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Rwanda

Rwanda maintained its characteristic internal political stability in 1971, but experienced a nearly disastrous crisis in its relations with its eastern neighbour, Uganda. General Amin's seizure of power in Kampala in January was followed by his closure of the Uganda-Rwanda border in July—an event which revealed the extent of Rwanda's almost total dependence on East Africa for its survival.

Being Uganda's smallest and most vulnerable neighbour, Rwanda inevitably suffered the most from Amin's unpredictable actions.

At a rally in Jinja on 25 April, Amin listed Rwanda along with almost all Uganda's neighbours as having plotted with Tanzania to mount a joint military operation against him: no evidence was produced to justify this allegation; it was, indeed, without foundation. He proceeded from accusation to provocation by inviting Rwanda's exiled Tutsi King, Kigeli Ndabarasa V, to tour Uganda as his guest in May. The publicity given to this visit in Uganda must have been very disturbing to Rwanda's President Kayibanda, his Government and the ruling Parmehutu (Hutu Emancipation Movement), since the overthrow of Tutsi overlordship before independence and the incipient threat to restore it by force is the most sensitive issue in Rwanda's national life. Under these circumstances nothing could have been more provocative than a headline in the *Uganda Argus*: 'I will go back, says ex-King', followed by a statement by the ex-King of his gratitude to Amin's Government for revoking ex-President Obote's deportation order of 1963.¹

The ex-King had been in exile since 1960 following the successful Hutu uprising against their Tutsi masters. In 1963 Obote forbade him from using Uganda as a springboard for Tutsi invasions of Rwanda which were taking place at the time. Now it looked as if Amin might give active encouragement to the Tutsi exiles.

Amin suddenly announced on 7 July the closure of Uganda's 300-mile southern border with Rwanda and Tanzania. All travel across the border was prohibited, and the Uganda Armed Forces were instructed to shoot down any aircraft violating this directive.² What aggravated this decision was that Rwanda's coffee crop—its major cash export earner—was at the peak of its season; time was a vital factor, therefore.

Rwanda's Minister of Commerce, Mines and Industry, Anastase Makusa—who happened to be in Kampala at the time for the signing of a Customs' Protocol—protested to Amin, who merely repeated his allegations of infiltration by 'pro-Obote guerrillas' through Rwanda into Uganda.

Over 80 per cent. of Rwanda's trade passes through Kampala, using the railway from Mombasa and the road from Kampala to Kigali. Re-routing through Zaire or Tanzania involves tremendous problems and difficulties. Nevertheless, arrangements were made to fly essential goods to Kigali from Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

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Although the border was closed only a month, opening again on 4 August, the disruption caused was sufficient to necessitate special concessions from the International Coffee Organization to allow exportation of the remainder of the 1970-71 coffee crop during the first three months of the 1971-72 coffee year.

Amin announced the opening of the border after a meeting with Rwanda's Ambassador in Kampala, Alphonse-Marie Kagenza, and warned that Rwanda should 'desist from allowing anti-Uganda guerrillas' from using its territory. Amin also expressed admiration for President Kayibanda for his religiousness, and assured the Ambassador that he would not allow the Rwandan refugees in Uganda to indulge in anti-Rwandan activities.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Rwanda's external affairs showed a slight stirring for the first time since independence. The establishment of diplomatic relations with Egypt in February represented a new development. It has cordial relations with Israel. More significant was the recognition of Peking, following neighbour Burundi's similar decision.³

Rwanda also moved towards the camp of those favouring a dialogue with South Africa.

France's Secretary-General for African Affairs, Jacques Foccart, visited Rwanda in June for the first time. In an interview on Rwandan radio he said he hoped that 'personal contacts' would allow an easy resolution of the problems facing Franco-Rwandan co-operation.

THE GOVERNMENT (December 1971)

<i>President</i>	Grégoire Kayibanda
<i>Other Ministers:</i>	
<i>Interior and Justice</i>	André Sebataware
<i>National Guard</i>	Col. Juvenal Habyalimana
<i>Education</i>	Gaspard Harelimana
<i>Information and Tourism</i>	Froductal Minani
<i>Agriculture</i>	Damien Nkezabera
<i>Finance</i>	Fidèle Nzanana
<i>International Co-operation</i>	Sylvestre Nsanzimana
<i>Planning</i>	Emmanuel Hitayezu
<i>Civil Service</i>	Jean Ntigura
<i>Commerce, Mines and Industry</i>	Anastase Makuza
<i>Family and Community Development</i>	Charles Kanyamahanga
<i>Posts, Telecommunications and Transport</i>	Augustin Kamoso
<i>Public Works</i>	François Nshunguyinka
<i>Health</i>	Jacques Hakizimana
<i>Delegate to Presidency (Economic Affairs)</i>	Déogratias Gashonga
<i>Delegate to Presidency (Political Affairs)</i>	Athanase Mbarubuleye

In February 1972 the Cabinet was reshuffled. Augustin Munyaneza became Minister of International Co-operation; Theodore Sindikoubwabo, Minister of Health; Athanase Chiamaka, Minister of Family and Community Development; and Baptiste Seyanga, Minister of Political and Administrative Affairs.

UGANDA

the Government had no intention or desire to interfere in Rwanda's international affairs.

The border with Rwanda was opened again on 4 August. While Amin was away in Israel and Britain an individual soldier in Moroto went berserk and killed some new recruits. Soon after heavy fighting started in the barracks at Magamaga, near Jinja; Amin's response was to announce in Britain that the guerrillas could now claim 1,000 victims and that in the fighting in Jinja and Moroto they had been assisted by Tanzanians and Mozambique freedom fighters as well as by three Chinese advisers who had been seen but not captured. He had no suggestion to make as to how this invading force had escaped detection across Uganda from Tanzania through one of the most densely populated areas in Africa.

Then on 1 August a Ugandan spokesman alleged that Tanzanian aircraft had violated Ugandan air space. Three weeks later Tanzania accused Uganda of sending tanks and troops across the border, and said that fighting was continuing. On the same day Amin confirmed that border fighting had flared up with Tanzania between his troops and 'Chinese-led Tanzanian forces'.

Two days later, on 26 August, he claimed that Tanzanian troops had seized four Ugandan army drivers on 24 August and had subsequently bombed Ugandan territory seven miles within the border. Ugandan troops, he said, had not crossed an inch into Tanzania.

Attempts by a Ugandan officer to investigate the disappearance of men in the border area led to the Tanzanian forces opening fire, and Uganda troops replied. A Uganda Defence Ministry spokesman denied that any Ugandan tank or other military equipment was destroyed, or that Uganda had suffered any casualties other than one officer killed. In any event the result was intermittent but not very serious border fighting for two weeks.

The Ugandans gained a great deal from their propaganda among their friends—although the foreign embassies in Kampala, without exception, disbelieved Amin's stories, especially over the killing of 'a Chinese Colonel': he was later identified from a picture of him taken when he was publicly displayed in Kampala as Hans Poppe, a Tanzanian police inspector of African and German descent. A further strange aspect of the case was that the man was said to have begged for mercy and to have declared he was 'only a Chinese sent by Nyerere' before he died. The implication is that he was killed while in the custody of Ugandan forces.

At the end of September Uganda claimed to have destroyed three Tanzanian military camps near the border, one by an air attack. At the same time the Tanzanians claimed that Ugandan troops had attacked Tanzanian forces near Lake Victoria and made an aerial attack on the Kagera sawmills near the Uganda border, causing slight damage.

TENSION IN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

The tension with Tanzania was particularly important for Uganda because of the impact it had on the working of the Community that joins Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania.¹⁶ Nyerere's response to the coup was not only to refuse to recognize Amin—his refusal maintained throughout 1971—but to say that he would never agree to sit with killers like Amin in the Authority of the East African Community. The Kenyans, too—because of their own