

**MDR**  
**MOUVEMENT DEMOCRATIQUE REPUBLICAIN**  
**Cabinet du Président**  
**BP 1524 KIGALI**

## **CLARIFICATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE M.D.R. AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF THE RWANDAN REPUBLIC**

*The Rwandan people and the international community remember the position of the MDR party on the great national problems described in a document published 6 November 1994 in Kigali, only four months after the setting up of the government of national unity in which the party is represented. In this document, the MDR already strongly opposed the growing insecurity which was rampant in the country and particularly against the "double genocide" or the systematic massacres perpetrated blindly in reprisals, by the army and the cadres of the RPF, on the population remaining in the country. It protested against the abductions and disappearances of persons, against the massive arrests and arbitrary detentions, against the illegal occupation of possessions of others by soldiers and RPF members who, drunk from their military victory, wished to govern as a conqueror who considers the people under his yoke as an object, to which he applies the sole law of the conqueror on the conquered. The pursuit of these massacres, killings, assassinations, and other flagrant violations of human rights by the soldiers and cadres of the RPF brought me in my capacity as Prime Minister and also President of the MDR party to condemn without reserve, on the air waves of the national radio, 8 December 1994, the criminal comportment of the RPA and of its command erected into a parallel government who whose punishments strangely recall the outdated practices abhorred by the Rwandan people, of the feudal-monarchic dictatorship such as the blind and savage vengeance "INGOYI" (torture by cord) and other physical tortures to which victims are submitted before their execution. The intemperate reaction of the Vice-President of the Republic and strong man of the regime, Major-General Paul Kagame, on 24 December 1994 caused the mask to fall and reveal the true face of the power which wished to install itself in Rwanda.*

*The massacres of KIBEHO, GISOVU, RUTSIRO, KABUTARE, SAVE, NSHILI, etc... the premeditated assassinations of Prefet RWANGABO, of sous- préfets HABINSHUTI and KOLONI burned to a cinder with his family, and of the Abbe NTAHOBARI, the attempted assassination of the journalist Edouard MUTSINZI, the "tutsisation" of power and the national life, the systematic ethnic cleansing of certain regions become TUTSILANDS, of the judicial system, of the administration and of business, ethnic segregation, demonization based on collective responsibility in the genocide erected into a system of government, the harassment of the population and the massive arrests orchestrated by the new death squads of the DMI (Defense Military Intelligence) and the commanders of the army contributed to bring about a governmental crisis which resulted in my resignation from my post as Prime Minister of the government in August 1995.*

*Consultations conducted with certain members of the different organs of the MDR party indicate that the MDR should withdraw without delay from all institutions of the RPF regime in order to refuse to bear the responsibility, before the Rwandan people and of History, for the crimes committed by the RPF. It is scarcely surprising to state that the RPF continues to manipulate certain members of the party, otherwise known for their opportunism and their political adventurism and to terrorize other members in the objective of destroying the party and of progressively installing a de facto single party system. Let us recall that in violation of the Loi Fondamentale of the country, particularly in articles 52 and 53 of the Arusha Peace Accord, the President of the Republic has, in August 1995, proceeded to nominate ministers whom he calls MDR without consulting the organs of the party. Even more, the Vice-President of the Republic declared in a council of ministers held on 11 August 1995, that he would arrest all those who were still members of the MDR party. The recent arrest of the MDR deputy for the Prefecture of Butare, Jean Baptiste SEBARAME is a confirmation which in fact only adds to the multiple other arrests without apparent motive of militants of the MDR.*

*Dealing with the special communique which was pretended to have been published by the MDR party on the date of 21 November 1995, we call attention of all Rwandans and particularly of all members of the MDR party and of the international community the following:*

*Considering that among the signatories of the said communique figure persons not known to the organs of the party or having been suspended and who have acted in violation of the statutes of the party, specifically in relation to that concerning the direction of the party, the basic principles governing the party, the procedure of calling meetings of the party organs as well of other customarily required rules, discipline, as well as the acquisition of the status of member of the party and/or of its organs.*

*Considering that the status of President elected by the ordinary Congress of the party reserves to him, according to the statutes, the prerogative to engage and legally represent the party. Considering that among the signatories, only three persons are still party, and this in provisional fashion, of the Political Bureau which also was set up provisionally in August 1994 and that the 9 other persons are usurpers of titles, unknown and without doubt manipulated by the RPF.*

**IN WITNESS WHEREOF WE AFFIRM THAT THE COMMUNIQUE OF 21 NOVEMBER 1995 IS NULL AND VOID AND WITHOUT EFFECT**

*Regarding the contents of my declarations at The Hague and Montreal which speak of this pretended communique, I reiterate assume entirely the positions expressed at these occasions.*

*As for the problem of refugees, as long as the conditions of security, of return in dignity and with recuperation of property occupied by persons supported by the RPF regime are not created and the functioning of justice animated by the thirst for vengeance, the Rwandan refugees should not return since return without these guarantees exposes them to grave dangers.*

*As for the massacre of more than two hundred fifty thousand persons by the RPA, we hold irrefutable proofs supporting our words and we place a challenge to whoever pretends the contrary, to accept that an independent international inquiry be conducted into these crimes. The magnitude of the ethnic massacres charged to the RPF, in less than sixteen months of power, surpasses by far the total of the crimes committed under the Habyarimana regime up to his assassination. In any case, the crimes committed under the Habyarimana regime, the massacres and genocide which it had prepared, as monstrous as they are, can in no way justify or excuse those imputable to the RPF.*

*If it does not wish to be accused of complicity in the new genocide under way in Rwanda, the international community should, without delay, halt all aid and assistance which would comfort the Rwandan government in its criminal enterprise.*

*Made in Brussels, 26 November 1995*

*Faustin TWAGIRAMÜNGU*

*Former Prime Minister and President of the MDR party.*