

SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE
PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Enclosed are clippings of the latest local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Press and Public Affairs Office as of:

Friday, September 03, 2004

The press clips are produced Monday to Friday.
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HALLORAN'S

SEX CHILD

FLEES TO GUINEA!



HALLORAN: fed up

JUSTICE ADEMOSU has rescinded the bail condition granted to Special Court police investigator, Peter Halloran last week and would spend the next eight days in prison following adjournment of the matter to September 10 after the prime witness is suspected to have been taken to Guinea.

by
CHARLES McCRAE

"I need not make sure the accused persons don't jump bail. Above that there is threat about the prosecution witness being interfered with.

"If any threat is to the cause of justice the court should not take it lightly. I consider the application made against bail refused," Justice Ademosu

said. This follows a plea by the prosecution lawyer Mrs O George deputising JB Jenkins Johnston that Halloran can be put on bail since the offence he is being charged with are bailable offences.

"There are reliable sureties of Sierra Leoneans and non-Sierra Leoneans to bail him," she said. Lawyer Elvis and SM Turay representing the second

and third accused persons respectively, also pleaded in similar terms.

But lawyer SK Bah representing the state said Halloran's bail has already been restricted at the lower court and opposed on the grounds that one of their witnesses have been interfered with.

"That was the main reason why your brother below restricted their bail.

"We are yet to make headway to secure the witness. The state is unprepared if the accused persons are granted bail. We will not be able to get that witness," Bah said.

Responding, Justice Ademosu refused Halloran bail.

Peter Halloran was taken to the high court on a 136 fast track trial facing a four count charge of conspiracy contrary to the laws of Sierra Leone, unlawful carnal knowledge, indecent assault and procuring a girl child under

the age of 14 years.

A warrant of arrest was earlier issued for second accused Sheka Fofanah and third accused Abdul Fofanah and lawyers Elvis and SM Turay had applied for bail since both are innocent until proven guilty.

FDP learnt some members of the girl's family were also detained at the court cells and threats for their custody at Pademba Road prisons.

The matter has been adjourned 10 September 2004.

Judicial sources said the witness is now in Guinea to pervert the course of justice for the state.



JOHNSTON: absent

TIMBO: chief justice

For di People

Friday Sept. 3rd 2004

as witness at large...

Special Court Investigator refused bail

By Ophaniel Gooding
Justice Ademusu has
yesterday refused granting
bail to the Australian

Special Court Investigator-
Peter Halloran and two
other accused persons-
Foday and Sheku Fofanah.

The accused persons a
standing trial for sexu
assault. In compliance wi
Contd. Page 2

Special Court Investigator refused bail

From Front Page

the identification process, State Counsel- S.A. Bah called on three witnesses who identified the accused persons and tendered their warrants and charges of offences of the accused persons in the indictment were also read. Defence Counsels- M.P. Mammie and O. George, deputizing leading Defense Counsel- Jenkins Johnston for the first accused, made a bail application. In his application, Defence Counsel O. George stated that, "the offences before this Court are bailable offences and for which the Criminal Procedure Act Sec.79 so states that

accused persons can be admitted to bail." She added, "there are reliable sureties, Sierra Leonean as well as non-Sierra Leonean permanently residing in the Western Area... As we all know, bail is at your discretion, and we are craving that you exercise that discretion judiciously." She also said, "My Lord, I am asking you to stand up for what is right." Counsel for the second accused- A. Kargbo, in his application for bail stated, "the essence of bail under Sec.79 is to ensure that the accused do not jump bail or interfere with the witness." He went on, "as far as our jurisdiction is concerned, a man is presume innocent until he is found guilty by

a Court of law." He said that they had granted bail to the accused person previously in the Magistrate Court and had never jumped bail; adding that the accused persons were present on every adjourned date. M.S. Turay representing the third stated in his application stated, "...the third accused is a Sierra Leonean whose umbilical cord is embedded in Sierra Leone." He added, "jumping bail is out of the ratio..." State Counsel- S.A. Bah objected to these bail applications on the grounds that, "the state is against the accused persons being granted bail." He went on, "I have

listened to my learned colleagues referring to the matter that bail has been granted by the Court below... But they failed to tell this Court that their bail was extricated." He went on, "one of our witnesses had been apparently interfered with and that was the main reason why your brother below extricated their bail." He went on further, "the position still remains the same and we are yet to make head way to secure that witness and the State is of fear that if the accused persons are granted bail, we will not be in position to get that witness..." In his ruling, Justice Ademusu said, "I have heard and considered the bail application." He went on to say that the Court need not to be reminded about presumption of innocence; adding, "I know I have

AURKO

Friday Sept. 3rd 2004

09/01/2004 12:50:33

Australian Sierra Leone court official back in jail

FREETOWN, Sept 1 (Reuters) - An Australian investigator at **Sierra Leone's** U.N.-backed war crimes tribunal was sent back to jail on Wednesday after accusations he was hampering investigations into a sexual abuse case against him.

Peter Halloran, an Australian police officer on secondment to the Freetown court, is accused of ``unlawful carnal knowledge, indecent assault and procuring a girl under 14 years."

Halloran, who faces up to 15 years in prison if found guilty, was released on bail when the trial opened last week.

State prosecutors said they had received a statement from a senior police officer that Halloran and two Sierra Leoneans charged in connection with the alleged crime had been interfering with one of the witnesses.

``I am confused and surprised about why my bail has been suspended," Halloran told Reuters as he was led from the court on Wednesday.

Local magistrate Bankole Shyllon suspended the three men's bail on the prosecution's request.

``There is not one iota of evidence before this court to support the very wild allegation made by the prosecution," said Halloran's lawyer Jenkins Johnston.

``I am totally flabbergasted."

The case against Halloran is an embarrassment for the West African country's war crimes tribunal, set up to bring to justice those bearing the greatest responsibility for atrocities committed during its 10-year civil war.

The special court suspended Halloran in June as soon as it became aware of the allegations against him, but an internal inquiry found insufficient evidence to support the accusation.

UConn to host Human Rights Conference

Civil liberties vs. security. Human rights vs. The War on Terror. Long before these issues began to dominate the international headlines, the Human Rights Institute at the University of Connecticut started its own exploration into what has become one of the most dire issues of the new millennium. The result is the inaugural Human Rights in an Age of Terrorism conference, the brainchild of institute director Richard Ashby Wilson.

"We started organizing this conference last year, long before Abu Ghraib, because it struck us early on that the war on terror was being conducted without regard for human rights," said Wilson.

The conference, scheduled for September 9-11 on Uconn's Storrs campus, brings together leading figures in the field of human rights. For three days, these leaders will examine the impact of the war on terror in the field of human rights. For three days, these leaders will examine the impact of the war on terror on human rights worldwide and seek to reconcile civil liberties with the need for security. All sessions are open to the University community and the general public.

Senator Christopher Dodd will deliver the introduction.

Michael Ignatieff, the director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, is the conference's keynote speaker and will deliver the Sackler Human Rights Lecture.

"There was a general drift towards an abusive government. You could see it in the Patriot Act, which allowed such rights violations as having your phone tapped without a warrant. You could see it in the actions of the presidency. You could see it in the designation of prisoners as 'enemy combatants' who had no recourse to a lawyer or judicial review," Wilson said.

Other speakers include Richard Goldstone, retired justice of the South African Constitutional Court and former chair of the International Task Force on Terrorism; Angelia Means, former law clerk for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia; Julie Mertus, consultant with the Humanitarianism and War Project at the Watson Institute for International Affairs; Aryeh Neier, president of the Open Society Institute and former executive director of Human Rights Watch; Geoffrey Robertson, a judge for the Special Court for Sierra Leone and counsel in many landmark human rights cases; Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and former President of Ireland; and Nadine Strossen, president of the American Civil Liberties Union.

They will discuss and debate topics that include "Do We Have to Choose Between Human Rights and Security?" "Connecting Human Development and Human Security," "Terrorism and Human Rights," "Privacy, Technology and Civil Liberties," "Fallacies about Liberty and Security," "Can Terrorists Get a Fair Trial," "The Shaken Kaleidoscope of Human Rights Since 9/11" and "Public International Law and Terrorism."

Wilson stresses the importance of adhering to the rule of law and international legal norms in the war on terror, so as to avoid mistreatment of prisoner and privacy rights violations of U.S. citizens. "Right now, placing emphasis on a war on terror means there is an overemphasis on the military solution and not enough on the human rights solution," he said.

All sessions are free of charge to UConn students, staff and faculty. Registration information, general public fees and further details for the Human Rights In An Age of Terrorism conference can be found at www.humanrights.uconn.edu or by calling 860-427-7888.

Source: [News & Business](#) > [News](#) > **News, Most Recent 90 Days (English, Full Text)** 

Terms: **liberia; over 71,000 disarm** ([Edit Search](#))

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Africa News September 2, 2004 Thursday

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Africa News

September 2, 2004 Thursday

LENGTH: 821 words

HEADLINE: Liberia;

Over 71,000 Combatants **Disarm** - UNMIL Head Of DDRR Discloses

BYLINE: The Analyst

BODY:

The head of the United Nations Mission in **Liberia** (UNMIL) Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) Section, Mr. Clive Jacnie, has disclosed that some 71,001 combatants have disarmed thus far.

Mr. Jacnie made the disclosure yesterday at the UNMIL's regular press briefing held at the Congo Town headquarters of the multinational force.

Besides giving the figure of the total number ex-fighters who turned in their weapons to the multinational peacekeeping force, he also disclosed that the disarmament exercise would close in October.

However, Mr. Jacnie did not say whether the number is close to the total number of combatants, including the number of child soldiers, women and men.

He did not also say as to which of the factions top the list of the combatants who have disarmed so far.

Apart from the total of combatants, he however disclosed that 63,163 ex-combatants have graduated from the UN habitat program.

Another issue Mr. Jacnie commented on was the suspension of the VOA disarmament site. According to him, the site will be suspended on September 4 but did not give reasons for the the closure of the VOA disarmament site.

Despite the over 71,000 thousands ex-combatants who have turned in their arms, the UNMIL DDRR Section head has indicated that UNMIL is not satisfied with the level of the DDRR process.

He therefore cautioned fighters, especially those who are in Monrovia and its environs who have not given their guns to UNMIL to do so now.

"Go to the Omega Towel area which is a pick-up point to join the DDRR program," he warned.

While contemplating on closing the VOA disarmament site or to halt the process by October 30, Mr. Jacnie said that disarmament would get underway in Voinjama, Lofa County on September 8.

Lofa County, is the major stronghold of the rebels Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD).

Already, there are reports that some fighters of the LURD factions involved in arms trading across the border with Guinea.

There are fears also that if Lofa County is not properly disarmed and made arms free, it is likely that some unscrupulous individuals could cause some problems in that county, observes said.

Apparently cognizance of this, Mr. Jacnie said UNMIL is working hard and is confident that there would not be any trouble again if the peacekeeping force left.

Mr. Jacnie said that another area that would be affected is Tubmanburg, Bomi County, a stronghold of LURD. He said disarmament will be suspended in Tubmanburg shortly. He did not also give reasons.

However, Mr. Jacnie expressed disappointment over the slow-pace of the DDRR process.

According to him, not many ex-combatants are turning up for disarmament in Tubmanburg against their expectation.

Mr. Jacnie warned that any Liberian citizens found with guns after the disarmament process will dealt with in accordance with the laws of **Liberia**.

In a related development, a release from the UNMIL Public Affairs quotes the Special Representative of the Secretary General ad Coordinator of UN Operations in **Liberia**, Jacques Paul Klein, yesterday announced plans to conclude the ongoing disarmament of ex-combatants in the country at the end of October, giving the remaining former fighters only two more months to give up their arms.

Announcing the cut-off date for the disarmament exercise that first began in December last year, Mr.

Klein urged all remaining former fighters to surrender their arms to UNMIL peacekeepers before October 30.

"I encourage all combatants who are out there to **disarm**. Do not let people talk you out of it. You will be the beneficiaries of vocational training, education and other benefits that the disarmament program has built into it," he noted.

In an UNMIL release issued last evening, Mr. Klein said leaders of **Liberia's** three warring factions would come together on 1st November to formally announce the end of the disarmament exercise in the country.

"Anyone found with weapons after 30 October would be prosecuted for illegal possession of weapons under Liberian law," he warned.

The release quotes Mr. Klein as expressing satisfaction over the smooth disarmament of more than **71,000** ex-combatants to date, more than double the original estimates.

According to him, **Liberia** had come a long way during the last one year and praised the peacekeepers, ex-combatants and the people of **Liberia** for the success of the disarmament program.

"We now have our civil affairs offices stationed throughout the country. In fact, we are starting military rotations for people who have been here for a year now," he said.

Mr. Klein also announced plans to accelerate planning for the national elections scheduled to take place in October 2005.

He said a six-week voter registration exercise would begin in April next year, with the help of some 4,000 Liberian students hired for the purpose.

Kofi Annan Appoints New UNAMSIL Chief

United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has appointed J. Victor Angelo (Portugal) as his Deputy Special Representative (DSRSG) for Sierra Leone.

He succeeds Alan Doss, who is now the DSRSG for Cote d'Ivoire.

Immediately prior to this appointment, Mr. Angelo has been the UN Resident/Humanitarian Coordinator and the UNDP Resident Representative in Zimbabwe since September 2000.

Mr. Angelo served with the United Nations for 26 years. From 1999 to 2000 he was the UN's Special Envoy for East Timor and from 1998 to 1999 he was Deputy Regional Director for Africa at UNDP's New York headquarters. He has

SEE PAGE 3



New Deputy UNAMSIL Head Named

also served extensively in Africa as UNDP Resident Coordinator and Resident Representative in Tanzania from 1994 to 1997 and in a similar capacity in the Gambia from 1989 to 1994. From 1985 to 1989 he was the UNDP Deputy Resident Representative in the Central African Republic.

His other posting on the African continent were as UN Population Fund (UNFPA) Representative in Mozambique from 1980 to 1985 and UN Advisor in Sao Tome and Principe from 19978 to 1980.

Prior to joining the UN, Mr. Angelo functioned as University Lecturer and Senior Statiscian at the Portuguese National institute of Statistics. Between 1974 and 1975 he was a Member of the Portugues Electoral Commission.

Salome Times

Friday Sept. 3rd 2004



VOICE of AMERICA

UN Repatriating Child Soldiers in West Africa*Carrie Giardino**Abidjan**02 Sep 2004, 16:00 UTC*

The United Nations says it is trying to repatriate hundreds of child soldiers who had been recruited from around West Africa to fight in Liberia's civil war. The U.N. mission in Liberia says it is also hoping to complete the disarmament of the former combatants by the end of October.

The United Nations estimates that at least 10-percent of the 10-thousand child soldiers who fought in Liberia's civil war were actually recruited from other countries, including Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Ivory Coast.

Now that the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone have ended, U.N. representative Alan Doss says returning the children to their families is a prime objective.

He says, "The policy of the United Nations led by UNICEF is actually to do whatever you can to reunify families. Even if it is not the direct family because we believe that institutionalization of children in that sense is undesirable, should be very much the last resort."

The U.N. deputy representative to Liberia, Souren Seraydarian, says the children go through the disarmament process and then are sent to interim care centers set up by UNICEF where their families are located.

He says, "We had child soldiers from Sierra Leone here, Sierra Leonean children who fought here and after their disarmament and demobilization, we have negotiated with the government in Freetown as well as the U.N. mission in Sierra Leone and we organized their repatriation home. I do not remember now the exact figure, it was something around 70 children and they were unified with their families there."

He says there are reports that some of the former child soldiers are being recruited for other wars.

"So far, we had only two children in interim care centers who reported that they had been contacted while they were leaving the interim care center to join their family and offering them some money. I think it was 75 dollars to participate in further training and to go to one of the neighboring countries. I do not think it was for Guinea, I think it was through Guinea probably to Cote d'Ivoire," he says.

But he says the problem does not appear to be widespread.

Many of the children, who fought throughout much of the 14-year civil war in Liberia, have had no formal education. Almost half of those children, Mr. Seraydarian says, are expected to take an accelerated education program.

In a related development, the United Nations has said it hopes to complete the process of disarming the former combatants in Liberia by the end of October.

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Terms: **zambia; war criminals must face local courts** ([Edit Search](#))

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Africa News September 2, 2004 Thursday

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Africa News

September 2, 2004 Thursday

LENGTH: 471 words

HEADLINE: **Zambia;**
'War Criminals Must Face Local Courts'

BYLINE: The Times of **Zambia**

BODY:

JUSTICE Minister George Kunda has called for the enactment of universal laws that will make **war** crimes punishable in the national **courts** of all countries in the region.

Mr Kunda said this when he officiated at a workshop on implementing the legislation of the International **Criminal Court** (ICC) in Lusaka yesterday.

He said ratifying the Rome statute for the formation of the ICC was not enough to prosecute offenders as individual countries in the region needed to have laws to do that in their own **courts**.

He noted, however, that such a task was not an easy one as it required that governments undertook comprehensive reviews of their legislative and institutional frameworks.

Mr Kunda said for the implementation process to be successful, Government must ensure that all the major stakeholders were consulted at all stages.

"It is in this regard that I wish to reiterate Government's commitment to the full implementation of the Rome statute of the ICC.

Government has already begun the process of domesticating the provisions of this statute," he said.

He said his ministry had just completed the preparation of a Cabinet memorandum though further consultations with relevant ministries were still required before it was presented to Cabinet.

"The Government does recognise that success of the **court** lies in three areas. Firstly that without international cooperation by states, it will not be possible for the **court** to carry out its functions," he said.

The minister noted that **Zambia** was, and continued to be, committed to the ideals of the ICC as she had been involved from the outset in the negotiations on its establishment.

Zambia signed the Rome statute of the ICC on July 17, 1998 and ratified the same on November 13, 2002.

Head of regional delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Zoran Jovanovic said he was pleased to note the commitment **Zambia** had advanced towards the implementation of such an important instrument.

He said **Zambia** was one of the 94 states that ratified the ICC statute in 2002 while Namibia did so in June the same year and Botswana in September 2000.

Mr Jovanovic noted, however, that ratification was only the first step but that the implementation into domestic law of the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) treaties that dealt with the law relating to armed conflicts was vital in the fight against impunity.

"The ICC statute, while not solely an IHL instrument, creates the first permanent international body to be able to deal with the prosecution of **war** crimes.

"There have been other tribunals, Nuremberg, Tokyo, the ICTY, the ICTR and recently the Special **Court** for Sierra Leone, but the ICC has the advantage in that because of its permanence, it can be a real deterrent to the commission of such offences," he said.

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WORLD

AFRICA & MIDDLE EAST

The Tutsis

The "Jews" of Africa

Aug 19th 2004 | BUKAVU, GOMA AND KIGALI
from The Economist print edition

Central Africa could be stumbling towards another disastrous war. To understand why, it helps to examine the Tutsis' relations with their neighbours

[Get article background](#)

BEFORE the massacre, anonymous leaflets were circulated, calling for Tutsis to be killed. Then, on the night of August 13th, armed marauders overran the Gatumba camp. With guns and machetes, they shot and chopped 160 defenceless refugees to death. The victims were wrapped in pale shrouds and buried in a rough communal grave. The massacre took place in Burundi. The government of Rwanda reacted by announcing that it might have to invade Congo. Small wonder that outsiders find central Africa's wars confusing.

It is not yet clear who carried out the pogrom. A Burundian rebel group claimed responsibility, but witnesses reported that Rwandan and Congolese gunmen also took part. The only certainty is that the victims were mostly Congolese Tutsis.

AFP



Fresh graves; fresh reasons to fight

The Great Lakes region of central Africa could be on the brink of another catastrophic war. Fighting in eastern Congo is spilling into Rwanda and Burundi, the governments of which are both threatening to send their armies into Congo to defend themselves. The worst may yet be averted. On August 16th, Kofi Annan, the UN secretary-general, called for the UN peacekeeping force in eastern Congo to be increased from 10,800 to 23,900 troops. Extra blue helmets were rushed to the Congo-Burundi border. But the world's attention is not exactly focused on central Africa. News reports dribble out, but their context is rarely understood.

For the past half-century, the Great Lakes region has seen a steady escalation of horror. In Rwanda and Burundi, Hutus have massacred Tutsis and vice versa in 1959, 1963, 1970, 1972, 1988, 1993 and 1994. In the last and worst of these blood-lettings, the Rwandan genocide, some 500,000-800,000 people were murdered in 100 days. And still the killing continued. The conflict spread into the sprawling rain forests of

Congo next door, culminating in a complex war that cost at least 3m lives, and which now threatens to re-ignite.

What fuels this inferno? Many locals offer a simple explanation. "Wherever there are Tutsis, there are problems," says a Congolese man in the eastern town of Bukavu. "Kill them all," adds one of his companions, only half-jokingly. It's a repulsive wish, but common. And just as students of Middle Eastern politics cannot afford to ignore the anti-Jewish views of the "Arab street", so those who would understand central Africa must heed the chatter of the region's market places.

Who are the Tutsis? Some anthropologists argue that the label is meaningless. But everyone in Rwanda, Burundi and Congo understands it. The stereotypical Tutsi looks like Rwanda's president, Paul Kagame: tall and thin, with a long thin nose. The other cliché about Tutsis is that they live by herding cattle, whereas their squat, flat-nosed neighbours (this includes the Hutus) subsist by growing crops. In reality, the differences between the two groups are blurred, and there is plenty of intermarriage.

In the West, the Tutsis are best known as the victims of genocide. In 1994, the Hutu-dominated government of Rwanda tried to exterminate every Tutsi within its borders, and nearly succeeded. The slaughter stopped when an army of Tutsi exiles—scattered around the region by previous anti-Tutsi pogroms—overthrew the genocidal regime and took over the country. Mr Kagame, a Rwandan Tutsi raised in Uganda, was its leader.

Since then, Mr Kagame's ostensibly multi-ethnic but actually Tutsi-led government has been ruthlessly determined to prevent another genocide and to hang on to power. Besides crushing revolts within Rwanda, his men have twice invaded Congo to hunt down the Hutu *génocidaires* who fled there. They killed perhaps 200,000 killers and innocents in Congo, and sparked a terrible civil war.

All these conflicts have been, first and foremost, about power and its perks. But because insecurity makes people turn to their tribe for protection, the faultlines of war quickly become tribal. In this region, that often means the Tutsis versus the rest.

Everywhere they live, the Tutsis are a small minority. In Rwanda, where they are perhaps 15% of a population of 9m, they have been firmly in charge since 1994. The country is peaceful and visibly better run than its neighbours. The government is relatively clean, refreshingly businesslike, and beloved of foreign donors. But the surface calm disguises wild currents below. The government's line is that there are no Hutus or Tutsis, only Rwandans. Its ideologues argue that the Hutu-Tutsi divide was a creation of Rwanda's old colonial masters, the Belgians, and that a Tutsi is simply a Hutu whose ancestors owned cows. Public discussion of ethnic differences is, in effect, banned.

Rwandan Hutus can't help noticing that tall, thin people hold a lot of the top jobs, but they risk trouble if they say so. Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu who served as a symbolic president of Rwanda between 1994 and 2000 (while Mr Kagame, as vice-president, called the shots), was jailed for 15 years in June for allegedly inciting ethnic hatred. His real crime appears to be simply that he fell out with the regime.

In Burundi, Hutu-Tutsi relations have been improving, albeit from a wretched base. The country has roughly the same ethnic mix as Rwanda, but its Tutsi elite has run it for much of its 40-odd years of independence, keeping the majority down with flashes of exceptional brutality. A huge massacre of Hutus in Burundi in 1993 helped to convince the Hutu regime in Rwanda that the only way to ensure its own survival was to kill all Tutsis.

Burundi is still at war, but that war is less bloody than it was. Most Hutu rebels have been brought into a power-sharing government. Burundians openly discuss ethnic issues, and a South African-style truth and reconciliation commission is planned. A few hundred diehard Hutu rebels still lob explosives into the capital, but not many people were being killed until last week. That slaughter took place near the border with Congo; the Burundian government is convinced that it was the work of Hutu militias based in Congo.



Reuters

In Rwanda, the Tutsi Paul Kagame rules

The situation in Congo is the most complex. Because it is so vast and thinly populated, refugees from its crowded, violent neighbours have been thronging there for over a century. Some 5% of the 20m people in eastern Congo are now Tutsis.

In all three countries, Tutsis feel besieged. Some Tutsis liken themselves to Israelis: they may be few in number and surrounded by enemies, but they survive because they are clever and well-organised, whereas those who would annihilate them are corrupt and incompetent.

Many non-Tutsis take a less favourable view. The street talk is that Tutsis are cunning, duplicitous and bent on regional hegemony. The genocidal Hutus in Rwanda used to call them "cockroaches". This originally referred to the speed with which Tutsi rebels struck and scuttled away, but became understood to mean that all Tutsis were vermin. The hate-mongering continues, mostly by word of mouth: a recent rumour is that willowy Rwandan women have laced their breasts with poison to kill Congolese politicians they seduce.

There is nothing inevitable about ethnic strife in central Africa. The seeds were sown when German and Belgian colonists first politicised the Hutu-Tutsi divide. Arriving in Rwanda and Burundi in the late 19th century, they found sophisticated warrior kingdoms, where the minority Tutsis ruled over the majority Hutus but both groups seemed to rub along well enough. The Europeans decided that the taller, skinnier Tutsis must be a separate race, superior to the Hutus. Bewhiskered anthropologists classified them as the lost descendants of Ham, Noah's errant son.

There is nothing inevitable about ethnic strife in central Africa

Most of this is bunk. Yet successive colonial administrations made it appear true, by favouring the Tutsis at the Hutus' expense. They made forced labourers of the Hutus, and whip-wielding overseers of the Tutsis. They even made everyone carry an ethnic identity card.

During the run-up to independence in Rwanda, the Belgians changed their minds and started to favour the Hutus instead. The then-fashionable view was that Hutus were oppressed, and therefore deserving. The Hutus took power, massacred Tutsis, and passed laws restricting the number of university places or civil-service jobs they could hold. Juvenal Habyarimana, the Hutu despot who ruled Rwanda from 1973 until 1994, convinced many Hutus that the mere fact of his being a member of the majority tribe legitimised his rule.

In Burundi, it was the other way around. A tiny clique of Tutsi officers clung to power by force, and by persuading their fellow Tutsis that if they ever let go, the Hutus would kill all Tutsis.

In the 1990s, both countries collapsed into civil war. The fighting was bitterest in Rwanda. After Mr Kagame and his fellow Tutsi exiles invaded the country in 1990, the Hutu elite started to propagate the idea that all Tutsis were fifth-columnists. "Hate" radio and newspapers portrayed the Tutsi rebels as demonic creatures with tails and glowing eyes. The Hutu masses were carefully softened up for a genocide in which every able-bodied one of them was expected to wield a machete.

The spark came in April 1994, when President Habyarimana was murdered by unknown assassins. Within hours, Hutu militiamen and soldiers began butchering Tutsis. Those ethnic identity cards told them whom to kill. The genocide ended when Mr Kagame's Tutsi rebels won control of Rwanda, driving the killers and a fifth of the remaining population into Congo, or Zaire as it was then called.

Tutsis topple a tyrant

Hidden among the refugees, and gorging on western food aid, the *génocidaires* regrouped in Congo. So, in 1996, Rwanda's new Tutsi army followed them in. The army of Congo's dying dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, melted before them. Mr Kagame decided that he might as well conquer the whole country. He dressed up the invasion as an indigenous revolt, and installed at its helm an obscure, greedy and thuggish guerrilla boss, Laurent Kabila.

Because Mobutu was a pink-champagne-swilling kleptocrat, most people were glad to see him go. The crowds in Kinshasa waved palm fronds to welcome the victorious Mr Kabila. The western media were largely fooled,

too.

It is now clear that Mr Kabila played only a minor role in his own revolt. General James Kabarebe, the Rwandan army chief in Congo at the time, told *The Economist* that across half of Congo, the rebellion involved "no Congolese soldiers. The actual fighting was all done by Rwandans." Only once, says General Kabarebe, did Mr Kabila offer him tactical advice. "He told me: 'Kijana [young man], tell one of your soldiers to climb a tall tree here, and another to climb a tall tree there, and let more soldiers climb more trees roundabout, then, at the command, let them all fire in the air. Your enemies will be terrified, and they will run.'"

Most of the time, Mr Kabila remained several hundred miles behind the front line, collecting diamonds and sycophants. On entering the mining town of Mbuji-Mayi, he was presented with a fat parcel of diamonds, according to General Kabarebe. At night, his bodyguards heard him chuckling himself to sleep, the rocks stashed carefully under his pillow.

Once he was president of Congo, Mr Kabila decided he no longer wanted to take orders from the Rwandans. In 1998, he threw out his Rwandan advisers. Rwanda responded by sponsoring another rebellion fronted by Congolese Tutsis.

Mr Kabila called on the people of Congo to defend his regime, but he could not cite any positive reasons why they should. He was just as corrupt as Mobutu, but without the old monster's charm. So he appealed instead to the nastiest strain of Congolese nationalism. He orchestrated a pogrom of Tutsis. His *chef de cabinet*, Yerodia Ndombasi, called them "scum, germs that must be methodically eradicated," and urged people to kill them with machetes, axes, arrows, barbed wire and sticks. Thousands of Congolese youths answered the call-up.

In the end, however, Mr Kabila's bulging hide was saved by the timely intervention of Angola and Zimbabwe. Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's president, said he was sending his army to Congo to stop the Tutsis from carving out an empire. He also had his eye on Congo's diamond mines, but his claim to be standing up to Tutsi imperialism gives a clue as to how far the anti-Tutsi ideology had spread.

The war lasted five years and left an area two-thirds the size of western Europe a smoking wreck. In 2003, when the belligerents were too exhausted to fight on, they signed a peace deal. Mr Kabila was unable to join the celebrations, having been assassinated in 2001. His son Joseph heads a transitional government, which includes all the main rebel groups. The transitional regime is now under immense strain.



And a Hutu ex-president faces jail



One vice-president, Azarias Ruberwa, a Tutsi who used to fight for Rwanda, is making thinly-veiled threats to pull out of the government and go back to war. This week, he flew into the eastern town of Goma, a stronghold of his dormant rebel movement. He said he was there to mourn the massacre in Gatumba. His spokesmen suggest that if the government cannot protect Tutsis, it is up to the Tutsis to protect themselves.

They can expect backing from Rwanda, which has continued to arm and supply diehard Tutsi rebels in eastern Congo, though it denies it. Rwandan troops have also made sporadic incursions across the border. In March, UN officers found weapons dropped mysteriously in the waters of Lake Kivu, close to the Rwandan border, and marked with bamboo poles.

In June, two dissident Tutsi commanders attacked the town of Bukavu, and briefly captured it. The Congolese garrison responded with some random killings of Tutsi civilians. At one point, soldiers broke into a hospital, dragged out a Tutsi patient and beat him to death with bricks. And when a pro-government militia took your correspondent hostage along with a Rwandan journalist, they tapped a grenade against the terrified Tutsi's head and gloated: "Tonight we will eat your liver."

President Kabila has sent 13,000 fresh troops to eastern Congo to crush the Tutsi rebels. They lurk somewhere in the bush, unpaid and restless. A showdown is expected around Goma.

Wanderers and settlers

People in the Great Lakes region sometimes speak of "the Tutsi question", an eerie evocation of Adolf Hitler's "Judenfrage", but one that also obscures the bitter divisions among Tutsis themselves.

In Rwanda, the main division is between the exiles, who marched back with Mr Kagame and took over in 1994, and those who were in Rwanda at the time of the genocide but somehow survived. The *génocidaires* tried especially hard to exterminate the Tutsi intelligentsia, so it is perhaps inevitable that many of those in positions of power today are former exiles.

The genocide survivors complain, albeit quietly, that the government neglects them—the very people in

whose name it rules. Because the government is so intolerant of dissent, some have been forced to flee the country. In one bizarre instance, an exiled group of Tutsi genocide survivors joined some of the heirs of the genocidal "Hutu power" movement and forged a "blood pact" against Mr Kagame's regime.

But discontent among Rwandan Tutsis is usually trumped by tribal solidarity. Although no one in Rwanda is supposed to speak of Hutus and Tutsis, they know that 85% of their compatriots are Hutu. "They would finish us off," says one Tutsi. No Hutu would dare make such a threat in public, of course.

In Congo, Tutsis are divided between those who want to live in peace with other Congolese, and those who calculate that collaborating with the Rwandans will make them rich and powerful. The first group is infuriated by Rwanda's meddling. Enoch Ruberangabo, for example, a Congolese Tutsi deputy in the national parliament, complains that Mr Kagame's regime has deliberately aggravated the ethnic divide in Congo, and that it is Congolese Tutsis who suffer the consequences. Mr Ruberangabo's family has been in Congo since the 19th century, but yowling mobs in Kinshasa have made it clear that he is not welcome. He has ignored them. "Where do you want me to go?" he asks, "This is my home."

Many Congolese would disagree. Researchers associated with New York State University asked a broad sample whether they thought Tutsis were Congolese. Over 80% said "no". Some quote a Swahili saying: "Even if a log lies in a river for 100 years, it doesn't become a crocodile."

Successive Congolese governments have treated Tutsis with suspicion. Mobutu passed a law granting them citizenship in 1972, only to revoke it nine years later. This year, Congo's (unelected) parliament is due to consider a new draft law on nationality, which might be more inclusive. But then again, it might not.

Congo's first proper election is due next year, but few Congolese believe that it will actually be held. There have been two apparent coup attempts this year, and on July 13th, eight MPs thought to be linked to Rwanda quit their posts, complaining that the government had achieved little.

The future for the Tutsis looks precarious

The future for the Tutsis looks precarious. Last week's massacre could provide a pretext for all the powers in the Great Lakes region to behave worse. The Rwandan government can cite the graves of Gatumba as proof that Congolese Tutsis need its forceful protection. Tutsi powerbrokers in Burundi may use the massacre as an excuse to hold up the peace process there. And Mr Ruberwa and his Congolese Tutsi followers may decide to take up arms again. That would be as foolish as it would be tragic. A new war in Congo would pit the Tutsis against everyone else.

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