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UNITED NATIONS  
CABLE OPERATIONS  
195 JUN 16 P 940

TO: KHAN/TOUSIGNANT, UNAMIR, KIGALI  
FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK  
DATE: 16 JUNE 1995  
NUMBER: 2003

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SUBJECT: UNHCR Civilian Security Liaison Group in Zaire

Please find attached, a briefing note on the above which we received yesterday from UNHCR. You may wish to share this with Mr. Ajello, since it provides a useful update on the UNHCR security operation in the Rwandese refugee camps in Zaire.  
Regards.

SRSG FC

CNR 168 P2/6

## **ZAIRIAN CAMP SECURITY OPERATION**

### **Briefing Note - 9 June 1995**

#### **1. BACKGROUND**

In September 1994 a joint UN/Government of Zaire commission was established to look into the possibilities and modalities of separating and relocating the former political leaders, militia and military from the refugees in the camps of Eastern Zaire. This would have involved moving nearly 90,000 persons from the camps to different parts of the country. Ultimately this option was found to be prohibitively expensive and operationally too complex to implement.

In October 1994 the High Commissioner proposed a modified security arrangement for Eastern Zaire whereby a Zairian security contingent, backed by international technical expertise, would be deployed in the camps. The Secretary General deemed it necessary to further involve the Security Council in the security arrangements for Zaire, and a variety of options were considered, including the deployment of peacekeeping forces.

During November to December 1994 the Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) evaluated the various proposals for their feasibility and financial implications. Ultimately, the options put forward by DPKO did not materialize, largely due to insufficient response to the request for troops.

Following discussions in Geneva on 10 January 1995 between the Secretary General and the High Commissioner, it was agreed that UNHCR should pursue the establishment of security arrangements under its own mandate for protection and assistance to refugees. The SG informed the Government of Zaire of this approach in his letter of 17 January. UNHCR outlined the modalities of the operation and the necessary assistance required for Zaire to fulfil its responsibilities regarding security. An Aide-Mémoire to this effect between UNHCR and the Zairian Government was signed on 27 January 1995 in Kinshasa.

The Zairian Camp Security Operation began in February 1995. The first encampment at Kibumba camp in Goma was completed by 9 February. The first one hundred agents of the Zairian Camp Security Contingent (ZCSC) arrived from Kinshasa on 11 February and were installed in the Kibumba site. The UNHCR Head of Operations arrived in Goma 13 February, and the first 12 Liaison Officers (Dutch) arrived Goma 23/24 February. By 31 May 1995, all elements of the operation were in place in Goma, Bukavu and Uvira.

#### **2. OBJECTIVES**

*Objectives of Zairian Camp Security Operation are:*

- the improvement of law and order in the camps,
- the prevention of intimidation and violence against candidates for voluntary repatriation to Rwanda,
- the protection of personnel, infrastructure, equipment and supplies deployed for the delivery of humanitarian assistance;

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- escort to the border of Rwanda those refugees who have voluntarily chosen to return to their homes.

The mandate of the ZCSC is strictly limited to the refugee camps and for the provision of law and order within the camps themselves. The regular Zairian military and police are responsible for border control and general security matters in North and South Kivu. The Government of Zaire is responsible for upholding all of the attributes of national sovereignty in the area.

### 3. STATUS OF SECURITY OPERATION AT PRESENT

Five UNHCR Staff members, all based in Goma, have now been deployed, fulfilling the functions of Head of the Operations and administrative backup and support. Included in the UNHCR staff component of the Civilian Security Liaison Group is General Ian Douglas, (Canada), proposed by DPKO, New York, recruited by UNHCR as Commander of the CSLG.

To date 38 Civilian Security Liaison officers have arrived in Goma and Bukavu; 16 have been contributed by the Government of the Netherlands, two by the Swiss Federation and 10 each from the Republics of Benin and Cameroon. Additional contributions of 10 - 20 officers each from the Republics of Burkina Faso and Guinea are expected to arrive in Goma within the coming weeks.

The full total contingent of 1,513 agents of the ZCSC have been deployed since mid April 1995. 863 agents are posted in four locations in Goma area, 500 have been recently to Bukavu in South Kivu and in Uvira 150 agents are stationed. The present deployment is follows:

<b>Goma</b>	
Kibumba Camp	112 agents
Katale Camp	329 agents
Muguna Camp	261 agents
Command Center	161 agents
<b>Bukavu</b>	
Kamuvu Camp	248 agents
Nyamirangwe Camp	102 agents
Nyangezi Camp	100 agents
Command Center	50 agents
<b>Uvira</b>	
Sange Camp	150 agents

In Goma four encampments have been identified and prepared; four sites in Bukavu, and in Uvira there is one site on the Ruzizi Plain. The various equipment items, such as vehicles and communications equipment have arrived in Goma, and have been distributed to the relevant locations in Bukavu and Uvira.

### 4. OPERATIONAL COMPONENTS

*The Zairian Camp Security Operation is composed of three distinct elements.*

*Zairian Camp Security Contingent (ZCSC)*, consisting of 1,513 highly trained military personnel of the Zairian Government is the main implementing body of the above objectives. The cooperation of the Government of Zaire and the performance of the agents has been excellent. A *Crisis Cell* is established in the Prime Minister's Office, Kinshasa, with representations planned in Goma and Bukavu. The Members of the Cell will travel from Kinshasa to Goma and Bukavu to evaluate and to report on the functioning of the operation to the Prime Minister. The *Civilian Security Liaison Group (CSLG)*, established by UNHCR, is composed of expatriate security advisors of police or military background and a small number of UNHCR staff members. Members of the CSLG do not carry weapons of any nature nor wear police or military uniforms. The Liaison Group reports to the Head of the Operation, a senior UNHCR officer, and work closely with the Heads of the Relevant UNHCR Sub-Offices. Standard Operating Procedures, following the gendarmerie approach, have been adopted for the ZCSC and are being implemented. Both the CSLG and the ZCSC are being trained by UNHCR protection staff in the principles of refugee law and doctrine.

#### 5. ACHIEVEMENT AND PERFORMANCE

The deployment of the ZCSC has had a marked positive impact on the security within the camps in North Kivu region. Repatriation convoys are escorted by the ZCSC and no incidents during the repatriation operations have occurred since the practice was implemented. Riots and demonstrations at food distribution points and the UNHCR offices have been effectively dispersed by the contingent. Expatriate personnel and UNHCR Field Officers report an improved feeling of security in the camps, and a decrease in the internal tensions. The agents have intervened to halt intimidation activities, blackmarketing of relief goods and have conducted the arrest of individuals responsible for a variety of petty criminal acts.

The Zairian Government and the Ministry of Defense have been very supportive of the operation. The agents deployed are experienced professionals and are dedicated to the success of the operation. Cooperation between the ZCSC agents and the CSLG Liaison Officers is good.

#### 6. GENERAL SECURITY SITUATION IN KIVU REGION

While the security situation in the camps has greatly improved thanks to the deployment of the ZCSC, a number of cross border incidents have been reported in the region. On 13 April in Bukavu 30 refugees were killed and another 56 persons wounded. At approximately 22:00 the refugee camp of Birava, located on the shores of Lake Kivu, was attacked by a group of men in military uniforms arriving in three motor boats and one inflatable craft from the lake. The attackers surround the Birava refugee camp of approximately 9,000 inhabitants and fired at random into the camp with automatic weapons and hand grenades for one hour and forty minutes. The Zairian village on the Island of Ibinja was attacked at the same time and at least two Zairian

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nationals were killed and many others wounded. Many of the refugee camps in Kivu are located near the border, as camps simply grew around where the refugees stopped in their flight from Rwanda. Their relocation further into Zaire will greatly increase the level of security in the region, and the transfer of the Birava refugee population to other existing camps in the region will be completed in mid-June.

The deployment of the ZCSC and CSLG has greatly increased the level of surveillance possible within the camps, and consequently, the level of accurate information available to the international community on the activities in the camps, including those of a military nature.

Given the physically limited size of the camps and increased surveillance, it seems unlikely that military training of any significant nature continues within the refugee camp limits. The space available for training activities is very limited and therefore military instruction cannot take place beyond the form of a classroom type level. The former leaders of the Forces Armes Rwandais (ex-FAR) have established camps separate from the refugee camps; one in Goma and two in the Bukavu area. UNHCR does not recognize nor assist these camps and the ZCSC does not operate there.

There are some weapons in the Goma camps, as daily firing of small arms is heard and killings do occur. Seizures of weapons by the ZCSC have been limited to very small quantities of ammunition rounds and grenades.

A BBC report of early March 1995 on military activities in Kamanyola site, Uvira, triggered a series of accusations against refugees living in Zaire. The 10,000 UNHCR assisted refugees living in the town of Kamanyola are presently being moved to other camps further away from the border, while nearby Kamanyola camp host some 18,000 assisted refugees from both Rwanda and Burundi. During the last five months, no incidents with arms were reported in the camp, nor were any arms seen by UNHCR or NGO staff working in the camp. The Kamanyola refugee camp committee strongly denies that the scenes of parading soldiers were actually filmed inside or near the UNHCR assisted camp, while the Zairian authorities insist that the filmed scenes did not take place anywhere in Zaire. The planned deployment of ZCSC agents to Uvira region will be of assistance in verifying such reports.

Nevertheless, it appears that operations are being conducted out of Zaire into Rwanda by individuals who live in the refugee camps in at least the Goma region. These infiltrations, given the population size and nature of the camps are difficult to pin down and perhaps impossible to stop. It is believed that the weapons for these operation are stored outside of the camps in the surrounding forest and retrieved at night for the operations. The ZCSC will soon begin night patrols in the camps.

The Zairian Vice Prime Minister for Defense visited North Kivu 10 -12 April and discussed the issue of military activities of the ex-FAR with the Governors, local civilian authorities and UNHCR representatives. It was clearly stated that the Government of Zaire would not tolerate

military activities in the refugee camps. No statement was made on the activities of the other camps.

During the Bujumbura Regional Conference of February 1995, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zaire requested an Independent Commission of Inquiry be established to investigate the persistent allegations of military activities in the Kivu camps. In his report to the Security Council of 14 April 1994, the Secretary General stated his intention to hold consultations with various Governments, as well as with the OAU, on measures to respond to this request.

Following the attack on the ZCSC installation of Kimbumba camp, Goma of 26 April, the efforts of the ZCSC to reduce any military activities in the refugee camps has increased. Apparently, the mortars and gunfire received in the encampment, wounding two members of the ZCSC, were fired from inside Zaire, as part of a diversion tactic following an incursion into Rwanda. The number of arrests of refugees and confiscation of small arms has increased in all areas under the supervision of the ZCSC. Members of the ex-FAR who had been making very public political speeches in the refugee camp have come under investigation and in some cases have been arrested. The Governor of North Kivu called a meeting on 6 May 1995, inviting all heads and deputies of the refugee camp communities, during which he made it clear that refugees could not present themselves as members of the military in exile or use military ranks in refugee camps.

On 30 May a vehicle transporting six refugees and 13 Zairian nationals was completely destroyed when it ran over an anti-tank mine 30 km north of Kitale camp, Goma, on the main supply road from Uganda. A few days later, the ZCSC investigated the area and discovered a small bag containing four hand grenades on the site. The responsible parties have not been identified; however, the regular Zairian military now patrol the road daily to avoid further incidents of this kind. On the night between 29 and 30 May an explosion took place at the living quarters of local agency staff in Kimbumba, detonated by a home made bomb. This incident was also investigated by the ZCSC. In Uvira, the arrest of a gang of armed robbers was made by the ZCSC and they also intervened against another local military unit which had been terrorizing refugees and stealing their property.

The number of arrests of refugees by the ZCSC continue to increase, primarily in connection with thefts, violence against other refugees, possession of small arms, and in one instance, rape. In Bukavu the ZCSC have established 24 hour security posts for some camps. In addition, two sergeants of the ex-FAR have been arrested in Katale camp, Goma, suspected of having been involved in the mortar and small arms attack on the ZCSC camp in Kimbumba of 26 April.

Special Unit for Rwanda and Burundi  
UNHCR Headquarters, Geneva

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TO: 95 KHAN/TOUSIGNANT, UNAMIR, KIGALI IMMEDIATE  
FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK  
DATE: 12 June 1995  
NUMBER: 1946  
SUBJECT: Consultations with Governments of Zaire and Tanzania

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1. Ref our discussion today in the context of para. 6 of resolution 997 (1995) of 9 June.

2. As already conveyed to you, the SecGen has designated Mr. Ajello to conduct these consultations. Mr. Ajello at present is in Maputo and should be reaching Kigali by the end of this week, so that he can be briefed by UNAMIR, before commencing the consultations. As discussed, kindly designate a qualified and experienced senior military officer (Col. or Lt. Col.) and a political officer to accompany and advise Mr. Ajello. The Officers should be fluent in both English and French. The political officer would assist Mr. Ajello in preparing the report to the Council.

3. As agreed, please ascertain from Ian Douglas whether he could extend his stay in Goma to brief and advise Mr. Ajello. This would require Douglas extending his stay for about two weeks. Once you confirm this, we would work out appropriate arrangements with UNHCR and FALD.

4. Kindly bring to Mr. Ajello's attention the notes on the Security Council's consultations on the renewal of UNAMIR's mandate which were sent to you last week. You should also prepare for him a brief with all relevant information available on the situation in the camps in Zaire and Tanzania. It would be essential to inform him, particularly in reference to the Goma area, of the configuration of the camps, specifically on the reported separation of camps housing RGF personnel from refugee camps, and the presence

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and activities of the militia in the latter. Please make available to him the reports received from Douglas and any other material (including maps of the border areas) that you judge would be helpful.

5. As you are aware, these consultations are being undertaken in the context of the reported intensification of arms deliveries to and training in "military" camps of ex-RGF personnel across from Rwanda's borders with Zaire and Tanzania, as well as the increase in the number of cross-border incursions into Rwanda which could destabilize the situation. You should discuss with Mr. Ajello the implications of all possible options for monitoring or controlling such activities. Certain questions arise. Would the stationing of international observers at airfields have a constructive effect, or would it make such observers liable to criticism as they would not be capable of verifying the final destination of arms shipments considered to be legitimate? Could their security be assured by personnel provided by Zaire/Tanzania or would this require deployment of additional international personnel? Would it at all be feasible to deploy observers in the suspect camps to ensure that arms do not come in and that incursions are not launched (it may not be possible to prohibit training)? How would the security of such observers be assured?

6. Your briefing to Mr. Ajello assumes special importance since he has not been briefed at Headquarters and may not be fully aware of operational necessities and difficulties. Please convey to him that he also should raise with the authorities, especially in Zaire, the feasibility of relocation of "military" camps to distance them both from genuine refugee camps and from the borders with Rwanda.

7. We shall be glad to receive your comments and provide any clarifications that could help in these consultations.

Thank you and best regards.

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UNAMIR

JUN 13

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IMMEDIATE

TO: KHAN/TOUSIGNANT, UNAMIR, KIGALI  
FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK  
DATE: 12 JUNE 1995  
NUMBER: 1943

*[Handwritten signature]*

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UNATIONS  
OPERATIONS

SUBJECT: Record of Security Council meeting of 9 June

Please find attached copy of the verbatim record of the meeting of the Security Council of 9 June, during which resolution 997 (1995) was adopted. We wish to draw your attention to the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Rwanda and in particular to the following passage:

"My delegation is convinced that, now that UNAMIR has a clear, realistic and feasible mandate, cooperation between the Government and UNAMIR will be both total and stronger."

Best regards.

*(SRSG) FC*

United Nations

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# Security Council

Fiftieth Year

3542<sup>nd</sup> Meeting

Friday, 9 June 1995, 11.45 a.m.  
New York

Provisional

<b>President:</b>	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau . . . . .	(Germany)
<b>Members:</b>	Argentina . . . . .	Ms. Cañas
	Botswana . . . . .	Mr. Nkgowe
	China . . . . .	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic . . . . .	Mr. Rovensky
	France . . . . .	Mr. Mérimée
	Honduras . . . . .	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia . . . . .	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy . . . . .	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria . . . . .	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman . . . . .	Mr. Al-Samcen
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda . . . . .	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America . . . . .	Mrs. Albright

## Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/457)

95-85531 (E)



This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week of the date of publication, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

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Security Council  
Fiftieth year

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9 June 1995

*The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.*

#### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

**The President:** As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of June, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of May. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Mérimée for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

#### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

#### The situation concerning Rwanda

##### Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/457)

**The President:** I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Zaire in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President:** The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1995/457.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/465, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/465 in its provisional form:

in subparagraph (d) of operative paragraph 3, all the words following the words "police force" should be deleted so that subparagraph (d) will read as follows:

"Assist in the training of a national police force;"

in operative paragraph 5 the word "such" should be inserted between the word "that" and the word "arms" in the penultimate line of the English version of the draft resolution;

in operative paragraph 6 the word "related" at the end of the third line from the bottom in the English version of the draft resolution should be deleted, and the words "to Rwanda" in the penultimate line of the English version of the text should be replaced by the words "referred to above";

in operative paragraph 7 the word "or" in the penultimate line of the English version of the draft resolution should be replaced by the word "and", and the following words should be added at the end of the paragraph:

"concluded to replace that Agreement in order to facilitate the implementation of the new mandate;"

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/411, which contains the text of a letter dated 19 May 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Zaire. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It is an honour for my delegation to be the first to address the Security Council under your presidency, Sir. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June and also to congratulate the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of France on his outstanding presidency last month.

Zaire welcomes the draft resolution the Council is considering for adoption and believes that the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) is a positive step that will contribute to helping Rwanda emerge from the quagmire in which it is sunk. Zaire welcomes the adjustment of UNAMIR's mandate and hopes that UNAMIR will bring all its weight to bear so that the objectives enumerated in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution are accomplished.

My country fervently hopes that the provisions of subparagraph (a) of paragraph 3, which calls on UNAMIR to

"Exercise its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation within the frame of reference of the Arusha Peace Agreement",

will be speedily implemented.

Furthermore, the Government of the Republic of Zaire hopes the objective outlined in subparagraph (b) of paragraph 3 will be met. That subparagraph states that UNAMIR will

"Assist the Government of Rwanda in facilitating the voluntary and safe return of refugees and their reintegration in their home communities, and, to that end, ... support the Government of Rwanda in its ongoing efforts to promote a climate of confidence and trust through the performance of monitoring tasks throughout the country with military and police observers".

These measures should be accompanied by a specific timetable for the speedy repatriation of those refugees still in camps in Zaire. My country, which has borne the greatest burden of the Rwandan crisis can do no more. My Government appeals to the international community to help Rwanda to take back the half of its population now in our territory. It is not normal for any Government to claim the participation of all its people when half its population is living in confinement in camps. The Kigali authorities must

get down to creating conditions that will make possible the speedy return of refugees to their homes.

Paragraph 6 of the draft resolution

"Requests the Secretary-General to consult the Governments of neighbouring countries on the possibility of the deployment of United Nations military observers ... in order to monitor the sale or supply of arms and matériel referred to above".

On behalf of the Government of Zaire, I wish to inform the Council that Zaire is not an arms producer, much less an arms merchant.

Explicit reference is made to my Government. We thank the Council for its acknowledgement of the burden the Rwandan tragedy has placed on my country.

In order to put an end to the fantastic accusations often levelled at my country, I should like to reiterate publicly the request made by the Republic of Zaire's Foreign Minister at the Bujumbura meeting for the creation of an independent commission of inquiry to establish the truth about alleged arms transfers across Zaire's borders. Zaire is astounded at the Council's short-sightedness and wishes to remind it that the international community would benefit if it were provided with all the information relating to the countries from which those weapons — if any — come. The Government of the Republic of Zaire commits itself to participating actively in the consultations that are to be conducted with the Secretary-General and in due time will state its views on how the observers should be deployed along the border.

I should like to conclude by appealing for the question of a specific timetable for the repatriation of the refugees to be discussed by the Council when the question of Rwanda is next studied, i.e., one month from now, as stipulated in the draft resolution before the Council now.

The President: I thank the representative of Zaire for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

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I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are already witness to the efficient and competent manner in which you are directing the affairs of our Council. Let me also seize this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, the Permanent Representative of France, for the able manner in which he presided over the Council's affairs in the month of May.

My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for a very comprehensive report on the situation in Rwanda, on the efforts of the international community and, in particular, on those of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in assisting the Government and people of Rwanda in the task of national reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation with which they have been faced since the tragic events of last year.

In the political field, one must commend the efforts of the Government in restoring a climate of relative stability in the country. The commitment of the Government to national reconciliation is demonstrated, in our view, by its continued adherence to the relevant elements of the Arusha Accord. It is our duty as members of the international community to assist in this process. My delegation, however, notes with concern the observations made by the Secretary-General in his report about some negative developments that have stalled the process of national reconciliation. These include grossly overcrowded prisons, the lack of an effective judicial system, arbitrary arrests and tension over property rights. There has also been a virtual halt to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons to their home communities. The most acute problem, however, is the militarization of certain camps outside Rwanda and the arms build-up within them, coupled with the related phenomenon of cross-border armed infiltration from those camps into Rwanda. These have all combined to make a tenuous security situation even more grim.

Unfortunately, there has also been increasing agitation against the international community in general and the United Nations in particular for what is perceived by some in Rwanda — perhaps with some justification — as the abandonment of Rwanda in its time of greatest need during the genocide of last year and the subsequent inability of the international community to deliver on its promises to help the Government stand on its feet.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the presence of UNAMIR has helped contribute to an atmosphere of security and confidence throughout the country. The efforts of the international community continue to be crucial in the process of rebuilding Rwanda. That is why my delegation has expressed its disquiet about the reported open hostility that has been shown to UNAMIR's personnel in recent months. We believe that it is the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda to address this problem effectively.

The Security Council must in turn address the serious issues of the militarization of the camps, the arms build-up and cross-border infiltration.

I believe that the urgency of the problem was well emphasized by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in his briefing to the Security Council. In this context, we view the measures spelled out in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the draft resolution as a first step. After we have received the report of the Secretary-General, within the next 30 days, we believe that we may have to come back to the matter and proffer more drastic measures for solving the problem — a problem which, if not seriously and promptly addressed, could soon lead to an explosive situation that could engulf not only Rwanda but also some of the neighbouring countries.

In the area of reconstruction and rehabilitation, one cannot fail to note how the lack of resources and the absence of the requisite infrastructure have hampered the efforts of the Government. If we are to secure the peace in Rwanda — which at the moment is tenuous — we have to find ways and means of addressing this problem. As my delegation has stated on a number of occasions, it is no use asking the Government to create favourable conditions for the return of refugees if it does not have the means to do so. In this context, we repeat our appeal to members of the international community to assist the Government with financial resources. This is a situation where we feel some conditionalities may have to be waived, at least temporarily, to enable the Government to obtain this financial assistance in a timely fashion. We therefore welcome the call in the seventh preambular paragraph of the draft resolution for the accelerated disbursement of international assistance.

National reconciliation, as my delegation has stressed on several occasions, remains essential to the process of national healing in Rwanda. In this context, justice is a key element, and the International Tribunal — which has already begun to investigate cases — needs all

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the support it can get from the international community to achieve its goal. The national justice system also needs to be revived, urgently.

With regard to the mandate of UNAMIR, we agree with the recommendation that there is a need for an adjustment in the mandate to take into account the changed circumstances on the ground. There appears to be agreement by all concerned that, in the light of the current situation in Rwanda, the assistance of the United Nations through UNAMIR should be focused on activities aimed at building and consolidating an atmosphere of confidence and trust among all Rwandese. In this regard, we note with satisfaction that an understanding has been reached between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations on the appropriate force level that could carry out these tasks. The new force level, in our view, responds to the legitimate concern of a sovereign State to take charge of its own destiny, while taking cognizance of the imperatives of effective implementation of an agreed mandate. Recent experience has shown that providing our men in the field with less than adequate resources would be counterproductive with regard to attaining our desired objectives.

In view of what I have said, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution and support the extension of UNAMIR's mandate to 8 December 1995.

Finally, let me express our appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the excellent work he is doing in Rwanda and to all UNAMIR personnel for their service to the cause of peace and national reconciliation in Rwanda.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia):** It is with great pleasure that my delegation expresses its congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. Allow me also to express our appreciation to Ambassador Méricée of France for his skilful leadership during the month of May, when he presided over the Council's activities.

Regarding the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), my delegation is cognizant of the significant role UNAMIR has played in contributing to the prevailing stable condition in Rwanda, which I believe will substantially contribute to the process of national reconciliation, rehabilitation and

economic reconstruction. It is therefore imperative for the Government of Rwanda to maintain such favourable conditions in order for a just and durable peace to be achieved.

My delegation is particularly encouraged that the Government of Rwanda is taking the primary responsibility in providing security to its citizens, which is a fundamental task for a sovereign State. It was in this connection that my delegation fully supported the request made by the Government of Rwanda substantially to reduce the military component of UNAMIR. This reduction not only symbolizes the restoration of the sovereignty and dignity of the Government of Rwanda, but also reflects the reality in the field. My delegation therefore welcomes the agreement reached by the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations to reduce the force level to 2,330 troops within three months of the adoption of this draft resolution and to 1,800 troops within four months.

It is the considered view of my delegation that efforts to enhance the security situation in Rwanda are indeed indispensable for a climate of stability and trust to prevail, which would positively affect the flow of returning refugees. We are, however, aware that all these undertakings should be based on genuine national reconciliation among the various elements of Rwandan society.

Nevertheless, these efforts will not bring about the desired results if the supply of arms and matériel to elements of the previous Government continue unabated, with the ensuing consequence of cross-border militarization. In our view, addressing in a comprehensive manner this particular problem, which is one of the major concerns of the Government of Rwanda, would require cooperation not only between the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR, but also with the neighbouring countries. A regional approach towards resolving the matter would therefore be most welcome.

Despite the fact that some progress has been achieved, there are still some difficulties faced by the Government of Rwanda that have created tensions and frustrations, which my delegation fully appreciates and sympathizes with. In this context, I would like to point out that delay in bringing the perpetrators of genocide to justice, through both the national judicial system and the International Tribunal, is one of the underlying causes. This delay is mainly due to the acute shortage of personnel and resources. My delegation therefore would

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like to call upon the international community to be more forthcoming in providing the necessary assistance to Rwanda in this respect in order to restore the functions of the judicial system.

In the light of these considerations, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana):** Let me first of all convey our congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. We also wish to express our appreciation to Ambassador MÉRIMÉE, Permanent Representative of France, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

Botswana follows the developments in Rwanda with keen interest. We are encouraged by the determination and commitment of the Government and people of Rwanda to the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation of their country. The provision of water and electricity, the reopening of primary and secondary schools and the resumption of economic and agricultural activities, as outlined in the Secretary-General's report (S/1995/457), bear testimony to the efforts being made by the *Banyarwanda* to build a better future with very limited resources at their disposal.

There are obviously still many challenges ahead and hurdles to be overcome. One of them is the need to create an effective judiciary. We are encouraged that this is being given urgent attention. We commend the decision of the Government of Rwanda to submit, in accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement, a list of candidates from which the National Assembly will elect six high-ranking judges. We believe that this is an important step in rebuilding Rwanda's judicial system, which is vital to the process of national healing and reconciliation. The return of the rule of law would have a positive psychological effect on the people of Rwanda, and on genuine refugees in the neighbouring countries, with the knowledge that their civic liberties and fundamental human rights would be protected against the rule of men. The speedy rebuilding of the justice system would also ensure that suspects in the over-crowded prisons, which have attracted considerable media attention in the recent past, are tried expeditiously.

My delegation has no reason to doubt the authority of the Government of Rwanda or that it is capable of

providing security and protection to its own citizens. No one, as far as we know, has ever questioned the credentials of the Government in maintaining relative peace and stability in the country following the defeat of the perpetrators of genocide.

In the light of what I have said, we believe it is appropriate that the Security Council should review the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). My delegation therefore supports the new mandate, with a reduced force level in accordance with the wishes of the Government of Rwanda. We know that the Government of Rwanda did not get everything it had hoped for, but this can be expected in any negotiation process.

UNAMIR has made a significant contribution to the creation of a climate of peace, stability and national reconciliation in Rwanda. It will continue to play an important role as the embodiment of the readiness of the international community to cooperate with Rwanda in the difficult task of rebuilding a war-ravaged country. The adjustment of the mandate is, in our view, not a reflection of UNAMIR's failure, but, rather, an admission on our part that qualitative changes have occurred which require a quantitative change in UNAMIR personnel to take account of the changed circumstances on the ground.

National reconciliation is the biggest challenge facing the Government and the people of Rwanda. There are 2 million Rwandan refugees in Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire. We believe that it will not be possible to create durable peace when such a large number of people remain in refugee camps outside the country. While the responsibility for creating a climate conducive to the voluntary return of the refugees lies with the Government of Rwanda, we believe that the international community has a moral obligation to help, materially or otherwise, in this process. The resettlement and reintegration of the returnees will require substantial resources, which cannot be provided by the Government of Rwanda alone. We believe such resources would be less than what is currently being spent on refugees in camps, who are unable to engage in any meaningful productive activity.

The supplies of arms and the military training in refugee camps in neighbouring countries and the cross-border incursions into the territory of Rwanda by elements of the former Government are a matter of serious concern to my delegation. They are a threat to the atmosphere of relative peace and stability that currently



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prevails in the country. They are also a threat to efforts which are being made for the voluntary and safe return of the refugees. They poison the atmosphere of mutual confidence and trust that is being engendered, and they place serious obstacles on the road to rehabilitation and reconstruction in the country. Moreover, they create tensions along the borders of Rwanda, and therefore pose a threat to regional peace and security. It is our hope that every effort will be made to ensure that the perpetrators of genocide do not return to Rwanda through the barrel of a gun.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Botswana for the kind words he addressed to me.

**Mr. Rendón Barnica (Honduras)** (*interpretation from Spanish*): Let me begin, Sir, by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your great experience and personal qualities will guarantee the success of the Council's deliberations. I wish also to express my delegation's thanks to the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Méric, for the able way in which he guided the work of the Council in May.

My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report dated 4 June 1995 on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), in which he concludes that the situation in Rwanda has changed radically and that the changes call for adjustments in the mandate of UNAMIR. The situation in Rwanda has indeed changed; the current circumstances there are not those of a year ago, which saw the end of the war and the genocide that caused the most unspeakable suffering. But the situation remains complex. Behind the apparent stability and normality in the country, problems persist, giving rise to tension and uncertainty for the people and the Government of Rwanda, and to justifiable concern for the international community. In our view, these problems must be rapidly resolved in order to create a climate of security and confidence conducive to the return of the refugees, to peace and to national reconciliation.

First and foremost, the people of Rwanda must have justice. A year ago nearly a million persons were massacred in that country, and the victims and their families are still waiting for the perpetrators to be tried. Thousands are now in Rwandan gaols without indictment or trial because the national judicial system is paralysed by lack of personnel and resources. Unless the judicial system is quickly rebuilt, with the assistance of the international community, many will long languish in prison, some

guilty, others innocent. The cycle of violence threatens to continue in Rwanda if the victims of genocide and other serious violations of international law do not see justice done.

The decisions on the establishment of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and on the appointment of a Deputy Prosecutor were important for bringing to trial suspected perpetrators of genocide and for beginning the investigation of such acts. But we consider that as a priority matter Rwanda's national judicial system should simultaneously be reconstituted through the optimal use of all the urgently needed resources and experts pledged by the international community. In that connection, we must be aware that the great majority of cases will have to be investigated and tried by Rwandan courts.

We also believe that neighbouring countries have an important role to play in achieving justice in Rwanda. In that connection, my delegation encourages the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General in Rwanda to remind the Governments of Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire of their responsibility to bring to justice those responsible for violations of human rights, and to cooperate with the International Tribunal for Rwanda by facilitating investigations on their respective territories.

The Government and the people of Rwanda are also concerned about continued military activities in the border areas and by the provision of weapons and training to elements of the forces of the former Government. These activities exacerbate tension, inspire fear and are a destabilizing factor. My Government urges the countries neighbouring Rwanda to take measures to prevent these activities, and to comply scrupulously with the restrictions set out in resolution 918 (1994) on the sale or supply of arms and related matériel to Rwanda.

A third element noted in the report of the Secretary-General is the slow delivery of the economic assistance pledged at the round table held by the United Nations Development Programme in Geneva in January this year. In this connection, we must recall that the disastrous events of spring 1994 largely destroyed Rwanda's economic and social infrastructure and diminished its administrative capacities. The country must be enabled to recover its national production capacity, to promote national reconciliation and to create the climate of confidence that is needed for the return of the refugees. Rwanda does not need a trickle of international assistance; it needs a sustained contribution that will

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enable the Government quickly to meet its budgetary requirements and carry out rehabilitation and reconstruction activities.

UNAMIR, United Nations agencies, human rights observers, the International Tribunal and non-governmental organizations have an essential role to play in the joint effort to help the people of Rwanda achieve peace, stability and reconstruction in accordance with the principles of the Arusha Peace Agreement. We consider that UNAMIR's presence in Rwanda has made and is making a great contribution to engendering the stability, security and confidence the country needs so badly. My delegation therefore agrees that the Mission's mandate should be adjusted in favour of functions aimed principally at confidence-building in the areas of national reconciliation, the voluntary and safe return of refugees, humanitarian assistance and the training of a national police force. Active cooperation from the Government of Rwanda is critical if UNAMIR is to carry out these new functions. We therefore urge that Government to continue its full cooperation with the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.

My delegation supports the Secretary-General's initiative on convening a regional conference on security, stability and development in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, for, as the report says, the return of Rwandan refugees depends not only on improved conditions inside the country but also on better relations between the countries of the Great Lakes region.

Having said that, my delegation supports the Secretary-General's proposal for the extension of the mandate of UNAMIR, and will vote in favour of the draft resolution. We hope that its adoption will contribute to the efforts of the Government of Rwanda to achieve justice, national reconciliation and reconstruction.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Honduras for the kind words he addressed to me.

**Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*):** Mr. President, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. The Chinese delegation pledges you its full cooperation. We are confident that, given your wisdom and extensive diplomatic experience, you will guide the Council's work this month towards success.

I also wish to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Méricée of France, for his outstanding contribution to the complete success of the Council's work last month.

This is the first time since I took up my functions here that I have made a statement at a formal meeting of the Security Council. As the Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, I can say that I should like to establish a good working relationship with members to help fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter and bring peace and development to the world.

The practice of United Nations peace-keeping operations over the years has shown that such operations can succeed only when they adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to principles that history has proved effective. In our view, such principles include, primarily, respect for the sovereignty of the countries concerned; non-interference in their internal affairs; the non-use of force except in self-defence; observance of strict neutrality by refraining from involvement in internal disputes and conflicts; and obtaining the countries' consent and cooperation. Furthermore, United Nations peace-keeping operations should be carried out in light of the current realities and the actual capabilities of the United Nations. Any operation that deviates from these principles will suffer setbacks or failures.

There have already been many examples, both positive and negative, in this connection. At present, United Nations peace-keeping operations are going through a critical period of reflection and transition. It is therefore all the more imperative for the Security Council to draw the lessons of past experience and consider each operation carefully, in the light of these principles, so as to make decisions that are practical and feasible.

Since its establishment, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has made some contributions to the stability of Rwanda and to the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The situation in Rwanda is now moving towards normalcy. That this is so is inseparable from the positive efforts of the Rwandese Government, particularly the tremendous work it has done in promoting national reconciliation and healing the wounds of war; gratifying progress has been achieved here.

Schools have been reopened. Water and power supplies have been partly restored. Rwanda is already on

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the road towards rebuilding and reconstruction. However, it still faces difficulties: the security problem remains grim; the repatriation of refugees and the return of displaced persons have again come to a halt; and the flow of weapons into Rwanda has yet to be controlled. The task facing the Rwandese Government and people therefore remains a very arduous one: they must rely mainly on their own efforts to facilitate, through national reconciliation, a smooth repatriation and return.

The actions of the international community, including the actions of the Security Council, should aim first of all to meet the priority needs of the Rwandese people; in this way, they can be of genuine help to the Rwandese Government and people in achieving political and social stability. In this connection, the will of the Rwandese Government and people must be respected.

The Security Council proposes, in light of the changed situation in Rwanda, to modify UNAMIR's mandate and reduce the scope of its activities; UNAMIR will mainly play a good-offices role in future to help achieve national reconciliation within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. We are of the view that this change is in the interests of the Rwandese people.

The draft resolution before us basically reflects this spirit. The Chinese delegation will vote in favour, a decision based on our consistent support for the Rwandese peace process. We hope that the adoption of the draft resolution will further promote peace and stability in Rwanda and help the Rwandese people achieve national reconciliation so that soon they will be able to live and work in peace and contentment.

**The President:** I thank the Permanent Representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

The Council will now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/465, as orally revised in its provisional form.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**The President:** There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 997 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

**Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom):** Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you, on behalf of my delegation, on your assumption of the presidency this month, and to thank Ambassador Mémée of France for his distinguished and efficient conduct of the Council's work last month.

We welcome the adoption of the resolution extending the peace-keeping work of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months and redefining its mandate to reflect the considerable changes in circumstances and in the needs of the people of Rwanda. Their overriding requirement is now for the development of a climate of stability and confidence, which will encourage further efforts and progress towards national reconciliation. My Government is satisfied that, with this resolution, UNAMIR now has the mandate to offer effective assistance with this process.

We also welcome the outcome of discussions between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations which should ensure that UNAMIR will have at its disposal the military assets that the Force Commander believes are necessary to carry out the mandate. We look to the Government of Rwanda to continue to work with UNAMIR to ensure the safety of the personnel of all international agencies and non-governmental organizations, and to maintain full cooperation to enable them to carry out their essential humanitarian tasks. We particularly look to the Government of Rwanda to fulfil its commitments under the Status of Mission Agreement and other relevant agreements.

We hope that the Government of Rwanda will draw confidence from the restatement of the arms embargo in this resolution to make clear to neighbouring countries that the embargo applies if the arms are for use in Rwanda. We welcome the readiness just expressed by the Permanent Representative of Zaire to cooperate in this area, and we hope that the consultations with Zaire and other neighbouring countries will lead to early steps to tighten the noose on the illicit traffic in arms to elements opposed to national reconciliation in Rwanda. All countries in the region must continue their efforts to

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ensure that the embargo is enforced effectively within their jurisdictions, and to prevent activities aimed at the destabilization of Rwanda from taking place within their borders.

The presence of UNAMIR provides an essential element of the framework for cooperation between the Government of Rwanda and the international community to assist the development of the country and to develop a climate in which refugees and internally displaced people can return home in safety. We wish to see the international community increase its effort towards rehabilitation and reunification inside Rwanda, in particular through the rapid delivery of the substantial commitment of aid already entered into by the international community.

Finally, we pay a particular tribute to the work of the Secretary General's Special Representative in helping secure a lasting peace in Rwanda. We also welcome the Secretary General's efforts to develop a wider political dialogue in the region as a whole. We hope that all neighbouring countries will join with the international community in support of this process.

**The President:** I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. Fulei (Italy):** Allow me at the outset, Sir, to offer my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Having been privileged to serve with you for many years in another forum, I knew from the first moment that you began to exercise this function that you would be very successful.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, the Permanent Representative of France, with his brilliant presidency of the Council last month, once more confirmed the high professionalism that has won him universal admiration and respect.

Italy welcomes the adoption of the resolution on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) until 8 December 1995. The resolution marks the beginning of a new phase of cooperation between the United Nations and Rwanda — a phase which, we are convinced, will be characterized by unity of intent and of objectives.

I wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere satisfaction at the spirit of compromise and flexibility that has prevailed during the course of the consultations held over the last few days. This spirit has made possible the

launching of a new, significant phase in the operation in Rwanda, one that shifts the focus from peace-keeping to confidence-building. All the conditions seem to be set now for the Rwandese operation to become another United Nations success story like those in Cambodia, El Salvador, Haiti and Mozambique.

In this respect, let me pay homage to the diplomatic skill and balance shown by our colleague Ambassador Manzi Bakuramutsa, the Permanent Representative of Rwanda. In our opinion, that skill and balance were instrumental in reaching an agreement that satisfied all concerned.

The resolution realistically adjusts the mandate of UNAMIR to the conditions prevailing in the country today, which are characterized by renewed stability. There are numerous signs that testify to the gradual return to normality in Rwanda. To complete this positive overall picture, it will now be necessary for the national judicial system to be reactivated and for the International Tribunal to begin operating without delay. This would also help reinforce the climate of confidence, and thus help towards a definitive solution to the refugee problem, a solution which we hope will come soon. In this respect, I should like to express our deep appreciation to Zaire and to other neighbouring countries for carrying a substantial part of the burden of the refugee flow and for managing it effectively.

We consider it significant that the subject of the rearming militias and the supply of arms at refugee camps are also dealt with in the resolution. We consider of equal significance the clarification of certain aspects of the arms embargo in order to give the international community more effective means against those who would act to destabilize Rwanda. We support, without reservation, the measures adopted today in this regard.

Italy also wishes to emphasize particularly the resolution's call for the convening of a regional conference on security and stability in the Great Lakes area. We are convinced that the recent developments in the region should now lead to the adoption of broader confidence-building measures. These would greatly help to restore stability in the entire region and set in motion the necessary work for rehabilitation and reconstruction.

In conclusion, Italy believes that the Security Council has today adopted an effective instrument in support of the efforts of the Rwandese authorities and of

the international community towards long-term solutions to the problems of the area.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Italy for the kind words he addressed to me.

**Mrs. Albright (United States of America):** Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and by saying that we look forward to working with you productively and closely.

I should also like to thank Ambassador MÉRIMÉE of France for the outstanding leadership he provided to us last month.

The United States strongly supports Rwanda's efforts to become a peaceful, just and open society. Rwanda's tragic history cannot be undone, so our goal today is to open a new chapter for this troubled land — a chapter in which the Rwandan Government and the international community work together to reconcile former combatants, promote justice for the victims of genocide and set the Rwandan people on a path to a better future.

Our joint effort to achieve these goals remains a work in progress, one that can be accomplished only through unique cooperation between the international community and the Government of Rwanda. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) continues to have a critical role to play in this effort. One of its main functions will be to assist the Rwandan Government in its daunting tasks of readying the country for the voluntary and safe repatriation of refugees. The tens of thousands of refugees and displaced persons represent not only a human tragedy for those in the camps, but also contribute to the tensions in the region.

We are all aware of reports that bases and camps separate from those under the supervision of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, are being used for military training, recruitment and incursions into Rwanda. This is a danger that we must address. That is why the resolution also asks the Secretary-General to work with the Government of Rwanda and other Governments in the region to investigate and curb the flow of arms to those who seek to destabilize Rwanda.

My Government is particularly pleased that, under this mandate, UNAMIR will contribute to the security of the personnel of the International Tribunal. The Tribunal's success is crucial for the future of Rwanda. Those who

planned and led the genocide in 1994 must be brought to justice. Justice is an essential element of reconciliation; we are all in full agreement with the Rwandan Government in this regard. To carry out their duties, the investigators, prosecutors and judges of the International Tribunal require impartial international military protection. We express our gratitude to the Special Representative, Ambassador Khan, for his effective work and to the personnel of UNAMIR for their tireless efforts.

My Government also believes that UNAMIR can address only part of the challenge that faces Rwanda. We are acutely aware that development assistance is required to achieve stability. As the Ambassador of Rwanda has stated, doctors, agronomists and development experts must work alongside the peace-keepers to achieve our shared goals for Rwanda.

Finally, as a member of the Security Council, Rwanda has an important responsibility to promote the inviolability of international law around the world. We welcome the Government of Rwanda's cooperation and expect it to meet its obligations under this mandate as we work together towards building peace and stability for all the people of the region.

**The President:** I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me.

**Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic):** At the outset, Sir, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are convinced that your diplomatic experience and skills augur well for the success of the work of the Council. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard MÉRIMÉE, the Permanent Representative of France, and to the members of his delegation for the exemplary and wise manner in which they guided the proceedings of the Council last month.

A full year has elapsed since the humanitarian catastrophe in Rwanda, in all its violence, genocide and horror. My delegation is pleased to note the return of relative security and stability to Rwanda and that there are indications that life is beginning to resume its normal course. This is reflected in the fact that the Rwandese have resumed various day-to-day activities such as farming, trade and so on, children are returning to school, basic services are being restored and

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reconstruction is beginning. These are all reasons for some degree of optimism.

However, many challenges remain which the Government of Rwanda, with the support of the international community, must deal with effectively. The most dangerous of these are the military raids carried out by elements from the armed forces and militias of the former regime. Their military activities and the fact that they still have weapons cause us deep concern. We believe that the international community must continue to give assistance to the Rwandese Government to help it deal with the danger posed by these elements and prevent the outbreak of a new wave of violence and genocide in Rwanda.

My delegation believes that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has played an extremely important role, in circumstances that were often difficult, in alleviating suffering in this humanitarian crisis and in encouraging national reconciliation. My delegation shares the view that UNAMIR is still a necessary tool for restoring confidence and that its presence in Rwanda adds an important dimension to the efforts under way to create a climate of stability, confidence and security. Similarly, UNAMIR's presence helps create favourable conditions for the return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons, and for guaranteeing assistance for reconstruction.

Accordingly, my delegation welcomes the resolution just adopted by the Security Council in which it extends UNAMIR's mandate for a six-month period, until next December. We are particularly pleased to note the changes that have been made to UNAMIR's mandate, as set out in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution, and we believe that the Mission's mandate should reflect developments in the field.

My delegation, in the firm belief that the United Nations is following the proper course of action in Rwanda and that the Government of Rwanda still intends to cooperate with UNAMIR's efforts, supports the resolution, and indeed voted in favour. We hope that the resolution will play an effective part in the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in Rwanda.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize the constructive role that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has played in favour of the restoration of peace and stability in Rwanda and in the reconstruction of the country.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and also to express our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Méric, for his skilled guidance of our work in May.

I should like also to welcome to our ranks the new Permanent Representative of China, Ambassador Qin Huasun, at this, the first official meeting of the Security Council in which he has participated.

Russia, with unflagging attention, continues to follow the development of the situation in and around Rwanda: we note with satisfaction the indications of a gradual normalization of the situation. We hope that the Rwandese authorities, in conjunction with the country's various political forces and with the assistance of the international community, will succeed in fully stabilizing the situation and in creating the necessary conditions for solving the problems spawned by the civil war, dealing with the aftermath and, above all, for the refugees to return to their homes.

In the context of the new situation, we agree with the need to make certain adjustments to the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and believe that the Mission's new mandate, which was drafted taking the wishes of the Rwandese leadership into account and which the members of the Council have just adopted unanimously, retains an adequate United Nations presence and an active United Nations role in Rwanda. We expect that further constructive cooperation by the Government of Rwanda with UNAMIR and the Secretary-General's Special Representative will assist in the speediest possible achievement of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

Russia, like a number of other States, is actively participating in international emergency assistance to Rwanda, and has been involved since the early stages of the crisis in rendering humanitarian assistance. In addition, there are Russian military observers in UNAMIR.

On the political level, we continue to believe that the Arusha Agreement continues to define the framework for a peaceful settlement. We note the special role that the



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Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Rwanda's neighbouring countries are called upon to play.

We cannot fail to be concerned by the situation resulting from the continuing militarization of certain camps located in adjacent countries. We note with satisfaction the useful activity of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which, through constructive contacts with the Zairian authorities, was able to establish order in refugee camps under UNHCR's control. We hope that Rwanda's neighbouring countries, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution just adopted, will take all necessary measures to put an end to the illegal delivery of weapons to extremists from the Rwandan opposition. This will be an important contribution to the maintenance of stability both in Rwanda and in the region as a whole.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): Before turning to the main subject of my statement, I should like to offer you, Sir, the congratulations of the French delegation on your assumption of the presidency and to say that we take great pleasure at seeing the representative of Germany guiding the work of the Council.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 997 (1995), which extends the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for six months, until 8 December 1995, and maintains a United Nations presence in Rwanda. The situation in that country has changed considerably since this operation was established. There is no longer a civil war. The camps for displaced persons have been dismantled. The Rwandan Government has requested that the United Nations draw the relevant conclusions from these changes and that the United Nations operation in Rwanda no longer be entrusted with peace-keeping tasks *per se*.

That is what the Security Council has just done in giving UNAMIR a new mandate. It is also envisaged that the troop strength will be reduced by more than half. We hope the Government of Rwanda will cooperate fully with the United Nations operation and that it will continue to respect the Status of Mission Agreement. We attach particular importance to this last point.

Thus reconfigured, UNAMIR will have the primary task of providing assistance to the Rwandan Government,

particularly with regard to what we see as the essential, priority question: the return of refugees and their reintegration into their communities. We hope the Rwandan Government will continue to make every possible effort to promote the continuation of this process. We are certain that on the basis of such efforts the international community will continue to render assistance to the Rwandan people.

We also believe that the refugee question cannot be resolved solely in a national framework. France therefore continues to hope that a conference on peace, security and stability will be organized so that the problems facing the countries of the Great Lakes Region can be resolved in a regional framework.

In conclusion, my country believes that confidence can be re-established in Rwanda only if there is a halt to the arms smuggling that fuels tensions in the region. Measures to that end include the clarification of the embargo regime imposed under resolution 918 (1994) and the possible deployment in neighbouring countries of military observers whose task it will be to monitor the implementation of the embargo.

We regard the restoration of stability and confidence, the return of refugees and national reconciliation as the only ways in which the countries of the region, and Rwanda in particular, will be able to return to the path of peace and progress.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

Ms. Cañas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, I wish to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Council and to offer you our fullest cooperation in the discharge of your tasks, in which, given your great abilities, we are sure you will be successful.

We would also like to congratulate Ambassador Mérimée of France and his entire delegation for their harmonious and skilful guidance of the work of the Council in the month of May.

My Government wishes to express its appreciation to the Government of Rwanda for its achievements and its efforts to normalize life in that country, despite the difficult situation it faces. As we have said before, the safe and voluntary return of Rwandan refugees to their communities is essential for the rehabilitation and

reconstruction of Rwanda. For this reason, the lack of a judicial system, the militarization of the Rwandan refugee camps in neighbouring countries — which results directly in destabilizing incursions into Rwanda — and the need to speed up the establishment of conditions favouring the return and reintegration of the refugees are priority issues that must be dealt with swiftly in order to head off the possibility of another massacre in the region.

In the resolution just adopted, the Security Council specifically focuses on those aspects. On the one hand, taking into account the new circumstances in Rwanda, the Council has adjusted the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and its force level. My delegation fully supports UNAMIR's reorientation, which was worked out in close consultation with the Rwandan delegation and is described in operative paragraph 3 of the resolution. We believe the task can be successfully performed with a reduction in UNAMIR's personnel, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution; maintenance of the current number of military observers and civilian police; and, most especially, the full cooperation of the Rwandese Government.

On the other hand, under paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the resolution, the Council, concerned about reports on military preparations and increasing incursions into Rwanda by elements of the old regime, is taking measures in that regard. It states clearly that the restrictions imposed by resolution 918 (1994) apply to the sale or supply of arms and matériel specified in that resolution to persons in the States neighbouring Rwanda if that sale or supply is for the purpose of the use of such arms or matériel in Rwanda. It also calls upon the States neighbouring Rwanda to take steps with the aim of putting an end to factors contributing to the destabilization of Rwanda, and requests the Secretary-General to consult with those countries' Governments on the possibility of the deployment of military observers in their territories in order to monitor the sale or supply of arms.

We believe that all of these measures should be accompanied by increased assistance to Rwanda's rehabilitation efforts. Making resources available to Rwanda will make it possible to speed up the establishment of the climate of confidence necessary for national reconciliation and the return of refugees. In this connection, we urge donor States and organizations to fulfil their commitments, and in particular to support the early and effective operation of the International Tribunal and the rehabilitation of Rwanda's judicial system.

We also believe that the regional perspective of the problem of Rwanda should be borne in mind. We think it advisable to reactivate and implement the Bujumbura agreement, since it provides the host countries, the countries of origin and the international community with the proper framework for action on the refugee question.

Similarly, we believe that the global approach to the problems of the Great Lakes Region is appropriate, and in that connection support the speedy convening of the regional Conference on Security, Stability and Development.

At this new juncture for Rwanda, we believe that the presence of the United Nations, in close cooperation with its Government, has an important role to play in rehabilitating the country and in enhancing confidence in the international community at a time when Rwanda is in great need of it.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Argentina for her kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. Rovinsky (Czech Republic):** Mr. President, first allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Mémée of France and his delegation for the excellent way in which the affairs of the Council were guided last month.

Resolution 997 (1995), which the Council has just unanimously adopted, marks the beginning of a new stage of United Nations involvement in Rwanda.

At this juncture, therefore, it would be fitting to consider how successful the efforts to bring peace and stability to that long-suffering African country have been.

The Secretary-General in his report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) indicates that a climate of relative stability has prevailed in Rwanda and that the country, which last year was stricken by genocide, is now largely at peace. The long and arduous process of recovery has begun.

It is clear from the report that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda has so far been a success. Over the past year UNAMIR has assisted the Rwandan people in achieving and maintaining peace, and it has also made a significant contribution to the normalization of the situation in Rwanda. It is also clear that the



continuing presence of UNAMIR in Rwanda is essential if the process of stabilization and confidence-building in the country is to continue.

Resolution 997 (1995) adjusts the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda so that it reflects in a better way the present situation prevailing in that country, especially the improved security environment.

On the basis of this adjusted mandate, UNAMIR will concentrate on a confidence-building role rather than on peace-keeping. It will assist the Rwandese Government with the process of confidence-building, with the reintegration of the returning refugees into their home communities and with the distribution of humanitarian aid.

Furthermore, UNAMIR will be entrusted with the task of protecting the personnel of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and the various non-governmental organizations performing humanitarian activities in Rwanda. Another important task will be the provision of assistance in the training of the Rwandan national police force. UNAMIR, which will be substantially reduced in strength, will carry out its mandate with full respect for the Rwandan Government's sovereign authority.

The improvement in the overall situation in Rwanda is the result of great efforts exerted by the Government of Rwanda, with the assistance of other member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the international community in general.

However, despite all the positive achievements, a lot still needs to be done before Rwanda returns to normal and before there is true national reconciliation, which is a crucial prerequisite for the long-term stability and prosperity of the country.

Obviously, there can be no genuine national reconciliation unless a climate of stability, tolerance and trust is created which will encourage the 2 million refugees and displaced persons to return home. To create a climate conducive to the return of the refugees is the primary responsibility of the Government of Rwanda. It has to do its utmost to prevent abuse of the returning refugees, and if such abuse does take place it must punish those responsible according to the law.

It is clear that the success of national reconciliation is directly linked to the process of bringing to justice the people responsible for the genocide and other criminal acts which were committed during last year's civil war. The

longer it takes, the longer and less successful will the process of national reconciliation be. This is why it is imperative to set up as soon as possible with international assistance an effective national judicial system and to get the International Tribunal for Rwanda fully operational.

Another important element of stability is the economic situation of the country. Rwanda's economy and infrastructure have been devastated by the vicious civil war. Rwanda cannot by itself cope with this huge problem, which, *inter alia*, further complicates the speedy return and reintegration of refugees. Not enough has been done by the international community so far to improve the situation. It is therefore imperative to accelerate the disbursement of international economic assistance pledged to Rwanda, which will help it in its short-term economic recovery.

With respect to the long-term solution of the various problems which Rwanda is currently facing, it is clear that a regional approach is needed here. My delegation therefore welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to explore the possibilities of convening the regional Conference on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region.

Although the security environment in Rwanda has improved over the past year, thanks to the efforts of the Rwandese security forces and of UNAMIR, the overall security situation is clearly still far from ideal. There are persistent reports of the rearming of elements of the former Rwandan regime and of an increase in cross border armed incursions by these elements into Rwanda. This is a very disturbing development, which, if unchecked, could very seriously threaten the still fragile stability of the country and could create a new crisis.

We therefore welcome the fact that resolution 997 (1995) calls on States neighbouring Rwanda to ensure that arms and other military matériel which might be used in Rwanda do not fall into the wrong hands. In this context, we also welcome the proposal to station United Nations military observers in the countries neighbouring Rwanda, and we strongly urge their respective Governments to cooperate fully with the United Nations in this matter.

Finally, my delegation would like to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Rwanda, the Force Commander and the personnel of UNAMIR for their outstanding and tireless work, which

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greatly contributes to the cause of peace and stability in Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to extend its congratulations to you and your delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We are sure that your wisdom and competence will allow the Council successfully to complete its work during this month. My delegation's full support is at your disposal should you require it.

I should also like to take advantage of this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée on his effectiveness and the competence with which he guided the work of the Council during the month of May.

My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to welcome the Permanent Representative of China. My delegation also promises him its full cooperation.

My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his interim report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). My delegation would also like to thank in particular Mr. Shaharyar Khan, his Special Representative, as well as the UNAMIR Force Commander, General Guy Toussignant. Thanks to their personal qualities and their competence, UNAMIR has been able to complete its mandate. This is also thanks to the good cooperation and regular consultations which they have had with the Rwandan Government.

As the Council is aware, 10 months ago Rwanda was a country in ruins, with one eighth of its population decimated by blind genocide, advocated and planned by the then Government.

My Government recognizes, with the Secretary-General, the need to review UNAMIR's mandate. The situation has changed, and the current mandate had already been overtaken by events. I should point out that my Government, like any responsible Government, wishes to exercise its sovereignty in the security field throughout Rwanda.

The Government of Rwanda would also like to ensure peace and build confidence between the Rwandese without any go-betweens. So long as there is a go-between that confidence can never be fully established. There is a need

to promote direct contacts between the people and its Government.

My delegation is convinced that, now that UNAMIR has a clear, realistic and feasible mandate, cooperation between the Government and UNAMIR will be both total and stronger.

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to raise two points that deserve serious consideration. The first is the insecurity arising from the refugee camps, which are a danger to peace in Rwanda and its neighbouring countries. My delegation would request the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council on the situation in the camps rather than allowing the situation to deteriorate and leaving it to the non-governmental organizations and journalists to assess the situation. If the countries that are affected by these refugee camps wish to demonstrate transparency, we would ask them to form an international commission to consider this question.

My second point concerns the arms embargo imposed on the current Rwandese Government, which in fact helps the criminals of the former Government who planned last year's genocide in Rwanda. It is unfortunate that the new Government of National Unity is now the sole victim of this embargo, which is technically difficult to implement in the refugee camps, since the group there is not a political entity.

My delegation appeals urgently to the Security Council to review its resolution 918 (1994), which was designed to address a particular situation; that situation and the government to which that resolution applied no longer exist, and the resolution therefore penalizes a government that is struggling to ensure security for its people while the real criminals for whom it was designed are arming themselves with impunity so that they can finish off the crimes they started last year. We therefore request a review of resolution 918 (1994), because the Rwandese people not only need it, they have a right to it.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

(*spoke in English*)

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Germany.

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My Government was pleased to support the resolution, just adopted, extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months. UNAMIR can thus continue to play its crucial role in Rwanda's reconciliation and rehabilitation process.

Since we last decided on the mandate of UNAMIR, the situation in Rwanda has changed considerably. Given these changed circumstances, the Council has decided to adjust both the mandate and the size of UNAMIR. UNAMIR needs a solid basis for its work; this basis will be provided by the mandate and by force level which we have agreed upon. UNAMIR will conduct its work in close cooperation with the Government of Rwanda. Likewise, we expect the Rwandan authorities to give their full support to UNAMIR.

Stability, genuine national reconciliation and reconstruction remain the ultimate goals for Rwanda. UNAMIR will help achieve national reconciliation between all Rwandans by continuing to exercise its good offices. However, without the return of the refugees, there will be no lasting stability in the country. In this context, UNAMIR will assist the Government of Rwanda in facilitating the voluntary and safe return of refugees to their home communities.

Another precondition for genuine national reconciliation is the attainment of justice. Those who are guilty of genocide must be brought to trial. We therefore strongly support the emphasis that the resolution places on supporting an early and effective functioning of the

International Tribunal and on rehabilitating the Rwandan judicial system. Rwanda still needs urgent and substantial assistance for its rehabilitation efforts in this area.

In his report, the Secretary-General called for action to prevent military activities by Rwandan nationals in neighbouring countries aimed at destabilizing Rwanda. The Security Council has now requested the Secretary-General to consult the neighbouring countries on the possible deployment of United Nations military observers in order to monitor the arms embargo directed against these individuals, and we look forward to his report.

The scars of the horrible tragedy which afflicted Rwanda last year are still visible. But, slowly, Rwanda is returning to the stability and normalcy it seeks. The international community is called upon to continue to help the Rwandan people on their way. My Government will do its part and will further support Rwanda's rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

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TO: KHAN, UNAMIR, KIGALI  
OULD-ABDALLAH, BUJUMBURA  
FROM: *alim2.* HANSEN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK  
DATE: 16 MAY 1995  
NUMBER: 2002  
SUBJECT: IASC Statement on the Situation in the Great Lakes Regions

1. Attached, is a copy of the IASC Statement on the Situation in the Great Lakes region which has been conveyed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council. As you can see, this is the outcome of your suggestion at the IASC Meeting on 2 June.
2. I take this opportunity to thank you both for your participation in the IASC discussions which was greatly appreciated by all participants.

*Regards*

SRS G

**STATEMENT OF THE INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE  
ON THE SITUATION IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION**

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), comprising the Executive Heads of principal programmes and organizations of the United Nations systems as well as coalitions of non-governmental organizations in the humanitarian field, met in New York on 2 June 1995. It raised a number of immediate and serious concerns relating to the situation in the Great Lakes Region and requested its Chairman, Peter Hansen, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, to convey these to the Secretary-General and to the Security Council.

The members of the IASC expressed concern over the lack of progress in nearly all matters concerning restoration of stability in the region. They were particularly concerned over the possibility of further deterioration of the situation in the Great Lakes Region and recommend that the regional political processes be moved forward with all speed. Only within such a political context could the humanitarian work be advanced. In this context, they wished to draw particular attention to:

- the threat posed by the militarization of the former Rwandese military and other elements in countries neighbouring Rwanda which could lead to renewed conflict;
- the urgent need for the donor community to significantly accelerate the disbursement of the contributions pledged at the Round-Table Conference of 24 January 1995, and
- the highest priority that they attach to the provision of assistance for the judicial system in Rwanda.

The IASC calls upon the Security Council and the international community to give urgent attention to address the problems of the Great Lakes Region in order to avert another humanitarian tragedy.