



**FDLR's RESPONSE TO THE STATEMENT OF UN SECURITY
COUNCIL PRESIDENT**

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir / Madam,

With all protocols observed:

**SUBJECT: WARNING TO THE UN -INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IN CONVERSION PROCESS OF
BEING RWANDAN PRESIDENT KAGAME's GREAT – POWER
FOREIGN POLICY TOOL**

PREAMBLE

In response to the statement by the President of UN Security Council on DRC (S/PRST/2013/17), dated 14th November 2013, the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) would love to both highlight and bring the following points unto the attention of the UN - International community in general and of the UN Security Council in particular:

- The UN Security Council, through its relevant officials, had always been having the tendencies of being biased, unfair and insensitive towards Rwandan nationals, who happened to had been involved with the Rwandan former Hutu - dominated government, which was ousted by RPF /KAGAME/ Tutsi – dominated government since July 1994 up to date.

- The UN Security Council, through its relevant officials, has not been sparing any effort endeavouring to both undermine and abort any initiative undertaken by FDLR with intention to seek and find a pacific and negotiated long - lasting political solution to the complex, problematic and challenging Rwandan political problem, rooted in “political power sharing” issues, between the two main Rwandan rival ethnic groups, namely TUTSIs and HUTUs.
- With regard to the fragile security situation in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the UN Security Council has been always failing to acknowledge the real issue at stake as to address it. The UN Security Council would rather take advantage of its diplomatic and strategic international position and twist the whole picture as it is manipulated by RPF/KAGAME’s Government, and would have FDLR blamed for all ills and misfortunes which had befallen the Congolese peoples, not only in the eastern DRC, but on the whole DRC territory as well.

A. RETROSPECTION INTO THE WHOLE MATTER OF INSTABILITY OF THE EASTERN DRC

- While both RPF / KAGAME and UN Security Council had been advocating war, FDLR has been in time and out of time, calling on both the international community and the RPF/KAGAME’s government, as it has been suggesting and advocating pacific – negotiated political solution, up to date, via an inter – Rwandan highly – inclusive diplomatic dialogue, involving RPF/KAGAME’s government with the Rwandan armed and non – armed opposition.
- FDLR is hereby warning the UN Security Council in particular and the UN - International community in general that any attempt of using armed confrontations, with intention to annihilate FDLR is more likely to fail, as such unwise actions would be not only directed towards FDLR members and civilians Rwandan refugees , who have been abandoned to themselves for ages within the dense forests of eastern DRC, but also to the whole Rwandan community, whether inside Rwanda or outside Rwanda; whose members are the majority in numbers, although the

political minority, and as they are either directly or indirectly sympathising with FDLR, are longing for the real liberation of Rwanda and its people, who have been kept captive by and confined within RPF/KAGAME dictatorial and anarchy system, since July 1994 up to date.

Hence FDLR is the real representative of the marginalised Rwandan people's interests, and since it is the only Rwandan armed – political opposition organisation, which has been advocating pacific, political – negotiated solution to the Rwandan political problem, FDLR is currently being acknowledged by most of Rwandans as “Freedom fighters” and not “terrorists” or “criminals”.

Therefore, attacking FDLR with intention to annihilate it, instead of supporting His Excellency President KIKWETE [Tanzanian President]'s suggestion as to what President KAGAME must negotiate with FDLR, would be actually attacking Rwandan people, who are trying to seek means and ways for a genuine social reconciliation, towards a genuine national unity, (as a “Rwandan Tri – Une Nation”, united in our diversity as HUTUs, TWAs and TUTSIs). Hence using any military forces against FDLR with intention to annihilate them would be identical to forcing Rwandan peoples back – down to square one, in all aspects of their social and political endeavours as to objectively sort out, and once for all, the various perpetuating conflicts, which have been tearing the Rwandan social fabric apart for the worse, mostly since the 1990s up to date.

And without any shadow of doubt, should FDLR be attacked by any troops operating in DRC under UN mandate, or by RPF/ Kagame /Rwandan troops (so – called Rwandan Defence Forces- RDF) or by any troops involved with FARDC (DRC 's armed forces), the outcomes there of would be likely more damaging and destructive , therefore yielding more harm than help.

- While the whole world in general and the Rwandan people in particular had been awaiting to learn that UN Security Council had eventually come back to its senses, as to back up Tanzanian President (Mr J. KIKWETE) 's suggestion of immediate and unconditional political dialogue between RPF/KAGAME and his political non – armed and armed opposition, more particularly FDLR; it was actually with great

sorrow and heartfelt disappointment that FDLR has received the UN Security Council President's statement herein in question, labelling FDLR as *“a group under UN sanctions whose leaders and members include perpetrators of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and have continued to promote and commit ethnically – based and other killings in Rwanda and the DRC...”*. The statement *“stresses the importance of permanently addressing this threat”*; and as further maintained by same sources, *“The Security Council stresses the importance of neutralizing the FDLR...in line with resolution 2098 (2013)”*.

As FDLR believes that the time to seek and find a permanent solution to the Rwandan political problem, thus contributing to the long lasting stabilisation on both peaceful environment and peaceful – conducive living conditions in both Rwanda and the eastern DRC has come, and that time is right now or never: not by armed conflicts, but by diplomatic ways and means (talks), namely via a highly inclusive inter - Rwandan political dialogue, between RPF/KAGAME and his armed and non – armed political opposition; FDLR deemed it necessary to make it once more louder and clearer , that the only objective and fruitful way of stabilising the African Great Lakes Region is having all the Rwandan refugees currently hosted in DRC , back home through voluntary repatriation, which can only be achieved through a political dialogue between RPF/KAGAME government and FDLR. Any attempt to annihilate FDLR by means of armed confrontations have never been a good option in the past and obviously will not be one neither in the present time nor in the nearest future.

B. EVIDENCES OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL's BIAS, UNFAIRNESS & INSENSITIVITY TOWARDS MEMBERS OF

FORMER RWANDAN –HUTU DOMINATED GOVERNMENT IN PARTICULAR AND HUTU POPULATIONS IN GENERAL

C.1. With regard to the allegations of planning the Rwandan Genocide of 1994

FDLR would humbly recall that according to Article 11 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), section 1, "Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence". It is once more disappointing to see how the President of the UN Security Council, who is supposed to be in a better position to know how to apply legal discourses, dares to point fingers at FDLR members, labelling them as "perpetrators of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda", prior to any fair trial by a relevant Court of Law; whereas they are primarily refugees, in DRC, and from whom none of them has ever been charged nor prosecuted by the relevant court of Law, namely the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (UN – ICTR), which was established at the end of 1994 with the Security Council mandate to prosecute all international crimes committed in Rwanda during the previous year. The core component of those crimes was and is still the crime of genocide, as referring to the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Here again is one of the many other indicators of how the UN Security Council, through its relevant officials has always been tending to be biased, unfair and insensitive towards Rwandan people, who happen to be anti – RPF /KAGAME's system. Within this regard, let us recall the following facts as to substantiate our strong emotion of disappointment with regard to the President of the UN Security Council ad hoc discourses:

- As reported by UNHCR, with regard to its recommendation concerning the 1951 UN Conventions as relating to Rwandan refugees' Cessation Clause, the ex- FAR attacked Rwanda between 1996 and 1998, whereas FDLR was born in the year 2000; so how come FDLR could ever be blamed for having had continued "to promote and commit ethnically – based and other killings in Rwanda..." before it even existed.

- Mr Callixte MBARUSHIMANA, former Secretary Executive of FDLR was found NOT GUILTY by the International Criminal Court (ICC);
- April 7, 1994 Cable of Ambassador Prudence Bushnell read “If as it appears, both Presidents [namely HABYARIMANA of Rwanda and NTARYAMIRA of Burundi] have been killed, there is a strong likelihood that widespread violence could break out either or both countries, particularly if it is confirmed that the plane was shot”.
- Moreover, as maintained by same sources, “Civilian – on- civilian killing was a predicted consequence of the resumption of the Rwanda war (i.e. war crimes or crimes against humanity), not because of planned killing of civilians for ethnic reasons (i.e. [Tutsi] genocide). Former Ambassador Flaten also testified that he had no credible information that there was a plan afoot, by the HABYARIMANA government or military, or any other group in the country, to carry out a planned ““genocide” ’. Further, he testified that in a small country like Rwanda, particularly one with a multi- party government, it was extremely unlikely that such a plan could be kept secret. He testified he had received no reports from the Belgian, French or US intelligence agencies that such a plan was even being discussed during his term in Rwanda (1990 – 1993) or that of his replacement ambassador Rawson”.

C.2. With regard to the fulfilment of UN – ICTR Mandate: FDLR deems it biased, unfair and insensitive towards Rwandan Hutu population

- More evidences as relating to the UN Security Council unfairness, bias and insensitivity towards Rwandan - Hutu population is the fact that while the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (UN – ICTR) was established at the end of 1994 with the Security Council mandate to prosecute all international crimes committed in Rwanda during the previous year, the UN- ICTR appears to have been subject to political manipulations which turned it into a great - power foreign policy tool, rather than an example from which international justice might flow, but instead the UN – ICTR has been prosecuting only one side in the Rwanda War, the Hutu dominated side, linked to the former government , which was ousted in July 1994 by RPF /KAGAME’s – Tutsi dominated troops.

- The UN – ICTR, had the sole mandate of UN Security Council to prosecute all crime committed in Rwanda, with regard to the Rwandan war 1990 – 1994; more particularly the Rwandan genocide of 1994. However , at our great surprise and heartfelt disappointment, it appears that either the “Rwandan war” is the only war in history in which only one of the contestants committed crimes during the war (in this case Hutu dominated side linked with the former Hutu – dominated government which was ousted in 1994); or the UN – ICTR has been manipulated for political reasons to create impunity for a favoured war – time contestant (in this case RPF/KAGAME – Tutsi dominated government) and has actually become a “victor’s “ tribunal, like those that were established after World War II.
- Credible and relevant sources sustained that the UN – ICTR was scheduled to end its trials in 2008 and appeals in 2010, and all the detainees were expected to be transferred to the Rwandan government, despite the fact that numerous members of the Rwandan government have been indicted for war crimes and genocide by the judiciary of two European countries, one of each is a member of the Security Council.

Additionally, UN and US government documents eventually made clear that the killing assigned to the “genocide” did not end with the change of governments in Kigali in July 1994, and is in all likelihood the responsibility of both sides in the war. But still, despite that the UN Security Council has been aware of all these facts, it has been prosecuting just one side up to date, confirming once more its bias, unfairness and insensitivity towards Hutu populations.

- Furthermore, by early 1997, the chief investigator for the ICTR, QC Michael Hourigan, a professional prosecutor from Australia , along with a team consisting of former FBI Agent James Lyons and Maj. Amadou Deme (the former Chief Military Intelligence Officer for UNAMIR General Dallaire in Kigali [Rwanda] in 1994) had concluded that the two Presidents [namely Major General Juvénal HABYARIMANA of Rwanda, and Cyprien NTARYAMIRA of Burundi] had been assassinated by an RPA/F [Rwandan Patriotic Army/Front] execution team under the high command of Paul KAGAME. It appears that according to the

testimony of Hourigan, when Ms Louise Arbour, the Chief Prosecutor had the report, she ordered Hourigan to stop the investigations and she confiscated all his investigative reports and notes, leading to the resignation of Hourigan and all his team from the UN – ICTR in 1997.

- In November 2006, Judge Bruguière of France, (who also confirmed having met with then UN – Secretary General Kofi Annan with regard to the prosecution of Rwandan President incumbent Major General Paul KAGAME), issued European indictments confirming that the Kagame – RPA /F government committed massive, uncharged criminal acts during 1994.
- In February 2008, Judge Abreu of Spain also issued a 180 – page indictment charging KAGAME and 40 members of his government, including the Military – attaché to the Rwandan embassy in Washington - DC. According to Judge Abreu, the concerned criminal charges include the assassination of former Rwandan President HABYARIMANA and the crime of Genocide, all committed in 1994. These European indictments confirmed the evidence in the record at the UN –ICTR that the Western babied, cherished and unilaterally - well supported current Rwandan government is actually responsible for many of the crimes that have been charged to the former Hutu – dominated government and military.
- Perusing on all these historical and judicial facts, one could therefore conclude that “It is increasingly coming to appear that President Kagame and the RPA /F have benefited from juridically – created impunity at the ICTR for the past years, and the UN – ICTR detainees, all members of the vanquished [Hutu – dominated] former government, are facing transfer to the custody of indicted war criminals, by the United Nations. It is as though the United Nations is being used as “bounty hunter” for the current government of Rwanda and its Western allies. It seems plain, in retrospect, that the ICTR has been used to create impunity for the “victors” in the Rwanda war.
- Here was some other evidence (just to name a few), beyond any shadow of doubt, as to substantiate the bias, unfairness and insensitivity of the

UN - Security Council towards Rwandan – Hutu population. It is actually a heart – breaking experience to be subjected to unfairness, insensitivity and biased – subjective decisions , which would affect in one way or the other one’s life and wellbeing as a whole, as exercised by someone or some institution whose protection and guidance one had been expecting and more surely waiting for.

C. FDLR IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR CIVILIAN MASSACRES NOR ARBITRARY KILLINGS OF CIVILIANS ANY WHERE

D.1. inside Rwanda

FDLR is not responsible for civilians’ massacres and arbitrary killings which have been perpetrated against civilians whether it be inside Rwanda or outside Rwanda.

Once again FDLR would love to invite the President of the UN Security Council to stop, with immediate effect, all evil and unfounded propagandas intended to psychologically discredit both FDLR leadership and membership.

FDLR strongly recommends to the President of the UN Security Council to stop, with immediate effect, blaming FDLR for all the evils and misfortune which have befallen both Rwandan and DRC peoples. Blame must be put on the real culprit, namely Rwandan President incumbent Paul KAGAME and his RPA/F troops.

- Inside Rwanda: July 1994 - up to date: Amongst many other reports and cases, **The Gersony’s Report (1994)** which is accessible on internet and is a “Summary of United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Presentation before the Commission of Experts”, on the 10th October 1994, gives an account of systematic and ethnic – focussed mass killings of Hutu populations, which killings were strategically coordinated and executed by Tutsi elements of the Rwandan Patriotic Army /Front (RPA/F), between April – August 1994. It was unfortunate that the investigating team was able to explore only 41 (28%) of Rwanda’s 141 communes (municipalities). On July 27, 1994, the High Commissioner appointed an

Emergency Repatriation Team to conduct a thorough, systematic and comprehensive field assessment of the prospects for repatriation and to devise mechanisms which could accelerate the safe return to Rwanda of refugee population. In conducting its assignment, the team received information which suggested that conditions were not yet conducive for such return, and the findings thereof were summarized in the Gersony's report document in question.

- Inasmuch as the killing of the almost 800 thousands of Rwandan - Tutsi populations had been described by the Special Rapporteur on the Commission of Human Rights in his June 28, 1994 report, as a Rwandan – Tutsi – genocide; the mandate of the team in question concerned the investigation into the conduct of the Rwandan Patriotic Army /Front (RPA /F), the military forces of the then and current RPF (Rwanda Patriotic Front) Tutsi – dominated government, (whose strongest man and Commander in Chief has always been Major General Paul KAGAME, the Rwandan president incumbent), with respect to the Hutu residents of Rwanda.
- As sustained by The Gersony's Report in question, systematic and sustained killings and persecution of Hutu population were persistently coordinated, conducted and executed by RPA/F troops, as from April 1994, whereby large – scale indiscriminate killings of men, women and children including the sick and elderly were consistently reported. As further suggested by same sources, the reported violence included mass killings at meetings: local residents, including entire families, were called to community meetings, invited to receive information about “peace”, “security” or “food distribution” issues. Once a crowd had assembled, it was assaulted through sudden sustained gunfire; or locked in buildings into which hand – grenades were thrown; systematically killing with manual instruments; or killed in large numbers by other means. Large - scale killings which did not involve such “meetings” were also reported. This kind of RPA's military operations, systematically killing innocent civilian people from the Hutu populations was a pattern on the entire Rwandan territory, as earlier as 1990, wherever RPA had control over any geographical territory, right through the year of 1994 and onwards and took away hundreds of thousands of human lives (UNHCR, 1994); including

three Roman Catholic bishops (all Hutus), namely Archbishop Vincent NSENGIYUMVA (the then Archbishop of Kigali), Bishop Joseph RUZINDANA (the then bishop of Byumba) and Bishop Thaddée NSENGIYUMVA (the then bishop of Kabgayi), who were assassinated by RPA elements, in Gakurazo (Kabgayi) , on the 5th June 1994 , together with a good number of Roman Catholic clergy members surrounding them.

- Moreover, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) led by former Ugandan Military Intelligence Chief, Paul KAGAME, seized the eastern (1/3) of Rwandan territory by April the 20th 1994 and took control of Kigali the Rwandan Capital in mid – July 1994. However credible sources from recently revealed documents suggest that as earlier as May the 17th 1994, the UNHCR has detailed reports of massive killings of civilians by the RPA in the south- eastern part of Rwanda that had fallen under their control for nearly a month.
- April – May 1995: **The KIBEHO TRAGEDY (Rwanda, April – May 1995)** through the lens of Mark Cuthbert – Brown. (Accessible on internet): various official and independent sources, among which Paul Jordan (1998) as reported in his paper “Witness to Genocide. A personal account of the 1995 Kibeho Massacre” (accessible on www.anzacday.org.au) , have reported the like – genocide human killings which took place inside Rwanda, more precisely within the internally displaced people’s (IDPs) camp of Kibeho, in the shameless presence of indifferent and emotionless UN Contingents. Apparently the IDPs camp in question had been hosting more than 100 thousands of internally displaced and returnees Rwandan refugees, dominantly Hutus and they were just gun fired without any outlets, as they were tightly surrounded by RPA troops and their respective weaponry.
- The UN Security Council is aware of all these crimes both against humanity and of genocide which were committed by RPA/F troops under the high command of Rwandan President incumbent Paul KAGAME, and would rather be quick in both pointing fingers to and unilaterally blaming FDLR for anything, instead of fairly and objectively prosecuting the real culprits of the mass ethnic - killings which took place in Rwanda, since April 1994 up to date.

- In this regard, FDLR strongly recommends to the UN Security Council to be on the cusp of fulfilling its mandate by fairly assigning blame where it properly should be placed. Obviously, it was RPA/F / KAGAME's troops, which carried out ethnic – based mass killings inside Rwanda, and not FDLR which did not even exist.

D.2. Outside Rwanda: DRC

- FDLR is expecting from the President of the UN Security Council an apology, with immediate effect, from all allegations and evil propagandas undertaken in bad faith, with intention to psychologically discredit its membership and leadership, and mislead both the public and international opinions, as regarding to the real culprit with regard to the perpetuating wars in DRC in general and in the eastern DRC in particular; which wars have taken away more than six million of innocent human lives, Rwandan and Congolese altogether, mostly women and children.
- It is commonly and widely recorded that the 4 – year Rwanda war resumed as soon as former - Hutu President HABYARIMANA was assassinated by RPA/F elements under the high command of KAGAME, and KAGAME's RPF refused to abide by a continuation of the ceasefire, which UN documents reveal it had been repeatedly requested by the FAR (former Rwandan Army Forces) defending forces. The FAR claimed they lacked the military means to defend against RPA and to put down the civilian massacres (in this case the Tutsi genocide), an assessment which accessible UN and US government documents support.
- In July 1994, more than 2 million of Hutu – dominated Rwandans, crossed the borders and entered DRC (ex – Zaire), relocating themselves into refugees camps.
- According to the **UN Mapping Report (2010)**, documenting the most serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, committed within the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) between March 1993 – June 2003, the lack of both adequate

funding, political will power and suitable strategy of separating combatants from refugees within those Rwandan refugee camps in DRC, resulted in reciprocal sporadic attacks from FAR/Interahamwe (Hutu - militia) into Rwanda and persistent military incursions of RPA/F troops in DRC (Zairian) territory.

- As further maintained by same sources, “The entire period was characterised by the relentless pursuit of Hutu refugees... by the APR forces across the entire Congolese territory...The refugees ...then began a long trek across the country from east to west towards Angola, the Central African Republic or the Republic of the Congo [Brazzaville]” (p.78).
- The UN Mapping Report (2010) has clearly recorded the April 11th, 1994 as the very first official armed attack, perpetrated by around fifty APR soldiers, in Rwandan - Hutu refugees camp of BIRAVA, in the Kabare territory, South Kivu,DRC, killing more than “thirty people and seriously injuring an unknown number of others” (p.80).
- As further suggested by same sources, “On the morning of 13 May 1997, the second group of ...APR soldiers ...opened fire on unknown number of refugees who had escaped Wendji and were trying to reach Mbandaka... APR opened fire on the refugees who had just arrived in Mbandaka and killed an unknown number of them near the Banque Centrale du Zaire, on the Avenue Mobutu....The soldiers then entered the ONATRA port zone, where many refugees had been waiting for days to board a boat for Irebu, ...APR units...opened fire on refugees...killing an unknown number...some jumped into the Zaire river, hoping to escape...APR soldiers then took up position along the river and opened fire. Around two o’ clock in the afternoon, the soldiers began to sort the refugees, then clubbed them to death. The next day, the commanding officer of the ...APR soldiers authorised the local Red Cross to collect the bodies for burial in a mass grave...however, many of the bodies ...were dumped in the river” (p.117).
- The UN Mapping Report (2010) additionally argued that in the end, some of those Rwandan Hutu refugees who managed to survive were repatriated back to Rwanda, while other who managed to cross Zaire River re - settled in Congo – Brazzaville.

- Same sources further suggested that in the second half of 1997, basically in November, the Governor of Équateur Province, Mola Motya, ordered the [Rwandan Hutu refugees] “human remains from the mass grave at Bolenge to be dug up to erase all trace of evidence before UN investigators could reach the scene” (p.118). Apparently, the Interior Minister facilitated the exhumation by imposing a curfew in Mbandaka town on the 13th November 2013.
- In a nutshell, the armed attacks which were initiated and launched in April 1994, by the then Rwandan Patriotic Army (current Rwanda Defence Forces) on Rwandan – Hutu refugees, who had sought refuge on DRC’s territory, were well coordinated and systematically executed across the entire DRC territory, from east to west, and south to north, and had never stopped since then up to date, having swept away more than 6 millions of human lives, Rwandan and Congolese all together, mostly innocent women and children.

It was therefore within this complex and problematic context of “the survival of the fittest”, wherein Rwandan – Hutu refugees were hunt down by RPA troops, under the high command of the callous – tyrant Major General Paul KAGAME, and without the rescue of any of the UN institutions, not even the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), which prior to that precise date had already shown reluctance related to the humanitarian assistance and social protection of Rwanda Hutu refugees across Africa (in their various refugee camps and /or hosting cities), and has even worsen its attitude towards them up to date (We do not even want to go into details with regard to various instances of forced repatriation of Rwandan Hutu refugees, which once in Rwanda had only two options: either to find their new home behind bars or in the grave). The inception of FDLR, in the year 2000, was thus a directed consequence of and only relevant response to those inhumane and ill - treatments from both the RPF/KAGAME government, the bullets of RPA troops and the indifference of the UN – International community, in front of those serious violations of refugees rights (which are human right per se) and other international humanitarian law committed by RPA, supported by its proxies, against Rwandan – Hutu refugees.

Thus FDLR emerged as a “Freedom fighters Organisation” and not a terrorist one.

D. FDLR: A FREEDOM FIGHTERS ORGANISATION

- The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) was established in 2000, as a political and military organisation, whose primary aims were to defend the fundamental human rights of its members, “more particularly the right to life”, and to defend their respective families and the rest of Rwandan refugees who had been surviving RPA/F troops’ attacks and killings, from subsequent attacks and massacres. The additional aim of FDLR was and still is to liberate Rwanda and the Rwanda people from RPF /KAGAME’s tyrannical anarchy, and having Rwanda converted into a genuine Democratic State of Law, within which all the three Rwandan ethnic entities, namely HUTUs, TUTSIs and TWAs will be equal before the Law, and will have equal access and opportunities to life chances as to enjoy their citizenry rights and equally fulfil their civic responsibilities in a harmonious, conducive and reconciled psycho – social environment.
- FDLR, herewith referred to as “The organisation” is a body corporate with its own legal identity which is separate from its members. The organisation shall continue to exist even if the members change. The organisation may own properties, enter into contracts, and sue or be sued in its own name.
- FDLR therefore would recommend to the UN Security Council and the RPF /KAGAME government, with immediate effect, to explicitly separate “IT” as “the organisation” (a body corporate) which was just born in 2000, from any of its members, who might be alleged of having any involvement with the 1994 Rwandan genocide.
- It doesn’t make any sense to anybody, to even think that an organisation can possibly be accused of a crime which allegedly was committed before its inception.
- FDLR has never been and will never change into a terrorist organisation. FDLR core essence is to liberate both Rwanda their mother land and

Rwandan people their fellow citizens. FDLR is a freedom fighter organisation, and having Rwanda converted into a genuine Democratic State of Law is a noble cause FDLR combatants are prepared to die for.

E. EPILOGUE

- Once again, FDLR would like to reiterate its identity, as an opposition politico – military Organisation, to Kigali’s Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) political regime. FDLR works for justice, peace, genuine reconciliation and socio – economic development of Rwandan people.
- FDLR is a response from oppressed Rwandan people that have been marginalised and excluded from the Rwandan citizenry, and consequently have made a coalition as both to defend and protect themselves and their respective families against RPF – INKOTANYI regime which has been endeavouring to exterminate them.
- FDLR has both the duty and moral obligation of fighting for both refugee rights and protection of thousands of Rwandans, survivors of unprecedented and vile killings perpetrated by Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA – armed wing of RPF then) since the 01st October 1990 up to date, both inside and outside Rwanda. Hence FDLR elements are freedom fighters.
- FDLR has been supporting (and will always do) up to date each single initiative intended to seek a long – lasting and negotiated political solution to complex and problematic conflicts within the African Great Lakes Region in general and in Rwanda in particular.
- FDLR has never spared any effort in the process of searching and finding a long – lasting and pacific solution within the African Great Lakes Region, among others by means of quartering 2500 of its troops in Kamina Military base (Democratic Republic of the Congo – DRC) in 2001 and the destruction of their respective weaponries in 2002, which effort was crowned by the unfortunate attack and death of some of its combatants as well as the forced repatriation of others.

- On one hand, FDLR's commitment of converting the armed struggle into a political struggle as agreed in Rome in March 2005 failed, as result of lack of appointing an international committee which would have had a mandate to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the Rome agreement in question; on the other hand, this FDLR's commitment failed a result of Rwandan troops sporadic armed attacks perpetrated against FDLR.
- Other ghosts of solutions had been recommended by the international community but without any substantial outcomes. Of such, were for instance:
 - ✓ The Regional Conference on Peace within the African Great Lakes Region in December 2004, in Dar – es – Salaam, which strongly suggested that all involved, States had to resolve their respective internal conflicts by peaceful means.
 - ✓ The plenary congress of Spanish Parliament, gathered on 31st May 2007, had not only explicitly expressed their support to the process of Rwandan dialogue, but also has urged the European and Spanish authorities to support the very same initiative.
 - ✓ DRC's Members of Parliament from North Kivu, while addressing the UN Security Council delegation in Kinshasa, have strongly recommended that Kigali regime be put under high pressure as to compel it to sit around a political - dialogue table with its armed and non – armed namely the opposition.
- Likewise, at the 21st Summit of the African Union, in Addis - Ababa, on the 26th May 2013, His Excellency the President of Tanzania, Mr KIKWETE, brought up a very wise and constructive idea, opening of a political dialogue between Rwanda and FDLR, in view to find a pacific and long – lasting political solution, within the African Great Lakes Region at large and in Rwanda in particular. While waiting for the materialisation of this noble suggestion in question, more particularly by the two main partners and actors, namely the RPF / KAGAME's

government and the UN Security Council, FDLR has humbly saluted the idea and explicitly expressed their heartfelt gratitude towards the author thereof.

- FDLR has ever had any intention whatsoever (and will never have any) of leading a war against DRC's government, neither against DRC citizens, whom it considers its own brothers.
- FDLR has never launched any offensive attacks against FARDC in the past, and will not launch any in the nearest future. FDLR has been always defensive in all its military operations on the DRC territory, and will not change its approach for any reasons. Should FDLR feel threatened or attacked from its current positions, then it is its moral obligation and will have no better option but to defend itself against any armed offenders. In this regard, operations "UMOJA WETU" and "KIMIA I & II" of January and July 2009 are a very good indication, from which all who are advocating an "gun & bullets" option instead of political dialogue, as to permanently sort out the Rwanda political problem, should learn from.
- Once again, it's pivotal to recall that the "armed conflicts" option as to annihilate FDLR was not a good idea in the past, it is not a good one in the present, and honestly, we strongly doubt whether it will really be a good one in the nearest future.
- Additionally, it's worth it recalling that Rwandan refugees, survivors of massacres perpetrated by RPF – INKOTANYI against them have been in good and smooth relationship with their DRC hosts up to date.
- If those Rwandan refugees are still scattered within the dense forests of the eastern DRC and are not yet willing to go back to their motherland, it is because of the total insecurity and the abuse of human rights such as the suppression of ethnical self- identity (which is an utopian policy since ethnical membership is a natural phenomenon); killings; kidnappings; unfair justice system; arbitrary imprisonments; incarceration of opposition political parties' leaders; the non – respect of the rights and liberties of the human person (lack of right of expression and political opinion; lack of political democracy as opposition political parties are

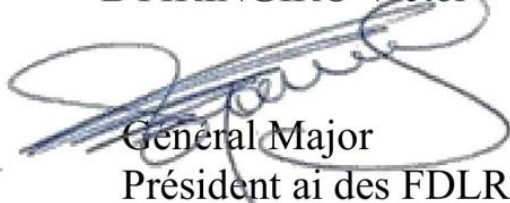
denied the right to register; impoverishment of grass roots population; social inequalities; etc.) perpetrated by RPF / President Paul KAGAME's regime, which has been on power in Rwanda, since July 1994 up to date.

- FDLR reiterates again and requests from the International Community in general and from the UN Intervention Forces in support of DRC's Armed Forces (FARDC) and from the DRC government in particular, not to use forces, but rather prioritise the pacific and negotiated political solution; reason for which FDLR advocates a political dialogue with the government of Kigali, to be facilitated by the African Union. The political dialogue between Kigali's government and FDLR is the only way to reach a long lasting peace in Rwanda in particular and in the African Great Lakes Region in general.
- FDLR would love to convey its heartfelt gratitude to all stakeholders who are directly or indirectly involved within the process of seeking and reaching long – lasting peace within the east of DRC.
- Once again, FDLR would wish to take the present opportunity and make it louder and clearer, than ever before, that FDLR's members have been hosted in DRC as Rwandan refugees, and if there is any noble cause, which worth it dying for, as far as they are concerned, that cause will be the “liberation of Rwanda”, their motherland and the liberation of Rwandan peoples, their fellow citizens. It is more unlikely that FDLR combatants would waste themselves, fighting for DRC, a land which doesn't belong to them. Obviously FDLR would not engage in such absurd and aimless ventures.
- Last but not least, the organisation FDLR strongly recommends to the President of the UN Security Council, with immediate effect, to remember that basic principles of conflict resolution entails engaging with both involved parties, whether as facilitator, mediator or arbitrator.
- Additionally, FDLR strongly recommends to the President of the UN Security Council, with immediate effect, to de – register from RPF/KAGAME's Pay Roll; to apologise for all shortcomings, more particularly all biased, insensitive and unfounded accusations and

propagandas undertaken with intention to psychologically discredit both FDLR's leadership and membership;

- Above all, FDLR strongly recommend to the President of the UN Security Council to acknowledge it as a legitimate and genuine "Freedom Fighters Organisation"; to support President KIKWETE's proposal of a Rwandan dialogue between RPF/KAGAME and FDLR; and to use all its strategic – diplomatic position to bring President KAGAME around the negotiations table, with all his non – armed and armed political opposition, as soon as possible, as to permanently stabilise the African Great Lakes region in general and Rwanda with DRC in particular. The whole world, as a global community, united under the umbrella of the United Nations (UN) expects the UN Security Council to be on the cusp of fulfilling its mandate by fairly assigning blame where it properly should be placed, thus acting as a genuine "UN Security Council" and not as a "UN Trouble Maker Council". Political dialogue between RPF / KAGAME's government and FDLR is above all the best option as it is a pro – active approach to sort out once for all the complex - problematic Rwandan political problem, and thus stabilising for good not only DRC and Rwanda but also the whole African Great Lakes Region; and materialising it as soon as possible is the right thing to do, rather than advocating a new war, which would be more likely to turn the whole situation into confusion, thus yielding more irreparable human and material damages and harm to all involved parties than help.

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