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The SRSG
UNAMIR HQ
KIGALI

1 Apr 95

*MA
After*

NIBATT HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES AT A GLANCE

Reference:

- A. Your directive during your Official visit to Sector 1 on 28 Mar 95.
1. Attached, please find a copy of the above subject as you requested for your necessary action.
2. Also attached is a copy of AREF (African Refugees Foundation) News letter for your perusal and retention.
3. Please act accordingly and acknowledge.

Byumba - Rwanda
01 April 95

[Signature]
SE EOTKUDO
Lieutenant
NIBATT Public Affairs
Officer (Ext 11205)

Information:

MPAO

FC 

DFC

CCS

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HIBATT HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES AT A GLANCE

1. PATROL

- Exercise dominion over its AOR through foot and mobile day and night patrols despite RPAs refusal of deployment right in UN authorised locations.
- In Feb 95, the Contingent deployed two of its platoons to Ngarama and Nyagatare.
- Ensure safety of lives and property by effectively checking secret killing activities and harassments by some RPA.
- Maintain security in its AOR.
- Performes escort duties for NGOs, relief materials, government officials, DPs and cash from the Rwanda National Bank for salaries of civilians workers of the Prefecture.
- Took active part in the "OP HOPE" where its troops arrested several unscrupulouselements who were handed over to local prosecutor by UNAMIR authority.
- Siezed 1 Magazine with 11 live rounds, 25 swords and one spear which were submitted to the UNAMIR authorities after the OP HOPE.
- Returned large quantity of ammunition found during patrol at a former RGF base to the HQ.

2. MEDICAL

Achievement: Treated a total of 13,000 local patients in its humanitarian clinic - an average of 350 daily between October 94 and early January 95.

- While between Feb and early March about 5,324 patients received treatment at the clinic.
- The influx of patients reduced early^{March} due to the grenade attack on the Contingent.
- Carried out several emergency surgical operations during the period.
- Admitted 300 in-patients so far.
- Supplied drugs, and medical materials to distressed local clinic.
- Rehabilitated 1500 malnourished children.
- Conducted weekly health education for the locals.
- Supplied food, clean water, soap and detergents to the locals.

AREAS OF NEED

- Family planning facilities and drugs.
- Training of locals as para-medical staff.

LOGISTIC REQUIREMENT

- Provision of drugs especially for children and Tuberculosis patients.
- Provision of medical equipment and Ambulances.

3. ENGR

- Achievement:
- Cleared several farm lands of scattered mines, grenades and bombs.
- Destroyed 306 hand grenades.
- Detonated 488 anti-personnel, anti-tank, mortar and artillery bombs.
- Marked several other mine fields for clearance.
- Repaired several vandalised roofs, windows and doors.
- Rewired and installed electricity in the area.
- Reactivated blocked culverts, toilets and showers.
- Build/repaired 214 tables, stools and wooden beds.

AREAS OF NEED

- Mine detonating apparatus: Det cords, safety fuse and Dynamo condenser, Det 33' as well as Det '27' respectively.
- Can reconstruct damaged school buildings.

LOGISTIC REQUIREMENT

- Building/Construction materials needed.

4. TRANSPORT (ST)

- Achievement:
- Transported 350 DPs back to their communes weekly.
- A total of 3,500 DPs and returnees conveyed home from border post and DP Camps between Nov 94 and Jan 95.
- Conveyed about 4,200 DPs home on the on-going "OP RETURN" an average of 150 persons daily.

AREAS OF NEED

- Provision of welfare buses for conveying the locals at least twice in a week due to acute shortage of transport facilities in the Prefecture.

LOGISTIC REQUIREMENT

- Spare parts to put vehs on road all the time.

5. RELIGION - CHAPLAIN SERVICES

- Achievement:
- Reached out to the local worshipers.
- Donated 26,000 Amafaranga to the Byumba Catholic Parish.
- Donated 1,400 Amafaranga, food and clothings to the Byumba Protestant Church and locals.
- Donated 49,000 Amafaranga to the needy.
- Donated 41,000 Uganda Shillings, 272 US Dollars to the charity and welfare services of the locals.
- Pays regular visits with gifts, cash and kind to the Byumba orphanage.

OTHER AREAS

- The chaplaincy can assist the RPA to set up its own chaplain services.

LOGISTIC REQUIREMENT

- Chaplain basic Course
- Enough religious materials like Bibles, and other scriptural literatures.

6. PUBLIC AFFAIRS

- Achievement:
- Carries out enlightenment campaigns among the locals to educate them on the role of UN and some programmes of the government.
- Educate the locals to report all unexploded bombs and suspected mine field to UN troops/agencies.
- Encourages them to report any form of harrassment and location of mass graves to UN soldiers.
- Photo/Video recording of RPA activities/Wedding ceremonies of RPA officers.

AREAS OF NEED

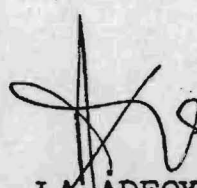
- The unit can assist the RPA to set up its own public affairs outfit.
- Can train potential soldiers of the RPA in this regard.
- Can assist in Organising inter school sports.
- Training sports organisers.
- Providing sports kits for schools.

7. SOCIAL/WELFARE PROGRAMMES

- Organised friendly football and volley ball matches with the RPA and local teams.
- Took part in the athletic competition organised by the UNAMIR Athletic club and won 4 medals.
- Plans more friendly matches with the locals and other Contingents.
- Got AREF to gather 15 tons relief materials for Rwanda.
- Received the consignment in the tune of \$4 million on 20 Oct 94 for distribution to the needy.

LOGISTIC REQUIREMENT

- Video & still Cameras.
- Radio and TV sets.
- Video Recorders.
- Public Address system.
- Mobile Public Address system built into bus/landover.
- Vehicle
- Projector/Generators.
- Tape Recorders.


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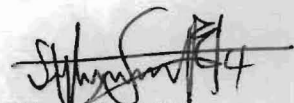
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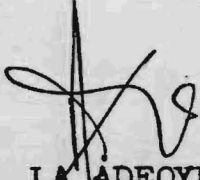
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NEWSLETTER

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION OF THE AFRICAN REFUGEES FOUNDATION

Vol.1 No.2

¥0.00

DECEMBER 2, 1994

THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT ON RWANDA



AFRICAN REFUGEE FOUNDATION
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Eldoret, Kenya
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KENYA/REFUGEES FROM ETHIOPIA/GURAR BORDER POINT, NEAR MOYALE/ARRIVAL
Victims of tribal conflict and drought.
KENYA/REFUGIES ETHIOPiens/POSTE FRONTIERE DE GURAR, PRES DE MOYALE/ARRIVEE
Victimes des conflits tribaux et de la sécheresse.
PHOTO: UNHCR/22047/03.1992/B. Press



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AREF Newsletter is a Quarterly Publication
of the African Refugees Foundation.

Executive Secretary: Amanda B. Adesida-Peterson.

Comments contributed are not necessarily those of
the Foundation. All submissions should be made to
our **Corporate Headquarters:**

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Plot 49, Babs Animashaun Extension,
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FROM THE PUBLISHER

IN THIS EDITION, UNHCR VISITS AREF



The UNHCR Representative in Nigeria, Mr. Emmanuel Bentil-Owusu (second left) being received at the AREF Corporate Headquarters by (l-r) Chief Olusola, Executive Secretary Amanda B. Adesida-Peterson and Messrs. Sunday Owolabi and David Inegbenejie both of AREF Administration.

THE AFRICAN REFUGEES FOUNDATION (AREF) was in Addis Ababa in March this year when the United Nations High Commission for Refugees proposed the HARRAMBEE and MFAYANKAZI models of partnership to African Non-Governmental Organizations at the PARINAC Regional Conference.

Having attended the SARRED (OSLO) Conference in my capacity as chairman, OAU MISSION OF FIFTEEN FOR REFUGEES in 1988, and realized how active the UNHCR had been on the continent of Africa, I thought the time had come to intensify an AREF-UNHCR relationship.

It was in pursuit of this commitment that we returned to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) in September to participate at the OAU-UNHCR SYMPOSIUM commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the adoption of the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, and the 20th year, since its entry into force.

At that symposium, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reiterated her commitment to the UNHCR-NGO relationship.

In spite of the fact that our schedule did not permit the attendance of the June 1994 GLOBAL, NGO and UNHCR PARINAC Conference

in OSLO, we are going ahead to facilitate UNHCR'S 134 recommendations regarding the fora of Refugee Protection; Internally-Displaced Persons; Emergency Preparedness and Response; the continuum from Relief to Rehabilitation to Development; and UNHCR-NGO partnership.

In the light of this growing relationship, Mr. Emmanuel Bentil-Owusu, UNHCR Representative in Nigeria, visited us on Monday, October 23, 1994, not only to commend our efforts on the historic airlift of relief materials to Kigali, but to assess our progress in the area of disseminating refugee-related information to local and international readers, and also to evaluate for his Headquarters how far AREF has gone in the one-year period that we have set up shop.

The tested diplomat met our core staff and several volunteers, and also took a tour of the various departments at our Headquarters.

Also in this edition, we are show-casing the ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT ON RWANDA.

As usual, we shall appreciate your critique, comments and suggestions.

H. E, Chief Segun Olusola, *mni*
Founder and President,

AREF MAIL

This contingent had earlier made an appeal through the Nigerian Press that visited Rwanda to various human rights organizations and kind-spirited Nigerians to donate relief aids to the people of Rwanda.

This clarion call was as a result of the assessment we made on arrival there.

Most of the NGOs operating here are from Western countries who have been scoring cheap publicity and enhancing the image of their respective countries.

All these are done to the neglect of African countries that should have been the vanguard. It is in view of this that we greatly welcome this effort especially from Nigeria. It is the belief of this Contingent that this effort of yours will act as complement to what the Federal Government has been doing with respect to UN peace-keeping operations worldwide and also boost the morale of Nigerian troops presently with UNIMIR Rwanda.

The relief materials you intend to send across would be highly appreciated by the refugees in Rwanda. We also make a solemn promise to distribute them as you may deem fit. Our resources would be made available in this regard. You may wish to send your officials to participate in the distribution. The AREF NEWSLETTER would be distributed to units — sectors within UNAMIR.

L. A. Adeoye
Lieutenant Colonel
Contingent Commander
Sector 1, Kigali, Rwanda.

It is indeed inspiring to see Nigeria assisting other African nations in practical ways despite our own formidable challenges in this country.

We are really pleased to hear of the plan to send some Nigerian doctors to Rwanda and (we) pray that all things may come together that this may actually materialize.

We have sent some bags and cartons of shoes and clothings and a cheque for N1,000.00 from Prof. and me as our contribution towards the work of your Foundation.

Doris E. Fafunwa (Mrs.)

I would like to assure you of my support of your worthy and most commendable effort.

Prince Tony Momoh.

I congratulate you and wish AREF success in all its activities.

For once, we can now feel proud that Africans are beginning to show concern for their brothers and sisters traumatized by ravages of internecine wars, wanton acts of brutality and political intolerance — disturbing features of nascent African politics.

As a friend of AREF, I pledge to give the Foundation every support and assistance within my means necessary for the achievement of AREF goals and objectives.

Yours sincerely,

Chief Akin Odunsi
Managing Director,
Rosabel Advertising Ltd.

CONTRIBUTION TO AREF PROJECTS (1)

Please accept my donation to:

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CONTRIBUTION TO AREF PROJECTS (2)

Please accept my donation to:

THE AREF RWANDA ASSISTANCE PROJECT.

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AREF UPDATE*

In the one-year period that the AFRICAN REFUGEES FOUNDATION (AREF) has been established, we have, amongst others:

(a) officially presented our short and long-term objectives to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the National Emergency Relief Agency of Nigeria (NERA), as well as officers of UNAMIR in Rwanda;

(b) participated at the UNHCR-ICVA-PARinAC regional conference (Addis Ababa) in March, 1994 where the UNHCR proposed the HARAMBEE and MFAYANKAZI models of partnership to African Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs);

(c) established the AREF-RWANDA ASSISTANCE PROJECT with a 15-member ADVISORY COMMITTEE that facilitated the national campaign for the donation and assemblage of relief materials to refugees and internally-displaced persons in Rwanda;

(d) strategically launched the AREF NEWSLETTER on Friday, September 2, 1994, at the NIIA with a 5-member EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE that gathers, segments, critically analyzes and disseminates refugee-related information to selected targets under our demographic coverage;

(e) participated at the OAU-UNHCR SYMPOSIUM (Addis Ababa) commemorating the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the 1969 OAU CONVENTION GOVERNING THE SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF REFUGEE PROBLEMS IN AFRICA;

(f) attracted the Art Exhibition on "HUMAN SUFFERING AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION" - staged by the National Gallery of Art in September 1994 to raise funds for our AREF-RWANDA PROJECT;

(g) performed the historic and monumental task of airlifting relief materials worth over N3 million to refugees and internally-displaced persons in Rwanda. The first consignment was escorted to Kigali by a team of three AREF representatives;

(h) attracted donations from SMITHKLINE BEECHAM, LEVER BROTHERS, LAI TAILORING, NIKKY AFRICANA, VOICE OF NIGERIA, BENDEL TEXTILES, ZONTA INTERNATIONAL CLUB (1) OF IBADAN, CHAPEL OF RESURRECTION U.I. AND ST. SAVIOUR'S SCHOOL, IKOYI;

(i) organized a two-day Workshop on international cooperation and the role of Non-Governmental Organizations in refugee environment in cooperation with GTZ of Germany: Mr. Heiner Woller of the GTZ-Africa Department was invited from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

*AREF UPDATE, Courtesy of THE LIBRARY DEPARTMENT, AFRICAN REFUGEES FOUNDATION.

REFUGEE ISSUES IN FINLAND

ALTHOUGH RELATIVELY ISOLATED, Finland is one of the Nordic countries with a well-developed social security system. The citizens of the country enjoy one of the expensive but very good social services in the world.

The population of Finland is about 5 million including very few ethnic minorities. The national and official languages in Finland are Finnish and Swedish.

Since the late 1980s Finland has been experiencing an up-surge in the flowing-in of foreigners. The economic and political situation in the developing countries aggravated the movement of people from the South to the North. This movement which is still on the increase has spread the refugee problems to Finland which until the late 1970s experienced none or very little 'physical' problems of refugees.

Finland has received refugees since 1979, but their numbers remained low until the end of the 1980s. By 1993 there were 8,700 officially recognized refugees in Finland. Prominent among the refugees are the Iranians, Somalis, and Vietnamese. Even though Finland has strict control on her borders, the country applies the Refugee's Family Unification Program which allows family members of refugees in Finland to join them. Even though the population of refugees in Finland is quite small compared to that of Sweden for example, refugee affairs are well-managed.

The Evangelic Lutheran Church in Finland which about 92% of the country's population belongs to, is also very active in contributing to the welfare of refugees in Finland. So also is the Finnish Red Cross which is the main institution that comes first into close contact with the refugees in Finland.

The State encourages the municipalities to receive refugees and provide them with housing, social and health care, leisure and cultural services, comprehensive education and other necessary services. In return the State provides financial support to the municipalities. In principle, refugees in Finland are entitled to the same social services as the Finnish citizens.

Social workers are basically involved in the provision of social services for the refugees. In many of the municipalities, separate departments have been set up to manage refugee problems on a regular basis.

However, some very important social problems that affect the refugees are yet to be solved. Among such problems is that of social acceptance of the refugees by the people of Finland.

Some studies made in Finland suggest that the people of Finland are willing to accept refugees. However, the economic depression that has hit the country since 1991 has created some negative attitudes among some Finns towards the refugees.

Notwithstanding the impacts of economic hardship on the Finns, refugee problems have been consistently attended to by the Finnish Government. This is because of the democratic systems that work in the country. It is a country where ordinary citizens

can act and be effective in persuading the Government to help even the refugees. Many of the Non-Governmental Organizations in Finland have also been effective in making the Finnish State continue to improve the condition of refugees living in Finland. The State has also followed its refugee program of receiving some refugees every year.

There are some interesting issues concerning refugee problems that have been muted among the Finns but yet to be seriously discussed in international fora. Among the issues is the important one of how to support the refugees and where. Some Finns are of the opinion that refugees will find it better if they stay near their countries, or in their own continent. The main reason for such an opinion is that since most of the prominent refugees are from Africa or Asia, giving them refuge in their own continents would solve some of the problems refugees face from the hands of extreme rightists in Europe. There have been suggestions that European countries could spend the money they now use for refugees in Europe to take care of more numbers of them if they stay or get refuge in their continents.

In conclusion, I would like to indicate that refugee problems are enormous. The pressure is more felt by the host countries, especially when there is economic depression. Countries like Australia, Germany, and even very liberal ones like Sweden have in recent times become very cautious and strict with refugee intake to their societies.

Finland is also faced with the moral conflict of having a sense of obligation to help refugees and social reality of cutting down the budget for humanitarian or development cooperation activities.

The heavy burden of receiving and taking care of the increasing numbers of refugees all around the world, and the reactions to the phenomena by hosting countries suggest that the problems of refugees may increase in the near future. It is then appropriate here to indicate that there is need for African and Asian countries to stem down the flow of refugees from their continents to Europe by attacking the political and economic problems of their societies.

However, one cannot say that doing the above will stop some people from becoming refugees. In reality there are many people that have been displaced because of natural disasters in their areas.

African and Asian countries should now intensify the building up of strong and reliable organizations that take care of refugees in their continents. The organizations if seen as reliable will undoubtedly receive supports from countries like Finland and other Nordic countries that are liberal and always ready to help developing countries on concrete projects.

*Dr. Kolawole T. Raheem,
University of Jyväskylä,
Finland.*

THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT ON RWANDA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

African leaders have assembled at various points in time to find urgent solutions to emerging socioeconomic, psychocultural and geopolitical problems on the continent. In 1979 when Africa's GNP was \$365 (USD) the lowest in the world at that time, and her infant mortality rate was 137 per 1000—the highest in the world, Africa's political leaders, tested diplomats and international scholars gathered themselves in William Tolbert's Liberia to deliberate on the economic development in Africa and consequently issued the "Monrovia Declaration of Commitment of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity" on Guidelines and Measures for the National and Collective Self-Reliance in Social and Economic Development for the Establishment of a new International Economic Order. The Declaration was adopted at the Sixteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government which was held from 17 to 20 July of the same year.

Notable amongst subsequent meetings in this category because it was directly related to high productivity and adequate infrastructural facilities at the workplace, was the "Enabling Environment Conference" held in Nairobi, Kenya, from 21 to 24 October 1986 specifically on Effective Private Sector Contribution to Development in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Sponsored by the AGA KHAN FOUNDATION, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA, THE WORLD BANK, THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, THE FORD FOUNDATION and THE ROCKFELLER FOUNDATION, just to mention a few, the "Nairobi Enabling Environment Conference" subsequently issued what is now popularly known as "THE NAIROBI STATEMENT".

In the mean time, and as these meetings continued, APARTHEID held its ground in South Africa; Ethiopia roasted away in its own fire, Nigeria mourned BIAFRA, Angola continued to hang between the devil and the deep blue sea, Idi Amin became a TERROR in Uganda, Nelson Mandela remained in jail, Siad Barre looted the Somalian Treasury and Sergeant Doe deliberately wasted very many lives before his own was ignominiously taken— one scenario that reminds us of Benito Mussolini.

How did the Organization of African Unity respond to all of these devastating punctuations?

The political vibrations and disasters that resulted from the phenomenon of "man's fight for supremacy over man" invited a new consciousness into the refugee production universe in Africa. Even though the main international legal instrument for the international protection of refugees, i.e., THE 1951

UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES was already in place, and in spite of the fact that quite a few African States have acceded to it, the Organization of African Unity, considering primarily the socioeconomic, geopolitical and psychocultural peculiarities of the African continent, thought it was time to model a new African principal refugee instrument, i.e., THE 1969 OAU CONVENTION GOVERN THE SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF REFUGEE PROBLEMS IN AFRICA, in the words of its ARTICLE VIII (2) as an "effective regional complement in Africa of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees".

In the 25-year period that the 1969 OAU CONVENTION has been put in place, the Organization of African Unity has gone ahead in furtherance of its commitment to peace on the continent of Africa, to establish THE OAU COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION as well as the DEFENCE COMMISSION as the official organs charged with the responsibility for peaceful settlement of disputes. At this juncture, Member States of the OAU came to realize that the Organization must show more responsiveness to emerging new challenges in the fora of Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

It was on account of this growing consciousness that the Secretary-General proposed the creation of a Division for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in 1991, which was approved, based on the July 1990 "Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the Political and Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes taking place in World".

As a sequel, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, current Secretary-General of the OAU, submitted to the 56th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Dakar, in June-July, 1992, a report entitled: "Report of the Secretary-General on Conflicts in Africa: Proposals for an OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution".

Along with the efforts of Dr. Salim Salim and the OAU in general, African scholars within the continent and in the diaspora made substantial direct and indirect inputs into the peace progress in Africa: Molefi Asante, current Chair of the African Studies Department at Temple University (USA) started preaching the gospel of AFROCENTRICITY. Ali Mazrui took "THE AFRICANS: A TRIPPLE HERITAGE" to television and Adebayo Adedeji developed THE AFRICAN ALTERNATIVE TO STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES.

In furtherance of his commitment to a peace-

ful Africa, Dr. Salim Salim again submitted a report to the 58th Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers and the 29th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in June 1993 in Cairo. In that report, the Secretary-General reflected on all aspects relating to the mechanism, i.e., the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, including institutional and operational details as well as its financing.

On the strength of that report, the Assembly adopted its "Declaration ... on the Establishment, within the OAU, of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution".

RWANDA:

How did the tiny African nation of Rwanda benefit from or react to these peace initiatives?

Although the April 1994 unprecedented bloodbath in Rwanda has featured on global television, newspapers, international magazines and campuses of African universities, it is of paramount importance to revisit the genesis of this political disaster to sort of reinforce our psychological emergency preparedness for the future.

Rwanda's political history as an independent nation has been constantly punctuated by conflicts. The nation has, since 1959, witnessed much communal violence which has led thousands of its citizens seeking safety as refugees in surrounding countries.

A densely populated and mountainous country, situated in the East of Africa, Rwanda's borders to the North, South, West and East are Uganda, Burundi, Zaire and Tanzania, respectively.

With a population of about 8 million before the April 1994 disaster, the HUTUS controlled 84% of the entire population while the TUTSIS controlled only 15%. The third tribe in the country, the TWAS claimed only 1%.

Prior to the colonial era, the system of governance in the Kingdom of Rwanda had been through the monarchy. The TUTSIS, being the ruling class, were the upper caste. They maintained a tender system based on cattle and exercised virtually total control over the majority HUTUS. Although the ruling class were the TUTSIS, only a minority were nobles or rulers, as most were poor, but still benefited materially from the caste system.

Also a rich HUTU or a HUTU who was made a chief could become a TUTSI through what was called "KWIHUTURA" (Shedding Hutuness) and a TUTSI family could lose its cattle by marrying into HUTU families, and eventually becoming a HUTU. Hence, the system was more of a class than ethnicity. A school of thought believed however, that the feudal system could have eventually given way to a more democratic rule, as it did in Europe, but for the advent of colonialism.

Under the League of Nations (later the United Nations) mandate of 1919, Rwanda became a colony of Belgium. Its colonial master prolonged the feudal system and made it more exploitative, producing deepened ethnic divisions and bitterness between the HUTUS and TUTSIS. This system advanced the TUTSIS over the HUTUS for over forty years. In 1959 at the approach of independence, Belgium switched support for the HUTUS.

This sudden switch of support by its colonial master was one of the most sensitive causes of the bitterness that has influenced Rwandan politics to date.

The more the country remained engulfed in the phenomenon of "man's fight for supremacy over man", the more it produced refugees and the more the refugees, who were mainly TUTSIS were inclined to run for survival. Therefore, the TUTSIS, for a better part of thirty years, lived stateless in Uganda, Burundi, Zaire and Tanzania. For the last decade, the government of Rwanda refused to allow them to return en masse.

Therefore, the TUTSIS aggressively grouped themselves together under the umbrella of the RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF). In October 1990, the RWANDESE PATRIOTIC ARMY (RPA) the military wing of the RPF, convinced that only by force will they be able to return to their homeland, invaded Rwanda from Uganda.

PEACE EFFORTS:

At the outbreak of hostilities, some countries attempted to find a peaceful solution to the armed conflict. At the forefront were Belgium, Burundi, France, Germany, Tanzania and Zaire.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was also actively involved in the peace process. Several summit meetings were held at different times and places with the representatives of the two political parties.

Notable among these meetings are the N'sele meeting of 29 March, 1991 and Gbadelite Summit of 7 September, 1991. These meetings emphasized the need for a ceasefire between both belligerents, i.e., the RPA and the Rwandese Government Forces (RGF) and the establishment of a Military Observer Group in Rwanda. Consequently, a ceasefire agreement was signed by both parties at N'sele, ZAIRE and by 17 May 1991, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) deployed a Military Observer Group to Rwanda. The Military Observer Group was composed of Contingents from Nigeria, Uganda and Zaire as well as representatives from both sides.

The summit meetings continued in one form or the other, until the last one was used to reconstitute the Military Observer Group (MOG) to comprise 15 officers each from Nigeria and Zaire. However, the reconstituted Military Observer Group did not take

off immediately due to logistic problems.

On 12 July, 1992, at a meeting in ARUSHA, Tanzania, the N'sele Ceasefire Agreement was further amended. It was at this meeting that the OAU Secretary-General was mandated to assemble and supervise a new NEUTRAL MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP (NMOG) in Rwanda. The NMOG was composed of 10 officers each from Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Zimbabwe, headed by Major General E. B. Opaleye of Nigeria. The NMOG also had 5 officers each from the belligerents. The NMOG mandate empowered it to maintain a ceasefire between the belligerents. Its establishment and take-off was to precede the withdrawal of foreign troops (mainly French) except those on bilateral agreement from Rwanda. It was also to create a DEMILITARIZED ZONE (DMZ) in which it could effectively monitor the ceasefire.

The new Neutral Military Observer Group became operational in Rwanda from August 1992. From the period — August 1992 to August 1993, high level peace talks continued to hold. The resultant effect was the signing of THE PEACE AGREEMENT between both parties on 4 August, 1993 at ARUSHA, Tanzania.

The salient points of the ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT are:

- (a) the establishment of a broad-based Transitional Government that should accommodate the RPF;
- (b) the integration of the Armies of both parties;
- (c) the formation of a National Gendarme (police);
- (d) the return of the refugees to Rwanda; and
- (e) the resettlement of the war-displaced persons.

THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT also called on the United Nations to establish and deploy a Neutral Multinational Force in Rwanda to supervise the implementation of the ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT ON RWANDA.

Based on this, the Security Council of the United Nations passed Resolution 872 of 24 September, 1993 which provides for the Establishment of a Neutral Multinational Force. On 1 November, 1993, a UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION TO RWANDA (UNAMIR) was deployed in Rwanda. UNAMIR has since integrated elements of the second batch of NMOG as observers and peacekeepers.

It will be recalled that the headquarters of UNAMIR is located in GITARAMA, about 147 klm from Kigali, the Rwandan capital.

Finally, whatever success the NMOG was able to achieve quickly disappeared soon after their departure and total anarchy engulfed Rwanda. The situation was further exacerbated by the bombing of the aircraft bringing home the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi from a peace meeting in Tanzania.

Thereafter, the RPF advanced rapidly and

within a short time was in control of a major part of the country. With the capture of the capital city of Kigali, the RPF formed a Government of National Unity.

It should however be noted that at the beginning of the war, when the HUTUS were in control of the entire country, it was alleged that they were carrying out ETHNIC CLEANSING of the TUTSIS ... now being investigated by a United Nations War Tribunal.

Thus, when the situation reversed, the HUTUS started moving out of Rwanda, en masse for fear of reprisal. That was how, in spite of THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT, a frightening exodus of Rwandese refugees and internally-displaced persons trekked the long route to surrounding border towns in April 1994.

200,000 Rwandese nationals died in the first two weeks of this unprecedented bloodbath, and eventually, an estimated 500,000.

In spite of the tragic events that took place in Rwanda early this year, THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT remains the best applicable strategy for the restoration of peace in that African nation.

The questions that the African Refugees Foundation is asking at this point are:

How fast can we reconstruct the tiny nation of Rwanda?

How much will it cost? Where will the resources come from?

What will be the make-up of the new Rwanda, and for how long will peace reign in that country? When will the schools reopen? How complete will this new Rwandese be when we recall the fact that his entire household was moved down, whether by his HUTU opponents or inadvertently by his angered TUTSI neighbour?

How many more PEACE AGREEMENTS will enable the HUTUS and the TUTSIS to co-exist in peace in Rwanda, since it is the only nation in the world that both of them can authoritatively claim?

The African Refugees Foundation commends the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, (OAU) and the Commander of the reconstituted OAU Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG) Major General E. B. Opaleye, (Rtd) as well as the officers of UNAMIR.

AREF will like to facilitate the implementation of the historic PEACE AGREEMENT ON RWANDA by collaborating with all parties concerned in the campaign for peace. Once our second airlift to Rwanda is effected, a powerful AREF delegation will be visiting the country to meet with representatives of UNAMIR, the government of Rwanda and the Sector (1) Commander in Kigali for an on-the-spot assessment of how this initiative can be massaged into a productive plan of action.

Amanda B. Adesida-Peterson
AREF Executive Secretary.

THE FIRST LONG HAUL TO KIGALI

History gets made in little ways. Thursday October 20th, 1994 was a day like any other day, but Chief Segun Olusola's main concern as we drove towards the AIRLIFT section of the AIR-FORCE BASE at Murtala Mohammed Airport was that it should not rain.

The sparsely covered truck load of the first batch of relief materials which AREF had been gathering for over a month of frenetic activity had gone ahead to the airport. It was 7.30 in the morning, and Lagos traffic was just beginning to yawn and stretch in preparation for another boisterous day.

I had had less than 12 hours notice that I would be going to Kigali. That was not unusual as things went if you worked with a person like the Aremo-Ajibulu. If you also had an adventurous nature, there was no end to the variety of adventures you would be co-opted into. What was unusual about this one was that for the first time in the contemporary or indeed past history of Nigeria and perhaps Africa, one African country was reaching across several thousand miles, to assist another African country, under a completely private non-governmental initiative.

Sending relief materials from Lagos to Kigali had seemed such a far-fetched idea, but evidently not to AREF's STRATEGY GROUP or its Founder/President. As Chairman of the Group of 15 during his 6-year tenure as Nigeria's Ambassador to Ethiopia, Chief Olusola had criss-crossed Africa, from Cairo to Cape, to witness at first hand the plight of refugees across the continent. A deeply humane and emotional man, he had recalled, with a catch in his voice, a most shattering experience of coming face to face with a refugee in

SOMALIA, who had come forward to speak with him. Emaciated, in tattered clothes, the man had said, "You do not recognize me, Your Excellency. I am the former Speaker of the House."

Before his assignment, Chief Segun Olusola like so many innocent souls, had known about refugees, but only from television and photographs which organizations like the RED CROSS and OXFAM had used to devastating effect to highlight AFRICA's many problems, especially drought, famine and civil strife. Before BIAFRA, it has all seemed so remote to Nigerians. After BIAFRA, one had wanted to forget as quickly as possible. The 30 years war in ETHIOPIA ERITREA was a constant reminder. BOSNIA, VIA CNN, indicated for the first time to millions of Africans that the spectre of emaciated, starving and dying refugees was not confined to Africa, but was also a reality in a civilized Europe.

The scourge however, was spreading alarmingly in Africa - Somalia, Sudan, South Africa and Liberia to mention a few spots.

At precisely at 9.45a.m. on Thursday 20th October, 1994, a C-130 HERCULES AIR-BUS, lifted off from Ikeja, Lagos carrying a UN/Nigerian Army amphibian armoured tank, and several items of relief materials to Rwanda. Clothes and shoes, detergents, food, especially baby food, beverages, several cartons of drugs and medical supplies formed part of this first precious cargo. AREF's recce group comprised of Okezie Ogbonna, a young and agile video camera-man from Nigerian Television Authority; Captain Gbolahan Olusola, an airline pilot, engineer, and AREF's indefatigable Head of Operations on the Rwanda Project who had

laboured day and night to ensure the success of the air-lift, and myself leading the AREF Relief Delivery Committee of the AREF/RWANDA Project, and member of the AREF STRATEGY GROUP.

At the pre-departure ceremonies at the AIR-FORCE BASE before lift-off were Chief Segun Olusola accompanied by a team of AREF officials and members including Mr. Dewale Solarin, Chairman of AREF/RWANDA Project Committee and Board of Trustees member, Ms. Amanda Adesida-Peterson (Executive Secretary), Mr. David Inegbenijie (Administrative Manager) and Mr. Oladele of the NTA. Also present was UNHCR Representative in Nigeria, Mr. Emmanuel Bentil-Owusu, who expressed his elation and sense of pride in seeing the first example of an African non-governmental organization actually achieving the seemingly impossible task of not only gathering relief materials on a large scale, but air-lifting them to another African country in its hour of need. This he said, confirmed his abiding belief in the outstanding leadership role of Nigeria on the African continent, in spite of its present political and economic problems.

The relief materials being air-lifted, Chief Segun Olusola affirmed, formed only the tip of the iceberg of some 15 tonnes of relief materials already donated by well-meaning Nigerians which included philanthropic organizations, corporate organizations and individuals. Relief materials ready for dispatch to Kigali included medicine and medical materials, clothes and clothings, soaps and detergents and food items worth a total of N3.8 million.

Major donors included:

Smithkline Beecham

(Drugs)

Lever Brother

(Soaps and detergents)

Nikky Africana

(Clothes)

Bendel Textiles

(Clothing materials) and

Lai Tailoring Limited

(Clothing materials).

Most importantly the WORLD OUT-REACH MISSION, a church organization which had donated clothes, shoes, food items and other materials worth well over a million naira. Several other individuals and organizations also donated various items.

Standing by to proceed to Kigali as soon as the Recce Team confirmed its feasibility was also a 17-strong contingent comprising AREF officials and members, at least 6 medical Doctors from the Association of General and Private Medical Practitioners of Nigeria; as well as other volunteers ready to work free in Rwanda for a minimum of two weeks duration.

THE MISSION: The mission of the Team was to accompany the first batch of relief materials to Kigali and to oversee the delivery of the materials for onward transmission to the relevant authorities for distribution to the Rwandese people. The Team was also to assess first hand, the situation on the ground in Kigali with regard to local transportation of men and materials, as well as the possible accommodation and feeding arrangements for a 20-man volunteer contingent from Nigeria, comprising AREF officials and volunteers, medical doctors and other relief workers, who were already standing by to leave for Kigali with almost 15 tonnes of soaps and detergents, as well as clothes and shoes. In the end, what the Team was able to take were the medical supplies, soaps and detergents and the specially designed new clothes from AREF. The only food items included were

cornflakes, beverage and vegetable oil.

THE FLIGHT: The flight from Lagos to Kigali in a C-130 Hercules Nigerian Airforce plane lasted 7 hours because of its full load (essentially a UN armoured tank) and a strong head-wind. The eight-man crew was headed by Wing Commander Lucky Ararile, and their very confident handling of the airplane did not give the Team any anxious moments.

ARRIVAL IN KIGALI: The reception team in Kigali comprised a team of Nigerian Army officials led by their Commanding Officer, Lt-Col. Lansdale Adebola Adeoye, who had not received a message faxed to him the previous day, but had heard an early morning interview of Chief Segun Olusola on the BBC regarding the AREF airlift to Kigali. His very warm and cordial reception of the team, his prompt handling of the materials, and his hosting of the Team for the night at the Nigerian Camp, some 70 kilometers away in the mountains of KYUMBA, in very large part, ensured the success of the mission.

At the Kigali airport, the Team spoke briefly with the UN Deputy Commandant in Rwanda, who was glad that AREF had exercised constraint in landing a large supply of relief materials and personnel in Kigali without warning and a very good reception plan. He advised us to meet with a Colonel Jaache, the Ghanaian army officer with UNAMIR directly in charge of HUMANITARIAN SERVICES, who the Deputy Commandant raised on his mobile phone, and whom Lt-Col. Adeoye took us to see that evening at the UN Headquarters. Col. Jaache, who was very friendly and co-operative later took us to his house in Kigali, where he was briefed about AREF activities. He was very impressed by what AREF had achieved so far, and explained that his section was directly responsible for receiving and delivering relief materials, and advised us to

write to the Commandant of the UN Forces in Rwanda. He assured us there would be no problem with warehousing the relief materials, which he advised should be in a quite substantial amount, before AREF made a formal presentation to the Rwanda Government. Since he and Lt-Col. Adeoye had a very good working relationship, he continued, there should be no problem whatsoever in assisting AREF in its relief assistance to Rwanda.

NIGERIAN CONTINGENT IN RWANDA: Lt-Col Adeoye and his top officers offered us accommodation - military style - for the night and entertained us quite lavishly with pounded yam and egusi soup, which was a surprise answer to a jocular request. The core of 9 Army Officers who stayed with us till quite late in the night exuded confidence in their leadership role in Rwanda, and expressed their elation and sense of pride in what AREF had managed to achieve, particularly as a complementary effort to the Nigerian Government's already creditable role.

THE RETURN ROLE: The return trip lasted six hours with a 30-minute stop-over at Entebbe in Uganda for aviation fuel and the Team returned safely to Nigeria on Friday, 21st October, at 2.20p.m.

MISSION IMPOSSIBLE?: The story of the first AREF air-lift cannot be told in full, as some special facilitators and collaborators would in fact prefer not to be praised. However, without the open-minded assistance of various military officials, who exhibited a high sense of mission and responsibility, the mission would have proven to be impossible.

We are assured that other air-lifts would follow, and that AREF would indeed receive further assistance.

The picture of a black hand, reaching out to another black hand, across the African continent, remains a very attractive one. We must all contribute towards making the future more attractive than the present.

Gbenga Sonuga

THE AFRICAN STATE AS A POLITICAL REFUGEE: INSTITUTIONAL COLLAPSE AND HUMAN DISPLACEMENT**

By

ALI MAZRUI

Director, Institute of Global Cultural Studies

State University of New York at Binghamton United States of America.

Partly because of the end of the Cold War, the African State and the political refugees its failures are creating share a number of characteristics. In global terms, the African state has got increasingly marginalized, being pushed into the ghetto of the world-system. Like Africa's refugees, many African states were already living, at least partly, on hand-outs before the 1990s. It has gotten worse since then. Francophone economies have lost the financial asylum they used to enjoy from the French franc. Just as a disproportionate number of the refugees of the world are in Africa, a disproportionate number of disabled and impoverished states are also in Africa.

Both disabled African states and displaced African people invite donor-fatigue. The ears of the international community have become weary of appeals for further charity. The end of the Cold War has also been diverting Western investment and aid not only towards the former members of the Warsaw Pact, but also towards the newly liberalizing economies of China, Vietnam and India. The new priorities of the post-Cold War era are, to some extent, bad news both for disabled African states and for displaced African people.

The metaphor of the African state as a political refugee also arises out of the reality of institutional collapse, psychic bewilderment and human dislocation. Just as individual refugees are in need of human intervention and sanctuary, so the African state in places like Rwanda, Liberia, Somalia and Angola must either be rescued by international action, or be destroyed by the monumental forces bearing down upon such doomed states.

An individual refugee needs moral space within which to recover his or her own human sense of balance. A failed state also needs moral space within which to recover its own sense of purpose. An individual refugee sometimes tries to survive by devouring the rivals on the run - refugee "eating" refugee, the cannibalism of the dispossessed. The failed state tries to survive by devouring its own citizens - the rage of the castrated.

**An earlier and shorter version of this paper was presented in Cairo at the Consultation on "the OAU Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution" sponsored by the Organization of African Unity, the International Peace Academy and the Government of Egypt, May 2-7, 1994. The present version of the paper was completed as of mid-June 1994.

Individual refugees can cross borders and seek asylum in other lands. If the failed state is replaced by a government created by the rebel army, it is theoretically possible for the failed state to also go into exile. For example, if the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) were to form the new government of Rwanda, it is conceivable for the failed state to seek political asylum in Burundi - and become Rwanda's Hutu government-in-exile in Bujumbura. Thus, the African State can conceivably be a literal refugee and not merely a metaphorical one, if the remnants of the Hutu-state in Rwanda were to be granted institutional asylum as a government-in-exile next door.

But what is involved in this process of state-failure in the first place? What is the historical significance, as well as the political meaning, of what we have been observing from Monrovia to Maputo, from Kigali to Kismayu? What does it all mean? Let us look more closely.

Birth Pangs or Death Pain?

Let me begin with an overarching issue. We used to think that decolonization consisted of the nationalist struggle against colonialism and the final granting of independence and substitution of national flags and national anthems. Colonially-educated members of the African elite like Ali Mazrui came to the fore, and some of them like Kwame Nkrumah and Leopold Sedar Senghor inherited the reins from our colonial masters and ruled the colonial state.

The question which has arisen, especially in the 1990s, is whether the real decolonization is not winning formal independence but the collapse of the colonial state instead. It is not the changing of the guards on independence day, raising the new flag and singing the new national anthem, while leaving the old structures intact. Rather, it is the much more cruel and bloody disintegration of colonial structures. Decolonization needs no longer be equated with liberation.

Have Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Angola, Burundi been experiencing the death pangs of an old order dying and groaning for refuge? Or are we witnessing the birth pangs of a real but devastating birth of a genuinely post-colonial order?

Is the old slate of the colonial order being

washed clean with buckets of blood? Or is the blood in fact spilling in the maternity ward of history as a new Africa is trying to breathe amidst the mess of convulsive birth pangs? Are the horrified refugees victims of the horrors of their dying order or brutalized witnesses to a rebirth?

Until we know whether it is the birth pangs of a truly decolonized Africa, we cannot celebrate. In any case, who can celebrate in the midst of all this blood and carnage? Who can celebrate amid the displaced and the dispossessed?

But whether the colonial state is dying or not, we do need to understand what constitutes state-failure, as opposed to what represents political collapse.

The State in Six Functions

Before we can assess if and when the state has failed and moaning to be rescued, we need to clarify in our minds what are the basic functions of the state. Six state-functions seem to be particularly crucial.

First, sovereign control over territory; second, sovereign oversight and supervision (though not necessarily ownership) of the nation's resources; third, effective and rational revenue extraction from people, goods and services; fourth, capacity to build and maintain an adequate national infrastructure (roads, postal services, telephone system, railways and the like); fifth, capacity to render basic services such as sanitation, education, housing, fire brigade, hospitals and clinics, immunization facilities; and sixth, capacity for governance and maintenance of law and order.

When we are observing a state in the process of failing, let us not limit ourselves just to the sixth function - "governance and maintenance of law and order." We may get a longer notice of a state in decay if we worked out indicators of performance in all six areas - control over territory, resources, infrastructure, revenue collection, social services as well as governance, law and order. Long before the African state has been reduced to a political refugee, it may already show other signs of desperation.

Clearly, the government of Angola has lost sovereign control over a large proportion of the territory of the country - with consequences for control of resources, infrastructure, revenue, social services and governance. Needless to say, a lot of people have also been displaced.

There is a debate as to whether or not the government of Kenya is losing sovereign control in the Rift Valley in the face of continuing ethnic conflict or whether the ethnic conflict is deliberately permitted to occur. Are internal refugees being purposefully created?

Do governments sometimes lose control at night and regain it during the day? Certain foreign reports claim that specific suburbs of Algerian cities are under the control of the authorities during day-

time and under the control of the Islamic militants at night.

On the issue of sovereign oversight over the nation's resources, it is arguable that very few African states have effective controlling jurisdiction over their country's resources. Mining companies, oil companies, distant controllers of coffee and cocoa prices and rampant local corruption have drastically diluted the concept of resource-sovereignty in Africa. Long before the African state failed to govern, it failed to control its resources. Sovereignty over resources is not of course to be confused with the actual ownership of resources, which may be in private hands.

The democratic state in South Africa is too young to have failed in anything much. But has it not already failed in providing for the democratic transfer of resources? Political apartheid may be dead, but economic apartheid is alive and well so far. Most of the best land and the mineral wealth are owned by the whites, local or foreign. How temporary is the situation?

Does state-failure begin in resource-impotence? Is the failure of the Zairean state due to its impotence in overseeing the immense resources of the country? Is the Zairean state already trying to be rescued? Is the Zairean state already a political refugee?

Failure to extract revenue is often directly related to inadequate control over resources. The tax system is in shambles in one African country after another. A state without a capacity for rational collection of revenue from citizens, goods and services is a state heading for ever-deeping decay. It is also a state ever looking for hand-outs from foreign donors. Revenue collection and rational allocation can be one of the major ways of learning economic rationality. African states are denying themselves that learning process.

Fifthly, there is a state's role in providing essential services such as roads, sanitation, postal services, educational infrastructure, and (in Africa) also hospitals and clinics. A state which lags further and further behind in providing such services is heading for massive popular discontent and either regime-failure or state-collapse.

Finally, there is the sixth and, quite often, most catastrophic stage in state failure - serious failure in governance, sometimes leading to an entire collapse of law and order. Clouds of death and displacement appear ominously. Both the people and the state are on the verge of seeking political asylum.

This is the ominous state when the state is no longer able either to monopolize the legitimate use of violence or to set the rules of when the citizens may legitimately use violence.

*To be continued in the next edition of
AREF Newsletter.*

THE AFRICAN REFUGEES FOUNDATION (AREF)

LIST OF CASH-CHEQUE DONORS AND AMOUNTS (UP TO 17-11-94)

	NAME	AMOUNT N
1.	Mrs. Femi Finnih	1,250.00
2.	Mr. Harry Nnoli	1,000.00
3.	Chief Kessington Adebutu	100,000.00
4.	Air Commodore Dan Suleiman, OFR	10,000.00
5.	Alhaji Bala Yaro	10,000.00
6.	Chief Kola Sodipo	5,000.00
7.	U. A. C. of Nigeria Plc	5,000.00
8.	Prince Sanya Dosumu	1,000.00
9.	Voice of Nigeria (VON)	10,000.00
10.	Seventh Day Adventist Church, Maryland	5,000.00
11.	Mr. Udeh Okoh	5,000.00
12.	Commercial Bank (Credit Lyonnais Nigeria) Limited	10,000.00
13.	Jeromelaiho & Associates Ltd.	5,000.00
14.	Fafunwa A. B. and Madam	1,000.00
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16.	Executive Airline Services Ltd.	5,000.00
17.	Kunle Abdul & Co. Ltd.	100,000.00
18.	Mrs. I. O. Lawson	5,000.00
19.	Literamed Publications Ltd.	5,000.00
20.	Chief Debo Akande	10,000.00
21.	Chief S. L. Edu	2,000.00
22.	Jam-At-UI Islamiyya of Nigeria	500.00
23.	Julius Berger Nigeria Plc	100,000.00

DONATIONS

1.	Minister for Federal Capital Territory	50,000.00
2.	Minister of Information & Culture	25,000.00
3.	Lagos State Government	50,000.00
4.	National Gallery of Art	35% of proceeds from Art Exhibition at Abuja.
5.	Anonymous donor (father of a student of St. Saviour's School, Ikoyi)	5,000.00





1951 - 1991

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES
Historical photo set - No.20: Food distribution for
Somali refugees in Hartisheik camp, eastern Ethiopia.
Photo: UNHCR/19151/1989/Betty Press

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