

PLEASE RETAIN  
ORIGINAL ORDER

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Radio  
Shelton

The Rwanda spokesman, has denied reports by Zaire that the Rwandan government has been behind the recent explosions and attempted bomb attacks at the Goma airfield in Zaire, in an interview with Radio Rwanda <Major RUTAYISIRE Wilson dismissed allegations as baseless and unfounded.

After reports of bombs explosions at the Goma airport, in Zaire, the Zairean government has been sort of pointing the finger at the Rwandan government for sponsoring terrorism on the Zairen soil particularly in Goma. Could you clarify the situation?

Wilson

These allegations are baseless, what is clear is that that Bomb at the Goma airfield is not a isolated incident it is just one of the many incidents which have been taking place in that region of Kivu since July last year. Maybe before July last year there were other forms of violence but since July last year bomb blasts, shoot outs among the refugee camps, neighboring villages, has been a characteristic feature of that region. So to single out the incident of Saturday they use it to accuse the Government of Rwanda is I can say it's the height of absurdity because we think Zaire authorities are simply trying to cover up what they have been abetting for the whole of this time during the whole of this year when in spite of the government of Rwanda attempts to point out the distabilizing elements that come from Zaire and distabilize the border regions of Rwanda Zairean Government has taken no step and we have been trying to request the Government of Zaire at least to move away the former government forces, the militias, away from the border because we know they carry a lot of arms and they have been rearmed by some members of the international community and of course this constituted insecurity as far as Rwanda was concerned. And Zaire has not done anything to that effect. We have a documented over 200 incidents of perpetrators coming to the border regions of Cyangugu, Kibuye, Gisenyi, and attack families, take away their animals, mutilate some people, blow electric power supplies, plant mines which later on have been blasting some vehicles, and the persons on the road, and this is what the Zairean Government is trying to cover up. It is not so much the incident of the bomb blast.

Then the second and the most biggest single incident was the recent attack by our forces at the Iwawa island where we discovered militias have been searched through the islands together with some (====) arms of all makes, some machine guns made in Belgium, from clearly shipped from South Africa, some explosives from America, made in America and so on, and all of these arms, all these activities were being organized on the soil of Zaire. Then on Saturday (you) might have heard from reports that Zairean Chief of Staff was with the former Chief of Staff of the defeated forces, Col. Bizimungu Augustin and they were aboard the plane for Kinshasa.

We cannot establish what mission this Chief of Staff was doing with the Chief of Staff of the defeated forces, so all this constitutes an embarrassment on the part of the Zairean authorities, but they have no way of shedding off that embarrassment other than pointing the finger, accusing finger, at the Rwandan side. So this is the I think this is the the whole essence of this outrageous accusation by the Zairean authorities.

After the reports of the explosions at the Goma airfield, you have had reports of harassments by the Zairean people of on the Rwandan nationals in Zaire and the looting of the property belonging to the Rwandese nationals who are in Zaire, how can Rwanda react in this kind of aggression.

Well, I just received information from our correspondent in Gisenyi that actually most of the people arrested purportedly for being Banyarwanda are citizens of Zaire, so even that ransacking of the population in Goma may actually finally hurt the people of Zaire more than anybody else. So we are yet to establish the identity of those people who were arrested but if they were some Banyarwanda among them, I would say that they are simply innocent people being victimized for nothing. Because the problem is there, the militias who carry guns, government armed forces who went away with all their amunitions they had here, arms deals, armed rockets which were being carried out since one year ago, destined for that part of Zaire, so any trouble shooter does not need to come from Rwanda, they are so many arms in that region of Kivu, to cause trouble, by whoever wants to cause trouble, without necessarily originating from Rwanda so I think that the rest of many people... I had (to) wait and got information from our correspondent in Gisenyi, I don't think it is really directed to the real trouble shooters, for the rest I am sure that there are very many innocents, Rwandese maybe, and Zaireans who are victimized, because the Zairean authorities seem to be adverse, they are avoiding the real problem, they are tackling marginal problems.

That was Major Wilson Rutayisire, the Government Spokesman, Director of ORINFOR, talking to Radio Rwanda.

Radio Rwanda, Thursday, 16 November 1995. Morning Edition 7:15 am.

*1/8/95*

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DATE: 2 November 1995

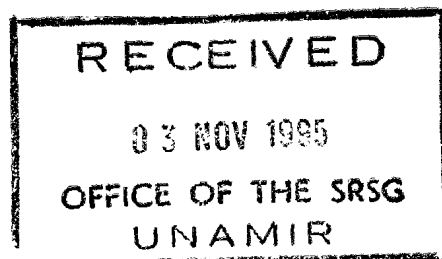
TO: Ms. Isel Rivero UNAMIR, Kigali, Rwanda	FROM: F. Barrillon-Pomés United Nations New York <i>FBP</i>
FAX NO: 3-3090	FAX NO: (212) 963-4037
ATTN:	REF: <i>Rom 2</i>
TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSMITTED PAGES INCLUDING THIS PAGE: 5	

As promised.

Un abrazo

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# NEWS

FROM  
THE  
CARTER  
CENTER

ONECOPENHILL, ATLANTA, GA 30307

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Sunday, Oct. 22, 1995

CONTACT: Deanna Congileo  
Public Information  
404-420-5108

DPA/AD/11

Rec'd OCT 23 1995

STATEMENT BY FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER  
ON GREAT LAKES INITIATIVE

ACTION

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FBP

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Uganda President Yoweri Museveni, Zaire President Mobutu Sese Sako, and Tanzania President Ali Hassan Mwinyi announced today that they will convene a regional conference soon to establish conditions necessary to prevent further humanitarian tragedies in Rwanda and Burundi, which also impact neighboring countries. The presidents are inviting me, South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and former Tanzania President Julius Nyerere to serve as mediators for that conference. I will be honored to play that role and to accept their invitation for The Carter Center to coordinate the conference.

I met in Africa in late September with several heads of state, including President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, President Museveni, and President Mobutu, as well as with representatives of the United Nations and the Organization for African Unity. Just prior to the trip, I consulted with President Mwinyi. Today, I met again in New York City with the presidents of Zaire and Uganda, as well as with Rwanda President Pasteur Bizimungu and Burundi President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya.

All of the conference co-conveners and mediators share a deep concern about the escalating violence in Burundi, the stalemate surrounding the return of nearly two million refugees in Rwanda, and the destabilizing effects of these crises on the region. The co-conveners are committed to assisting Rwandans and Burundians in finding, as soon as possible, ways to move beyond the recent violence to build healthy and prosperous societies. It is recognized that while crises in the two countries impact upon each other, each country has unique issues that should be addressed separately.

The date and place for the conference will be announced by The Carter Center in the near future.

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**Sunday, Oct. 22, 1995**

**STATEMENT BY UGANDA PRESIDENT YOWERI MUSEVENI AND ZAIRE PRESIDENT  
MOBUTU SISE SEKO ON CONFERENCE TO ADDRESS CRISES IN THE GREAT LAKES  
REGION**

We, the presidents of Zaire and Uganda, along with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania, will co-convene a conference shortly to establish conditions necessary to prevent further humanitarian tragedies in Rwanda and Burundi and the impact these situations are having on their neighboring countries. We are inviting former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere to serve as mediators for the conference. The Carter Center in Atlanta, Ga., has been asked to coordinate the conference.

We believe peace, reconciliation, and justice are the only basis for a common and harmonious future. We share a deep concern about the escalating violence in Burundi, the stalemate surrounding the repatriation of nearly two million Rwandan refugees, and the destabilizing effects of these crises on the region. The problems in the region are many and complex. But we believe immediate action is needed to begin to move beyond the violence and build healthy and prosperous societies.

Recognizing the need for a comprehensive approach to these problems, we agreed on a general agenda addressing issues in human rights, refugees, justice, governance, constitutional reform, land/property rights, security, arms, and the media.

The date and place for the conference will be announced by The Carter Center in the near future.

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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

30 October 1995

Dear Mr. President,

I have the honour to refer to paragraph 5 of resolution 1011 (1995) of 16 August, in which the Security Council requested me to report on my efforts for the preparation and convening, at the earliest possible time, of the Regional Conference on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa.

In a letter addressed to the President of the Council on 23 August, I informed the Council that I had appointed Mr. José Luis Jésus as my Special Envoy (S/1995/735) for this purpose. My Special Envoy has now returned from the region, where he held high-level consultations with the Organization of African Unity and the Governments of Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. He has reported to me that most of these Governments supported the idea of a Regional Conference.

The Government of Rwanda, on the other hand, expressed strong opposition to the idea of such a Conference. The Government of Uganda also indicated that it was not keen to have the United Nations actively involved in this process.

Notwithstanding these reservations, the United Nations will continue to monitor developments in the region and I shall revert to the Security Council if it appears that conditions exist for the successful convening of a Conference.

His Excellency  
Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari  
President of the Security Council  
New York

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I should be grateful if you would bring this information to the attention of the members of the Security Council.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali





UNITED NATIONS  
ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA

NATIONS UNIES  
MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA

UNAMIR - MINUAR

OUTGOING FAX NO-212 376 9466

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MIR NO \_\_\_\_\_

MISC NO \_\_\_\_\_

2751

TO: MR. C. GAYE DIRECTOR, UNAMIR LIAISON OFFICE KINSHASA, ZAIRE	FROM: ISEL RIVERO <i>Isel Rivero</i> SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SRSG UNAMIR, KIGALI
ATTN:	DATE: 7 SEPTEMBER 1995
FAX NO: 212 376 9466 ✓	PHONE: FAX: 212 960 3090

I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD PROVIDE US WITH SOME BRIEFING NOTES ON OGATA'S VISIT TO ZAIRE. WE HAVE HEARD VERY POSITIVE REPORTS FROM THE BBC BUT WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOUR VIEWS AND DETAILS.

BEST REGARDS.

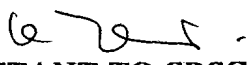
✓  
SA TO CRSG



**FAX TRANSMISSION**

**TO:** MR. CHEIKH GAYE  
DIRECTOR  
UNAMIR LIAISON OFFICE  
KINSHASA, ZAIRE

**FAX:** 212 376 9466

**FROM:** ISEL RIVERO   
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SRSG  
KIGALI

**FAX:** 212 963 11080

**DATE:** 31 AUGUST 1995

**SUBJECT:** TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS CONFERENCE

FOR YOUR INFORMATION PLEASE FIND ATTACHED TRANSCRIPT  
OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OF ZAIRE GAVE IN  
GENEVA ON 29 AUGUST 1995.

BEST REGARDS.

20/08 '95 18:52

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UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION SERVICE  
GENEVA

29 August 1995

For Use of the United Nations Secretariat Only  
Not for Distribution or DisseminationPress Conference by Prime Minister of Zaire, Léon Kengo Wa Dondo  
Palais des Nations 4:00 p.m.

Léon Kengo Wa Dondo, Prime Minister of Zaire held a press conference this afternoon at the Palais des Nations in Geneva in which he briefed reporters on his meeting with Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. He recalled that on 16 August, the Security Council had adopted a resolution calling for the lifting of the arms embargo to Rwanda and Zaire had considered this resolution to be directed against it. This was also the reason why the Prime Minister of Zaire had written to the Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on 17 August describing the persistent tensions at all levels of Zairean society, as well as the tense situation in the refugee camps.

He added that in order to counter the resolution, Zaire had called for the implementation of the General Assembly resolution of December last year on the territorial right to asylum, which stated that if the host country considered the presence of refugees a threat to its national security then it could send them back. Accordingly, in his letter to the Secretary-General, the Prime Minister had asked to which country these refugees could be sent. The Security Council had been asked by the Secretary-General to consider the letter and on the 23 August, its President had issued a statement which had neither promoted peace nor reduced the political tension in the region.

The Prime Minister said that the Secretary-General had requested the High Commissioner to visit the region and today during his meeting with Ms. Ogata he had requested that UNHCR take up the repatriation process which thus far, Zaire had carried out. This process should take place on a large scale, should be uninterrupted and should be completed before 31st December 1995. If the repatriation was not complete by that date, Zaire reserved the right to carry out this process itself.

A correspondent asked if Zaire would stop sending the refugees back before the deadline of 31 December? The Prime Minister said that UNHCR had requested and Zaire had accepted that UNHCR would assume responsibility for the repatriation and they had both agreed on the date. Monthly evaluations would be carried out.

Asked why Zaire was threatened by the lifting of the arms embargo and yet it had not been threatened by the presence of armed refugees and the remains of the Rwandan army on its territory, the Prime Minister said that if there had not been the resolution 1011 of 16 August, then it would have continued to feel hospitable towards the refugees. The lifting of the embargo had been a political decision and should be examined at that level before being applied at the humanitarian level. Why did Rwanda need to buy arms and who were they to fight against, he asked.

repatriation process because it had received aid from the international community. The Prime Minister said nobody had given any aid to Zaire. The cessation of its handling of the repatriation process had come at the request of UNHCR and Zaire had acceded to the request and had asked UNHCR take on the responsibility. Only in their own country would Rwandans be able to truly live again.

A correspondent said that UNHCR had stated that one of the major obstacles to voluntary repatriation was that leaders and supporters of the former Rwandan Government continued to tell the refugees that they would be killed if they went home to Rwanda. The UNHCR had said that the repatriation would go smoother if Zaire would arrest or separate these people from the other refugees.

The Prime Minister said that the UN had set up an International Tribunal and if persons were to be found guilty of genocide and war crimes then it was for the Tribunal to find them guilty. The international community wished for the refugees to return but the conditions on the ground were not conducive. The refugees should be persuaded to do so by the non-governmental organizations on the ground and the Rwandan authorities should welcome them. Zaire was a victim of its own generosity, the only African country to have received 2 million refugees and the international community should realise this fact.

In response to a question on why, if its national security was threatened, Zaire had not begun the repatriation with the armed militias who could not be considered as refugees, the Prime Minister said that it was the international press which had made a distinction between civilians and members of the army or between minority and majority persons. Zaire had made no such distinction. The embargo had not been lifted for the ex-army of the Rwanda but for the FPR and they are the ones who threatened Zaire. The Security Council resolution was bad for peace in the Great Lakes region and would raise the level of tension in the area. Zaire would not be responsible for the destabilisation of the entire region and therefore the Parliament had decided that the refugees had to leave. If they hid in the forests, then they would be sought and asked to leave. The General Assembly resolution on territorial asylum had guided the Government in its action.

Asked if the deadline of 31 December could be extended, he said it was a final deadline but added that a clause on "force majeure" had been built into the monthly evaluation procedure. A census and elections were upcoming in Zaire and that was made more complex by the huge number of refugees. There had been no break at all in the repatriation process as far as Zaire was concerned, it was just that now UNHCR had assumed responsibility for the process.

\* \* \* \*



**FAX TRANSMISSION**

**TO: MR. CHEIKH GAYE**  
**DIRECTOR**  
**UNAMIR LIAISON OFFICE**  
**KINSHASA, ZAIRE**

**FAX: 212 376 9466**

**FROM: ISEL RIVERO**  
**SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SRSG**  
**KIGALI**

**FAX: 212 963 11080**

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GENEVA ON 29 AUGUST 1995.**

**BEST REGARDS.**

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UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

FIELD ADMINISTRATION AND LOGISTICS DIVISION  
LOGISTICS AND COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Outgoing Fax #: <i>MIR-164</i>	Date: 26 April 1995
To: A H GOLO OIC ADMINISTRATION UNAMIR Att: J ALBERT	From: HOCINE MEDILI DIRECTOR/FAID/DPKO/NY
Fax # 212 963 3090	Fax #: 212 963 2116
Number of transmitted pages: 2	Ref.: TELECON O'GRADY/ALBERT 24 APR 95
Subject: UNAMIR LIAISON OFFICE IN KINSHASA	

1. IT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE OPERATIONS OFFICE OF DPKO THAT MR GAYE HAS BEEN APPOINTED AS THE SENIOR UNAMIR LIAISON OFFICER IN ZAIRE.

2. ATTACHED IS A NOTE FROM MR RIZA GIVING THIS AUTHORIZATION AND A LIST OF THE LOGISTIC REQUIREMENTS. REQUEST YOU INVESTIGATE THE POSSIBILITY OF PROVIDING THIS SUPPORT FROM UNAMIR, REVERTING TO FAID IN THE EVENT OF INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES.

3. THANKS AND REGARDS.

② *I sel*  
A copy of the Fax  
Room N.Y. concerning  
Kinshasa.

*SRS E/DIA FC CAO*

*28/4*

Drafted: M O'Grady, Current Ops  
Cird.: D Hamon, OIC Current Ops  
cc: Luiz Da Costa, Chief FPMSS

Authorized by: *A. Waldrum* OIC/LCS

Note to Mr. Medili

*Mr. De Costa*  
*ECS*  
*S*

As you may know, the Secretary-General, on 15 December 1994, agreed with the Prime Minister of Zaire that a civilian UNAMIR liaison office should be installed in Kinshasa as soon as possible. The function of this office will be to facilitate communication between Mr. Shaharyar Khan, the SRSG in Rwanda, and the Zairean Government. The Secretary-General has now designated Mr. Cheikh Gaye as the senior UNAMIR Liaison Officer in Zaire. ✓  
Mr. Gaye is prepared to leave for Kinshasa very shortly.

We should be grateful if you would take all the necessary steps to enable Mr. Gaye to perform his functions without delay. In particular and as a minimum, Mr. Gaye will need an office, a bilingual secretary, a security guard, cryptofax facilities and a car.

As an initial step, we have asked UNDP to lend assistance to us in providing accommodation and facilities for Mr. Gaye. In the long run, and for security and related reasons, it may be advisable to have Mr. Gaye's permanent accommodation colocated with the UNDP office in Kinshasa. We assume that you will be in touch with UNDP to co-ordinate our efforts to assist Mr. Gaye in assuming his new functions.

Many thanks for your assistance.



S. Iqbal Riza  
13 April 1995

## INTERNATIONAL

United States. Mexico has not done that.

It is worth listening to comments by Mario Ruiz Massieu, the top anti-drugs prosecutor in the federal attorney-general's office and the dead man's brother. He said that his investigation into the assassination "is running more towards the political road than the narco-trafficking road." He has also hinted that he holds a list of names of

senior PRI men whom his brother had called enemies of political reform: members of the PRI's old guard and others disgruntled with President Carlos Salinas and his hand-picked successor, Ernesto Zedillo.

Some party leaders argue that such talk is nonsense, and that the killing was merely an unfortunate excess by provincial politicians. Enrique Krauze, a conservative histo-

rian and keen observer of the PRI, believes on the contrary that this murder, after a year of unprecedented political violence, shows that the PRI may be rapidly losing the skill that has held it in power for nearly seven decades: its ability, by a mixture of patronage and authoritarianism, to keep Mexico calm.

All this has been a severe blow to Mr Zedillo, who becomes president on December 1st. Before he was elected in August, he spoke of democratising his party by a series of sweeping reforms. In particular, he vowed to open up the process by which the party's candidates are chosen, thereby ending an important component of the current system of patronage and corporatism.

The odds were always against him. Cynics asked whether Mr Zedillo really wanted to reform the system that had just placed him at the pinnacle of its power-structure. Others wondered, given the sweeping mandate his party won in August, and his own relative inexperience, whether he could muster the political momentum for reform. To his credit, Mr Zedillo has tried to get things going. He named Jesus Reyes Heróles, a respected economist, to the politically charged post of party ideology chief. So far, alas, his efforts have produced little but talk. As one of his key allies conceded this week, "Whoever was behind it, this murder has certainly thrown a major obstacle on our difficult road to reform."

## Thou shalt not blind

GENEVA

ALL military weapons have always been unpleasant things; their purpose is to render your adversary incapable of using his own weapon, and this means either killing him or doing something else nasty. This will remain the case until war ceases. But some weapons are so awful that a decision is taken to ban them. One weapon now under discussion is the proposed laser gun, which could blind large numbers of people at many miles' range.

Sweden and the International Committee of the Red Cross are co-operating to insert into the Inhumane Weapons Convention a statement that the use of blinding weapons is forbidden. The convention, which came into force in 1983, is coming up for review. Laser weapons are at the field-testing stage. If they are not banned now, they could go into production in two or three years' time.

Lasers are not in themselves evil. Cutters in the fashion industry love them. So do surgeons, particularly those who do microsurgery of the eye. Lasers work by concentrating light in high-energy beams. The blinding instruments now heading towards military use—clean, silent, light-weight and cheap as such things go—employ a technique derived both from the surgical laser and the lasers that guide modern missiles.

In the Gulf war some gunners and tank men were accidentally blinded when laser range-finders hit their eyes. The new laser weapons are intended to blind. They scan a battlefield with an invisible beam of light which, at a kilometre's distance, will have grown to a width of at least 50 centimetres. Anyone whose eyes it hits will be blinded; the beam burns the retina and the optic nerve. Treatment—which anyhow is possible only for superficial burns on the periphery of the retina—must be carried out within 48 hours by specialists with equipment not always available in a battlefield. The only real defence is good enough to be a retina that does not



The eyes have it

At least five countries can do the research and development that would produce portable laser guns. The Americans have gone furthest, in a search for instruments of "non-lethal" warfare (other possibilities are chemicals that produce vomiting or sudden diarrhoea). In 1991 the laser programme was whisked into the secret part of the American military budget. Defense Electronics, a publication that takes an interest in such matters, says the American army has put 1,100 Cobra laser rifles into field tests. There is the usual fear that such things could fall into the hands of terrorists or even ordinary high-street criminals.

The proposed addition to the Inhumane Weapons Convention will forbid the use of blinding weapons. The manufacture, possession, use or transfer of such weapons is prohibited. The convention also bans the use of blinding weapons in international armed conflicts. The convention also bans the use of blinding weapons in international armed conflicts.

## Zaire Mobutu redivivus

YOU can be forgiven for not expecting it. President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, whose western friends seemed to have despaired of him three years ago, is enjoying a French-led revival. The French government, having once dismissed the Zairean leader as an incompetent anti-democrat, has now invited him to next month's Franco-African summit meeting. Kengo wa Dondo, his new prime minister, after an unexciting visit to Washington, was this week feted in Paris and promised French help in sorting out Zaire's economic mess.

Mr Mobutu's revival is a direct result of the French government's decision to support him. The French government has decided to support Mr Mobutu's revival. The French government has decided to support Mr Mobutu's revival. The French government has decided to support Mr Mobutu's revival.



## A black and white photograph of a man, likely a political figure, wearing a leopard-print cap and glasses. He is gesturing with his right hand while speaking into a microphone. The image is grainy and has a high-contrast, almost graphic quality.

## Nice Mr Mobutu

decades of his strong-arm rule.

It may not happen. France has now dignified him with an official invitation. After meeting Mr Kengo (successor as prime minister to Mr Tshisekedi, whom Mr Mobutu managed to get rid of), French officials this week talked guardedly of a new friendship between the two countries.

France's willingness to grant Zaire new respectability is the result of three things. The most important is the attempted genocide in Rwanda. France, as much for logistical as for political reasons, needed a friendly base outside Rwanda from which to mount its controversial military intervention in that country. Zaire provided it, along with refuge for over 1m Rwandans; and Mr Mobutu may now be getting his reward.

Second, there may have been a shift in French thinking about Africa. Three years ago there was much talk in Paris about the desirability of helping the continent to move towards democracy. But recent democratic experiments in French-speaking Africa—in Congo, Gabon and Niger—have made some Frenchmen think that democracy does not readily breed the conditions that suit French business and strategic interests. Since conservatives won a majority in the French parliament last year, this view has gained ground. Some Frenchmen argue that long-serving strongmen such as Mr Mobutu are good for stability: curiously, since Zaïre is not exactly a model of stability.

The third reason is that a lot of westerners like Mr Kence. The French were keenest to dump his predecessor, Mr Tshisekedi. The Americans never really trusted Mr Tshisekedi. The Belgians are disliking Mr Mobutu as a result of the long time he followed them. The British are not

prime minister in June.

Not that Mr Mobutu now has a totally free hand. He has agreed to let Mr Kengo run the economy. And France has told Mr Kengo that he must promise free elections, be tougher about corruption and co-operate with the IMF.

Mr Kengo has made a start. He has sacked some dodgy officials in the central bank and the customs organisation. Just before his speech to the United Nations General Assembly last week, a spectacular operation mounted back at home uncovered 45 tonnes of illegal Zairean banknotes stashed away on aircraft arriving from Argentina; two Lebanese and two Zaireans were detained. The new prime minister has freed some prisoners who had been locked up for years for no particular reason. Even state television has undergone a measure of de-Mobutuisation: the president's image no longer appears before broadcasts descending from heaven on a cloud.

Mr Mobutu can afford to let Mr Kengo do well. Mr Kengo is no man of the people. He is half-Polish, half-Rwandan; under Zairean law, he is therefore not eligible to run for the presidency. A man who cannot take your place is always a useful assistant.

## Botswana

## Sixth time lucky

GABORONE

**S**INCE it got its independence in 1966, Botswana has had five general elections, and will have its sixth this Saturday, October 15th. The Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has won every election so far, and will pretty certainly win this one too. Led by Sir Ketumile Masire, it currently holds all but three of parliament's 34 seats.

After 28 years of independence, the opposition is still struggling to find a voice. It is split, and lacks the clout and resources of the BDP. Pasted on the walls in Gaborone, the capital, are BDP posters in glossy technicolour; next to them hang the drab-looking photocopies of the chief opposition party, the Botswana National Front. The daily state-run newspaper is distributed free, even in remote rural areas. The independent press, often scathing of the government, seldom reaches more than a few

[illegible]

struction contracts to Chinese firms, who import their own Chinese workers.

The ruling party likes to claim that traditional kgotla, or village meeting, give people a sense of participation in politics. Since May President Masire has attended about 120 such meetings, telling villages what the government has done for the country. Botswana's famous diamond wealth has helped to put a primary school in every village and a health clinic within ready reach of most. After each kgotla visit, the president's message is broadcast, verbatim, on the state-run radio. This is not party politics, it is explained; it is rural development. Most village chiefs anyway support the BDP, and command tremendous influence.

The BDP was founded by the paramo chief of the Bangwato people, Sir Seretse Khama, who later became the first president of Botswana and is widely thought of as the father of the nation. Some old people would think the BDP was still led by Seretse, who died in 1980.

How has Botswana managed to stand out as a pocket of stability in turbulent Africa? Part of the answer is tribal homogeneity: 80% of its people are Tswana-speakers. To be sure, the northern Bangwato people are dominant among the Tswana-speakers and there are minority tribes, such as the San people, who are scorned as herdsman and paid in kind rather than cash. Yet the major party has exploited the ethnic fault. This is partly the work of President Maseko himself from a minority southern group.

The army has been kept admirably out of politics. Its chief of staff is the son of a late president and the chief of the late Batswana group. Were he to stand for president, he would probably win hands down. But Sir Seretse had an old-fashioned sense of military discipline: soldiers must stay away from politics. Botswana's army has earned a good reputation for its United Nations peacekeeping work in Somalia elsewhere in Africa. Every recruit has to undergo an initiation test in which he acquires courage by wrestling with a lion, a crocodile and two crocodiles (fondly named *Shaka* and *Gorbachev*) in the Gaborone barrack.

[illegible]



*Zaire*

TO: Mr. Ally H. Golo  
OIC, Administration  
UNAMIR, Kigali

ATTENTION: Mr. P. Hornsby  
Chief, Support Services

FROM: *Amala*  
Dr. Abdul H. Kabia  
Executive Director  
UNAMIR, Kigali

DATE: 21 September 1994

SUBJECT: Joint Zaire/UN Commission on the situation in the Rwandese Refugees  
Camps in Zaire

This is to confirm my discussion with you and Mr. Hornsby regarding the above Commission's proposed visit to the Rwandese Refugee Camps and other sites identified by the Zairian authorities for the separation and relocation of the armed elements in the camps. The Commission will also determine the costs and logistics requirements of the operation.

The Commission will comprise seven officials from the Zairian Government, four from UNAMIR and one official each from UNDP and UNHCR. The names of the UNAMIR members of the Commission are as follows:

Brig. Gen. H. Anyidoho	-	DFC
Mr. A.B. Sidique Dao	-	OIC Humanitarian Affairs
Lt. Col. Desnoyers	-	Logistics Officer
Mr. Gilles Briere	-	Logistics Assistant

Please make the necessary arrangements for their travel and allowance as discussed to enable them to arrive in Kinshasa, Zaire on 23 September 1994 and commence work immediately.

Tel. 309.88

H. M. G. Drey  
Ministre-Conseiller  
Ambassade de Belgique  
Kinshasa

Carte

N. John N. Yates  
Chargé d'affaires  
Ambassade de  
E. U. YATES

N. Pierre Coulont  
le Conseiller France  
Ambassade France  
Coulont



UNITED NATIONS  
TO BE FILLED IN  
BY THE RECIPIENT

Michel MOUSSALLI  
Special Envoy of the High Commissioner  
for the Burundi and Rwanda Emergencies  
UNHCR-Centre William Rappard  
154, rue de Lausanne  
CH-1202 Geneva

Tel.: (022) 739 8200  
Fax: (022) 739 8642

*File  
Zaire*

**WORKING GROUP-QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESS**  
**FINANCING AND LOGISTICS**

- we spoke  
Rearmy?*
- Isel*
1. a) Where will the new camps be located?  
b) Will they be accessible by aircraft. If so of what size?  
c) Will the transfer involve aircraft and vehicles?
  2. a) What will be the cost of the air-bridge and vehicle transfer?  
b) What will be the cost of preparing the camps and providing basic shelter water, latrines, food, security?  
c) What is the actual number of persons involved in categories a) & b)?
  3. How long after financing is assured a) Will the camps be ready? b) Will the air lift be ready?
  4. What will the running cost of the camps amount to?
  5. What is the time-frame for the operation?

*ise  
as discussed  
P. 1. from 0.10  
2. Aug 1994  
disc. 1. Aug 94  
21/5*

**Security**

1. At the time of transfer, would Zairian forces perform the security duties in Goma/Bukavu and at new camps, can Zaire be requested to act jointly with UN?
2. At the time of identifying political and military groups. would Zaire authorities or UN be asked to perform functions? In case there is violence as in Tanzania would Zaire handle the situation or would it ask UN to ensure security.
3. Given that some military elements are still armed how would they be disarmed? Would Zaire or UN be expected to handle this task. Would financial inducement be considered (USD150.- for each rifle)?

**Inducement measures**

1. Psychologically the common-folk in Goma/Bukavu camps must be conveyed objective situation or ground. This may be done through radio broadcasts from Radio Kigali and Radio UNAMIR and Rwandan cabinet Ministers visiting camps ( with Zaire or UN protection).

Enhanced government campaign must be synchronised with return of refugees. moderate Hutus, Army leaders must be publicly integrated, guarantees of non-harassment persecution must be given, an aura of normalcy in Rwanda must act as a magnetic attraction for refugees. A judicial process must be upheld even for criminals?

Intimidation by militia/interhamwe in camps must be prevented (by Zaire? UN or presence of Milobs/UN observers)

Materially - returning refugees must be given humanitarian aid (water, food, shelter, healthcare, transport). They may be given cash incentives (seed, agricultural implements). Camps for screening and registering may be opened inside Rwanda. Once screened refugees may be transported home with the blue-beret escorts without further hinderance. If suspected of crimes refugees must go through judicial process. They also must have a place to go and guarantees for land/or property return must be in place.

F. J. J. J.

PROGRAMME DE LA VISITE  
DE SON EXCELLENCE MR. L'AMBASSADEUR SHAHARYAR KHAN  
REPRESENTANT SPECIAL DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL  
POUR LE RWANDA

LUNDI 12 SEPTEMBRE 1994

9H00 - ARRIVEE ET ACCUEIL PAR LE PNUD ET PROTOCOLE D'ETAT

10H00 - HEBERGEMENT HOTEL ET BREIFING AVEC LE REPRESENTANT  
RESIDENT DU PNUD

1200 *USA Embassy*  
12H30 - REPAS

13: *Belgian chargé d'affaires*  
16H00 - AUDIENCE AVEC LE VICE MINISTRE DE L'INTERIEUR

1700 *3rd*  
17H00 - AUDIENCE AVEC LE MINISTRE DES RELATIONS EXTERIEURES

18H00 - AUDIENCE AVEC LE VICE MINISTRE DE LA JUSTICE

MARDI 13 SEPTEMBRE 1994

*Breakfast USA chargé d'affaires*

A CONFIRMER - AUDIENCE AVEC LE CHEF DE L'ETAT

A CONFIRMER - AUDIENCE AVEC MR LE PREMIER MINISTRE

2 PM *Vice Prime Minister of Defence*  
*Chef du Cabinet.*

9:30 *P. Minutes*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY H.E. MADAM SALA...  
UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AT THE  
REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES OF CENTRAL AFRICA  
ADDIS ABABA, 9 SEPTEMBER, 1994

- Thanks to the OAU for organizing this meeting which will allow us to consult on an issue related to the HC's mandate: Repatriation of Rwandan refugees.

- I am also grateful to the OAU for the good cooperation we have always had on the question of Rwanda, particularly to achieve the Arusha Agreement.

- Thanks to the Governments of Tanzania and Zaire for the roles they played as facilitator and mediator.

- Based on the framework of this cooperation and in the spirit of Arusha that we want to initiate these consultations. I was particularly pleased to learn that the new Government of Rwanda confirmed this spirit by focusing on the national reconciliation and the repatriation of the refugees.

- I would like also to welcome here the presence of all the friendly countries from within and outside the region who accompanied us throughout the long process of the Arusha Agreement. Their presence today as well as that of other African countries is an evidence of their constant support.

- In conformity with the mandate of my office, I want confirm, once again, my wish and my will to contribute to voluntary repatriation of all Rwandan refugees. Some conditions and principles are however, essential in this. They relate in particular to the security situation sides of the border.

A. The Security in the camps which will allow to decide freely on their return.

B. The security and safety of those who have to return.

- This is why we are proposing on consider the three following sub-items:

1. Identify the key issues regarding security in the camps and the measures to be taken in order to address them. This will require first of all the removal of the ex-military personnel and militias.

I am most grateful for the generosity shown by the countries of asylum faced with such a considerable burden. I want to underline our readiness to assist them with the help of the International Community, to improve this security situation.

Should however, these conditions not be met, it would be difficult, as you all know, for my office to continue providing assistance to these camps.

2. Although I have no doubt that the Government of Rwanda is doing its best to ensure the safety of the returnees, I cannot but voice certain concern about some reports I received regarding the situation faced by some refugees upon return.

This is why, it will be essential to have the appropriate mechanism to ensure that the authorities are fully appraised of these incidents and take the necessary measures to redress the situation and prevent their recurrence.

3. Although tripartite agreements will be, as usual, concluded between the Government of Rwanda, UNHCR and the different neighbouring countries, for the repatriation of the Rwandan refugees, it would be important, in my opinion, to establish a joint commission with the participation of all countries and organisations represented here, to help in the implementation of all these measures.
-

Regarding the second item of our agenda, I cannot but strongly support this objective and express the readiness of my office to assist to the extent possible in the implementation of this OAU Resolution to organize a Conference on refugees in the region of the great lakes.

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OAU/RWA/REP/9.94

8 September 1994

*Zarte*

Dear Sir/Madam,

REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES OF CENTRAL AFRICA

I have the pleasure to invite you to a meeting on the above subject matter at the OAU Conference Hall, Building B, OAU Headquarters on Friday 9 September 1994 at 09:00 hrs.

The Agenda will be as follows:

1. Repatriation of Rwandese Refugees
  - a) Security in camps
  - b) Safety of returnees
  - c) Joint Commission and Plan of Action
2. Regional Conference

The participants shall be the following:

Tunisia (Representative of Current Chairman)  
Rwanda  
Burundi  
Uganda  
Zaire  
Tanzania  
Kenya  
Zambia  
USA  
Belgium  
European Union (France, Germany, Greece)

The meeting shall be cochaired by:

- (i) H.E. Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, OAU Secretary-General
- (ii) Mme Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees

I look forward to your participation in ~~the~~<sup>this</sup> all important meeting.

Yours sincerely,



DR. M.T. MAPURANGA

Assistant Secretary-General

(in charge of Political Affairs)

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TO: UNAMIR HQ KIGALI / COMD/ FORCE HQ  
ATTN: COS  
FROM: MILOB SEC-5 GISENYI  
SUBJ: SITUATION IN GOMA AREA ON 5 SEP 94

1. FOL POINTS ARE BASED ON DISCUSSION WITH UNHCR GOMA TEAM LDR MR. P. GRANDI ; UNHCR SECUR ADVISOR MR. A. KUIPER AND FRENCH ARMY REPS.

2. GENERAL. OVERALL SIT IS CALM. THERE WAS INITIAL CONCERN AT TIME OF ZAIRE ANNOUNCEMENTS REGARDING RETURN OF REFUGEES TO RWANDA, BUT THIS HAS BEEN DISPELLED. BASED ON HIS OWN TALKS WITH ZAIRE GOVT OFFICIALS, AND IN HIS OWN VIEW, MR GRANDI ESTIMATES THAT THERE WILL BE NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES TO THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE NEAR FUTURE, I.E. THERE WILL BE A SLOW BUT STEADY RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSONS BACK TO RWANDA.

3. SECURITY SITUATION. THERE ARE CURRENTLY APPX 1000 NGO'S OPERATING IN THE GOMA AREA. THE CHIEF THREAT CONTINUES TO COME FROM ZAIRE SOLDIERS / POLICEMEN INTENT ON ROBBERY. THIS HAPPENS MOSTLY AT NIGHT AND OUTSIDE OF THE CAMPS.

THE SECURITY ADVISOR NOTED THAT THE "HARD CORPS" RGF WERE CONCENTRATED IN THE TWO WESTERN MOST CAMPS. HE ESTIMATED THEIR STRENGTH AT 4-5000. REMAINDER OF RGF (3-4000) ARE SCATTERED AND ATTEMPTING TO ASSIMILATE INTO CIVIL POPULATION. RGF HQ IS LOC AT GOMA. THEY OPERATE 2X COMMS NETS LINKING THE CAMPS.

② Kirsten

1. This may be of interest to the SRSG prior to his visit to Goma.
2. This assessment is primarily Maj McCumber's.

*[Signature]*  
Col Ops  
DCOS Ops  
4.9.94



To - À	(7) S n s c	Date	7 SEPT 94
From - De	(K n s c) <i>Zaire</i>	Time - Heure	11:45
Language spoken - Langue utilisée		Telephone No. - N° de téléphone	Extension Poste
<input type="checkbox"/> English Anglais <input type="checkbox"/> French Français			
<input type="checkbox"/> Please call Prière d'appeler <input type="checkbox"/> Returned your call Vous a rappelé <input type="checkbox"/> Will call again Vous rappellera <input type="checkbox"/> Wants to see you Désire vous voir			
<input type="checkbox"/> Action Donner suite <input type="checkbox"/> Approval Approbation <input type="checkbox"/> Note and return Noter et retourner			
<input type="checkbox"/> Comments Commentaires <input type="checkbox"/> Draft reply Projet de réponse <input type="checkbox"/> Note and forward Noter et faire suivre			
<input type="checkbox"/> As requested Comme demandé <input type="checkbox"/> Signature <input type="checkbox"/> Note and file Noter et classer			
File No. - N° de dossier		Message taken by - Message reçu par	

From COL. ARP -  
Chief OPS. *[Handwritten notes and initials]*

4. ZAIRE SECURITY FORCES IN GOMA AREA. PRESENTLY

INCL FOL GROUPS:

GENDARMES  
AUX GENDARMES  
PARATROOP COY  
SARM (30-MAN ELITE "SWAT" TM)

ALL ARE POORLY PAID, AND ARE ESSENTIALLY "LIVING OF THE LAND." RECENTLY REFUGEES HAVE ORGANIZED IN SELF-DEFENCE, RESULTING IN THE KILLING OF 5-6 ZAIRE SOLDIERS. NGO'S REPORT THAT CAMPS ARE NOW SAFER AS ZAIRE SOLDIERS DO NOT ENTER THEM.

5. FOL ARE ADDITIONAL POINTS OF INTEREST:

- A. "OFFICIAL" REFUGEE CAMP POPULATION APPX 800,000. ACTUAL IS PROBABLY 600,000.
- B. TOTAL RETURNEES ESTIMATED TO BE 80,000. RATE IS AVG 1000/DAY.
- C. RECENT CORDON & SEARCH OP BY RPA AT GISENYI WAS "POORLY TIMED" AND CAUSED CONCERN AMONG REFUGEES IN CAMPS.
- D. RPA (ON 5 SEP 54) REFUSED AN UNHCR SPONSORED "RELIE" OF GISENYI /RUHENGARI AREA BY REFUGEE LEADERS.

ZEV 060810L

SECUR ADVISOR EXPECTS THAT RGF ARE GEN ARMED WITH LOCALLY ACQUIRED (BOUGHT) SA. HE REPORTED DISCOVERY AND SEIZURE OF A LARGE STOCK OF SA AMMO IN ONE OF THE CAMPS BY UNHCR SECUR PERS.

INDICATORS FOR ANY ORGANIZED REGROUPING OF RGF COULD INCL THEFTS OF VEHICLES, COMMS EQUIP, ETC. TO DATE THERE HAS BEEN NO INCR IN THESE INDICATORS.

FRENCH ARMY ASSESSMENT OF RGF SITUATION IS SIMILAR.

FRENCH ARMY ASSESSMENT OF LOCAL SIT IS CALM.

F. Zaïre

LE GOUVERNEMENT DE TRANSITION  
(Ord. prés. du 6 juillet 1994)

Premier Ministre : KENGO WA NDONDO

Fonctions et postes	Ministres	Vice-Ministres
<b>Vice-Primates</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>. Intérieur</li><li>. Défense nationale</li><li>. Justice, Réformes institutionnelles et Garde des sceaux</li><li>. Coopération internationale</li></ul>	G. MALUMBA MBANGULA MAVUA MUDIMA  KAMANDA WA KAMANDA MOZAGBA NGBUKA	BAYOMBO MBOKOL. BOBOY NGEBAKA  KIKADI GABONGOLO DIUR KATOND
<b>Ministres</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Relations extérieures</li><li>2. Communication et Presse</li><li>* 3. Plan</li><li>* 4. Finances</li><li>5. Budget</li><li>6. Agriculture</li><li>* 7. Economie, Industrie, Petite et Moyenne entreprise</li><li>8. Protefeuille</li><li>9. Mines</li><li>10. Energie</li><li>11. Travaux publics, Aménagement du territoire, Urbanisme et Habitat</li><li>12. Transport et Communication</li><li>13. Commerce extérieur</li><li>14. Affaires foncières</li><li>15. Enseignement supérieur et Recherche scientifique</li><li>16. Enseignement primaire, secondaire et professionnel</li><li>17. Santé et Famille</li><li>18. Affaires sociales</li><li>19. Travail, Main d'oeuvre et Prévoyance sociale</li><li>20. Fonction publique</li><li>21. Postes, Téléphones et Télécommunications</li><li>22. Environnement, Conservation de la nature et Tourisme</li><li>23. Jeunesse, Sports et Loisirs</li><li>24. Culture et Arts</li></ul>	LUNDA BULULU MASEGABIO NZANZU KIAKWAMA KIA KIZIKI PAY PAY WA SUAGHASIGE BAHATI LUKUEBO Mme NGUZ LANDU KAVIDI W  KATANGA MUKUMADI ASSEYA MINDRE MUTOMBO BAKAFWA NSEDA KISANGA KABONGELO  MWANDO NSIMBA NYINDU KITENGE JIBI NGOY MANGWANDA GIFUDU  (Réservé à l'UDPS)  SEKIMONYO WA MAGANGU (Réservé à l'UDPS) Mme SOKI FWANI EYENGA  OMBA PENE NDJUNGA BOLENCE MEKESOMBO  LUMBI OKOMBO Pierre  KISIMBA NGOY BOFASSA DJEMA LUKONZOLA MUNYJNGWA	MUKULUMANYA W.N. LUNGENDO LULA BOBA KIYEKA M. MANANGA MA PH. MPAKO TOKINDE (Rés. à l'UDPS)  EKUMBAKI OMBAKA KASONGO MAMBU S. MAGO MAMBEKE KABAMBA WA KAB.  LIONGA AKAFONGO NGANDU DIEMU  WELOLI KANDA N. IRUMU IRUMU 08 050

NGUYA-NDILA

~~MR. KUYUNDA~~

Director Adjant

Cabinet

M. Vundwane

Director Cabinet

fax 00871-1546

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