



**Security Council**

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**PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
ON THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA**

**I. INTRODUCTION**

1. The present report is submitted in response to resolution 965 (1994) of 30 November 1994, by which the Security Council extended and expanded the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a period of six months until 9 June 1995. Under that resolution, the Council requested me to report by 9 February and 9 April on the execution of UNAMIR's mandate, the safety of populations at risk, the humanitarian situation and progress towards repatriation of refugees. The present report covers developments in Rwanda since my report of 25 November 1994 (S/1994/1344).

**II. POLITICAL ASPECTS**

2. While progress continues to be made in normalizing the situation in Rwanda, many challenges remain. During the reporting period, the Government of Rwanda has continued to take steps towards national reconciliation and reconstruction. If many of its pronouncements still have to be transformed into concrete programmes this is, for the most part, because of a lack of resources to run an effective public administration. In addition, while the civil administration is now largely in place throughout the country, important appointments, especially in such key sectors as the judiciary, remain to be made.

3. The Government has taken same steps to ensure that its message of national unity and reconciliation reaches the Rwandese people. On 20 December 1994, the Government was formally renamed the "Government of National Unity", a modification which, by dropping references to "transitional" and "broad-based" places primary emphasis on national reconciliation. Senior government officials, including the President, the Prime Minister, the Vice-President and the Minister of Defence

continue to hold public rallies around the country, emphasising the need for harmony, tolerance, unity and reconciliation.

4. The National Assembly, officially installed in Kigali on 25 November 1994, opened its first working session on 12 December. On that occasion, the Prime Minister presented an eight-point programme reiterating the goals of rehabilitation and reconstruction that the Government first set out when it was installed on 19 July 1994. The programme includes restoration of a climate of peace and security; restoration of civil administration at the national, provincial, communal, sectoral and local levels; restoration and strengthening of national unity; repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons; improvement of the living conditions of the Rwandese people and resolution of post-war social problems, with emphasis on orphans, widows and the handicapped; national economic recovery; redefinition of the country's foreign policies; and consolidation of democracy in the country. In his opening remarks, the Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Juvenal Nkusi, indicated that the work of the Assembly would be based on the principles of unity, democracy and respect for human rights. He called for the adoption of laws banishing forever ethnic discrimination and recommended the establishment of a commission for national unity and reconciliation.

5. Although the Assembly is composed of representatives of eight political parties and the national army, including an officer of the former Government's army, the previously dominant party, the Mouvement Républicain National Démocrate (MRND), is not represented.

6. I indicated in my last report that the Government had taken steps to reunify the army and a further measure towards reconciliation. In this connection, some 2,241 members of the former Rwandese Government Forces have undergone a five-month retraining programme. On 25 January, following its completion, a graduation ceremony was held for 73 officers and 1,011 soldiers. Another group of 900 soldiers has not yet completed the programme. At the ceremony, the Minister of Defence encouraged other military personnel from the Rwandese Government Forces to join the new national army. Rwandese Government Forces Officers have been given new appointments, including that of Deputy Chief of Staff and Chief of the Gendarmerie.

7. While further progress is expected in the reconciliation process, the security situation continues to be a matter of serious concern. Reports persist of summary executions, secret detention and torture. There are also reports of banditry and other violent acts against civilians, both in Kigali and in the countryside. In a recent statement, the Catholic Church, which is an influential institution in Rwanda, commended the Government's endeavours, especially in the re-establishment of essential services and infrastructure, but expressed concern over what it considered to be discriminatory, arbitrary and inhumane treatment of some citizens.

8. In two radio interviews in December, the Vice-President and Minister of Defence, as well as the Prime Minister, stressed that security in the country was a priority concern of the Government. As indicated in earlier reports, UNAMIR is helping the Government to establish a new police force. In the meantime, Rwandese military personnel continue to perform police duties.

9. A professional police force and functioning judiciary are essential to the establishment of internal security. Yet, at present, Rwanda's court system does not function, its prisons are overcrowded and thousands of suspects are awaiting trial. Of the 1,100 magistrates working in the judiciary before April 1994, only 100 are still in the country today and of 100 prosecutors, only 12 are still available. There is also an acute shortage of trained personnel to investigate alleged crimes. The United Nations Human Rights Field operation in Rwanda, established by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, has been active in helping the Government to rehabilitate the justice system, but substantially more technical and financial assistance is required if this essential element in the Government's recovery programme is to be implemented in a timely manner.

10. As noted in my report of 25 January (S/1995/65) on security in the Rwandese refugee camps, repatriation is ultimately linked to the creation inside Rwanda of conditions conducive to the safe resettlement of returnees and to the pursuit, by the Rwandan Government, of a proactive policy of national reconciliation. The Governments of Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania have both stressed this point during their recent discussions with my Special Representative. The seven-nation regional summit, which took place at Nairobi on 7 January and brought together the heads of State of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zambia, as well as the Prime Minister of Zaire, also urged the Government of Rwanda to put in place additional confidence-building measures to encourage the voluntary return of refugees. Senior Rwandese officials have reassured my Special Representative that the Government considers the peaceful resettlement of all returnees to be an indispensable step towards genuine reconciliation and lasting peace. The task of repatriating and resettling the estimated 2 million Rwandese refugees and the 350,000 displaced persons inside the country continues, however, to pose a major challenge to the Government.

11. On 23 December 1994, the Government established a commission for the repatriation and resettlement of refugees. This commission, which was provided for in the Arusha peace agreement (see S/26915), is composed of two representatives each of the Government, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the refugee community, as well as a representative of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Its mandate is to finalize and implement a programme for the repatriation and reintegration of refugees. To this end, it is planning inter alia, to conduct a socio-economic survey of refugees, organize a pre-repatriation census and registration of returnees, launch an information and sensitization campaign directed at both refugees and the local population, identify resettlement sites, supervise the distribution of plots, facilitate the rehabilitation of basic infrastructure and transport for returnees, and supervise assistance provided to them. The Government has confirmed its support for these proposals. It has also supported and cooperated with UNAMIR's efforts to encourage the safe and voluntary return of internally displaced persons.

12. However, fears of reprisals continue to exist among refugees and internally displaced persons. I remain convinced that the dissemination of factual information is a vital tool in creating conditions for refugees and internally displaced persons to decide freely to return to their homes. In resolution 963 (1994), the Security Council welcomed UNAMIR'S efforts to increase its radio-broadcasting capabilities so as to

reach the refugee camps in neighbouring countries and expressed the hope that the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR would soon conclude appropriate arrangements in that regard, including the allocation of a radio frequency.

13. As I have already informed the Security Council, on 14 January the Government and UNAMIR signed an agreement on the establishment of the United Nations radio in Kigali and are now finalizing the necessary technical details to permit the commencement of radio operations. In this connection, UNAMIR has requested from the Government the allocation of a frequency and authorization for the installation of radio transmitters at sites that would permit broadcasts to reach the Rwandese population inside the country as well as in the refugee camps in neighbouring countries. UNAMIR is still awaiting the Government's response. Radio UNAMIR is currently staffed by three international and four local personnel. It is planned that it will initially broadcast for 4 hours per day, mainly to Kinyarwanda, the Rwandese national language, but also in English and French. In order to achieve these objectives, it will be necessary to strengthen the resources of the station, especially the number of editorial and technical staff.

### **III. HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS**

14. There is strong evidence that awareness of human rights continues to grow in Rwanda. Respect for human rights is vital not only as a confidence-building measure to facilitate the return of the refugees and internally displaced persons, but also, in the long term, for the realisation of genuine and lasting peace in this traumatized country. This continues to be the principal objective of the United Nations Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda.

15. The number of human rights officers deployed has grown steadily and, as of 26 January 1995, stood at 88 including regular staff, experts and United Nations Volunteers (UNVs). An offer by the European Union of 36 fully equipped officers has been accepted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. These officers will work under his authority and will be fully integrated into the human rights Field operation. It is expected that a first contingent of 12 European Union personnel will be deployed in the second half of February, together with additional UNVs. Among the functions of the Human Rights Field operation are the monitoring of human rights conditions in all parts of the country, including life-threatening situations and other urgent cases of possible human rights violations; liaison with the Government of Rwanda with respect to human rights education; monitoring of the conditions of detainees; participation in confidence-building measures aimed at the re-establishment of civic society in Rwanda; and coordination with other international agencies in the field.

16. All human rights officers in Human Rights Field Operation receive comprehensive training to prepare them for their responsibilities in Rwanda. This training, which takes place at Geneva and Kigali, will continue as new recruits are dispatched to the field.

17. It is especially significant that the Rwandese people themselves are increasingly engaged in the promotion of human rights and the rule of law. During the commemoration of the universal Declaration on Human Rights on

10 December 1994, seminars, lectures and other public functions were organized in Rwanda. especially in Kigali an that occasion, the Minister o: justice reaffirmed his Government's commitment to human rights. democracy, justice and national reconciliation. The Human Rights Field operation, through its technical cooperation unit, contributes to the advancement of human rights awareness and education in the country generally and in particular sectors of society, such as the police. The Human Rights Field Operation also continues to work closely with the ministries of education, culture and women's affairs to broaden respect for human rights.

18. As a result of a needs assessment mission undertaken in December 1994, the High Commissioner for Human Rights has developed a programme of technical assistance in the administration of justice, which includes review of criminal cases of detainees, improvement in prison administration, establishment of civil dispute resolution mechanisms and recruitment and training of civilian police. In this connection, the Human Rights Field operation has been coordinating the activities of a working group with government ministers comprising two committees which meet weekly. International assistance is being sought for these projects, as well as for the continued operation of the Human Rights Field operation in general.

19. The Prosecutor of the International Tribunal far Rwanda, Judge Richard Goldstone, paid his first visit to the country on 19 and 20 December. He held detailed discussions with senior government officials a well as with my Special Representative, and also met with representatives of United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating in Rwanda. During the visit, the Government and the Prosecutor expressed general satisfaction with their discussions and exchange of views, which focused and the future work of the International Tribunal.

20. The first stage of the operation of the International Tribunal for Rwanda has begun with the establishment of an investigative/prosecutorial unit, temporarily located in the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) building In Kigali. The main functions of the unit are to establish the Prosecutor's office, gather documents and information from Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, initiate the process of recruitment, and develop the investigative strategy and field operating procedures. In accordance with article 15, paragraph 3, of the statute of the International Tribunal (S/1994/14C5, appendix I), and upon the recommendation of the Prosecutor, I appointed Mr. Honor Rakotomanana a Deputy Prosecutor to assist with prosecutions before the International Tribunal. The Deputy prosecutor arrived in Kigali on 26 January for an initial visit in order to initiate the operations of the investigative unit. The High Commissioner for Human Rights has placed at the Tribunal's disposal the specialized personnel and all the investigatory work of the technical cooperation unit.

21. In December a United Nations technical mission visited Rwanda, Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania in order to identify suitable promises for the seat of the Tribunal. The mission has presented its report and I will, in dun course, submit my recommendation to the Security Council and the location of the seat.

22. On 24 January, I announced the creation of a Trust Fund to support the activities of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. A request for contributions has been sent to

Member States. Contributions to the Fund would, in the first instance, facilitate an early start to the Tribunal's work by allowing the deployment of teams to Rwanda to investigate suspected persons held in custody there and the identification and apprehension of those located elsewhere.

#### **IV. MILITARY ASPECTS**

23. As of 28 January, UNAMIR's force strength stood at 5,740 all ranks and 309 military observers (see annex 2). Since my last report, the United Kingdom contingent, comprising 538 troops, and the Canadian contingent, comprising communications, logistics and medical units with a total strength of 308 troops, withdrew on schedule. The logistics unit was replaced by civilian contractual arrangements with backup provided through the deployment of a Canadian logistic support unit of 85 personnel. As indicated in my previous reports, UNAMIR's troop strength will gradually be reduced to its authorized level of 5,500.

24. UNAMIR's force structure and deployment have been adjusted as a result of recent security developments in the displaced person camps and the border regions, as well as the additional tasks given to UNAMIR under the expanded mandate contained in Security Council resolution 965 (1994) in which the Council decided, inter alia, that UNAMIR should contribute to the security in Rwanda of human rights officers and personnel of the international Tribunal. Consequently, elements of the Ghanaian and Zambian battalions and the Malian and Malawian companies have been redeployed to help to improve security in various communes in their respective areas of operation (sectors 2 and 3) and to assist in enhancing security for the resettlement of displaced persons (see map). Following an increase in armed attacks by groups infiltrating across the border with Zaire in the Kimembe, Kangano, Gafunzo, Kirambo and Nyamashe areas of sector IV C, elements of the Ethiopian battalion stationed in this sector have also been redeployed along the shores of Lake Kivu. The Ethiopian Battalion is conducting limited boat patrols on the lake and has deployed its available night vision resources to cover coastal approaches in this sector from Ijwi Island. However, additional naval patrol capabilities and night vision resources would be required to enhance UNAMIR's monitoring activities in this area.

25. According to some reports, these raids could signal the start of an insurgency campaign by forces opposed to the current Government in Kigali, but none of the raids has, to date, been directed at military targets inside Rwanda. Rather, the focus has been on civilian settlements and property, with the attackers stealing food, cows, personal belongings and money. The Rwandese Patriotic Army seems to have reinforced its presence along the border region, which may explain the reported drop in the number and intensity of such incidents in recent days.

26. In pursuance of its mandate to protect displaced persons and civilians at risk and to provide security for humanitarian relief operations, UNAMIR undertook an operation, from 13 to 15 December, to enhance security in the Kibanho and Ndagó displaced person camps in the south-west (sector IV A) where disruptive elements had been active. The aim of the operation was to help to create conditions that would give the displaced persons the freedom to return voluntarily to their homes. The operation included screening of disruptive elements present in the camps and was undertaken in the presence of human rights monitors and representatives of the international Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). A total of 44 people were detained

and handed over to the Rwandese authorities in the presence of ICRC and human rights monitors. UNAMIR, using metal detectors, discovered and confiscated caches of grenades, machetes and spears. The Rwandese Patriotic Army provided liaison officers to assist in the screening process and established a security perimeter a few kilometers from the camps, but it did not participate in the actual operation.

27. The success of this operation helped to establish suitable conditions and a favourable climate for the launching, on 29 December 1994, of Operation Retour, which is an integrated inter-agency initiative aimed at facilitating the safe resettlement of internally displaced persons. Activities involved in the operation include the provision of security to ensure that displaced persons can travel safely to their homes and are protected once they reach them, as well as the provision of medical, food, water, sanitation and other basic assistance in the home communes.

28. Despite an incident on 7 January when elements of the Rwandese Patriotic Army attacked a displaced persons camp at Husanze near Gikongoro, killing 14 people, including women and children, and wounding 36 others operation Retour had, by 30 January, facilitated the safe and voluntary resettlement of some 25,000 displaced persons. The Government has condemned the attack against the Husanze camp and has detained some of the soldiers reportedly involved. It has assured my Special Representative and the UNAMIR Force Commander that the incident was an isolated act of misconduct and does not represent official policy which, it stresses, continues to favour the voluntary rather than the forced closure of displaced persons camps. The assurances given, and measures taken by the Government, have helped to restore a degree of calm in the camps. Close contact and consultations between UNAMIR and the Government, and between the UNAMIR Force Commander and the Rwandese Patriotic Army, are helping to expedite and enhance mutual cooperation, and coordination which are vital if complex enterprises, such as operation Retour, are to be successful.

29. As Indicated In paragraph 24 above, UNAMIR has adjusted its modus operandi in order to fulfil, within existing resources, its expanded mandate of providing security for personnel of the International Tribunal and the human rights officers. However, the UNAMIR Force Commander is concerned that, as the UNAMIR troop strength is gradually reduced to its authorized level of 5,500 all ranks, difficulties could arise in fulfilling effectively the various aspects of the mandate. The issue of UNAMIR's force strength may, therefore, have to be revisited in the coming months.

## **V. CIVILIAN POLICE**

30. In my report of 25 November, I informed the Security Council that, at the request of and in cooperation with the Government of Rwanda, UNAMIR's Civilian police contingent had begun to help to train the national gendarmerie, the larger of the two services in Rwanda's police structure. Council resolution 965 (1994) reinforced this process by expanding UNAMIR's mandate to include the specific task of assisting in the establishment and training of a new, integrated national police force.

31. The first contingent of 102 gendarmes completed their training in November 1994. A second contingent of 300 gendarmes is currently undergoing an intensive 16-week training programme scheduled to end in April. At the request of the Rwandese Government, 20 gendarmes from the first contingent are currently

assisting UNAMIR in the training of the second contingent. UNAMIR is planning to start in June a more advanced training course of 12 weeks for about 100 of the gendarmes who will have undergone basic training by that time.

32. At the request of the Government, UNAMIR has also developed a training programme for the communal police, the second police service. The communal police operates at the local level and derives its authority from the prefect who serves as head of the provincial administration, or prefecture. The Government has indicated that it would like to deploy 10 trained police in each of Rwanda's 145 communes. UNAMIR is planning to train a first contingent of 500 communal police, made up of police personnel from each of the country's 10 prefectures. The training programme is scheduled to begin in early February in Kigali and will be extended to the other prefectures, as soon as the number of French-speaking UNAMIR civilian police observers can be increased.

33. In addition to its training tasks, the civilian police component continues to maintain liaison with civilian authorities, in particular the judiciary, and to monitor the increasingly difficult situation in Rwanda's overcrowded prisons. It also provides monitoring and investigatory assistance to the human rights officers and the military and civilian components of UNAMIR.

34. UNAMIR's civilian police component has, with 89 observers on the ground, nearly reached its authorized strength of 90 observers, but only 25 of them are French-speaking. This has put a considerable effort to train an UNAMIR's ability to carry out its civilian police functions effectively.

35. In order to meet its expanding functions under resolution 965 (1995), the civilian police component requires additional observers, especially French-speakers, and material resources, including teaching aids, transportation and communication equipment. It is accordingly proposed that its authorized strength be raised from 90 to 120 police observers who would be deployed as follows: 18 observers at civilian police headquarters; 2 liaison officers at each of UNAMIR force headquarters and military observers headquarters; 20 observers at the Ruhengeri gendarmerie training centre: 15 at Kigali (prefecture and rural); and 7 observers for each of the 9 other prefectures.

## **VI. HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS**

36. As I informed the Security Council in my last report, the emergency that gripped Rwanda only a few months ago has abated, thanks largely to the spontaneous and generous response of countries, organizations and ordinary men, women and children around the world. This constitutes an important step forward, although the current humanitarian situation remains worrying overall.

37. As noted earlier, there are still some 2 million Rwandans refugees sheltering in camps in the neighbouring countries. Approximately 350,000 others are internally displaced, most of them currently located in camps in south-western Rwanda in addition, the Government continues to lack the resources to sustain basic governance, assure essential services and provide for the welfare of its people.

38. There is an urgent need to resolve the problem of the internally displaced persons as it affects the efforts being made to encourage the voluntary return of refugees



from neighbouring countries and to promote stability inside Rwanda itself. Recent events have shown that the existence of camps for internally displaced persons can generate violence and insecurity in the camp sites themselves as well as in nearby communities. This is because the reported presence of intimidators and the infiltration of armed groups may not only provoke forceful countermeasures by the Rwandese Patriotic Army, sometimes resulting in casualties, but it also fuels the argument in favour of immediate camp closure, even by force, for security reasons.

39. The United Nations community has continued to urge the humane resolution of the displaced persons problem in Rwanda, based on voluntary, rather than forcible, resettlement. As noted above, some 13,000 people have been resettled through g2Jr4jjon\_Ratour during the past month and the number of persons returning to their home communes has continued to increase. This operation uses the combined assets of the United Nations system, such as transportation, food, security and other confidence-building incentives, including the presence of human rights officers, to provide assistance not only in the camps but at the commune level as well. So far, the operation has resulted in the closure of Cyanika camp in Gikongoro province. This is a significant step as it may promote spontaneous returnee movements out of the remaining camps and it demonstrates that forcible closure of camps can be avoided.

40. In its resolution 965 (1994), the Security Council commended the efforts of States, United Nations agencies and NGOs that have provided humanitarian and other assistance and encouraged them to continue and to increase such assistance, particularly in Rwanda. The Council also specifically called upon the international community to provide the resources required to meet the immediate needs of the Government either directly or through the United Nations Trust Fund established for this purpose.

41. During the reporting period, organizations of the United Nations system and NGOs continued to provide urgently needed assistance, in particular, food, health and children's services, to displaced persons and other vulnerable population groups. They also assisted in rehabilitation and reconstruction by providing immediate logistic assistance in the areas of transportation and office equipment and by supporting long-term programmes for agricultural development, capacity-building and education. In the area of health, emphasis has increasingly been placed on improving this Government's nutritional services, strengthening child immunization and nutritional programmes and assisting the victims of AIDS and their families. The needs of children in especially difficult circumstances, such as 'child soldiers' between the ages of 10 and 16 years, have also continued to receive particular attention. The humanitarian organizations, with the Ministries of Defence and Justice are developing plans for the demobilization, education and retraining of some 4,000 'child soldiers' for their reintegration into society. In the food and agricultural domains, food-for-work schemes supporting at least 7,000 civil servants and 17,000 primary school teachers continued during the period under review. At the same time, assistance to revive production in agricultural, livestock and forestry sectors intensified, including the provision of seeds, farm implements and specialized training and expertise.

42. In my last report, I informed the Security Council that arrangements were then under way for the organization of a round-table meeting to consider Rwanda's longer-term rehabilitation requirements and to launch a United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal focusing on emergency and other short-term recovery needs for Rwanda and the subregion. The consolidated inter-agency appeal for a total of \$710 million was transmitted to Member States on 16 January and was officially launched in Geneva by the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs on 20 January. The United Nations Development Programme-sponsored round-table conference was held in Geneva on 18 and 19 January. At that time, the Government of Rwanda presented to donor Governments its rehabilitation and reconstruction programme of some \$764 million. I wish to take this opportunity to express my profound appreciation to those countries and organisations that have responded so generously to these appeals. Their assistance, I am confident, will go a long way towards aiding the Government's recovery efforts, both in the immediate and longer terms, and thus facilitate progress towards the overriding objective of lasting peace and reconciliation in Rwanda.

43. In its resolution 965 (1994), the Security Council requested me to make recommendations on possible steps that could be taken by the United Nations to promote the establishment of an effective mine-clearance programme in Rwanda. A comprehensive plan has been proposed to the Government. It provides for the establishment of a mine coordination office within the United Nations Rwanda Emergency Office in Kigali, the conduct of a mine survey, marking and fencing operations, and emergency mine-clearance of key humanitarian facilities such as schools and hospitals. As soon as Government consent has been received, the United Nations will begin to implement the plan. Informal consultations have been held with some donor countries with a view to encouraging support for these activities. Currently, UNICEF is conducting mine-awareness-education activities in all prefectures of Rwanda.

## **VII. ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL ASPECTS**

44. The General Assembly, by its resolution 49/20 of 29 November 1994, authorized me to enter into commitments for a four-month period, at a monthly rate not to exceed \$15 million gross, in connection with the maintenance of UNAMIR at the current authorized strength of 320 military observers, 5,500 troops, 90 civilian police and 398 civilian personnel.

45. Should the Security Council decide to increase the authorized strength of the UNAMIR civilian police component from 90 to 120 observers as recommended in paragraph 50 below, I shall request the General Assembly at its current session to make adequate financial provisions for the additional related cost in the context of my report containing the revised cost estimates for UNAMIR for the current mandate period.

46. As at 24 January 1995, unpaid assessments to the UNAMIR Special Account amounted to \$105.9 million, and the total amount of outstanding assessed contributions for all peace-keeping operations amounted to \$2,263.9 million.

## VIII. OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

47. As described above, the international community, through UNAMIR, the United Nations specialised agencies and non-governmental organizations, has demonstrated not only its readiness to assist Rwanda, but also its solidarity with Rwanda and its people, as they struggle to recover from their recent traumatic past. Although much remains to be done, I believe that a strong foundation has been established upon which further progress can be achieved. However, if the present momentum in favour of Rwanda's recovery is to endure and grow, the support and participation of all Rwandese people is vital. I therefore reiterate my call on the Government to ensure that, in a spirit of mutual accommodation and dialogue, all Rwandese who have not participated in the 'genocide be given the opportunity to play a role in the national reconciliation process. It would be regrettable if the achievements reached thus far were to be jeopardized as a result of a perception by some segments of the population that they are being excluded. My representative at the Geneva roundtable exchanged views on the subject with a number of delegations, including the Rwandese delegation, headed by Prime Minister Twagiramungu. In that context, he was informed that some Member States were holding consultations with OAU on the setting up of a mechanism that could accelerate the process of national reconciliation.

48. As Rwanda advances on the road to recovery and reconstruction, close cooperation and coordination between the Government in Kigali and the international community remains essential. In this regard, I expect the Government to continue to cooperate with UNAMIR in the implementation of its mandate and, in particular, to ensure unimpeded access to all areas of Rwanda for UNAMIR personnel, officials of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and human rights officers.

49. I welcome the continuing efforts by regional states and OAU to contribute to the search for lasting solutions to the problems of Rwanda.

50. Under resolution 965 (1994), the Security Council requested that it be informed in the event that the additional tasks entrusted to UNAMIR under the expanded mandate provided for in that resolution required consideration of an adjustment in the logistic and personnel needs of UNAMIR. Having consulted my special Representative and the Yore\* Commander, I recommend that the Council raise the authorized strength of UNAMIR's civilian police component from 90 to 120 observers.

51. My Special Humanitarian Envoy has recently visited the region in continuation of his mission to coordinate the response of the United Nations system to the various aspects of the crisis in Rwanda. It will be recalled, in this connection, that OAU and UNHCR are planning to convene, in Bujumbura in February 1995, a subregional conference to consider assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons in the Great Lakes region. Furthermore, in response to the Security Council's request contained in its presidential statement of 30 November (S/PRST/1994/75), consultations have been undertaken with OAU and Member States on how preparations can be accelerated for the convening at a later stage of a broader conference to discuss a range of political and other issues, aimed at identifying long-term solutions to , ensure peace, security and sustainable development in the subregion. There is a general perception that the forthcoming OAU/ UNHCR regional

conference, if successful, would facilitate efforts to address those broader issues. The urgent need to move from the humanitarian and refugee problems to the political issues was emphasized once again by my representative at the recent CAU Council of Ministers in his meetings with the Secretary-General of CAU and other African leaders. Z will continue to keep the Council informed of the progress achieved towards the convening of the proposed international conference on those issues.

**Annex**  
**Composition of the military and civilian Police of UNAMIR as**  
**Components of 28 January 1995**

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Country	Contingent	Troops		Military observers	civilian police	Grand total
		Stall	Total			
Argentina			0	1		1
Australia	297	9	306			306
Austria			0	19		19
Bangladesh			0	33		33
Canada	119	3	122	20		142
Chad	129	2	131			131
Congo	38		38,	-		38
Djibouti			0		19	19
Ethiopia '	808	4	812			812
Fiji			0	1		1
Germany			0		9	9
Ghana	832	8	840	42	10	892
Guinea			0	15		15
Guinea-Bissau	35		35		20	55
India	800	8	808	18		826
Jordan			0		5	5
Malawi	169	4	173	14		187
Mali	199		199	30	10	239
Niger	43		43			43
Nigeria	327	7	334	17	10	361
Poland			0	2		2
Russian Federation			0	17		17
Senegal	241		241			241
Spain	19		19			19
Tunisia	836	7	843	10		853

Country	Troops Contingent Staff	Total	military observers	civilian police	Grand total
United Kingdom	6	6			6
Uruguay		0	24		24
Zambia	782 8	790	20	10	820
Zimbabwe		0	26		26
Total	5 674 66	5 740	309	39	6136



Map No. 3001.IV.8 UNITED NATIONS  
January 1995

Department of Public Information  
Geographic Section

## **UN SHUFFLES ON AFRICA POLICY**

*by Tarhan maq*

*UNITED NATIONS. Feb 1 (IPS) - The United Nations this month assumed the odd posture of advancing towards and retreating from Africa at the same time on the one hand. nations have been so eager to provide troops to Angola. The site of the continent's longest-running war that offers actually exceed UN needs and the UN Security council has renewed an observer mission in Liberia where factional fighting has worsened. UN the other hand, UN peacekeepers are scrambling to leave Somalia; they are all but gone from Mozambique. and will almost definitely never enter Burundi. The worsening of the civil war in Sierra Leone last week also provoked little U.N. attention, with officials down playing any UN rule in the crisis for now. Experts here including ambassadors on the U.N. security Council, find the picture confusing. Bemused by the willingness of nations to provide troops to Angola and Haiti. but not in equally troubled Rwanda and Burundi. Argentine Ambassador Emilio Cardenas demanded. "What's wrong with Rwanda? What's wrong with Burundi ? One might as easily ask as an African ambassador did on condition of anonymity what is wrong with Sierra Leone, where seven foreign nuns were kidnapped last week United Nations was unable to determine the fate of the nuns because of a dearth of U.N. personnel in the country, which is torn by an ongoing struggle between leftist rebels and a three- year-old military dictatorship. On the same day last week, UN spokesman Joe Sills was in the painful position of saying both that the nuns were safe and that they were still missing. (The latter message taken from international press reports, proved true).*

*But each fresh incident - whether the nuns drama or the decline into fresh political strife this week in Burundi has shown a Security Council unwilling to entangle itself in high-risk Africa missions. In such cases as ambassadors have privately complained, the Council seeks information constantly and may even issue a warning as it did Tuesday to scold Burundi's political parties against further fractiousness But affected by the squeamishness at the United States and Europe since the disastrous Somalia mission in 1993. the Council does nothing to send soldiers, or even observers. U.N. officials have perfected the art of blaming this non- involvement on other parties. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali most notably during the cutting of UN. involvement Rwanda during last year's genocide blames U.N. members for the lack of troop support. Other U.N. staffers and African envoys blame the Council's changed posture since the United States in particular, lost 18 soldiers in battle in Somalia and promptly sought to restrict U.N. involvement in peace keeping with its veto powers on the Council.*

*But many Council members blame Boutros-Boutros-Ghali and the peacekeeping officials for too often pushing for an absurdly high number of troops for a given mission "if someone tells you that you have to provide 14,000 troops, that's a proper option Cardenas said referring to Boutros Ghali's efforts last year to field a large peacekeeping force to separate Rwandan soldiers from refugees in camps in Rwanda. This request seemed so ambitious at a time when U.N. member states seemed terrified of Rwanda's brutal massacres that one U.N. staffer anonymously told IPS, "it almost seems like he's not serious about wanting a mission to go there.*



*Boutros -Ghali eventually sought a mere 3.000 to 3,000 soldiers to separate the Rwandan armed forces implicated in last year's genocide from the refugees, but was rebuffed even there sixty countries rejected repeated U.N requests far Troops as a result. the Secretary-General asked last week for U.N. help to allow the Zairian Army to police the camps, an offer that provoked outrage among African diplomats. Nigerian Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari said that Africans could not accept why the United Nations would first depict a crisis so large that only a substantial peacekeeping force could solve it. and then settle for doing "absolutely nothing." He described the division in the Council over the Rwandan refugee crisis us a debate between "those who are satisfied with nothing to be done"*

*in other words. Boutros-Ghali's Proposal and those who still hold out hopes for a U.N. force. But anyone hoping that forceful UN action would do well to look at Burundi. where the world body committed no troops even during an Oct. 1993 failed coup attempt in which some 30,000 Barundi were killed Amid the confusion with clear pattern is emerging where the threat of renewed fighting is severe. any number of excuses - from low interest to vague objectives is used by both U.N. officials and member-states. to keep our. But where fighting seems to have abated. those excuses step and forces are provided with haste.*

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**PRESS CONFERENCE BY RWANDA**

..At a Headquarters press conference yesterday afternoon, the Permanent Representative of Rwanda, Yanzi-Bakuramutsa, said that he was astonished that the Secretary-General had been incapable of finding a better solution to the problem in the Rwanda refugee camps than those offered in the Secretary-General's second report on the subject. At the press conference, Mr. Bakuramutsa was accompanied by the Director of the United States Committee for Refugees, Roger P. Winter.

The Secretary-General had approached 60 Member States to contribute troops for a peace-keeping operation in the camps, Mr. Sakuramutsa said, but only one, Zaire, had responded. However, that offer alone was inadequate as Zaire could only contribute about 1,500 troops -- one-third of those needed, according to the Secretary-General's report.

The international community had signed a convention on genocide, but had been unable to find a solution to the situation in his country, he said. It had not prevented genocide there and no perpetrators of those crimes had been arrested. The same people responsible for the killing were now leaders in the refugee camps and were receiving cooperation in controlling the distribution of humanitarian assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other international organizations.

Mr. Bakuramutsa said that there was international complicity on that issue as well as complicity on the issue of assistance to Rwanda. There were demands on the Rwandese Government that it was capable of fulfilling, for example, to create an atmosphere to attract refugees and create jobs. He asked how that could be accomplished when the Government had no means and had inherited a country that had been completely destroyed. Meanwhile, the refugees in the camps were well-fed hostages.

The Rwandese Government had repeatedly tried to draw attention to the situation in the camps, but was ignored until security of the non-governmental organizations in the camps was threatened. However, the solution to the problem was not to combine UNHCR staff with Zairean soldiers. The UNHCR had proven that it could not deal with the refugee problem, did not have a mandate to provide security and would not be able to challenge the Zairean Government on actions concerning the camps. What was needed was for the Secretary-General to go to Rwanda, and tell the international community that the genocide in that country was unacceptable. "The situation in Rwanda was unique and required a unique response. He said that the secretary-general must restudy the problem and find a more appropriate solution.

Mr. Winter then showed several pictures he had taken that he said depicted victims of the genocide in Rwanda that occurred last spring. .. He said that Rwanda now with its new Government, was a very secure country. - Also, contrary to common

perceptions, it was not an empty country . - the number of people living in the country was almost three times that of the number of refugees. Further, revenge killings were not a c- ca occurrence, and those found responsible for such actions had been punished or executed.

The Secretary-General had a duty to confront the genocide that had been committed in Rwanda: he should mobilise the international community to organize a police action against people who had acted contrary to the Convention on the prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and had perpetrated a very affective and unique campaign of genocide, he said. If the Secretary-General and the United Nations system could not provide leadership in the Rwanda situation, then the United Nations was not needed.

A correspondent asked if the complicity of the UNHCR and the international community in the situation prevailing in the refugee camps was part of an agenda or was just stupidity. Mr. Bakuramutsa said that he thought the situation contained - elements of both.

-Asked if the Organization of African Unity (OAU) should take responsibility for the solution to the situation in the camps, as the Security Council had backed away from taking action, Mr. Winter said that earlier, there had been an attempt to rely on African governments for peace-keeping activities. However, the major donor countries could not find the funding, equipment or logistical support for those activities. It was concluded that Africans, in that context, were second-class citizens, as money could be found for some things but not others, such as Rwanda. Mr. Bakuramutsa said that as the means requested by the OAU could not be found, the French Government had decided to take action itself, with its own funds. That was not appropriate.

In response to a question on the significance of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations to the situation, Mr. Winter said that the international community had failed in one of its fundamental missions: to keep entire peoples from being subject to campaigns of extermination..

-Asked why Member States were contributing to the Mission in Angola, but not to Rwanda, Mr. Bakuramutsa said that he had raised that question in the Security Council. He had asked what the Secretary-General or his staff had said to those countries that had refused contributing troops to Rwanda to make them respond in that way. The question on troop contributors that the Secretary-General or his staff posed to these countries should be rephrased as the refusals might have come from the way it had been formulated.

Mr. Winter added that there were not many countries that had an economic or political interest in Rwanda. And those without an interest had been deferring to governments that chose to pursue their interests there, such as France was a country with an interest

Asked about the likelihood of an invasion and the preparedness of his Government for such an action, Mr. Bakuramutsa said the former government forces were still quite organized and continued to conduct military exercises. While there probably

would not be an invasion, that could be a penetration of the border. They could not harm the Government at this time, as the borders were now completely sealed.

Asked how many people were in the refugee camps and how many of them were perpetrators of genocide, Mr. Winter said that estimates of those who had killed people were as high as 30,000. The number of refugees was probably under 2 million.

A correspondent asked if Mr. Bakuramutsa had spoken to the Secretary-General about his position on the camps. He replied that while he had not spoken to the Secretary-General, he had sent a message, which the Secretary-General was not happy about. Along with the Non-Aligned movement he was trying to find a better solution to present to the Secretary-General. Asked for an update on activities of Judge Richard Goldstone, the Special Prosecutor for the International Tribunal for Rwanda, Mr. Bakuramutsa said his Government had said that it would cooperate with anything it found to be positive in the Tribunal. Judge Goldstone had been in Rwanda last week and was opening offices in the country. Also, deputy prosecutors and an investigator had been appointed. He added that those people executed by his Government had been violators of Rwanda's laws, and would not have been subject to prosecution by the Tribunal.

In response to a question on France's interests in Rwanda, Mr. Winter said that the engagement of French soldiers in combat, and the supplying of arms and diplomatic protection to perpetrators of the genocide, had been characterized as France's support and its economic and business relations with the former Government.

On how the lack of action by the United States had furthered those interests, Mr. Winter said the United States was prepared to trade its interest in Rwanda in exchange for interests in other parts of the world.

A correspondent asked if there was a Malthusian ethic being practiced, in the sense that there was indifference to atrocities such as those that had occurred in Rwanda. Mr. Winter said he could not explain how the genocide Convention could not be enforced.