

UNAMIR

G2 UNIT - SITUATION SUMMARIES

29 JAN - 1 APR 1996

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01 APRIL 96

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY FROM 25 - 31 MARCH

Burundi

Human Rights Observers in Burundi

1. The UN investigator and outspoken Brazilian jurist, Paul Sergio Penheiro, in his report which followed a visit to Burundi, in January 96, had complained of a paralysis in Burundi's weak coalition government, a biased and lax judiciary system and an indisciplined army. The report had recommended :-

- (a) The sending of at least 100 HR observers,
- (b) The strengthening of UN appointed commission of enquiry,
- (c) Travel restrictions on Burundian leaders,
- (d) And a strict international arms embargo on Burundi.

2. The UN investigator last Wednesday ie on 27 March 96, criticized the European Union for failing to send human rights monitors to Burundi to help calm the ethnic tension in the tiny Central African State, almost a year after promising to do so. UN had asked for 35 monitors, Penheiro thought a force of 100 monitors was needed while the EU agreed to finance the deployment of only five monitors. Even these had not yet been sent.

3. EU officials said the delay was caused by a Burundian refusal to accept the monitors, but Penheiro argued that Burundian leaders had intimated that they were willing to accept as many as the International Community wanted to send in.

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Tripartite Meeting.

4. Burundian government officials are expected to arrive in Rwanda today, ie Monday, 01 April, 96, to discuss issues pertaining to Refugee Repatriation, with Rwandan government officials. The meeting, called "**Tripartite Commission for the Repatriation of Rwandese Refugees**" has been organized by the UNHCR. A similar meeting was held in Arusha, Tanzania on 21st and 22nd March 96. During that meeting, the two governments' officials had recommended the following :-

- (a) To streamline administrative and other procedures on a realistic time-table in order to facilitate visits of refugees to Rwanda.
- (b) Encourage Tanzania, Rwanda and UNHCR to intensify their efforts in persuading more refugees to make such visits to Rwanda.
- (c) Request the **Technical Working Committee on Security and Safety** to assess the possibility of setting up a ferry transport from Kiragwe into Byumba Prefecture, to allow for spontaneous repatriation.

Rwanda.

Refugee situation.

5. According to statistics by MINIREISO's department of Repatriation, 1,745,800 refugees have so far returned from various countries of asylum from the start of the repatriation exercise up until 21 March 96 (This figure includes the new as well as the old case loads). This month, as of 26 March 96, 3,970 refugees returned from countries of asylum. the breakdown is as follows :-

- | | |
|--------------|-------|
| (a) Zaire | 2,129 |
| (b) Uganda | 441 |
| (c) Tanzania | 373 |
| (d) Burundi | 997 |

6. According to the Ministry of Rehabilitation and Social Integration, the

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number of refugees is not picking up due to one or more of the following reasons :-

- (a) Pathetic situation in the overcrowded prisons,
- (b) Wrongful arrests of returnees by the Government of Rwanda,
- (c) The slow pace in establishing a judicial system.
- (d) Lack of written guidelines on the recovery of property by returnees.

7. The security situation in Rwanda, over the month of March has been somewhat tense with an increase in insurgency activity. There have been five incidents of landmine explosions, four of sabotage, three of banditry, one of ambush and two clashes between the RPA and the ex-FAR. Following the mine incident of 14 March, at Ruhengeri, the RPA conducted cordon and search operations, and recovered some land mines, explosive devices, grenades and small arms from locals in the area.

8. For the second time since the 1994 genocide, unidentified people fired mortar bombs. These emanated from Kamembe, and it will be recalled that three of the bombs fell on a mosque, one hit a vehicle station, one fell near the market place and one on a coffee plantation. Of the mine incidents, it is noteworthy that for the first time, the ex-FAR have used a land mine on a tarmac road (all the others have been on dirt tracks).

Comment.

9. Of the incidents listed above, there are surely more of banditry, robberies and clashes between the RPA and the FRGF which have gone unreported. Any attempts to glean more information from the RPA have met with glum silence and/or animosity.

10. It is evident that the ruling regime is making all possible attempts to underplay any such increase in security violations. However, when truthfully trying to analyse these violations, one cannot but admit that such robberies, killings and associated civil crimes are not disproportionately alarming, when compared to any other third world country. Yes, acts of sabotage, political killings and mine incidents are not to be construed in the same light, but are a sad reminder that insurgency has gained a foothold here and is a tangible reality.

11. There have been growing apprehensions from some quarters that the RPA might

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hinder the smooth pull-out of UNAMIR from Rwanda. It is our considered opinion that this is unlikely.

12. Mention of excerpts of the recent interview by Paul Kagame to the Newsweek will be recalled. Those blatant undiplomatic statements by the 39 year old Vice President, against UNAMIR, stem from the deep-rooted desire to project to the outside world, the success of the current Government. They are keen on taking the credit for the return of normalcy, and not to let the UN bask in this glory. In view of this, the berating of UNAMIR, is a well understood psychological action. For this same reason, they are unlikely to hinder the UN pull-out. Moreover, this might dry up the flowing milk of aid from the donor countries. Underplaying of acts of crime, mentioned earlier, will also continue in the foreseeable future. Any discontentment and dissatisfaction on the part of the Government due to the issue of handing over of the 'non-lethal' equipment by UNAMIR is likely to be smothered by this same larger desire to project to the world community that all is well within their country.

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UNAMIR INFOSUM FROM 18 TO 24 MAR 1996

25 Mar 96

List Of Incidents - Rwanda Mar 96

1. The following are a list of the incidents which occurred in the month of March to date :-

(a) **Mine Incidents.**

(i) At **Ruhengeri** on 08 March at about 0715 hours in Cyabingo commune a civilian lorry travelling south on a dirt road towards Cyabingo village was blown off by a land mine close to the commune office. The vehicle was reported to be carrying 15 to 17 local passengers. Three of these were killed instantly and four others were seriously injured as a result of the mine explosion. Three of the injured died the following day at Ruhengeri hospital. The vehicle used to regularly travel on the same route, normally with RPA passengers aboard. Considering the early hour, this vehicle was undoubtedly therefore an opportune target. Ironically however no RPA passengers were being transported on this particular occasion.

(ii) Again at **Ruhengeri** on 14 March at about 1400 hours, a vehicle from MINIREISO travelling on a dirt road between Nkumba and Gasesa detonated a land mine. Reports state that the driver and the passenger, both employees of MINIREISO survived the explosion and were taken to Ruhengeri hospital for treatment. The driver however lost both legs in the explosion and the passenger sustained an open fracture to his left leg. At the time of the incident, the vehicle was leading two humanitarian vehicles, one from UNHCR and one from US AID organisation. Both these vehicles were carrying expatriates. With effect from 08 Mar 96, all HRFOR vehicle have been restricted to travel on paved roads only. The communes of Nyakinama and Cyabingo of Ruhengeri are the focal points for concentrated RPA operations. Consequently these areas are reported to be tense.

(iii) On 19 Mar, at approx 0915 hours, in **Cyangugu**, a local vehicle carrying 17 passengers was blown off by a land mine within the Bushegi Sector of Gisuma Commune approx 200 metres from the Bushegi Hospital. The vehicle was travelling on a regularly travelled dirt road. It is suspected that the mine was laid in the early hours of the morning. Seven of the passengers were killed while the remaining 10 sustained an assortment of injuries, some of which are reported to be serious.

(iv) In **Gisenyi**, at approx 0930 hours on 20 Mar 96, a car carrying two nuns

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and some locals was blown up by a land mine. The 2 nuns (one Spanish and the other, a local) died and 5 others sustained injuries. Details of the exact location are not yet known

(v) Three hours later on the same road, the Sub-Prefet's car was blown up by a land mine. No one died, but the Sub-Prefet sustained minor injuries.

(b) **Sabotage.**

(i) At Kibuye in the early hours of the morning of 13 March an electrical pylon was destroyed by explosive demolition charges. The incident is reported to have occurred in Nyabiranga sector which lies within Bwakira commune. No further details are known and no casualties have been reported. Personnel attempting to glean more information have met with animosity on the part of the RPA, who it seems are trying to play the whole thing down.

(ii) At approx 0130 hours on 18 Mar 96, an electric pylon in **Cyangugu** in the Kamembe Commune, approx 2 km north of the HRFOR office, was destroyed by an explosive device.

(iii) Yet another pylon was reported to have been destroyed in the Nyamasheke area in **Cyangugu** Prefecture on the same day.

(iv) On Friday, 22 Mar 96, reportedly an explosive device was used as an act of sabotage in the mosque in **Cyangugu**. No injuries have thus far been reported, however, one wall of the mosque is reported to have been badly damaged.

(c) **Ambush.** There are unconfirmed reports that there has been an ambush on the road from Gisenyi to Kibuye. Details are not known regarding timings, casualties and parties involved.

(d) **Banditry / Attacks.**

(i) Some people raided the Cyanika (2626) and Kingongo (2727) cellules of Busumu Sector (2727) in **Gisenyi** Prefecture on the night of 03/0 Mar and made away with a radio set, a bicycle and an unspecified amount of cash.

(ii) In **Cyangugu** Prefecture, late in the evening of 15 Mar 96, a health clinic close to the town of Cyangugu, came under small arms fire. No casualties were

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sustained as a result of the attack. MSF are reported to be the sponsors of the clinic.

(iii) On Friday, 22 March, and Saturday, 23 March, there were two separate mortar attacks from the direction of Kamembe (GR 1431) into the market place. The number of bombs fired is reported to be not more than 3-4. No injuries have been reported.

(c) RPA Clashes / Action

(i) On 16 Mar 96, an RPA unit at Shagasha (1428), in **Cyangugu**, came under attack from small arms fire. The casualties are said to be, two wounded and two dead.

(ii) In **Gisenyi**, the local prosecutor and his assistant were shot dead on Saturday, 23 March. The assailants who were trying to escape towards Zaire, were chased by the RPA. In the process, two were shot dead, and the third was apprehended. Reportedly the one who was apprehended was carrying marked maps of the land mines laid. The assailants were identified as personnel of the FRGF. There are rumours that a curfew will be imposed in Gisenyi.

Update On Burundi.

2. **Killings.** The U N Human Right Commission, lawyer Paulo Sergio Pinheiro of Brazil has suggested to the international community to consider the possibility of armed intervention to put to an end the killings. This suggestion is to be presented to the commission, as these attacks reflect fears among U N officials of bloodbath in Burundi like the one which happened in Rwanda.

(a) On 14 March, 96 two priests and a nun were killed when 200 men attacked a seminary in northern Burundi. It is not yet known whether the three killed were Burundians or foreigners. During the month of Feb 96, there was a report of violence in the north west of Burundi, which claimed 70 civilian lives. Almost 100,000 people have died so far in the past 30 months in Burundi.

(b) On 15 March 96, an American professor, Rodney Belcher was killed by armed men outside Mulago hospital, after being shot in the chest. The men made away with his vehicle. Subsequently, United states has advised its citizens not to travel in the area of Northern Uganda.

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3. **Negotiations Between Opposing Factions.** In another development, Leonard Nyangoma's rebel faction - CNDD (National Council for the Defence of Democracy) has agreed to a ceasefire and negotiations with authorities on the following conditions:

- (a) The government army must withdraw to its Barracks.
- (b) The powersharing convention in the government, which was agreed to in 1994, be abolished.
- (c) Allow, presidential and parliamentary polls.
- (d) The rebel soldiers who assassinated president Melchior Ndadaye in 1994 be arrested.
- (e) Creation of a new truly national army.

Banning of Publications.

4. Authorities in Burundi have banned seven publications which they accuse of inciting ethnic hatred among both Tutsi and Hutus. Burundi's National Council For Communication suspended the publications on Monday, 18 March 96. The following is a list of the suspended publications:

- (a) La National.
- (b) Le Carrefour des Idees
- (c) L'Etoile.
- (d) L'Aube de Democratie.
- (e) Le Temoin-Nyabusolongo.
- (f) Le Miroir.
- (g) L'Eclaireur.

5. The first three banned publications were reportedly supporting the Tutsi hardliners and the last four, were campaigning for the Hutu hardliners. However, Francois Sendazirasa, President of Burundi Journalists' Association, treated the move as "absurb and anti-democratic", because some of the above mentioned publications had already ceased publishing activities up to eight months ago.

Arrests

6. Gendarmes arrested 72 Hutu civilians in a raid on a centre for displaced people. Later, 45 have been reportedly released.

Refugees

7. The United Nation High Commisisoner for Refugges has protested to the government of

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Burundi over the reports that Burundian troops had recently intimidated Rwandan Hutu refugees at Rukiramingabo camp in north-eastern Burundi. The protest came after the UNHCR staff had interviewed 14 injured Hutu refugees, said to have been beaten up by the troops.

Genocide Trials

8. The first genocide trial is to take place in mid April. The trials are to start with the two Rwandan genocide suspects now held in Zambia. More than a year of investigations have led to the indictment of only 10 genocide suspects who are mostly local officials.

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21 Mar 96

LIST OF INCIDENTS : MAR 96

Mine Incidents.

1. At **Ruhengeri** on 08 March at about 0715 hours in Cyabingo commune a civilian lorry travelling south on a dirt road towards Cyabingo village was blown off by a land mine close to the commune office. The vehicle was reported to be carrying 15 to 17 local passengers. Three of these were killed instantly and four others were seriously injured as a result of the mine explosion. Three of the injured died the following day at Ruhengeri hospital. The vehicle used to regularly travel the same route normally with RPA passengers aboard. Considering the early hour, this vehicle was undoubtedly therefore an opportune target. Ironically however no RPA passengers were being transported on this particular occasion.

2. Again at **Ruhengeri** on 14 March at about 1400 hours, a vehicle from MINIREISO travelling on a dirt road between Nkumba and Gasesa detonated a land mine. Reports state that the driver and the passenger, both employees of MINIREISO survived the explosion and were taken to Ruhengeri hospital for treatment. The driver however lost both legs in the explosion and the passenger sustained an open fracture to his left leg. At the time of the incident, the vehicle was leading two humanitarian vehicles, one from UNHCR and one from US AID organisation. Both these vehicles were carrying expatriates. With effect from 08 Mar 96, all HRFOR vehicle have been restricted to travel on paved roads only. Currently, within Ruhengeri Prefecture, the communes of Nyakinama and Cyabingo are the focal points for concentrated RPA operations. Consequently these areas are reported to be rather tense.

3. On 19 Mar, at approx 0915 hours, in **Cyangugu**, a local vehicle carrying 17 passengers was blown off by a land mine within the Bushegi Sector of Gisuma Commune approx 200 metres from the Bushegi Hospital. The vehicle was travelling on a regularly travelled dirt road. It is suspected that the mine was laid in the early hours of the morning. Seven of the passengers were killed while the remaining 10 sustained an assortment of injuries, some of which are reported to be serious.

4. In **Gisenyi**, in the early hours of the morning of 20 Mar 96 (exact time not known), a car carrying two nuns and some locals was blown up by a land mine. The 2 nuns died and 5 others sustained injuries. Details of the exact location are not yet known

Sabotage.

5. At **Kibuye** in the early hours of the morning of 13 March an electrical pylon was

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destroyed by explosive demolition charges. The incident is reported to have occurred in Nyabiranga sector which lies within Bwakira commune. No further details are known and no casualties have been reported. Personnel attempting to glean more information have met with animosity on the part of the RPA, who it seems are trying to play the whole thing down.

6. At approx 0130 hours on 18 Mar 96, an electric pylon in **Cyangugu** in the Kamembe Commune, approx 2 km north of the HRFOR office, was destroyed by an explosive device.

7. Yet another pylon was reported to have been destroyed in the Nyamasheke area in **Cyangugu** Prefecture on the same day.

Ambush.

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RPA Clashes.

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18 Mar 96

UNAMIR INFOSUM FROM 11 MAR - 17 MAR 96

Mine Incidents at Ruhengeri

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Sabotage and Ambush in Kibuye.

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Comment.

5. The FRGF insurgents are continuing to wage a classic low insurgency operation against Rwanda. The avoidance where possible of direct confrontation with the RPA, the unpredictable

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shifting of attacks within different prefectures and the laying of anti- vehicle munitions seem to be a direct extension of this strategy. It is felt that the FRGF in an attempt to embarrass and discredit the RPA will continue to exploit and increase mine laying activities within the western region.. They might also, gradually attempt to increase the momentum of the insurgency further east towards Kigali. The irregular pattern of anti-vehicle munitions gives the FRGF plausible ground for denial (they may disclaim any mine explosion by saying that the mine was an old one and not laid by FRGF, in the event that an expatriate is killed or injured).

Arrest of Former Chief of Presidential Staff.

6. Colonel Theoneste Bagosora , the former Chief of Presidential Staff was finally arrested in Cameroon where he has been staying since Sep 95. The Foreign Minister of Rwanda had gone on a 3 day visit to Cameroon to request for his extradition. Rwanda does not have any "Extradition Treaty" with Cameroon, in the absence of which, only the President, Mr Paul Biye can order such an extradition. However, the President was on a private visit to Europe at the time. Colonel Bagosora's arrest resulted in a three-way-tug-of-war amongst UN, Rwanda and Belgium each desirous to try him. Ex Col Bagosora faces three charges, one for being one of the ring-leaders of the Genocide and the killing of the 10 Belgian UN Peacekeepers, two, for allegations made by Human Rights Watch, that he paid a sum of \$ 300,000 for an arms shipment from Seychelles on board a Zairean DC-8 aircraft to the East Zairean town of Goma in violation of the arms embargo, and three, for being the ring-leader in waging insurgency within Rwanda from bases in neighbouring Zaire and Burundi.

7. As per reports, it is likely that the accused will be handed over to Belgium, since they already have such an extradition treaty with Cameroon. Moreover, the arrest has been made on the basis of the international arrest warrant issued by Belgium. However, the Belgian parliament has yet to ratify a genocide law convention and diplomats are saying that Bagosora faces only a civil suit if handed over to them. Bagosora's Belgian lawyer, Luc de Temmerman said his client would welcome being deported to Belgium to prove his innocence.

Exiled Political Party RDR issues Statement UN Pull-out.

8. The withdrawal of UNAMIR troops has left a deep disappointment on the Rwandan exiled group, the Rally for the return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda. They have decried the withdrawal of troops and reduction of human rights monitors at a time when the refugee problem is still in a deadlock and there are reports of systematic killings and persecution of the Hutu tribe.

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9 The state run Radio Rwanda quoted the Tribunal Chief Prosecutor, Richard Goldstone as having said that the former Director of Gisovu Tea Factory, Alfred Museya who is accused of having masterminded the killing of 50,000 people on mount Bisesero in Kibuye is in custody in Switzerland and that he would demand his extradition once he is indicted. The Tribunal is also requesting the Belgian Government to submit the results of all the investigations on the role of Radio RTLM's owners in calling people for the killings.

Report on "The International Response To Conflict and Genocide"

10. The report on " The International Response to Conflict and Genocide - Lessons from Rwanda Experience" has been released. This is the first such report to provide a multinational evaluation of response to the Genocide. Nineteen OECD-member donor countries, the European Union, the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, UN agencies and the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies contributed funds amounting to \$ 1 million, for the preparation of this report. France had withdrawn from the report's Steering Committee in 1995 after it read the first draft of the report, apportioning them substantial blame for the genocide. The report has accused the Security Council of again sidestepping actions as recently as this month when it asked the UN to prepare only for humanitarian action in neighbouring Burundi despite UN fears of mass slaughter on a similar scale as that in to Rwanda in 1994.

11. The report said that the major reasons which contributed towards the failure on the part of UN to stem the 1994 Genocide were:-

- (a) Failure to recognize Rwanda's killings as a genocide.
- (b) A lack of interest in the Security Council
- (c) Inadequate communication and
- (d) Poor links between UN headquarters and the field.

Video Tapes Made to Show Conditions of Returnees.

12. The organised visit programmes of the refugees from Tanzania did not meet with the desired success when one of the refugees was nearly lynched and subsequently arrested by the RPA, last month. Consequent to this, in an effort to woo back the refugees, video tapes have been made of the returnees who are well settled in Rwanda. These tapes have been made as a joint

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effort between Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Burundi, and will be shown in the refugee camps in these neighbouring countries to instil confidence in the refugees that normalcy has returned in Rwanda and that they can return home without any apprehensions.

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11 MARCH 96

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY 03 MARCH 96 - 10 MARCH 96

UNAMIR WITHDRAWAL

1. DURING THE CLOSURE CEREMONY COMMEMORATING THE END OF THE MANDATE ON 8th MAR, SOME PEOPLE OUTSIDE AMAHORO DISPLAYED POSTERS WHICH SAID, "UNAMIR YOU ABANDONED US WHEN WE WERE BEING KILLED," "UNAMIR WHERE WERE YOU DURING THE GENOCIDE", AND "UNAMIR GO HOME, DON'T COME BACK". THE POSTERS WERE CARRIED BY YOUNG GIRLS, BOYS AND A FEW WOMEN WHO WERE OBVIOUSLY UNEMPLOYED. THE PLACARDS WERE DISPLAYED TILL AS LATE AS 2000HRS.

2. THE ADVISER TO THE VICE PRESIDENT, MR CLAUDE DUSAIDI, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH REUTERS, SAID THAT HE WAS HAPPY THAT UNAMIR WAS LEAVING BECAUSE THE UN FAILED DURING THE GENOCIDE AND WAS STILL FAILING. HE SAID THAT UN FAILED TO BRING BACK THE 1.7 MILLION REFUGEES.

3. IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT, THE FOREIGN MINISTER CALLED ON KENYA TO FREE THE ARRESTED RWANDAN DIPLOMAT ACCUSED OF TAKING PART IN THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE LEADING HUTU DISSIDENT, FORMER MINISTER OF INTERIOR, SETH SENDASHONGA, IN NAIROBI. MR GASANA ACCUSED KENYA'S PRESIDENT MOI, AND ZAIRE'S PRESIDENT, MOBUTU SESE SEKO OF WORKING AGAINST THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT.

COMMENT

4. IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE POSTERS WERE PREPARED BY SOME POLITICAL DISSIDENTS AND GIVEN TO HIRED PEOPLE TO DISPLAY. IT WAS OBVIOUS FROM THE GENERAL LOOK OF THE CARRIERS, THAT THEY COULD NOT READ AND WRITE ENGLISH, HENCE THE BELIEF THAT THEY WERE HIRED.

REFUGEE SITUATION

5. THE ZAIRIAN TROOPS WHO HAD SURROUNDED KIBUMBA AND NYANGAZI REFUGEE CAMPS ARE SAID TO HAVE PULLED OUT ON 29 FEB 96 AS THEY HAD NOT BEEN PAID. THE REFUGEES ARE SAID TO BE MOVING FREELY IN AND OUT OF THE CAMPS WITHOUT HINDRANCE FROM TROOPS. HOWEVER THERE IS REPORTED TO BE A SMALL ARMED CONTINGENT OF TROOPS IN THE CAMP, WHO ARE STATIONED THERE TO MAINTAIN SECURITY. BUSINESS IN THE CAMPS HAS

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ALSO FULLY RESUMED. THE REFUGEES ARE ACCUSING THE UNHCR OF ORCHESTRATING THE SO CALLED "GUIDED REPATRIATION" AND SAYING THAT THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT DID NOT ACTUALLY WANT THEM TO GO BACK TO RWANDA.

6. THE ZAIRIAN SOLDIERS WERE SAID TO HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED AROUND KIBUMBA AND NYANGAZI - MULWA REFUGEE CAMPS WITHOUT ENOUGH FOOD SHELTER OR RAIN WEAR.

7. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES WHO RETURNED FROM KIBUMBA CAMP IN FEBRUARY 1996 WAS 1,251 WHILE THOSE RETURNING FROM BUKAVU WERE 314.

8. THE UN UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL FOR PEACE - KEEPING, MR KOFI ANNAN, SAID THAT HE THOUGHT AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCE COULD BE ORGANIZED EVEN AFTER THE EXPIRY OF THE MANDATE ON 08 MARCH 96 TO PROTECT THE PERSONNEL OF THE TRIBUNAL. BUT RWANDA HAS REPEATEDLY REFUSED ANY MORE FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE COUNTRY. NO FRESH DEVELOPMENTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN THIS REGARD.

9. LAST WEEK A BRITISH NATIONAL (PROBABLY FROM THE NGO 'MERLIN') WAS ARRESTED AT KIGALI AIRPORT. HE WAS REPORTED TO BE IN POSSESSION OF AN UNSPECIFIED AMOUNT OF DRUGS. THIS IS THE SECOND INCIDENT OF SUCH A NATURE. EARLIER, ANOTHER ARREST WAS MADE WHEN SIX (06) POUNDS OF HEROIN WAS SEIZED.

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10. WITH THE RETURN OF NORMALCY, RWANDA WILL HAVE TO SERIOUSLY ADDRESS ITSELF TO THIS GROWING MENACE OF DRUGS. OFFICIALS FEEL THAT RWANDA IS MERELY A ROUTE FOR DRUG TRAFFICKING.

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04 MAR 96

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY ON GENERAL SITUATION IN RWANDA
FOR FEB 1996

1. The general situation in Rwanda over the past one month has been relatively stable. However, a series of continuous banditry activities, Clashes between the RPA and the FRGF, sabotage, robberies, mine incidents, and killings took place in the month of Feb 96.

SABOTAGE.

2. The most significant act in the month of February was the sabotage relating to the electricity pylon in Gisenyi. The explosion of the electricity pylon resulted in the killing of approximately 10 people who were present at the scene of the incident. In the same instance the pipeline supplying water to a local brewery was also damaged.

KILLINGS / AMBUSHES

3. Of late, the trend has moved to **Gitarama** where two councilors were killed. The councillor of Meyambe Sector was killed on 25 Feb and the councillor of Muko Commune was murdered alongwith four of his family members on 26 Feb 96.

4. Apart from the assassinations directed against political figures the killings have been random ranging from deaths during armed robberies to innocent killings or shall we say killings without any evident motive.

5. 03 locals were killed, two injured and one kidnapped in the early hours of 26 Feb 96 in Bugarama in **Cyangugu**. This is the second incident where a man has been kidnapped. In Jan 96, an alleged FRGF group had stolen some cattle and kidnapped a man to Burundi.

6. Another incident which has caused a lot of concern especially to the NGOs is the ambush of an NGO vehicle in Bweyeyein **Cyangugu**, on 27 Feb 96.

MINE INCIDENTS

7. During the past one month, four incident of mine explosions were reported. The first and the second were reported on 06 Feb 96, where a woman lost her leg and a man was injured in an incident

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which happened at Kinhira in **Gisenyi** at 0800HRS where the victims were assisting a previous victim of another mine explosion in the same place on the same day.

8. The third was on 20 Feb 96, when an anti tank mine blew off an IRC Mobile Clinic vehicle at about 1000HRS at Rusuyu Sector in **Gisenyi**. nobody was injured but the engine compartment was completely damaged.

9. The last was an incident in **Cyangugu** where a light Daihatsu truck belonging to Cemerwa Cement Factory hit an anti tank mine at about 1100HRS on the road between Karengera and Nyakabuye. Six people were injured.

INFILTRATIONS

10. Although there was no substantial evidence, locals of Cyangugu and Gisenyi have constantly complained of frequent infiltrations by the ex-FAR.

11. The bougermestre of Kibungo in **Cyangugu** Prefecture reported having seen ten armed men in his commune at 2300HRS on 21 Feb 96 heading towards the Nyungwe Forest. The following day RPA soldiers were observed combing the general area.

12. Although there was no substantial evidence, locals of Cyangugu and Gisenyi have constantly complained of frequent infiltrations by the ex-FAR. In **Gitarama**, 07 persons alleged to be infiltrators, were arrested on 20 and 23 Feb 96. Two were arrested around the RPA Bde commander's residence while the rest were arrested near the Sector headquarters in Kabgayi.

13. On 21 Feb a local patrol clashed with a suspected group of infiltrators. In a bag left behind by the alleged infiltrators, two grenades were found.

14. On 29 Feb locals of Gacundura Sector in **Gisenyi** reported the circulation of leaflets. The leaflets asked the Hutus to collaborate and be prepared for the return of the ex-FAR. The authorities suspect presence of infiltrators in the islands of the lake and have subsequently restricted movements on Lake Burela.

ROBBERIES

15. A number of robberies took place. The figures are not alarming. The broad pattern is

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tabulated below:- (Details are at Appendix attached) :-

<u>COMMUNE</u>	<u>BY</u>	<u>TIME/ DATE</u>	<u>ITEMS STOLEN</u>	<u>INJURIES KILLINGS</u>	<u>ARRESTS</u>
<u>BUTARE</u>	?	1000H 07 FEB	Music System & Household Items	-	Nil
<u>GITARAMA</u>	?	15 FEB	Bicycle, Food Items & Cash (?)	-	Nil
<u>GITARAMA</u>	4 Armed Bandits	18 FEB 2300 H	14000FRW 2 Cases Beer	1 Person Shot Dead	Nil Nil
<u>GITARAMA</u>	?	22 FEB	4000FRW	Woman Beaten	Nil
<u>GISEYNI</u>	5 Armed Men	09,16 & 17 FEB	1,690,000FRW		3 Persons Identified As RPA by victim.
<u>GISEYNI</u>	05 Armed Men	24 FEB	Unspecified Amount of Cash	Man Shot in thigh 04 Others Injured.	Nil
<u>GISEYNI</u>	Some Armed Men	27 FEB	Goods from Shop	Shopkeeper Attacked	Nil
<u>CYANGUGU</u>	Group of armed Men	08 FEB	House-hold Goods	1 Man Killed	Nil

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COMMENT

16. The robberies could be ascribed to actions by the ex-FAR who are operating from nearby refugee camps in Zaire, stealing food items and money for their survival. Combined with this are the other acts of infiltration extortion and killings which are indicators that insurgency (though in the nascent stage) is possibly gaining a foothold in the region in question.

17. On the other hand, is the allegation by the old woman in Gisenyi who has claimed to have recognized three of the five bandits in the armed robbery as RPA soldiers. Another instance is the one on 30 Jan 96 when 08 armed men wearing military uniform forced a guard at Kivumu Health Clinic to knock on the door of an med asst of nutrition dept and the perpetrators who forced their entry were later identified as RPA soldiers by a bourgemestre who refused to go to the RPA camp to identify the culprits for fear of his life.

18. There are chances that some of the lower ranks in the RPA cadre are involved in an odd case. If this be the case, it is imperative that the miscreants be identified and disciplined so that the name of the RPA is not unduly maligned and the Government of Rwanda can continue to instil confidence in the minds of its population.

REFUGEE SITUATION

19. The refugees are said to be very apprehensive of the security situation in Rwanda hence their refusal to come back. To this is added the spate of rumours and intimidations which abound in the camps.

20. An exchange programme of confidence-building in the refugees was initiated during the last week by the UNHCR. On 26 Feb 96, a group of 33 refugees drawn from various camps in Tanzania and accompanied by UNHCR officials, visited their respective communes in Kibungo to study the situation so as to give a true account of the situation to their colleagues on their return to Tanzania. Nine of them touring Kibungo found their houses occupied by other returnees but were assured by their respective bourgemestres that the same would be vacated when they finally returned. Another refugee confidence building team is said to have visited the Prefecture of Gisenyi where, among other places, they were expected to visit Kigali.

21. Despite reports by the Zairian government that it would not allow international aid workers to continue working in Rwandan Refugee camps in Zaire in an effort to persuade the refugees to go back to Rwanda, activities by the UN aid workers were still going on as of 22 Feb 96.

22. On 21 Feb, the government of Zaire announced a package of measures to implement the so

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called "guided repatriation" in which UNHCR and other organizations it funds would not operate in camps sealed off for closure.

23. With the appointment of a new Minister of Interior, Kamanda wa Kamanda, a hardliner, it is likely that there will be more camps being closed down and some more refugees returning in the month of March. But the Rwandan Hutu refugees have warned of possible catastrophic violence in the event of forced repatriation if it is implemented.

COMMENT

24. It is becoming increasingly clear that the voluntary repatriation programme sponsored by the UNHCR is not working. However, visits to their respective prefectures by Refugees from across, are likely to attract a number of refugees to return to Rwanda. Rwanda looks set to receive returnees from refugee camps in neighbouring countries of Tanzania Burundi and Zaire. This is evident by the zeal displayed by the Rwandan Government to reform its judicial system as seen from the dismissal and detention in Kigali Central Prison of the former prosecutor for Kigali, Mr Silas Munyangishali who was initially suspended from duties and confined to his home under armed guards. Mr Munyangishali was charged with complacency during the genocide.

EXHUMING OF MASS GRAVES

25. The UN Tribunal on Rwanda's genocide is expected to start a second round of mass exhumations in July after the completion of work on a first site last month. The Forensic Anthropologists have already worked on grave sites in Kibuye and are likely to start working on grave sites identified in the Central Gitarama Region.

26. The exhumations are aimed at investigations to document violence and provide crucial evidence to facilitate further indictments of genocidaires.

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26 FEB 96

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY 21 FEB - 26 FEB 96

BURUNDI

SECURITY SITUATION

1. SIX PEOPLE WERE REPORTED KILLED ON SUNDAY, 18 FEB 96 DURING THE FIGHTING BETWEEN THE TUTSI-DOMINATED ARMY AND THE SUSPECTED HUTU REBELS. IN THE FIGHT THAT LASTED 45 MINUTES, THE HUTUS USED GRENADES WHILE THE ARMY RESPONDED WITH CANONS FROM TWO ARMOURED VEHICLES THAT WERE DEPLOYED. THE FIGHTING IS SAID TO HAVE STARTED WHEN A GROUP OF REBELS INFILTRATED DOWN FROM THE SURROUNDING HILLS TO STEAL FOOD IN THE CAPITAL'S NORTHEASTERN SUBURBS.

2. MORE THAN 100,000 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN BURUNDI SINCE THE ASSASSINATION BY THE TUTSI SOLDIERS OF THE COUNTRY'S FIRST FREELY ELECTED HEAD OF STATE, **MELCHIOR NDADAYE**, A HUTU.

UN DEPLOYMENT IN BURUNDI

3. FEARING BURUNDI WILL DESCEND INTO GENOCIDAL MASSACRES, THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, DR BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI, SAID THE UN SHOULD BEGIN PLANNING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION FORCE. HE SAID THE TROOPS WOULD REMAIN IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND BE READY TO BE DEPLOYED AT SHORT NOTICE. HE SUGGESTED A STRENGTH OF 5 BRIGADES REPRESENTING A TOTAL OF 25,000 TROOPS WHICH WOULD BE DEPLOYED BY STRATEGIC AIR AND SEA LIFT. THE CONTINGENTS COULD INCLUDE PARACHUTE MOTORIZED, MECHANIZED UNITS, ARTILLERY AND COMBAT ENGINEERS AS WELL AS LOGISTICS AND ADMINISTRATION UNITS. THEY COULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY CLOSE AIR SUPPORT AND ATTACK HELICOPTERS. ALL PARTIES WOULD BE WARNED THAT ANY ATTACK ON THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE WOULD DRAW AN IMMEDIATE AND FORCEFUL RESPONSE.

4. THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAD OBJECTED TO THE EARLIER PROPOSAL OF STATIONING A STANDBY FORCE IN THE NEIGHBOURING ZAIRE, SAID WASHINGTON WOULD CONSIDER ASSISTING WITH LOGISTICS BUT WOULD NOT SEND TROOPS. FRANCE, BRITAIN AND BELGIUM ALSO INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD NOT DISPATCH SOLDIERS TO BURUNDI.

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REMARK

5. TEN BELGIAN UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPERS DIED IN RWANDA IN THE AFTERMATH OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN 1994 AND PUBLIC OPINION IS UNLIKELY TO BACK ANOTHER TROOP COMMITMENT TO A TENSE CENTRAL AFRICAN STATE.

6. MEANWHILE, THE MAJORITY **FRODEBO** PARTY WELCOMED THE REQUEST BY THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL FOR A RAPID INTERVENTION FORCE TO BE ASSEMBLED IN CASE THE ETHNICALLY-DIVIDED COUNTRY PLUNGES INTO GENOCIDE BUT OPPOSED THE IDEA OF STATIONING IT IN ZAIRE SAYING IT WOULD REACT QUICKER IF IT WERE IN BURUNDI.

REFUGEE SITUATION

7. STATISTICS SHOW THAT OUT OF THE 8,650 RWANDAN REFUGEES WHO HAD BEEN REPATRIATED OVER A PERIOD OF TWO WEEKS, MORE THAN 6,000 HAD COME FROM BURUNDI ALONE. BURUNDI IS HOME TO 90,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES A MILLION OTHERS ARE IN ZAIRE AND 493,000 IN TANZANIA. THE CAMPS IN BURUNDI ARE SMALLER, LESS POLITICIZED, LESS MILITARIZED AND LESS RADICAL THAN THOSE IN ZAIRE.

COMMENT

8. THE CLASHES ON SUNDAY, 18 FEB 96, ARE THE SECOND IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS. ON 2 FEB 96, THE HUTU EXTREMISTS ATTACKED MILITARY AND POLICE POSITIONS IN THE CAPITAL, WHERE HUTUS WERE DRIVEN INTO THE MOUNTAINS SURROUNDING BUJUMBURA. IT APPEARS THAT BURUNDI IS GRADUALLY SLIDING INTO A FULL SCALE CIVIL WAR. UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT TAKES STEPS TO NEGOTIATE WITH BOTH THE HUTU EXTREMISTS GROUP AND THE TUTSI HARDLINERS, THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI IS LIKELY TO BECOME WORSE.

10. THE DEPLOYMENT OF A **UNITED NATIONS FORCE** IN BURUNDI WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP IN ASCERTAINING THAT NO MORE KILLINGS TAKE PLACE IN BURUNDI. THE FORCE'S PRESENCE ALONE WILL DEMONSTRATE TO THE FIGHTING FACTIONS OF HOW SERIOUS THE WORLD IS ABOUT THE INDISCRIMINATE KILLINGS IN BURUNDI.

11. THE MASS REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES FROM BURUNDI COULD BE BECAUSE THE REFUGEES ARE CONSTANTLY CAUGHT UP IN THE VIOLENCE BETWEEN THE BURUNDI ARMY AND THE HUTU MILITIA OPERATING IN THE SWARTHE NORTHERN PROVINCE.

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BECAUSE OF THE VOLATILE SECURITY SITUATION IN BURUNDI, AID WORKERS ARE NOT ABLE TO GIVE ADEQUATE ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES AS IS THE CASE IN ZAIRE WHERE REFUGEES ARE SAID TO HAVE NEARLY ALL THE FACILITIES THAT GO WITH NORMAL LIFE.

ZAIRE

ZAIRIAN TROOPS RING REFUGEE CAMPS

12. THE MAIN POINT OF FOCUS IN ZAIRE FOR THE WEEK GONEBY WAS THE ENCIRCLING OF KIBUMBA REFUGEE CAMP IN GOMA AND NYANGAZI IN BUKAVU. THE NYANGAZI OPERATION TOOK AID WORKERS BY COMPLETE SURPRISE BECAUSE ZAIRIAN AUTHORITIES HAD EARLIER SAID THEIR SECOND DEPLOYMENT WOULD BE AT KASHYUSHYA ALSO IN BUKAVU - HOME TO THOUSAND OF FORMER RWANDAN ARMY SOLDIERS. DEPLOYMENT AT KASHYUSHYA RAISED FEARS OF VIOLENCE BECAUSE MANY OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL REMAIN ARMED.

13. ON 17 FEB 96, ZAIRE EXTENDED THE BAN ON COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES BY THE REFUGEES TO INCLUDE TAXIS AND MINI-BUSES. IT FURTHER BANNED POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. A POLITICAL PARTY KNOWN AS **RDR** (DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES TO RWANDA) HAS BEEN ACTIVELY CONDUCTING POLITICAL MEETINGS IN REFUGEE CAMPS ZAIRE.

14. IT WAS CONFIRMED BY SOURCES THAT REFUGEES IN ZAIRE HAVE TURNED SOME OF THE CAMPS INTO SMALL CITIES, HOTELS AND DISCO PLACES.

15. ON THURSDAY, 15 FEB 96, ZAIRIANS ARRESTED TEN ALLEGED REFUGEE INTIMIDATORS WHILE TWO WERE DETAINED IN NYANGAZI ON SATURDAY IN A BID TO BREAK THE INTIMIDATORS HOLD ON THE REFUGEES WHO ARE SEEKING TO MAINTAIN A POWER BASE. BOTH MOVES APPEARED NOT TO HAVE SHAKEN THE DEFIANT REFUGEES. THE FIGURES OF REFUGEES STILL REMAIN WELL BELOW DESIRED LEVELS.

COMMENT

16. WE ASSESS THAT ZAIRE'S ENCIRCLING AND CLOSING DOWN OF BUSINESSES IN THE CAMPS WILL PAY DIVIDENDS. IT IS BELIEVED THAT SOME OF THE REFUGEES IN THE CAMPS ARE LIVING A MORE COMFORTABLE LIFE THAN THEY WOULD BACK HOME.

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THE COMFORTS AND MONETARY BENEFITS ACCRUING TO THE HUTU REFUGEES ENGAGED IN BUSINESS ACTIVITIES IN ZAIRE WILL PROBABLY PREVENT THEM FROM WANTING TO RETURN TO UNCERTAIN FUTURE BACK IN RWANDA. THE MONEY THE BUSINESS REFUGEES GET FROM THE HOTELS, SHOPS AND DISCOS COULD AS WELL BE USED TO BUY WEAPONS TO DESTABILIZE PEACE IN RWANDA.

TANZANIA

17. THE FIRST TRAILS OF RWANDANS ACCUSED OF TAKING PART IN THE 1994 GENOCIDE MAY START IN APRIL IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA. THE BUILDING OF A PRISON FOR GENOCIDE SUSPECTS IN THE NORTHERN TANZANIA IS EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF NEXT MONTH.

18. ON MONDAY, 20 FEB 96, THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ASKED ZAMBIA TO CONTINUE DETAINING TWO GENOCIDE SUSPECTS UNTIL A PRISON WAS READY AT ITS HEADQUARTERS IN THE NORTH TANZANIAN TOWN OF ARUSHA. JUDGE ROKOTOMANA SAID THE TRIBUNAL WAS ALSO HOPING SOON TO INDICT FOUR RWANDANS HELD BY AUTHORITIES IN BELGIUM.

19. MANY RWANDAN GENOCIDE SUSPECTS HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE IN AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN STATES AS WELL AS AMONG THE TWO MILLION REFUGEES IN ZAIRE, BURUNDI AND TANZANIA. HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIALS FEAR LEADERS OF THE SLAUGHTER MAY NEVER STAND TRIAL. THOSE FOUND GUILTY IN RWANDA FACE A MAXIMUM PENALTY OF EXECUTION WHILE THE TRIBUNAL'S HEAVIEST PUNISHMENT IS LIFE IMPRISONMENT.

COMMENT

WITH THE INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM TAKING CHARGE OF THE PROSECUTION, MANY INNOCENT REFUGEES ARE LIKELY TO COME BACK. IN THE ABSENCE OF A PROPER JUDICIAL SYSTEM, THE REFUGEES WERE HESITANT TO COME BACK FOR FEAR OF REPRISALS BY THE RPA. THEY ALSO FEARED BEING INCARCERATED AND PUT IN CROWDED PRISON WHERE THE CONDITIONS ARE SAID BY THE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO BE INHUMAN BEFORE THEY ARE TAKEN IN A COURT OF LAW FOR TRIAL. MANY WOULD PREFER TO REMAIN IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS OTHER THAN BE PUT IN PRISONS INDEFINITELY.

REMARK

ACCORDING TO INTERNET REPORTS, SOME 66,000 PEOPLE ARE ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENOCIDE AND ARE DETAINED IN PRISONS WITHOUT INDICTMENT OR TRIAL. SINCE 1994, 2,300 HAVE DIED BECAUSE OF THE INHUMAN CONDITIONS OF THEIR DETENTION.

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UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY 19 FEB - 25 FEB 96

BURUNDI

SECURITY SITUATION

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2. MORE THAN 100,000 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN BURUNDI SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF THE COUNTRY'S FIRST FREELY ELECTED HEAD OF STATE, MELCHIOR NDADAYE, A HUTU, BY THE TUTSI SOLDIERS.

UN DEPLOYMENT IN BURUNDI

3. FEARING BURUNDI WILL DESCEND INTO GENOCIDAL MASSACRES, THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, DR BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI, SAID THE UN SHOULD BEGIN PLANNING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION FORCE. HE SAID THE TROOPS WOULD REMAIN IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND BE READY TO BE DEPLOYED AT SHORT NOTICE. HE SUGGESTED A STRENGTH OF 5 BRIGADES REPRESENTING A TOTAL OF 25,000 TROOPS WHICH WOULD BE DEPLOYED BY STRATEGIC AIR AND SEA LIFT. THE CONTINGENTS COULD INCLUDE PARACHUTE MOTORIZED, MECHANIZED UNITS, ARTILLERY AND COMBAT ENGINEERS AS WELL AS LOGISTICS AND ADMINISTRATION UNITS. THEY COULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY CLOSE AIR SUPPORT AND ATTACK HELICOPTERS. ALL PARTIES WOULD BE WARNED THAT ANY ATTACK ON THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE WOULD DRAW AN IMMEDIATE AND FORCEFUL RESPONSE.

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SECURITY SITUATION IN BURUNDI, AID WORKERS ARE NOT ABLE TO GIVE ADEQUATE ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES, AS IS THE CASE IN ZAIRE, WHERE REFUGEES ARE SAID TO HAVE NEARLY ALL THE FACILITIES THAT GO WITH NORMAL LIFE.

ZAIRE

ZAIRIAN TROOPS RING REFUGEE CAMPS

12. THE MAIN POINT OF FOCUS IN ZAIRE FOR THE WEEK GONE-BY, WAS THE ENCIRCLING OF KIBUMBA REFUGEE CAMP IN GOMA AND NYANGAZI IN BUKAVU. THE NYANGAZI OPERATION TOOK AID WORKERS BY COMPLETE SURPRISE BECAUSE ZAIRIAN AUTHORITIES HAD EARLIER SAID THAT THEIR SECOND DEPLOYMENT WOULD BE AT KASHUSHA (ALSO IN BUKAVU) WHICH IS HOME TO THOUSANDS OF EX- FAR AND FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. ANTICIPATED DEPLOYMENT AT KASHUSHA HAD RAISED FEARS OF VIOLENCE BECAUSE THIS CAMP IS THE MOST POLITICISED CAMP IN THE ENTIRE REGION, AND IS LIKELY TO BE A HOT-BED OF BREWING TROUBLE.

13. ON 17 FEB 96, ZAIRE EXTENDED THE BAN ON COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES BY THE REFUGEES TO INCLUDE TAXIS AND MINI-BUSES. IT FURTHER BANNED POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. A POLITICAL PARTY KNOWN AS RDR (DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES TO RWANDA) HAS BEEN ACTIVELY CONDUCTING POLITICAL MEETINGS IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A REPORT THAT OPERATIONS OF ICRC WOULD BE BANNED. LATER IT WAS CONFIRMED TO US THAT THE ORGANISATION WAS IFRC AND NOT ICRC. THE THREAT OF CLOSURE OF IFRC IS PROBABLY PROMPTED BY THE FACT THAT THEY HAD ISSUED A STATEMENT APPROX 2 WEEKS AGO IN CONNECTION WITH THE GOVT ACTIVITIES IN GOMA. THIS STATEMENT HAS POSSIBLY EVOKED THIS RESPONSE.

14. IT WAS CONFIRMED BY SOURCES THAT REFUGEES IN ZAIRE HAVE TURNED SOME OF THE CAMPS INTO SMALL CITIES, HOTELS AND DISCO PLACES.

15. ON THURSDAY, 15 FEB 96, ZAIRIANS ARRESTED TEN ALLEGED REFUGEE INTIMIDATORS WHILE TWO WERE DETAINED IN NYANGAZI ON SATURDAY IN A BID TO BREAK THE INTIMIDATORS' HOLD ON THE REFUGEES WHO ARE SEEKING TO MAINTAIN A POWER BASE THERE. BOTH MOVES APPEARED NOT TO HAVE SHAKEN THE DEFIANT REFUGEES STANCE. THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES WHO ARE RETURNING STILL REMAIN WELL BELOW DESIRED LEVELS.

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COMMENT

16. WE ASSESS THAT ZAIRE'S ENCIRCLING AND CLOSING DOWN OF BUSINESSES BEING RUN IN THE CAMPS HAVE ENSURED A VERY COMFORTABLE LIFE FOR THE REFUGEES, AND IT IS VERY UNLIKELY THAT THEY WOULD WANT TO RETURN TO AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE BACK IN RWANDA. THE MONEY THE BUSINESS REFUGEES GET FROM THE HOTELS, SHOPS AND DISCOS COULD ALSO WELL BE USED TO BUY WEAPONS WHICH MAY FIND THEIR WAY INTO RWANDA.

TANZANIA

17. THE FIRST OF THE TRAILS OF RWANDANS ACCUSED OF TAKING PART IN THE 1994 GENOCIDE MAY START IN APRIL IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA. THE BUILDING OF A PRISON FOR THE GENOCIDE SUSPECTS IN NORTHERN TANZANIA IS EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF NEXT MONTH.

18. ON MONDAY, 20 FEB 96, THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ASKED ZAMBIA TO CONTINUE DETAINING THE TWO GENOCIDE SUSPECTS, UNTIL A PRISON WAS READY AT ITS HEADQUARTERS IN THE NORTH TANZANIAN TOWN OF ARUSHA. JUDGE ROKOTOMANA SAID THAT THE TRIBUNAL WAS ALSO HOPING TO INDICT FOUR MORE RWANDANS HELD BY AUTHORITIES IN BELGIUM.

19. MANY RWANDAN GENOCIDE SUSPECTS HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE IN AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN STATES AS WELL AS AMIDST THE TWO MILLION REFUGEES IN ZAIRE, BURUNDI AND TANZANIA. HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIALS FEAR THAT THE LEADERS OF THE SLAUGHTER MAY NEVER STAND TRIAL. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THOSE FOUND GUILTY IN RWANDA FACE A MAXIMUM PENALTY OF EXECUTION, WHILE THE HEAVIEST PUNISHMENT WHICH CAN BE METED OUT BY THE TRIBUNAL IS LIFE IMPRISONMENT.

COMMENT

20. WITH THE INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM TAKING CHARGE OF THE PROSECUTION, MANY INNOCENT REFUGEES ARE LIKELY TO COME BACK. IN THE ABSENCE OF A PROPER JUDICIAL SYSTEM, THE REFUGEES WERE HESITANT TO COME BACK FOR FEAR OF REPRISALS BY THE RPA. THEY ALSO FEARED BEING INCARCERATED AND PUT IN CROWDED PRISONS, WHERE THE CONDITIONS ARE SAID BY THE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO BE "INHUMAN". MANY WOULD PREFER TO REMAIN IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS OTHER THAN BE PUT IN PRISONS INDEFINITELY.

REMARK

21. ACCORDING TO INTERNET REPORTS, SOME 66,000 PEOPLE HAVE, SO FAR BEEN ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENOCIDE, AND ARE DETAINED IN PRISONS WITHOUT INDICTMENT OR TRIAL. SINCE 1994, 2,300 HAVE DIED

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BECAUSE OF THE INHUMAN CONDITIONS OF THEIR DETENTION.

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21 FEB 96

INFOSUM 15 FEB 96 - 21 FEB 96

ZAIRE'S SUPPORT OF THE EX-FAR

1. ON FRIDAY 16 FEB 96, ZAIREAN TROOPS CORDONED NYANGEZI-MURWA CAMP IN BUKAVU AT 0100HRS. THE CAMP HAS A POPULATION OF 26,400 REFUGEES. THIS IS A SECOND REFUGEE CAMP TO BE ENCIRCLED BY ZAIREAN TROOPS IN AN EFFORT TO PRESSURE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME. ON 9 FEB 96, KIBUMBA CAMP WAS ENCIRCLED AND ALL BUSINESS CLOSED

2. PREVIOUSLY, ZAIRE ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD CORDON KIBUMBA AND KASHYUSHYA REFUGEE CAMPS - TWO CAMPS WHICH ENCAMPASS HUGE POPULATIONS OF REFUGEES. IN A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD IN GISENYI ON 10 FEB 96, WITH VICE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF INTERIOR, ZAIRE STRESSED HER COMMITMENT FOR A GRADUAL CLOSURE OF REFUGEE CAMPS IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE DECISIONS ARRIVED AT DURING THE TRIPARTITE MEETING HELD IN GENEVA ON 20 DEC 95. THE MINISTERS WOULD MEET THE LEADERS OF THE CAMPS AND PERSUADE THEM TO MOTIVATE THE REFUGEES TO RETURN VOLUNTARILY. THE MINISTER FOR INTERIOR, MR MALUMBA SAID THAT THE OPERATION WOULD BE FINANCED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE AND THE UNHCR AND WOULD USE ZAREAN TROOPS TO PROTECT THE REFUGEES.

COMMENT

3. ZAIRE'S SUDDEN CHANGE OF DECISION TO ENCIRCLE NYANGEZI-MURWA REFUGEE CAMP IN BUKAVU INSTEAD OF KASHYUSHYA CAMP IS NOT CLEAR. KASHYUSHYA CAMP IS A HOME TO MOST LEADERS OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT FORCES, VERY WORTHY RWANDESE AS WELL AS FORMER PROMINENT POLITICAL LEADERS. IT HAS BEEN NICKNAMED **KIGALI II** AND IS BELIEVED TO BE WELL EQUIPPED WITH TANKS AND OTHER SMALL ARMS. THE LEADERS IN THE CAMP HAVE UNDERTAKEN A CAMPAIGN OF PROPAGANDA, DISINFORMATION AND INTIMIDATION TO DISCOURAGE REFUGEES FROM ACCEPTING THE OFFER TO GO HOME. IT IS FELT THAT IF KASHYUSHYA CAMP WERE NEUTRALISED, WE WOULD WITNESS A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF REFUGEES COMING BACK TO RWANDA

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4. ZAIRE'S UNPREDICTABILITY AND CHANGE OF HEART OVER MATTERS PERTAINING TO REFUGEES COULD BE INTERPRETED AS HER DISGUISED SUPPORT AND COVER FOR THE EX-FAR. THIS COULD POSSIBLY JUSTIFY RWANDA'S CLAIMS THAT ZAIRE HAS CONSPIRED WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL ARMS DEALERS TO SUPPLY ARMS TO THE EX-FAR FOR THEIR INCURSIONS INTO RWANDA.

5. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY WHICH WAS UNANIMOUSLY VOTED ON 7 SEPT 95 BY THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO INVESTIGATE INTO THE ILLEGAL SALES OF ARMS IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION CONFIRMED THAT A ZAIREAN AIRCRAFT, DC 8 HAD TAKEN CONSIGNMENTS OF ARMS INCLUDING GRENADES AND HIGH CALIBRE AMMUNITION FROM SEYCHELLES TO GOMA ON 17 JUNE 94 AND ON 19 JUNE 94. THE WEAPONS WERE PAID FOR WITH US \$300,000 IN CASH BY A FORMER RWANDAN MILITARY OFFICER ACCOMPANIED BY A SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZEN. THE ZAIREAN GOVERNMENT IS SAID TO HAVE PROVIDED THE END-USER.

COMMENT

6. IN THE WAKE OF ALL THE INSURGENT ACTIVITIES IN GOMA, WHICH INCLUDED;

- A. TWO MINE INCIDENTS,
- B. TWO EXPLOSIONS,
- C. THREE ARMED ROBBERIES,
- D. ONE SABOTAGE,
- E. THREE EXCHANGES OF FIRE BETWEEN THE RPA AND THE EX-FAR IN THE MONTH OF JANUARY ALONE, IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE EX-FAR ARE BEING ARMED EITHER BY A GOVERNMENT, A COMPANY OR BY AN INDIVIDUAL AND ZAIRE COULD NOT BE EXEMPTED

7. DURING THE BRIEF TIME THE COMMISSION WAS IN GOMA, IT GATHERED INFORMATION THAT GAVE RISE TO THE SUSPICION THAT CLANDISTINE ACTIVITIES WERE BEING CARRIED OUT IN ZAIRE.

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EXAMPLES WERE PERSISTENT EYE WITNESS REPORTS OF MYSTERIOUS NIGHT FLIGHTS DESPITE THE FACT THAT GOMA AIRPORT IS NOT PROPERLY EQUIPPED TO RECEIVE NIGHT FLIGHTS, EXCLUSION OF WITNESSES FROM THE AIRPORT BY THE AUTHORITIES AT THOSE TIMES, CARGO UNLOADED FROM CERTAIN AIRCRAFTS IN SECRET AND UNHCR STAFF AND NGOSEXCLUDED BY THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES FROM CERTAIN AREAS NOTABLY LAC VERT COMMONLY KNOWN AS L'ETAT MAJOR.

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COMMENT

8. THE FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY IN THE ARMS TRAFFICKING INTO THE GREAT LAKES REGION CAN NOT BE FAR FROM THE TRUTH CONSIDERING THAT MOST OF THE INSURGENT ACTIVITIES ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE AREAS CLOSE TO THE REFUGEE CAMPS. SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF ZARE'S INDIVIDUAL SUPPORT OF THE EX-FAR WAS OBTAINED WHEN A CAPTIVE IN GISENYI REVEALED SOMETIME IN DEC 95 THAT HE HAD BEEN SENT BY A ZAREAN MILITARY OFFICIAL ON A RECCE MISSION TO GISENYI THE NAME AND RANK OF THE MILITARY OFFICER OF WHICH WAS GIVEN TO OUR SOURCE.

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15 FEB 96

AN UPDATE ON THE REFUGEE ACTIVITIES IN GOMA

1. ZAIRE DEPLOYED 250 SOLDIERS ON TUESDAY TO CORDON OFF KIBUMBA REFUGEE CAMP IN GOMA. THE SOLDIERS WERE DEPLOYED INTO THE CAMP EARLY ON 13 FEB IN AN EFFORT TO START AN OPERATION TO CLOSE IT DOWN AND SEND REFUGEES BACK TO RWANDA. THE TROOPS WERE EXPECTED TO SEAL OFF THE CAMP TO PREVENT MOVEMENTS IN AND OUT OF THE CAMP. KIBUMBA CAMP IS A HOME TO SOME 190,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES WHOSE PERIMETER STRAGGLES SOME SEVEN (07) KILOMETERS (4.5 MILES).

2. THE 250 TROOPS KNOWN AS THE CIVIL GUARDS SENT TO GOMA HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN SENT WITH VERY LITTLE FOOD, NO SHELTER AND NO RAIN PROTECTION WEAR.

3. THE TROOPS WERE OBSERVED DOING VERY LITTLE IN THE CAMP DESPITE THE CALL TO CLOSE DOWN BUSINESS IN THE CAMP. CIVILIAN ACTIVITIES WENT ON AS NORMAL. THE TROOPS WERE SEEN TO BE DISCIPLINED AND THE AID WORKERS WERE LEFT FREE TO CARRY ON WITH THEIR NORMAL DUTIES.

4. THE CALL ON THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME HAS BEEN RECEIVED WITH NEGATIVE RESPONSE. ON THE DAY OF THE CORDONING, THE REFUGEES WERE SEEN LOITERING AROUND IN SMALL GROUPS PAYING LITTLE ATTENTION TO THE PRESENCE OF SOLDIERS. BUSINESS WAS CARRIED ON AS NORMAL. THERE WAS NO NEW REGISTRATION OF REFUGEES WHO WANTED TO GO BACK HOME. THE 41 RETURNEES WHO CROSSED THE BORDER THAT DAY HAD BEEN REGISTERED THE DAY BEFORE. REPORTS FROM UNHCR IN GOMA SAY THAT 130 REFUGGES ARE EXPECTED TO BE REPATRIATED TOMORROW, 15 FEB 96.

5. IN AN INTERVIEW BY REUTERS ON SUNDAY, DOZENS OF REFUGEES SAID THEY WOULD REMAIN IN THE CAMP AND THEY WOULD NOT PANIC, 'WE DON'T SEE A SECURITY SITUATION IN RWANDA SUFFICIENT FOR A MASS RETURN,' SAID ONE OF THE REFUGEES TO THE INTERVIEWER.

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6. THE SAME DAY, THOUSANDS OF HUTU REFUGEES, BIBLE IN HAND SANG, 'PROTECT US GOD,' FACING PRIESTS IN WHITE ROBES AT A MASS IN KIBUMBA. THEY VOTED TO REMAIN IN THE CAMP IN DEFIANCE OF THE ZAIREAN OPERATION TO PRESSURE THEM TO GO HOME. MEANWHILE, REFUGEE LEADERS ARE SAID TO BE DISASSOCIATING THEMSELVES FROM THE INTIMIDATORS AGITATING AGAINST THE REFUGEES RETURN.

7. SIX PEOPLE ALLEGED TO BE LEADERS OF REFUGEES WERE ARRESTED ~~YESTERDAY~~, 14 FEB 96, FOR INTIMIDATING REFUGEES WHO WERE WILLING TO GO BACK HOME. THEY ARE AT THE MOMENT IN THE HANDS OF THE ZAIREAN POLICE. IN THE OTHER CAMPS, LEADERS ARE SAID TO BE OPENLY INFLUENCING REFUGEES NOT TO YIELD TO THEIR REPATRIATION. TWO WEEKS AGO, 9 REFUGEE LEADERS WERE REPORTED ARRESTED AND SENT TO KINSHANSA WHERE THEY ARE SAID TO BE HAVING A GOOD TIME.

8. THE ROAD BETWEEN KIBUMBA AND GOMA IS SAID TO BE VERY HEAVILY CONTROLLED BY THE GERNDERMERIE OF ZAIRE

9. THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN KIGALI THINKS THAT ZAIREAN FORCES WILL EVENTUALLY USE FORCE IF THE REFUGEES REMAIN ADAMANT TO THE CALL FOR VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION.

COMMENT

10. THE CIVIL GUARD WAS ACTIVATED BY PRESIDENT MOBUTO IN 1987 AS A CIVILIAN POLICE FORCE. ITS MEMBERS WEAR MILITARY UNIFORMS AND HAVE ADOPTED A MILITARY RANK STRUCTURE. THEIR DUTIES INCLUDE INTERNAL SECURITY, BORDER CONTROL, COUNTER TERRORISM, AND MORE TYPICAL POLICE FUNCTIONS. AS OF 11 SEPT 1995, THERE WERE 1,200 TROOPS DEPLOYED IN THE RELIEF AREA. THEIR DISCIPLINE IS SAID BY THE NGOS TO BE POOR. THE NGOS FEAR THAT SHOULD THEY RUN OUT OF FOOD, THEY MAY RESORT TO LOOTING AND OTHER INDISCRIMINATE ACTIVITIES.

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11. IT IS EVIDENT FROM THE REACTIONS OF THE REFUGEES THAT THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO GO BACK TO RWANDA. THE ZAIREAN TROOPS WILL HAVE TO USE FORCE TO MAKE THEM GO HOME.

12. THE 'ARRESTING' OF THE LEADERS WHO ARE PREVENTING REFUGEES FROM GOING HOME IS AN ATTEMPT BY ZAIRE TO COAX A SIZABLE NUMBER OF REFUGEES TO GO BACK. WHEN THE REFUGEES FLED TO ZAIRE IN 1994, AFTER THE GENOCIDE WHICH SAW OVER A MILLION TUTSIS AND A MODERATE HUTUS DEAD, THEY SETTLED IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS MORE OR LESS ACCORDING TO THEIR ORIGINAL COMMUNES. 1200 REFUGEES FROM KIGALI PREFECTURE SETTLED IN ONE AREA IN THE CAMP AND HAD A LEADER WHO KNEW ALMOST EVERYONE FROM THE PREFECTURE. THESE LEADERS HAVE A CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE ON THE REFUGEES. THEIR SEPERATION, THEREFORE, FROM THE OTHER REFUGEES WILL ASSIST THE REFUGEES TO TAKE INDEPENDENT DECISIONS WHETHER TO GO BACK OR TO STAY.

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12 FEB 96

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY 03 FEB - 12 FEB 96

RWANDA

GENERAL

1. The month of January has been the most active in terms of insurgency activities since the RPAs victory on Iwawa Island. Exchange of fire between the RPA and the Ex-FAR was evidently more this month. The success of the sabotage on electricity pylon and on the section of a water pipeline in Gisenyi is a clear indication that the EX-FARs have sympathisers among the locals who are willing to assist them since the RPA are distrusted by most of the population.

SECURITY SITUATION

2. Six people suspected to be FRGF infiltrators were captured in Nyungwe forest by the RPA and are being kept in some secret place in Cyangugu prefecture. The captives were found in possession of one(01) AK47 Chinese made rifle and a South African R4. On interview by a reliable source with one of the captives who claimed to be a corporal and a signaller, the captive said that they had come to Rwanda from Zaire to establish communications and to coordinate activities with the Ex FARs who had infiltrated into Rwanda.

3. Another FRGF on a recce mission in Gisenyi who had been caught earlier on, revealed that some Ex FARs trained at Iwawa Island had already infiltrated and that he had been sent by a Zairean military official to establish communications and coordinate insurgent activities with them. Our source confirmed having been given the rank and name of the Zaire military official.

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COMMENT

10. So far refugee leaders are opposed to going home. Unless Zaire has the support of the leaders or can neutralise them there is a danger that marauding Zairean soldiers may use force. "If refugees are pushed, there will be a complete chaos. It will be unpleasant and violent," said one western source. Refugees want guarantee of protection if they go home. With the end of the UN mandate, on 8th March 1996, it can be foreseen that there will not be enough people to keep a watch on returnees in villages where ethnic hatred still runs deep. According to INTERNET some 66,000 Hutu refugees accused of genocide are jammed into Rwanda's overcrowded jails where 2,300 have died so far and many more have been thrown into village lock-ups.

POLITICAL

UNITED STATES / RWANDA RELATIONS

11. The Rwandan vice president, Major General Paul Kagame, in his talks with the US ambassador last weekend indicated his disappointment at the UN Secretary General's proposal to station a standby force in neighbouring Zaire ready to intervene if the situation got out of hand in Burundi saying that action would be damaging to any peace process in Burundi. He said this would indicate to Burundi that UN expects civil war there.

12. In another development he strongly accused Zaire of supporting the Ex FARs and arming them. He called on Zaire to return to Rwanda the helicopters and buses (more than sixty) which the former government brought to Zaire and have since been painted "Merci Kagame" allegedly being used in Kinshansa.

13. The United States, last Monday 05 Feb 96, sent its first consignment of six dogs to assist Rwanda in the demining exercise currently taking place in the country. This is the first lot of the 18 dogs the United States will be giving to Rwanda. Training of those who will use the dogs will start sometime in April. It has also been learnt that US will be sending Military lawyers to train the RPA in Military Law.

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COMMENT

4. Rwanda's accusation that Zaire is arming insurgents resident in Zaire is gradually being validated by recent events. The main source of insurgency and political opposition directed against the present government of Rwanda originates from eastern Zaire with Rwanda west as its main target notably Gisenyi.

REFUGEE SITUATION

5. According to Radio Rwanda, a delegation consisting of UNHCR, Burundi government and Rwanda govt visited Rwandan refugees in Burundi last month and asked the refugees to come back saying the judicial system was being restored in Rwanda and once a refugee was repatriated, he could claim his property from the local authorities instead of going straight to the illegal occupant of his property.

6. This was substantiated by the announcement in some suburbs of Kigali on Monday 05 Feb 96, where people were asked to vacate houses that were not theirs in order to make room for the legal owners who are expected to come back from refugee camps in the near future. It is said that the same request was echoed in Byumba.

7. Ntamba and Mugano Refugee camps are said to have been closed in Burundi repatriating some four thousand (4,000) refugees into Rwanda while some made their way towards Tanzania. It has been confirmed that UNHCR's field office which was at Muyinge for administration of these two refugee camps has been moved to Ngozi due to their closure.

8. It was rumoured that there was rioting in the Kashyushya Refugee Camp in Bukavu in protest against forced repatriation. The extent of the rioting was not immediately known but UNHCR sources said that this was expected because Kashyushya Camp accommodates many of the Ex-Far leaders.

9. In Goma 300 Zairean troops were expected to arrive on Tuesday 06 Feb 96 to re-inforce the initial 250 troops who had gone there to cordon Kibumba camp.

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COMMENT

14. It seems the RPA has worked up a training package with the USA. There seems to have been a strong political relations growing between Rwanda and the USA.

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05 FEB 96.

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY 29 JAN - 04 FEB 96

BURUNDI

SECURITY SITUATION

1 The security situation in Burundi continues to slide into chaos as we witness constant clashes between the rebel Hutu extremists, the extremists Tutsis and the Tutsi dominated Burundi forces. The government has little or no control over its armed forces. This has kept tens of thousands of refugees on the move as they are frequently caught up in the violence between the Burundi army and the Hutu Militia group operating in the swathe northern province.

2. It was reported that on Friday night, 02 Feb 96, Hutu extremist attacked Burundi military positions around Bujumbura in the former's buffer zone. Sporadic shots of rifle fire could be heard from the city. By Saturday night, Radio Deuchweller reported that the whole city of Bujumbura had been cleansed of all Hutus who had run away into the mountains surrounding the capital. The remaining have sought refuge in missionary areas.

3. The Security Council on Monday 29 Jan 96, called on the Secretary General Dr. Boutros Ghali to develop the contingency plans to forestall any spread of ethnic violence in Burundi which might lead to genocidal massacres like those in neighbouring Rwanda in 1994. It warned that it would consider an armed embargo on Burundi as well as travel restrictions on any of its leaders who continued to encourage violence.

4 It urged UN members and others to identify and dismantle radio stations which incited hatred and violence in Burundi. The UN Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali, then revived proposals he first made in 1994 to station a standby force in neighbouring Zaire ready to intervene at short notice.

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REPATRIATION

5. In mid January the Rwandan Minister of Rehabilitation Patrick Manzanhaka, and Burundi's Home Affairs Minister, Sylvestre Banzabuze visited Ntamba Refugee Camp in northern Burundi in an attempt to persuade the refugees to come back to Rwanda saying they had nothing to fear and even their fears were unfounded. He however warned that the instigators of the 1994 genocide would face arrest. "We will not negotiate with those who took part in the massacre - that is impossible," he said.

6. Some Burundi military official who visited Kibenzi Camp in mid January was alleged to have made a threatening speech to the refugees to the effect that their camps would soon be relocated to areas closer to the capital, Bujumbura where he felt there was a greater military control. Similar sentiments are alleged to have been made to inmates of Burundi's Mugano and Ntamba Refugee camp which was a major reason for their mass movement on 21 Jan.

COMMENT

7. The Security Council's consideration of imposing an arms embargo on Burundi will assist in reducing killings and armed conflict between the fighting factions. The stationing of a standby force in Zaire was advertly declined by Zaire's president Mobutu. However, the implementation of this would keep a firm stance to stamp down any violence in the region.

8. The statement by the minister of Rehabilitation on not negotiating with those who took part in the 1994 genocide would be looked at as a threat to many refugees who could have taken part in the negocide. The refugees would be hesitant to come back for fear of reprisals against them by the RPA. It can be foreseen that as long as the International Tribunal does not increase its pace in bringing justice to Rwanda, the flow of voluntary returnees will not improve since some of the refugees who come back to Rwanda are incarcerated and put in prisons for long periods before they are brought in a court of law for trial. Many would prefer to remain in refugee camps than to be put in prison indefinitely.

9. The Rwandese Government effort to send an envoy to Burundi to persuade refugees to return to Rwanda is viewed as a response to UN Secretary General's 23rd Jan statement.

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ZAIRE

REFUGEE CAMPS

10. Further to reported cordoning off of the Kibumba Campin Gomna and the closure of the Kashyushya Camp in Bukavu, Zaire, the Rwandan government official;ly accepted to receive the refugees. The forced repatriation exercise was expected to start on 01 Feb 96. Throughout last week the expected inflow through points in Rwanda / Zaire borders is rather low. Rather, most refugees are passing through Burundi / Rwanda border entry point especially through RUTETE..

COMMENT

10. Considering the harassment and threatening of the Rwandan Hutu refugees by the Tutsi dominated army in Burundi and the closure of Kashyushya and Kibumba camps in Zaire, it should be expected that the flow of Refugees in Tanzania will soon escalate. It remains to be seen if Tanzania will be willing to host such a vast number of refugees since it is in the process of trying to rid itself of over 700,000 Rwandan and Burundi refugees some of who have been in Tanzania since 1972. There is a possibility that with the cordoning off of Kibumba camp in Goma, refugees in other camps will panic and will possibly start to vacate their camps venturing deep into eastern Zaire.

The possibility also of violent reaction from the refugees against forced repatriation may be expected because the political agitators would do everything possible to ensure that their political power base remains undisturbed .

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29 Jan 96

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY FROM 22 - 28 Jan 96

Refugee Movements From Burundi

1. The highlight of the week gone by, was the vacation of the Ntamba and Mugano refugee camps in Burundi.
2. The UNHCR representative in Tanzania stated that a massive emergency was anticipated, as Rwandan Hutus were fleeing Mugano camp, alongwith a number of Burundian Hutus massed near the border of Tanzania
3. Speculations were ranging from a colossal figure of 100,000 refugees down to 25,000. The latter, it appears, is nearer the truth. Subsequently between 12,000-14,000 refugees were temporarily admitted by Tanzania into the Ngara area. Later, Ntamba camp too was forcibly closed on Wednesday 24 Jan 96. Initially, Tanzania refused entry to these refugees, however, later they too were admitted, though the Tanzanian Def Minister, Edgar Majogo, said they could only stay temporarily.
4. Of the refugees from Mugano camp, approximately 12,000 have gained entry into Tanzania, approximately 3,000 have returned to Burundi and another 2,000 are believed to be scattered in the bush.
5. At the time of evacuation from Mugano Camp, the Burundi spokesman linked the exodus to attacks by the ex- FAR, a charge repudiated by the fleeing Hutu refugees who say that approximately 20 people were killed by Burundian soldiers and scores of others injured. Conflicting with the above, the Rwandan Govt has said in a press release that, quote "We have reliably learnt that there was no apparent threat or any violent action to have caused the mass exodus. It is probable that the anxiety on the part of the refugees may have contributed to their decision to move" unquote.
6. The Rwandan Govt was to despatch a high ranking delegation to Bujumbura on 28 Jan 96, ie yesterday, to hold discussions with the Burundian Govt and UNHCR on ways of enhancing a quick return of all refugees from Burundi.
7. Comment. (UN Confidential) There seems to be a collusion on the part of the

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Rwandan Govt with Burundi on this issue, where it is evident from the press release, that the Rwandan Govt is supporting the claims of Burundi. This despite the fact that violence did take place, 20 people died and many others injured.

8. The Hutu refugees though being welcomed by the Rwandese, are extremely apprehensive of returning to Rwanda, a fact which is further corroborated by the meagre numbers that did finally find their way into Rwanda through the Rutete and Rusomo Border Posts. The majority sought refuge in Tanzania, some returned back to Burundi, while still others are dispersed in the 'bush' - *but did not return* to Rwanda. Actions in hand in Rwanda will surely have to be stepped up if a substantial number of refugees are to be voluntarily expected.

Killings in Zaire.

9. It was reported that a senior Burundi military officer along with 2-3 other soldiers were killed in Masisi a town located 80km North-West of Goma on 23 Jan 96. The funeral was to take place in Goma on 25 Jan 96. Soldiers were seen proceeding to Goma from Masisi, driving at a very high speed. Some of them were firing shots in the air. Some random shots hit the UNHCR building in Goma and the inmates were advised to vacate the building. However when last reported, the situation in Goma has returned to normal, though Masisi town remains tense, with shops remaining closed and the 'expats' being apprehensive of venturing outdoors.

10. **Comment.** (UN/Unclass) This is the second incident of killing of members of the Burundian military in the last three weeks. So far there is no evidence of this killing being linked to the ethnic conflict within Rwanda, nor to the refugees in Goma. More details will however be necessary, before any tangible opinion can be formed.

Rwandan Govt Reacts Angrily To Secy Gen's remarks.

11. The UN Secy Gen, Boutros Boutros Ghali is reported to have made a statement on 23 Jan 96, saying, quote "Hard-liners have ended the Govt's policy of promoting ethnic harmony after the 1994 genocide of Tutsis." unquote.

12. This statement was met with an acid reaction of anger on the part of the Rwandan Govt. The Rehabilitation Minister Patrick Mazimhaka has accused the Secy Gen of "Poisoning the return of the 1.7 million Hutu refugees" he also said, "This statement certainly goes a long way to poison the repatriation exercise, we consider the statement *unwanted* and *very irresponsible*".

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13. Meanwhile we are informed that the US Ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright has not taken very kindly to the reaction of the Rwandan Govt since, she said that the statement of the Secy Gen was made off the record and was not to be quoted.

14. **Comment.** **(UN/Confidential)** The hardliners surely do seem to be gaining the upper hand in the Rwandan Govt. A few indicators are :-

- (a) Expulsion of more than 40 NGOs.
- (b) Imposing of import duties to the extent of 70% on four-wheelers and of 24% on computers.
- (c) The unexplained support of the Burundian Govt in saying that there was no violence involved in the vacation of the two camps of Mugano and Ntamba.

Exhuming of Mass Graves.

15. Exhuming of the mass graves in Kibuye area commenced last week, and is expected to continue for 5 weeks. These are the largest mass grave exhumations since Nazi concentration camps. The exhumations are aimed at investigations to document violence and provide crucial evidence to facilitate further indictments of genocidaires. However, lack of cash and the sheer number of graves, are likely to preclude the possibility of very many indictments. An interesting issue is, that defence lawyers are expected to challenge in court, the very fact that a genocide took place in Rwanda.

min incidents.

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18 JAN 96

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1. (U) RWANDAN REFUGEES CONSTITUTE THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF RWANDA. UNTIL THEY ARE REPATRIATED THE BUSINESS OF REBUILDING THE COUNTRY CANNOT FULLY BE UNDERTAKEN. THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY OFFERS CONCEALMENT TO THE OPPONENTS OF RECONCILIATION, AND A STAGING AREA FOR THEIR OPERATIONS INTO RWANDA.
2. (U) DESPITE CONTINUING EFFORTS TO SPEED UP THE PACE OF REFUGEE REPATRIATION, OVERALL NUMBERS REMAIN WELL BELOW DESIRED LEVELS. MOREOVER, WITH MOUNTING INSTABILITY IN BURUNDI THE REGION'S REFUGEE PROBLEMS ARE ABOUT TO BECOME EVEN MORE BURDENSOME.
3. (U) UNDER COLONIAL RULE ETHNIC POLARIZATION WAS FOSTERED BETWEEN TUTSI AND HUTU AS A MEANS OF CONTROLLING THE RWANDAN SOCIETY. TODAY, SO-CALLED OPINION LEADERS AMONG THE RWANDAN REFUGEE POPULATION PROMOTE ETHNIC DIFFERENCES TO DISCOURAGE REPATRIATION. RWANDAN REFUGEES HAVE BEEN CONDITIONED FOR WELL OVER A YEAR TO REJECT ANY REPATRIATION PLAN THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE RESTORATION OF THE PRE-GENOCIDE BALANCE OF POWER. MANY REFUGEES REFUSE TO RETURN UNLESS THIS BASIC PRECONDITION IS REALIZED. MEANWHILE, INTIMIDATORS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS HAVE EMPLOYED A CAMPAIGN OF DISINFORMATION AND VIOLENCE TO COUNTER REPATRIATION EFFORTS. DISTRUST, FEAR AND UNCERTAINTY PREVAIL AMONG THE THOUGHTS OF THOSE REFUGEES DECIDING WHETHER TO BELIEVE THE ASSURANCES OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT IT IS SAFE TO RETURN.
4. (U) THE REINTEGRATION INTO RWANDAN SOCIETY OF THOSE REFUGEES WHO HAVE RETURNED HAS MET WITH MIXED SUCCESS. COMPETITION FOR LAND, HOUSING AND HUMANITARIAN AID HAS RAISED TENSIONS AMONGST THE INCUMBENT POPULATION AND THE RETURNEES. OTHER OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS REMAIN. THE DECIMATED GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ADMINISTER THE REPATRIATION PROCESS EFFECTIVELY. LARGE

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NUMBERS OF SURVIVORS REMAIN TRAUMATIZED BY THEIR EXPERIENCES. THE RPA IS DISTRUSTED BY MUCH OF THE POPULATION. THE COMBINED EFFECTS OF THESE FACTORS SERIOUSLY UNDERMINES ONGOING RECONCILIATION AND REPATRIATION EFFORTS. A FURTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR IS THE RETURN OF 1959 REFUGEES WHICH HAS PLACED INCREASED DEMANDS ON THE RESOURCES OF THIS DENSELY POPULATED COUNTRY.

5. (U) DESPITE CONTINUING INSURGENT ACTIVITY, THE OVERALL SECURITY SITUATION IN RWANDA IS IMPROVING. THE GOVERNMENT IS TAKING MEASURES TO REESTABLISH ITS CONTROL OVER THE ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS OPERATING IN RWANDA. IN THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY THIS IS VIEWED WITH SUSPICION. SO ARE ARRESTS OF ACCUSED GENOCIDAIRES. OPINION LEADERS SEIZE UPON THIS AS EVIDENCE OF A CONSPIRACY TO PREVENT HUTUS FROM GAINING ANY SHARE OF REAL POWER. THIS PERCEPTION IS HEIGHTENED BY A MEDIA WHICH OFTEN PORTRAYS THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AS DOMINATED BY TUTSIS.

6. (U) A ROUND OF FORCED EXPULSIONS AND THREATS OF MORE HAVE NOT BEEN ENOUGH TO MOTIVATE REFUGEES INTO RETURNING. REDUCING SERVICES TO REFUGEE CAMPS SIMILARLY HAS HAD LITTLE EFFECT. THE GREATEST MOTIVATOR TO REPATRIATION THUS FAR HAS BEEN THE INSTABILITY IN BURUNDI. THE MOST RECENT ATTEMPTS TO REVITALIZE THE REPATRIATION PROCESS ARE INTENTIONALLY LOW KEY. IN THE PAST, WIDESPREAD AND MUCH-HERALDED ANNOUNCEMENTS OF REPATRIATION DETAILS HAVE ALLOWED ELEMENTS OPPOSED TO THE EFFORT TO OBSTRUCT OR OTHERWISE CIRCUMVENT THEIR IMPLEMENTATION.

7. (U) THE MAJORITY OF FORMER GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS FLED TO EASTERN ZAIRE. EX-FAR COMMANDERS, TOGETHER WITH A NUMBER OF KEY POLITICAL FIGURES FROM THE FORMER GOVERNMENT, EXERCISE DIRECT INFLUENCE OVER HALF OF ALL RWANDAN REFUGEES. THE MAIN SOURCE OF THE INSURGENCY AND POLITICAL OPPOSITION DIRECTED AGAINST THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA ORIGINATES FROM EASTERN ZAIRE. THEIR PRESENCE IS THE GREATEST IMPEDIMENT TO THE REPATRIATION PROCESS. ZAIRE HAS REPEATEDLY PROMISED TO NEUTRALIZE THESE ELEMENTS. ACTION TO DATE HAS BEEN LIMITED AND MOSTLY INEFFECTUAL.

8. (U) THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATED ITS DISPLEASURE WITH THE WAY THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING REPATRIATION ON ITS BEHALF. THE CHIEF COMPLAINT IS THAT REFUGEES IN CAMPS ENJOY A HIGHER QUALITY OF LIFE THAN DO RWANDESE SURVIVORS. THE GOVERNMENT IS GROWING INCREASINGLY IMPATIENT AT THE

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FAILURE OF DONOR COUNTRIES TO FULFILL PLEDGES OF SUPPORT TO RWANDA, WHILE AID MONIES CONTINUE TO FLOW INTO THE REFUGEE ZONE, BENEFITING AND SUSTAINING GENOCIDAIRES AND THEIR PROTECTORS. IT HAS RECENTLY STARTED TO CRACK DOWN ON AID AGENCIES AND THEIR OPERATIONS IN RWANDA. ONLY THOSE WHO OPERATE IN COMPLIANCE WITH RWANDAN LAW, AND CAN PROVE THAT THEIR PRESENCE PROVIDES REAL BENEFIT TO RWANDANS, ARE EXPECTED TO BE ALLOWED TO STAY.

9. (U) THE APPROACH ADOPTED THUS FAR TO SOLVING THE REFUGEE PROBLEM HAS BEEN TO TARGET THE REFUGEE COMMUNITIES IN BURUNDI, TANZANIA AND ZAIRE ON AN EQUAL BASIS. IT HAS SINCE BEEN DETERMINED THAT SOME GROUPS OF REFUGEES ARE MORE RECEPTIVE TO REPATRIATION THAN OTHERS. AMONG THE THREE COMMUNITIES, THOSE REFUGEES IN ZAIRE ARE THE LEAST RECEPTIVE. DUE TO THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN BURUNDI RWANDAN REFUGEES ARE LIKELY TO OPT FOR REPATRIATION IN GREATER NUMBERS OVER THE SHORT TERM THAN THOSE IN TANZANIA OR ZAIRE.

10. (U) G2 COMMENT. REPATRIATION EFFORTS HAVE LARGELY FAILED DUE TO A NUMBER OF MITIGATING FACTORS. FIRST AND FOREMOST THE CADRE OF INTIMIDATORS MUST BE DIVORCED FROM THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY AT LARGE. SECONDLY, ESSENTIAL SERVICES MUST BE REDUCED AND ULTIMATELY TERMINATED AND THE RESOURCES SHIFTED TO RWANDA. THIRDLY, SUPPORT TO THE EX-FAR MUST BE STOPPED, OR AT LEAST SERIOUSLY CURTAILED.

11. (U) WHILE THE RETURN OF ALL THE RWANDAN REFUGEES WHO FLED IN THE LATEST EXODUS IS DESIRED, IT IS NOT A REALISTIC GOAL. THERE ARE MANY, PERHAPS NUMBERING IN THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, WHO MAY NEVER ACCEPT REPATRIATION UNDER THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. A LARGE PROPORTION OF THESE WOULD LIKELY STAND A GOOD CHANCE OF BEING ARRESTED, TRIED AND CONVICTED AS GENOCIDAIRES. IT IS WITHIN THIS BODY THAT THE GREATEST LONG TERM THREAT TO RWANDA'S SECURITY LIES. A PLAN TO ISOLATE AND NEUTRALIZE THIS THREAT IS ESSENTIAL IF HOPES OF RECONCILIATION AND STABILITY ARE TO BE REALIZED.

12. (U) THE REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES IS EVOLVING INTO A MEDIUM TO LONG TERM UNDERTAKING. THOSE WHO EXPECT A MUCH QUICKER RETURN OF THE LATEST EXODUS NEED LOOK NO FURTHER THAN THE EXAMPLE SET BY THE REPATRIATION OF 1959 REFUGEES, WHICH IS STILL ONGOING.

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14 January 1996

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY FOR 6 - 13 JANUARY 1996

General

1. The situation in Rwanda continues to stabilize as Burundi deteriorates and the pressure against the refugees increases.

Refugees

2. On 7 January the Tanzanian Government announced that they would prosecute anyone employing refugees illegally. Work permits for refugees were cancelled a week earlier. Refugees working illegally would be prosecuted along with their employers. The refugees have been told to return to the camps and register there. On 10 January Tanzania arrested 60 illegal immigrants from Burundi and Zaïre. Thirty-two of the Burundians were handed over to UNHCR to be placed in refugee camps. Two of the Burundians volunteered to return to Burundi. The disposition of the remaining illegal immigrants is unknown at this time.

3. Comment. Tanzania is trying to rid itself of over 700,000 Rwandan and Burundi refugees, some whom have been in Tanzania since 1972. Steady employment is one of several preconditions to long-term settlement. By removing the right to work from the refugees, they also remove, to some extent, their ability to control their own future, and it forces them into refugee camps. This will leave the refugees vulnerable to other disincentives to long term settlement, such as reductions in education, health care, and food, and the removal of refugee status for those who fear prosecution on return to Rwanda.

4. The refugee exodus fleeing the civil war in Burundi appears to have begun. According to a report written by Francesco Ardisson, head of the Uvira sub-office of the UNHCR, and obtained by Reuters, in the past month 5,000 refugees have crossed into Zaïre. The report states, "It seems that in the mountainous areas of Nzina, there is a large number of displaced Burundians who have reached this location to escape merciless reprisals on Burundian civilian population carried out by the Burundian Army and by Tutsi extremists from the Sans Echecs Militia." Only those that can afford the 700 Burundian franc (\$2.59 US) fee are ferried across the Rusizi River into Zaïre.

5. Comment. It remains to be seen how the Zaïrian authorities will react to this new source of refugees. If they move to cut off the flow, then the refugees may have no choice

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to go north into Rwanda.

Burundi

6. Burundi continues to slide into chaos. On 7 January Mrs Sadako Ogata arrived in Bujumbura for a two-day visit. She was not visiting in her capacity as head of UNHCR, but rather as a personal envoy of the Secretary-General. When she arrived on 6 January she said that she had come "to find a solution for all the Burundian people". By the evening of 7 January she had toned down the aim of her visit by saying, "There is no solution to the security situation but it is very important that the President and Prime Minister come out in support of work of humanitarian agencies in the country". During her visit, she said that the government of Burundi has promised to safeguard aid workers. She also said that she might recommend UN military intervention as a last resort.

7. Comment. Over the past two years, there have been many envoys visiting Bujumbura seeking peace. The simple truth is that peace will not be achieved until both sides in the conflict want it, or until one side is defeated. As far as the safeguarding of aid workers is concerned, this may be a hollow promise. The government of Burundi is unable to exert much control outside of the capital, Bujumbura, much less make guarantees of safety. Accepting their protection may only make the aid workers a target by those seeking to embarrass or bring down the government.

8. An outbreak of cholera has followed the destruction on 4 January of the power lines that lead to the main pumping station 25 kilometres south of Bujumbura. Eighty new cases of cholera were reported around Bujumbura, and at least two have died of the disease so far. On 12 January the International Committee of the Red Cross said that in an effort to halt the spread of cholera, they have distributed 600,000 litres of water to the most vulnerable areas of the city since the water supply was cut off.

9. Comment. This consequence of the destruction of Bujumbura's power grid has been widely expected. By deliberately creating the conditions that lead to an outbreak of cholera, the extremist militias are engaging in indirect biological warfare. By intervening through the delivery of clean water, the International Committee of the Red Cross may be exposing itself to a risk of attack.

Rwanda

10. On 10 January the Belgian Justice Minister submitted a draft law to Parliament to create the legal framework to comply with a request from the International Tribunal for Rwanda. The Tribunal is asking Belgium to hand over three suspected *genocidaires* they are holding in custody. The law will be considered by parliamentary committee on 17

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January and if approved would go for a full vote in the Belgian parliament. The Belgian Parliament is treating the issue as a priority, and it is quite possible that these suspects could be handed over to the Tribunal in time for the first trials to begin in March.

11. The Human Rights Field Office in Rwanda will run out of money in the end of January, and unless new funds are donated, will have to suspend operations. At a recent emergency meeting in Geneva, only four countries - Belgium, Denmark, The Netherlands and South Africa - pledged further voluntary contributions. There were no firm dollar amounts attached to any of these pledges.

12. Comment. The Human Rights Field Office for Rwanda provides unbiased reporting back to the United Nations on the state of human rights in Rwanda. With the departure of the Military Observers and formed troops of UNAMIR, the UN will have few regular sources of reliable information left. News reporting will gain more significance, as it will be one of the few sources available. The news reporting in this region is poor, with journalists oversimplifying events and reporting through the prism of their own biases. (My favourite is a Reuters piece filed by Nicholas Korch in Nairobi on 11 January 1996, in which he describes Bujumbura as the "sinister capital" of Burundi.) No news article on Rwanda is complete without a reference to "Tutsi domination", which must be extraordinarily frustrating for people trying to work for reconciliation in this country, and especially humiliating for the many moderate Hutus in government. The United Nations may lose access to a very valuable source of information.

13. The biggest loser, though, will be Rwanda. The government of Rwanda knows that it is having difficulty with the discipline of many of its' younger soldiers. Human Rights monitors provide training and advice to the RPA and gendarmerie, and they provide useful information on progress to the government. A good example of this was the RPA raid on the unauthorized IDP camp in the Nyungwe Forest on 25 November 1995. The soldiers gave a version of events at odds with the Human Rights investigation. The findings of the Human Rights investigators prevailed, and four soldiers were jailed. The loss of the Human Rights Field Office for Rwanda will only impede the efforts of the government to improve the discipline of the army.

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11 JAN 96

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1. (U) THE CONFLICT IN BURUNDI HAS SHOWN SIGNS OF FLUCTUATION OVER THE PAST WEEKS; HOWEVER, THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO TREND TOWARDS CONTINUED INSTABILITY. THE AREA OF CONFLICT IS EXPANDING, ESPECIALLY IN NORTHERN BURUNDI, AND IS APPROACHING AREAS CLOSE TO THE TANZANIAN BORDER. VIOLENCE HAS SPREAD TO VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. THE BURUNDI ARMY HAS REACTED BY LAUNCHING A NUMBER OF COUNTER-OFFENSIVES. IN EARLY DEC HUTU MILITANTS LAUNCHED A COORDINATED DAYTIME ATTACK ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CAPITAL BUJUMBURA FOR THE FIRST TIME. MILITANT ACTIVITY HAS SINCE SUCCEEDED IN CUTTING POWER TO MUCH OF THE CITY.

2. (U) THE PROTRACTED WARFARE IS TAKING ITS TOLL ON THE COMBAT READINESS OF THE BURUNDI ARMY. EQUIPMENT SERVICEABILITY IS DECREASING; RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING IS SUFFERING. INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED WHERE SOME SMALL GROUPS WITHIN THE ARMY HAVE TAKEN ACTIONS NOT AUTHORIZED BY THE LEADERSHIP.

3. (U) THE IMPACT ON THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY IS NOW BEGINNING TO BE FELT. DISRUPTION TO POWER SUPPLIES AND HARVESTING OF CROPS WILL ULTIMATELY REDUCE GOVERNMENT REVENUES. SALARIES FOR CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE ARMY, AND THE MAINTAINING OF BASIC SERVICES WILL THUS BE IN JEOPARDY

4. (U) THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS PLEDGED TO FUND THE DEPLOYMENT OF FIVE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN BURUNDI. THE ANNOUNCEMENT COMES DAYS AFTER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REJECTED PROPOSALS BY THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL THAT WOULD SEE A STRONGER UN ROLE IN ENDING THE CONFLICT. THE DEPLOYMENT

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OF THE MONITORS HAD BEEN DELAYED FOR MONTHS DUE TO LACK OF PERMISSION FROM THE GOVERNMENT. THE FIVE MONITORS WILL WORK ONLY IN BUJUMBURA, BUT COULD BE FOLLOWED BY THIRTY MORE.

5. (U) G2 COMMENT. THE PREDICTED CIVIL WAR IN BURUNDI MAY NOW BE A REALITY, ALBEIT IN ITS EARLY STAGES. THE ARMY AND THE MILITANTS APPEAR TO HAVE REACHED A PLATEAU IN THEIR RESPECTIVE ABILITIES TO DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER. A VIOLENT STATUS QUO SEEMS NOW TO BE THE RESULT. THE RESOURCES NEEDED BY EITHER SIDE TO ACHIEVE VICTORY WILL HAVE TO COME FROM OUTSIDE. FOR THE MILITANTS, THIS WILL LIKELY COME FROM THE EX-FAR. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF BURUNDI, BEYOND THAT ALREADY IN PLACE, WILL BE NEEDED TO COUNTER IT. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY ALONE ARE UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO TURN THE SITUATION AROUND.

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7 January 1995

UNAMIR Information Summary for 30 December 1995 - 6 January 1996

1. (U) The region has been active both politically and militarily this past week. On 30 December, it was announced that Zaire had begun to arrest what it called "the intimidators" - Hutu extremists in the camps who are actively preventing the return of Rwandan refugees to Rwanda. By 4 January, they claimed to have 33 in custody. The Rally for the Return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda (RDR), said that the detained were not intimidators, but "opinion leaders". They accused the UNHCR of being secretly behind the arrests, and of supporting forced repatriation of Rwandan refugees.
2. (U) On 31 December two people were killed and one was injured by a mine explosion near Goma, Zaire. They were driving in a truck on the main road from Goma to Rutshura. As usual, no one has claimed responsibility. It was also reported that fighting between Bahunde and Banyarwandans has flared up again in Masisi, 60 kilometres west of Goma. The fighting is over ownership of that fertile region. The Bahunde consider themselves the "true Zairians", while the Banyarwandans are a mixture of long-term Rwandan immigrants and those caught on the wrong side when the borders were drawn up by colonial powers.
3. (U) During his New Years address to the country, President Bizimungu said that 1,000 infiltrators had been arrested, and that Rwandans should pay no attention to rumours of a possible ex-FAR invasion. Comment. The number of arrested infiltrators reflects the increasing success that the RPA has enjoyed in their fight against the ex-FAR. It also creates a special problem - the infiltrators are not necessarily criminals, so their detention is a problem. We believe that it is likely that the ones not wanted on genocide crimes will be offered rehabilitation training, and eventually either absorbed into the RPA or demobilized.
4. (U) On 2 January, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appealed for a contingent of UN guards to protect aid workers in Burundi, and for a military presence in Zaire. This suggestion of putting UN guards in Burundi has been opposed by the Tutsi-dominated Burundian army. They said that it would amount to foreign intervention. The Hutu-dominated former ruling party FRODEBU, which shares power with the Tutsi-dominated UPRONA party, were in favour of the proposition. Not surprisingly, UPRONA is opposed to the idea. The Organization of African Unity fully supported the Secretary-General's initiative, and said that the UN should deploy troops to avert a possible genocide on the scale of the one in Rwanda last year. The OAU made no

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reference to the idea of stationing troops in Zaire.

5. (C/Rel to UN) On 3 January, an informal meeting was held by DPKO to sound out preliminary responses to the Secretary-General's initiative, which began with a letter to the Security Council on 29 December. All interested countries said that they shared the Secretary-General's concern with respect to the deterioration of the situation in Burundi but acknowledged that there were no easy answers.

6. (C/Rel to UN) There appears to be a diplomatic consensus that the best course of action would be for the Security Council to issue a Presidential Statement and to await the new SRSG in Burundi's initial assessment in a few weeks time before contemplating further action. In closed informal consultations of the Security Council on 4 January, the situation in Burundi was discussed and a draft Presidential Statement was circulated. The UK assessment of the meeting was that there was no enthusiasm for the Secretary-General's proposals. While the Security Council would wait to hear the reports from the field, and in particular that of the new SRSG to Burundi, a robust political message was deemed essential at this stage.

7. (U) The charity Medecins Sans Frontieres said on 3 January that it's French wing was expelled from Rwanda for reporting atrocities committed by the authorities. They also accused the RPA with stealing vehicles, equipment, and medicine worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Comment. The expulsion of 43 NGOs last month may have started as a sovereignty exercise on the part of the government, but it is turning into a public relations disaster. They are not likely to need to try it again, though, as the Government has worked out a methodology to oversee aid work in Rwanda that involves themselves, the United Nations, and a representative of the NGO community. Hopefully this mechanism can correct problems early, eliminating the need for draconian action later.

8. (U) Speculation is swirling over Zaire's intentions with respect to the refugees this week. On 4 January, the Foreign Minister of Zaire said that they would begin to close refugee camps within the next two weeks. Comment. There is little information available about how the camps will be closed. The UNHCR says that they will use a "massive public information campaign". Zaire has suggested that it will use the military to close the camps. If force is used, it will drive a wedge between the Zairian authorities and the UNHCR, and thousands of refugees will scatter into the hills.

9. (C/Rel to UN) The Rwandan Government has approached key donor countries to seek funding for the restructuring of the RPA and the National Gendarmerie. The restructuring is to take place over three years at a cost of 185 million US dollars. Seventy-five million is slated for the demobilization of the RPA from approximately 50,000 soldiers down to 15,000. Seventy million is needed to increase the size of the

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gendarmerie from approximately 6,000 to 15,000. Forty million would be set aside for assisting demobilized soldiers, including returned ex-FAR.

10. (C/Rel to UN) It appears that an hour-long mortar barrage by the RPA occurred on the southern tip of Ijwe Island starting at 2230 on 4 January. Comment. This barrage was likely in retaliation for an ex-FAR raid that killed seven civilians in Bugega Sector in the early hours of the morning of 3 January. Bugega Sector is just across the channel from the southern tip of Ijwe Island. This is the first instance we are aware of in which Rwanda has used indirect fire weapons across the border into Zaire. This leaves Zaire two options - either ignore it and pretend nothing happened, or protest through diplomatic channels. We do not believe that they have enough confidence to challenge the RPA at this time.

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25 December, 1995

Weekly Information Summary for 17 - 24 December 1995

Military

This past week has been a fairly active one in Rwanda. On 18 December 1995, an RPA battalion led by Lieutenant-Colonel Augustin Munyakazi, himself a former ex-FAR officer, conducted a cordon-and-search operation in a commune in Ruhengeri Prefecture. The purpose of the operation was to capture or kill an ex-FAR Captain by the name of Sirilio. He was known in the area by the codename "Soudi". He considered himself the ex-FAR Sector Commander for Ruhengeri Prefecture, and had been taxing the local population to support ex-FAR and Interahamwe operations in the area. "Soudi" opened fire on the RPA during the operation, and was killed.

The RPA has taken a hard look at itself after the killings in the unauthorized IDP camp in the Nyungwe Forest on 25 November. On 18 December Major-General Kagame announced that military courts-martial would be convened soon to try soldiers accused of killing civilians, and that if convicted they would be executed. The first court-martial began on 21 December. We also learned that four soldiers had been arrested pending further investigation into the killings in the Nyungwe, and that a crackdown had begun within the RPA to restore discipline and improve their public image.

The first evidence of the crackdown may have come on 19 December. Two soldiers entered a bar in Gikongoro Prefecture with two women. They drank for a while, then demanded a room from the woman tending the bar. She refused, and the soldiers physically abused her. When the rest of her family came to her assistance, her husband was murdered by one of the soldiers. Several hours later, the RPA arrested the two soldiers. One of them was jailed. The one who had done the killing was taken back to the bar and executed by the RPA.

The ex-FAR have been busy as well. On the night of 19 December two power pylons were damaged by explosives in Gisenyi, and an attempt was made on a third. Early on 22 December, the ex-FAR blew up two bridges on the main coastal road in Cyangugu Prefecture within a minute of each other. Twenty minutes later another explosive went off on a power pylon in the Bubyiro area. Because of the proximity of the three targets in both time and space, it is a virtual certainty that the attack was coordinated. The results of the attacks were mixed. Both bridges were badly damaged, but by 23 December the two bridges had been repaired with logs and the road re-opened. The attacks on the power pylons in Gisenyi did not succeed in cutting the power lines.

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At approximately 0845 hours on 23 December, an anti-personnel mine was detonated in the public market at Vunga, in Gisenyi Prefecture. A total of six people were injured, with one woman losing her right leg. Later in the day three more anti-personnel mines were discovered in the same market. The mines, Italian TP-20s, were removed by RPA engineers.

Assessment

What we are witnessing is the continuation of the struggle by both sides in this conflict for the political support of the people of Rwanda. The RPA knows that it must earn the respect of the public, and is willing to use harsh measures against soldiers who, through their actions, bring the army into disrepute. The ex-FAR is attempting to prove that the RPA is incapable of providing for their security through military means, hoping to force the Government of Rwanda into making political concessions. It is a risky strategy, though. The bombings on 19 and 22 December proved that the ex-FAR can still launch a coordinated attack in Rwanda. It also demonstrated how resourceful the Rwandan people are, as they restored use of both bridges within only two days. Attacks on civilians in markets are a terrorist tactic that could easily backfire on the ex-FAR, as it could induce the public to turn in infiltrators when they discover them, making operations in Rwanda extremely dangerous for the ex-FAR and Interahamwe.

Although the ex-FAR has been active this past week, we must still keep the level of conflict in perspective. The Government of Rwanda is firmly in control. For an idea on what a conflict out of control looks like, we need look no farther afield than Burundi.

Political

The Government of Rwanda has suffered several embarrassing setbacks this month. They denied agreeing to an extension of UNAMIR's mandate in Cairo, and had to be publicly reminded by President Museveni of Uganda of their commitment. The President of Rwanda's Collective League of Human Rights Associations, Jean-Baptiste Barambirwa, was arrested after he made a speech critical of the government. This attracted unfavourable international attention, and Barambirwa was released 48 hours later. The government ordered a number of NGO's to leave the country, and then froze their bank accounts. This triggered a strong reaction from the diplomatic community, which forced the government to back down on the timings of the expulsions and the issue of money. It also showed that the expulsion of NGO's had been poorly planned and executed by the government. In this past week, rumours circulated in Kigali that Vice President Kagame was under house arrest, a rumour that we believe is false.

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Assessment

The Government of Rwanda may be experiencing problems in communicating their program within their own bureaucracy. Many of their people are inexperienced, and coupled with a poor telecommunications system, it is conceivable that problems in coordination could be occurring. These problems give the impression of a government under siege, and lead to speculation about the leadership. As the bureaucrats within the government gain experience, and when the telephone system improves, we expect that there will be fewer such embarrassments.

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10 December 1995

Information Summary for 2 December to 9 December 1995

Introduction

Although it is far too early to declare a victor, there is evidence that the insurgency war being conducted by the ex-FAR and interahamwe is stalling. The number of violent incidents reported through UNAMIR channels has steadily declined over the past four months. The RPA have changed their patrolling tactics adjacent to the refugee sector, and there are indications that the RPA is gradually winning public acceptance. External pressure is mounting against the ex-FAR which will hamper their operations.

Evidence

We recently conducted a review of all reported insurgent activity reported to us through UNAMIR, primarily from Military Observers and CIVPOL. There were 52 reported incidents in August, 40 in September, 31 in October, and 18 in November. So far there has been 2 incidents in the month of December.

In the latter half of October there was a increase in successful interdictions of insurgents. After the Iwawa Island attack in early November, most of the reported incidents were of the RPA interdicting ex-FAR or interahamwe infiltrators.

We have received several reports that there is a reduction in the hate propaganda being broadcast in the camps.

Discussion

We believe that there are a number of contributing factors that could explain this reduction in insurgent activity. The first and most important reason is that there appears to be a shift towards greater public acceptance of the RPA. The integrated ex-FAR officers and men that have undergone rehabilitation training have proven to be an asset to the RPA. They have been successful in convincing the public that their best hope for security lies with the RPA and the gendarmerie. There has been an increase in the number of cases of members of the public reporting the movements of infiltrators. In 211 Brigade, headquartered in Ruhengeri, they have imprisoned over 100 suspected infiltrators. The RPA were surprised by this consequence of using integrated ex-FAR, and intend to try it in the Butare area next.

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The RPA are believed to have moved a sixth battalion into the Gisenyi/Ruhengeri prefectures in the past two months. They have also changed their patrol tactics, putting soldiers right up to the border of Zaire and patrolling up into the bamboo line on the volcanoes. They may have sent fighting and reconnaissance patrols across the border to the area of Kibumba Refugee Camp, but we have been unable to confirm this. Whether the RPA cross the border or not, it is clear that they are engaging the ex-FAR much earlier, and reducing the probability that innocent civilians will be injured or killed by mistake.

The rate of reported arrests in the front-line prefectures of Ruhengeri, Gisenyi, and Kibuye have shown an increase in the past few months. In September, there were a total of 41 arrests reported through UNAMIR channels. In October, there were 79 arrests reported. In November, there were 185 arrests reported. These can be explained by two factors. Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures fall under 211 Brigade's area of operations. Colonel Charles Ngoga, the Brigade Commander, has a reputation for high arrest rates in his area. He took command of 211 Brigade after the Kanama Massacre in September. The increase in Kibuye is related to a mass arrest campaign started by the Prefect of Kibuye. It is believed that the number of arrests in Kibuye may actually be higher than reported. The number of arrests in Cyangugu actually dropped, but this is attributed to the movement of Colonel Ngoga from 301 Brigade in Butare, which is responsible for Cyangugu, to Ruhengeri.

There are other factors that could help explain the reduction in insurgent activity. The ex-FAR defeat on Iwawa Island underscored the poor training, leadership, and morale of the ex-FAR. Their failure to react swiftly after the raid suggests that their leadership is adrift. Furthermore, twenty-six survivors of the assault on Iwawa Island were jailed by the Zairian Gendarmerie after they escaped to Ijwe Island, graphically illustrating to the ex-FAR that they cannot necessarily take Zaire's support for granted anymore.

The support to the ex-FAR is coming under attack from three different directions. Most importantly, it appears that the Government of Zaire may be distancing itself from the ex-FAR. In the Cairo Declaration Zaire promised to stop the ex-FAR from raiding into Rwanda, and to stop them from arming and training in Zaire. It has also promised to support the work of the International Tribunal, and has vowed to arrest the intimidators in the camps who have been trying to stop the refugees from returning. Zaire has also promised to stop the transmission of hate propaganda into the camps, and has said that they will return all the stolen heavy weapons and equipment that the ex-FAR brought with them from Rwanda last year. The fact that we doubt that Zaire can live up to all its promises is unimportant. What counts is the loss of confidence that the ex-FAR will experience in their main supporter, and the inhibiting effect this will have on their operations.

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The International Tribunal for Rwanda will release it's indictment list soon, and a number of ex-FAR leaders will likely be on it. Given Zaire's promises to the international community, the leadership of the ex-FAR must be very worried right now.

The International Commission of Inquiry into the Arms Flow in the Great Lakes Region has begun its work recently. This will increase the difficulty that the ex-FAR has in acquiring weapons, and increase the risk of embarrassment or sanction against any nation caught supporting them.

The ex-FAR may be experiencing money problems as well. Some of the leadership is living well in Cameroon and Nairobi, but the soldiers are reduced to cutting down Virunga National Park to make charcoal to sell to the refugees. They aren't going to get away with this forever. They have also started taxing the refugees in the camps, which should make them very unpopular.

We have been told that the Rally for the Return of Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda, which is the political organization behind the ex-FAR, may be in disarray. They are apparently splitting into two factions, although we have not yet found any independent evidence to support this. If this is true, then it will be very difficult for the ex-FAR to mount a co-ordinated insurgency campaign against Rwanda.

Conclusion

As I stated earlier, it is too early to declare that the insurgency campaign is finished. It is clear, though, that the RPA's counter-insurgency plan is working. Whether the ex-FAR will re-vitalize their campaign over the next few months, or if it will continue to collapse, is unclear. If it does continue to collapse, then their hold on the refugees will weaken, and there is the very real chance that the orderly repatriation of the refugees will accelerate.

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REGIONAL THREAT ASSESSMENT - 1 DEC 95 TO 1 JUL 96

This threat assessment will examine Rwanda and its neighbouring countries for the period of 1 Dec 95 until 1 Jul 96.

Summary

The security situation will continue to be dominated by the existence of the refugee camps in Zaire, Burundi, and Tanzania. UNHCR efforts to resolve the refugee situation in the near term will be unsuccessful. The threat to UN and NGO staffs in Zaire will likely become high. The potential for an invasion by the ex-FAR remains, but the likelihood of success of any such action is diminished by an increasingly competent RPA. The crisis in Burundi is becoming more dangerous, and there is a very real possibility that the government will collapse and that a civil war between the army and the Hutu rebels will break out. This will exacerbate the refugee problem in the region.

Rwanda

The government of Rwanda remains firmly in control of the country, although the western prefectures continue to be pressured by the ex-FAR. The RPA has obtained two or three high-speed patrol boats, and has deployed them in Lac Kivu. This will reduce the infiltration of Kibuye Prefecture by ex-FAR crossing Lac Kivu.

The insurgency war will eventually spread to Kigali. The leadership of the former regime will escalate and expand insurgency activity in an attempt to destabilize the Rwandan government. The prospects for an attempted invasion grow as the former regime's efforts at negotiation are rebuffed. However, the likelihood of such action succeeding is diminished by a stronger and increasingly competent RPA.

There has been an increase in infiltrations in northern Rwanda, with the ex-FAR crossing from Uganda. This development is unexpected, and may be a result of the Ugandan National Resistance Army being preoccupied in the north along the Sudanese border, and is therefore unable to maintain a sufficient presence in the south.

Zaire

The position of Zaire with regards to the refugee camps is increasingly unclear. Their demands that all refugees be repatriated by 31 December 1995 have been severely

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compromised by President Mobutu's statement of 24 October when he said that the refugees did not have to leave by the end of the year, and that the camps may be relocated farther into Zaire. This announcement was greeted with elation in the relief sector, and disbelief in Kigali and the UNHCR.

This reversal by President Mobutu may have less influence in the refugee sector than originally thought. Kivu province has always been difficult for Kinshasa to control, and the local government may still act independently. If what he says is true, however, it will be a serious setback, effectively returning the refugee situation to that of the days prior to the *refoulement*. The RPA will not act against the ex-FAR in Zaire if they believe that progress is being made to reduce the threat posed by the refugee camps. If the progress is stalled or reversed, then they may feel compelled to act.

The safety of UN and NGOs in the relief sector of Zaire is of great concern. There have been 33 incidents involving anti-tank or anti-personnel mines, grenades, or other types of explosive ordnance in the relief sector in the past five months. It is believed that pressure is being put on the UN and NGOs to withdraw from the area, which would severely curtail the services offered to the refugees in the camps. This in turn would act as an incentive for the refugees to return to Rwanda. We believe that if this is true, then the threat to UN and NGO staff in the relief sector is high.

Burundi

The government of Burundi remains ineffective. The moderate coalition has no control over the Burundian military (FAB), which is Tutsi-led, or the extremist Hutu or Tutsi political parties. The country faces three major problems, any one of which could prove fatal. First, the government does not function, and has lost control of the country outside of the capital. Therefore, by default, the FAB runs the country. Second, the fighting between the FAB and extremist Tutsi on one side, and extremist Hutu on the other, is escalating. There are vicious insurgency and counter-insurgency campaigns being waged. Furthermore, there have been Hutu attacks into Tanzania recently, with the Tanzanian Army pursuing the Hutu back across the border into Burundi. This is straining relations between the two governments involved. Finally, there are 400,000 refugees involved. There are 200,000 Burundian refugees living in camps in eastern Zaire, and 200,000 Rwandan refugees living in camps in northern Burundi. There are also up to 500,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) living in camps on the north-east border of Burundi, unable to cross into Tanzania.

Whether the situation in Burundi will continue to deteriorate slowly or escalate quickly cannot be predicted at this time. The collapse of the government, repatriation of large numbers of refugees, or a major military success by either side could herald the

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beginning of the end - the total collapse of government, a military coup, and a civil war. The likelihood of this scenario being played out over the next six months is high.

The most obvious effect that a civil war in Burundi would have in Rwanda is that it is likely that large numbers of refugees could be driven over the border into southern Rwanda, exacerbating the already grave refugee problem in the Great Lakes region.

Tanzania

The impact of the first multi-party elections in Tanzania's history on 29 Oct 95 has not yet become clear, although they were marred by confusion and disarray. What is known, however, is that Tanzania is tired of the refugee burden it has had placed on it, and has closed its borders to refugee traffic. This will help to channel any future refugees from the Burundi conflict northward, into Rwanda. Furthermore, Tanzania has plans to forcibly repatriate Rwandan refugees living in Tanzania if progress on their situation is not made.

Uganda

As stated earlier, it now appears that ex-FAR are infiltrating into Rwanda through Uganda. Considering the closeness between the governments of Uganda and Rwanda, it is inconceivable that these infiltrations are taking place with Uganda's approval. The Ugandan National Resistance Army is becoming more heavily involved with security on their border with Sudan, and this appears to be at the expense of their border with Rwanda. If the infiltrations become more serious, we expect to see Rwanda put diplomatic pressure on Uganda to patrol their side of the border more thoroughly.

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Conclusion

The repatriation of Rwandan refugees will continue to be the key to stability in the region. However, the former regime will resist any effort to repatriate their constituency until a time of their choosing, opting instead for an increased military effort. The threat to UN and NGO staffs in Zaire will likely rise as the insurgency escalates, and as the aid community becomes caught up in the struggles between the various factions and groups in the relief zone. The potential for an invasion by the ex-FAR remains, but the likelihood of success of any such action is diminished by an increasingly competent RPA. Lack of progress in the refugee situation, an escalating insurgency in Rwanda, and mounting instability in Burundi will preclude any improvement in the security situation over the period in question.

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29 Jan 96

UNAMIR HQ INFORMATION SUMMARY FROM 22 - 28 Jan 96

Refugee Movements From Burundi

1. The highlight of the week gone by, was the vacation of the Ntamba and Mugano refugee camps in Burundi.
2. The UNHCR representative in Tanzania stated that a massive emergency was anticipated, as Rwandan Hutus were fleeing Mugano camp, alongwith a number of Burundian Hutus massed near the border of Tanzania
3. Speculations were ranging from a colossal figure of 100,000 refugees down to 25,000. The latter, it appears, is nearer the truth. Subsequently between 12,000-14,000 refugees were temporarily admitted by Tanzania into the Ngara area. Later, Ntamba camp too was forcibly closed on Wednesday 24 Jan 96. Initially, Tanzania refused entry to these refugees, however, later they too were admitted, though the Tanzanian Def Minister, Edgar Majogo, said they could only stay temporarily.
4. Of the refugees from Mugano camp, approximately 12,000 have gained entry into Tanzania, approximately 3,000 have returned to Burundi and another 2,000 are believed to be scattered in the bush.
5. At the time of evacuation from Mugano Camp, the Burundi spokesman linked the exodus to attacks by the ex- FAR, a charge repudiated by the fleeing Hutu refugees who say that approximately 20 people were killed by Burundian soldiers and scores of others injured. Conflicting with the above, the Rwandan Govt has said in a press release that, quote "We have reliably learnt that there was no apparent threat or any violent action to have caused the mass exodus. It is probable that the anxiety on the part of the refugees may have contributed to their decision to move" unquote.
6. The Rwandan Govt was to despatch a high ranking delegation to Bujumbura on 28 Jan 96, ie yesterday, to hold discussions with the Burundian Govt and UNHCR on ways of enhancing a quick return of all refugees from Burundi.
7. **Comment.** **(UN Confidential)** There seems to be a collusion on the part of the

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Rwandan Govt with Burundi on this issue, where it is evident from the press release, that the Rwandan Govt is supporting the claims of Burundi. This despite the fact that violence did take place, 20 people died and many others injured.

8. The Hutu refugees though being welcomed by the Rwandese, are extremely apprehensive of returning to Rwanda, a fact which is further corroborated by the meagre numbers that did finally find their way into Rwanda through the Rutete and Rusomo Border Posts. The majority sought refuge in Tanzania, some returned back to Burundi, while still others are dispersed in the 'bush' - *but did'nt return* to Rwanda. Actions in hand in Rwanda will surely have to be stepped up if a substantial number of refugees are to be voluntarily expected.

Killings in Zaire.

9. It was reported that a senior Zairian military officer alongwith 2-3 other soldiers were killed in Masisi a town located 80km North-West of Goma on 23 Jan 96. The funeral was to take place in Goma on 25 Jan 96. Soldiers were seen proceeding to Goma from Masisi, driving at a very high speed. Some of them were firing shots in the air. Some random shots hit the UNHCR building in Goma and the inmates were advised to vacate the building. However when last reported, the situation in Goma has returned to normal, though Masisi town remains tense, with shops remaining closed and the 'expats' being apprehensive of venturing outdoors.

10. **Comment. (UN/Unclass)** This is the second incident of killing of members of the Zairian military in the last three weeks. So far there is no evidence of this killing being linked to the ethnic conflict within Rwanda, nor to the refugees in Goma. More details will however be necessary, before any tangible opinion can be formed.

Rwandan Govt Reacts Angrily To Secy Gen's remarks.

11. The UN Secy Gen, Boutros Boutros Ghali is reported to have made a statement on 23 Jan 96, saying, quote " Hard-liners have ended the Govt's policy of promoting ethnic harmony after the 1994 genocide of Tutsis." unquote.

12. This statement was met with an acid reaction of anger on the part of the Rwandan Govt. The Rehabilitation Minister Patrick Mazimhaka has accused the Secy Gen of " Poisoning the return of the 1.7 million Hutu refugees" he also said, "This statement certainly goes a long way to poison the repatriation exercise, we consider the statement *unwanted* and *very irresponsible*".

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13. Meanwhile we are informed that the US Ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright has not taken very kindly to the reaction of the Rwandan Govt since, she said that the statement of the Secy Gen was made off the record and was not to be quoted.

14. **Comment.** **(UN/Confidential)** The hardliners surely do seem to be gaining the upper hand in the Rwandan Govt. A few indicators are :-

- (a) Expulsion of more than 40 NGOs.
- (b) Imposing of import duties to the extent of 70% on four-wheelers and of 24% on computers.
- (c) The unexplained support of the Burundian Govt in saying that there was no violence involved in the vacation of the two camps of Mugano and Ntamba.

Exhuming of Mass Graves.

15. Exhuming of the mass graves in Kibuye area commenced last week, and is expected to continue for 5 weeks. These are the largest mass grave exhumations since Nazi concentration camps. The exhumations are aimed at investigations to document violence and provide crucial evidence to facilitate further indictments of genocidaires. However, lack of cash and the sheer number of graves, are likely to preclude the possibility of very many indictments. An interesting issue is, that defence lawyers are expected to challenge in court, the very fact that a genocide took place in Rwanda.

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