

Chronology of the Genocide against the Tutsi

The following events that mark the recent past of Rwanda do not constitute the entire history of the country. The events listed represent key moments in the history of the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

1. **14th Century:** Under the leadership of several kings, Rwanda becomes a nation state.
2. **1885:** European colonisers decide at the Berlin Conference that Rwanda and Burundi should become a German protectorate.
3. **1892-1914:** The first European, Oscar Baumann from Austria, visits Rwanda in 1892. Other Europeans come to Rwanda as explorers, religious missionaries and later on as colonial masters, bringing theories that Rwandans are composed of three different races that came to Rwanda at different times and from different parts of Africa. The Europeans notice physical differences between Rwandans, and use these physical differences to distinguish between them as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. Perceiving the Tutsi as more intelligent, Europeans choose to collaborate with them as colonial rulers. These new theories are spread and reinforced by Christian missionaries.
4. **1916-1925:** Belgium takes over control of Rwanda from Germany that was defeated as a world power in World War I (1914-1918).
Note: the coat of arms is just an image use to illustrate this new mandate
5. **1926-1933:** The Belgians implement administrative reforms with a philosophy of “divide and rule”, using a strategy of building alliances with some Tutsi families. Colonial authorities abolish the traditional administrative system and the socio-economic stratification that was based on ownership of cattle and land or service in the army and replace social

status with ethnic identity. The creation of a corps of auxiliary workers gives Tutsis positions in the colonial administration of Rwanda. Ethnic divisions deepen when the designation of Hutu, Tutsi or Twa becomes mandatory on identity cards in 1933.

6. **1931:** Rwanda's King, Mwami Yuhi V Musinga, refuses to convert to Catholicism and asserts his authority, particularly with regard to subordinate chiefs. The Belgians overthrow him and replace him with his son Rudahigwa who became known as Mwami Mutara III. The Catholic Church becomes increasingly influential as Christianity gains ground in Rwanda.
7. **1948:** Rwanda and Burundi become becomes one territory (Ruanda-Urundi) under Belgian administration that continues to recognise local chiefs and sub chiefs.
8. **1950:** A new social class develops from the Hutu and Tutsi elites. This frustrated new intellectual social class calls for political and economic reforms, and fights against white racism. Belgian authorities, in collaboration with religious leaders from the Catholic Church, persecute Rwandans who are developing ideas of independence.
9. **February 1957:** The High Council of Rwanda produces "*Mise au Point*", a memorandum requesting a more inclusive system of governance that would give some power to Rwandans.
10. **March 1957:** In response to the "*Mise au Point*" document, colonial authorities and some Catholic Church leaders encourage a group of nine Hutu leaders to draft a "Hutu Manifesto". It portrays the Tutsi as an obstacle to the development of the Hutu people. The manifesto also asks that the indication of ethnic origin be kept on identity papers, and that doctors be consulted on the categorisation of persons of mixed parentage.
11. **February 11, 1959:** Bishop André Perraudin writes the "Lent letter". It is circulated in churches all over Rwanda, and outlines the Catholic Church's support for, and legitimisation of, ethnic division.

12. **July 25, 1959:** While under Belgian medical care, Mwami Mutara III Rudahigwa, dies in Burundi. Many Rwandans suspect his death to be murder.
13. **September 1959:** Political parties form including some that decide to take an anti-Tutsi orientation. The Parmehutu Party has an openly racist political program. Joseph Habyarimana Gitera makes public the ten Hutu Commandments on 27 September.
14. **November 1, 1959:** Under a campaign called “Toussaint Rouge, the first acts of genocide against the Tutsi are committed during what has been termed “The Hutu Revolution”. Within a year, 3000 to 4000 Tutsi had been murdered. Thousands of others are chased from their land and see their houses looted and burned down. Many sought refuge in the neighboring countries of Burundi, Uganda, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), and the Belgian Congo (now Democratic Republic of the Congo), while those who remained in Rwanda suffered persecution and internal deportations to Nyamata, Rukumberi and other isolated locations.
15. **1960 -1967:** Attacks against Tutsi continue and hundreds of thousands of refugees flee to neighboring countries. Cross-border attacks by Tutsi refugees serve as a pretext for the persecution of Tutsi who remained within Rwanda. In 1960, Parmehutu renames itself MDR-Parmehutu (Mouvement Démocratique Républicain-Parmehutu).
16. **September 1961:** Colonial authorities organize legislative elections that result in Parmehutu’s victory with 78% of the vote. Grégoire Kayibanda is elected president.
17. **July 1, 1962:** Rwanda gains independence from Belgium. The MDR-Parmehutu political party and President Grégoire Kayibanda preach the victory of Hutu over Tutsi.
18. **December 1963 - January 1964:** An incursion into Bugesera by a group of armed Tutsi refugees provides the trigger for the massacre of more than 35,000 Tutsi in Bugesera, Butare, Gikongoro and Byumba . Thousands of

- survivors flee abroad. Since then, the notion of an “internal enemy” and the term “inyenzi” (cockroaches) were alternatively used in reference to all Tutsi.
19. **1965:** MDR-Parmehutu is declared Rwanda’s only political party. Grégoire Kayibanda is re-elected as president and Juvénal Habyarimana becomes Minister of Defense and head of the National Guard.
 20. **1966:** Another slaughter is carried out against the Tutsi in Bugesera after an incursion by armed refugees seeking to enter the country through the Bugesera area.
 21. **1968-1972:** Internal dissent within the ruling party leads to more intense scape-goating of the Tutsi population as the source of the national crisis.
 22. **April 1972:** A group of Hutu Catholic priests urge their superiors to institutionalise discrimination against the Tutsi, starting within their Church. The priests use the 1959 revolution to justify discrimination saying: “After the defeat of the counter-revolutionaries, the “inyenzi”, one would have thought that reasonable people, consecrated to God’s service, would bow down before the irreversible reality of the victory of the people. Far from it, because they are still nurturing bitter regrets or still hoping for revenge... The Hutu seems to have fallen asleep on the laurels of victory while the Tutsi is working very hard in order to again become master of events. How long can we allow our dear [Tutsi] brothers to make fools of us and to ignore us and the people from whom we are descended?”
 23. **March 1973:** Purges are organised in schools and in the administration against the Tutsi population. Tutsi students designated on lists posted in all secondary schools and universities and signed by the Mouvement des Étudiants (Students Movement) or Comité de Salut Public (Committee of Public Safety), come under threat and have to flee. Among the main leaders of the Comités de Salut Public are Ferdinand Nahimana and Léon Mugesera, who are young students at the time. This movement, which starts in the

educational system, spreads to government ministries, hospitals, banks, private companies, and shops.

24. **April-July 1973:** An operation known as “Abatutsi nimutuvire aha” (“Tutsi Get Out Of Here”) is set in motion. Violence against Tutsi leads to expulsion, torture and killings by government forces and the youth wing of the ruling MDR-Parmehutu party. Most Tutsi students and civil servants are expelled from their institutions sending a new wave of exiles into neighbouring countries.
25. **July 5, 1973:** Major General Juvénal Habyarimana and his comrades seize power through a coup and suspend all political activities. Officially, Habyarimana talks about national reconciliation but continues the policies excluding Tutsi from education, employment and politics.
26. **1975:** Creation of the Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND, National Revolutionary Movement for Development) as the official political party of the State in which everyone is automatically a member.
27. **April 16, 1975:** Rwanda ratifies the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide but with reservation to Article IX which states that, “Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.”
28. **July 18, 1975:** The Habyarimana government signs a military assistance agreement with France.
29. **1978:** Habyarimana is elected president in an election in which he is the only candidate. A new constitution is adopted creating the Conseil National de Développement (CND, National Development Council) as a legislative body

and establishing the MRND as the State party that everyone is a member of from birth.

30. **1979:** the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) is formed by Rwandans in the Diaspora with the objective of mobilising Rwandan people to resolve the persistent issues of massacres against Tutsi, lack of political representation and repatriation of refugees in Rwanda.
31. **1979 -1982:** Institutionalisation and implementation under President Habyarimana of ethnic and regional quotas denying Tutsi access to education and civil service employment.
32. **1983 -1984:** Tens of thousands of Rwandan Tutsi are expelled from Uganda, where they had been refugees since 1960. They are immediately denied the right to live in Rwanda and are re-expelled to Uganda. Unable to re-enter Uganda, thousands of these Tutsi refugees die of hunger and disease in the Mutara region of Rwanda.
33. **1986:** The Rwandan Government announces that refugees will not be allowed to return to Rwanda because the country is too small to accommodate them.
34. **December 1987:** RANU is renamed the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in Kampala, Uganda with the main objective as the return of Rwandan refugees to their country.
35. **1990:** The Government of Rwanda starts importing a stockpile of weapons with Egypt and South Africa as the major suppliers.
36. **September 1990:** A group of 33 intellectuals (including Simburudari) publish a letter denouncing the one-party political system in Rwanda.
37. **October 1, 1990:** RPF forces launch their liberation struggle with an invasion at the Kagitumba border post between Uganda and Rwanda. France, Belgium, and Zaire send troops to assist the Government of Rwanda in the ensuing civil war.

38. **October 2, 1990:** While attending the UN General Assembly annual session in New York, President Juvénal Habyarimana requests French military intervention in Rwanda. Fred Gisa Rwigema, the RPF Chairman and Commander of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) is killed on the frontline.
39. **October 3, 1990:** French President François Mitterrand orders a military company from the Deuxième Régiment Étranger de Parachutistes (REP) to deploy in Kigali under Operation Noroît.
40. **October 4 - 5, 1990:** Almost 10,000 Tutsi civilians are arrested after the government launched a simulated attack on Kigali.
41. **October 8, 1990:** Between 500 and 1000 Tutsi civilians are killed by government forces in the Prefecture of Byumba, in Mutara.
42. **October 11 - 13, 1990:** At Kibilira in Gisenyi Prefecture, 350 Tutsi are killed following government officials' sensitisation of the local population to carry out massacres against Tutsi.
43. **December 1990:** *Kangura*, a pro-regime extremist magazine, publishes the "Ten Commandments of the Hutu" aimed at mobilising Hutu to exterminate Tutsi.
44. **January 22, 1991:** Hundreds of political opposition members, mainly Tutsi, are assassinated in the prefectures of Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibuye, and Byumba.
45. **January 22-23, 1991:** The RPF forces make an incursion into Ruhengeri and free 1,780 detainees from the high-security prison. Those freed include Major Théoneste Lizinde, Commander Stanislas Bizeruka and Captain Donat Muvunanyambo.
46. **January 25, 1991:** In retaliation for the RPF attack on Ruhengeri, several Bagogwe community members in Mukingo Commune are killed and three women raped.

47. **January 27, 1991:** About 30 Bagogwe are massacred at the crossroads of Kinigi commune. Bagogwe were targeted because they were thought to be related to the Tutsis
48. **February 2, 1991:** The attacks against the Bagogwe spread to the préfecture of Gisenyi. At Gaseke and Giciye 17 people are killed
49. **March 1991:** Egypt concludes another deal to sell weapons to the Rwandan Government.
50. **March 15, 1991:** The French ambassador to Rwanda, Georges Martres, informs President Juvénal Habyarimana of the French Government's decision to deploy a detachment of 30 soldiers to Rwanda for military assistance and training.
51. **March 29, 1991:** The first ceasefire agreement between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front is signed in Nsele, Zaire.
52. **April 1991:** Egypt concludes another deal to sell weapons to the Rwandan Government.
53. **April 28, 1991:** President Habyarimana declares a "final solution" for the Tutsi "problem" during an address at an MRND extraordinary congress.
Note: In that speech he said they had devised a plan to solve once and for all, the problem of war caused by the Tutsi. That is when the idea of creating "the civil defence" was enunciated.
54. **June 1991:** A new constitution is adopted allowing for multiple political parties to exist. A French intelligence report warns that an extremist group surrounding the first lady, Agathe Habyarimana, is encouraging ethnic hatred and is determined to resist democracy.
55. **August 1991:** The MDR, PSD and PL political parties are formed.
56. **September 16, 1991:** The Nsele Ceasefire Agreement of March 29 is amended and becomes known as the Gbadolite Agreement.
57. **November 7, 1991:** Tutsi families are attacked at night in the Murambi Commune upon orders from the mayor. One person is killed and dozens

- wounded. Kangura publishes issue No 26 in which it lists the specific weapons Hutu will use in the “Final Solution” against Tutsi “cockroaches”.
58. **March 1992:** The Ministry of Defense buys a stockpile of weapons and ammunition from Egypt (450 Kalashnikovs and 2000 rockets) for 6 million US dollars.
 59. **March 10, 1992:** Hundreds of Tutsi civilians are killed in the Bugesera region (Kanzenze, Ngenda and Gashora communes), as well as in the communes of Mbogo (Kigali), Sake (Kibungo) and Kivumu (Kibuye). Their houses are burned down and their cattle butchered. Almost 15,000 people are displaced. Thousands of them take refuge in the Ruhuha, Rilima, Ntarama and Nyamata churches nearby.
 60. **April 1992:** The President of the World Bank, Lewis Preston, writes to President Habyarimana asking him to stop further military spending.
 61. **May 8, 1992:** A gang of 20 people armed with hand grenades, machetes, and clubs attack Agathe Uwilingiyimana, the Minister of Education, at her residence. She is beaten severely.
 62. **June 1992:** Egypt concludes another deal to sell weapons to the Rwandan Government.
 63. **July 12, 1992:** In Arusha, Tanzania there is another amendment of the Gbadolite Ceasefire Agreement
 64. **August 20, 1992:** MRND and CDR supporters kill Tutsi and other political opposition members in Kibuye.
 65. **August 26, 1992:** The 1975 special military assistance agreement between France and Rwanda is amended to cover all Rwandan Armed Forces Services.
 66. **September 21, 1992:** Colonel Déogratias Nsabimana releases a military doctrine disclosing the conclusions of a ten-member commission constituted in December 1991 and tasked to conduct a threat assessment. The team earmarks Tutsi as the national enemy inside and outside the country.

67. **October 1992:** Belgian Professor Filip Reyntjens issues a report warning of death squads in Rwanda with links to President Habyarimana's brothers-in-law, son-in-law, and military leaders including Colonel Théoneste Bagosora and Captain Pascal Simbikangwa.
68. **October 19, 1992:** The Ministry of Defense buys weapons and ammunition (20,000 R-4 rifles, 20,000 hand grenades) from South Africa worth 5.9 million US dollars.
69. **November 1992:** Egypt concludes another deal to sell weapons to the Rwandan Government.
70. **November 15, 1992:** At a political rally for his party, President Habyarimana says the Arusha Peace agreements are nothing but a "mere heap of papers" and that he counts on support of the Interahamwe, the militia of the MRND. It was interpreted by the opposition as threat that the peace negotiations were useless.
Note: supporting document of the speech of Habyarimana
71. **November 22, 1992:** Léon Mugesera (the MRND Vice-President for the Gisenyi prefecture, and a civil servant in the Ministry of the Family and the Promotion of Women), gives an incendiary speech at Kabaya in Gisenyi Prefecture inciting Hutu communities to exterminate Tutsi and throw them in the Nyabarongo River in order to return them to Ethiopia, their "place of origin". Soon after this speech, the killing of Tutsi in Gisenyi and Kibuye begins.
72. **November 30, 1992:** Stanislas Mbonampeka, the Minister of Justice, resigns following the government's refusal to prosecute Léon Mugesera for his speech in Kabaya calling for extermination of the Tutsi.
73. **January 8 - 17, 1993:** An international commission conducts an investigation of human rights violations in Rwanda.

74. **January 21 - 26, 1993:** There is a new series of attacks and massacres of Tutsi civilians and opposition members in northern Rwanda with an estimated 300 victims.
75. **February 8, 1993:** RPF forces launch an offensive and reach the outskirts of Kigali. The widespread massacres in the west of the country are considered a violation of the ceasefire between the RPF and Rwandan Government forces.
76. **February 9, 1993:** France deploys 150 additional soldiers under the framework of Operation Noroît in response to the RPF offensive. More than 1 million people are displaced because of the fighting.
77. **March 1993:** Egypt concludes another deal to sell weapons to the Rwandan Government.
78. **May 1993:** A French arms dealer (company called DYL-Invest owned by Dominique Yves Lemonnier) agrees to sell 12 million US dollars worth of weapons to the Government of Rwanda.
79. **June 22, 1993:** The United Nations Security Council adopts Resolution 846 establishing the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda–Rwanda (UNOMUR) for an initial period of six months to monitor and verify that no military assistance is being provided across the border between Uganda and Rwanda. Brigadier-General Roméo Dallaire is appointed military head of UNOMUR.
80. **July 8, 1993:** Radio Télévision des Milles Collines (RTL), a new pro-genocide extremist radio station, begins broadcasting anti-Tutsi hate messages including dehumanizing names like “cockroaches” and “snakes”. Among the shareholders were President Juvenal Habyarimana, Felicien Kabuga, Theoneste Bagosora and many more members of MRND and CDR
81. **August 3, 1993:** Signing of the protocol for the integration of RPF soldiers into the Rwandan Armed Forces.

82. **August 4, 1993:** The RPF and the government of President Habyarimana sign the Arusha Peace Agreement calling for creation of a transitional government for Rwanda.
83. **August 11, 1993:** Bacre Waly Ndaiye, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, presents the report of his mission to Rwanda from 8 to 17 April 1993 to investigate extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, massacres and other violations committed between 1990 and 1993. Ndaiye reports that, “the victims of the attacks, Tutsi in the overwhelming majority of cases, have been targeted solely because of their membership of a certain ethnic group and for no other objective reason.” In paragraph 78 of the 25-page report, Ndaiye also warns of the potential for escalating violence including the risk of genocide.
84. **October 5, 1993:** The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 872 establishing the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to help implement the Arusha Peace Agreement. UNOMUR is integrated into UNAMIR and General Roméo Dallaire is appointed Force Commander.
85. **October 21, 1993:** President Melchior Ndadaye of Burundi is assassinated.
86. **October 23, 1993:** Violent demonstrations are held in Kigali. Hutu Power members mobilise in support of the Burundian Hutu community and call for the extermination of Tutsi in revenge. Political parties are divided over the Arusha Peace Agreement.
87. **October 30, 1993:** The Rwanda Armed Forces create a civilian “self-defense force” that it recruits, trains, and arms.
88. **November 1, 1993:** First deployment of Belgian soldiers in the UNAMIR peacekeeping mission arrives in Kigali. A series of killings take place in northern Rwanda.
89. **December 1, 1993:** Edition 53 of *Kangura*, an influential Hutu extremist magazine, predicts the assassination of President Habyarimana. Its cover

carries the headline: "Habyarimana will die in March 1994"*Habyarimana azapfa muri Werurwe 1994*].

90. **December 3, 1993:** General Roméo Dallaire, Force Commander for UNAMIR, receives a letter signed by a group of senior Rwandan military and police officers stating that military officers close to President Habyarimana are planning to sabotage the Arusha Peace Agreement through the assassination of elites from the political opposition. The letter also blames the government for a series of large-scale massacres of Tutsi in November and reports that more massacres are planned.
91. **December 10, 1993:** Most of the French Paratroopers of Operation Noroit leave Kigali. They were dispatched to Rwanda within days of the RPF invasion in 1990 as an important component of the French military support to the Habyarimana regime. Dozens of French soldiers remain behind, however, continuing to work with the Rwandan military.
92. **December 13, 1993:** A Rwandan human rights group states that violence against the Tutsi is part of a "Machiavellian plan" being organized by civil and military authorities. It calls on President Habyarimana to end the "extermination of a people in which an organization of killers is protected by certain authorities."
93. **December 17, 1993:** The Rwandan journal *Le Flambeau* reports that, "Rwandan fascists and their leader have decided to apply the final solution to their fellow citizens judged enemies of the regime." The journal claims that 8,000 members of the Interahamwe paramilitary organization have received military training from the French army.
94. **December 28, 1993:** About 600 soldiers from an RPF battalion travel to Kigali and station in Rwanda's Parliament building, the National Council for Development (CND). Under the terms of the Arusha Accords, the RPF troops had the responsibility to protect RPF leaders scheduled to take posts in the

- transitional government. As the RPF convoy enters the city, onlookers cheer and shower the soldiers with flowers.
95. **December 31, 1993:** Inauguration of the transitional government does not take place as agreed between the Rwandan Government and the RPF. There are disagreements over who should serve as ministers.
 96. **January 3, 1994:** The Belgian contingent from UNAMIR confiscates a hidden stockpile of arms and explosives, but later returns them to the Rwandan army.
 97. **January 5, 1994:** President Habyarimana is sworn in as Head of State for the transitional government, but Hutu Power extremists block the inauguration of the Transitional National Assembly and broad-based government specified by the Arusha Peace Agreement.
 98. **January 6, 1994:** The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 893 calling for the broad-based transitional institutions to be established “at the earliest opportunity.”
 99. **January 7, 1994:** High-ranking government officials meet with the Interahamwe militia leadership to plan how to hide illegal weapons stockpiles from UN peacekeepers. The meeting is a response to the brief weapons seizure by Belgian forces on 3 January.
 100. **January 8, 1994:** Machete-wielding Hutu Militia (Interahamwe and Impuzamugabi) take over two roundabouts in central Kigali for several hours, cutting transport links between the city's east and west and temporarily isolating the Belgian contingent from UNAMIR headquarters. The militia hurls abuse at the Belgian peacekeepers who pull back and leave police to resolve the situation. The police do nothing and the militia eventually disperses.
 101. **January 10, 1994:** Jean-Pierre Turatsinze, an Interahamwe militia commander and former member of the president's security guard, gives UN peacekeepers details of a planned genocide. The informant tells UN Colonel Luc Marchal that each of the militia units he controls has the ability to kill

1,000 people every 20 minutes, and that he is overseeing weapons provision and training for militia recruits. Jean-Pierre says that he was told to help draw up a list of all Tutsi in Kigali for their extermination.

102. **January 11, 1994:** UNAMIR Force Commander General Dallaire, faxes General Maurice Baril in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at UN headquarters in New York to advise of the information received from Interahamwe militia informant Jean-Pierre. Dallaire requests protection for Jean-Pierre and states his intention within 36 hours to order the seizure of weapons stockpiled by the militia.
103. **January 12, 1994:** General Dallaire is instructed not to seize militia weapons caches, and told that such action would exceed the mandate of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda. The instruction is given in a fax from senior UN official Iqbal Riza, and signed by Kofi Annan, Head of the Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO). The fax also states that Jean-Pierre cannot be protected by the UN and that Dallaire should discuss the information provided by the informant with Rwandan President Habyarimana and inform the Belgian, French, and US ambassadors.
104. **January 13, 1994:** A Senegalese officer from UNAMIR accompanies the informant Jean-Pierre to several Interahamwe arms caches, including one at the ruling party's headquarters.
105. **January 14, 1994:** Belgium refuses a request from UN peacekeepers to give refuge to Interahamwe informant Jean-Pierre for fear of compromising Belgian neutrality within the UNAMIR force. In Belgium, military commanders are briefed by the military intelligence service on fears that the Interahamwe may attack Belgian peacekeepers because: "There are increasingly well substantiated reports of secret links and/or support to Interahamwe by high-ranking officers of the Rwandan army or national police".

106. **January 15, 1994:** The Belgian ambassador in Kigali communicates at length with his ministry of foreign affairs, reporting that UNAMIR action is vital to prevent arms being distributed to Interahamwe militia and civilians. The moderate Hutu president of the Supreme Court, Joseph Kavaruganda, complains to President Habyarimana after being threatened by the head of the Interahamwe in Rugando.
107. **January 16, 1994:** Around 5000 supporters of the ruling MRND party meet at Nyamirambo Stadium in Kigali. Justin Mugenzi, leader of the Hutu Power faction of the Liberal Party, addresses the crowd on ethnic divisions. UNAMIR officers later learn that weapons were distributed to the audience.
108. **January 17, 1994:** Jaques-Roger Booh-Booh, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, informs an assembly of African diplomats that there was proof of the existence of training camps for many Interahamwe recruits and proliferation of weapons of different calibers among the population.
109. **January 18, 1994:** The informant Jean-Pierre ends formal contact with the UN mission in Rwanda when neither Belgium, France, nor the US agrees to grant him asylum. He maintains informal contact with a Belgian officer for several more weeks and then disappears.
110. **January 19, 1994:** Rwandan Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, writes a letter accusing the Defence Minister, Augustin Bizimana, of refusing an order from the Council of Ministers to collect weapons illegally given to the public.
111. **January 21, 1994:** In violation of the terms of the Arusha Accords, a French DC-8 cargo plane lands covertly in Kigali loaded with weapons, including 90 boxes of 60mm mortars. UN peacekeepers discover the delivery and put the weapons under joint guard with the Rwandan army.
112. **January 22, 1994:** Belgian intelligence sources report that RTLM plans to install a new 1000-watt broadcast tower on Mount Muhe in President Habyarimana's home region.

113. **January 23, 1994:** 47 people are killed during a violent demonstration in Kigali.
114. **January 24, 1994:** Belgian peacekeepers come under fire while guarding the residence of the UNAMIR head of mission Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh. Interahamwe militia members are arrested for bombing a house in Kigali and there are outbreaks of rioting.
115. **January 26, 1994:** Belgian peacekeepers on patrol in Kigali come under fire. There is a meeting between MRND leaders and Robert Kajuga, President of the Interahamwe, to discuss methods of provoking conflict between the Interahamwe and the Belgians. Government forces orchestrate a demonstration to intimidate the population near the Parliament Building and the Interahamwe begins killing civilians.
116. **January 27, 1994:** Security worsens in the country as the Interahamwe attacks civilians in Kacyiru, Gikondo and Gatenga. They carry out intense military training in Nyamugali. They also hold meetings in Kinihira and Karama of Tumba Commune in Byumuba Prefecture. Radio Rwanda and RTLM broadcast attacks by the Kigali Prefect, Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho, against UNAMIR and blaming the RPF for the insecurity in Kigali.
117. **January 30, 1994:** More than 900 Bangladeshi troops complete their deployment into Kigali. Despite establishing more than 300 checkpoints and conducting more than 1,200 patrols, UNAMIR confiscates only nine weapons.
118. **January 31, 1994:** A Belgian peacekeeper breaks windows by throwing stones at the home of CDR leader Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza. RTLM and Radio Rwanda both report the story as an assassination attempt on Barayagwiza. RTLM announces that, "the time has come to take aim at Belgian targets." A grenade is thrown at UNAMIR headquarters. The Human Rights Watch Arms Project publishes a report documenting the flow of arms into Rwanda and warning of "the danger of providing automatic rifles to civilians, particularly

in regions where residents, either encouraged or instructed by authorities, have slaughtered their neighbours.”

119. **February 1, 1994:** Grenade blasts kill civilians in Kicukiro and Gatenga. The Interahamwe militia blocks the main road in Nyamirambo but groups of youth from other political parties dislodge them. RTLTM broadcasts attacks against Landoald Ndasingwa.
120. **February 2, 1994:** Grenade blasts kill more civilians in Gatenga and Nyamirambo. The Interahamwe continue making lists of Tutsi to be killed in Nyakabanda, Remera, and Kivugiza. Belgian Military Intelligence issues a 13-page memo on the Interahamwe to multiple Belgian authorities. The memo details the Interahamwe's plan to attack Belgian UNAMIR troops in order to trigger a Belgian withdrawal from Rwanda, the militia's targeting of Tutsi and those opposed to President Habyarimana, and the Rwandan army's provision of training and weapons to the militia. It concludes that there are strong indications that authorities close to President Habyarimana are involved.
121. **February 3, 1994:** General Dallaire sends another cable to UN Headquarters in New York describing the proliferation of firearms and requesting modification of the UNAMIR mandate to allow the peacekeepers to confiscate weapons. Dallaire writes, “We can expect more frequent and more violent demonstrations, more grenade and armed attacks on ethnic and political groups, more assassinations and quite possibly outright attacks on UNAMIR installations ... Each day of delay in authorizing the deterrent arms recovery operation will result in an ever deteriorating security situation and may, if the arms continue to be distributed, result in an inability of UNAMIR to carry out its mandate in all aspects.” UN leaders continue to insist that UNAMIR cannot take an active role in the recovery of illegal arms. Dallaire is told that UNAMIR's role “should be limited to a monitoring function.”
122. **February 6, 1994:** Following several incidents involving Rwandan army officers, UNAMIR suspends weapons searches at its checkpoints. Colonel Luc

Marchal suspects that the Rwandan army has “a deliberate intention to create incidents with soldiers of the Belgian detachment.”

123. **February 8, 1994:** President Habyarimana receives an intelligence report that his plane is “at risk of being shot down” on the way to attend the funeral of Ivory Coast President Houphouët-Boigny.
124. **February 10, 1994:** Minister of Information, Faustin Rucogoza, calls in the leadership of RTLM - Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza and Félicien Kabuga - to explain why the radio station was breaching the terms of its broadcasting license by inciting hatred, violence and division. UNAMIR's Colonel Luc Marchal meets with Interahamwe leaders in Kigali. They tell him that large numbers of Tutsi are going to be killed.
125. **February 14:** Kangura publishes a cover cartoon portraying two senior Hutu moderates, Prime Minister Uwilingiyimana and the Finance Minister, as rats. A figure called “No Pity” wields a nail-studded club above their heads.
126. **February 15, 1994:** UNAMIR officials Dallaire and Booh-Booh contacts UN headquarters in New York again to stress the importance of recovering illegal weapons and to request clarification of the UNAMIR mandate.
127. **February 17, 1994:** UNAMIR Force Commander General Dallaire receives word of a plot to assassinate Joseph Kavaruganda, President of the Constitutional Court, and Landoald Ndasingwa, leader of the Parti Liberal. He sends UN peacekeepers to protect them.
128. **February 20, 1994:** Faustin Twagiramungu, the Prime Minister-designate of the transitional government called for by the Arusha Peace Agreement, survives an attempted assassination. One of his bodyguards is killed. Colonel Déogratias Nsabimana, Chief of Staff of the Rwandan army, shows Jean Berchmans Birara, a list of 1,500 Tutsi to be killed. Birara reports this information to a “high level” official in Belgium.
129. **February 21, 1994:** Félicien Gatabazi, Minister of Public Works and Executive Secretary of the PSD (Social Democrat Party) is shot dead on his

way home from an evening meeting. Gatabazi's death is celebrated in the Hutu extremist media. Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes arrives in Kigali and is shocked to witness the open distribution of stockpiled weapons to civilians.

130. **February 22, 1994:** In retaliation for Félicien Gatabazi's assassination, an angry crowd drags the president of the Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR), Martin Bucyana, from his car in Butare. The crowd hacks him to death with machetes. On hearing of Bucyana's murder, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza of RTLM faxes Hassan Ngeze, Editor-in-Chief of the pro-Hutu newspaper Kangura. Barayagwiza tells Ngeze that Tutsi must be hunted and killed, even if hiding in churches. Ngeze tours the town of Gisenyi with a megaphone to encourage civilians to hunt for "RPF accomplices." The Interahamwe murder 40 Tutsi in Gikondo in retaliation for Bucyana's death.
131. **February 23, 1994:** The murder of Hutu extremist Martin Bucyana triggers a wave of anti-Tutsi violence across Kigali. Machete-wielding mobs roam the streets. Hundreds of Tutsi take refuge with UNAMIR, some in churches and others at the Parliament building where a 600-strong RPF battalion is stationed.
132. **February 24, 1994:** UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali telephones President Habyarimana to insist on implementation of the Arusha Accords. He warns that the international community will not take responsibility if the situation explodes.
133. **February 25, 1994:** Robert Kajuga, national president of the Interahamwe, heads a high-level militia meeting recommending that lists of Tutsi in Kigali be drawn up and instructing Interahamwe to assist and collaborate with CDR and MDR militia members. The Belgian Foreign Ministry asks Belgium's UN Ambassador, Paul Noterdaeme, to lobby for a stronger UNAMIR mandate saying, "Political assassinations and deterioration in security could lead to a new bloodbath. In case of deterioration, if the order of UNAMIR remained

unchanged, it would be unacceptable for public opinion if Belgian blue helmets found themselves in Rwanda as passive witnesses to genocide.” Noterdaeme makes several vain attempts to secure a stronger mandate.

134. **February 27, 1994:** As Tutsi continue to come to UNAMIR for protection, General Dallaire informs the UN Secretariat that he is redeploying two companies of troops for civilian protection in Kigali. He requests reinforcements and again asks for a broader interpretation of the UNAMIR mandate to allow weapons seizures. UN headquarters tells Dallaire that he should concentrate instead on installation of the transitional government.
135. **February 28:** UNAMIR opens two centres for the protection of Tutsi, one near Amahoro Stadium and another at the Magerwa warehouse. Anti-Tutsi violence continues across the city.
136. **March 1, 1994:** A UN military observer discovers that teachers throughout Rwanda are registering pupils' ethnic identities and seating them accordingly.
137. **March 2, 1994:** A source in the ruling MRND party tells Belgian intelligence personnel that all Tutsi in Kigali will be exterminated if the RPF resumes hostilities.
138. **March 3, 1994:** UNAMIR Major Podevijn reports distribution of weapons to militia in Gikondo, a suburb of Kigali.
139. **March 4, 1994:** An RPF delegation visits Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi to ask for assistance in implementing the Arusha Peace Agreement.
140. **March 7, 1994:** President Habyarimana visits Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. Both presidents reaffirm their commitment to the implementation of the Arusha Accords.
141. **March 8, 1994:** President Habyarimana visits Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi to ask for assistance in implementing the Arusha Accords. A Belgian intelligence report states that leaders of the ruling MRND party were angered by President Habyarimana's visit to President Museveni because

they were not consulted. MRND President Mathieu Ndirumpatse calls Habyarimana's visit "a grave political error."

142. **March 10, 1994:** The RTLM Hutu extremist "hate radio" station is criticised by moderates including the councilor of Gisozi District in Kigali. RTLM defends itself in a broadcast and also threatens the councilor of Gisozi on air.
143. **March 11, 1994:** Tanzanian Foreign Minister Joseph C. Rwegasira begins a seven-day visit to Rwanda. He holds consultations with Rwandan leaders, the UN Special Representative for Rwanda Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, the Representative in Rwanda of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, and diplomatic corps members to end the deadlock and implement the Arusha Accords.
144. **March 15, 1994:** UNAMIR Force Commander General Dallaire asks UN headquarters for reinforcements and for permission to seize militia arms caches. His request is refused. It is at least the fifth request and fifth refusal by the UN Secretariat since Dallaire's fax of 11 January. The Belgian ambassador in Kigali reports that UNAMIR has prevented shipments of weapons to the Rwandan army coming from Mil-Tec in the UK and Societe Dyl-Invest in France.
145. **March 18, 1994:** The prime minister-designate, Faustin Twagiramungu, announces the composition of the transitional government for Rwanda.
146. **March 19, 1994:** Eight people are injured in an attack on Chez Lando, a Kigali hotel and restaurant owned by Landoald Ndasingwa, leader of the Liberal Party. Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana announces deputies for the Transitional National Assembly.
147. **March 21, 1994:** US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Prudence Bushnell, meets President Habyarimana to urge the installation of a transitional government. She also underlines US concern over increasing violence in Rwanda.

148. **March 22, 1994:** RTLM announcer Georges Ruggiu claims that the Belgians want to impose an RPF government on Rwanda. He tells Belgians to go home or face a “fight without pity.” US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Prudence Bushnell, meets with Major General Paul Kagame and other RPF leaders to discuss the political impasse in Rwanda.
149. **March 23, 1994:** Interahamwe member Enoch Kayonde shouts at the President of Rwanda's constitutional court, Joseph Kavaruganda, that the militia can “take him out” at any time they choose. A military intelligence officer, Captain Pascal Simbikangwa, had previously told Kavaruganda's bodyguards that they are protecting a “cockroach” who will be killed by a hit squad that has already been chosen. A prominent Hutu moderate, Kavaruganda is murdered on 7 April.
150. **March 24, 1994:** A five-hour meeting between Rwandan political parties ends in acrimony as the RPF rejects the far-right CDR as an unacceptable political party to be included in the proposed transitional government.
151. **March 25, 1994:** Installation of the transitional government is postponed until 28 March. Disputes continue over appointments to ministerial posts and President Habyarimana's insistence on the inclusion of the Hutu extremist CDR political party.
152. **March 26, 1994:** UNAMIR Force Commander General Dallaire asks the UN in New York for contingency plans in case an “extreme scenario takes place” in Rwanda.
153. **March 28, 1994:** Ferdinand Nahimana, a historian and one of the founders of RTLM circulates to members of Kigali's Hutu elite a call for “self-defense” seeking suggestions for a “final solution” to current problems. In the document he calls for national unity and condemns “the Tutsi league.”
154. **March 29, 1994:** Political and military leaders meet in the army command headquarters to discuss details of “civil defense” and agree on further distribution of weapons to “selected civilian personnel”. According to a report

- dated 30 March, by Army Chief of Staff Déogratias Nsabimana to the Minister of Defense, the Mayor of Kigali, Tharcisse Renzaho, also attended the meeting.
155. **March 30, 1994:** UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali gives a formal report to the UN Security Council on UNAMIR at the end of its mandate, which is renewed for four months. In his report, Boutros-Ghali recounts the distribution of weapons, training of militia, assassinations and street violence. However he attributes most incidents to “armed banditry,” suggesting that an extra 45 policemen be sent to Rwanda. Zaire's President Mobutu is given intelligence information that an attack is planned on Rwandan President Habyarimana, after his upcoming visit to Tanzania. Mobutu telephones Habyarimana to warn him and speaks to the First Lady, Agathe Habyarimana.
156. **March 31, 1994:** RTLM broadcasts increasingly aggressive hate messages against UNAMIR, Belgian soldiers, General Dallaire, and political leaders. Alphonse Ingabire, operational head of the far-right Hutu extremist CDR party, is assassinated. The CDR militia kills a member of the Social Democratic Party and wounds three other people.
157. **April 1, 1994:** RTLM broadcasts a report that Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana is planning a coup. The radio station warns that if the President is removed from office, Rwanda's Tutsi will be exterminated. These messages are repeated throughout the day. Working with the Rwandan police, General Dallaire, UNAMIR Force Commander, mounts a raid to seize a cache of illegal weapons. Details of the raid had been leaked, however, and only one rifle is found. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, Head of UNAMIR joins President Habyarimana as a guest at his retreat in Gisenyi for the Easter weekend.
158. **April 2, 1994:** Head of the UN mission, Jaques-Roger Booh-Booh, tells Radio Rwanda that due to delays in the peace process, UNAMIR is likely to pull out of Rwanda. Romeo Dallaire, UNAMIR Force Commander, meets with the Minister of Defense Augustin Bizimana in Kigali. Dallaire then flies by

helicopter to meet RPF leader Paul Kagame in Mulindi. Bizimana says Rwanda is “on the verge of war.”

159. **April 3, 1994:** Across Rwanda, churches fill with worshippers celebrating Easter. RTLM broadcasts this message: “On the 3rd, the 4th and the 5th (of April) there will be a little something here in Kigali. And also on the 6th, 7th and 8th. You will hear the sound of bullets and grenades. We hope that the Rwandan armed forces are on the alert.”
160. **April 4, 1994:** At a party to celebrate Senegal's national day, Colonel Théoneste Bagosora tells Colonel Luc Marchal, Commander of UNAMIR's Belgian forces, that, “the only plausible solution for Rwanda would be the elimination of the Tutsi.” Rwandan President Habyarimana visits President Mobutu in Zaire and Mobutu warns him not to travel to Arusha.
161. **April 5, 1994:** The RPF provides a written rejection of the call to include the CDR in the transitional government. The document cites accusations of massacres carried out by CDR militia, points out that the Arusha Accords specifically excludes the CDR and calls for it to be outlawed as a terrorist organization. The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 909 renewing UNAMIR's mandate until 29 July, but threatens to withdraw the mission in six weeks if the transitional government is not installed. President Habyarimana goes to Gbadolite, Zaire to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko. The two heads of state decide to hold a meeting on 7 April in Goma, for senior security officers from Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire. A US defense attache arrives in Kigali with a Noncombatant Evacuation Order (NEO) to remove all US citizens from the country. Guards at the Rwandan army's Kanombe camp restrict access to the surrounding area, preventing UN military observers from approaching the perimeter. A machine gun is mounted at the main entrance.
162. **April 6, 1994:** President Habyarimana gives instructions for the transitional government to be sworn in on Friday 8 April. He then flies to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania for a summit on progress of the Arusha Peace Agreement. At

8.23pm, the plane in which he is travelling with Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira and Army Chief of Staff Major General Déogratias Nsabimana is shot down on its approach to Kigali airport. The wreckage lands in the presidential palace compound. Genocidal massacres start in the eastern part of Rwanda especially in the communes of Murambi and Ngarama. The Minister of Defence, Augustin Bizimana, issues a communiqué on Habyarimana's death asking all Rwandans to remain at home until they are given other instructions.

163. **April 7, 1994:** Following the death of President Habyarimana, armed militia begin the systematic rounding up and killing of Tutsi elites in Kigali. The extremist RTLM radio station blames the RPF and Belgian peacekeepers for the shooting down of the presidential plane. Ten Belgian peacekeepers guarding Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana are tortured and killed. In a planned strategy to eliminate opposition politicians and their families who opposed the genocide, Uwilingiyimana and her husband are assassinated. Other killings include the president of the Constitutional Court, Joseph Kavaruganda and cabinet ministers Frederick Nzamurambaho, Faustin Rucogoza, Landouald Ndasigwa, and Félicien Ngango. RTLM begins broadcasting names, workplaces, car number plates and places where Tutsi and moderate Hutus had gathered for safety. The RPF engages the Presidential Guard at their garrison in Kigali and secures the Amahoro Stadium as a safe haven for survivors. Members of the Presidential Guard carry out their first massacres at Centre Christus in Remera. The 17 victims are mainly priests and nuns. Tutsi civilians are killed in Gikongoro Prefecture, at the Parish of Mushubi in Muko Commue, and at Gasarenda in Mudasomwa Commune. At a meeting chaired by Colonel Bagosora, the former Speaker of Parliament, Theodore Sindikubwabo, is nominated as President of the Interim Government and Jean Kambanda as Interim Prime Minister. The RPF Radio Muhabura is the first to condemn the systematic killing of Tutsi and pro-

democracy Hutu politicians. The RPF Chairman's statement on the radio declares that, "RPF and its army will be compelled to take all necessary steps to carry out a sacred duty: that of protecting the country's innocent people."

164. **April 8, 1994:** Théodore Sindikubwabo announces the formation of an Interim Government and the appointment of new ministers from the extremist factions of each political party. Tutsi sheltering in Nyundo Parish are murdered. Bishop Wenceslas Kalibushi, who had spoken out against public weapons distribution on 28 December 1993, is stripped and threatened by the militia. Massacres continue in Kigali and in others areas notably in the commune of Bicumbi where CDR extremist Mayor Juvenal Rugambarara organizes massive killings of Tutsi. He claims to have personally killed 100 people that day. RPF forces advance on Mutara, Buymba, and Ruhengeri in order to rescue people being killed by militias and the military. The RPF rescues survivors in the communes of Buyoga, Mugambazi, Rutongo, Ruti, Bwisige and Rutare.
165. **April 9, 1994:** Sindikubwabo is sworn-in as President and Jean Kambanda as Prime Minister of the Interim Government. Kambanda talks about "restoring peace and pacifying Rwandans" as their mission. Hundreds of Tutsi are murdered at Ndera Junior Seminary school. As the Interahamwe and Presidential Guard undertake a massacre in the Pallottine Missionary Catholic Church at Gikondo, French and Belgian paratroops assist with the evacuation of European expatriates. UN observers witness the massacre of children at a church in Gikondo. The RPF launches an offensive in Byumba and Ruhengeri. Major General Paul Kagame, as the Chairman of the Military High Command, declares war against the genocidal regime in a statement read on Radio Muhabura stressing that, "it was no longer possible to continue the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement."
166. **April 10, 1994:** Massacres and looting continue in Kigali. An estimated 10,000 dead bodies are taken from the streets and piled up at hospitals that

are overflowing with the wounded. The Presidential Guard fires heavy rockets at King Faisal Hospital killing 29 patients and wounding 70 others. Tutsi sheltering in Gahanga Parish are attacked by Interahamwe and villagers from Kagansa. The US Embassy in Kigali closes, and Ambassador Rawson along with 250 Americans are evacuated. Elsewhere in Kigali, citizens are set to work collecting bodies in wheelbarrows. Archbishop Giuseppe Bertello, head of the Catholic Church's diplomatic mission in Rwanda, leaves the country. The African Synod of Bishops opens in Rome with a mass at St. Peter's Basilica where Pope John Paul II pleads for an end to the "fratricidal killings" in Rwanda.

167. **April 11, 1994:** Up to 10,000 Tutsi are murdered at the Catholic Church and in surrounding areas at Ruhuha, Ngenda Commune. Almost the same number of Tutsi who sheltered at the Gashora Commune office and surrounding areas (Rumira and Kidogo lakes) are murdered by government security forces and the Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militiamen. Belgian peacekeepers withdraw from ETO school in Kicukiro, Kigali, leaving 2000 Tutsi behind. The Interahamwe marches them to Nyanza and massacres them there. The first RPF military unit from Byumba arrives at the Parliament Building to support the 3rd battalion and continue rescue operations. More than 100 Tutsi patients are killed with bayonets in Kigali Hospital by government soldiers.
168. **April 12, 1994:** More refugees arrive at Nyamata Church, which is rapidly becoming a hub for displaced Tutsi. Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes meets UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to tell him Belgium is withdrawing its soldiers from UNAMIR. The Interim Government moves to Gitarama as RPF forces capture the strategic hill of Rebero and advance on Kigali.
169. **April 13, 1994:** Killing continues in and around Kigali as well as in other prefectures. In Bicumbi Commune, about 20 km east of Kigali, 350 Tutsi are

killed. The CDR and MRND militias start killing Tutsi civilians in Gisenyi, Cyangugu, and Butare.

170. **April 14, 1994:** Massacres take place in Nyarubuye parish, Kibungo. Interahamwe and soldiers kill 5000 Tutsi gathered at the church in the parish of Musha. They throw grenades into the church then continue the killing with machetes and clubs. Thousands of refugees gathered at Nyamata Church come under fire from surrounding militia as the priest drives away, abandoning them to their certain fate. Soldiers, militiamen, and armed local villagers attack approximately 20,000 displaced Tutsi in and around the Kibeho Catholic Church and school complex. Around 200 are killed, but the attackers withdraw because of resistance. RPF troops take control of the Murambi Commune and find more than 5000 bodies of Tutsi, houses burnt and banana plantations destroyed. Evacuation of the expatriate community from Kigali is almost complete. About 150 French troops leave but 450 others remain behind.
171. **April 15, 1994:** The Rwandan army and Interahamwe systematically massacre 10,000 refugees who have congregated at Nyamata Catholic Church from the surrounding area. They kill men, women, and children using grenades, guns, machetes and clubs. Shrapnel from grenades tear through the church ceiling 30 feet from the floor leaving the roof timbers spattered with flesh and blood. 450 Belgian soldiers leave UNAMIR and fly home.
172. **April 16, 1994:** Thousands of Tutsi are slaughtered at Ntarama Catholic Church and in surrounding areas, by soldiers from Gako military camp and from Kigali. They are joined by Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militias from Kanzenze, Ngenda, Gashora and other communes. A few survivors escape to the nearby marshes, where they continue to be hunted and killed throughout April. Bodies line the road from Kigali to Gitarama. 22 people, some of them believed to be Zairian nationals, are murdered. In Rukara commune, 800 Tutsi are found starving and injured in a building into which

grenades have been thrown. They have been locked up without food since President Habyarimana's death on 6 April.

173. **April 17, 1994:** The murder of Tutsi in Kibuye Prefecture begins at St. John Catholic Church. Some 21,000 people are killed over the next two days. The militia led by the Prefect of Kibuye, Dr. Clement Kayishema, kills at least 11,000 in the church. The Prefect of Butare, Jean-Baptiste Habyarimana, who has been active in preventing and opposing the killings in Butare, is arrested. He is later killed along with his family. The Council of Ministers issues an announcement applauding the prefects who had accomplished their "tasks" with enthusiasm, and citing the names of the prefects of Butare and Kibungo as failures.
174. **April 18, 1994:** An estimated 50,000 Tutsi are killed in the hills of Bisesero. Another 12,000 Tutsi are killed after sheltering at the Gatwaro Stadium in Gitesi Commune in Kibuye, where they were ordered to go by the prefect, Dr. Clement Kayishema. Shallow mass graves are dug to hide the bodies of the victims. More are killed in the Adventist church and hospital of Mugonero. Théodore Sindikubwabo visits Gikongoro to thank the prefect personally for a job well done in carrying out the genocide in his prefecture. The Interim Government in Gitarama replaces Prefect Jean Baptiste Habyarimana of Butare and Prefect Godefrey Ruzindana of Kibungo with extremist prefects to continue the campaign of massacres.
175. **April 19, 1994:** Interahamwe use machine guns, rockets, grenades and machetes to massacre approximately 2800 people in Kibungo. Interim Government President Sindikubwabo travels to Butare and Gikongoro, inciting Hutu to exterminate Tutsi. He makes an appeal on Radio Rwanda for people to kill "accomplices" in Butare. The last Belgian peacekeepers vacate Kigali. The Presidential Guard continues shelling Amahoro Stadium, where about 5000 refugees have been sheltering since the massacres began in Kigali.

176. **April 20, 1994:** Genocide begins in Butare with the killing of academics and prominent people in the town. Among them is Rosalie Gicanda, the widow of Mwami Mutara who died mysteriously in July 1959. Her murder upsets Tutsi and moderate Hutus. UNAMIR reports that 45 are dead and 114 injured from the Government forces shelling of Amahoro Stadium.
177. **April 21, 1994:** Interahamwe militia and other armed people kill 22,000 Tutsi in Gikongoro. Between 20,000 and 30,000 Tutsi are killed in former Nyaruhengeri (at Kansi and Kibilizi), in Muganza (at Mugombwa Catholic Church, Muganza Hills) and in Kibayi (at Kabuga and Magi) communes in Butare Prefecture. The UN Security Council unanimously adopts Resolution 912 withdrawing most of the UNAMIR troops, cutting the force from 2,500 to 270. Alison De Forges of Human Rights Watch says in an interview on the Voice of America that the people responsible for the massacres taking place in Rwanda should be brought to justice. She says the massacres were planned long ago by President Habyarimana and his confidants, including Colonel Bagosora, Colonel Augustin Bizimungu and Captain Simbikangwa. De Forges lashes out at the international journalists who maintain that the problem in Rwanda is based on nothing other than ethnicity.
178. **April 22, 1994:** More than 7,000 Tutsi are murdered at Gatwaro-Kibuye stadium. Interahamwe and members of the army assassinate the sub-prefect of Butare Zéphanie Nyilinkwaya and 14 members of his family. At Sovu convent, 6,500 people are killed with guns, machetes and clubs. A further 500 are trapped in a garage and burnt to death, using petrol supplied by nuns.
179. **April 23, 1994:** In a statement broadcast on Radio Rwanda, Colonel Augustin Bizimungu declares that the massacres are a continuation of those that characterized the 1959 revolution. The RPF declares a unilateral ceasefire to take effect from Monday 25 April at midnight.
180. **April 24, 1994:** Horrific murders are orchestrated against 30,000 Tutsi gathered at Kabuye Hill, near Ndora Commune, in Butare Prefecture.

Government officials in the prefecture play a key role in organizing and conducting the killings. Doctors from Médecins Sans Frontières see Interahamwe and soldiers of the Presidential Guard murder 170 Tutsi patients and staff at Butare Hospital. A Médecins Sans Frontières official says that from the border in Burundi he managed to count 30 dead bodies in only five minutes, floating on the Akanyaru River between Rwanda and Burundi. RPF forces start evacuating refugees to safe zones in Byumba and Gahini.

181. **April 25, 1994:** The International Civil Aviation Organization board meets to discuss a Belgian request for an investigation into President Habyarimana's plane crash. The board denies the request, stating that because it was a Rwandan aircraft flying over Rwandan territory, the crash does not "fall within the remit of the international convention of the ICAO."
182. **April 26, 1994:** Finance Minister for the Interim Government, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, provides weapons, encouragement and Interahamwe support to Hutu civilians surrounding Tutsi refugees gathered on Gitwa Hill in Kibuye. After resisting attacks for two days, thousands of women, children and elderly people are killed with grenades, machetes and clubs.
183. **April 27, 1994:** In the southern town of Muyaga, 4,000 Tutsi are massacred by the Rwandan army and Hutu civilians. The world news is dominated by the election of Nelson Mandela as president in South Africa's first post-apartheid elections.
184. **April 28, 1994:** Christine Shelley, spokeswoman for the US State Department, refuses to use the word genocide when addressing journalists, indicating that the use of such a term has many implications. Oxfam issues a press release stating that the killing in Rwanda amounts to genocide. Human Rights Watch criticizes the French Government for receiving the Rwandan Interim Government officials Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza and Jerome Bicomumpaka. The President of the International Federation of Human Rights in France, Daniel Jacob, says that 5000 people trapped inside Hotel des Mille Collines in the

center of Kigali have written a letter to him appealing to the international community for urgent help.

185. **April 29, 1994:** More than 300 Tutsi held in Cyangugu stadium are killed by soldiers and militia. More than 6,000 people are still stranded and trapped in churches, hotels and schools in Kigali. The UN Security Council debates for 8 hours on the use of the term “genocide” in relation to Rwanda. The United Kingdom and the United States resist use of the term. Between 28 and 29 April, approximately 250 000 people flee from Rwanda into Tanzania.
186. **April 30, 1994:** After taking control of the town of Rusumo close to the Tanzanian border, the RPF issues a statement that it is categorically opposed to the proposed UN intervention force because “intervention at this stage can no longer serve any useful purpose as far as stopping the massacres is concerned.”
187. **May 1, 1994:** An armed gang including members the Interahamwe militia storm an orphanage in Butare town killing 21 orphans and 13 Red Cross volunteers. There is a mass exodus of Rwandan refugees to Tanzania and Burundi. Many of them are perpetrators of genocide. Augustin Ndirabatware, Interim Government Minister of Planning, meets Senegal’s President Abdou Diouf and delivers a message that he also delivered to the presidents of Gabon and Togo. The French Government gives audience to Foreign Minister Jerome Bicomumpaka of the Interim Government.
188. **May 2, 1994:** In an interview on Radio France, Jean Marie Vianney Ndagijimana, the Rwandan Ambassador to France, condemns his own government for being responsible for the current massacres in the country. Oxfam delivers a letter to British Prime Minister John Major urging military intervention in Rwanda.
189. **May 3, 1994:** Radio Uganda reports that Lake Victoria is awash with the bodies of genocide victims from Rwanda. UN Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Hoff Hernan says a task force will be set up composed of as

many countries as possible. Some will provide logistics and others troops to deploy to Rwanda. The RPF categorically opposes the deployment of any UN Peacekeeping Force in Rwanda, arguing that the appropriate time for the UN force to have intervened was three weeks ago when the UN had a presence in Kigali but failed to protect civilians. The RPF also points out that anyone who was a potential victim has either died or fled the country - there are no people for the UN to protect. Pope John Paul II issues a strong condemnation of the genocidal slaughter in Rwanda.

190. **May 4, 1994:** Major General Paul Kagame says in a radio interview on Voice of America (VOA) that the RPF objects to any UN intervention force because it has no meaning in the situation prevailing in Rwanda. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appears on the American ABC television news program "Nightline" and says there is "a real genocide" in Rwanda. The UN High Commission for Human Rights announces on Voice of America that it will be visiting Rwanda and the sub region in the next few days to assess the situation and to see what action can be taken.
191. **May 5, 1994:** The RPF writes to the UN Security Council to condemn the genocide in Rwanda and asks it to set up a tribunal to prosecute those who committed these crimes since October 1990. Ugandan President Museveni accuses Rwanda's Interim Government of committing genocide. UNAMIR starts negotiations with the Interim Government to evacuate survivors trapped in Hotel des Mille Collines.
192. **May 6, 1994:** The President of the UN Security Council writes to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali asking for "contingency planning with regard to the delivery of humanitarian assistance as well as support to displaced persons in Rwanda." The European Union agrees to send a delegation to countries bordering Rwanda that received Rwandan refugees. The mission will be to evaluate the problems of refugees, to see what they need most and assess the risks they refugees face. The President of EU,

Theodole Pangros, says the EU categorically refuses to send troops to Rwanda.

193. **May 7, 1994:** John Shattuck, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, meets RPF leaders in Kampala, Uganda to deliver a message from US President Bill Clinton. The message describes the massacres in Rwanda as the worst in the recent history of the world, and advises that the US contacts the UN Assistant Secretary in charge of human rights who will be visiting Rwanda next week.
194. **May 8, 1994:** RPF official Seth Sandashonga says in an interview on Radio France International that the RPF's main objective is to stop the ongoing genocide in Rwanda and to establish law and order in the country. He also says that the RPF will not negotiate with a self-imposed government made up of killers but instead will continue to fight this clique until it is defeated. However, he adds there are individuals within the Rwandan army with who the RPF could hold talks.
195. **May 9, 1994:** Refugees continue to return to Rwanda. In three days, 500 people cross from Tanzania back to Rwanda. The returnees tell Radio Muhabura that they had run away from the massacres committed by the MRND militia. A mortar shell lands in Amahoro Stadium and kills one UNAMIR soldier.
196. **May 10, 1994:** The Kenyan Government announces that it will not contribute forces to the proposed UN humanitarian assistance mission to Rwanda. A US Air Force cargo planes arrive in Mwanza, Tanzania carrying relief supplies for Rwandan refugees in camps. A US Defense Department spokesperson says that although military planes are carrying relief supplies to Rwandan refugees, no American military personnel will be sent to Rwanda. Radio Rwanda announces that President Sindikubwabo will attend the swearing in ceremony of South African President Nelson Mandela.

197. **May 11, 1994:** The UN Security Council debates the request by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that a UNAMIR force of 5,500 be sent to stop the massacres that are going on in Rwanda. The Secretary-General's request is widely seen as controversial because of concerns that the force may assume an interventionist role in the war between the RPF and the Rwandan army. This would mirror the recent disastrous experience of the UN forces in Somalia. US President Bill Clinton says that the US is not willing to contribute personnel to an expanded UNAMIR force, but would contribute financial and logistical support to the force to be sent to Rwanda. Clinton then suggests that an African force would be most appropriate for the proposed mission, but the mandate should be limited to the protection of certain safe corridors and the safe movement and distribution of relief aid. The Chairman of the RPA Military High Command, Major General Paul Kagame, says that an expanded UNAMIR force should not exceed the 2,500 strength of its former size and that the role of the force should be purely for humanitarian assistance.
198. **May 12, 1994:** The President of the UN Security Council discloses that the Council is considering the expansion of UNAMIR to a force of 8,000 with Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania to contribute troops. The UN Under-Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs visits Rwanda where he holds separate meetings with the commander of the RPF forces, Major General Paul Kagame, and with the Chief of Staff of the Rwanda Government Forces, Major General Augustin Bizimungu. Whereas Major General Kagame is of the view that the force should only play the role of facilitating humanitarian assistance, Major General Bizimungu expects the force to play an intervention role in the ongoing war. The Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joseph Rwegasira, in an interview with the BBC, says that his country will not contribute troops to the proposed expanded UNAMIR force of 5,500 to be sent to Rwanda.
199. **May 13, 1994:** 86 girls in a missionary school in Gikongoro are reported to have been massacred and buried in a mass grave. The RPF forces continue to

rescue people coming up from the swamps where they have been hiding. Refugees who fled to Tanzania are returning home, showing to be false the allegations by the Interim Government that the RPF has closed the Rwanda - Tanzania border. The UN Security Council continues discussing the Secretary-General's request to expand UNAMIR forces in Rwanda. The Council is trying to reconcile the proposed UNAMIR troop size of 5,500 with the US suggestion of deploying an appropriate force along the Rwanda borders in protected zones. The RPF spokesman at the United Nations in New York, Claude Dusaidi, in an interview on BBC radio, says the UNAMIR expansion for Rwanda should be in the context of facilitating humanitarian assistance to the displaced, and protecting areas on the Rwanda-Zaire and Rwanda-Burundi borders controlled by the Rwandan army. Innocent civilians in these areas are being massacred by MDR and CDR militias and some government forces.

200. **May 14, 1994:** Prime Minister Jean Kambanda visits the National University of Rwanda to thank the staff for the well-done "work" of killing Tutsi and encourages them to develop effective methods of self-defence. Bernard Kouchner, a former French Minister of Health and formerly the French Minister for Humanitarian Affairs, as well as co-founder of Médecins Sans Frontières, visits Kigali. Kouchner tells journalists that Tutsi and Hutu members of the opposition were massacred for what they were, and that is genocide. He emphasises that the massacres perpetrated by the government against innocent citizens were totally unacceptable by the French Government, and that the Rwandan Government should not expect any further military assistance from France as has been the tradition. He dismisses as a sham the excuse that President Habyarimana's death was a cause for genocide.
201. **May 15, 1994:** The BBC reports that the most recent arrivals to a refugee camp in northern Tanzania are accusing the RPF forces of committing atrocities against women and children in the Kibungo communes. The RPF

representative in Brussels, James Rwego, denies the charges in a BBC interview. Rwego says the RPF is only interested in apprehending the militias who are responsible for the massacres in Rwanda. About 318 refugees in the RPF controlled town of Byumba sign a document that strongly condemns the Interim Government for its leading role in promoting the international crime of genocide against the Rwandan people. Pope John Paul II makes a public statement labeling the violence in Rwanda as “an out-and-out genocide, for which unfortunately even Catholics are responsible.”

202. **May 16, 1994:** Augustin Bizimana, the Interim Government’s Minister of Defense, tells reporters that the massacres have stopped. Almost simultaneously, government soldiers and the Interahamwe execute hundreds of Tutsi taking refuge in Kabgayi church. RPF forces take control of Bugesera District and rescue about 2,000 people. They are mainly Tutsi survivors of the Ntarama Church massacre, who have come out of the swamps of the Nyabarongo river basin. They had maintained weeks of resistance against the Interahamwe militia there. Refugees who fled to Tanzania as a result of the massacres are still returning to Kibungo Prefecture via the Rusumo border post, under the control of RPF forces. The RPF Chairman Colonel Alex Kanyarengwe issues a message calling for an international tribunal for Rwanda to put on trial all those who participated in the genocide. He encourages Rwandan refugees who fled the country to return, including members of the Interahamwe, so long as they surrender their weapons and denounces their deeds. President Sindikubwabo visits Kibuye Prefecture where he expresses satisfaction over the genocidal killings which were committed in the prefecture and thanks the killers for a job well done.
203. **May 17, 1994:** The UN Security Council approves Resolution 918 for the deployment of 5,500 peacekeepers to Rwanda. No soldiers are available and none will be deployed to Rwanda under the terms of this resolution until after the genocide is over. More than five weeks into the genocide, the UN Security

Council imposes an arms embargo on the Interim Government under Section 13 of Resolution 918.

204. **May 18, 1994:** The RPF uses its Radio Muhabura to encourage people who have been trapped in various parts of Kigali behind enemy lines to report to RPF controlled areas for rescue. A UN High Commission for Refugees official reporting from a refugee camp accuses RPF forces of killing people and burning houses in Kibungo Prefecture. In an interview with the VOA, Major General Paul Kagame, Chairman of the Military High Command, denies accusations that RPF forces killed ordinary civilians, but said that armed militias at the frontline were legitimate targets.
205. **May 19, 1994:** The Interahamwe and the Presidential Guard continue massacres of civilians in Kigali. 29 people are killed in a church in a government-controlled area of Kigali. 400 orphans are held hostage by the Interahamwe and government troops. The captors of these children say they will kill them if RPF forces continue advancing towards government positions. The French newspaper, *La Liberation*, accuses the French Government of continuing to arm the Government in Rwanda that has been responsible for the massacres of about a half a million Tutsi and Hutus from opposition parties. The paper mentions the 6 million US dollars that France gave Rwanda to purchase arms from Egypt, arms that are being used to exterminate civilians. With the assistance of Human Rights Watch, members of the Rwandan community in the US file a case seeking compensation against Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza in a US District Court in New York. Barayagwiza instigated massacres over the Hutu extremist RTLM radio by encouraging Hutu to exterminate Tutsi, including members of the plaintiffs' families. The plaintiffs submitted to the court evidence that Barayagwiza is an executive official of the Hutu extremist party CDR, which has its own militia operating in conjunction with Rwandan Government forces in carrying out a planned extermination of Rwanda's Tutsi population.

206. **May 20, 1994:** Over 300 bodies are recovered from Lake Victoria in Mpigi District in Uganda. RPF forces continue to rescue survivors of the massacres in Bugesera. About 300 people, most of them with machete cuts, receive medical treatment in Ntarama Hospital that is also accommodating 86 orphans. Refugees continue to return from Tanzania. In the last three days, 450 of them reported at the Rusumo border post. An RPF delegation headed by Patrick Mazimpaka visits the Centre for Strategic Studies in Washington, DC to report on the current situation in Rwanda. Mazimpaka says that allegations of RPF troops committing atrocities against civilians are false and that the source of the allegations are refugees in Tanzania – people who committed acts of genocide and are trying to cover their own crimes by shifting blame onto the RPF. He explains that RPF forces are governed by a strict code of conduct that bars them from taking the law into their own hands.
207. **May 21, 1994:** The UN Secretary-General transfers his special representative to Rwanda, Jacques Roger Booh-Booh, from Kigali to Nairobi. He is supposed to liaise with regional leaders in East and Central Africa to coordinate the activities of the expanded UNAMIR force in Rwanda. The transfer is seen as related to RPF dissatisfaction with Booh-Booh. The RPF accused Booh-Booh of taking sides in the on-going conflict in Rwanda by supporting the Rwandan Government and stalling the establishment of the broad-based government. He is accused of accepting the CDR party into the proposed government, contrary to the Arusha Peace Agreement. New Zealand's representative on the UN Security Council condemns member countries of the Council for allowing the Rwanda Interim Government to be represented on the Council. The New Zealand representative refuses to meet Interim Government Foreign Minister Jérôme Bicomumpaka and his colleagues, who are in New York to seek support from the international community.

208. **May 22, 1994:** The RPF forces take over Kigali airport and Kanombe military camp, extending control over the north and east of the country and opening more evacuation routes for genocide survivors. Government forces continue to flee south ahead of the RPF advance. Refugees who had fled to Tanzania and Burundi in the wake of the massacres are continuing to return home. In Bugesera, more than 300 refugees cross from Burundi to Rukumberi Center and a number from Tanzania are received in Sake Commune of Kibungo Prefecture. Nyamata Hospital in Bugesera continues to receive wounded survivors of the massacres. About 200 are hospitalised and 300 outpatients report per day.
209. **May 23, 1994:** A two-day truce is called to facilitate the visit of UN envoy Iqbal Riza to Rwanda, but Government forces break the truce and shell RPF positions. The UN envoy accompanied by General Morris Baril meets with the RPF chairman in Mulindi, but fails to meet the Interim Government in Gitarama because neither side can guarantee his security. Faustin Twagiramungu says in a Voice of America radio report that RPF forces are not making military advances in order to conduct revenge but rather to pave the way for peace. He says that peaceful negotiation on power sharing is the only solution to Rwanda's problems as opposed to military victory alone. RPF forces continue to ask the Interahamwe militia to surrender their weapons. About 2,000 refugees return from camps in Burundi. They had fled from Bugesera, Gitarama, Butare, and Gikongoro.
210. **May 25, 1994:** The UN Human Rights Commission adopts a resolution stating that genocide may have been committed in Rwanda, and authorizing René Dégni-Ségui as its Special Rapporteur to carry out a thorough inquiry. The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) calls on the United Nations to extend the mandate of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former-Yugoslavia to prosecute the crimes now being committed in Rwanda. The Commission's Secretary-General, Adama Dieng, met President Habyarimana in Kigali on 2

April 1994, four days before his assassination. Dieng says that they discussed the question of impunity and that Habyarimana asked the ICJ to send legal experts to the country to investigate and report on human rights abuses.

- 211. May 27-28, 1994:** The RFP and Government forces exchange 240 civilians trapped behind front lines of the opposing forces. The 120 trapped in the Hotel des Mille Collines are handed over to the RPF and 120 refugees from Amahoro Stadium are handed over to the Government. The exercise is controlled and facilitated by UNAMIR.
- 212. May 29, 1994:** Government troops and militias massacre 500 Tutsi civilians and Hutu members of opposition parties in a refugee camp in Gitarama. The exchange of civilians between the two fighting parties is inexplicably halted, contrary to the earlier agreement brokered by UNAMIR. RPF forces take control of the strategic town of Ruhango in Gitarama Prefecture and advance towards Nyanza.
- 213. May 30, 1994:** RFP forces continue to rescue civilians from hideouts as they advance towards Gitarama town, the headquarters of the Interim Government. The first meeting is held between military staff officers of the Interim Government and RPF force commanders at UNAMIR headquarters in an attempt to broker a ceasefire as proposed by UN Resolution 918. The parties fail to reach agreement on the truce but agree to continue the exchange of civilians trapped behind the front lines of the opposing forces.
- 214. May 31, 1994:** Journalists from France, Canada, Australia, and South Africa visit the areas that RPF troops recently captured in Kigali. They witness the bodies of civilians killed by retreating militias and Government troops. The UN Secretary-General reports to the Security Council that an estimated 250,000 – 500,000 have been killed in Rwanda, and that the killing was systematic and carried out by the armed forces of the Interim Government, the Interahamwe, and the Presidential Guard. He also recognises the on-going inflammatory role of RTLM radio and the 1.5 million displaced persons and

approximately 400,000 refugees in neighboring countries. He recommends extension of the UNAMIR mandate for six months.

215. **June 1, 1994:** Bodies of genocide victims are found between Butamwa, Mount Kigali and the mosque in Nyamirambo. The American Senator Edward Kennedy sends a letter to the US Secretary of State requesting the jamming of Rwandan radio broadcasts “that are continuing to incite genocide of the Tutsi people” and urging US assistance to end incitement to genocide by RTLM.
216. **June 2, 1994:** Killings take place in Tumba Commune. The Interim Government in Kigali makes arrangements to purchase 40,000 hand grenades and 300,000 rounds of ammunition from Egypt worth 765,000 US dollars. RPF forces liberate the town of Kabgayi in Gitarama Prefecture allowing for the rescue of hundreds of survivors. Most survivors are evacuated to Bugesera in the east because the genocide continues in southern parts of the country. Representatives of the RPF and Government forces meet for the second time this week at UNAMIR headquarters in Kigali for talks aimed at reaching a ceasefire. The RPF representative, Colonel Frank Mugambage, reports that the conditions for ceasefire talks are being violated because people are still being killed in Government-controlled areas and Radio Rwanda and RTLM continue to broadcast anti-Tutsi propaganda.
217. **June 3, 1994:** Over 300 people are evacuated from Saint Famille Catholic Church and from the Amahoro Stadium.
218. **June 4, 1994:** For the second time, UNAMIR suspends the evacuation of civilians caught in the war zones in Kigali because its convoy came under fire the previous day. A UNAMIR spokesman says the convoy was carrying civilians to a Government-controlled area.
219. **June 5, 1994:** Government troops fire artillery shells at Kigali Airport forcing a UN plane with an Italian diplomat on board to take off as soon as it landed. Because of the incident, the UN suspends relief flights to Rwanda.

Government forces stop evacuating civilians claiming they have nowhere to put those who wish to go to the Government-controlled zones.

220. **June 7, 1994:** RPF officials at Mulindi meet a delegation from Italy in conjunction with UNICEF officials who promise to donate relief funds for Rwandan refugees, orphans, and internally displaced persons. Volunteers from Médecins Sans Frontières and Médecins du Monde start vaccinating children in the Ruhengeri communes of Kidaho, Cyeru, and Nyamugali against smallpox.
221. **June 8, 1994:** Large numbers of civilians, both Tutsi survivors and Hutus, return to their homes in the RPF liberated areas of Nyanza and Ruhango. The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 925 extending the restricted mandate of the UNAMIR forces up to December 1994. The mandate of the peacekeepers is to facilitate the movement and distribution of humanitarian relief supplies.
222. **June 10, 1994:** Government forces and militias continue to massacre civilians. They kill Tutsi Catholic Brothers and 70 other displaced people who took refuge in the Saint Famille Catholic Church in Kigali. The killers drag 190 people from another church compound in the Kigali suburb of Nyamirambo and kill 170 of them. The majority are Tutsi who have been seeking refuge in the church since the outbreak of violence in early April. The *New York Times* publishes an article with the headline “Officials Told to Avoid Calling Rwanda Killings ‘Genocide’.” The newspaper reports that “to avoid the rise of moral pressure to stop the mass killing in Rwanda, the Clinton Administration has instructed its spokesmen not to describe the deaths there as genocide, even though some senior officials believe that is exactly what they represent.”
223. **June 11, 1994:** Delegates at the Organization of African Unity ministerial meeting in Tunisia agree to send troops to Rwanda as a UN protection force of African nations. Zimbabwe, Senegal, Mali, Ethiopia, Congo and Malawi agree

- to contribute troops for the mission despite the financial and logistical problems they identify.
224. **June 13, 1994:** RPF forces take over Gitarama. The 30th Organization of African Unity summit opens in Tunisia with Interim Government President Sindikubwabo representing Rwanda while the RPF delegation was not invited to attend. The OAU summit organizers face criticism for inviting a representative of the regime that has perpetrated genocide in Rwanda, to represent the country.
 225. **June 15, 1994:** France declares its intention to send troops to Rwanda ostensibly to save the lives of Tutsi who are being massacred by Hutu militias and troops of the Rwandan Government that France supported financially and militarily.
 226. **June 16, 1994:** RPF forces rescue about 3,000 hostages from the Saint Famille and Saint Paul parishes after exchanging gunfire with Government troops and militias.
 227. **June 17, 1994:** France announces plans to deploy troops to Rwanda as an interim peacekeeping force. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the US Government support the plan. French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe says that between 1,000 and 2,000 French troops will be sent to Rwanda. France asks other Western and African countries to contribute troops to accompany the French contingent.
 228. **June 18, 1994:** Fighting continues in Kigali in the areas still under Government troops' control. RPF forces advance towards Butare in the south and Kibuye to the west as Government troops continue fleeing.
 229. **June 19, 1994:** France requests authorisation from the UN Security Council to send troops to Rwanda. France continues to lobby Western and African countries to contribute troops for its proposed military mission to Rwanda. Italy refuses the request to provide troops. Senegal is the only African country to give a positive response to the French troop request. Tanzania condemns

the French proposal to send troops to Rwanda while opposition parties in Burundi and Zaire express similar disapproval.

230. **June 21, 1994:** French soldiers arrive on Rwanda's border with Zaire. The former President of the UN Security Council, Paul Keating of New Zealand, cautions the Council that France's mission to Rwanda may complicate matters and aggravate the civil war there. RPF military leaders say that any French soldiers entering Rwanda will be treated as an invading force.
231. **June 22, 1994:** The French Government secures authorisation, under UN Security Council Resolution 929, to set up a "safe zone" in Rwanda for providing humanitarian assistance in the southwest prefectures of Gikongoro, Cyangugu and Kibuye. The maximum occupation time allowed to them is two months. More than 50,000 people from opposition parties in Burundi stage a peaceful demonstration in Bujumbura protesting against the "invasion" of Rwanda by the French. The US Government starts to use the word "genocide" to label the killing that has been happening in Rwanda.
232. **June 23, 1994:** "Operation Turquoise" launches with approximately 3,000 French and African troops deployed to provide a humanitarian safe zone in southwest Rwanda. French troops cross into Rwanda and surround refugee camps in Cyangugu, where Tutsi have been living under the threat of the militias. The Foreign Minister of the Interim Government, Jerome Bicomumpaka, welcomes the French intervention force calling it a mission to save the Rwandan population. Hundreds of militias wielding machetes and clubs give the French troops a tumultuous welcome as they crossed the border from Zaire into Rwanda.
233. **June 24, 1994:** More French forces move into western Rwanda through Goma and Bukavu. More than 30,000 refugees in the RPF-controlled area of Ndera, 20 kilometers east of Kigali, hold a demonstration demanding the immediate withdrawal of French troops from Rwanda. Eighteen of the demonstrators write a letter to French President Francois Mitterrand

condemning his sending of troops to Rwanda. Colonel Frank Mugambage tells foreign journalists at a press conference in Kigali that RPF forces have no opposition to the French troops in Rwanda so long as they adhere to their disclosed humanitarian mission. He stresses that if the French intervene in the ongoing military conflict, RPF forces will resist them.

234. **June 25, 1994:** UNAMIR reports that it still cannot move 400 civilians across the frontlines in Kigali because of intense fighting in the city center. French troops reinforced by 800 Senegalese soldiers are reported to be moving to the northwestern prefecture of Ruhengeri.
235. **June 26, 1994:** RPF forces continue capturing territory from the fleeing Government forces. Journalist Sam Kiley informs the French soldiers of the Omar detachment, under Lieutenant Commander Marin Gillier, of massacres of Tutsi in the Bisesero Valley in Kibuye Prefecture, a few kilometers from a French camp.
236. **June 27, 1994:** Two nuns from Kibuye alert Lieutenant-Colonel Duval, the commander of a Turquoise detachment headed toward the Bisesero Hills in the commune of Gishyita, that Tutsi refugees were under threat of extermination in the hills where they had taken refuge. The detachment comes across some of the first survivors north of this area. Duval judges that he has insufficient means to secure the area and tells the survivors he is returning to Kibuye, promising them that he would come back as soon as possible.
237. **June 28, 1994:** The UN Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur, René Dégni-Ségui, presents his report on the humanitarian situation in Rwanda stating that the massacres throughout Rwanda were a pre-planned, systematic campaign of genocide. The President of the UN Security Council, Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby of Oman, requests the Rwandan Interim Government to close down the RTLM radio station. Jean-Damascene

- Bizimana, the Interim Government's Ambassador to the UN, agrees to take action against RTLM. However, broadcasts continued.
238. **June 30, 1994:** Commander Marin Gillier, leading the Turquoise Omar detachment, arrives at Bisesero and finds many massacre sites there as well as 800 to 1,000 survivors. In the three-day interval after they were discovered by the Diego detachment and before the Omar detachment got them out of harm's way, about 1,000 survivors from Bisesero were massacred under the leadership of Charles Sikubwabo, the mayor of Gishyita. This three-day delay has never been accounted for.
239. **July 1, 1994:** RPF forces gain control over areas in Kigali, Gitarama, and Butare. Radio Muhabura reports that RPF Chairman Alexis Kanyarengwe met President Ally Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania to tell him that he still has a role to play as a mediator, because Tanzania is harbouring some of the known killers responsible for the genocide. The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 935 calling for the formation of an impartial Commission of Experts to review the evidence of human rights violations and possible "acts of genocide" in Rwanda and that the Secretary-General report to the Council within four months from the establishment of the Commission of Experts.
240. **July 3, 1994:** French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe officially announces the boundaries of "Operation Turquoise" in Gikongoro, Cyangugu, and Kibuye. RPF troops and the Turquoise forces exchange fire as the RPF advances toward Gikongoro. As the RPF prepares to take Butare, French troops evacuate more than 1,000 people by convoy toward Burundi and Bukavu, Zaire.
241. **July 4, 1994:** RPF forces liberate the cities of Kigali and Butare leading to the end of the genocide. The genocide regime flees to Zaire and orchestrates the evacuation of approximately two million Hutus. Only 20,000 Tutsi survivors are left in Kigali. French troops in Gikongoro receive orders to form a front to halt the RPF advance.

242. **July 5, 1994:** Radio Muhabura reports that at Kiruhura parish in Butare, RPF soldiers rescue 24 nuns, including two Belgians who were injured by the fleeing Government forces. They also rescue 300 nuns and about 100 orphans from another parish in Butare. Two of the rescued nuns report that Government troops stole about 300 million Rwandan Francs (\$440,000 USD) from the parish. The French-led “Operation Turquoise” establishes a “safe zone” in the prefectures of Gikongoro, Cyangugu, and Kibuye. As the RPF advances westward, the influx of displaced persons into the zone increases from an initial 500,000 to an estimated one million people. The French Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and Democracy in Rwanda and Médecins Sans Frontières say that “France is protecting those behind the massacres” in Rwanda.
243. **July 6-13, 1994:** RPF troops continue liberating cities and towns across the country.
244. **July 14, 1994:** RPF forces capture Ruhengeri, an important bastion of the genocide regime, and liberate a few survivors. People flee into the French “safe zone” at an estimated rate of 6,000 per hour, including militia, soldiers and officials of the Interim Government. An estimated one million Hutus begin fleeing towards Zaire.
245. **July 15, 1994:** The US Government publicly declares that it no longer recognizes the Interim Government of Rwanda. Radio Rwanda is back on air and broadcasting using equipment of the RPF Radio Muhabura. Government officials report attacks against Tutsis in Goma, Zaire.
246. **July 16, 1994:** Thirteen ministers of the Interim Government take refuge in the French “safe zone.” A body suspected to be that of the late Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana is discovered in Kanombe barracks inside a dispensary room along with a body presumed to be that of her husband.
247. **July 18, 1994:** RPF forces capture Gisenyi, last bastion of the genocide regime, and liberate survivors of the massacres. The RPF declares a unilateral

ceasefire. Members of the Interim Government and its military forces flee with the militia to Goma and Bukavu, Zaire. French troops take Théodore Sindikubwabo and Jean Kambanda to Zaire. President Mobutu announces that Zaire would not extradite members of the genocidal government who are reported to be in Bukavu until they have been tried by an international court. Agence France Press reports that Major General Paul Kagame asked France “not to allow soldiers from the government forces who have sought refuge in the safety zone to remain there.”

248. **July 19, 1994:** The Rwandan Patriotic Front releases an official communiqué declaring the end of war and of the genocide, and announcing a new government of national unity with Pasteur Bizimungu as President, Major General Paul Kagame as Vice-President, and Faustin Twagiramungu as Prime Minister. The new government is sworn-in during a ceremony attended by Uganda’s Prime Minister George Cosmas Adyebo.
249. **July 20, 1994:** In an interview on Radio Rwanda, President Pasteur Bizimungu responds to threats from members of the defeated Interim Government that committed genocide. The Defense Minister of the new Rwandan Government calls for an end of the looting observed in certain areas of the country.
250. **July 21, 1994:** The Ministry of Interior and Communal Development informs Rwandans that all civil servants should be present at their places of work by 24 July. An outbreak of cholera is reported in the refugee camps in Goma.
251. **July 22, 1994:** The Government of Tanzania officially recognizes the new Government of Rwanda and its ability to manage the whole country. General Romeo Dallaire says UNAMIR troops will replace troops in the French “Operation Turquoise” and that the UN mission would “establish a secure environment to be able to protect the people back home, so they can get the humanitarian support they needed.” Sweden and Finland promise grant aid to Rwanda.

252. **July 23, 1994:** President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda meets the American Ambassador in Kampala and they discuss the situation in the region, including the way the international community should handle the refugee crisis in Zaire.
253. **July 25, 1994:** French Defense Minister Francois Leotard talks about a possible fresh military confrontation because units belonging to the former Rwandan armed forces are stationed and regrouped in Zaire with a significant amount of arms.
254. **July 27, 1994:** Jerome Bicomupaka, Foreign Minister of the Interim Government issues a statement at the Rwandan embassy in Kinshasa, Zaire saying that his defeated forces would resort to armed struggle.

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