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JOURNEE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

LE 10 DECEMBRE 1995

Message du Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies
Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali

En célébrant, chaque année, cette journée, nous voulons tout d'abord commémorer l'adoption, par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, le 10 décembre 1948, de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

En cette année où nous célébrons le Cinquantième anniversaire de l'Organisation mondiale, il convient de rappeler que la Déclaration universelle complète et amplifie le message des Pères fondateurs de la Charte, en affirmant, de la façon la plus solennelle, les droits inviolables de la personne humaine.

Depuis l'origine, l'Organisation des Nations Unies conduit, dans ce domaine, une action normative considérable au service non seulement des droits individuels, mais aussi des droits civils et politiques, ainsi que des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels.

Mais il faut aller plus loin. Car la règle de droit n'a de sens que si elle est effectivement appliquée et juridiquement sanctionnée.

C'est la raison pour laquelle il faut inciter en permanence les Etats à ratifier les textes élaborés dans le domaine des droits de l'homme. Et il faut les engager à les respecter!

C'est la raison pour laquelle, aussi, l'action juridictionnelle de la Communauté internationale doit être renforcée. Les Tribunaux chargés de juger les crimes de guerre et les violations des droits de l'homme dans l'ex-Yougoslavie et au Rwanda vont dans ce sens.

Mais ils sont, hélas, aussi, la conséquence et la traduction de drames profonds qui déshonorent la Communauté internationale dans son ensemble et qui font resurgir le spectre du génocide qu'on croyait à jamais disparu.



Office of the Spokesman

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

10 DECEMBER 1995

Message of the Secretary-General of the United Nations
Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Annually on this Human Rights Day, we commemorate the adoption by the UN General Assembly, on 10 December 1948, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This year we have been celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the World Organization. So on Human Rights Day 1995 we should recall that the Universal Declaration grew out of the Charter of the United Nations itself.

It built on and codified the central message of the drafters of the Charter by setting out, clearly and explicitly, the inviolable rights of the human person.

Since its inception, the United Nations Organization has worked to extend its normative efforts not only into the field of individual rights but also into those of economic, social and cultural rights.

Now the time has come to go further. For the rule of law is meaningless unless steps are taken to ensure that it is applied judicially.

That is why we should be unceasing in our efforts to encourage States to ratify international human rights laws, and why we must also do all we can to ensure that they abide by them.

Efforts of the international community to extend its jurisdiction must be stepped up. The International Courts dealing with war crimes and human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda are good examples.

But they are also -- unfortunately -- the reflection of deep and shameful dilemmas within the international community which show that the spectre of genocide -- which we had once thought had disappeared for ever -- is, alas, very much still with us.



**Press Statement by the Chairman of the
International Commission of Inquiry**

The Security Council, in its resolution 1013 (1995) dated 7 September 1995, requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to establish, as a matter of urgency, an International Commission of Inquiry to investigate reports of military training and arms transfers to former Rwandan government forces in violation of the embargo imposed under its resolutions 918 (1994), 997 (1995) and 1011 (1995).

The mandate of the International Commission as outlined in resolution 1013 (1995) is:

- (a) to collect information and investigate reports relating to the sale or supply of arms and related matériel to former Rwandan government forces in the Great Lakes region in violation of Council resolutions 918 (1994), 997 (1995) and 1011 (1995);
- (b) to investigate allegations that such forces are receiving military training in order to destabilize Rwanda;
- (c) to identify parties aiding and abetting the illegal acquisition of arms by former Rwandan Government forces, contrary to the Council resolutions referred to above;
- (d) to recommend measures to end the illegal flow of arms in the subregion in violation of the Council resolutions referred to above.

On 20 October 1995, the Secretary-General of the United Nations appointed the International Commission of Inquiry, consisting of:

- Ambassador Mahmoud Kassem, Egypt (Chairman);
- Inspector Jean-Michel Hanssens, Canada;
- Colonel Juergen G.H. Almeling, Germany;
- Lt. Colonel Jan Meijvogel, Netherlands;
- Brigadier Mujahid Alam, Pakistan; and
- Colonel Lameck Mutanda, Zimbabwe.

The Security Council in its resolution 1013 also calls upon the Governments of the States of the Great Lakes Region, in which the International Commission will carry out its mandate, to cooperate fully with the Commission, including responding positively to requests from the Commission for assistance, access in pursuing investigations, and appropriate measures to guarantee the safety and security of the members of the Commission and guarantees from the Governments of full respect for the integrity, security and freedom of witnesses, experts and any other persons working with the Commission in the fulfilment of its mandate.

**Conférence de presse par le Président de la
Commission Internationale d'Enquête**

Le Conseil de sécurité, dans sa résolution 1013 (1995) du 7 septembre 1995, prie le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies d'établir d'urgence une Commission Internationale d'Enquête sur des rapports concernant l'entraînement militaire et les transferts d'armes aux anciennes forces gouvernementales rwandaises en violation de l'embargo imposé par ses résolutions 918 (1994), 997 (1995) et 1011 (1995). Le mandat de la Commission Internationale d'Enquête approuvé par la résolution 1013 (1995) est:

a) De recueillir des renseignements et d'enquêter sur les informations faisant état de la vente ou de la fourniture d'armes et de matériel connexe aux anciennes forces gouvernementales rwandaises dans la région des Grands Lacs, en violation des résolutions 918 (1994), 997 (1995) et 1011 (1995) du Conseil de sécurité;

b) D'enquêter sur les allégations selon lesquelles ces forces recevraient un entraînement militaire en vue de déstabiliser le Rwanda;

c) D'identifier les parties qui aident les anciennes forces gouvernementales rwandaises à acquérir illégalement des armes ou les soutiennent dans cette entreprise, contrevenant ainsi aux résolutions du Conseil visées plus haut;

d) De recommander des mesures visant à mettre un terme aux mouvements illicites d'armes dans la sous-région qui constituent une violation des résolutions du Conseil visées plus haut.

Le 20 octobre 1995, le Secrétaire général a nommé comme Président et membres de la Commission Internationale les personnes suivantes:

Ambassadeur Mahmoud Kassem (Egypte) (Président)
Inspecteur Jean-Michel Hanssens (Canada)
Colonel Jürgen G.H. Almeling (Allemagne)
Lieutenant-colonel Jan Meijvogel (Pays-Bas)
Général Mujahid Alam (Pakistan)
Colonel Lameck Mutanda (Zimbabwe)

Le Conseil de sécurité demande dans sa résolution 1013 aux gouvernements des Etats de la région des Grands Lacs, où la Commission Internationale accomplira sa tâche, de coopérer pleinement avec elle, notamment en répondant favorablement aux demandes de la Commission concernant l'assistance et les facilités d'accès nécessaires au déroulement de ses enquêtes et de prendre les mesures voulues pour garantir la sécurité des membres de la Commission ainsi que le plein respect de l'intégrité, de la sécurité et de la liberté des témoins, des experts et de toute autre personne aidant la Commission dans l'accomplissement de son mandat.

En application de ladite résolution, il est notre intention de contacter les gouvernements de tous les Etats de la région des Grands Lacs, ainsi que tout autre gouvernement, organisation non gouvernementale ou organisation humanitaire internationale susceptible de détenir des informations appropriées.



Office of the Spokesman

**TEXT OF SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI'S MESSAGE
FOR UNITED NATIONS DAY, 24 OCTOBER**

"Today the peoples of the United Nations mark the Fiftieth Anniversary of the only truly universal Organization in humanity's history.

"Fifty years is a tiny drop in the stream of the centuries. But no other institution in history has gathered together so many political communities. No other has survived so many storms. No other has built such a promising foundation for the future as has the United Nations.

"In the United Nations was born the concept of peace-keeping, a permanent contribution to the age-old search for peaceful solutions. In the United Nations was heard, proudly and clearly, the voices of the poorest of the poor. Here the difficult issues of development have received the most productive attention. In the United Nations the new Nations of the world came to take their rightful place as Member States. Here sovereignty and statehood come together as the foundation-stones of an emerging international community.

"The peoples of the United Nations stand at a turning point in world affairs. On this Anniversary we commemorate — and assess realistically — a half-century of United Nations existence. And on this Day we are duty-bound to deliberate on the course to be taken by the world Organization in its second half-century.

"Peace is an immediate concern. But the cause of development is essential to enduring success. It calls us to look beyond peace to recognize and take action in the fields of economy, the environment, social justice and democratization.

"Let us learn from our setbacks. More importantly, let us build upon our successes, for there have been many: successes in situations too complex or undramatic to gain wide attention; successes in

the slow and diligent effort to achieve progress visible only over the long-term; and successes in major operations for peace, development and democracy which have not been given the recognition they merit.

"We are gaining momentum. The United Nations provides the focus for a common global effort. Here is the World Organization created to serve all peoples. Here is the machinery we can transform into a responsive instrument essential to the realization of humanity's finest hopes."

For more information, please contact the Office of the Spokesman in Kigali: phone: 84266 ext: # 11065 or 11081.

6 April 1995

Statement of the Secretary-General on Rwanda

"Today, I share with the Government and people of Rwanda the pain of commemorating the first anniversary of the genocide that has gravely shaken the foundation of your nation.

"On behalf of the United Nations family, I wish to convey my deepest sympathy and condolences to the survivors of this tragic nightmare that has left a deep scar on the conscience of mankind. Never should the world allow such a tragedy on our planet. Never should the perpetrators of such crimes be permitted to get away with impunity.

"While there has been no world war in the half century since the United Nations was created, today's ceremony reminds us, sadly, that humanity continues to see much sorrow, violence and injustice. Let us, therefore, recommit ourselves and rededicate our efforts to the objective of a better world as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, and to this end, reaffirm our collective faith "in the dignity and worth of the human person"

"The deep expression of grief and the demonstration of solidarity with the people of Rwanda constitute a ray of hope for the future. The International community, including non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), have been working side by side with the Government and people of Rwanda, to rebuild a society torn apart emotionally, morally and physically by the tragic events we are today remembering.

"The tasks for reconstruction and reconciliation are formidable and demanding, but we must intensify our efforts to that end. This effort would be the most fitting and enduring tribute that we can pay in memory of those who lost their lives. As Secretary-General of the United Nations, I pledge the continued support of the Organization to all endeavours aimed at building a new Rwandese society based on tolerance, harmony and justice."

* * * * *



DWT-2176

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MOST IMMEDIATE

TO: WILFRID DE SOUZA, DIRECTOR, DPA
UNATIONS, NEW YORK 3-4879

FROM: *Abdul*
ABDUL HAMID KABIA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
UNAMIR, KIGALI

DATE: 5 APRIL 1995

NO. UNR-1231

SUBJECT: DRAFT MESSAGE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN
CONNECTION WITH THE CEREMONIES OF 7 APRIL 1995

Please find attached the draft message of the Secretary-General requested in your fax of 4 April 1995

Regards.

E/OIR

DRAFT MESSAGE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Today, I share with the Government and People of Rwanda the pain and agony of commemorating the grim anniversary of the Genocide that was perpetrated on the innocent citizens of Rwanda.

On behalf of the United Nations family, I convey my deepest sympathy and condolences to the survivors of this tragic nightmare that has left a deep scar on the conscience of mankind. Never should the world allow such a tragedy on our planet. Never should the perpetrators of such crimes be permitted to get away with impunity.

The spontaneous expression of grief and the massive demonstration of solidarity with the people of Rwanda, constitute a ray of hope for the future. That the suffering of the people of Rwanda has so deeply and instantly touched people in the most distant lands is illustrative of the fact that human-beings, in all their diversity are, especially in today's increasingly interdependent world, living together as global neighbours and united by a common sense of values and civilization.

Today's commemoration is taking place in the fiftieth anniversary year of our global Organization, the United Nations, which was built from the ashes of the Second World War to save succeeding generations of mankind from the scourge of war. It is thus an occasion also for a sober reflection on the spirit and principles on which the United Nations was founded. While we rejoice that there has been no world war in the half century since the Organization was created, today's ceremony reminds us, sadly, that humanity continues to see much sorrow, violence and injustice. Let us therefore, recommit and rededicate ourselves to the objective of a better world envisaged in the Charter of our Organization and to this end to reaffirm, as the founding fathers of the Organization did, our collective faith "in the dignity and worth of the human person".

The international community, including non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies and UNAMIR, have been working side by side with the Government and people of Rwanda to rebuild a society torn apart emotionally, morally and physically by the tragic events we are today remembering. The tasks for reconstruction and reconciliation are formidable and demanding, but we must intensify our efforts to that end. This effort would be the most fitting and enduring tribute that we could pay in memory of those who lost their lives. As Secretary-General of the United Nations, I pledge the continued support and cooperation of the Organization with determined endeavours to build a new Rwandese society based on tolerance, harmony and justice.

- DRAFT MESSAGE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL -

We gather today to observe a particularly grim anniversary. One year ago, the people of Rwanda were awakened by a terrible and unforgettable nightmare of horror as the civil war resumed and genocide was unleashed with the coldly calculated objective of eliminating fellow human-beings along political and ethnic lines. We may never know exactly how many people perished as a result of that heinous crime, but we know that it should never have happened and should never be allowed to happen ever again anywhere on our common planet.

(No explanations or rationalizations can erase the shame and the pain on mankind's collective conscience over what happened in Rwanda. But, the spontaneous ^{expression} and overwhelming outpouring of grief and outrage word-wide and the massive demonstration of solidarity with the people of Rwanda, constitute a ray of hope for the future. That the suffering of the people of Rwanda has so deeply and instantly touched people ^{in the world} thousands of kilometres away in different parts of the world is illustrative of the fact that human-beings, in all their diversity are, especially in today's increasingly interdependent world, living together as global neighbours and united by a common sense of values and civilization.

Today's commemoration is taking place ^{on 26} in the fiftieth anniversary year of our global Organization, the United Nations, which was built from the ashes of the Second World War to save succeeding generations of mankind from the scourge of war. It is thus an occasion also for a sober reflection on the spirit and principles on which the United Nations was founded. While we rejoice that there has been no world war in the half century since the Organization was created, today's ceremony reminds us, sadly, that humanity ~~regrettably~~ continues to see much sorrow, violence and injustice. Let us therefore, ~~on the occasion of these twin observances~~, recommit and rededicate ourselves to the objective of a better world envisaged in the Charter of our Organization and to this end to reaffirm, as the founding fathers of the Organization did, our collective faith "in the dignity and worth of the human person".

.../...

The international community, including non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies and UNAMIR, have been working side by side with the Government and people of Rwanda to ~~(try to)~~ rebuild a society torn apart emotionally, morally and physically by the tragic events we are today remembering. The tasks for reconstruction and reconciliation are ~~indeed huge and demanding~~^{formidable and}, but we must ~~all persevere and~~^{persevere} intensify our efforts to that end. ~~That could~~^{that} be the most fitting and enduring tribute ~~we could pay in memory of those who lost their lives, so that others may live to ensure that such horrors never again take place.~~^{this effort would} As Secretary-General of the United Nations, I pledge the ~~continued~~^{continued} support and cooperation of the Organization with ~~ongoing~~^{ongoing} endeavours to build a new Rwandese society based on tolerance, harmony and justice.

File: Statements
2) Government
9 March

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA

MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA

UNAMIR - MINUAR

Kigali, February 20, 1995

Below are excerpts of the Speech of the Rwandese Vice-President and Minister for Defense, Major-General Paul Kagame, as broadcast on Radio Rwanda, on Sunday at 21.30, and on Monday at 6.05.

"I have not understood so far the reason why these people were massacred, or the justifications for these massacres by the very authors of the massacres, who are Rwandese, and who killed the Rwandese. It is our responsibility to know who killed and why he killed."

"None of them has confessed so far for the killings, even those who are being held in prison for their responsibility in massacres, say they are there for their houses or property which have been seized."

"There is now a disease called 'reconciliation' or 'dialogue'."

"Is that dialogue between who and who? The killers and the victims?"

"I personally understand dialogue and reconciliation as talks between people of different ethnic groups and different ideologies, or different religions. What sort of dialogue is to be held between the Rwandese?"

"Those foreign people should not interfere in our internal affairs, we do not want them to give us instructions, we just want them to give us aid, unconditional aid."

"Those who are preaching dialogue, you remember this country was a colony, those colonisers should be ashamed, they left us to ourselves to kill one another, because they are responsible for what happened, and now, because they build schools, hospitals, and give us food when we are hungry, etc.. they say we should forget."

"They are hypocrites, they say that if you do not do that, you will not have money. We have been refugees for 30 years and they did not care about us, I tell you the truth, they like some refugees and hate the others, they did not save people from massacres; they brought planes and soldiers to evacuate their own people, and left us people they saw being massacred."

"They say that if you do not repatriate refugees, you will not have money. They have now pity for refugees, for them, both criminals and innocents are refugees in their opinion."

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Press Release SG/SM/5508

HRD/154

8 December 1994

The United Nations must continue this work. It must also guarantee these rights, in particular, through the efforts of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Commission for Human Rights, and the Centre for Human Rights. But, above all, it must constantly encourage Member States to ratify these agreements and abide by them.

As we mark this day, I should also like to draw attention to the United Nations' efforts to promote human rights at the operational level, through ever-closer links between the protection of human rights and its work for peace, democracy and development. The connection drawn by the United Nations between peace and human rights can be seen most clearly in the mandates given to United Nations peace-keeping operations in recent years. Thus, the mandates of many peace-keeping operations have included the protection of human rights and the rights of populations. For human rights must be secured first through the restoration of peace.

With a similar focus, the United Nations today is striving to an unprecedented degree to create a genuine diplomacy of democracy. Democracy alone, within States and within the community of States, can guarantee human rights.

Finally, the analysis being conducted by the United Nations of economic and social issues is centred on human rights. At Rio, we discussed human beings in their environment, and at Vienna, we considered human beings as possessors of universal rights. At Cairo, human beings in their collective dimension were the focus of our recent debates on population. We will consider human beings in the context of social development at Copenhagen next March. At the international conference at Beijing in September 1995, we will consider the status of women.

In other words, the rights of human beings illuminate all of the activities of the United Nations, and constitute both their foundation and their supreme goal. But we must all recognize that the protection of human rights is a constant struggle which cannot be won unless every man and woman participates in it. For it is through constant mobilization of public opinion that we will attain universal awareness of human rights. This is why I attach great importance to the Decade for Human Rights Education which is to begin next January. For it is also through this vast work of civic instruction on a global scale that human rights will become increasingly a part of the reality of peoples and of nations.

File: 5 Statement

UNITED NATIONS



HIGH COMMISSIONER

FOR REFUGEES

(check against delivery)

Statement by Mrs. Sadako Ogata
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
to the Third Committee of the General Assembly

(9 November 1994)

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like first of all to apologise for not having been present when the discussion on this item opened yesterday. I was asked by the Secretary-General to attend an important and urgent meeting in Geneva, which delayed my arrival in New York.

My annual report to the General Assembly is a vital and valuable link between my Office and the UN organ from which we derive our authority. It is therefore a great pleasure and privilege for me once again to address this Committee and to share with you the major preoccupations and prospects facing UNHCR.

In the past year, the number of refugees, internally displaced and other persons of concern to my Office have exceeded 23 million, confronting us with the dual challenge of massive emergencies as well as large-scale repatriations. On the one hand, we have assisted over 1.2 million Mozambican refugees to return home. On the other, we have had to respond to several successive emergencies in the Great Lakes region of Africa, which have produced over two million refugees. Risks of further displacement remain alive in a region vexed by ethnic complexities. Parts of West Africa, as well as Somalia, continue to present an uneasy contrast of crises and fragile hope, of sudden exodus paralleled by spontaneous returns. Turning to other regions, in former Yugoslavia my Office has continued its humanitarian activities on behalf of some 4 million refugees, internally displaced and besieged civilians. I was fearful that the outflow from Haiti earlier this year would open a new theatre for refugee operations, but thankfully, a solution is emerging. In central America and South Asia, too, there has been progress towards solutions but Eastern Europe and Central Asia remain a hotbed for coerced population movements.

As growing numbers of people are uprooted by internal conflict, ethnic tensions and resurgent violence, their protection

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becomes more problematic, solutions to their plight ever more elusive. In my statement I would like to explore the constraints and opportunities of exercising my mandate amidst political instability and economic uncertainty. I would like to expose the difficulties we face in pursuing a strategy of prevention, preparedness and solutions and the dilemmas we confront as we operate in situations of conflict and peril, as well as the ways in which we have sought to overcome the challenges.

Responding to Emergencies

Nowhere have those challenges been more evident than in the Rwanda emergency. Despite the generosity of the neighbouring countries, and the remarkable efforts of NGOs, donor government service personnel and United Nations agencies, the human toll has been very high.

As this Committee well knows, the strengthening of UNHCR's emergency preparedness and response capacity has been one of my priorities since I became High Commissioner. I am proud to report that our capacity stood us well in the United Republic of Tanzania, when in April some 260,000 persons fled Rwanda in just over 24 hours. However, the scale and speed of the influx into Goma, Zaire, of almost one million people in the space of one week in July was overwhelming. We were compelled to devise innovative emergency assistance "packages", using donor government personnel and facilities, including the military. Based on our experience in former Yugoslavia and Zaire, we are now actively examining the limited use of military support, while retaining the civilian control and multinational character of our humanitarian operations. Needless to say, we have followed with great interest the discussions in the General Assembly on the same subject.

Ensuring Protection

Although ensuring relief to victims is often the first line of response, the essence of the humanitarian challenge lies, not in assistance, but in protection. Brutal conflict and blatant violations of humanitarian law, the militarisation of refugee situations and the erosion of states' capacity to provide security complicate the protection of refugees, returnees and the internally displaced today. Overcrowded camps and the free flow of arms compound the situation. Refugee women and children are most seriously at risk.

Under such circumstances, the international protection provided by my Office has focussed increasingly on promoting the physical security of refugees, returnees and the internally displaced. We have sought to establish early and massive presence in the field, de-congest camps and locate them in safer areas, introduce special measures for the security of refugee women, and train and assist government officials. Through such action UNHCR

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can support, but cannot substitute the governmental responsibility and capacity for law enforcement against armed gangs, former soldiers and militia who threaten refugees.

I have expressed my deep concern about the insecurity in the refugee camps in eastern Zaire, where the military and militia of the former Rwandan regime are endangering the lives of refugees and humanitarian workers, disrupting the delivery of relief and essential services and obstructing voluntary repatriation to Rwanda. At a meeting chaired by the Secretary-General yesterday, it was agreed that top priority will be given to the issue and that concrete steps would be worked out involving international police and/or military deployment to be proposed to the Security Council in the next few days.

If the quality of asylum has suffered in some countries, its availability has been restricted in others. While I am encouraged by recent developments to provide temporary protection in situations of large-scale influx, I am also disturbed at the growing reluctance of many States to keep their borders open. In the face of persecution, war and violence, we must continue to uphold the institution of asylum, at least on a temporary basis.

Pursuing solutions

Mr. Chairman, the ultimate objective of international protection of refugees is not to institutionalize exile but to buy time for solutions to refugee problems. Voluntary repatriation, wherever possible, is the ideal solution.

The search for humanitarian solutions to refugee problems is deeply dependent on political initiatives and sustained political commitment. Thus, while the peace process in Mozambique has encouraged the vast majority of refugees to return home, the sustained efforts of the international community to maintain the impetus towards a peaceful conclusion will finally bring an end to a long-standing refugee problem.

Noting that the Identification Commission of the United Nations Commission for the Referendum in Western Sahara has started its work, we have begun to review our plans for the Western Sahara repatriation programme.

As in emergencies, so too in repatriation operations, while our predominant concern very often may be logistics, our most difficult dilemma is protection. Too often refugees are returning to situations of acute crisis, if not open conflict, as in Liberia, Somalia and Afghanistan. If those who return do not feel that their lives and liberties are safe, then, far from bringing about a solution, repatriation may actually precipitate another outflow. Thus, voluntary and safe repatriation is as much in the political interest of reconciliation and peace, as it is humanitarian.

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This is why we are pleased that the Government of Myanmar has given UNHCR full access to the returnees, encouraging more than 35,000 refugees to return home voluntarily under UNHCR auspices in recent months. This is why UNHCR is emphasizing the need to create an environment of confidence and security in Rwanda. The recent signing of the Tripartite Agreement between the Governments of Rwanda and Zaire and UNHCR is an important first step. Furthermore, my Office stands ready to support any initiatives for the reconciliation and rehabilitation of a society traumatized by genocide and ethnic killings.

As Cambodia and El Salvador have shown, a greater operational human rights role of the United Nations can be a valuable confidence building measure in post-conflict situations, and also have a preventive impact. I urge the international community to support the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to deploy human rights monitors in Rwanda. I also welcome the Human Rights Verification Mission to Guatemala, and hope that all parties will cooperate so that a solution can be found for the refugees and displaced persons.

The promotion of human rights is of vital importance to the work of my Office. Human rights violations are a major factor in causing the flight of refugees as well as an obstacle to their safe and voluntary return home. Safeguarding human rights, including minority rights, in countries of origin is therefore critical for the solution, as well as the prevention of refugee problems.

Consequently we have sought to intensify our cooperation with the UN human rights machinery and shared our relevant experience and expertise with the High Commissioner and the Centre for Human Rights. However, I must point out that unlike human rights actors, UNHCR's task is not to expose the perpetrators but to assist the victims. Our role is not judgemental but humanitarian. We must not only be non-political, we must be perceived to be so. Thus, as with the peace-keepers, so too with the human rights monitors, we must work closely while respecting our distinct mandates.

The promotion of solutions requires not only a greater emphasis on human rights but also on economic security. The handover of the CIREFCA process in Central America from UNHCR to UNDP this June reflected a successful transition from reintegration to reconstruction. The community-based micro-projects or "QIPs", which we first launched in Central America, and then expanded to Cambodia, have now been extended to Mozambique and Myanmar, as a rapid, visible and viable means of bridging the gap between relief and rehabilitation.

However, our efforts can only be meaningful if they are placed in the larger framework of national rehabilitation, economic and social development and democratization of war-torn societies. Thus, we have continued to press with development and financial

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institutions to ensure that the implications of human displacement are recognised on the development agenda.

Mr. Chairman, if yesterday's repatriation is not to become tomorrow's emergency, then the international community must show greater commitment to post-conflict rehabilitation. I am disturbed by the fragility of Cambodia. I am disappointed at the lack of interest among the international community to consolidate our efforts in Tajikistan, although the operation has been hailed as a rare success of the UN's integrated approach.

The socio-economic causes of displacement must be recognized and redressed energetically. I hope that the World Summit for Social Development next year, like the International Conference on Population and Development last September, will help to focus attention on the links between social disintegration and human displacement, and serve to mobilise greater support for a preventive and solution-oriented strategy to refugee problems.

Promoting a preventive approach

Obviously the best solution to refugee problems is the prevention of causes which force people to flee. Prevention in this sense is a massive undertaking going far beyond the capacity of UNHCR. However, I believe the Office has played a useful role in developing regional approaches which offer a window of opportunity, as for instance in the Comprehensive Plan of Action in South East Asia and the CIREPCA process in Central America.

We are prepared to use this experience in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa, and in this context, have taken note of the General Assembly resolution 49/7 on a regional conference on assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons.

Possibly the biggest challenge for a regional approach in prevention and solutions today lies in the CIS and the Baltic States. Therefore, following contacts with several Governments, my Office is actively examining the possibility of convening an international conference next year, which could be the vehicle for a comprehensive strategy to address population movements in that region. Let me caution, though, that the success of the process will depend on the commitment of the Governments of the region, as well as on the contributions of the international community.

I believe that fundamental to the prevention of refugee problem is the issue of the internally displaced. Therefore, I am grateful to the General Assembly for its endorsement and encouragement of our activities on behalf of the internally displaced, particularly when they have been linked to existing or potential refugee situations, as in Georgia, Tajikistan, Sri Lanka, Rwanda, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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Although the human suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains horrendous, I am convinced that our activities, together with those of UNPROFOR and other organizations, have helped to save lives and contain a humanitarian crisis which threatens the stability of Europe. However the future remains highly unpredictable, with continuing displacement, obstruction of humanitarian access, worsening security and the onset of a third winter of war. I would like to urge Governments to respond generously to our outstanding financial needs for 1994 as well as to the United Nations appeal, which is being launched today, for humanitarian assistance in former Yugoslavia for the first half of 1995.

Mr. Chairman, the volatile situations which have endangered the protection of refugees, returnees and the internally displaced have also affected the safety of UNHCR and other humanitarian staff. I should like to thank the delegations which have supported the application of the Draft Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel to UN humanitarian staff. At the same time, I am disappointed that many UNHCR staff and those of our NGO partners who have been killed recently or are daily risking their lives in the course of duty would not be covered by the Draft Convention as it currently stands. Our people are in the same danger as the peace-keepers but less protected, although our tasks are equally meritorious.

Preserving the humanitarian mandate

Mr. Chairman, I have briefly outlined the challenges confronting my Office today in protecting refugees and resolving their plight. Fully realizing that we cannot play our role in isolation, we have sought to deepen our traditional cooperation with our sister UN agencies, as well as with the International Committee of the Red Cross, the International Organization for Migration and NGOs. You will recall that last year we launched a process of consultations with the NGOs called Partnership in Action or PARINAC. Now we are in the process of implementing some of the recommendations adopted at the PARINAC Global Conference at Oslo last June.

At the same time we have forged new partnerships in the political and military arena, both within the UN, as in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, as well as with regional organizations and entities, as in Tajikistan and Georgia.

Mr. Chairman, with the refugee problem impacting on issues of international peace, stability and economic progress, a symbiotic relationship is developing between the UN's political initiatives and development activities, and its humanitarian action. The success of one is linked to the performance of the other. It is through political initiatives that refugee problems can be resolved or prevented from arising. It is through socio-economic

-7-

development that humanitarian solutions can be cemented. Conversely, humanitarian action can buy time and space for political action. It can create an environment conducive to political negotiations.

While political initiatives are essential for our work, we must not become a hostage to politics. Nor must we be politicized. The non-political, impartial and neutral nature of our mandate must be preserved and perceived as such by all. This is essential to the credibility of humanitarian action and hence to our ability to protect human beings and find solutions to their plight.

As the political, military and humanitarian mandates interact in multifaceted United Nations operations, it is crucial that all actors understand and respect each other's mandates, roles and responsibilities. Otherwise, not only the efficiency of the operation but the essence of our humanitarian mission might be lost.

A clear structure and division of labour must be established at an early stage of a multi-dimensional UN operation. The Emergency Relief Coordinator should act rapidly to allocate responsibilities in complex emergencies, in consultation with the Inter-Agency Standing Committee. However, in carving out and coordinating responsibilities, the United Nations must remain sensitive to the fundamental protection needs of the victims and to the mandate of my Office to ensure that protection.

By protecting and assisting the individuals in a neutral and impartial manner we meet two goals. Firstly, we enhance human welfare, which has a crucial value in itself. But equally importantly, we help to reduce the tensions in society and contribute to reconciliation. This is the reason why the General Assembly established UNHCR's mandate of protection and solutions, and why UNHCR's mission is distinct from others in the UN. We need your political and moral support to maintain our unique humanitarian mandate.

We also need your generous financial support to sustain our humanitarian programmes. The pledging conference on Friday, 11 November will provide Governments with an opportunity to express that support.

In summing up, Mr. Chairman, let me stress that we face opportunities as well as uncertainties; possibilities but also pressures on our mandate. The challenges confronting the United Nations have given a new dimension to our activities. When peace breaks down and development fails, humanitarian action moves in to stem the human suffering. But as ethnic conflicts spread and political solutions become more elusive, there is a risk that humanitarian operations could become prolonged, draining limited resources and causing untold suffering. To avoid that, we must

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develop a clear strategy of vision and a bold plan of action. Complementing an Agenda for Peace and an Agenda for Development, the time may have come to focus on an agenda for humanitarian action.

As we move forward, I know I can count on your support and guidance. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

END PAGE

Minister Hrant Bagratian. The Prime Minister expressed gratitude for United Nations assistance with regard to economic reform, particularly for projects developed by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The Secretary-General reaffirmed the Organization's willingness to reinforce cooperation with Armenia. They also discussed the settlement of conflict within Caucasia, particularly the situation in Nagorny-Karabakh.

Also today, the Secretary-General was awarded an honorary doctorate by Yerevan State University. He visited the town of Echmiadzin, and called on Archbishop Pozapalian I, the temporary head of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Tomorrow, he will pay an official visit to Moldova, and will depart for Geneva at the end of the day.

In his address to the Supreme Council of Armenia, the Secretary-General said the country must achieve self-reliant, sustainable development, having recovered its political independence. The transition to a market economy was long and hard, but Armenia's progress in economic reforms, particularly in the privatization of land and enterprises, was a model for the region. The United Nations would continue to support Armenia in such a difficult period.

The Organization was also at a turning point in its history, he continued. In the wake of the cold war, it was being asked to keep peace where there was no peace to keep, to intervene where there was no government, and to maintain troops where not all parties approved of their presence. It also had to supply humanitarian aid, care for refugees, and help rebuild infrastructures. For the United Nations to be successful, Member States must be ready to pay their financial dues in full, to send troops and equipment, and to stay the course of peace-keeping missions which might last for years.

The United Nations was also dedicated to tackling the problems of development, which lay at the root of political problems, he said. It was working for a more prosperous world, where human rights were respected, where democratic rule was the norm and where poverty, unemployment and social exclusion were banished from societies. In a world faced with fragmentation and divisions, the United Nations was the only possible forum for peoples and States. In a world faced with anarchy, it offered the possibility of international order. In a world faced with the breakdown of social values, it offered support for sustainable development, he concluded.

* * *

The General Assembly met today to begin consideration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Assembly had before it a draft resolution by which it would urge the Security Council, in fulfilling its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take all appropriate steps to uphold and restore fully the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By the draft, the Assembly would encourage the Security Council to give all due consideration and exempt the Governments of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the arms embargo originally imposed.

**MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR THE INSTALLATION
CEREMONY OF A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL
GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN RWANDA**

Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure to convey to you and through you to the people of Rwanda the following message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros GHALI.

Excellency, I wish to extend to you my warm felicitations on the installation of the broad-based government of national unity in Rwanda. I have asked my Special Representative to represent me at this auspicious occasion. I am confident that after the trauma and tragedy that Rwanda and its people have suffered, your government will act as a beacon of peace, reconciliation, harmony and unity. The conflict in Rwanda has caused immense human suffering. It has devastated the economic and sociological structure of the country and above all it has traumatised human relationships.

Rwanda must now work resolutely to overcome the tensions that lie at the root of these recurring crises that have led to immense suffering for its people. Reconciliation and harmony, security and justice are ideals that cannot be achieved merely by statements and exhortations. The time has come for every Rwandese citizen to make a personal commitment towards achieving these noble goals. From the ashes of destruction, bloodshed and terror, the people of Rwanda must re-build their nation on the foundation of justice and common cause.

I welcome the formation of your transitional government which, I am sure, will address itself to achieving tranquillity and order. It must ensure that the refugees and displaced persons are provided humanitarian aid and resettled according to laws that are fair and just to all. It must provide care and hope for the orphans, the wounded and the deprived. The basic structure and institutions that provide a life-line for a nation must, be revived and Rwanda must return with pride to the comity of civilized nations.

In this respect, you may wish to consider the advisability, in the interest of national unity and in accordance, with the Arusha framework ending the practice of indicating ethnic origin on identity documents. I should also like to take this opportunity to demand that those who have made inflammatory broadcasts and created a panic leading to a huge exodus across Rwanda's borders put an immediate halt to these broadcasts. In addition, the criminals who have instigated and perpetrated acts of genocide must be apprehended, tried and, where found guilty, punished in accordance with accepted norms of justice.

Above all, the people of Rwanda must actively seek reconciliation and unity, so that yesterday's nightmare does not impede a dawn of hope and progress. I wish to appeal to the regional countries to support these efforts and to continue to grant refuge to the many Rwandese who have had to leave their country, until they can be repatriated in safety and dignity.

For its part the United Nations and, indeed, the entire world community will help Rwanda to consolidate peace, seek harmony, rebuild

its infrastructure and establish itself as a country where the rule of law, as well as basic human rights and fundamental freedoms are recognized and respected. However, the people of Rwanda and their leaders must bear the primary responsibility in this process. The Rwandese leaders have a special responsibility to calm the emotions and passions released by the horrors that have engulfed their country. The Arusha Accords provide the framework and the restoration of peace and democracy, in a spirit of mutual accommodation and understanding. I wish you every success in achieving your goals.

19 July 1994

PROJET

MESSAGE DU SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL À L'OCCASION DE LA CÉRÉMONIE
D'INSTALLATION, AU RWANDA, D'UN GOUVERNEMENT D'UNION
NATIONALE DE TRANSITION ÉLARGI

Excellence,

J'ai le grand plaisir de vous transmettre à vous, et, par votre truchement, au peuple rwandais, le message suivant de M. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Excellence, je tiens à vous adresser mes chaleureuses félicitations à l'occasion de la mise en place d'un gouvernement d'union nationale de transition élargi. J'ai chargé mon Représentant spécial de me représenter pour cette occasion de bon augure. Je ne doute pas qu'après le traumatisme et la tragédie que le Rwanda et son peuple ont subie, votre gouvernement sera un héraut de paix, de réconciliation, d'harmonie et d'unité. Le conflit au Rwanda a provoqué de profondes souffrances humaines. Il a dévasté la structure économique et sociologique du pays et, surtout, il a bouleversé les relations humaines.

Le Rwanda doit maintenant s'attacher résolument à surmonter les tensions qui sont à l'origine de ces crises périodiques qui ont plongé son peuple dans d'immenses souffrances et ont fait couler tant de sang. La réconciliation et l'harmonie, la sécurité et la justice sont autant d'idéaux que des déclarations et exhortations ne sauraient suffire à atteindre. Le moment est venu pour chaque citoyen rwandais de s'engager personnellement dans la réalisation de ces nobles objectifs. Le peuple rwandais doit faire renaître sa nation des cendres de la destruction, des massacres et de la terreur, en la fondant sur la justice et une cause commune.

Je me réjouis de la formation de votre gouvernement de transition qui, je n'en doute pas, s'emploiera à instaurer tranquillité et ordre. Il lui faudra veiller à ce que les réfugiés et les personnes déplacées reçoivent l'aide humanitaire requise et soient réinstallés selon des lois équitables pour tous. Il lui faudra prendre en charge, en leur redonnant l'espoir, les orphelins, les blessés et les personnes démunies. Il importe de revitaliser les structures et les institutions fondamentales qui sont indispensables à la survie d'une nation et le Rwanda doit rejoindre la tête haute le concert des nations civilisées.

À cet égard, il serait peut-être bon que vous envisagiez, dans l'intérêt de l'unité nationale, de ne plus faire figurer l'origine ethnique sur les pièces d'identité. J'aimerais également saisir cette occasion pour demander instamment que ceux qui ont diffusé sur les ondes des messages incendiaires et ont provoqué une panique générale qui a entraîné un véritable exode à l'étranger mettent immédiatement fin à ces émissions. En outre, les criminels qui ont fomenté et commis des actes de génocide doivent être arrêtés, jugés et, s'ils sont reconnus coupables, châtiés conformément aux normes acceptées de la justice.

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- 2 -

Avant tout, le peuple rwandais doit s'employer activement à rechercher la réconciliation et l'unité nationale, de façon que le cauchemar d'hier n'empêche pas que se lève une aube d'espoir et de progrès. Je tiens à lancer un appel aux pays de la région pour qu'ils appuient ces efforts et continuent d'accorder l'asile aux nombreux Rwandais qui ont dû quitter leur pays, jusqu'à ce qu'ils puissent être rapatriés dans la sécurité et la dignité.

Pour sa part, l'Organisation des Nations Unies et, en fait, la communauté mondiale tout entière aideront le Rwanda à affermir la paix, à rechercher l'harmonie, à reconstruire son infrastructure et à devenir un pays où la légalité, au même titre que les droits de l'homme et les libertés fondamentales, soient reconnus et respectés. Toutefois, c'est au peuple rwandais et à ses dirigeants qu'il incombe au premier chef d'oeuvrer dans ce sens. Les dirigeants rwandais ont le devoir particulier de calmer les émotions et d'éteindre les passions déchaînées par les horreurs dans lesquelles leur pays a été plongé. Les Accords d'Arusha constituent le cadre du rétablissement de la paix et de la démocratie, dans un esprit d'accommodement et de compréhension mutuelle. Je vous souhaite tout le succès possible dans la réalisation de ces objectifs.

Le 16 juillet 1994

19

UNITED NATIONS 50TH ANNIVERSARY

Addressed by

Ambassador Shaharyar M. Khan

Special Representative of the Secretary General for Rwanda

24 October 1995

We celebrate, today, the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations. The celebration of this momentous occasion in the history of mankind has a special meaning in Rwanda. For, it was in this country that the United Nations went through the acid test of its commitment and its capability. There were failures of expectation, highlighted in the world media. There were also many achievements that have passed unheralded. We need to learn from the failures and to build on the positive and the constructive.

Over the past three days, we have celebrated the 50th Anniversary with our Rwandese brothers and sisters. Here, in the Amahoro Stadium, the joy of common celebration, the brotherhood of nationalities joined in healthy competition, the linking of arms in common pursuit has personified the close cooperation between the Rwandese people and the United Nations family represented in Rwanda. In athletics, football, table tennis, volleyball and a host of competitive games we have seen a bonanza of friendship and cooperation. Today the hope of the future, the children of Rwanda mingle in joyous abandon with UNAMIR blue helmets. These forces who come from all over the world, from Latin America, from Africa and Asia, from the developed countries of Europe, the Pacific and North America - to help Rwanda turn back from the horror of last year and to build permanent peace, harmony and stability.

This is the very stadium where, fifteen months ago, 20,000 Rwandese citizens threatened by genocide had taken refuge. Guarded by a handful of courageous UNAMIR soldiers they had found shelter and succour against the most inhuman assault on innocent citizens in living memory. In July, last year, this country stood shattered and ravaged by the genocide. Not a soul could be seen on the streets, not a house had been left unplundered. No markets, no transport, no shops and in the communes, ghost villages, no fields being ploughed, nearly every hut plundered and shattered. Of course there was no water, no electricity, no communications, no airport and no transport. Above all hundreds of thousands of families destroyed and traumatised by genocide.

In over a year, the scene has changed dramatically. As we look around, there is a return to stability and normalcy. Shops are open, markets are thriving, 80% of the pre 1994 agriculture output is restored, industry is not far behind. There are traffic jams, over a million children go to school in clean uniforms, there is bustle in the streets and smiles on people's faces. This remarkable progress has been achieved through the efforts of the resilient and energetic people of Rwanda. The United Nations role has been to support the people of Rwanda in achieving this return to normalcy and stability. We have worked with the government of Rwanda to restore water, power and communications; to construct transit camps and way stations for the refugees to return home, to build housing and agricultural projects so that those whose lives were shattered by genocide can start a new life for themselves. We have helped to clear mines and to train your gendarmerie and police. We have helped to open the airport and to repair roads, bridges and to repair the infrastructure. 80% of health care, water supplies and sanitation facilities that existed before 6th April 1994 have been resolved. The UN and its agencies are in the field assisting orphans, children and families of the survivors of genocide. They deserve to be given the highest priority. Above all, we aim to help provide, with the government of Rwanda, the security, justice and stability without which normalcy cannot be achieved.

As we celebrate 50 years of the UN, the way ahead is surely that the UN should be given a more direct role in preventing crises. It should have the capability to act quickly and decisively to prevent wars and human tragedy, and once it is in the field, it must have the mandate and capacity to provide direct assistance to the affected countries. Over 150 leaders of the world including President Bizimungu, have gathered in New York for the 50th Anniversary. They will address the issues and problems faced by the world today. In fact, the UN faces the most serious financial crisis in its history. And although, the United Nations may be flawed in many respects, it remains the main hope for mankind. The nations of the world - large and small, rich and poor - must resolve to correct these flaws so that the UN can respond effectively to the expectations of its Member States. The example of Rwanda points to what needs to be done and what can be achieved.

Before I close and as a token of our appreciation to the Government of Rwanda, I have the honour of presenting these two vehicles to the Ministry of Youth and Sports. I wish to thank the Government of Rwanda for enabling us to use this stadium for our celebration; the Prime Minister for allowing a half-day holiday so that the people and the children can participate in our celebration and all these sportsmen, spectators and organizers who have made this celebration such a success.

Once again, I am privileged to share with the people of Rwanda, this joyous 50th Anniversary of the UN. I hope our close cooperation will bring to the people of Rwanda the peace, progress and harmony that they deserve.

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SG/SM/5685/Rev.1*
14 July 1995

SECRETARY-GENERAL MAKES SOLEMN APPEAL FOR TOLERANCE
AND RECONCILIATION IN BURUNDI ADDRESS

Following is the text of the address given by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 17 July in French to the authorities and officials of Burundi, in Bujumbura:

It has been my fervent hope to address you all here today in person, in your country, first of all as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

To bring you the support of the international community.

To assure you that you are not alone, that you have not been abandoned.

To tell you that a feeling of solidarity exists, for which I should like to be the guarantor.

But I have also come to you as an African, to make an appeal to all my sisters and brothers of Burundi. A solemn appeal for peace, tolerance and reconciliation.

We are all aware that the African continent -- and your region in particular -- is today witnessing one of the most difficult, one of the saddest and most tragic periods in its history.

The political, economic, social -- and I might add human -- future of millions of men, women and children is at stake. And each of you here must fully accept all of your responsibilities.

In a very deep sense, all peoples have the right to protection of their life, liberty and security. The people of Burundi also have a right to justice and peace. And we all have the duty to offer them these things.

Today, you are living under a transitional democratic regime in which power is being shared. You therefore have the obligation to restore confidence and stability in order to reinforce this regime and promote peace.

(more)

*Revised to correct text as delivered.

- - Press Release SG/SM/5685/Rev.1

14 July 1995

(more) For without peace, nothing lasting can be built. Only peace will enable your communities to coexist and to be reconciled.

With your Constitution, adopted in 1992, and with the Convention on Governance that was approved on 10 September 1994, you have acquired instruments that will allow you to function until June 1998. This Convention provides for a sharing of power to which everyone must become accustomed. These juridical and conventional frameworks, which were approved by the vast majority of the people of Burundi and supported by the international community, should give you the time you need to prepare for a national debate, in other words, for everyone to come to an agreement on setting up institutions that will be reassuring to both sides and that will put an end to the tragic confrontation which has too long devastated your country and your people.

You must therefore attach priority importance to the plight of the displaced persons and refugees of Burundi. Their eyes are turned to you with hope. The hope of returning home, to their land, to be with their families and neighbours. The hope of again taking up a normal life.

As leaders you have a duty to your people.

You have a duty to Africa as a whole.

You have a duty to the international community.

You also have a duty to history, which is the implacable judge of every action.

As you can see, I came to talk to you from my heart, as a friend, as a brother, as your elder. I wish to address you as an African speaking to other Africans.

I am more aware than anyone that Africa is often perturbing to the world, for it is constantly giving the international community cause to vacillate between hope and despair, between optimism and discouragement. The list of factors impeding Africa's development includes, as we all know, a lack of infrastructure, institutional weakness, under-utilization of human resources, unfavourable terms of trade and the debt burden.

For years now, the United Nations system has been trying to overcome these difficulties and promote the development of Africa. Its agencies and programmes are all increasing their action in this area. The United Nations Development Programme, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Children's Funds, the World Food Programme, the Economic Commission for Africa and most of the specialized agencies are working tirelessly to provide technical, financial and humanitarian assistance to the continent.

Ever since I was elected Secretary-General of the United Nations, I have considered Africa one of my top priorities.

Only a few weeks ago in Geneva, I strongly reaffirmed before the Economic and Social Council, which was meeting on issues concerning African development, with the heads of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in attendance, that Africa is a priority objective for the United Nations.

And at a time when the international community's attention is largely focused on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia or in Central America, I want to demonstrate, by my presence among you, how much your problems and suffering remain my constant concern and deep preoccupation.

But we should be aware that the development of Africa is

being severely hampered by its political instability.

The African continent is still too often the scene of ethnic confrontations and civil wars which exacerbate its poverty and underdevelopment.

~~At the end of last year, there were nearly 7 million refugees and 2 million displaced persons in Africa; these numbers are higher than anywhere else in the world.~~

We are all aware that institutional and political instability, persistent tensions and unending confrontations are major obstacles to development.

Indeed, if there can be no peace without development, there can likewise be no sustainable development without peace. Conflicts are among the causes of poverty and poverty, in turn, is an undeniable factor in conflicts. It is absolutely necessary to break this vicious circle.

Nothing therefore will be possible unless African men and women take their destiny into their own hands. In that connection, I attach considerable importance to the role that is being played by the Organization of African Unity and by other regional institutions in fostering security in Africa, and I intend to strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and these African institutions.

Indeed, Africans must learn to find within themselves, in their ancient civilization, in their deep-rooted culture and in the wisdom that comes down to them through the ages, the means of taking control of their collective destiny.

It is incumbent upon all of you to be faithful to the genuine African tradition, a tradition that is diametrically opposed to all of the violence which we have witnessed and which we are still witnessing.

Africa is not really Africa unless it is guided by the long tradition of tolerance and dialogue which lies at its innermost core.

Let us therefore be worthy of Africa. Let us be worthy of being Africans.

This means that we must confront reality with courage, with a clear head and with political imagination.

Each and every one must succeed in conquering his own demons.

Each and every one must subdue the evil powers of darkness so that the forces of light may triumph.

This battle must be waged by each Burundian within himself. For the chief enemy of Burundians today is fear. The enemy of the Tutsi is not the Hutu, but rather fear. The enemy of the Hutu is not the Tutsi, it is fear. You must all come to believe that the security of the one depends on the security of the other.

The time has come to put an end to the mistrust that divides leaders and communities. The time has come to banish the spirit of confrontation which has inflicted such harm upon the country.

May Burundi realize at last that no one wins through confrontation, no one wins through violence. For violence only begets more violence in a vicious circle of vengeance and repression. This has, alas, already been tragically demonstrated for us by this subregion of our African

continent.

In the name of these ancestral traditions of Africa, Burundi must embark upon the path of the future.

In the name of Africa's genuine values, we must reject the ~~exploitation for political purposes of fear, ethnocentrism and~~ clannishness. We have no right to exploit gullible people or the enthusiasm of youth for reprehensible purposes that are suicidal for everyone.

This year in which we are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Charter of the United Nations, in which we want to highlight the imperative of peace, the imperative of development and the imperative of democratization, we must have the courage to say no to intolerance, no to confrontation, no to exclusion. No to violence.

I have come here today to tell you that I believe in you, that I have faith in you.

My Special Representative Ambassador Ould Abdallah gives witness among you to my constant concern to ensure your security and to foster national reconciliation. I should like at this time to pay a tribute to all that he is doing.

I should also like to tell you that I place my hopes in the boundless qualities of your people and in the responsibility of its leaders. I announce to you the formation of the international commission of inquiry called for in the Convention on Governance.

Africa is a great continent endowed with wealth, culture and values. We have no right to dishonour the legacy of our ancestors. On the contrary, we are duty bound to ensure the happiness of our children.

I should like, therefore, to assure you of my personal support, and of the support of the international community, to encourage your efforts and at last to lead Burundi to the path of peace and development.

* * * * *

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Office of the Spokesman

Mr. S. K. Bwo,

Please find herewith attached, texts of the public statements made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations during his official visit to Rwanda.

IMPORTANT: All the texts are un official and unedited versions from audio transcripts.

Sorry that the copies are not so clean.

I. A. Diallo

- THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S COMMENTS ON ARRIVAL IN KIGALI -

Journalist: Mr. Secretary-General, do you have any comments on the

SG: I will have a press conference tomorrow and I am ready to answer to all your questions. Thank you!

SG: Je voudrais remercier le Gouvernement de Kigali pour l'accueil qu'il m'a fait, ainsi qu'à ma propre délégation et vous dire combien je suis heureux de retrouver cette capitale, cette fois-ci en ma nouvelle qualité de Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies. Je pense que c'est la première fois qu'un Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies vient visiter votre beau pays et je suis fier que ce soit un Africain qui soit le premier Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies à visiter votre pays.

I just want to express my gratitude to the Government of Rwanda and to say how happy I am to be here and that it is the first time in the history of your country that a Secretary-General of the United Nations pays a visit and I am very proud that I am the first African Secretary-General to pay this visit. And on this visit, I want to express the importance the United Nations gives to the relations between the United Nations and Africa and between the United Nations and the Republic of Rwanda.

ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE DU RWANDA

Introduction du Président de l'Assemblée

M. Juvenal Nzuri

Excellence M. le Premier Ministre

Excellence M. le Vice Premier Ministre

Monsieur Représentant Spécial du Secrétaire général des Nations Unies

Monsieur les Ministres

Honorable Député

Monsieur les Ambassadeurs,

Je devrais commencer par vous présenter notre hôte ce soir, c'est Son Excellence Dr. Boutros-Ghali et c'est pour moi un agréable plaisir que de lui souhaiter une chaleureuse bienvenue, un agréable séjour parmi nous aussi bien pour lui-même que pour la délégation qui l'accompagne. C'est un honneur pour notre Parlement que d'être le lieu où Monsieur le Secrétaire général vous avez bien voulu vous adresser au peuple rwandais; ses représentants en sont honorés et nous pensons que le message que vous allez nous transmettre sera un message d'encouragement et de soutien pour la paix dans le pays et dans notre région et pour la réconciliation du peuple rwandais.

Excellence M. le Secrétaire général,

Le peuple rwandais connaît une longue histoire avec les Nations Unies. Au lendemain de la première guerre mondiale, la société des Nations a confiée à la Belgique le mandat de gouverner ce pays. Après la seconde guerre mondiale et la création de l'ONU la tutelle a été confié à la même Belgique. Vous comprenez donc avec moi que l'Organisation des Nations Unies a eu malgré tout un droit de regard sur la gestion socio-économique et socio-politique de ce pays. Les Nations Unies ont assisté à la décolonisation tumultueuse de ce pays et les premiers flux des réfugiés ont eu lieu quand notre pays était encore sous tutelle. 34 ans après, l'ONU est revenu contre l'avis de ceux qui préparaient avec précision et avec précaution le génocide auquel vous avez assisté en direct

sur vos écrans de télévision. Ce génocide a eu lieu. Les forces des Nations Unies étaient présentes; elles se sont retirées pour revenir quand tout était consommé. Il s'agit donc d'un lourd contentieux avec le peuple rwandais et votre présence parmi nous, votre présence, votre passage, nous aidera à l'éclaircir. A côté de ce passage d'ombre nous n'oublions pas les résolutions du Conseil de Sécurité portant création du Tribunal International pour juger les crimes de génocide, celles demandant aux pays qui les hébergent de faciliter leur traduction devant la justice. Nous croyons que ce sont des dispositions positives qui marquent la bonne volonté de la communauté internationale.

Excellence Monsieur le SG des NU

Vous vous souvenez que les Nations Unies ont décrété l'embargo contre notre pays. Cet embargo était dirigé contre le régime qui a perpétré le génocide et les massacres des populations. Les fondements de cette résolution ne sont plus d'actualité, surtout que les responsables de ce crime s'arment au vu et au su de tout le monde et ne cachent pas leur objectif de déstabiliser le pays et d'achever le travail commencé. Nous vous demandons d'user de vos moyens pour lever cette mesure devenue anachronique. Je terminerai en exprimant un souhait: Vous êtes intervenus au Rwanda avec des militaires en armes pour maintenir la paix. Cette paix et cette sécurité reviennent peu à peu grâce aux efforts de notre armée et de notre peuple qui se sont donnés pour mission de lutter pour la paix. Nous vous demanderions de transformer cette force des Nations Unies en une armée d'enseignants, de professeurs, de médecins, d'ingénieurs; dont la mission serait de lutter contre l'ignorance, la misère, la pauvreté, toutes des maux qui ont été à la base du génocide que nous avons connu. Cette contribution serait sans aucun doute positive pour la paix dans le pays et dans notre région. Tout en réitérant mes souhaits de bienvenue, je tiens

à vous assurer que l'auditoire ce soir sera attentif à votre discours. Ils vous écouteront et sans doute ils attendent beaucoup de vous. Ainsi vous pouvez vous adresser à cet auditoire, à cette Assemblée Nationale, à ce Gouvernement qui se réunissent ce soir. A vous la parole Excellence.

ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE DU RWANDA
Intervention du Secrétaire général de l'ONU

Monsieur le Président de l'Assemblée Nationale

Monsieur le Premier Ministre

Monsieur le Vice Premier Ministre

Messieurs les Ministres

Messieurs les Ambassadeurs accrédités auprès de la République Rwandaise

Messieurs les membres de l'Assemblée Nationale

Dans quelques jours vous allez célébrer le premier anniversaire du Gouvernement qui est entré en fonction à la fin du génocide et des atrocités insupportables qui ont tant endeuillé le Rwanda, qui ont tant endeuillé aussi tout le continent africain; parce que tous les pays africains sont solidaires, que ce soit à travers leur Organisation de l'Unité africaine ou à travers les expériences qu'ils ont eues jusqu'au moment de la création des Nations Unies; il n'y avait que trois Etats qui étaient semi indépendants, l'Ethiopie, l'Egypte et le Libéria. Donc le Continent africain a en commun une expérience qui a aidé à forger une certaine solidarité. Si bien que quand il y a un drame qui se passe dans un pays, ce drame a des répercussions sur tout le continent. Et le génocide qui a eu lieu au Rwanda a diminué l'image de tout le continent africain. C'est une guerre fratricide qui a rendu plus difficile la tâche de l'Organisation Internationale, de la communauté internationale pour coopérer avec le continent africain, pour aider les Etats africains à trouver des solutions pacifiques à leurs conflits internes ou internationaux, pour aider l'Afrique à se reconstruire et à pouvoir participer au progrès de la communauté internationale. Je voudrais donc vous féliciter pour ce premier anniversaire mais en même temps vous dire que vous êtes au début d'un très long chemin. Certes nous pouvons trouver des éléments de satisfaction dans un commencement à la vie normale. Votre présence ici est une autre preuve que vous vous intéressez à un système démocratique, que vous voulez discuter, que vous voulez engager un dialogue. C'est pourquoi Monsieur le Président, en tant qu'ancien parlementaire bien plus qu'en tant que Secrétaire

général des Nations Unies je vous proposerai, si vous acceptez, d'engager un dialogue à la suite de cet exposé. Et je répondrai sans hésiter aux questions que me feraient les parlementaires et je leur dirai: "n'hésitez pas à me poser des questions non diplomatiques et je vous promets que vous aurez des réponses non diplomatiques". Mais revenons aux éléments de satisfaction. Nous voyons que nous sommes sur le chemin d'une reconstruction et que le Rwanda essaye d'oublier le drame. Malheureusement il reste beaucoup à faire. Il est tout d'abord urgent de travailler à la réalisation des objectifs qui ont été fixés durant l'Accord d'Arusha. J'insiste en particulier, et ce sera l'objet de notre discussion, sur l'importance, sur la nécessité que toute la nation rwandaise puisse participer pleinement et démocratiquement à la gestion des affaires du pays. Les politiques d'exclusion auraient des conséquences que vous avez vécues et que nous avons vécues avec vous. Bien plus, des politiques d'exclusion rendraient l'assistance, la coopération, la collaboration de la communauté internationale à l'égard de votre pays, mais et à l'égard des autres pays africains aussi, extrêmement difficiles. La seconde idée extrêmement importante à laquelle nous sommes tous engagés c'est la protection des droits de l'Homme. Je sais bien que les droits de l'Homme ont été violés de la façon la plus atroce et qu'il y a eu un génocide. Je tiens à vous rappeler que j'ai été le premier à prononcer le mot de **génocide** dans les assemblées internationales pour mobiliser, pour sensibiliser l'opinion publique internationale, pour obtenir de l'opinion publique internationale une aide accrue; que ce soit une aide politique, une aide militaire, une aide financière, une aide technique pour votre pays. Je n'ai pas réussi. J'ai eu des difficultés beaucoup plus grandes que dans d'autres situations qui n'étaient pas aussi graves mais qui elles aussi demandaient une aide. Donc il est important de trouver une solution. Et une des solutions les plus importantes c'est une solution aux problèmes des réfugiés. Là, l'Organisation des Nations Unies est liée par certaines normes internationales et l'une des normes internationales

nous interdit d'obliger les réfugiés à retourner dans leur pays. Donc nous n'avons pas des moyens d'imposer un retour. Voici un premier obstacle. Mais un second obstacle c'est une crainte que vous retrouvez dans les camps de réfugiés, qu'ils se trouvent à Bukavu, à Goma ou sur la frontière de la Tanzanie. Vu cette crainte - il est de votre devoir, parce que se sont vos frères, et je ne parle pas d'une façon morale - il est de votre devoir, je dirai même de votre intérêt d'engager un dialogue avec ces réfugiés. Il y a des coupables, ces coupables doivent être punis. Nous avons créé un Tribunal International pour vous aider, vous aurez vos propres tribunaux nationaux. Mais avec la grande masse des réfugiés, il est important d'engager un dialogue. Seul à travers un dialogue ils seront amenés à retourner dans leur pays, dans leurs villages et à participer à la vie politique, à la reconstruction de votre pays. Tant qu'ils resteront dans des camps des réfugiés, la reconstruction sera incomplète et ce qui est plus grave, l'aide internationale sera elle aussi incomplète. Et nous aurons des difficultés à obtenir cette aide. Je crois que j'ai eu une conversation extrêmement franche avec le Premier Ministre où je lui ai expliqué les difficultés que j'ai aujourd'hui en tant que Secrétaire général des Nations Unies d'obtenir l'aide que ce soit des pays donateurs ou des organisations non gouvernementales. Vous allez me demander pourquoi. Vu la multiplicité des conflits, l'aide, l'intérêt, l'attention de la communauté internationale se dirige vers les pays ou les situations progressent. Je suis le premier à avoir reconnu qu'il y a un progrès incontestable dans la reconstruction. Mais dans le domaine de retour des réfugiés qui est lié aux problèmes des droits de l'Homme, il n'y a pas eu de progrès. Je ne connais pas quelle est la solution et certainement ce n'est pas aux Nations Unies de trouver la solution parce que c'est un problème interne, c'est un problème du Rwanda. C'est aux rwandais de trouver une solution à leur propres problèmes. Et cette solution, le plus vite vous la trouverez, le mieux vous obtiendrez une assistance internationale, une

coopération et un appui de la communauté internationale. Plus vous tardez, plus nous nous trouverons devant des conflits, des futurs conflits et des difficultés. Et ce qui m'inquiète le plus, et je vous parle en frère, je vous parle en africain, ce qui m'inquiète le plus c'est que nous sommes confrontés à une nouvelle fatigue des Etats donateurs. Des Etats donateurs ont d'autres priorités. Leur opinion publique est mécontente. Elle dit: **"nous avons nos propres réfugiés au sein de nos propres pays, nous avons nos propres malades, nous avons nos propres pauvres; pourquoi nous nous occupons nous des autres?"**. Evidemment, le rôle des Nations Unies c'est de promouvoir cette solidarité internationale; le rôle de l'Organisation de l'Unité africaine c'est de promouvoir cette solidarité africaine; le rôle des 77 c'est d'attirer l'attention des G7 et leur dire: **"occupez-vous des pays du tiers monde, occupez-vous des pays en voie de développement"**. Mais nous avons et nous aurons de plus en plus de difficultés à obtenir cet appui, à obtenir cette collaboration de la communauté internationale.

Le Tribunal International pour le Rwanda est une opération qui n'est pas facile. Il n'est pas facile d'obtenir les fonds nécessaires pour créer ce Tribunal. On a mis du temps pour pouvoir élire des juges. Le mécanisme du système, le mécanisme du multilatéralisme est un processus extrêmement long. Indépendamment de l'existence de ce Tribunal, il ne faut pas attendre la création du Tribunal International pour dire **"nous allons promouvoir la réconciliation"**. Il faut commencer immédiatement à promouvoir la réconciliation. A cet égard, je suis en contact avec l'Organisation de l'Unité africaine; nous collaborons avec les organisations régionales, nous collaborons avec les organisations non gouvernementales, nous collaborons avec les nouveaux acteurs des relations internationales pour pouvoir démocratiser les relations internationales, pour pouvoir obtenir l'appui que nous n'arrivons pas à obtenir des Etats donateurs. Donc nous faisons appel aux organisations régionales, aux organisations non

gouvernementales, à toutes les nouvelles institutions aux unions, aux syndicats, aux hommes d'affaires, en leur disant: "aidez nous en pour que nous puissions aider un pays qui veut se reconstruire, un pays qui a subi un drame inouï dans la seconde moitié du vingtième siècle". Alors que l'on croyait qu'une fois la seconde guerre mondiale terminée il n'y aurait plus de génocide, nous avons vécu de nouveau un génocide. Donc il faut que nous trouvions des solutions. Il faut que le retour à la paix soit une condition indispensable pour la reconstruction du Rwanda. Vous n'aurez pas une véritable reconstruction à moins de trouver une solution à l'intégration et au retour des réfugiés. Si jamais ce retour commence, si jamais vous arrivez à prendre des dispositions qui vont rétablir la confiance, qui laissent entendre que vous voulez la justice et non pas la vengeance - je précise que vous voulez la justice, que vous êtes en faveur de la justice et non en faveur de la vengeance - alors en ce moment vous pourrez construire une paix nouvelle et il faudra des années et des années pour oublier ce génocide, pour oublier cette guerre fratricide ou des milliers et des milliers des femmes, d'enfants, d'hommes ont été tués de façon horrible. Et nous avons besoin de la réconciliation. Et cette réconciliation ne doit pas être des mots; elle doit être dans les faits. Nous sommes observés par 185 Etats, nous sommes observés par des milliers d'organisations non gouvernementales, dont chacun a son opinion et ses exigences. Je suis confronté à ces problèmes tous les jours, des demandes des organisations internationales, des critiques des organisations internationales. L'opinion publique est devenue un nouveau facteur de la révolution médiatique qui amène les événements dans la chambre de n'importe quelle partie du monde. Donc nous sommes obligés de nous occuper de ce problème.

Quant aux forces des Nations Unies, je tiens à vous dire que s'il s'agissait du Conseil de Sécurité ou de la communauté internationale, on souhaiterait le

départ des forces des Nations Unies aujourd'hui, avant demain. Et vous avez un exemple devant vous qui s'est passé (en Yougoslavie), en Somalie. Et moi je me bats en ce moment pour pouvoir maintenir les forces des Nations Unies en Yougoslavie. Je suis tous les jours sous la pression des Etats membres qui disent: ça suffit, il faut se retirer; s'ils veulent se battre, qu'ils continuent à se battre; s'ils veulent continuer à se préparer des futurs conflits qu'ils fassent des nouveaux conflits; nous n'avons plus l'intention d'intervenir; nous n'avons plus l'intention d'envoyer nos hommes pour s'occuper des problèmes d'autres Etats; ce sont des Etats indépendants, qu'ils assument leur indépendance; ce sont des Etats souverains, qu'ils assument leur souveraineté, qu'ils se débrouillent. Je suis obligé de me battre pour leur expliquer que nous appartenons à la même famille, la famille des Nations: **"nous sommes égaux, nous appartenons à la même famille; si un malheur arrive à un membre de la famille il faut que les autres membres de la grande famille, s'intéressent à ce malheur et puissent l'aider; nous appartenons à cette même famille humaine, nous nous avançons dans la civilisation de l'universel et si vous ne faites pas les efforts nécessaires, vous allez marginaliser tout un continent; vous allez marginaliser des pays, des millions et des millions d'habitants; vous devez nous aider"**. Et nous nous trouvons devant ces difficultés. Heureusement que nous avons obtenu la résolution 997 par laquelle on arrive à maintenir les troupes des Nations Unies jusqu'au 8 décembre prochain. Mais je vous garantis que si vous demandez le départ des troupes demain, je considère que je serai très populaire auprès du Conseil de Sécurité et je serai très populaire auprès des Etats qui contribuent aux frais de ces troupes. Vous devez avoir des chiffres pour vous faire une idée des difficultés que nous avons. Il y a quelques années les casques bleus ne dépassaient pas 3000 ou 4000 hommes. Et le budget des opérations de maintien de la paix ne dépassaient pas les 400 ou 500 millions de dollars chaque année. Aujourd'hui nous avons 70 000 casques bleus dans différentes parties du monde,

sans parler des Observateurs. Le budget qui atteint 3, 6 milliards de dollars.

Et les Etats ne payent pas leurs contributions. Donc les Nations Unies se trouvent face à une crise financière extrêmement grave et la première réaction des Etats membres est de dire : **"diminuez les forces de maintien de la paix, ne vous occupez pas des Etats qui ne veulent pas nous aider pour que nous puissions les aider"**. Donc je reviens sur cette idée: il est important que nous nous adressions à la communauté internationale, il est important que nous expliquions à la communauté internationale que nous voulons trouver une solution. Et nous ne voulons pas trouver une solution provisoire. Vous avez eu des solutions provisoires et vous savez bien que des solutions provisoires ne servent qu'à préparer de nouvelles confrontations. Nous voulons une véritable solution, une solution qui est basée sur un dialogue, une solution qui est basée sur une fraternité qui devrait exister, une solution qui est basée sur un esprit de conciliation, de modération. Je dirais même qu'il faut essayer de pardonner. C'est difficile, mais il faut essayer de pardonner, il faut essayer d'oublier. Je suis d'accord qu'il ne faut pas oublier les criminels, mais il faut surtout éviter de punir tout un peuple parce que si vous punissez tout un peuple vous vous punissez vous même. Vous appartenez à ce peuple, c'est votre pays et vous obtiendrez moins d'intérêt de la communauté internationale. Voilà ce que je voulais vous dire. Je voulais vous dire que les Nations Unies et surtout le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies qui a consacré une grande partie de sa vie à s'occuper des problèmes africains - j'ai commencé il y a à peu près 40 ans, si vous voulez les dates précises, mon premier voyage a été en 1944 avant l'indépendance au Soudan et par après j'ai connu tous les pays africains et les ai visités des dizaines de fois - je sens que c'est mon devoir d'aider le continent africain. Et je suis reconnaissant à la communauté internationale de m'avoir élu comme Secrétaire général pour que je puisse aider encore plus le continent

africain. Je vous avoue en toute honnêteté: j'ai souvent échoué et le continent africain ne m'aide pas afin que je puisse l'aider.

Merci.

Réponses du Secrétaire général aux questions de deux députés et de deux Ministres

Question en arabe.

Réponse:

On avait parlé de génocide l'an dernier et dans la fameuse résolution 997 on a parlé de crime. Est-ce-qu'il y a une différence entre les deux? Je pense que le génocide est un crime, c'est un crime international. Je ne pense pas que le Conseil de Sécurité avait une idée quelconque en voulant mentionner crime plutôt que de mentionner génocide. Pourquoi? Parce qu'une fois que le mot génocide a été prononcé par une résolution du Conseil de Sécurité, il est valable pour toutes les autres résolutions.

Question

Notre peuple a été massacré en présence des forces de l'ONU très bien armées. Au lieu d'aider cette population en détresse, la force de l'ONU s'est retirée. Au moment où les forces patriotiques combattaient vaillamment contre cette force du mal, je veux dire les forces du Gouvernement, et au moment où on allait les mettre en dehors du pays, c'est le moment où les Nations Unies ont créé une zone pour sauver les massacreurs. La question est celle-ci, "Excellence: Notre peuple aujourd'hui n'a plus confiance dans les forces de l'ONU. Comment est-ce que vous allez nous aider pour leur donner cette confiance et en plus dans laquelle nous avons besoin?"

Réponse

Je crois que seul le peuple rwandais peut se donner à lui même confiance. Les Nations Unies ne peuvent pas vous donner.... les Nations Unies peuvent vous aider. Il faut vous aider vous-même et le ciel vous aidera. C'est à vous de trouver des solutions. C'est à vous de promouvoir certaines formules de réconciliation. Nous sommes prêts à vous aider mais nous ne pouvons pas vous remplacer. Et nous ne vous remplacerons jamais. C'est une des politiques des Nations Unies. Les Nations Unies aident les peuples, aident les protagonistes en conflit. Encore faut-il qu'ils trouvent eux-mêmes des solutions. Nous sommes prêts à les aider. Donc pour la question de confiance c'est au peuple rwandais lui-même de panser ses plaies et de trouver des moyens pour engager un dialogue pour commencer à adopter certaines mesures pour créer une confiance. Et à partir de ce début vous pourrez construire la paix. Je dirais, institutionnaliser la paix. Ce que nous appelons dans notre jargon des Nations Unies "peace-building" : construire la paix. Donc il ne s'agit pas seulement de trouver un papier ou de faire même revenir les réfugiés. Il s'agit de passer une autre étape et de se préparer une autre étape plus importante qui peut construire la paix. Si deux pays qui ont eu trois guerres terribles et je vais les citer: la France et l'Allemagne; ces pays en 1870, 1914, 1939 ont eu des millions de morts mais sont arrivés à construire une unité. Ils avaient deux grands hommes: Adenauer et De Gaulle. S'ils sont arrivés à trouver une solution, si en Espagne à travers une guerre fratricide, ils sont arrivés à trouver une solution, si au Nigéria ils ont trouvé une solution ou devaient trouver une solution, si d'autres ont trouvé une solution, vous devez trouver une solution, et ce sera votre solution; à vous de trouver la formule, à vous d'engager le dialogue, à vous de créer la confiance réciproque et seule votre action nous sommes là pour vous aider mais nous ne pouvons pas vous remplacer. Et c'est ça, si vous

voulez dire le message. Au contraire. Mon message c'est: aidez-nous pour que nous puissions vous aider, parce que j'ai des difficultés à vous aider. Donc si vous ne m'aidez pas je n'arriverai pas à vous aider. Donc c'est à vous de trouver la solution.

Question

(a) You dwelt on the question of dialogue. And I am sure, both the UN and the international community in general know that Rwanda has opened its gate or its gates to Rwandese outside these borders. On no conditions. But you insist that there should be dialogue. My question is: must we have dialogue with those who committed genocide - is that your advice?

(b) Reports have again and again come that people who committed genocide in this country have been armed and are continuing to be armed outside this country. This Government has inherited an arms embargo and that arms embargo is being maintained by the UN, the same UN that has had consistence report of people who committed genocide being armed. Is that logical, Your Excellency?

(c) The question of reconciliation: In Rwanda we think and believe that reconciliation is a process that needs a number of prerequisites. Perequisiste No.1 is justice; prerequisite No.2 is that there must be a level of consent of whoever committed crime, and even those against whom crime was committed must have a kind of relationship with those who committed it. How does the UN foresee a reconciliation without those necessary prerequisites? That is an advice I would like the Secretary-General of the UN to give to this country.

Answer

Concerning the first question, certainly I did not advocate dialogue with those who committed genocide or those who were the instigators of genocide. They have to be condemned. This is why we have the International Tribunal. But there is a difference between those who were behind the operations and the average men who may have done a lot of mistakes. So this is the first difference. The second one, I completely agree. That is why we adopted a resolution of the Security Council to send observers on the border to stop the infiltration of arms coming to certain elements belonging to the former Government. We are aware of this but again we cannot do this unless there is an agreement of the member States. The Security Council has sent a special envoy who was received by your Government, he went without delay around the neighbouring countries and all of them, have refused the presence of observers. They said are intervening in their internal affairs and this is the problem of the Government of Kigali. It must find a solution to bring back the refugees and it will not be at our expense. It is enough that we are paying the price of having a million refugees with all the complications and I have received letters asking to intervene to get rid of those refugees. So we have tried, but again the problem is that according to the rule, and I have mentioned this already, we have no permission and our system does not allow to use force to compel the refugees to return. It must be based on their own political will.

Finally about the embargo, I have no objection of lifting the embargo. It is not my decision, it is the decision of the Security Council. But I am afraid that the day you lift the embargo you will have complications that the international community, saying: they are buying arms, then they are using our assistance to buy arms let us stop our assistance. So if you are sure lifting the

embargo will have no impact on the international community, I am the first one to say: come on! Lift the embargo. We had the same problem in Bosnia, but again you have to understand this is not my decision. This is the decision of the donor countries and unless the donor countries are ready to adopt a new resolution, we will not be able to change their mind.

Question

Merci Monsieur le Président, Excellence Monsieur le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, je pense que votre diagnostic est exact quand vous dites que le problème du Rwanda est essentiellement le problème des réfugiés qui sont à l'intérieur. Mais, il peut être moins exact quand vous dites que c'est le problème fondamentalement rwandais. C'est comme si vous disiez que le Rwanda a refusé de rentrer ses réfugiés. Or à moins que des rapports que vous receviez disent des choses dans ce sens là, le Rwanda l'a proclamé qu'il voudrait recevoir les rwandais qui sont à l'extérieur. Mais le problème que nous avons toujours évoqué est le fait que ces réfugiés sont embrigadés par ceux là même qui ont commis le génocide. Et nous avons demandé aux Nations Unies de faire en sorte qu'il y ait séparation de ceux qui ont commis le génocide d'avec cette autre partie de la population. Alors je pense donc que le problème réel si les réfugiés ne rentrent pas, il y a une part de la communauté internationale qui devrait nous aider à ce que cette séparation se fasse. Que fait l'ONU pour faire cette séparation? Deuxième chose des prisons, vous semblez dire que ce qui se passe au Rwanda, le Rwanda connaîtra la paix s'il y a une justice et non la vengeance. Il y a une sorte de jugement d'intention à travers ce que vous aviez dit du moins dans la façon dont vous l'aviez dit. Dans la situation présente, il y a effectivement beaucoup de prisonniers, mais s'il y avait vengeance, il n'y aurait pas de prisonniers. Nous attendons la justice. Et nous voulons que cette

justice se fasse. Donc je pense que nous sommes conscients qu'effectivement l'avenir du Rwanda reposera sur une justice saine. Et nous voulons le faire. Mais je pense qu'à travers la façon dont vous dites les choses, il y aurait, semble-t-il, des accusations comme quoi on prônerait plutôt la vengeance. Je vous assure que ce n'est pas le cas, et si tels étaient les rapports que vous receviez, je pense que ces rapports devraient être revus ou du moins il faudrait demander que ces rapports précisent et témoignent, donnent des preuves de ce qu'ils avancent.

Réponse

Monsieur le Député je n'accuse personne, il n'y a aucun procès d'intention de ma part. J'essaye de vous aider, vous êtes ici isolés, vous ne savez pas qu'elle est l'attitude de l'opinion publique internationale. Mon objectif c'est de vous aider et de vous dire voilà la perception de la communauté internationale. Ça ne veut pas du tout dire que je partage ce point de vue. Au contraire, j'essaye de vous aider en vous disant: voilà ! j'ai essayé d'obtenir ce que vous voulez, je me suis adressé à 46 Etats pour obtenir des forces pour pouvoir dégager les camps de réfugiés et éliminer dans les camps de réfugiés les éléments négatifs, qui comme vous le connaissez, s'arment et se préparent à des nouvelles confrontations. Je n'ai pas réussi. Ça ne dépend pas de moi. Non c'est intéressant de savoir pourquoi je n'ai pas réussi. Parce que la communauté internationale n'a pas accepté cette approche, et c'est là le problème. Vous avez intérêt à essayer de convaincre la communauté internationale, le fait que 46 Etats aient refusé d'intervenir ou d'envoyer des troupes c'est qu'ils ne partagent pas mon analyse. Mon analyse c'est la vôtre. Je partage votre analyse à 100 %, mais je ne suis qu'un élément. La communauté internationale a une autre vision des choses. Donc votre rôle de

parlementaires c'est d'essayer de corriger cette vision ou de corriger cette perception et ce que je vous transmets, c'est sûr ce ne sont pas nos rapports du tout, ça n'a aucun rapport n'avoir avec nos rapports. Je vous donne ce que je reçois comme réactions des organisation non gouvernementales. Je vous dis ce que je reçois comme réponse des Etats membres de la communauté internationale. Prenez un cas particulier: 46 ont dit non. Mais enfin ça veut dire quelque chose. Moi je ne suis pas ... moi je tiens à vous spécifier que je partage 100% votre analyse et vos trois questions. Je suis d'accord avec vous. Mais je n'ai rien dans ma main, moi je suis un honest broker, je suis un catalyste qui essaye d'obtenir l'appui de la communauté internationale, je ne dispose pas d'argent. C'est moi qui vais auprès des Etats, je dis on a besoin de créer un fonds spécial pour aider le Rwanda. Nous avons besoin de l'argent nécessaire pour telle opération. La communauté internationale a répondu autrement. La seule chose que je vais vous dire - et c'est mon message- vous devriez tenir compte de la communauté internationale. Parce qu'aujourd'hui elle joue de plus en plus un rôle important et c'est elle, et c'est à elle que nous nous adressons pour obtenir sa coopération, son appui, son aide, son aide technique etc... Donc mon message n'est pas du tout que je vous dise que je partage ce que je vous ai dit, je vous dis non. Faites attention. Vous ne savez pas ce que pense la communauté internationale. Vous ne savez pas ce que pensent les NGO (les organisations non gouvernementales). Vous ne savez pas ce que pensent les gouvernements. Je vous le dis maintenant pour que vous en teniez compte et que vous essayez de trouver une solution à ce problème. Parce que vous avez besoin de la communauté internationale. Tous les Etats ont besoin de la communauté internationale. Nous allons devant une nouvelle globalisation des événements internationaux où de plus en plus la communauté internationale doit jouer un rôle important que ce soit les organisations non gouvernementales, les syndicats, les parlementaires, la presse, CNN, la télévision, les commentateurs

des journaux, les articles etc.. Et l'image de la communauté internationale est là, non seulement c'est une image, mais les résultats sont là. J'ai de plus en plus des difficultés à obtenir une aide pour vous et je me bats pour vous. J'ai de plus en plus des difficultés à obtenir des soldats et je me bats pour obtenir ces soldats, je n'ai pas réussi. Vous pensez que je ne me suis pas battu au moment où vous avez eu le génocide pour essayer d'obtenir, de maintenir les soldats sur place? Je n'ai pas réussi parce que je n'ai pas les moyens de dire aux Etats "vous devez rester," c'est eux qui décident. Donc mon message c'est qu'il est important de tenir compte de la communauté internationale. On n'est plus seul aujourd'hui. Et la communauté internationale a l'interprétation que je vous ai donnée. Voilà pour conclure.

Je vous remercie en tant qu'ancien parlementaire. Je vous souhaite bonne chance et je vous dis que vous avez au moins un ami qui veut vous aider. Et c'est parce que je me considère comme un frère au peuple rwandais que je vous ai parlé avec cette franchise. J'aurais pu vous dire des mots très aimables et vous auriez quitté cette réunion en disant comme il est gentil ce Secrétaire général. Il nous a dit bravo, vous avancez, vous avez trouvé une solution à vos problèmes, je vais vous aider, tout est magnifique. J'ai considéré que vous êtes suffisamment sages et importants pour que je vous parle avec la franchise avec laquelle je vous ai parlé. Peut être ça vous a choqué mais parce que je me considère comme un frère et un ami. Et je me suis battu pour vous pendant deux ans. Et plus je continuerai à me battre pour vous. Mais aidez-moi. Voilà mon message. J'ai besoin de votre aide si vous voulez que j'arrive à gagner le combat que je fais pour vous. On m'a demandé d'aller en Yougoslavie en ce moment. J'ai refusé, je suis venu ici pour vous dire mon appui et pour vous dire combien je veux vous aider. Mais je vous demande de m'aider, et c'est ce que j'ai dit à votre Premier Ministre; ce que je dis à vous parlementaires et c'est ce

que je dirai au peuple si j'ai l'occasion de rencontrer le peuple rwandais. C'est à vous de trouver une solution et les critiques, ce ne sont pas des critiques, c'est ce que vous dites être un procès d'intention. Je vous ai donné l'image qu'on a du Rwanda dans la communauté internationale.

**ALLOCUTION DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL A LA PARADE MILITAIRE ET DEVANT LE
PERSONNEL DES NATIONS UNIES AU SIEGE DE LA MINUAR**

I will ask you one minute of silence in memory of the Rwandese citizens and UNAMIR soldiers who lost their lives during the war and during the genocide.

First of all I want to thank the staff and the troops of UNAMIR for the dedication and commitments specially those who remained in Rwanda during the war. In spite of every thing which was said you have helped the people of Rwanda. We are there to promote peace, development and democracy. These are the objectives of the United Nations. We must never forget the genocide, the atrocities which have been committed, and justice must be transparent; justice must be strong. This is the reason why the United Nations have created an International Tribunal. We have finished all the formalities, the Tribunal will be in Arusha and they will condemn those who have participated in the genocide. Saying this, it is important to make a distinction between justice and vengeance. We are for justice, for equitable justice and then, we must promote the national reconciliation of this nation.

Je voudrais continuer en disant que le travail que vous faites est admirable, que la communauté internationale vous remercie pour ce que vous avez fait et ce que vous allez faire. La communauté internationale a besoin des Nations Unies. La communauté internationale a besoin des casques bleus. Nous avons aujourd'hui 70 000 casques bleus dans toutes les parties du monde et en dépit des difficultés en ancienne Yougoslavie, en Angola, en Amérique centrale, à Haïti. Nous continuerons notre oeuvre pour maintenir la paix, promouvoir le développement et ce qui représente la synthèse entre la paix et le développement; la démocratie. Encore une fois merci pour ce que vous faites pour la communauté internationale. Votre présence ici exprime la solidarité internationale entre les nations et les peuples.

Merci.

Conférence de Presse à l'Aéroport Kanombé (Kigali

Introduction du Secrétaire général

Je voudrais remercier le Président de la République , le Vice Président de la République, le Premier Ministre, les membres du Cabinet, les parlementaires, le peuple rwandais pour l'accueil chaleureux avec lequel j'ai été reçu. Je voudrais dire que j'ai eu des négociations ... et le (cris des manifestants) des négociations extrêmement constructives avec le Premier Ministre, avec le Président de la République, avec le Vice Président, et que je suis venu donner un message, apporter un message d'amitié au peuple rwandais, à l'occasion de premier anniversaire du nouveau Gouvernement et souhaiter succès dans la reconstruction du pays et dans la réconciliation nationale. Le Rwanda a besoin de paix, de développement économique, de démocratie et les Nations Unies sont là pour l'aider à achever ces grands objectifs. J'ai dû remarquer la différence entre la situation il y a une année et la situation aujourd'hui. Il y a des progrès réels, mais il faut continuer, il faut maintenir le momentum en faveur de cette avancée vers la paix, le développement économique et la démocratie.

Question

Monsieur le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, vous venez de visiter le Rwanda, une visite éclair de 12 heures au Rwanda. Vous avez rencontré des responsables du Gouvernement comme vous venez de le dire, il y a quelques semaines, fin mai, c'est "la Lettre du Continent" qui l'écrit dans quelques lignes, vous receviez Mme Aima Bonino, Commissaire européenne et selon la Lettre du Continent, à cet occasion là vous auriez dit n'avoir pas confiance dans le Gouvernement rwandais. Je cite la Lettre du Continent (c'est une publication qui

est publiée en Europe et dont nous avons une copie ici, vous allez me dire si je ne dis pas la vérité).... Est-ce que je peux terminer ma question Monsieur le Secrétaire général... vous avez.... c'est la Lettre du Continent, c'est vous n'avez même pas écouté ma question, Monsieur le Secrétaire général.

Question

The support to use of Military Force to protect the Bosnia muslims around Cevenitia? and the other UN sectors.

Réponse

We are studying now what are the resources which can be put at the service of the resolution which has been adopted two days ago by the Security Council. I will not be able to give you an answer to your question before I will know exactly what are the resources which are at our disposal.

Question

From French side it will be within 48 hours to be ready to intervene militarily.

Réponse

This is why we are in contact with the military people on one side and on the same side we are in contact with the Diplomats to be able to find a solution on the diplomatic level.

Question

Monsieur le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, aujourd'hui les Nations Unies affichent une forme assez basse, il y a toujours des difficultés au niveau de l'Organisation, dernièrement on évoquait une possible de réforme de l'Organisation. Est-ce que vous êtes prêt à faire cette réforme?

Réponse

Je suis en faveur de la réforme, la réforme est un processus continu que nous faisons chaque jour.

Question

Ma question est très simple. Quel est votre sentiment au moment où vous trouvez au Rwanda alors que le Conseil de Sécurité a autorisé le départ de la MINUAR en plein génocide. Merci.

Réponse

Le Conseil de Sécurité n'a pas autorisé le départ de la MINUAR en plein génocide. Le Conseil de Sécurité avait le choix entre plusieurs options: une, d'augmenter les forces, et une autre de diminuer les forces. Vous devez savoir que le Conseil des Nations Unies ne possède pas des forces. Ces forces dépendent des Etats membres. Or si un Etat membre décide de retirer ses forces nous ne pouvons rien faire pour l'empêcher de retirer ses forces.

Quand nous étions en Somalie, les autorités, les forces américaines, les forces françaises, allemandes se sont retirées. Donc ça ne dépend pas de nous.

Les Etats mettent à la disposition des Nations Unies des forces du maintien de la paix, mais ils ont le droit de retirer quand ils veulent. Vous voyez le problème

....

Question

Your Excellency, yesterday you said that you help us so that we may help you, you are telling the Government of Rwanda. If you are giving in the same position assuming that you are one of the Government Leaders in Rwanda, uptothere is a problem of Refugees already, one million of refugees have come back and there is a problem of prisoners, the infrastructures of prisons are not yet at up to standard, what exactly will you do bearing in mind of all these problems that have been in the country?

Réponse

We are there to help to solve those problems and this is the purpose of my visit to see how we are operating, how we are offering that technical assistance. I visited the new buildings which have being constructed, we are there to help.

Question

Your Excellency, the United Nations Security Council put an embargo on Libya because of the incidence of Locarbie bombing because they could not give the two suspects who are concerned with the bombing. But on the other hand the killers who killed over one million Rwandese people are running free in

various countries, Europe and in Africa and it seems that the Security Council ~~has not mentioned even trying to apprehend the suspects even and putting an~~ embargo on those countries. Don't you think that it is double standards and the fact?

Réponse

I have received the mandate from the Security Council to negotiate with the Libyan Government to find the solution to this problem.

Thank you.

D R A F T

BRIEFING NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S VISIT TO RWANDA

13-14 JULY 1995

Opening remarks

1. The Rwandese Government celebrates its first year in office on 19 July. The Secretary-General may wish to congratulate Rwandese leaders on the significant achievements of the Government during the past year. The Government exercises sovereign authority and is gradually re-establishing political and administrative institutions over the entire country. A pluralistic National Assembly functions. The country has achieved near normalcy in most walks of life, with schools and universities reopening, no curfews, few road blocks, markets businesses and commerce burgeoning and essential services, including water, electricity and transport restored. Embassies have re-opened and commercial flights connect Kigali to the outside world. Some refugees, mainly old case-load, from the 1959-60 exodus, have returned, with the new case-load, from 1994, returning in fits and starts. Security, despite occasional acts of banditry and thefts, especially in Kigali, generally reigns.

2. Much remains to be done, however. Nearly 2 million refugees are still living in camps in neighbouring countries, some of them in a hostile, military confrontationist approach. 48,000 prisoners are held in inhuman conditions with the process of justice yet to begin functioning. Much of the shattered infrastructure remains unrepaired, especially roads, bridges and buildings. Moreover the Government cannot function effectively without the resources with which to pay salaries regularly or to procure such basic tools of governance as transport, telephones and office equipment. Tensions with neighbours and lack of progress in reconciliation also inhibit refugee return. The Government, essentially a loose coalition of five political parties, has recently been experiencing some strains and frictions, leading to and manifested by a number of prominent defections, including two senior Hutu members, Mr. Jean-Marie Vianey Ndajimina, the former Foreign Minister, and Mr. Jean Damascène Ntakirutimana, the former Director of the Prime

.../...

Minister's Cabinet, both belonging to the MDR Party of Prime Minister Twagiramungu. A perception of military (RPA) dominance over the civilian administration, is also causing internal tensions and rumbling. These issues need to be addressed meaningfully in the immediate future.

3. **Basically the following five issues need to be addressed in order to alleviate frustrations within the body politic of Rwanda:**

a) **Refugee return**

Central to peace and stability is the need for a voluntary and safe return of refugees from neighbouring countries. To achieve this objective, the mainly Hutu, refugees must not only be promised justice and security but 'these promises' must also be implemented on the ground. The Nairobi Summit Declaration, the Bujumbura Action Plan and the Tripartite Agreements signed between UNHCR, Rwanda and the neighbouring countries (Zaire, Tanzania and Burundi) provide the basic guidelines for future action. These agreements need to be revived and implemented. The Secretary-General may wish to seek Rwanda's recommitment to these agreements through a regional Conference to be convened at an early date. The Secretary-General may indicate that all three parties to the agreements would be persuaded to fulfil their respective commitments in a synchronized effort to achieve refugee return. Measures to promote confidence-building and trust may be given special impetus in attempting to achieve this objective.

b) **Justice**

The International Tribunal is poised to begin functioning in the second half of 1995. Judges have taken their oaths and the Deputy Prosecutor's office is already functioning in Kigali. About 400 cases are being processed by the Prosecutor's office.

.../...

The national process of justice must also begin functioning in order to prevent retribution and to ensure justice to incoming refugees. Above all the 48,000 prisoners must be screened before a prima facie case is brought against alleged criminals. Thereafter, their cases must be processed expeditiously and the innocent released. The international community is ready to provide foreign experts to assist in this process. Rwanda, for its part, must quickly appoint the judges, magistrates, prosecutors and defence attorneys for the judicial process to begin functioning as early as possible. Meanwhile, the conditions in the prisons must be improved on an emergency basis.

c) **Reconciliation**

It is widely felt that the process of reconciliation can only succeed after the judicial process is seen to be effective. Reconciliation needs to be seen at several levels: at the grass roots, when ordinary citizens can begin to pick up their daily lives in the communes and towns without fear of retribution and in an atmosphere of fair play and security. Former civil servants, businessmen and army personnel may be encouraged to return in dignity and security and eventually political elements that are not tainted by criminal charges may be encouraged to return to the political fold. Reconciliation should not be seen as synonymous with impunity or with immunity from criminal responsibility. It must be made clear that the climate of impunity is to be banished and those responsible for criminal acts duly punished through a transparent judicial process. At the same time, the Government should consider publishing a definitive list of suspected participants in the genocide. Determined efforts, including information and sensitization messages of confidence-building should be carried out by the Government to promote harmony and peaceful co-existence among all ethnic groups. No one group should be made to feel excluded or persecuted. The principle of power-sharing, which underpinned the Arusha accords, should be reaffirmed and some contacts, first discreetly, should be initiated with

.../...

Hutu political leaders in exile who are not implicated in the genocide and can be shown to enjoy the support or confidence of the refugees.

d) **International Aid**

The Secretary-General may acknowledge that the slow pace of disbursement has led to understandable frustration. Rwanda's recent cooperative policies towards UN and the international community has ushered in a new climate of positive cooperation. This has already ensured quicker disbursement of aid pledges. The recent mid-term review of the Geneva Round Table is expected to lead to encouraging results and this flow of international aid is likely to meet Rwanda's immediate socio-economic needs. The Secretary-General may assure Rwandese leaders that UN and its agencies would make every effort to achieve meaningful disbursement of aid pledges. It is essential that Rwanda and the international community maintain this momentum. Rwanda's cooperative attitude towards human rights, justice and reconciliation would be an important factor for maintaining this impetus.

e) **Sabotage, militarization and infiltration from refugee camps**

The Secretary-General may share his concern at the increased militarization, sabotage and infiltration from the refugees camps, which has caused increased tension within Rwanda. The Secretary-General may inform Rwandese leaders of the Security Council's concern at this dangerous development and to the report of his Special Envoy which aims at measures to reduce this tension. He may note press and NGO reports on alleged military training and arms transactions, and stress that Security Council's proposed deployment of military observers in neighbouring countries could help clarify the situation with a view to preventing the destabilization of Rwanda.

.../...

The Secretary-General may outline the measures proposed to alleviate this problem including:

- a) Greater discipline and control in the refugee camps.
- b) Relocation of camps away from the borders.
- c) Pressure to arrest "criminals" in accordance with Security Council Resolution 978.
- d) Pressure on host countries to prevent military training and military supplies in the camps.
- e) The possible stationing of military observers in camps and at airports.
- f) The holding of a regional conference which could outline a plan to control militarist activities and encourage refugee return.

UNAMIR Mandate

4. The Secretary-General may state that the new UNAMIR mandate acknowledges Rwanda's sovereign authority over its territory and accepts that the responsibility for security and protection of Rwandese nationals lies with the Government of Rwanda. UNAMIR's role has been redefined to emphasize its assistance nature. Thus, UNAMIR would, henceforth, play an appropriate supportive role in cooperating with the Rwandese Government to provide stability, promote confidence and trust, especially to returning refugees, and assist the Government in repairing its infrastructure. Moreover, UNAMIR's continued assistance in the training of a new national police force could help in the process of revitalizing the national judicial system. The

.../...

co-operative relationship under the new mandate needs to be supported and enhanced to mutual benefit. UNAMIR would phase-out in accordance with its mandate. Currently, the UNAMIR force stands at 5,255. In accordance with Security Council resolution 997 of 9 June, it is expected to be reduced to 2,330 by September and to 1,800 (the figure requested by the Government), by October.

Regional Conference

5. As a follow-up to the Nairobi summit held in January this year and the Bujumbura refugee conference held in February, and pending the organization of the regional conference on security, stability and development envisaged by the Security Council, a regional summit should be convened on an urgent basis with the limited objective of giving renewed political impetus to the agreements and commitments made at the above-mentioned Nairobi and Bujumbura meetings. The importance of providing a cooperative, political framework between countries of the Great Lakes is crucial. It would be helpful in achieving the objectives of such conferences if Rwanda's tense relations with some of its neighbours, in particular Zaire and to an extent Tanzania, could begin to be eased on a bilateral basis. The Secretary-General may wish to give his full support towards achieving this objective. He may also promise his good offices to that end if the parties concerned request it.

DRAFT

AFTER DINNER TOAST - Thursday evening 13 July 1995

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Thank you, Honourable Prime Minister, for the very kind words you have addressed to me.

Honourable Prime Minister,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is less than five hours since I arrived in Kigali, earlier this afternoon. In this short time, my colleagues and I have been touched by the warmth of the hospitality and reception extended to us by the Rwandese people, by their representatives in Parliament and by their Government.

Rwandese generosity and hospitality are not new to me, this not being my first visit to this beautiful country. What is striking this time is the fact that considering all you have lived through recently and continue to experience, your high spirits remain undiminished and your hearts open. This is a strong reason to be hopeful about Rwanda's future prospects.

Since we touched down at Kigali's fully operational airport and drove through crowded streets with children returning from school, workers returning home, and businesses and traffic flowing, it is difficult to imagine that this is the same country which experienced the trauma and destruction that touched peoples and nations all around the world. Your accomplishments are a tribute to the resolve and determination of the people of Rwanda to pick up the pieces and to forge ahead into a brighter future. I wish to commend you, Mr. Prime Minister and your Government, for leading this impressive recovery effort. I pledge the continued support of the United Nations in order to consolidate and build on the momentum.

The assistance provided to Rwanda by various Governments and agencies is also a demonstration of the extent of the solidarity of the international community as a whole. The success of the recent mid-term review of the Geneva Round-Table Conference is a strong indication that the commitment to Rwanda remains undiminished. I am particularly pleased that, as the world reaffirms its commitment to the ideals of the United Nations Charter, in its fiftieth year, there is a concrete demonstration of this in the support which is provided to this country, both to ensure a speedy recovery and to guarantee that impunity for the crime of genocide and other atrocities against humanity will not be permitted.

The cornerstone of lasting recovery is respect for human rights and the dignity and worth of every citizen in this country. I welcome the efforts made by your Government and at the grassroots level by Rwandese individuals to encourage the return and resettlement of their fellow compatriots in a spirit of harmony and peaceful coexistence.

In looking to the future, our collective efforts should be built on the youth of this country. The past has been especially traumatic for them, but the future cannot be better without them. Various United Nations agencies are working on very important projects to care for thousands of orphaned children, to reunite children with their families, and to attend to the special needs of handicapped children. We will continue to work with the Government in this priority area, because so much of Rwanda's future prospects hinge on it.

My visit to Rwanda, brief as it is, has convinced me that Rwanda and the international community are working together in the right direction and need to continue to do so as much remains to be done. Let me reassure you of my personal commitment and attention towards ensuring the successful attainment of our common objectives for genuine peace, justice, reconciliation and prosperity.

I thank you and invite you, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to raise your glasses and drink a toast for lasting peace in Rwanda.

14/7/95

DRAFT TEXT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REMARKS

TO UNITED NATIONS STAFF MEMBERS IN RWANDA

Distinguished Guests,

Dear Colleagues,

It is an honour and a pleasure for me to be among you today in Kigali, you who are in the frontline of United Nations efforts to assist Rwanda at its moment of greatest need.

I would first of all like to invite everyone to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory and in tribute to the UNAMIR soldiers and military observers, as well as other United Nations staff members, including our local staff, who lost their lives as a result of the Rwandese conflict.

I thank you.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cannot commend or thank you enough for the immense dedication and commitment and the selfless sacrifice you have made and continue to make on behalf of our Organization. As messengers of peace, you serve as positive symbols of the better world envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. I know that it has not always been easy. You and your colleagues in peace-keeping and other United Nations operations around the world work under extremely hazardous conditions. Instead of gratitude, however, you have sometimes received criticism, and even hostility. Many staff members have lost their lives, many are maimed and many are arbitrarily detained. Yet, you remain undeterred because the work for which the United Nations was created, is not yet done. As Rwanda's recent history and conflicts elsewhere have shown, the struggle for a more just and humane world continues.

Although the eyes of the world were on Rwanda at the time of its humanitarian emergency, it was due to your unflagging and tireless efforts,

.../...

behind the scenes, that the crisis was checked and the process of normalization resumed. I am here today to thank you for rising, yet again, to the occasion, in the true spirit of the international civil service.

As you very well know, the United Nations is deeply involved in Rwanda. It will remain so, as long as it is needed and wanted. The unparalleled tragedy that engulfed Rwanda last year will forever remain a part of our collective human history, representing both the best and the worst that mankind is capable of. We witnessed the nightmare, in the horrible atrocities that were perpetrated, and we also saw hope, in the valiant efforts and contributions made to save lives and to help build a brighter future for the survivors. You have been part of the ray of hope upon which the prospects for rehabilitation, reconstruction and reconciliation rest. Wherever there is a United Nations insignia, flag or blue-beret, it should always stand as a symbol of hope.

The United Nations is proud of your role. The international community at large is very grateful to you. Your efforts do not go unnoticed. For staff members belonging to the Secretariat of the United Nations both at Headquarters and at various sites around the world, I have recently laid out policy guidelines to govern the assignment of staff to missions and their return to their parent duty stations. The primary objective in selecting staff for the Organization's field operations is to obtain the most competent and committed personnel. Such staff members should be confident that they can return to their parent department or office upon the conclusion of their assignments. An administrative instruction has been issued to this effect and I expect programme managers to ensure its effective implementation.

Let me end by saying that not only are my thoughts with you, but also my deep respect, thanks and prayers.

I thank you for your kind attention and for the warm reception you have given.



UNITED NATIONS
ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA

NATIONS UNIES
MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA

UNAMIR - MINUAR

ALLOCUTION DE SON EXCELLENCE SHAHARYAR KHAN, REPRESENTANT
SPECIAL DU SECRETAIRE-GENERAL DES NATIONS UNIES, A
L'OCCASION DE LA SIGNATURE DE LA CONVENTION
D'ETABLISSEMENT ET D'EXPLOITATION DE
RADIO MINUAR

Kigali - 14 January 1995

Monsieur le Ministre, Distingués invités, Mesdames et Messieurs.
C'est un grand honneur pour moi que d'être parmi vous aujourd'hui
à l'occasion de la signature de la Convention d'Etablissement et
d'Exploitation de la Radio des Nations Unies au Rwanda.

Permettez-moi tout d'abord d'exprimer ma gratitude au gouvernement
Rwandais pour avoir donné à la Mission des Nations Unies pour
l'Assistance au Rwanda la possibilité de s'exprimer auprès du
peuple Rwandais par la voie de sa propre radio.

Je tiens particulièrement à remercier les Ministères de
l'Information, des Affaires Etrangères et des Transports et
Télécommunications.

Plus que jamais, les médias jouent un rôle essentiel dans la vie quotidienne, et ce, partout dans le monde. Déjà, lors de la deuxième guerre mondiale, c'est la radio qui a permis de rassembler les peuples épris de liberté et ensemble de lutter contre la tyrannie.

Malheureusement, la radio peut aussi être l'instrument du mal. Ainsi, dans l'ex Yougoslavie, la propagande médiatique a contribué à l'éclatement du pays. L'histoire récente du Rwanda en apporte également la preuve tragique. Dans ce pays, la radio a toujours exercé une influence importante. Lors de la guerre civile, des messages diffusés par la radio ont attisé les flammes de la haine et entraîné des centaines de milliers de Rwandais vers le malheur, la souffrance, et l'exil.

Beaucoup de vies auraient peut-être été sauvées si le pays avait alors disposé d'une station de radio plus objective. La presse internationale a souvent évoqué les méthodes d'intimidation utilisées par les médias pour retenir la population en otage et ainsi influencer la destinée politique du pays.

Radio Minuar, dans le cadre du mandat des Nations Unies au Rwanda, apportera un message de réconciliation nationale, et c'est dans cet esprit que nous signons cette convention aujourd'hui. Le mandat des Nations Unies au Rwanda est d'assurer la sécurité des populations, de soutenir la réconciliation nationale, d'assurer le renouveau économique du pays, de reconstruire ses infrastructures, d'établir une paix durable et d'avancer dans la voie du progrès.

Radio Minuar a pour tâche d'expliquer l'action des Nations Unies au Rwanda et d'informer le peuple rwandais, de manière objective, factuelle et a-politique des événements le concernant. A cette fin, Radio Minuar s'efforcera de diffuser ses informations dans un souci d'impartialité et de neutralité.

Pour mener à bien notre mission, nous sommes persuadés que nous pouvons compter sur votre coopération habituelle, ainsi que sur celle des Agences des Nations Unies et des Organisations Non Gouvernementales.

Le Rwanda est à un tournant de son histoire et le processus de réconciliation nationale est encore fragile. Pour surmonter les obstacles qui subsistent, il nous faut faire preuve de détermination, d'imagination et de bonne volonté.

Les Nations Unies se sont engagées à oeuvrer avec le peuple et le gouvernement Rwandais à la consolidation du processus de reconstruction et normalisation. Cela constitue un formidable défi pour nous tous, que nous serons plus à même de relever grâce à une information objective.

L'intolérance et l'injustice naissent de l'ignorance. Elles ne sauraient survivre à la lumière de la connaissance et de la compréhension. Nous voulons que Radio Minuar reflète cette lumière.

Au nom du Secrétaire-Général des Nations Unies, j'ai l'honneur de signer cette Convention d'Etablissement et d'Exploitation de Radio Minuar.

Je vous remercie.



UNAMIR - MINUAR
(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN FRENCH)

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY SHAHARYAR KHAN,
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED
NATIONS, PRESENTED AT THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT FOR
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RADIO UNAMIR

Kigali - 14 January 1995

Mister Minister, Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. I am honored to be here with you today at the signing of the Agreement for the Establishment of Radio UNAMIR.

I would like to firstly express my sincere appreciation to the government of Rwanda for extending to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda the opportunity to speak to the people of Rwanda via its own radio station.

I particularly wish to thank the Ministries of Information, Foreign Affairs and Transport and Telecommunications.

More than ever, the media play an essential role in daily lives all around the planet. As early as the Second World war, radio was already bringing people with a passion for freedom together in the fight against tyranny.

Unfortunately, the radio may also be an instrument of destruction. Thus was the case in the former Yugoslavia where propaganda spread by the media contributed to the conflict in the country. Rwanda's recent history is another tragic example. In this country, radio has always had an important influence. During the civil war, messages broadcast over the radio fanned the flames of hatred and led to the misfortune, suffering and exile of thousands of Rwandans.

Many lives might have been saved if the country had had access to a more objective radio station. The international press often made mention of the intimidation methods utilized by the media to keep the population hostage and to decide the political fate of the country.

In the framework of the United Nations mandate in Rwanda, Radio UNAMIR will bring a message of national reconciliation and it is in this spirit that we sign this agreement today. The United Nations mandate in Rwanda is to assure the populations' safety, to support national reconciliation, to assure the country's economic recovery, to rebuild infrastructures, to establish a long-lasting peace, and to move towards progress.

Radio UNAMIR will attempt to explain the activities of the United Nations in Rwanda and to inform the Rwandan people of the events that concern them in an objective, factual, and a-political manner. To this end, Radio UNAMIR will make every effort to broadcast its information with impartiality and neutrality.

We know that we can count on your usual cooperation, as well on that of the United Nations agencies and Non-governmental organizations to accomplish our mission.

Rwanda is at a turning point in its history and the process of national reconciliation is still fragile. To overcome the remaining obstacles, we will need to demonstrate our determination, imagination and goodwill.

The United Nations is committed to working with the people and the government of Rwanda toward consolidating the process of reconstruction and normalization. This constitutes a formidable challenge for us all which will be made easier with the help of objective information.

Intolerance and injustice are born from ignorance and cannot survive in the light of knowledge and understanding. We hope that Radio UNAMIR will reflect this light.

In the name of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, it is for me an honor to sign this Agreement for the Establishment of Radio UNAMIR.

Thank you very much.