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P/19

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SUBJECT: PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE
SECURITY COUNCIL ON UNAMIR

Please find attached our draft text of the latest progress report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on UNAMIR. I am reviewing the observations and recommendations and will forward my final text to you tomorrow.

Regards.

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

I. INTRODUCTION

1. My last report on the situation in Rwanda (S/1994/1133) was submitted to the Security Council on 6 October 1994. Since then, I have reported on November to the Security Council the deteriorating security situation in the refugees camps. The Secretariat has also provided the Council with oral briefings on developments in Rwanda and information on the deployment and activities of expanded UNAMIR. These reports have covered developments on the humanitarian situation, the safety of population at risk, the repatriation of refugees and efforts towards national reconciliation

2. The present report, provides a further update on the situation in Rwanda and is submitted in connection with the Security Council's review of the Mission's mandate which, in accordance with operative paragraph 3 of resolution 925 (1994), ends on 9 December 1994.

II. Political Aspects

3. The political situation in Rwanda has evolved with both favourable and negative developments. On the positive count, the security climate has improved in the towns and countryside of Rwanda. There is no curfew in Rwanda and life in the market place is returning towards normalcy. The Government has publicly advocated fair treatment of returning refugees and reconciliation towards political opponents. A measure of success has been achieved in re-building a national army with over 2000 former RGF troops undergoing a re-unification course at the Gako centre. The difficult take over by the government of the South West sector was effected smoothly in cooperation with UNAMIR. The President, Vice-President and Prime Minister have addressed mass rallies in major towns advocating reconciliation peace, harmony and justice. These commitments that have been repeated by the President in his address to the General Assembly on.... and to the Security Council. In the provinces, all the prefects, except one, have been drawn from the civilian sector and recently two prefects of the former administration have been re-appointed in the volatile South Western Sector. Parliament is scheduled to be convened on 25 November with Party representation corresponding broadly to the Arusha formulation. The Government has also committed itself to the freedom of press and expression and to the punishment of acts of indiscipline involving members of the Government.

4. On the negative side are reports of harassment of a segment of the population and of reprisals that have promoted a climate of fear among returning refugees. As yet, public pronouncements of justice and fair treatment are not being implemented on the ground, partly due to lack of police, administrative and judicial cadres that are not available to the Government. The return to normalcy has also been inhibited by the lack of resources with the result that power, water, telecommunications and municipal services are only partly restored in the country. The demining process of nearly 1 million mines planted in the countryside has not been started due to the absence of financial support. The Government's inability to pay salaries, particularly in the army, has led to rising incidence of frustration and banditry which also vitiates the climate of security and stability that the Government has intended to introduce. Moreover, the inability to accommodate returning refugees in resettlement and rehabilitation schemes is an additional factor inhibiting the return of refugees. Finally the intimidation and tension created in the refugee camps in neighbouring countries has been reflected within Rwanda where tension in the displaced persons camps has become a source of concern.

5. As I have already reported to the Council, there is strong evidence that acts of violence and intimidation are on the increase in the refugee camps, especially those in Zaire where armed militia elements and members of the former Rwandese Government Forces (RGF) have inter-mingled with the mainstream refugee population. The growing intimidation and violence, which threatens not only repatriation efforts but also the lives of refugees, relief workers and officials of receiving countries operating in the camps, must be addressed as a matter of urgency and I look forward to the Council's consideration of the recommendations I recently submitted to it on this subject. I commend, once again, the dedicated efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the staff of the refugee camps in the region.

conditions as well as the generosity and hospitality of the receiving countries for welcoming, hosting and helping to protect the refugees. Effective and prompt action needs to be taken to ensure that the compassion and assistance is not misused as a cover to protect human rights violations or to convert aid into military capability. My Special Representative who has been given the additional responsibility of addressing problems of Rwandese refugees in neighbouring countries has met with the leaders of Tanzania and Zaire in an effort to find a solution to the rising tension in the camps.

6. Within Rwanda itself, practical efforts have continued with a view to stabilizing the country. As generally agreed, a return to normality could help attract refugees and displaced persons back to their homes and also re-establish the country's capacity to re-absorb and resettle returnees. Emphasis, in this connection, remains directed at the restoration of civil administration and the reconstruction of the country's social and economic infrastructure, but the lack of adequate resources, especially financial means, has severely restricted progress. This critical lack of funds has also created new concerns and problems, especially in the area of public security, thus compounding further an already difficult situation and distracting attention from the urgent tasks of repatriation and reconciliation.

7. I welcome the Security Council's endorsement of my call to the Government of Rwanda to maintain an open dialogue with all political interest groups in Rwanda in an effort to achieve genuine reconciliation among all elements of the society, within the frame of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

III. HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS

8. The various United Nations human rights mechanisms engaged in the Rwandese situation continued to be active during the period under review. The Special Rapporteur, Mr. Degni Segny visited Rwanda from 15 to 21 October and also travelled to Tanzania and Zaire. The Commission of Experts, on its part, visited Rwanda from 29 October to 6 November. The human rights field operation in Rwanda launched by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has now been able to deploy human rights monitors around the country. By 15 November, about 50 of a planned total of 147 monitors had arrived in Rwanda. Another 50 human rights observers and teams of forensic experts are expected to arrive in Rwanda by the end November.

9. The Special Rapporteur and the Commission of Experts have been pursuing their primary tasks as defined by their respective mandates. With respect to the Commission, it is, in accordance with Security Council resolution 935 (1994), expected to submit its final report to me by 30 November 1994. I also expect to receive a report from the Special Rapporteur and the Commission on their investigations of alleged systematic killings of members of the majority community by RPA forces.

10. It is increasingly recognized that the mere presence and visibility of United Nations human rights personnel has a positive far-reaching effect in the communities where they are deployed, especially as a deterrent against human rights violations. I, therefore, share the Security Council's view, reflected in its presidential statement of 12 November 1994, that the presence of human rights monitors and their speedy deployment would help to contribute to creating a more secure environment.

P3/19

to return to their homes in Rwanda. I am grateful for the voluntary contributions that have enabled the United Nations to deploy a third of its estimated target of 147 monitors and I appeal to the international community for sustained and increased assistance to enable the full deployment of the operation and the effective discharge of its important mission in this complex situation.

IV. INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA

11. With the adoption, on 8 November, of resolution 955 (1994), the Security Council has paved the way for the establishment of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. The Tribunal, originally requested by the Government of Rwanda, is meant to ensure that the perpetrators of genocide and other grave violations of international humanitarian law in the recent conflict are not only brought to justice but that such justice is administered in an impartial manner.

12. It is vital for the international community, as well as for Rwanda, that such justice is administered effectively and as speedily as possible in order to help deter further violations. I therefore intend, as requested by the Council, to pursue, the completion of practical arrangements for the effective functioning of the International Tribunal, particularly with regard to arrangements for the election of judges, the appointment of support and administrative staff as well as recommendations of possible locations for the seat of the Tribunal. I am confident that Member States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations will respond to the Security Council's appeal for contributions, including equipment, staff and other services, to ensure the smooth operation of the Tribunal. Despite its negative

P2/19

the Government of Rwanda has indicated its readiness to cooperate fully with the Tribunal.

V. MILITARY ASPECTS

14. Since I last reported to the Security Council in October, UNAMIR has exceeded its full strength of 5,500 troops authorized under the Council's resolution 918 of 17 May 1994. As of 15 November, following the deployment earlier in the month of an advance unit of the Indian battalion and of additional elements of the remainder of the Zambian battalion, the total UNAMIR force stood at 5,918, deployed as follows:

Sector 1 (North East with headquarters at Byumba). The deployment of the 331 - strong Nigerian Independent Company is now complete although the contingent is still awaiting the arrival of its armoured vehicles. 40 military observers (MILOBs) are currently deployed throughout the sector.

Sector 2 (South East with headquarters at Kibungo). In addition to 43 MILOBs, Sector 2 continues to be served only by the 2 ad hoc platoon groups from Ghana and Nigerian. The intention is to reinforce the sector with a Ghanaian Company by end November, and depending on the security situation in Sector 4, to subsequently reinforce to battalion strength.

Sector 3 (South with headquarters at Gitarama). Until the recent deployment of the 200-strong Mali independent company, the in-place Malawi company was over-committed. The deployment of the 2 companies has provided more effective coverage, although operations are still limited in some areas.

P9/19

vehicles. 43 MILOBs also continue to patrol the Sector.

Sector 4 (South West). Sector 4A (with headquarters at Gikongoro) has been subdivided to accommodate progressive reinforcement by the Zambian Battalion (currently 324 ranks). By 30 November, Sector 4A will be occupied by 2 battalions (less one company) in response to the increasing instability, especially in the displaced person camps in the area. The "Franco-African" Battalion (487 ranks) and the Ethiopian Battalion (801 ranks) continue to conduct operations in Sectors 4B (Kibuye) and 4C (Cyangu) respectively. Approximately 80 MILOBs are also located in Sector 4.

Sector 5 (North West with headquarters at Gisenyi). Occupation of Sector 5 by the 826-strong Tunisian Battalion is now complete.

Sector 6 (Kigali). The advance party of 319 all ranks of the Indian Contingent deployed on 10 November 1994. Deployment is expected to be completed by 16 November 1994. The contingent will fulfil the increasing security requirement in Kigali City as the logistic capability of UNAMIR develops. The sector remains co-occupied by Force Headquarters, Military Observer Group Headquarters and specialist units for communications, logistics and medical support from Canada, United Kingdom and Australia.

15. As members of the Council are aware, the build-up of the UNAMIR force has, regrettably, been rather irregular. This has affected its efficiency. Apart from the well-known problem, now behind us, of long delays in the arrival of contingents, the build-up has also been hampered from inadequate availability of equipment and logistics support. Inadequate support has included communications items, ballistic helmets, night vision devices and night vision goggles.

P10/19

force's fragile equipment and logistics base is likely to weaken even further when the British and Canadian contingents withdraw, as planned, unless measures are put in place soon to equip and support the force adequately.

16. Apart from its demoralizing effect on the troops, the shortage of equipment and logistics support has also impaired the full and timely implementation of the mandate provided under resolutions 918 and 925. In particular, inadequate air assets and other transportation equipment has restricted UNAMIR's ability to respond fully and speedily to demands associated with its mandated tasks, especially in the areas of security, protection and transportation.

17. During the period under review, the UNAMIR force continued to assist in transporting returnees and internally displaced Rwandese who expressed a wish to return to their homes and farms, while maintaining protection for populations at risk in various communities and camps in Rwanda. Against the background of escalating incidents of armed confrontations between RPA elements and local residents, UNAMIR troops and observers have intensified their monitoring, observation and patrol duties. UNAMIR is currently engaged in launching, with the full cooperation of the humanitarian agencies and the Government of Rwanda plan to gradually and voluntarily close the IDP camps in Rwanda by ensuring a secure return home of displaced persons in safety and dignity.

18. While details are as yet sketchy as the situation continues to evolve, there is evidence that the former RGF and the RPA are actively recruiting and training troops, with the former RGF drawing recruits mainly from refugee camps, especially those in zone 1.

former RGF and their armed militia allies, also operating from refugee camps, appear to be intensifying their propaganda campaign against the new Government and in particular the RPA. It is difficult at this stage to estimate the strength of former RGF and RPA forces. Nevertheless, their ongoing activities, including recruitment, training and propaganda indicate that they are preparing for the possibility of resumed confrontation.

VI. CIVILIAN POLICE

20. The civilian police (CIVPOL) component of UNAMIR has, during the period since my last report, concentrated on training activities, to respond to the realities on the ground.

21. In response to a Government request for UNAMIR's assistance in the re-establishment of a police force for Rwanda, CIVPOL is actively engaged in the training of candidates nominated by the Government to serve in the two services that make up Rwanda's police structure, namely the "Gendarmerie Nationale" and the "Police Communale". In this connection, and as mentioned earlier (para. 12 above), CIVPOL has already helped train 102 gendarmes (99 cadets and 3 instructors) who graduated on 5 November and are already deployed around the country. During a sixteen-week intensive programme beginning on 21 November, CIVPOL envisages the training of a further 300 cadets. Subsequently, starting on 3 April 1995, 100 cadets, chosen from those already trained, will undergo a further twelve-week intensive course to qualify as future instructors.

22. CIVPOL is also involved in efforts to restore and reform the penal system within the framework of the implementation of the Rwanda Emergency Normalization Plan which outlines the priority areas for which both technical and financial assistance are required.

23. As at 15 November, 80 of the 90 police observers authorized for UNAMIR were deployed. CIVPOL is also assisted by 6 UNAMIR military observers who are involved in the training of gendarmes. In order to meet its expanding responsibilities, CIVPOL requires additional French-speaking observers (only 25 of the 80 observers already deployed are French-speaking) as well as financial, material and logistic support, in particular transportation and communications equipment.

VII. HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS

24. The present humanitarian situation within Rwanda presents the humanitarian community with a pressing though unusually complex crisis. In the conventional sense, the emergency within Rwanda has abated, though at least ___ displaced persons remain dependent upon assistance through aid agencies. However, the society of Rwanda at large faces a clear emergency as Government institutions find themselves increasingly unable to sustain the welfare of its people and the nation's basic infrastructure. The society in its broadest sense is under threat.

25. Surrounding the state of Rwanda are over ___ million refugees in camps along the borders of Rwanda in Zaire, Burundi and Tanzania. It is assumed that the voluntary return of these refugees is critical to the normalisation of the situation in Rwanda. And yet, violent harassment and misinformation in these refugee camps, especially in Zaire and Tanzania, prevent many of these bona fide refugees from returning home.

26. The situation in the internally displaced persons camps in Rwanda has parallels with the refugee situation on the country's borders. The urgent need to bring IDPs back to their

home areas is thwarted by intimidation within the camps. Fear of reprisals by Government authorities combined with ruthless intimidation from within the camps continue to undermine the whole process of return and settlement. For all concerned with the well-being of the internally displaced people, it is essential that more clarity, transparency and safeguards be provided to those IDPs.

27. The humane settlement of the IDPs, as I stated in my report of 6 October, is not only an issue of humanitarian concern. It also is one of immediate practical consequence. There is a perception in areas hosting IDP camps that those within the camps have better lives than those outside. This is generating increased frustration between local and camp populations. At the same time, the camp sites occupy much needed farmland, and are increasingly an ecological hazard. At the same time, if many within the camps do not return to their home areas, they will miss the planting season, and the country will consequently depend more and more upon food aid.

28. My representative in Rwanda has made every effort to work with Government authorities, United Nations agencies, non-governmental organisations and other concerned organisations to develop an immediate strategy for addressing the issue of the IDPs. In close collaboration with Government and under the immediate direction of the UN Humanitarian Coordinator, my representative is in the process of finalising an integrated humanitarian response to address this crisis. The integrated humanitarian response is designed to draw upon the assets and capacities of all participating organisations, including UNAMIR, to initiate settlement programmes of IDPs before the beginning of the rainy season. These settlement programmes that will be jointly developed by relevant Government authorities and

P14/19

the international humanitarian community in Rwanda will be monitored by those officials concerned with human rights.

29. In several critical areas throughout the country, both returnee programmes and recovery activities continue to be hampered by the presence of mines. Efforts are now underway to identify these areas, and mine awareness campaigns are at the same time being intensified. Nevertheless, it is clear that more must be done in the way of mine awareness and demining. The cruel mutilation and loss of life, particularly amongst children, exacted by mines is intolerable.

30. International organisations and other concerned organisations continue to provide much needed assistance to the displaced and other vulnerable sectors of the society. Specific efforts are being made to address the plight of unaccompanied children and to pursue family tracing as well as to develop psychological support for the severely traumatized. At the same time, renewed efforts to launch AIDS programmes are underway. More traditional assistance, too, continues to be provided. Through the Ministry of Agriculture, the international community will be able to provide seeds and tools that are intended to assist at least 3,500,000 people within Rwanda. Food assistance is being maintained, and water projects, in rural as well as urban areas, are rapidly being implemented. Education programmes are underway to fill gaps until a normal education system can be restored.

31. In this regard, it is important to underline the efforts of many humanitarian organisations to strengthen immediately the capacity of Government in very practical ways. Through the provision of vehicles and basic office equipment, quick disbursements of funds to re-establish electricity generation and similar activities, efforts are being made to restore

P15/19

some semblance of institutional structure. The fact that the Government's Central Pharmacy has been prepared and is now functioning and that the Ministry of Health now has an increased capacity, with the creation of a cold chain store, to take charge of vaccine distributions reflect the considerable efforts made to bring a semblance of normalisation to the country.

32. Yet, all these efforts must be seen in the context of the enormous challenges that lie ahead for any effective normalisation programme. As I indicated earlier, the humanitarian crisis faced by the Government of Rwanda and the international humanitarian community is underpinned by the need to stabilise the very society of Rwanda. To do so, the international community will have to deal with the complexities of ensuring that an army that has now not received any payment for more than four months does not become a disruptive social force. At the same time, if the human rights of the internally displaced as well as returnees from outside Rwanda are to be protected on an enduring basis, rapid assistance must be provided to restore the country's police force and judicial system and its capacity to generate revenue. In parallel, Governmental authorities concerned with the welfare of the Rwandese people must be restored. This in turn will mean that the capacity to provide medical care and other social services in urban and rural areas must be enhanced.

33. In emphasising this particular view of the humanitarian challenges that lie ahead, I believe it is important to note the different measures that shall be used to seek resources to address this crisis quickly. It has been agreed that a Round Table will be held on 12 December in Geneva to give the Government and the international donor community an opportunity to exchange views about Rwanda's approach to rehabilitation and overall issues.

relating to governance as well as its broad-based budgetary requirements. Within this dialogue, the views of Government with regard to humanitarian activities throughout 1995 will be an essential feature. The Round Table will precede the issuance of a Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal, the latter to be launched in the second week of January. The appeal, itself, which will be the product of joint efforts between the Government, UN agencies and other concerned organisations will focus principally upon immediate recovery needs as well as specific relief requirements. It is intended to link this appeal with the medium and longer-term needs for rehabilitation of those responsible for development.

34. Nevertheless, to underscore the need for immediate action to stabilise the country, I have established a special Trust Fund to take rapid action on such emergency requirements in anticipation of the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal and the eventual results of the Round Table. This Round Table will principally be designed to give immediate institutional support to ensure continued governance and quick infrastructural assistance in anticipation of more specific appeals.

VIII. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

To be provided by Administration and Management.

IX. OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

35. Clearly, the situation in Rwanda remains critical and the country continues to face daunting problems, yet I am encouraged enough by the progress that has been made.

to stabilize the situation. In a move that could help deter future violations of human rights and promote peace and national reconciliation, the Security Council has recently voted to establish an International Tribunal to prosecute perpetrators of genocide and other violations of international humanitarian law during the recent conflict in the country. The Government of Rwanda, through my Special Representative, has reassured me of its resolve and determination to promote conditions and a climate conducive to safe and voluntary repatriation and national reconciliation. The Governments of the region as well as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have intensified their efforts, both among themselves and in cooperation with the United Nations, to find durable solutions to the problems of Rwanda, especially in the regional context. These developments constitute positive achievements which should be built upon to consolidate and move the uneasy and fragile momentum forward.

36. I am concerned that new threats and challenges have emerged that complicate further an already complex situation and endanger the limited progress made. This is the case particularly in the refugee camps where the creeping militarization of the camps has created a painful dilemma for the international community which must now consider whether its humanitarian support for the needy is being used to threaten the peace. The humanitarian crisis represented by the plight of the refugees and of the internally displaced persons remains, without a doubt, a matter of utmost concern to the international community. At the same time, not to act to check insecurity in the camps could threaten and undermine the very objective of our humanitarian efforts which aims at protecting refugees to ensure their safe and voluntary repatriation when the appropriate conditions emerge. I have recently submitted some concrete proposals to the Security Council on this subject and I am confident that the Council will treat this matter with the urgency and attention it deserves.

37. I also believe that it is important for the international community to examine closely the need for assistance for post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction in order both to stabilize and consolidate newly achieved peace and to prevent new conflicts. The efforts underway towards normalizing and stabilizing the situation inside Rwanda could, if successful, help attract refugees and displaced persons back home and thus contribute to the urgent process of national reconciliation. I appeal once again for urgent assistance, in particular financial resources to enable the Government of Rwanda, in cooperation with the United Nations and other organizations, to restore the country's social and economic infrastructure.

38. If the currently unsettled situation is allowed to persist, I am concerned that the pressures of residual problems and of the new threats emerging not only endanger even the small achievements that have been realized so far, but could push Rwanda backwards once again, reopening the frightening spectre of a renewed conflagration.

39. I therefore see a need for a concerted strategy which would help not only to consolidate, but above all, to reenforce the present momentum. I believe that through such an integrated and comprehensive approach the international community can focus more cohesively on the priority tasks that need to be addressed. In this connection, I welcome the Statement by the President of the Security Council on 14 October in which the Council stressed the importance it attaches to the role of UNAMIR. I fully share the conviction that UNAMIR's neutral and independent presence is crucial to creating conditions of security which, I continue to believe, are essential for achieving our objective for genuine peace and progress in Rwanda. I therefore feel, especially as the Mission has now reached its full strength, that UNAMIR, as the focal point of the international community

in place to provide the coordinated leadership to help move the overall process for peace and reconciliation forward.

40. Ultimately, it is the people of Rwanda themselves who are responsible for solving their problems. The international community can only assist. I therefore believe that dialogue among Rwandese as well as close cooperation and coordination on the ground with the United Nations, are indispensable for the success of any initiative to that end. In this connection, I welcome the cooperative relationship already existing between UNAMIR and the Government and people of Rwanda, and call for the continuing strengthening of such ties.

41. Taking into account the progress that has been made and the challenges that remain, I would like to recommend for consideration by the Security Council the extension of UNAMIR's mandate for a further six months when the present mandate ends on 9 December 1994, and its expansion to include a good offices role in order to permit the Mission to continue to assist and to facilitate more expeditious movement towards peace and national reconciliation, including broader regional aspects, as appropriate, such as the ongoing consideration for the possible convening of an international conference to look into the problems of the subregion.