

Contents

1	Refugees' <i>Durable Solution</i>: Voluntary Repatriation and Cessation of the Refugees' Status	1
1.1	Definition of Refugee and UNHCR's Mandate, Protection	1
1.2	International Influence of Refugee Movements	4
1.3	Evolution of Durable Solutions and Preference for Voluntary Repatriation	6
1.4	From "Voluntary" Repatriation to "Safe Return"	10
1.5	Cessation of Refugee Status	13
1.6	Myths and Realities of Repatriation	16
2	Process of "Armed Repatriation" of Old-Caseload Tutsi Refugees (1959–1994)	19
2.1	Pre-1959 History and "Social Revolution"	20
2.2	Harassment of Refugees in Uganda	22
2.3	Rwandan Government's Gradual Change on Refugees' Policy	24
2.4	RPF's Preparation for Armed Return from Uganda	27
2.5	Civil War	30
	2.5.1 Democratisation and Peace Process	30
	2.5.2 Massacres and Massive Displacement of Civilians	33
2.6	Motives of the RPF's Armed Repatriation	36
3	New-Caseload Hutu Refugees' Flight and Their Refusal to Return (1994–1997)	39
3.1	Shooting Down of Habyarimana's Plane (6 April 1994)	40
3.2	Genocide (April–July 1994)	43
3.3	Refugees' Refusal to Return: Rwandan Government's Claim	49
3.4	Refugees' Refusal to Return: Their Claim	51
3.5	Massacre at an IDP Camp (April 1995)	55

3.6	Attacks of Refugee Camps and “Genocide” in DRC (October 1996–April 1997)	57
3.7	UNHCR’s Policy on (Imposed) Return (July 1994–May 1997)	60
3.8	Killing Continues upon Return (November 1996~)	67
4	Post-Genocide Refugees’ Continued Refusal to Repatriate (1995–2017)	73
4.1	Post-Genocide Political Structure	74
4.2	Political Characteristics of Post-Genocide Refugees	77
4.3	Less Reported Killings but Diminishing Return	78
4.4	Promotion of Voluntary Repatriation (2002/2003–2009)	83
4.5	Strategies of Rwandan Government and Refugees	87
4.6	Following the Announcement of the Cessation Clause (October 2009–June 2013)	91
4.7	Security Incidents Faced by Refugees (October 2009–June 2013)	94
4.8	UNHCR’s Justification on Cessation Clause of Refugee Status	96
4.9	Invocation of Cessation Clause of Refugee Status (June 2013–December 2017)	103
4.10	Security Incidents Faced by Refugees (June 2013–December 2017)	105
4.11	President Kagame’s Attitude Vis-à-Vis Refugees	107
4.12	Refugees’ Psychological Insecurity	109
5	US Responsibility in the Great Lakes Regional Power Dynamics and Rwandan Refugees	113
5.1	US Interests in the Congo	114
5.2	France’s Interest in Rwanda and Congo	116
5.3	US (in)Action from the 1980s Until the 1994 Genocide	119
5.4	US Humanitarian and Military Aid in Eastern DRC	122
5.5	US Involvement in the Forced Repatriation of Refugees	125
5.6	US Complicity in RPA’s Massacres of Refugees	128
5.7	US Interference in UN	130
6	Conclusion	135
	Barbara Harrell-Bond’s Quote on Repatriation of Rwandan Refugees	137
	Author’s Letter Addressed to the High Commissioner of the UNHCR	139
	References	141