

**SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE
OUTREACH AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE**



PRESS CLIPPINGS

Enclosed are clippings of local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Outreach and Public Affairs Office

as at:

Thursday, 31 March 2011

Press clips are produced Monday through Friday.
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The Punch

Thursday, 31 March 2011

The Revolutionary United Front



The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) of Sierra Leone defied traditional patterns of guerilla movements, and in many ways defines the emerging pattern of armed struggle in Africa. Ibrahim Abdullah and Patrick Muana have observed:

"The RUF has defied all available typologies on guerilla movements. It neither a separatist uprising rooted in a specific demand, as in the case of Eritrea, nor a reformist movement with a radical agenda superior to the regime it sought to overthrow. Nor does it possess the kind of leadership that would be necessary to designate it as warlord insurgency. The RUF has made history; it is a peculiar guerilla movement without any significant national following or ethnic support. Perhaps because of its lumpen social base and its lack of an emancipatory programme to garner support from other social groups, it has remained a bandit organization solely driven by the survivalist needs of its predominantly uneducated and alienated battle front and battle group commanders. Neither the peasantry, the natural ally of most revolutionary movements, nor the students, amongst whose ranks the RUF-to-be originated, lent any support to the organization during its six years of fighting."

During the second half of the 1980s, many university students in Sierra Leone had become radicalized by the government's suppression of their demonstrations by exposure to new ideas, including the thoughts of Col. Qaddafi. This was matched by the continued and dramatic growth in unemployed and disaffected youth who had become socialized in a climate of violence, drugs and criminality. Between 1987 and 1988, between twenty-five and fifty Sierra Leoneans were taken to Libya for training in the "art of revolution". Among the students was a functional illiterate who had become part of a "revolutionary cell" in Kono. Foday Sankoh was a former army corporal and photographer who

had been jailed for seven years for alleged implication in the 1971 coup plot against Siaka Stevens. Only three of those trained in Libya showed up later in the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), and the only survivor after a year or so was Foday Sankoh.

At the end of 1989, Charles Taylor launched an attack on Samuel Doe's government with a small band of men, several of them, including Taylor himself, with Libyan training or connections. Taylor also received support from the Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso. Burkinabè support for Taylor was later extended to Foday Sankoh and the RUF.

By 1991 the Momoh regime governing Sierra Leone was in serious difficulty. Beset by a crumbling economy, growing popular agitation and factional turmoil within the government, Momoh announced a return to multi-party politics, and general elections were planned for 1992. Before the elections could be held, however, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) attacked. With the assistance of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), Foday Sankoh and a small band of men crossed from Liberia into Sierra Leone's Eastern Province in March 1991, with the express aim of ending the APC's 24 year grip on power. Raids on several border towns over the next few days demonstrated the weakness of the Sierra Leone military, and within a month, most of Kailahun District was under rebel control.

A humanitarian crisis quickly resulted from the RUF's tactics, which involved brutal attacks on unarmed civilians and children. Attempting to copy the ethnic incitement that had served Charles Taylor well in Liberia, the RUF at first targeted Fula and Madingo traders, murdering more than 100 in its first two months of operations. It also targeted Lebanese traders, beheading five in Bo District. The atrocities never sparked an ethnic divide, but they created alarm among the civilian population and caused rapid and widespread displacement. Panicked, President



Momoh quickly doubled the size of the army from 3,000 men to almost 6,000, drawing most of his new recruits from vagrants in Freetown - the "rural...unemployed, a fair number of hooligans, drug addicts and thieves" - as his foreign minister at the time later put it. Further confusion was added to the mix by the formation in Sierra Leone of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia (ULIMO), a coalition of anti-Taylor Liberians who, with Government of Sierra Leone (GOSL) support, initially fought both the RUF and Taylor's NPFL.

Because of corruption and mismanagement, Sierra Leone's front line troops were badly underpaid and demoralized. In April 1992, a group from the Eastern front travelled to Freetown to protest their situation. Within a day, the mutiny became a coup and Joseph Momoh fled to Guinea. A military junta, the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) was formed, with 29-year-old army paymaster, Capt. Valentine Strasser as Chairman. Soon the NPRC came to resemble the regime it had ousted.

During 1992 and 1993 the fortunes of the RUF fluctuated. On occasion, they overran the diamond areas were pushed back and retook the area again. Civilians accused by the government of collaboration were arrested and some were executed. But the penalty for not collaborating with the RUF was as severe, or worse. The RUF had two major calling cards: dead civilians, and hundreds, possibly thousands, of living civilians with their hands, feet, ears or genitals crudely amputated.

Any force with access to the diamond areas also had access to diamonds. It gradually became unclear who was responsible for a particular ambush. In some cases attacks were carried out by soldiers and blamed on the RUF. Soldiers by day and rebels by night, they became known as "sobels". The RUF added to the sobel story by carrying out raids in stolen

army uniforms.

Towards the end of 1992, a new force entered the picture, the "kamajors". Kamajor is a Mende word meaning hunter. In traditional Mende society, the hunter was a guardian of society and part of a mystical, "invincible" warrior cult. Joined by a number of educated individuals and retired military personnel, the Kamajors soon became a force to contend with, fighting back not only against the RUF, but against the excesses of the NPRC government.

By 1995 the military situation had become desperate, with hit and run raids throughout the country giving the RUF an appearance of great strength. Early in the year, the RUF overran the country's last remaining economic assets, the SIEROMCO bauxite mine and the Sierra Rutile titanium mines, allegedly with the assistance of soldiers commanded by Major Johnny Paul Koroma.

Until about 1995, it was unclear what the RUF stood for, who Foday Sankoh was, and what he wanted. Although he had given the occasional BBC radio-telephone interview, it was not until the 1995 appearance of the RUF's Footpaths to Democracy: Toward a New Sierra Leone, that any consistent ideals or purpose were enunciated. Allegedly drafted by an employee of International Alert, Footpaths contains words and phrases lifted directly from Mao Zedong, Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon (Abdullah).

While it is true that the RUF is made up of disaffected young men, a very high proportion of them were already alienated and dangerous before the RUF opportunity arose. Only a tiny fraction of Sierra Leonean youth has joined the RUF of their own volition. The main RUF recruits have been drawn from the same Freetown slums where Siaka Stevens recruited his brutal ISU and where Joseph Momoh

found the material to double his army. Others were children who were kidnapped, drugged, and forced to commit atrocities. The "radical intellectual" roots of the RUF were extinguished in its first year of operation and its brutal attacks on civilians stand in contradiction to its ostensible aim of creating a "revolutionary egalitarian system".

By early 1995, the RUF was only miles from Freetown, as much a result of the army's incompetence as of RUF prowess. In fact at the time, the RUF was estimated by some to have an overall strength of three to four thousand, with a hard core of only five to six hundred soldiers. Part of the NPRC problem was its calculation that at least 20% of its own troops were disloyal. In May 1995, the NPRC turned to Executive Outcomes (EO), a South African security firm that had successfully repelled UNITA rebels on behalf of the Angolan government. The first EO contingent arrived in Sierra Leone in May 1995. Within ten days of their operations startup, they had beaten the RUF back from Freetown, and within a month had cleared the diamond areas. By early 1996, the RUF had been seriously damaged, and had been pushed away from the diamond areas that had helped to pay for the efforts.

Hard-pressed by continuing EO attacks, the RUF announced a ceasefire and sought unconditional peace talks with Bio's government. These began in Abidjan only a few days before the elections were held. After two rounds of voting, the SLPP formed a government, with Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, a former UNDP official, sworn in as President. The peace talks in Abidjan went on for almost nine months, during which RUF attacks resumed, only to be fended off with devastating effect by EO and Kamajor forces. When Foday Sankoh and the GOSL signed a peace agreement at the end of November 1996, it looked as though the RUF was a spent force. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that President Kabbah agreed to the expulsion of Executive Outcomes within five weeks of signing the agreement (although LifeGuard, an EO offshoot remained behind to protect the diamond areas). It is also not surprising, in view of subsequent events, that Foday Sankoh refused to sanction a 720-member UN Peacekeeping Force.

The RUF gained most from the peace agreement. It was given an ongoing political role and legitimacy, and was absolved of responsibility for its past activities. More importantly, it gained militarily in the sense that the government was left exposed with



little reliable security beyond the Kamajors and a new contingent of Nigerian troops sent to bolster the ECOMOG force. RUF attacks continued, in part because of disagreement in the leadership over the peace agreement, while in Freetown, a number of army officers were arrested in a suspected coup plot.

In May 1997, a group of soldiers attacked the central jail, releasing the coup plotters and an estimated 600 criminals. President Kabbah fled and Major Johnny Paul Koroma, freed in the prison break, became head of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The AFRC invited the RUF to join them, declaring the war to be over. The period of joint AFRC-RUF rule was characterized by a complete breakdown of law and order, and by a collapse of the formal economy. Schools, banks, commercial services and government offices ceased to function, while rape and looting became the order of the day.

In February 1998 ECOMOG forced the AFRC/RUF out of Freetown in a fierce battle that took the lives of many civilians. Restored to office, President Kabbah took steps to begin demobilizing the entire army. A total of 47 individuals were convicted of treason and other charges associated with the AFRC/RUF administration, and sentenced to death. Foday Sankoh, who had been arrested in Nigeria and returned to Sierra Leone, was also tried, found guilty and sentenced to death. During this period, the AFRC/RUF forces conducted a violent rampage throughout the country, chased from one place to another without great success by ECOMOG forces. Several thousand civilians have been brutally killed or mutilated. Hundreds of others have been abducted from their villages and forced to join their attackers." The RUF referred to this period as "Operation No Living Thing".

With Foday Sankoh and other AFRC/RUF defendants appealing their convictions, the RUF again appeared at the gates to Freetown in January 1999, catching both the government and

ECOMOG off guard. Using women and children as a human shield, some RUF troops were able to bypass ECOMOG troops and join comrades who had already infiltrated the city. Among their number were Liberians and a small number of European mercenaries. In the fighting that ensued, an estimated five thousand people died, including cabinet ministers, journalists and lawyers who were specifically targeted. Before the rebels were beaten back, large parts of the city were burned and 3,000 children were abducted as they retreated. While many of the convicted AFRC/RUF collaborators were freed, Foday Sankoh remained in government custody.

The Revolutionary United Front had been engaged in armed struggle against the corrupt government of Sierra Leone for nine years. Only recently did peace come to Sierra Leone in the form of the Lomé Peace Agreement. The Lomé Peace Agreement was signed by the Leader of the Revolutionary United Front, Foday Saybana Sankoh and President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. This agreement brought peace, finally, to Sierra Leone.

During 2001, reports of serious abuses by the RUF declined significantly.

On 18 January 2002, the devastating 11-year civil conflict officially ended when all parties to the conflict issued a Declaration of the End of the War. The Government since asserted control over the whole country, backed by a large U.N. peacekeeping force. Revolutionary United Front (RUF) insurgents, who fought successive governments since 1991, completed disarmament and demobilization.

In March 2002 RUF leader Foday Sankoh and 49 RUF co-defendants were indicted with 16 counts of murder and 54 counts of shooting with intent to commit murder in connection with the 2000 incident outside Sankoh's residence in Freetown in which 20 persons were killed and 80 persons were injured. Thirty-one members of an ex-SLA splinter group called the West Side Boys were charged with 11 counts of mur-

der and 11 counts of robbery with aggravation in connection with incidents that took place in Port Loko District in 1999 and 2000. Sankoh, the 49 former RUF rebels, and the indicted West Side Boys remained in detention awaiting trial at Pademba Road Prison at year's end.

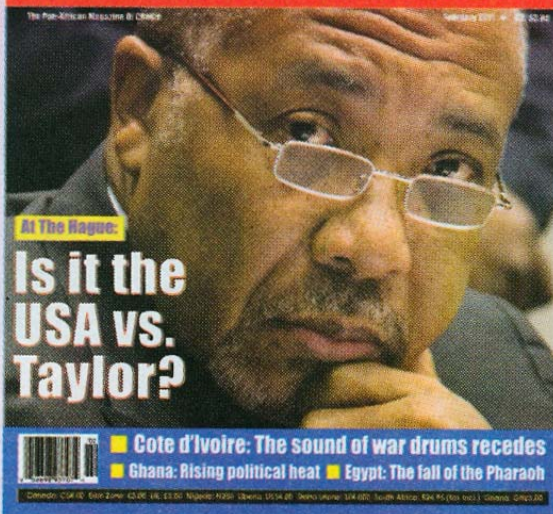
No action was taken against the RUF for the following incidents in 2001: The July killing of 22 persons in an attack on the village of Henekuma; the August killing of 2 persons in an attack on the village of Seria, in Koinadugu district; and the death of four former RUF members, allegedly under orders from RUF chairman Issa Sesay.

No action was taken against the RUF rebels responsible for the following killings in 2000: The April and May killings of U.N. peacekeepers; the May killings of journalists Kurt Schork and Miguel Gil Moreno; the June killings in the attack on Port Loko; and the August killing of nine civilians in the village of Folloh. Although the Special Court for Sierra Leone was expected to examine these incidents, no further action was taken by year's end.

On 21 March 2003, after receiving an initial psychiatric report on the leader of the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) Foday Saybana Sankoh, Special Court Judge Benjamin M. Itoe called for further psychiatric examinations. The hearing was held at a Sierra Leone district court in Bonthe where the Special Court is functioning while its permanent courthouse and detention centre are under construction. The judge ordered that copies of the report, written by Dutch psychiatrist Dr Peter Verkaeed, be provided to lawyers of the Prosecution and Defence. The Prosecution requested that the Judge enter a 'not guilty' plea on behalf of Sankoh. Sankoh has not responded verbally since his first Special Court hearing earlier this month. The Judge denied the Prosecution's request, deciding instead that all three judges of the trial chambers need to make a determination. The case was adjourned to a date to be fixed by the Registrar. Public hearings were also held during the day for three other indictees -- alleged RUF commanders Issa Hassan Sesay and Morris Kallon, and alleged junta commander Alex Tamba Brima, who each face seventeen count indictments. Their cases were also adjourned. A fifth indictee, Chief Samuel Hinga Norman, has had closed hearings at an undisclosed location. The Judge also held a hearing for the first suspect detained by the Special Court, Augustine Gbao. Suspects can be held up to ninety days without being charged, subject to the consent of the

The tribulations of Charles Taylor

Africawatch



Your February cover story, “Is it the USA vs. Charles Taylor?”, was simply eye-opening. “When your master is your enemy, you are doomed,” you quote Taylor as having said in 2002. But why is the “master” pursuing Taylor so relentlessly? The trial runs the risk of becoming a mockery on the altar of American national interests. I thought the trial was all about seeking justice for Sierra Leonean victims of Taylor’s alleged “crimes,” not knowing it is being driven by America’s determination to get even with one of his former collaborators.

That America has to even send chief prosecutors (three of the four so far at the trial) to prosecute Taylor is far too much. And as you report, they are all ex-military and ex-intelligence officers. Can’t the U.S. see that it is giving the game too badly away?

Martha Johnson
Seattle, United States



Special Report Rwanda

Never again

Seventeen years ago this April, Rwanda suffered a catastrophic event – the genocide of an estimated one million people in just 100 days of brutality unleashed by one section of society against another. The country is still trying to recover, thanks largely to foreign aid and the will and determination of the people and government to move toward a better future. Africawatch takes an in-depth look at the tragic event that tore the country apart. Baffour Ankomah reports.

To gauge what the 1994 genocide has meant to Rwanda, one needs only to go to the genocide memorial in Kigali, the capital, where the tragic story of man's inhumanity to man is told in living color. The Kigali Memorial Center may have a whitewashed exterior, but inside the museum the harrowing story of the 100 days of hatred in 1994 leaves one absolutely numbed.

How could human beings be so brutal to other human beings, you ask. How could anyone attack others again and again with cutlasses and clubs, and not be psychologically impaired by the enormity of the atrocities?

The Rwanda horrors of 1994 were perpetrated by a different class of beasts. It must have been dreadful for the victims, and for the survivors whose photos are displayed at the Kigali Memorial Center, which opened in 2004 to mark

the 10th anniversary of the genocide.

Situated in Kigali's Gisozi district, the center was built on the site chosen for the mass burial of 250,000 genocide victims from the capital alone. Since then, the site has become the final resting place and memorial to all those who were killed in Kigali. To the surviving family members, it is the place they come to remember their loved ones. It is also a place for reflection and learning for the rest of



The site of a mass grave in 1994 is now part of a memorial center in Kigali, Rwanda.

Rwanda and its visitors.

The center consists of three permanent exhibits. The largest documents the 1994 genocide, while the other two comprise a children's memorial and a display on the history of genocide around the world, such as the 1904-08 slaughter of Namibia's Herero and Nama people by the German colonial government in the then-South West Africa, and the extermination of European Jews by the Nazis during World War II.

The massacre of the Hereros was the 20th century's first recorded genocide. In four mad years, Germany's government, then run by Kaiser Wilhelm II, wiped out 65,000 of the 80,000 Herero population in what is now Namibia. Experts say it was in Namibia that the Nazis perfected their plans for mass murder, which proved so catastrophic 40 years later in the massacre of Jews by the Hitler regime.

The Kigali Center also houses memorial gardens, a National Documentation Center of the genocide, and an education center. Together, they provide a meaningful tribute to the victims as well as resources for educating future generations.

The history

Rwanda, one of Africa's smallest nations, is 26,338 square kilometers of uneven terrain that is home to an unusually dense population of 11.1 million people, according to 2010 figures. Located amid dense forests and great lakes in Central Africa, Rwanda features rich, fertile soil and a pleasant climate. Its rugged topography inspired the moniker "land of a thousand hills."

Rwanda's people share a common culture, speak one language (Kiryarwanda) and are classified in social groups rather than tribes – which makes the ferocity of the 1994 genocide rather perplexing. They were one people with a common history – until the European colonialists arrived in 1895.

In recent times, though, ethnic violence has often torn its people apart, making the two largest groups, the Hutus and Tutsis, suspicious of one another. The Germans were the first colonialists to land in the country after it was parceled off to them (along with Burundi) by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. Beginning in 1895, Germany ruled the two colonies as part of German East Africa, which also included Tanganyika.

The Germans stayed until 1916 before losing the colony after World War I. During that conflict, Rwanda was occupied by Belgium, which in 1923 was granted a mandate by the League of Nations to govern Ruanda-Ulundi (today's

Rwanda and Burundi). Belgium turned its mandate into a colonial occupation until Rwanda's independence in 1962.

When the Belgians arrived, Rwanda was led by King Yuhi Musinga V, who hated the attempts to colonize his territory and resisted the Belgians all the way. But the Belgians succeeded in removing Musinga from power and replacing him with his son, King Mutara

ers, Shem and Japheth. Canaan, Ham's son, was also apparently involved. When Noah awoke, he 'knew' what Ham had done and pronounced a curse in retribution; interestingly, only Canaan is directly mentioned: 'Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants he shall be to his brothers.' (Gen. 9:25)

"According to the hypothesis, Ham and Canaan were 'marked' in the pigmentation

Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were merely socio-economic classifications within the clans that could change according to personal circumstances.

But when the Belgians arrived, everything changed. They made the clan distinctions racial when they introduced a national identity card system in 1932, based on a ridiculous yardstick: Anyone with 10 cows was a Tutsi, and anyone with less than 10 cows



The Kigali Memorial Center serves as Rwanda's tribute to more than one million people who perished in the genocide of 1994.

Rudahigwa III, in 1931.

Rudahigwa ruled until 1959. During his reign, he worked in close cooperation with the Belgians. His conversion of Rwanda to Christianity made it possible for Belgium to reshape Rwandan society according to Western values. The Catholic Church influenced education, and its teaching increasingly conveyed the racist "Hamitic" ideology largely accepted by the Church.

"The Hamitic ideology," as one expert has pointed out, "derives principally from Genesis 9:18-27 in the Bible. These verses recount the story of Ham, the son of Noah, who, upon discovering his father naked and in a drunken stupor, 'exposed' him to his broth-

ers of their skin (i.e., they were made black) and thereby became the fathers of the Negro or black race - and the curse [i.e., 'a servant of servants he (Canaan) shall be'] accounts for why the black race has suffered to such an extent at the hands of whites and Arabs."

Mysteriously, the Belgians used the Hamitic ideology to elevate the Tutsis (the second largest group) as superior over the largest group, the Hutus, and the smallest group, the Twa (the original inhabitants of the country, who came to be known by the Europeans as a sub-group of the pigmy population of Central Africa).

When the Germans arrived in the 1890s, most Rwandans were associated with one of 18 different clans. The categories

was a Hutu. This applied to descendants as well.

This made 84 percent of the people Hutu, 15 percent Tutsi and 1 percent Twa. What's worse, this imposed identity began to determine an individual's chances for advancement in Belgium's reshaped Rwanda. Not surprisingly, by 1957 nearly all the chiefs and subchiefs in the country had become Tutsis - and it was generally they, being superior to Hutus, to whom the Belgians granted privileged positions in society.

As one might expect, the Hutu community became resentful. A people who had lived in peace for many centuries was now divided along "superior" and "inferior" lines. And the consequences would



be catastrophic – starting from 1959 when Rudahigwa died. The long frustrated and bitter Hutus vented their anger against the Tutsis in a massacre in which thousands were slaughtered, and Tutsi power was overthrown. Many thousands of Tutsis fled to neighboring countries, particularly Uganda and Congo.

In 1961, Rwanda held its first democratic election, which was won by the leader of the Hutu-dominated Parmehutu party, Gregoire Kayibanda. His party had been formed for the emancipation of the embittered Hutus, then still smarting under the injustice of being made an “inferior” tribe.

Rwanda became independent in 1962 with Kayibanda as prime minister. But his government was characterized by the persecution and ethnic cleansing of Tutsis. In line with this policy, the government declared that “the Hutu and Tutsi communities are two nations in a single state; two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are ignorant of each other’s habits, thoughts, and feelings as if they were the inhabitants of different

zones or planets.”

Besides the ethnic divisions, sharp regional divisions also surfaced under the Kayibanda government and the fallout saw Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana seizing power in a coup d’etat in 1973 in which Kayibanda and his wife were killed alongside other top officials.

Massacres

Between 1959 and 1973, an estimated 700,000 Tutsis left the country to live in exile as a result of the ethnic violence encouraged by the Belgian authorities and Kayibanda’s government. The exiles were prevented from returning home by both the Kayibanda and Habyarimana’s governments on the spurious grounds that the country was too small to accommodate them.

The sporadic violence between 1959 and March 1993 had seen the massacre of Tutsis under the watchful eyes of Habyarimana’s government. To stop the injustice against the Tutsis and reorder society, the Tutsis in Uganda — some serving in Uganda’s army — formed the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), with the current

Photos of scores of genocide victims are displayed inside the Kigali Memorial Center. At right, survivors in 1994 work to collect the remains of the dead for burial.

Rwandan president, Paul Kagame, as its No. 2 official. With the help of Uganda’s president, Yoweri Museveni, the RPF invaded Rwanda in October 1990 with the aim of overthrowing Habyarimana’s government.

The RPF now says its objective was to restore equal rights and the rule of law in Rwanda as well as allow Tutsi refugees and exiles to return. Habyarimana’s knee-jerk response, however, led to the sporadic massacre of Tutsis, from 1991 until 1993.

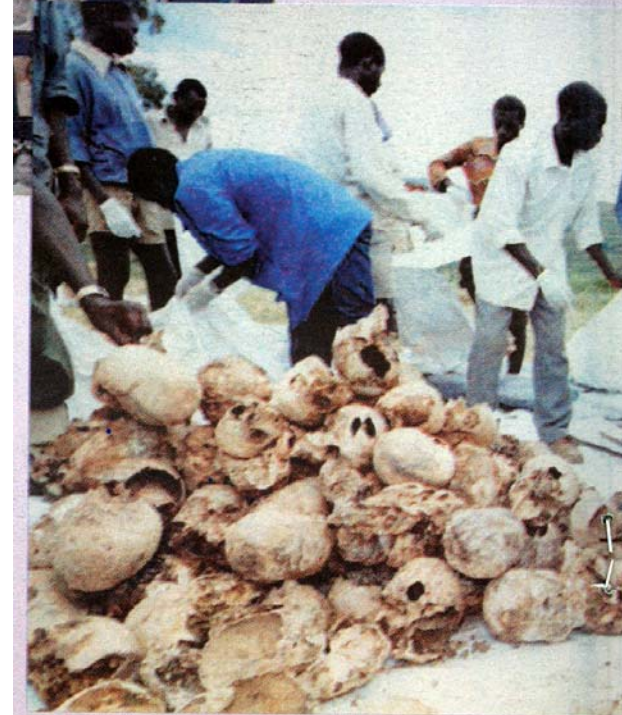
The war that ensued between the RPF and Habyarimana’s government led to peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania. In August 1993, a peace deal was signed known as the Arusha Peace Accord under which Rwanda was to get a transitional government, leading to democratic elections.



refugees were to be allowed to return home.

Though Habyarimana signed the deal, his government and supporters were not happy, forcing him to renege on the implementation of the accord. In the meantime, an intense propaganda campaign was started in Rwanda to sway the people against the accord, and to sharpen even more the ethnic divisions in the country.

Even as early as 1990, one of the leading pro-government newspapers had published what it called the “Hutu Ten Commandments,” which prescribed that Hutu men should not marry Tutsi women, or that any Hutu associating with or carrying out any business with a Tutsi be regarded



The deal made it mandatory for a neutral force to be deployed in the country. French troops were subsequently deployed with the intention of making way for U.N. troops under the U.N. Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) mandate. The RPF, which was to station a battalion in Kigali, the capital, was to be integrated with the Rwandan army; and Tutsi

as a traitor.

It is here that the government-aligned Radio Mille Collines (One Thousand Hills radio) was used to deadly effect, broadcasting highly inflammatory messages conditioning people to accept the genocide that was about to sweep the country.

In January 1994, the newspaper Kangura declared in an

editorial: "We ... say to the Inyenzi [cockroaches, a reference to the Tutsis] that if they lift up their heads again, it will no longer be necessary to go fight the enemy in the bush. We will ... start by eliminating the internal enemy... They will disappear."

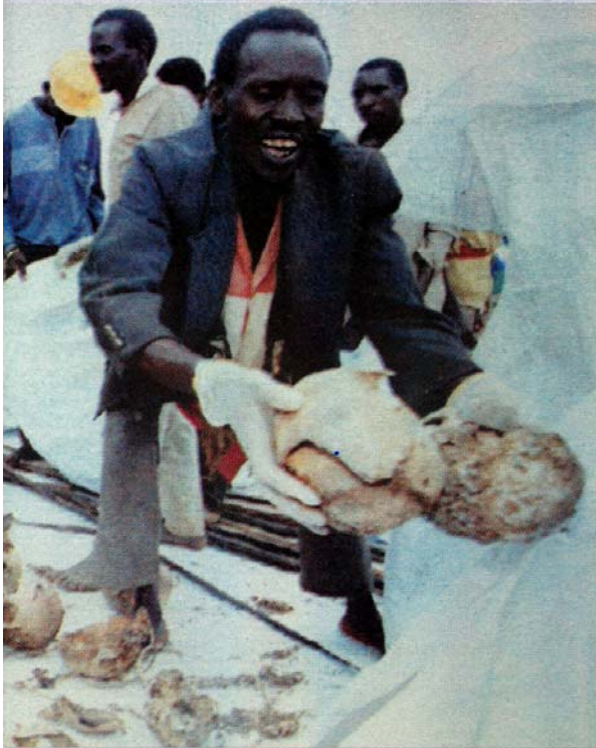
On Jan. 10, 1994, an informant from government ranks, code-named "Jean Pierre", an ex-member of Habyarimana's security guard, told UNAMIR's Belgian officer, Col. Luc Marchal, that 1,700 militias had been trained in Rwandan army camps for the ruling MRND party's Interamhwe force, and that further training of 300 per week was taking place.

According to Jean Pierre, Habyarimana's party presi-

warn about the dangers of Hutu power – provided the U.N. could guarantee his safety. UNAMIR, however, could not grant him the assurance and Jean Pierre subsequently disappeared. His fate remains unknown.

This was despite the fact that the UNAMIR force commander, the Canadian Lt. Gen. Romeo Dallaire, had sent a code-cable to New York, informing the then-U.N. secretary general, the Egyptian Boutros Boutros Ghali, and members of the U.N. Peacekeeping Office (then headed by the Ghanaian Kofi Annan) of Jean Pierre and the information that he had.

Dallaire had written: "Force commander put in contact with informant by very, very



dent, Matheu Ngirumpaste, was supervising the training, and that the Interamhwe was registering all Tutsis in Kigali for an extermination plan, which would kill up to 1,000 people every 20 minutes.

Jean Pierre believed that Habyarimana had lost control of the extremists in his party and that he (Jean Pierre) was willing to go to the media to

important government politician. Informant is a top-level trainer in the cadre of Interamhwe – armed militia of the MRND [Habyarimana's party]. He informed us he was in charge of last Saturday's demonstration which aims were to target deputies [MPs] of opposition parties coming to ceremonies and Belgian soldiers.

"They hoped to provoke the RPF Bn [battalion] to engage (being fired upon) the demonstrators and provoke a civil war. Deputies [MPs] were to be assassinated upon entry or exit from parliament. Belgian troops were to be provoked and if Belgian soldiers resorted to force, a number of them were to be killed and thus guarantee Belgian withdrawal from Rwanda.

"Informant is a former security member of the president. He also states he is paid RF150,000 per month by the MRND party to train Interamhwe. Direct link is to the chief of staff RGF [Rwanda Government Force] and president of the MRND for financial and material support.

"Interamhwe has trained

articles that Habyarimana would die. There was intense speculation in the national media that "something very big" would happen.

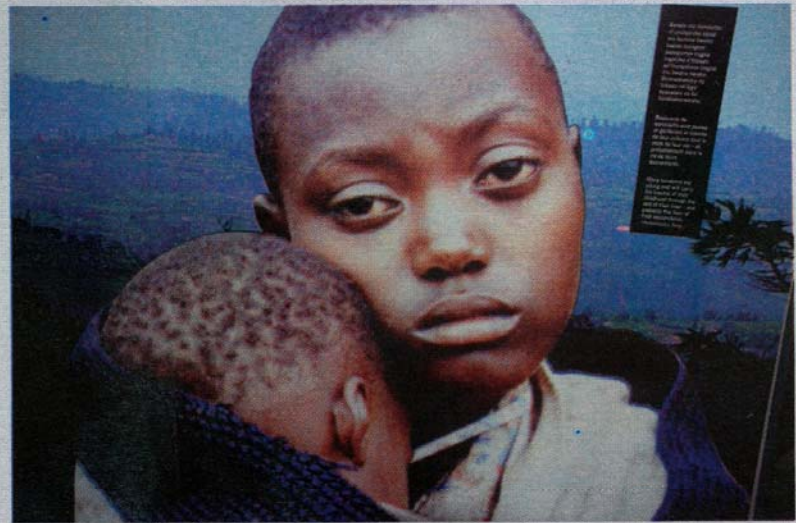
On April 6, 1994, Habyarimana's plane was shot down at 8:23 p.m. as it descended into Kigali from a trip to Arusha. On board was also the Hutu president of neighboring Burundi, Cyrien Ntaryamira. Their deaths sparked immediate retribution on the Tutsis, as the RPF was suspected to have downed the plane.

Less than an hour later, roadblocks had been set up throughout Kigali and houses were being searched. Shooting also was heard within an hour of the crash. Today, the RPF government in Kigali, headed by President Paul Kagame,

tell how roadblocks suddenly sprang up across the capital soon after the crash, as the Interamhwe sought to target Tutsis for death. House-to-house searches followed, with those on the death lists the first to be slaughtered in their own homes.

The perpetrators had promised an apocalypse – and they delivered. The operation that emerged was a devastating frenzy of bloody violence and merciless killing. The murderers used cutlasses or machetes, clubs, guns, and blunt tools to inflict as much pain on their victims as possible. Few Tutsis were spared.

At the roadblocks, any Tutsi who tried to pass was humiliated, beaten, murdered, mutilated, raped and dumped by



Few can guess the extent to which the horrors of 1994 have scarred Rwanda's children, thousands of whom were orphaned by the tragedy.

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 sessions at RGF camps..."

A year before Jean Pierre came forward, Theoneste Bagasora, the chief of cabinet at the Ministry of Defense, was alleged to have declared in Arusha that he was returning to Rwanda from the peace talks to plan "an apocalypse." In March 1994, the Kangura newspaper predicted in two

says the death lists had been prepared in advance.

But other experts and anti-Kagame informants blame the RPF and Kagame for ordering the downing of Habyarimana's plane to spark the genocide, which in turn would be used as an excuse for the RPF to attack Kigali – ostensibly to save the Tutsis from annihilation. Not surprisingly, the story told by the Kigali Memorial Center (KMC) is vague about who really shot down the plane and the reasons why.

But the center's exhibit does

the roadside. Hutus who did not join in the killing were threatened with death, and those who tried to protect Tutsis were persecuted or killed.

With Habyarimana dead, his prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, became the titular head of the country. But she and her husband were executed April 7, before she could address the nation and call for calm.

Jean Kambanda became the new prime minister of the interim government. But though he promised to "restore understanding between the people of

Rwanda" and "provide security," he was not effective.

The genocide started in the capital, Kigali, but it quickly spread to the provinces. The efficient system of local government then in place, and the chain of command from the central government, worked effectively in carrying out instructions.

Victims were beaten, raped, humiliated, abused and ultimately murdered, often in the sight of their own families. Children watched as their parents were tortured, beaten and killed in front of their eyes, before their small bodies were sliced, smashed, abused, pul-

chete wounds, bullet wounds, infection and starvation. There was rampant lawlessness, looting, and chaos. The infrastructure had been destroyed, the ability to govern dismantled. Homes were demolished, belongings stolen.

The mayhem resulted in more than 300,000 orphans. More than 85,000 children suddenly became heads of households, looking after younger siblings or relatives. There were thousands of widows, too; many had been victims of rape or had seen their children murdered.

Many families had been totally wiped out. Hutu women

successful in their aims than anyone would have dared to believe. Rwanda itself was dead.

No sanctuaries

People in large numbers ran to churches for shelter, but the houses of worship were no sanctuaries. The perpetrators moved into the churches and massacred thousands right there.

In Bugesera, one of the principal towns, 10,000 people were slain in and around the church. While some men attempted to stop the killers in downtown Bugesera, women, children and the elderly fled to

the church, convent, and school were turned into killing centers where around 20,000 people were murdered. In Nyange, 2,000 congregants were sheltering in the church when the Rev. Seromba gave the order to bulldoze the building. He murdered his own congregants in his own church.

Elsewhere, thousands had limbs cut so they could not run away. They were tied and beaten or made to wait helplessly to be clubbed or cut by machete. On occasion, victims were thrown alive down deep latrines and rocks were thrown in one at a time until their screams subsided into si-



A visitor to the Kigali Memorial Center reads notes about the 1994 genocide that took more than one million lives.

verized and discarded.

The elderly, the pride of Rwandan society, were mercilessly slain in cold blood. Neighbors turned on neighbors, and friends on friends – all in a bid to survive.

Seemingly overnight, Rwanda had become a nation of brutal, sadistic, merciless killers, and of innocent victims. In 100 days, an estimated one million people were killed. Every minute of the day, someone somewhere was being murdered, screaming for mercy. And the killing went on and on.

That wasn't all: Tens of thousands were tortured, but luckily they survived. Tens of thousands more suffered ma-

in mixed marriages were raped as a punishment. In addition, women and children were not only genocide victims, but they were also perpetrators. Children were frequently forced to participate, by killing their friends or neighbors. Other victims were sometimes forced to kill their loved ones just before they themselves were killed. Hutu and Tutsi women were forced to kill their own Tutsi children.

The streets were littered with dead bodies. Dogs were eating the corpses of their own owners.

In short, the country smelled of death. The Hutu extremists had been more suc-

cessful in their aims than anyone would have dared to believe. Rwanda itself was dead. Stunned victims were hacked or shot to death, and thousands more were slain around the church.

In Kigali, terrified people crammed into the large church of St. Familie and its precincts. The Rev. Wencelas was considered a figure of protection, yet he is known to have cooperated with militias. This was in contrast to the Rev. Celestin Hakizimana, who tried to save as many lives as he could. Hakizimana was in charge of St. Paul's Pastoral Center in central Kigali, which became a refuge for about 2,000 people.

But in Nyarubuye, Kibungo,

lence. Death was made painful, agonizing, frightening and humiliating.

International response

The perpetrators had control of the country. Somehow Ghanaians became entangled in the horror. Annan, who would become U.N. secretary general in 1996, was then head of the U.N. Peacekeeping Office, and several hundreds of Ghanaian soldiers had been deployed as part of the UN-AMIR force before the genocide began.

On April 21, 1994, the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution stating that it was "appalled at the ensuing

large-scale violence in Rwanda," which had resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians. But the same panel voted to reduce the UNAMIR force to 270 Ghanaian soldiers and to limit their mandate. The Ghanaians could thus do nothing to stop the genocide. They were at risk themselves of being annihilated by the marauding thousands who had taken control of the Rwandan streets and hills.

The UNAMIR commander, Dallaire, had cabled U.N. headquarters in New York shortly after Habyarimana's plane had been shot down, pleading with headquarters: "Give me the means and I can do more." He estimated that as few as 5,000 troops with authority to enforce peace could stop the genocide. Instead, UNAMIR was drastically scaled down as diplomatic staff and foreign workers and staffs of non-government organizations left the country.

The only soldiers to arrive in Rwanda before the genocide ended were the French during "Operation Turquoise," ostensibly to create a "safe haven" in the south of the country between the "conflicting" sides. But the Hutu militia saw the French as allies, and Operation Turquoise ended up providing a safe route for the killers to flee from the advancing RPF and escape into Congo.

The few foreigners who stayed included the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), who, two weeks into the conflict, issued a news release saying "the human tragedy in Rwanda is on a scale that the ICRC has rarely witnessed."

At last, on May 17, 1994, the Security Council agreed to establish UNAMIR II with 5,500 men and the mandate to use force. The United States was to provide 50 armored personnel carriers, but it took more than one month for them to arrive in Uganda.

In all, not one additional peacekeeper or armored personnel carrier arrived in Rwanda before the RPF took Kigali in July 1994. The world withdrew and watched as an estimated one million people perished.

Later, as the sheer enormity of the genocide hit the world, the senior staff at the U.N.

and members of the U.S. and other governments around the world realized that the decision to scale down the U.N. force had been a huge blunder.

Annan later apologized for that error and expressed deep sadness for not acting when it mattered most. Years later, U.S. President Bill Clinton said he regarded his lack of action on Rwanda as a "personal failure."

Resistance to genocide

But the perpetrators of genocide did not have it all their way. There were brave attempts to resist or thwart them, which revealed a far better side of the human spirit. While the RPF led the political and armed resistance to the genocide, members of the moderate wings of different political parties made passionate calls for resistance. Some of the victims organized resistance to the killings, while a number of Hutus hid targeted victims, sometimes at the risk of their lives.

The story is told of Sula Karuhimbi, a 70-year-old traditional healer from Musambo in Gitarama, who protected and fed 17 people in a shelter she had made for her animals. "I made a point of preparing lots of food for the Interamhwe. When they had eaten their fill, they would go away without coming into the house," Sula said. "I said to them if you want to die, go inside the shrine and the Nyabingi will swallow you up. They were frightened, so our lives were saved for another day."

Another brave soul was Frodouald Karuhije, who saved 14 Tutsis in Gitarama, protecting them for over a month by hiding them in a trench that he had dug on his land. His sister cooked and his 12-year-old niece took the food disguised in a dustbin to the hiding Tutsis.

Karuhije, a Hutu, had dug the trench so he could hide from the advancing RPF, which he thought would be killing Hutus. But when the massacres began, he decided to use the trench to hide Tutsis. He put planks on top of the trench, then green banana leaves, and on top of the leaves he piled soil. He then planted sweet potatoes all along the top. No one could have

guessed that people were hiding below.

Damas Mutezintare Gisimba also took nearly 400 orphans, refugees and employees into his orphanage at Nyamirambo, from April to June 1994. He also rescued people who had been thrown alive into mass graves. With help of the Red Cross and the Adventist Development and Relief Agency, Gisimba led the majority to safety in St. Michel

ternational Crimes Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was set up in Arusha in November 1995 to prosecute the leaders of the genocide.

John Kambanda, head of the interim government that ruled after Habyarimana's plane was shot down, was one of those tried in Arusha. So was Theoneste Bagasora, the chief of cabinet at the Ministry of Defense, the alleged "mastermind" of the genocide.

the best way forward. As one survivor said: "The genocidaires made sure that as many people as possible were implicated. It is impossible to forget the past. It is also extremely painful to remember. We remember the victims of the past because they were our family members and friends... We also remember the events of the past. It is a terrible and unavoidable warning for our future if we do not take active

least that long to completely heal the wounds. But at least the foundations are being laid now. Kigali today is fast growing into a beautiful "garden city" of shrubs and trees, and smart roads with central reservations adorned with plants, flowers and ornamental palm trees.

Kagame's government has used foreign aid well and has made its capital spotlessly clean. Kigali is now one of the cleanest cities in the world – a credit to the government and people of Rwanda.

It is said that the government once imposed stiff punishments, including a three-month prison term, for littering. There is now a total ban on the use of plastic bags, which may not be brought into the country. At the Kigali airport, arriving passengers are politely asked to exchange their plastic bags for paper bags. In general, shops offer customers only biodegradable paper bags, to help the environment.

Other African countries, such as Ghana and Nigeria, have a lot to learn from Rwanda when it comes to environmental awareness. Unlike Ghana — where water sachets and discarded plastic bags have turned many streets and open spaces into eyesores — Rwanda has turned the beautification of its cities and towns into a job-providing mission for its people. Thousands are employed by municipal councils as gardeners to look after the green areas, and sweepers to sweep the streets. Roundabouts are adorned with flowers and neatly maintained.

The economy is growing, new hotels and shopping centers are being built, and the government is determined to maintain peace and security.

When *Africawatch* visited central Kigali in late February, it found that, unlike other African cities, there were police officers and soldiers posted at vantage points day and night, giving the impression of a country under some kind of siege or fearful of its future.

Another interpretation may be: "Never again shall we allow our country to go the way of April 1994."

For now, though, peace is in place and the people of Rwanda can afford to smile again. ■



Kigali, the Rwandan capital, is working hard to move past the horrors of 1994 into a more peaceful and productive future.

Cathedral.

One of the survivors, Donatha Mukandayisenga, now says: "I can't find the exact words to express how I feel about Gisimba's actions. He protected more than 400 human lives. A love that sacrifices itself in that way is beyond my comprehension. I don't know if you will call it an act of heroism or an act of love."

Long-term consequences

Since 1994, the guilt-laden international community has been trying to make amends. Foreign aid has poured in to rebuild Rwanda, and the In-

There are tens of thousands of other cases that Rwanda's overwhelmed national legal system has referred to the traditional court system called Gacaca, which was originally developed to settle community disputes and transgressions. In all, more than 100,000 perpetrators were indicted in the Rwanda atrocities.

The country today

Seventeen years on, Rwanda is trying to forget the past as a way of healing itself. Almost every corner of the country was touched by the genocide in some way. For many, education has become

steps to avoid it all over again."

Another survivor, Yolande Mukagasana, added: "There will be no humanity without forgiveness, there will be no forgiveness without justice, but justice will be impossible without humanity."

In addition to the Kigali Memorial Center, other sites across the country offer educational programs to ensure that future generations understand the mistakes of the past should never be repeated.

The nation is working hard toward reconciliation, but trust won't come quickly. It took two generations to destroy trust, and it will take at

Human Rights Watch

Wednesday, 30 March 2011

Subject: Côte d'Ivoire: West African Immigrants Massacred

For Immediate Release

UN Imposes Strong Measures on Gbagbo; Greater Civilian Protection Needed

(Dakar, March 31, 2011) – Ivorian militias and Liberian mercenaries loyal to Laurent Gbagbo killed at least 37 West African immigrants in a village near the border with Liberia on March 22, 2011, Human Rights Watch said today. In response to the intensifying abuses and descent into civil war, the United Nations Security Council on March 30 imposed strong measures on Gbagbo, the incumbent president, who has refused to step down and cede power to his rival, Alassane Ouattara.

Witnesses in Côte d'Ivoire told Human Rights Watch that armed men, some in uniform and others in civilian clothes, massacred the villagers, presumed to be Ouattara supporters, possibly in retaliation for the capture of nearby areas by pro-Ouattara forces. Several other witnesses described numerous incidents in which real or perceived Ouattara supporters were killed by pro-Gbagbo security forces and militiamen in Abidjan. Ouattara's troops are spreading south and east, seizing several key towns, including the political capital, Yamoussoukro, and moving toward Abidjan, the commercial capital, in a very fluid situation.

“Côte d'Ivoire has reached the boiling point,” said Daniel Bekele, Africa director at Human Rights Watch. “We are extremely concerned about the potential for further human rights atrocities, given the killings by both sides and the continued incitement to violence through the media by Gbagbo cronies.”

In a four-month organized campaign of human rights abuses, which probably rise to the level of crimes against humanity, Gbagbo's forces have killed, “disappeared,” and raped real and perceived supporters of Ouattara, Human Rights Watch has found. Armed men supporting Ouattara have also engaged in numerous extrajudicial executions of presumed pro-Gbagbo fighters and supporters.

According to UN estimates, approximately 500 people, the vast majority civilians, have lost their lives as a result of the violence. In March alone, forces aligned with Gbagbo killed at least 50 civilians by firing mortars into neighborhoods known to be Ouattara strongholds. Pro-Gbagbo forces have also beaten and hacked and burned to death numerous perceived Ouattara supporters at checkpoints set up by militias.

On March 25, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that between 700,000 and one million people have been displaced, largely from Abidjan. On March 29, UNHCR reported that 116,000 Ivorians have fled to eight West African countries: Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, and Nigeria.

On March 30, the UN Security Council unanimously approved a resolution that calls on Gbagbo to leave office and urges a political solution to the crisis. The resolution demands an end to violence against both civilians and the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI). It urges the UN operation to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.

In addition, the Security Council resolution calls upon all parties to cooperate fully with an international commission of inquiry put in place in late March by the UN Human Rights Council to investigate human rights violations committed in Côte d'Ivoire. Finally, the resolution adopts targeted sanctions against Gbagbo and four close associates, including his wife, Simone.

Human Rights Watch has urged all parties to the conflict to respect international humanitarian law and end the targeting of civilians and extrajudicial executions, and has called for UN peacekeepers to enhance civilian protection. The UN operation needs equipment, such as helicopters, as well as additional deployments of well-trained and equipped troops, Human Rights Watch said.

Human Rights Watch has also stressed the importance of accountability for atrocities. The Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) has repeatedly indicated that it will prosecute crimes committed in Côte d'Ivoire if the ICC's requirements for investigation – which relate to the gravity of the crimes and the inadequacy of national proceedings – are met. An investigation could be triggered by a referral of the situation by the UN Security Council or any state that is party to the court, or if the prosecutor decides to act on his own authority. While Côte d'Ivoire is not a party to the court, it accepted the court's jurisdiction through a declaration in 2003. The Security Council resolution references this declaration and states that the report of the commission of inquiry should be provided to the Security Council and “other relevant international bodies.”

“The massacre of West African immigrants, targeting of civilians in Abidjan, and massive displacement are deeply troubling and require an effective response,” Bekele said. “The UN should prepare for the worst and do all it can to protect everyone in Côte d'Ivoire who is at grave risk of horrific abuse.”

Massacre at Bedi-Gouzan

Human Rights Watch interviewed five witnesses to the March 22 massacre by pro-Gbagbo militias of at least 37 West African immigrants. The killings took place in the village of Bedi-Gouzan, 32 kilometers from the town of Guiglo in western Côte d'Ivoire, the day after combatants loyal to Ouattara had captured the nearby town of Bolequin. Bedi-Gouzan is home both to Ivorians and to an estimated 400 other West Africans, most of whom work on the cacao plantations in western Côte d'Ivoire. The witnesses said that many of the attackers, who spoke English, appeared to be Liberian, while the vast majority of victims were immigrants from Mali and Burkina Faso.

The witnesses said armed men fighting on behalf of Ouattara passed through Bedi-Gouzan as they advanced toward Guiglo at approximately 1 p.m. on the day of the attack. At about 3:30 p.m., witnesses said, at least four cars containing scores of pro-Gbagbo militiamen, some in military and some in civilian dress, and some speaking English while others spoke French, attacked the part of the village where the West African immigrants live. The witnesses said the militiamen killed the immigrants inside their homes and as they attempted to flee.

Human Rights Watch received a list of 27 Malian victims, but witnesses said that the Malians' relatives, who had fled into the surrounding forest and later briefly returned to the village, counted up to 40 dead. The witnesses said the attackers were armed with automatic weapons, rocket-propelled grenades, and machetes. The witnesses believed their village had been attacked in reprisal for the military advance in the area by armed Ouattara supporters. As the attackers left, they pillaged and in some instances burned houses, looting any items of value, including motorcycles, money, televisions, mattresses, and clothing.

Several witnesses described a clear ethnic element to the targeting of victims. A 36-year-old witness said: “They came in accusing us of being rebels, and said, ‘If you’re Dioula (from Northern Côte d'Ivoire), you can try to flee if you can, if you’re Guere (natives of the area and largely supporters of Gbagbo), stay, we’re not concerned with you. But if you’re Malian or Mossi (Burkinabe, from Burkina Faso), we will kill you.’ And then they started killing.”

An 18-year old Malian woman described hearing the attackers yelling, “Fire them, fire them all,” in English as they descended from their vehicles and started to kill. She said she and many other women and children were saved by a female Liberian rebel who intervened to stop them from being killed.

A few witnesses, including a 16-year-old interviewed by Human Rights Watch, were wounded by machetes during the attack: “They beat me, saying they were going to cut my throat; they slashed my arms with a machete saying we were rebels.”

He and others, like this 28-year-old Malian man, survived after paying money to the attackers:

At around 3 p.m. we heard the sound of heavy trucks coming, and ran into our houses. The men fired into the air, then started breaking down the doors...saying, “Fire, fire” and, “You’re rebels, we’ll kill all of you.” We heard shots, and screams. They were killing people. My family and I were cowering in our home; after breaking down my door they screamed that I should give them money, or they’d kill me. I gave them all I had - 84,000 CFA, and the keys to 3 motorcycles. I begged them not to kill me....I was terrified...but it saved my life. The commander said, “If it wasn’t for this money, you’d be dead.” But not everyone had money... they killed a Burkinabe man in front of me...and later in a nearby house, I saw them kill 5 women... just a few meters away. They screamed, “Give us money!” The women pleaded saying they didn’t have any....then they shot them...three inside the house, two just

outside. They ordered four of us to carry the goods they looted to their truck.... As I walked through the village I saw at least 20 bodies and heard women and children wailing.... I saw them setting houses on fire and was told some villagers were burned inside.

A 34-year-old man from Burkina Faso described seeing 25 people killed, and noted what he believed to be a clear motive for the attack:

As they were killing people, they accused us of being rebels...They said other things in English that I couldn't understand. I saw 25 people killed with my own eyes. They killed women, with children, with men. They said they'd kill us all. They forced the people out and they killed them, just like they said. Most people who live there in the village are Burkinabe, Malians, and Senoufo (an ethnic group from Northern Côte d'Ivoire.) They killed people in front of the door to their house after pulling them out. One man opened his door, two guys dragged him out, and they fired their Kalashes [Kalashnikov rifles] into him. Also I saw an entire family killed. The man, two wives, the man's little brother, and their kids – two kids 9 and 5 years old. They killed them like it was nothing.

Ethnic Targeting in Abidjan

Since armed men loyal to Ouattara attempted to expand their control of areas in Abidjan into the Adjame and Williamsburg neighborhoods on March 16, dozens of civilians have been killed, either deliberately, or through excessive use of force. Immigrants from West Africa and active members of political parties allied to Ouattara were particularly targeted.

A 40 year-old man from Burkina Faso was one of nine West African immigrants detained by armed and uniformed men he believed to be policemen at a checkpoint in Adjame on March 29, and later taken into a police station and shot. Six of the men died, and the other three, including the witness, were wounded:

At 8:30 a.m., I was stopped by a checkpoint in Adjame on my way to work. They asked for my ID and after seeing my name, told me to get into a 4x4 nearby. I got in; there were 8 others there. The police vehicle took us to the 11th police commissariat. Just behind the commissariat there is a camp, which is where all happened. The police pushed us in and yelled at us, "Are you brothers of the rebellion?" I said no but obviously it wasn't a real question. Then they said, "If you are Burkinabe, go over there to the left. If you are Malian, go to the left." So we all went left. Then they turned left and fired on us...6 of us died. I got shot in the arm and the kidneys and it looked bad so they left me for dead. The police left directly after. It was clear they were police because of their uniform; even the 4x4 was a police vehicle, marked as such, and the camp was the police camp at the commissariat. Two of the dead were Burkinabes; I learned the other six were Malian, including the two other survivors. I couldn't sleep last night because of the sutures and the memories. I will try tonight.

An Ivorian driver described the March 28 killing of three Malian butchers by militiamen wearing black T-shirts and red armbands, which are typically worn by neighborhood militiamen. The men shot the butchers as they were in the process of fetching a cow in the Williamsville neighborhood. A Senegalese man who was shot in the arm in the Adjame neighborhood by armed men in uniform on March 17 described how two of his Senegalese friends were shot dead in the same incident: "The armed men pointed their guns at them shot them...they didn't ask them any questions, they just shot them point blank."

Another witness described the March 30 killing of a civilian who was stopped at a militia checkpoint in Adjame:

At noon, the militiamen stopped a pick-up truck and asked the driver and his apprentice for their ID papers. The driver was told to go ahead, but they pulled the apprentice out of the passenger seat and fired four times at him; his body is still in the street. This is their way of targeting foreigners...they judge your background from your ID papers. If you're an ECOWAS national or from the north, they take you out and – too often – shoot and kill. With some ten such checkpoints in Adjame now, these kinds of incidents and killings are becoming the norm.

Another witness described how he saw local militiamen conducting house-to-house searches and manning checkpoints on March 21 and 22 in Williamsville. He said he saw them kill three people, including two of his friends who were murdered in his house.

The violence in Adjame provoked the mass exodus of West African immigrants and Ivorians of northern descent from Abidjan or led them to take refuge in West African embassies.

For more Human Rights Watch reporting on Côte d'Ivoire, please visit:

<http://www.hrw.org/en/africa/cote-divoire>

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ICC pledge on arrest of six Hague suspects

By PETER LEFTIE



ICC registrar Silvana Arbia addresses a past press conference in Kenya. PHOTO / FILE

The International Criminal Court will not arrest the Ocampo Six when they appear at The Hague next week, the court clarified on Tuesday.

"Those persons are free. They are not detained and will not be detained. They will come on the day of the hearing, and the next day they can be back in Kenya," Ms Silvana Arbia, the court's registrar, told the *Nation*.

But they will remain free so long as they obey the conditions imposed by ICC judges.

"Only if one of the six persons fails to comply with those conditions, the Chamber may, on its own motion or at the request of the Prosecutor, issue a warrant of arrest," she warned.

MPs allied to some of the suspects have been threatening mass action, claiming the court was planning to arrest some of them. There has also been speculation that those still in service will be offered the choice to resign or be detained by the court.

Deputy Prime Minister Uhuru Kenyatta, Head of Public Service Francis Muthaura, suspended Higher Education Minister William Ruto, Orange Democratic Party chairman and suspended Industrialisation Minister Henry Kosgey, Postmaster-General Hussein Ali and radio presenter Joshua Sang have been summoned to The Hague.

ICC Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo accuses them for bearing the greatest responsibility for atrocities committed during the post-election violence and wants to prosecute them for crimes against humanity.

Ms Arbia said the Pre-trial Chamber will use next week's sessions to tell the suspects the dates it will start determining whether or not to confirm the charges facing each of them.

"After the initial appearance, they are free, and on that same day, the Chamber will announce the first day for the hearing of whether or not to confirm the charges, and they will have to come back for that day," she said.

But the registrar noted that the ICC reserved the right to issue warrants of arrest against any suspect who breached the four conditions imposed against them. The suspects are barred from having contact, directly or indirectly, with victims or witnesses.

They are also required to refrain from obstructing or interfering with the attendance or testimony of a witness, or to interfere with the Prosecution's investigation.

The suspects are required to refrain from committing crimes and to attend all required hearings at the ICC.

The office of the prosecutor confirmed that Mr Moreno-Ocampo had written to the government over Mr Kenyatta and Mr Muthaura's continued stay in office.

"The Prosecutor did send a letter to the Government of Kenya as he stated during the video conference from The Hague," a spokesperson for Mr Moreno-Ocampo said.

Mr Moreno-Ocampo had expressed concern that the pair could interfere with investigations due to their powerful positions in government.

But a commissioner with the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, Mr Hassan Omar, accused Mr Kenyatta and Mr Ruto of using political rallies to whip up emotions against the ICC.

"Instead of running around the country telling Kenyans how innocent they are, they should use the legal framework and clear their names," Mr Omar said in Nairobi on Tuesday.

"These politicians should cease this notion of running to their ethnic communities or using political parties to express their innocence. This is likely to whip up emotions. Should anything happen as a result of this, they will be held responsible," added the KNCHR commissioner.

Reuters

Tuesday, 29 March 2011

Rwandan official guilty of genocide gets life

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda sentenced a former top civil servant to life imprisonment Tuesday for genocide and extermination, the court's affiliated news service said.

The court heard that Jean-Baptiste Gatete, director of the Ministry of Women and Family Affairs during the 1994 massacre of about 800,000 ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus, was responsible for the deaths of perhaps thousands in Rwanda's east.

"Considering all the relevant circumstances, the Chamber sentences Gatete to a single sentence of life imprisonment," the Arusha-based Hironelle news service quoted presiding Pakistan Judge Khalida Rachid Khan as saying.

She said the large-scale killings were coordinated and required advance planning.

This was the first new judgment of the year to be handed down by the Tribunal. Eight other cases involving 20 accused, among them former ministers and generals of the Rwandan army, are in the pipeline.

The Associated Press

Wednesday, 30 March 2011

Lawyer for Rwandan rebel detained by international court seeks release

By Mike Corder

THE HAGUE, Netherlands — The lawyer of a Rwandan rebel accused of involvement in war crimes and crimes against humanity in Congo asked the International Criminal Court Wednesday to release him from detention and allow him to return to his family in France.

Defence attorney Nick Kaufman said his client, Callixte Mbarushimana, will not try to flee justice or threaten witnesses if he is released.

"His present detention is a source of severe moral and financial hardship to both his wife and children who, until his arrest, were financially dependent on him," Kaufman wrote in his application to the judges.

Prosecutors say Mbarushimana is a leader of the Hutu rebel group Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda. He is accused of 11 counts of crimes against humanity and war crimes, including murder, rape, persecution based on gender, and extensive destruction of property.

Mbarushimana had been on Interpol's list of wanted fugitives for alleged involvement in the Rwandan genocide in 1994, but he was arrested in connection with crimes in 2009 in Congo's Kivu provinces, where Hutu militants from Rwanda have been active. He has denied any involvement in the crimes.

Mbarushimana was arrested last October at his home in Paris and transferred to The Hague in January, where he was jailed at the court's cell complex. A hearing to weigh prosecutors' evidence and determine whether it is strong enough to merit a full trial has been scheduled for July 4.

Prosecutors allege that FDLR fighters deliberately targeted civilians in Congo "in order to ultimately obtain political concessions."

They say that although Mbarushimana lived in France at the time of the crimes he "personally and intentionally" contributed to a criminal plan by leading an international campaign seeking political power.

Kaufman wrote that although Mbarushimana has been accused of involvement in Rwanda's genocide by authorities in Kigali and was put under investigation by a U.N. tribunal, he has never tried to flee and would not do so now.

"Mr. Mbarushimana has ... consistently shown a demonstrable respect for judicial authority and a strong commitment to clearing his name through the judicial process," Kaufman wrote.