[5 CONFIDENTIAL]

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POSTAL ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE: UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017
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UNAMIR 94 DEC 22 04

I have discussed with Amb Couch & Mr Dos
I would like
a) previous papers (Rwg Amy rebels's report)
b) list of persons
c) [illegible] party
23.12
Mr Dos.

REFERENCE:

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: KHAN, UNAMIR, KIGALI

FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

DATE: 21 December 1994

NUMBER: 4194

SUBJECT: Security in the Rwandese Refugee Camps in Zaire

1. As you are aware, the Government of Zaire has expressed its willingness to provide military/police personnel (including members of the Presidential Guard) to ensure security in the Rwandese refugee camps located on its territory. Zaire has also indicated that this personnel could be part of the proposed UN peace-keeping force in the camps.

2. However, since this idea is not likely, for obvious reasons, to materialise, it seems that the only practicable approach is to pursue the option mentioned in paragraph 2 of your MIR-2562. Accordingly, we now need to secure from Zaire a clear commitment in favour of this approach. We also need to determine, in consultation with the Zairian authorities, the specific assistance required from the international community as regards the training/monitoring of their security personnel, logistic support and financial incentives.

3. As discussed, we would therefore be grateful if you could travel to Kinshasa next week to address these issues with the Zairian leadership. We have asked UNHCR to designate a representative to join you in your discussions in Kinshasa, since these discussions will follow-up on the work undertaken by the

Joint DPKO/UNHCR technical team. You may also wish to take with you to Kinshasa two or three UNAMIR experts who would discuss with the Zairian officials concerned the number of Zairian military/police personnel needed for the operation, its modus operandi and logistic support requirements.

4. It is intended that the outcome of your discussions with Zairian officials will be reflected in the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council which is being prepared on the basis of the joint DPKO/UNHCR technical team visit to the area. We expect that, by the end of the week, we will be in a position to send you an initial draft of the report which may be of use in your discussions with Zairian officials. We would expect feedback from your visit to Kinshasa by the end of the month, to enable us to finalize the report in early January. Regards.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA

UNAMIR - MINUAR

UNAMIR

94 DEC 21 11 17

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

CRN448

TO: ANNAN/HANSEN/GOULDING, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

INFO: CORELL/KITTANI/GHAREKHAN/UNATIONS, NEW YORK

FROM: SHAHARYAR M. KHAN, UNAMIR, KIGALI Shaharyar M. Khan

DATE: 21 DECEMBER 1994

NO.: MIR 2562

NO. OF PAGE: 2

SUBJECT: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA

1. On 20 December, Judge Goldstone completed a highly successful two-day visit to Rwanda during which he secured the full cooperation of the Rwandese government to the International Tribunal. He underlined the need for the Rwandese judiciary to be built up through international support so that it begins its national process of bringing criminals to trial. Some of the divergences, including the starting date and symmetry of punishment have been smoothed over. The issues of the death penalty and the seat of the tribunal remain but are no longer contentious. Above all, the urgency of starting the process by opening the Prosecutors Office in January and for the international and national jurisdictions to proceed on parallel lines will have a salutary impact in Rwanda.

2. The Headquarters survey team has also completed its review and will be preparing its interim report. I endorse their conclusion that the practical option is for national efforts by the governments of Zaire and Tanzania to be supported by UN politically, logistically, financially, and through a small group of international trainers/planners. In my view about 1000 elite, financially incentivised troops should be tasked to neutralise the intimidation in the camps. Zaire and to a lesser degree Tanzania need to be persuaded to commit themselves to the objective. Rwanda must also be urged to adopt a more welcoming, accommodating policy towards returning refugees.

3. I met President Bizimungu on 20 December who returned disappointed from a summit in Congo Brazzaville at which President Mobutu failed to turn up. Bizimungu felt Mobutu was "playing games" but still hoped that he could hold Mobutu to the commitment that he had made, bilaterally at their earlier meeting in Gbadolete to take effective action in the camps. It is now important to secure Zaire and Tanzania's political commitment to the return of refugees camps and to find out, more precisely, the logistic, financial and planning/training support that they would require from UN.

4. Earlier Ambassador Dillon had visited Kigali and obtained Rwanda's support for a regional conference on refugee-related issues. I feel that in order to obtain optimum advantage, Ambassador Dillon's mandate may be defined more precisely to focus on promoting a regional conference. Discussion relating to internal issues such as reconciliation or Arusha accords may be left to Special Representatives.

5. Best regards.

We have given you the main elements of ~~the~~ Operation Hope in our Core Cat ~~(telegram)~~ No - -. You may wish to add the following points in addition

a) When the cordon & search operation was launched (~~we told~~ our forces took with them Human Rights Observers, ICRC and UNREO representatives

b) Some press reports have made that weapons found were "insignificant ~~the~~ Considering that in Rwanda most of the massacres have been committed by hand weapons rather than firearms, the collection of 1500 spears, axes, machetes and swords is not insignificant.

Add remarks on the points (. yesterday's assessment.

Spokesman

ED 16.12

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

94 DEC 16 06 37 1994 DEC 15 P 9:27

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CABLE ADDRESS—ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEWYORK

REFERENCE:

This is important. Pl. have look at minutes.
Joel.
16.12.

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

IMMEDIATE

TO: KHAN, UNAMIR, KIGALI

FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

DATE: 15 December 1994

NUMBER: 4164

SUBJECT: Security in IDP Camps

1. Thank you for your MIR 2797 of 15 December on the above. The Office of the Secretary-General has requested a further update on the operation conducted by UNAMIR in the IDP camps. This Update will be used to brief the Security Council at informal consultations scheduled for tomorrow morning. We would therefore appreciate it if you could send us, by 9:00 a.m. our time tomorrow 16 December, any additional information you may have regarding the operation.

2. Vice-President Major-Kagame met this morning the Secretary-General and addressed the Security Council, after informally briefing the Council Members. I also met with him. The text of his statement to the Council and a Note on his meeting with me are attached for your information. Regards.

STATEMENT OF HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL PAUL KAGAME, VICE-PRESIDENT AND MINISTER OF DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 15 1994

MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR TO ADDRESS THIS COUNCIL, AND AN APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO WARMLY THANK THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ITS MEMBERS FOR THE SUPPORT THEY GAVE TO MY COUNTRY DURING THE DIFFICULT TIMES WE WENT THROUGH. IN THE NAME OF MY GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDESE PEOPLE, PLEASE ACCEPT MY PRESENCE HERE AS A THOUGHTFUL SIGN OF GRATITUDE.

OUR THANKS ARE ALSO ADDRESSED TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL, DR. BOUTROS-BOUTROS GHALI, WHO DID WHATEVER HE MANAGED TO DO IN SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN MY COUNTRY AND THE REGION. WITH YOUR HELP AND WISDOM, SOME INVALUABLE WORK WAS DONE ALTHOUGH MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE.

THE WORLD WILL NEVER FORGET THE TRAGEDY THAT STRUCK OUR COUNTRY AND THE HUMAN RACE SINCE THE HOLOCAUST. WE TOOK OUR COURAGE IN OUR HANDS AND FOUGHT TO STOP THE GENOCIDE THANKS TO ALL RWANDESE PEOPLE WHO STOOD UP ALMOST SINGLEHANDEDLY. THE FORMER DEFEATED GOVERNMENT FORCES PHYSICALLY DESTROYED EVERYTHING ON THEIR WAY, KILLING AND RAPING INNOCENT CIVILIANS WHILE ALSO LOOTING WHATEVER THEY COULD LIFT AND CARRY. SCARS OF DEEP WOUNDS INFLICTED TO THE CIVIL SOCIETY ARE STILL WELL MARKED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, A COUNTRY WE ARE DETERMINED TO REBUILD AND GIVE A NEW SENSE OF JUSTICE AND UNITY AS A MATTER OF URGENCY.

OUR COUNTRY HAS KNOW DIFFICULT TIMES BEFORE, ALTHOUGH NOT AS FAR BACK AS INTERNATIONAL MEDIA PUT IT, AND THE RECENT GENOCIDE ENGINEERED BY EVIL FORCES CONSTITUTES A RESULT OF WHAT BLESSED IMPUNITY CAN OFFER, I. E. VIOLENCE AND MORE VIOLENCE, REFUGEES AND MORE REFUGEES IN THE REGION.

OUR NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES HAVE ON THEIR SOIL A BLEND OF NEW RWANDESE REFUGEES: A MIXTURE OF ARMED KILLERS WHO ARE STILL IN UNIFORMS AND INNOCENT PEOPLE BOTH OF WHOM ARE CONTINUALLY MISLED BY THE VERY LEADERS WHO ENGINEERED PREVIOUS AND MOST RECENT MASSACRES. ENJOYING SUCH KIND OF SUPPORT, STRENGTHENED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE ALMOST BLINDLY DIRECTED TO THEM THROUGH INCONSISTENT POLICIES AND VIOLATED LAWS AND RULES THAT GOVERN SOME OF THE UN BODIES SUCH AS THE UNHCR WITH REGARD TO WHO IS REFUGEE AND WHO IS NOT, THE CRIMINALS HAVE ONCE AGAIN TAKEN THE LAW IN THEIR OWN HANDS AND STARTED TO INTIMIDATE AND KILL ORDINARY INNOCENT PEOPLE WHO ARE LONGING TO RETURN HOME.

THESE REFUGEES ARE CLEARLY HELD HOSTAGES AND IRONICALLY WITHOUT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BEING ABLE TO STOP IT. WE CERTAINLY WANT THESE HOSTAGES TO BE FREE AND GO BACK TO THEIR HOMELAND. WE ARE EXPECTING THEM HOME AND THE SAME WAY WE ARE WAITING FOR ADEQUATE MEANS TO SECURE THEIR SAFE RETURN AND SETTLEMENT.

IT IS DEPLORABLE THAT THE DEGREE OF INTIMIDATION INFLICTED TO THOSE INNOCENT PEOPLE CAN BE LEFT TO CONTINUE UNCHALLENGED. THERE IS AN OVER-ESTIMATION OF STRENGTH OF THESE CRIMINAL GROUPS. THEY CAN

DECISIVELY BE DISARMED AND RELOCATED TO PLACES WHERE THEY DO NOT POSE AN IMMEDIATE SECURITY PROBLEM TO RWANDA. WE APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ASSIST ZAIRE IN DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM.

THE NUMBER OF UNAMIR FORCES WHICH WERE REDUCED FROM 2,800 TO 270 WHEN MASSACRES STARTED HAS NOW REACHED A HIGH FIGURE OF 5,600. THEIR PRESENT ROLE IS CERTAINLY APPRECIATED AND THAT IS THE REASON WHY MY GOVERNMENT WAS IN FAVOUR OF THE RENEWAL OF THE MANDATE.

INSIDE THE COUNTRY, THE RWANDESE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE PROVISION FOR THE FOLLOWING: THE TRANSITIONAL BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HAVE BEEN SET UP IN THE SPIRIT OF ARUSHA ACCORDS SIGNED ON AUGUST 4, 1993. IN THE SAME SAFEGUARD OF THE ACCORDS, WE ARE GLAD TO HAVE WELCOMED BACK ABOUT 2,500 SOLDIERS FROM FORMER GOVERNMENT FORCES AMONG WHOM ARE 70 OFFICERS WHO ARE FOLLOWING REORIENTATION PROGRAMMES. THEIR PROGRAMME WILL SOON BE OVER AND THEIR REINTEGRATION EFFECTIVE IN A MATTER OF WEEKS.

OUR GOVERNMENT HAS DONE WHAT IT COULD DO TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF ITS POPULATION BUT WE HAVE NO ADEQUATE MEANS TO DO IT AND TO PUT IN PRACTICE OUR PRINCIPLES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE BASED ON JUSTICE FOR ALL RWANDESE REGARDLESS OF WHAT WAS USED TO DIVIDE US. WE APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO TAKE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN ASSISTING US TO HELP RWANDESE PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES.

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WE BELIEVE THAT RWANDESE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ASSISTED TO HELP THEMSELVES AND BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO PROVE THEY CAN DO IT IN THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE NATIONHOOD IN JUSTICE, TOLERANCE, RECONCILIATION AND UNITY.

PEACE AND STABILITY IN RWANDA AND IN THE REGION WILL DEPEND UPON WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN DO AND HOW SWIFTLY IT CAN DO THAT. SENDING RIGHT AND STRONG SIGNALS TO CRIMINALS AND ADDRESSING IMPUNITY IN THE REGION IS FOR SURE THE BEST SOLUTION FOR ALL OF US. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS ALREADY UNDERSTOOD THAT STABILITY AND RULE OF LAW CAN ONLY STEM FROM TAKING PROPER MEASURES TO ADDRESS IMPUNITY AND SWIFTLY ENOUGH TO INSURE JUSTICE, UNITY, AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONHOOD IDEAS, FREE FROM DIVISIONS AND SECTARIANISM.

THANK YOU.

Meeting between Major-General Paul Kagame and Mr. Kofi Annan

This afternoon, 15 December 1994, the Rwandese Vice President Major-General Paul Kagame paid a visit to USG Kofi Annan to exchange views on the situation in and around Rwanda. Mr. de Souza representing DPA also attended the meeting. The Vice-President emphasized that the situation in Rwanda and that which prevails in the Rwandese camps in Tanzania and Zaire must be dealt with simultaneously. While assistance should be given to the refugees in the camps in the neighbouring countries, conditions conducive to the return of refugees must be created in Rwanda. This therefore called for a critical look at what should be done. The Government of Rwanda was unable to deal with the situation alone. The international community should therefore look at what its obligations were in Rwanda.

It was regrettable that the status of a refugee was being extended even to some criminal elements who were in the refugee camps. While these elements were still organizing and inciting people in the camps they were at the same time seeking to be granted immunity from prosecution for the crimes they had committed.

Mr. Annan pointed at the urgency of dealing with the situation in the refugee camps and the complex issue of isolating the militia and the former Government soldiers from the refugees in the camps. He sought the views of the Vice-President on how he thought this should be done. He also emphasized the need to encourage the people in the IDP camps to voluntarily leave the camps rather than for force to be used. General Baril explained to the Vice President the options which were under consideration at the United Nations and emphasized the need to involve the Zaireans in any of the options. Mr. Riza pointed out that it had been difficult to find troops for any of the options being discussed. He sought the views of the Vice President as to whether the problems in the camps in Tanzania, where Government tended to have the will to act, should be handled first before dealing with the problems in the camps in Zaire.

The Vice President noted that the problems in the camps in Zaire and Tanzania were not that different except that the Tanzanian Government had the capacity and the will to take action in the camps on its territory. He believed that Zaire should be made to understand that the problems in the camps on its territory and any attempt by the former soldiers to attack Rwanda from Zaire would in the long run not be in its interest. If therefore, Zaire would have the political will to act and the international community gives it support the problems in the camps could be dealt with without much violence. In any case some force would have to be applied since some of the criminal elements were living in those camps and could not easily be brought to justice. The Vice President was of the view that too much was being made of the threat of the militia in the camps to resist. He thought their threat did not match their numbers. He believed that a force of 3,000 to 3,500

soldiers could accomplish the mission. He was also of the opinion that resources should be concentrated on the problems in the camps in Zaire, but that Tanzania should also be assisted.

The Vice President agreed with Mr. Annan that the IDP camps should be disbanded voluntarily. However, he noted that these camps had become sanctuaries of criminal elements who would leave the camps to commit crimes and return to the camps. This should not be tolerated. He expressed his Government's desire to cooperate and work with UNAMIR to find ways of dealing with such problems. Criminal elements should be forced out of the camps while the internally displaced people should be allowed to voluntarily decide to return to their communities. However, a dependency syndrome was being encouraged by the relief agencies who seem not to want the people to leave the camps while the internally displaced people find it comfortable to stay in the camps rather than returning to their communities.

The Vice-President said that he had now been informed that the World Bank will be releasing loans for Rwanda in January.

Leonard T. Kapungu
15 December 1994

cc: Mr. Annan
Mr. Riza
Mr. Annabi
Gen. Baril

We have given you the main elements of ~~the~~ Operation Hope in our Core Cat ~~telegram~~. No - -. You may wish to add the following points in addition

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b) Some press reports have made that weapons found were "insignificant" ~~the~~ implying that in Rwanda most of the massacres have been committed by hand weapons rather than firearms, the collection of 1000 spears, axes, machetes and swords is not insignificant.

Add remarks on other points (see page 2 assessment).

EJ 16.12

CNR 699 P 1/6

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

94 DEC 16 06 37

1994 DEC 15 P 9:27

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Leonard T. Kapungu
15 December 1994

cc: Mr. Annan
Mr. Riza
Mr. Annabi
Gen. Baril

CNR 702 P1/1

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

POSTAL ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE: UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017
CABLE ADDRESS—ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEWYORK

REFERENCE:

1994 DEC 20 P 8:50

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: KHAN, UNAMIR, KIGALI

FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK

DATE: 20 December 1994

NUMBER: 4184

SUBJECT: UNAMIR CIVPOL

For CA Diarra
& please give me
material for
reply.
See
CA Diarra
Mr Dal

Re your MIR-2612 on the above, we have carefully reviewed your recommendations and agree that civilian police personnel who do not meet the language and rank requirements should be repatriated. We feel however, that it may be preferable to repatriate them gradually. We would therefore be grateful if you could indicate to us an order of priority and a time-table for the repatriation of the personnel concerned.

2. In the meantime, we are pursuing our contacts with member states, in order to identify suitable replacements. We are pleased to inform you, in this connection, that Germany has agreed to provide 10 civilian police officers. The Permanent Mission here has assured us that they have a good working knowledge of French. Arrangements are being made for them to travel to the mission area as soon as possible.

3. It would be appreciated if you could specify the tasks to be performed by the additional civilian police personnel needed by UNAMIR to enable us to provide more accurate information to potential contributing countries and thereby minimize the risk that they will offer people who do not have the appropriate qualifications. Regards.