the capital to Gitarama, 50 km., to the south".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,944).

and

" . . . by April 13 the FPR, by now joined by Hutu civilians opposed to the military, claimed to control 'four strategic points' in Kigali, as well as large areas in northern Rwanda. Rebel forces fought pitched battles with government troops in the centre of Kigali as artillery mortars and rocket-propelled grenades rained down over the city".
('Keesing's Record of World Events', Volume 40; p. 39,944).

On 8 June 1994 the United Nations

" . . . finally approved a new mandate for a renewed peace-keeping force of 5,500 troops".
('Guardian', 10 June 1994; p. 24).

On 12 June 1994

" . . . rebel forces seized the southern town of Gitarama, forcing the last government officials and forces to flee from their headquarters. . .

The RPF has effectively surrounded government forces in the capital, Kigali. . . .

Ministers in the self-appointed interim government of President Theodore Sindikubwabo fled to the far north-western town of Gisenyi on Sunday (12 June, 1994 — Ed.), UN officials in Kigali confirmed".
('Guardian', 14 June 1994; p. 16).

On 22 June 1994, the UN Security Council approved French imperialist intervention in Rwanda for 'humanitarian reasons':

"The UN Security Council gave its green light to the controversial operation which France insists will be purely humanitarian. . . .

Misgivings about the French operation led five Security Council members -- Brazil, China, New Zealand, Nigeria and Pakistan -- to abstain".

('Guardian', 23 June 1994; p. 28).

Later the same day,

" . . . the decision to send French troops into Rwanda was taken by the Prime Minister, Edouard Balladur".

('Evening Standard', 24 June 1994; p. 13).

and on 23 June 1994 French troops began operations in western Rwanda under the code-name 'Operation Turquoise'.

France's decision was taken

" . . . despite the refusal of all its main allies to commit troops.

. . .

Diplomatic and military sources said the 2,000-strong French force, backed by a few hundred Senegalese troops and possibly some Ghanaians, would be based in northern Zaire".

('Guardian', 21 June 1994; p. 12).

Few people accepted the official claims that the imperialist military intervention had 'humanitarian motives':

"The current French deployment, which officials cynically present as humanitarian, . . . is rather the continuation of the Elyseé's old policies designed to keep the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FRP) from taking power. The French gauge correctly that the regional impact (on, for example, Zaire) of an educated and democratic government in Rwanda would be explosive".

('Guardian', 24 June 1994; p. 22).

The French imperialist intervention was carried out in full collaboration with the death squads of the Rwandan army and militia:

"Planeloads of French paratroopers . . . were flown to Goma, a Zairean town on the Rwandan border also used by French arms dealers to break a UN embargo and ship weapons to Rwandan forces. . . .

The weapons were immediately trucked across the frontier under the protection of the Zairean army.

Some arms will have been used to defend diminishing Rwandan government-held territory from rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front attack.

But there is little doubt that, because of the relationship between the government army and the militias, the weapons will also have armed the death squads responsible for ethnic massacres.

The French consul in Goma has justified the shipments in conversations with international agencies as fulfilling private French contracts".

('Guardian', 23 June 1994; p. 28).

"French army commanders in Rwanda are working closely with officials

implicated in the murder and persecution of Tutsi. . . .

French collaboration with the killers continues to raise fears of ulterior motives. . . .

The French commander in Cyangungu, Colonel Didier Thibaut, . . . said the French army has no authority to disarm the militia or dismantle the road-blocks, even though these are a threat to civilian lives. . . .

Colonel Thibaut has built a close working relationship with the prefect, Mgambiki Emanuel. . . .

Although Mr. Mgambiki is directly linked with the killings, Col. Thibaut said it is no obstacle to working with him".
(*'Guardian'*, 1 July 1994; p. 26).

The operation was planned as a preliminary to the arrival of 5,500 'peace-keeping' troops:

"The operation is expected to involve 2,500 French red berets . . . and aims to pave the way for the arrival of 5,000 United Nations peace-keeping troops late next month".
(*'Guardian'*, 24 June 1994; p. 1).

Rwandans in Brussels demonstrated against the intervention:

"In Brussels, Rwandans, angry about France's intervention, . . . vowed to hold a vigil there until Paris ends its action".
(*'Guardian'*, 24 June 1994; p. 11).

On 30 June 1994,

". . . the United Nations human rights investigator for Rwanda called . . . for an international tribunal to judge military and political officials suspected of genocide against the minority Tutsi, . . .

René Degni-Segui also said the interim government was fully liable in that it failed to forestall atrocities by armed militias".
(*'Guardian'*, 1 July 1994; p. 26).

Despite the imperialist military intervention, however, by June 1994, it was clear that the RPF forces had

". . . captured two-thirds of the country in the past ten weeks".
(*'Guardian'*, 20 June 1994; p. 9).

and on 4 July 1994 Rwandan Patriotic Front troops

". . . captured the capital, Kigali, and the last big government-held southern town, Butare".
(*'Guardian'*, 5 July 1994; p. 1).

The French imperialists now announced plans to intervene actively in the war of national liberation against the forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front by establishing a 'humanitarian safe zone' in western Rwanda:

"France has notified the United Nations Security Council that . . . it plans to establish 'a humanitarian safe zone where the population would be sheltered from the combat'.

The French foreign minister said the proposal is backed by the UN

Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali".
('Guardian', 4 July 1994; p. 9).



"In a radical policy switch, French troops were ordered to halt the advance. . . . The RPF secretary-general, Theogene Rudasingwa, warned in London yesterday that the rebels would resist any French attempt to exclude them from the area west of Gikongoro: 'We have the right to be anywhere in our country', he said. 'This confirms that the French role is not humanitarian'. . . . Gerald Gahima, the RPF's special envoy to the US and the UN, . . . said: 'The so-called security zone is in effect really only a safe haven for the authors and perpetrators of the genocide'".
('Guardian', 5 July 1994; p. 1).

CONCLUSION^

MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY HOLDS THAT, IN A COLONIAL-TYPE COUNTRY, THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD STRIVE TO GAIN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND TRANSFORM IT INTO A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

HOWEVER, IN A COLONIAL-TYPE COUNTRY LIKE RWANDA, WHERE THERE IS, AS YET, NO SIGNIFICANT WORKING CLASS AND NO MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, TRANSITION TO THE STAGE OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS NOT POSSIBLE.

THE STRUGGLE BEING WAGED BY THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT IS AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE WHICH SHOULD BE SUPPORTED BY ALL PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE AIM OF THIS STRUGGLE SHOULD BE TO END IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE, AND TO ESTABLISH A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY WITH EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR PEOPLE OF ALL ETHNIC GROUPS. BUT THAT IS SOMETHING WHICH ONLY THE RWANDAN PEOPLE CAN ENSURE.

THE PRINCIPAL TASK OF MARXIST-LENINISTS OUTSIDE RWANDA IS TO DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO END EXTERNAL IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN RWANDA AND ALLOW THE RWANDAN PEOPLE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY.

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