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"10. Encourages the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue to coordinate the activities of the United Nations in Rwanda including those of the organizations and agencies active in the humanitarian and developmental field, and of the human rights officers;

"11. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council by 9 August 1995 and 9 October 1995 on the discharge by UNAMIR of its mandate, the humanitarian situation and progress towards repatriation of refugees;

"12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

Statements

The President of the Council, DETLEV GRAF ZU RANTZAU (Germany) informed the Council he had received a letter from the representative of Zaire requesting to participate in the discussion. There being no objection he was invited to participate in the discussion in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's rules of procedure. He was invited to take a seat at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President then read out the following oral revisions to the draft resolution:

-- All the words in subparagraph (d) of operative paragraph 3 following the words "police force" should be deleted so that subparagraph (d) would read as follows: "Assist in the training of a national police force;"

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

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

-- In operative paragraph 7, the word "or" in the penultimate line of the English version of the draft should be replaced by the word "and"; and the following words should be added at the end of the paragraph: "concluded to replace that Agreement in order to facilitate the implementation of the new mandate".

The President drew the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/411, which contained the text of a letter dated 19 May from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Council.

LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI (Zaire) said his country was pleased with the proposed extension of the mandate, which was a positive step to assist Rwanda in escaping the quagmire in which it had been caught. The change in focus in the mandate was welcome. He hoped that the efforts to achieve national reconciliation would be paramount in the carrying out of the mandate.

He also stressed the importance of the return of refugees. A specific schedule for the repatriation of refugees must be established in the near future. Zaire had borne the brunt of the support of those refugees. The authorities in Kigali must ensure that circumstances were created which encouraged the speedy return of refugees.

He emphasized that Zaire was not a seller or provider of arms. The accusation against Zaire could be refuted by an independent investigation. He called upon the Council to collect the complete information necessary on the supply of weapons, if such a movement of weapons was actually taking place. The deployment of the observers on the border of Zaire would be decided upon following future consultation.

The President put the draft resolution to the vote.

The first speaker before the vote, ISAAC E. AYEWAH (Nigeria) commended the efforts of the Government of Rwanda in restoring a climate of relative stability in the country. The commitment of the Government towards national reconciliation was demonstrated by its continued adherence to the relevant elements of the Arusha Accord. The negative developments that had stalled the process of national reconciliation were, however, a cause for concern. Those included grossly overcrowded prisons, lack of an effective judicial system, arbitrary arrests and tension over property rights. There had also been a virtual halt to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons to their home communities. The militarization of some camps outside Rwanda and the arms build up within them, coupled with the related phenomenon of cross-border armed infiltration from those camps into Rwanda, had all combined to make a tenuous security situation even more grim.

Unfortunately, he continued, there had also been increasing agitation against the international community in general and the United Nations in particular for what was

perceived by some in Rwanda as the abandonment of Rwanda in their time of greatest need during the genocide of last year and the inability subsequently, of the same international community to deliver on promises to help the Government stand on its feet. In spite of that perception there was no doubt that the presence of UNAMIR had helped to contribute to an atmosphere of security and confidence throughout the country. The efforts of the international community continued to be crucial in the process of rebuilding Rwanda. His country was concerned therefore about the reported open hostility that had been shown to UNAMIR's personnel in recent months. It is the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda to address this problem effectively.

He said the Security Council must in turn address the serious issues of the militarization of the camps, the arms build up and cross border infiltration. After the Council had received the report of the Secretary-General within the next 30 days, it might be necessary to come back to the matter of the arms build up and proffer more drastic measures for curbing the problem. It was a problem which if not seriously and promptly addressed would soon lead to an explosive situation which could engulf not only Rwanda, but some of the neighbouring countries.

In the area of reconstruction and rehabilitation, he said the lack of resources, and the absence of requisite infrastructure had hampered the efforts of the Government in the tasks of rebuilding. It was no use asking the Government to create favourable conditions for the return of refugees if it did not have the means to do so. He repeated the appeal to members of the international community to assist the Government with financial resources. It was a situation where some conditionalities might need to be waived at least temporarily to enable the Government to obtain the assistance in a timely fashion.

National reconciliation remained essential to the process of national healing in Rwanda, he stated. In that context justice was a key element, and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda needed all the support it could get from the international community to achieve its goal. The national justice system also needed to be revived urgently.

He said his country agreed with the need for an adjustment in the mandate of UNAMIR, to take cognizance of the changed circumstances on the ground. There appeared to be an agreement by all concerned that in the light of the current situation in Rwanda, the assistance of the United Nations through UNAMIR should be focused on activities aimed at building and consolidating an atmosphere of confidence and trust among the people of Rwanda. He expressed satisfaction that an understanding had been reached between the

Government and the United Nations on the appropriate force level that could carry out those tasks. The new force level responded to the legitimate concern of a sovereign State to take charge of its own destiny, while at the same time taking cognizance of the imperatives of effective implementation of an agreed mandate. His delegation would vote in favour of the resolution and support the extension of UNAMIR's mandate till 8 December 1995.

NUGROHO WISNUMURTI (Indonesia) said he was cognizant of the significant role UNAMIR had provided towards the prevailing stable condition in Rwanda which would substantially contribute to the process of national reconciliation, rehabilitation and economic reconstruction. "It is therefore imperative for the Government of Rwanda to maintain such condition in order to attain a just and durable peace", he stressed.

It was encouraging, he said that the Government of Rwanda was taking the primary responsibility in providing security to its citizens, which was a fundamental task for a sovereign State. Indonesia fully supported the request made by the Government of Rwanda to substantially reduce the military component of UNAMIR, as it symbolized the restoration of sovereignty and dignity of that Government and also reflected the reality in the field. As such, he welcomed the agreement reached by the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations to reduce the force level to 2,300 troops within three months and to 1,800 troops within four months upon the adoption of the draft resolution.

Efforts to enhance the security situation in Rwanda were indispensable for a climate of stability and trust to prevail, which would positively affect the flow of return of refugees, he said. All those undertakings should be based on genuine national reconciliation among the various elements of the Rwandan society. Those efforts would not bring about the desired results if the supply of arms and materiel to elements of the previous government continue unabated, with the ensuing consequence of cross-border militarization. Addressing that particular problem in a comprehensive manner would require the cooperation not only between the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR, but also would involve the neighbouring countries. As such, a regional approach towards resolving the matter would be most welcome.

Delay in bringing the perpetrators of genocide to justice, both through the International Tribunal as well as at the national level, was one of the underlying causes of remaining difficulties in Rwanda. That was mainly due to the acute shortage of personnel and resources. He called upon the international community to be more forthcoming in

providing the necessary assistance to Rwanda in order to restore the functions of the judicial system. He would vote in favour of the draft.

D.C.M. NKGOWE (Botswana) said he was encouraged by the determination and commitment of the Government and people of Rwanda to the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation of their country. The provision of water and electricity, the re-opening of primary and secondary schools and the resumption of economic and agricultural activities as outlined in the Secretary-General's report were testimony to the efforts to build a better future with very limited resources. However, there were still many challenges ahead and hurdles to be overcome. One of those was the almost total absence of a functioning judiciary. It was encouraging that the issue was being given urgent attention. In that regard, he commended the decision of the Government of Rwanda to submit, in accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement, a list of 12 candidates out of which the National Assembly would elect six highest-ranking judges. The speedy rebuilding of the justice system would also ensure that suspects in the over-crowded prisons, which had attracted considerable media attention in the recent past, would be tried expeditiously.

He had no reason to doubt the authority of the Government of Rwanda that it was capable of providing security and protection to its own citizens. "No one, as far as we know, has every questioned the credentials of the Government in maintaining relative peace and stability in the country following the defeat of the perpetrators of genocide." Therefore, it was appropriate that the Council should review the mandate of UNAMIR. He supported the new mandate with a reduced force level in accordance with the wishes of the Government of Rwanda.

Noting that UNAMIR had made a significant contribution to the creation of a climate of peace, stability and national reconciliation in Rwanda, he said the adjustment of the mandate was not a reflection of the Mission's failure, but rather, an admission that qualitative changes had occurred which required a quantitative reduction of UNAMIR personnel to take account of the changed circumstances on the ground.

"National reconciliation is the biggest challenge facing the Government and people of Rwanda", he said. There were 2 million Rwandan refugees in camps in Burundi, United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire. It would not be possible to create durable peace when such a large number of people remained in refugee camps outside the country. While the responsibility for the creation of a climate conducive to the voluntary return of the refugees lay with the Government of Rwanda, the international community had a moral obligation to

help materially or otherwise in that process. The resettlement and re-integration of the returnees would require substantial resources which could not be borne by the Government of Rwanda alone. Such resources would be less then what was currently being spent on people in camps who were unable to engage in any meaningful productive activity.

He expressed serious concern over the arms supplies and military training in the refugee camps and the cross-border incursions into the territory of Rwanda by elements of the former government. They were a threat to the atmosphere of relative peace and stability prevailing in the country and to efforts towards the voluntary and safe return of refugees. They poisoned the atmosphere of mutual confidence and trust, placing serious obstacles on the road to rehabilitation and reconstruction in the country. Moreover, they created tensions along the borders of Rwanda and posed a threat to regional peace and security. "It is our hope that every effort will be made to ensure that the perpetrators of genocide do not return to Rwanda through the barrel of the gun", he concluded.

JULIO RENDON BARNICA (Honduras) said the changes on the ground in Rwanda called for changes in UNAMIR. The war and genocide had come to an end, but the situation remained complex. Problems persisted, which must be solved in the short term, to facilitate the repatriation of refugees and the promotion of national reconciliation.

He said that unless the judicial structure of Rwanda were quickly rebuilt, the alleged perpetrators of genocide would go untried and unpunished, and many persons would remain in prison under difficult conditions. Most of the cases would have to be tried by Rwandan courts. He reminded neighbouring countries of their responsibility to bring the perpetrators of acts of genocide to justice.

He also expressed concern over the continuing supply of arms along the border of Rwanda. The slow provision of economic assistance to Rwanda was a serious problem. Much of the basic infrastructure in that country had been destroyed. Rwanda needed sustained support from the international community not a "trickle" of aid. The presence of UNAMIR continued to contribute to the establishment of an atmosphere of confidence in Rwanda. A change in the mandate was now necessary. The Government must actively cooperate with UNAMIR. He noted that the return of refugees also depended on the cooperation of the countries of the Great Lake Region.

QIN HUASUN (China) said the practice of United Nations peace-keeping operations over the years had shown that they could succeed only when they strictly followed the

purposes and principles of the Charter as well as the principles proved to be effective by history. Those principles mainly included respect for the sovereignty of the countries concerned, non-interference in their internal affairs, non-use of force except in self-defence, strict neutrality without getting involved in their internal disputes and conflicts, and obtaining their consent and cooperation. Moreover, United Nations peace-keeping operations should be carried out based on the actual conditions and capabilities of the United Nations. At present, United Nations peace-keeping operations were in a critical period of reflection and transition.

He went on to say that UNAMIR had made some contributions to the stability of Rwanda and the delivery of humanitarian assistance since its establishment. The situation in Rwanda was now moving to normalcy, in part from the positive efforts of the Government of Rwanda in promoting national reconciliation and healing the wounds of war. Schools had been reopened. Water and power supply had partly been restored. Rwanda had already embarked on the road of rebuilding and reconstruction.

However, he said, Rwanda was still faced with difficulties. The security problem remained grim. The repatriation of refugees and displaced persons had again come to a halt. The flow of weapons into Rwanda had yet to be controlled. The Rwandan Government and people must mainly rely on their own efforts to facilitate smooth repatriation through national reconciliation. The actions of the international community, including those of the Security Council, should first of all meet the needs of the Rwandan people so that they can be of a genuine help to the Rwandan Government and people in achieving political and social stability. In that connection, the will of the Rwandan Government and people must be respected.

The Security Council had decided, he stated, in the light of the changed situation in Rwanda, to modify the mandate and reduce the scope of UNAMIR, which would mainly play a role of good offices in the future and assist in achieving national reconciliation within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. That modification was in the interests of the Rwandan people. The draft resolution basically reflected that spirit. The Chinese delegation would vote in favour of it based on its consistent support for the Rwandan peace process.

The draft resolution, as orally revised, was adopted unanimously as resolution 997 (1995).

Speaking after that action, STEPHEN GOMERSALL (United Kingdom) welcomed the adoption of the resolution extending the peace-keeping work of UNAMIR for a further six

months and redefining its mandate to reflect the change needs of the people of Rwanda. The overriding requirement was now for the development of a climate of stability and confidence which would allow all sides to work towards national reconciliation. His Government was satisfied that UNAMIR now had the mandate to offer effective assistance with that process.

He also welcomed the outcome of discussions between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations which would ensure that UNAMIR would have at its disposal the military assets the Force Commander believed were necessary to carry out the mandate. The Government of Rwanda should continue to work with UNAMIR to ensure the safety of all international agencies and non-governmental organizations and to maintain full cooperation to enable them to carry out their essential humanitarian tasks.

The Government of Rwanda, he continued, should draw confidence from the restatement of the arms embargo to make clear its applicability to neighbouring countries if the arms were to be used in Rwanda. He welcomed the readiness already shown by the Government of Zaire to cooperate in that area. All countries in the region must continue their efforts to ensure that the embargo was enforced effectively within their jurisdiction, and to prevent activities aimed at the destabilization of Rwanda from taking place within their borders.

The UNAMIR provided an essential element of the framework within which progress could be made, he said. Much more needed to be done in cooperation between the Government of Rwanda and the international community to develop a climate in which refugees and internally displaced people could return home in safety. It was essential that the international community should increase its effort at rehabilitation and reunification inside Rwanda, particularly through the rapid delivery of the substantial commitment of aid already entered into by the international community.

FRANCESCO PAOLO FULCI (Italy) welcoming the adoption of the resolution, said that it marked the beginning of a new phase of cooperation between the United Nations and Rwanda, which would be characterized by unity of intent and of objectives.

He expressed satisfaction for the spirit of compromise and flexibility that had prevailed during the course of consultations held over the last few days. That had allowed the launching of a new operation in Rwanda in which the focus on peace-keeping would shift to a focus on confidence-building. All the conditions were set for the operation to become

another "success story" of the United Nations, such as in Mozambique, Cambodia, El Salvador and Haiti.

The resolution realistically adjusted the mandate of UNAMIR to the prevailing conditions in Rwanda, which was characterized by a renewed stability, he said. There were numerous signs that testified to the gradual return to normality in that country. To complete that positive picture, it would now be necessary for the national judicial system to be reactivated and for the International Tribunal to begin operating without delay. That would help reinforce the climate of confidence towards the definitive solution to the refugee problem, which he hoped would come soon.

It was significant that the issue of re-arming of militias and the supply of arms at refugee camps were also dealt with in the resolution. Together with the clarification of certain aspects of the arms embargo, in order to give the international community more effective means against those who acted to destabilize Rwanda. "We support, without reservation, the measures adopted today in this regard", he said.

He stressed the resolution's call for the convening of a regional conference for security and stability in the Great Lakes Region. Recent developments in the region should now lead to the adoption of broader confidence-building measures. That would help in restoring stability to the entire region and setting in motion the necessary work for rehabilitation and reconstruction.

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

The international community's joint effort to achieve those goals remained a work in progress -- one that could only be accomplished through unique cooperation between the international community and the Government of Rwanda, she said. The UNAMIR continued to have a critical role to play in that effort. One of its main functions would be to assist the Rwandan Government in its daunting task of readying the country for the voluntary and safe repatriation of refugees. The tens of thousands of refugees and displaced persons represented

not only a human tragedy for those in the camps, but also contributed to the tensions in the region.

"We are all aware of reports that bases and camps, separate from those under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), are being used for military training, recruitment and incursions into Rwanda", she said. That was a danger that must be addressed. That was why the resolution also asked the Secretary-General to work with the Government of Rwanda and other governments in the region to investigate and curb the flow of arms to those who sought to destabilize Rwanda.

She expressed satisfaction that under the new mandate UNAMIR would contribute to the security of the personnel of the International Tribunal. The Tribunal's success was crucial for the future of Rwanda. "Those who planned and led the genocide in 1994 must be brought to justice. Justice is an essential element of reconciliation. We are in full agreement with the Rwandan Government in this regard." To carry out their duties, the investigators, prosecutors, and judges of the International Tribunal would require impartial international military protection.

The UNAMIR could address only part of the challenge that faced Rwanda, she said, adding that development assistance was required to achieve stability. As a member of the Council, Rwanda had an important responsibility to promote the sanctity of international law around the world. She welcomed the Government's cooperation and expected it to meet its obligations under the new mandate "as we work together towards building peace and stability for all people of the region", she concluded.

MOHAMMED ABDULLAH SALIM AL-SAMEEN (Oman) expressed pleasure at the return of peace and relative security in Rwanda. The return to normalcy was reflected by the fact the farming activities were being resumed, school re-opening and reconstruction beginning.

However, major problems remained. Military elements from the previous regime remained a threat. The international community must assist the Government of Rwanda in addressing that problem. The UNAMIR had assumed an important role in the restoration of confidence in Rwanda. Its presence fostered propitious conditions for the return of refugees and for reconstruction and reconciliation efforts.

He said the revision in the mandate now reflected the situation on the ground in Rwanda. The Government had expressed willingness to continue to cooperate with UNAMIR. The resolution should facilitate the restoration of peace and stability in that country.

SERGEY LAVROV (Russian Federation) expressed satisfaction over the gradual stabilization of the situation in Rwanda and expressed the hope that such stabilization would continue, particularly regarding the situation of the refugees. The new mandate of UNAMIR took into account the concerns of the new leadership in that country. He expressed the hope that the cooperation between the Rwandan Government and the United Nations would continue.

The Arusha Agreement continue to be the basis for a peaceful settlement in the country, he said. He expressed concern over the militarization in the refugee camps and called on the neighbouring countries to take all necessary measures to prevent delivery of weapons to those camps.

JEAN-BERNARD MERIMEE (France) said the situation in Rwanda had changed considerably. As a result the Government had requested a new mandate for UNAMIR. The Security Council had responded with an altered mandate and had agreed to a reduction of forces. The Government must in turn continue to cooperate with UNAMIR in the process of confidence-building and national reconciliation.

The Government must continue to create conditions which fully encouraged the return of refugees, he continued. France supported the convening of a conference on security, stability and development in the Great Lakes Region. A regional solution was necessary to address the various long-term problems confronting the countries concerned.

Strict compliance with the arms embargo was also necessary before full national reconciliation and the repatriation of refugees could take place successfully, he added.

MARIA FERNANDA CANAS (Argentina) expressed satisfaction over the efforts of the Rwandan Government to stabilize life in that country. It was important to guarantee a safe return for the refugees, she said, servicing some of the aspects included in the provisions of the resolution. Concerns of the Government were met by the text's provisions. The military incursions from members of the previous Government were a cause for concern.

She noted that provisions of a previous resolution concerning sale and supply of weapons were still in force. States and donor governments should do their part in facilitating the operations of the International Tribunal. She supported the convening of a conference on the security, stability and development of the States of Great Lakes Region.

DUSAN ROVENSY (Czech Republic) said it was clear from the report of the Secretary-General that UNAMIR had so far been a success. Over the past year UNAMIR had assisted the Rwandan people in achieving and maintaining peace and it had also made significant contribution to the normalization process in Rwanda. The continuing presence of UNAMIR was essential if the process of stabilization and confidence-building in that country was to continue. On the basis of its adjusted mandate, UNAMIR would concentrate on a confidence-building role rather than on peace-keeping. It would assist the Rwandan Government with the confidence-building process, with the reintegration of the returning refugees in their home communities and with the distribution of humanitarian aid. Another important task was assistance in the training of a Rwandan police force.

The improvement in the overall situation in Rwanda was the result of great efforts exerted by the Government of Rwanda, with the assistance of OAU member States and the international community in general, he stated. Despite all the positive achievements, a lot still needed to be done before Rwanda returned to normal and before there was true national reconciliation. There could be no genuine reconciliation unless a climate of stability, tolerance and trust was created, which would encourage the 2 million refugees and displaced persons to return home. To create the climate conducive to the return of the refugees was the primary responsibility of the Government of Rwanda. It had to do its upmost to prevent cases of abuse of the returning refugees and if such cases did take place it must punish those responsible according to the law.

It was clear that the success of national reconciliation was directly linked to the process of bringing to justice the people responsible for the genocide and other criminal acts which took place during last year's civil war, he continued. It was imperative to set up as soon as possible with international assistance an effective national judicial system and to get the International Tribunal on Rwanda operational.

He said Rwanda's economy and infrastructure had been devastated by the civil war. Rwanda could not by itself cope with that huge problem which complicated further the return and reintegration of refugees. Not enough was being done by the international community so far to improve the situation. It was therefore imperative to accelerate the disbursement of

international economic assistance pledged to Rwanda, which would help it in its short-term economic recovery. Long-term solution of the various problems facing Rwanda required a subregional approach. He welcomed the intention of the Secretary-General to explore the possibilities of convening a regional conference on security, stability and development in the Great Lakes Region.

He said there were persistent reports of the rearming of elements of the former Rwandan regime and of an increase in cross-border armed incursions by those elements into Rwanda. Hence, his Government welcomed the adoption of the resolution which called on States neighbouring Rwanda to ensure that arms and other military materiel which might be used in Rwanda did not fall into the wrong hands. He also welcomed the proposal to station United Nations military observers in the countries neighbouring Rwanda and strongly urged their respective governments to cooperate fully with the United Nations in this matter.

MANZI BAKURAMUTSA (Rwanda) said UNAMIR had completed its original mandate. One year ago, Rwanda was a devastated country with one-eighth of its population destroyed. The situation had now changed and thus the mandate needed to be changed as well. The Government wanted to establish its own sovereignty and create a secure climate of confidence-building and national reconciliation without the presence of an intermediary. That effort would not be entirely successful as long as the intermediary remained in place.

The Secretary-General must report on the situation in the refugee camps, he said, so that appropriate action could be taken. An international commission should study the question. In addition, the arms embargo victimized the present legitimate Government of Rwanda. It was difficult to apply it to the refugee camps. Resolution 918 (1994) was no longer applicable. It had been aimed at the previous regime. It now penalized the Government and benefitted the criminals of the former regime. The arms embargo against the Government should be removed.

Speaking in his capacity as Germany's Representative, DETLEV GRAFZU RANTZAU expressed satisfaction over the adoption of the resolution extending the mandate of UNAMIR and thus allowing it to continue to play its crucial role in Rwanda's reconciliation and rehabilitation process. He noted that due to the changed circumstances in Rwanda the Council had decided to adjust both the mandate of UNAMIR and its size, adding that UNAMIR needed a solid basis for its work. That basis would be provided by the mandate and force level agreed upon. The UNAMIR would conduct its work in close

cooperation with the Government of Rwanda. "Likewise, we expect the Rwandan authorities to give their full support to UNAMIR", he said.

Stability genuine national reconciliation and reconstruction remained the ultimate goals for Rwanda, he said. The UNAMIR would help achieve national reconciliation between all Rwandans by continuing to exercise its good offices. However, without the return of the refugees, there would be no lasting stability in that country. In that context, UNAMIR would assist the Government of Rwanda in facilitating the voluntary and safe return of refugees to their home communities. Another precondition for genuine national reconciliation was the attainment of justice. "Those who are guilty of genocide have to be brought to trial." Therefore, he added, Germany strongly supported the emphasis that the resolution placed on supporting an early and effective functioning of the International Tribunal and on rehabilitating the Rwandan judicial system. Rwanda still needs urgent and substantial assistance for its rehabilitation efforts in that area, he added.

He noted that the Secretary-General had called for action to prevent military activities by Rwandan nationals in neighbouring countries aimed at destabilizing Rwanda. The Security Council had now requested the Secretary-General to consult neighbouring countries on the possible deployment of United Nations military observers in order to monitor the arms embargo being violated and "we look forward to his report". His Government would do its part and further support the rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts of Rwanda.

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Secretary-General's Report on UNAMIR

The Security Council meets this morning to consider the situation in Rwanda. It has before it a 4 June report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) (S/1995/457), in which he recommends that the Council renew the mandate of the Mission until 9 December 1995, reduce its size and shift its focus from peace-keeping to confidence-building.

Specifically, the Secretary-General recommends that UNAMIR should undertake tasks needed to sustain a peace-keeping presence in the country, mainly in Kigali. Those would include protecting United Nations premises, as well as personnel of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including a ready reserve and the necessary command, control and support elements.

In addition, the Mission would assist the Government's efforts at confidence-building and in promoting a climate conducive to stability and the return of refugees and displaced persons. Those tasks would include complementing human rights monitors with military/police observers; helping distribute humanitarian assistance; facilitating the return and reintegration of refugees; assisting in engineering, logistics, medical care and demining; and stationing a limited reserve of troops in certain provinces to assist in those tasks, as required.

To carry out those functions, the report continues, UNAMIR would require some 2,330 formed troops, 320 military observers and 65 civilian police -- a substantial reduction from the present authorized strength of 5,500 troops, 320 military observers and 120 civilian police. The reduction would begin as soon as possible and be implemented gradually over the next two to three months. However, the Government has proposed that UNAMIR be reduced to a maximum of 1,800 formed troops -- less than what the Secretary-General deems necessary to carry out the tasks he proposes.

It is the Secretary-General's conviction that UNAMIR remains an essential component of the international community's efforts to assist Rwanda and it must have the capability to discharge its functions effectively. However, the Government has proposed a different and more limited role for the Mission, by which the reduced force would be deployed in Kigali

and in the provinces. The mandate would be extended for six months, on the understanding that there would be no further extensions and that steps to reduce troop levels outside Kigali would begin immediately.

Since UNAMIR is a peace-keeping operation established under Chapter VI of the Charter, its continued presence in Rwanda depends on the consent and active cooperation of the Government, the Secretary-General states.

Should the Council and Government approve the Secretary-General's recommendations, his Special Representative would continue exercising his good offices to facilitate the process of national reconciliation, the report states. The Mission would also assist in implementing a plan of action for rehabilitation, resettlement, repair of infrastructure and the revival of justice.

The report notes that a major effort is needed to persuade the 2 million Rwandan refugees to return to their homes in safety and dignity. The international community should take immediate steps for the earliest activation of the International Tribunal and the rehabilitation of the Rwandan national system of justice. Effective measures should be taken to ensure that Rwandan national currently in neighbouring countries are not allowed to receive arms supplies to undertake military activities aimed at destabilizing the country.

International assistance to Rwanda must be accelerated if the country's vital institutions are to have any chance of recovering, the Secretary-General states. He also expresses the intention to appoint a special envoy to consult with the concerned countries, as well as with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), on the convening of the Regional Conference on Security, Stability and Development at the earliest possible time.

Since his progress report of 9 April, a climate of relative stability has prevailed in Rwanda and "the long and arduous process of recovery has begun", the Secretary-General states. Nevertheless, the situation remains tense, with no significant advances in national reconciliation, grossly overcrowded prisons, arbitrary arrests, tension over property rights and the lack of an effective judicial system. The report cites such causes as military activities and reports of arms deliveries to former government forces in neighbouring countries; the delay in bringing those responsible for the genocide to justice; and the slow delivery of promised economic assistance.

(more)

Specifically, although $624 million was pledged in January for economic assistance at a United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) round table, only $69 million had been disbursed, of which $26 million had been used for debt repayment, the report states.

Addressing the security situation, the report states that the Government has continued to report military preparations and incursions by elements of the former regime. Acrimonious criticism of the international community and of UNAMIR in particular has continued unabated, encouraging non-cooperation and even hostility at middle and lower levels of Government.

The report reviews problems originating from actions taken by the Government on 18 April to cordon off and close the eight remaining camps for internally displaced persons in the Gikongoro region. It cites, in particular, the Kibeho tragedy, in which some 80,000 internally displaced persons attempted to break out on 22 April, after spending five days on a single hill without adequate space, shelter, food or sanitation. A large number of deaths occurred from firing by government forces, trampling and crushing during the stampede and machete attacks by hard-liners in the camp, who assaulted and intimated those who attempted to leave.

As of 31 May, UNAMIR's force strength was 5,586 troops and 317 military observers. Despite diverting resources to cope with the internally displaced persons emergency, the military component continued to provide security to human rights monitors, staff of the International Tribunal, United Nations agency personnel and NGOs. It continued escorting humanitarian relief convoys and providing emergency medical assistance to Rwandan citizens. The Mission continued making logistical resources available throughout the country, and its engineers assisted in restoring essential services and facilities, including reconstructing bridges, roads and water supply. Support was also provided to help alleviate the "terrible conditions" in the prisons.

A major activity of UNAMIR's civilian police component continued to be the training of a new integrated national police force, the report states. The UNAMIR civilian police observers also continued to carry out monitoring and investigative activities. However, the Rwandan Government has taken the position that the activities of the civilian police component should be terminated.

The report states that the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda has continued its activities in investigating the genocide and serious human rights violations; monitoring the

human rights situation and promoting confidence, especially regarding the return of internally displaced persons; and technical cooperation and human rights education. It also indicates that, with the appointment of the Deputy Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for Rwanda, the process of investigating acts of genocide and other serious humanitarian violations has begun.

The report also reviews humanitarian aspects of the situation. Among its observations, it notes that the closure of the camps for internally displaced persons has increased the number of unaccompanied minors. "UNICEF reports that there are nearly 2,000 unaccompanied minors, of whom approximately 70 per cent are under the age of 5. Most are severely traumatized by their experiences and the UNICEF Trauma Unit is helping them."

Substantial funding continues to be required to carry out projects to enable the people to have adequate access to health care, potable water, sanitation and education, as well as the means to resume agricultural activities, the report states. However, as of 15 May, only $80 million had been pledged against a total requirement of $219 million for Rwanda. For the subregion, pledges amounted to $34 million against a total requirement of $587 million. Total contributions actually received so far from government and private sources amount to $6.3 million only -- of which the Netherlands had contributed more than $5.4 million.

The Secretary-General supports the Council's invitation to States to deliver on their financial commitments and to increase their humanitarian assistance for Rwanda. He also supports its call on governments in the region to maintain open borders for that purpose. He notes that the General Assembly has authorized him to enter into commitments of up to $19,342,000 gross ($18,989,000 net) for the period from 10 June to 9 July 1995, subject to extension of UNAMIR's mandate beyond 9 June. Should the Council decide to extend the Mission, he will request adequate financial provision from the Assembly.

Text of Resolution

The Council also has before it a draft resolution (S/1995/465), the text of which reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

UNAMIR KIGALI●RWANDA 95 6 9 21:1 2123632591 COMMCEN

To: Ismael Diallo Room 4028

95 JUN -9 23:25

UNITED NATIONS

# Press Release Security Council

Department of Public Information • News Coverage Service • New York

Security Council
3542nd Meeting (AM)

From Joelyne

SC/6050
9 June 1995

## SECURITY COUNCIL EXTENDS AND ADJUSTS MANDATE OF UNAMIR UNTIL 8 DECEMBER

### Resolution 997 (1995) Adopted Unanimously

The Security Council this morning extended the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) until 8 December 1995 and authorized a force reduction to 2,330 troops by 9 September and to 1,800 troops by 9 October. The current level of military observers and civilian police personnel would be maintained.

By its unanimous adoption of resolution 997 (1995), the Council also adjusted the mandate of UNAMIR so that it would:

-- Exercise its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation within the frame of reference of the 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement;

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

-- Support the provision of humanitarian aid, and of assistance and expertise in engineering, logistics, medical care and demining;

-- Assist in the training of a national police force; and

-- Contribute to the security in Rwanda of personnel and premises of United Nations agencies, of the International Tribunal for Rwanda, including full-time protection for the Prosecutor's Office, as well as those of human rights officers, and to contribute also to the security of humanitarian agencies in case of need.

(page 1a follows)

For information media—not an official record

The UNAMIR had originally been established by resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993. Resolution 918 (1994) had expanded the mandate of the Mission to include responsibility for the security of civilians and of humanitarian operation, had increased its strength to up to 5,500 troops and imposed an arms embargo on Rwanda.

By its action today, the Council affirmed that the Chapter VII restrictions imposed by resolution 918 (1994) apply to the sale or supply of arms and matériel to persons in the States neighbouring Rwanda, if such arms or matériel are for use within Rwanda. It called upon the States neighbouring Rwanda to take steps to ensure that such arms and matériel are not transferred to Rwandan camps within their territories;

Underlining the need for effective measures to ensure that Rwandan nationals currently in neighboring countries do not undertake military activities aimed at destabilizing Rwanda or receive arms supply, the Council requested the Secretary-General to consult the Governments of neighbouring countries on the possibility of the deployment of United Nations military observers. It also requested the Secretary-General to consult, as a matter of priority, the Government of Zaire on the deployment of observers including in the airfields located in Eastern Zaire, in order to monitor the sale or supply of arms and matériel. It further requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the matter by 9 July.

In a preambular paragraph of the resolution, addition the Council reaffirmed the need for a long-term solution to the refugee and related problems of the Great Lakes States, and welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to appoint a special envoy to carry out consultations on the preparation and convening, at the earliest possible time, of the regional conference on security, stability and development.

While urging the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR to continue to implement their agreements, the Council requested the Secretary-General to report by 9 August and 9 October on the discharge by UNAMIR of its mandate, the humanitarian situation and progress towards repatriation of refugees.

By the text, it also called upon States and donor agencies to fulfil their earlier commitments to give assistance for Rwanda's rehabilitation efforts, to increase such assistance, and in particular to support the early and effective functioning of the International Tribunal and the rehabilitation of the Rwandan judicial system.

In a statement to the Council, the representative of Zaire called for an independent investigation to refute the claims that his country had been involved with the sale or supply of arms for use in Rwanda. He said it was up to the Government in Rwanda to create a favourable climate for the return of the refugees.

(page 1b follows)

The representative of Rwanda, speaking after the vote, called for an end to the arms embargo against his Government and for an international commission to study the problem of the refugee camps. He added that the change in the UNAMIR mandate reflected the changed situation in his country.

Other statements were made by the representatives of Nigeria, Indonesia, Botswana, Honduras, China, United Kingdom, Italy, United States, Oman, Russian Federation, France, Argentina, Czech Republic and Germany.

The meeting, which began at 11:45 a.m., was adjourned at 1:26 p.m.

(page 2 follows)

# United Nations

## Press Release

Information Service — United Nations Office at Geneva

Biographical Note

BIO/95/3/Rev.3*
8 June 1995

BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL

Boutros Boutros-Ghali became the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations on 1 January 1992, when he began a five-year term. At the time of his appointment by the General Assembly on 3 December 1991, Mr. Boutros-Ghali had been Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt since May 1991 and had served as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from October 1977 until 1991.

The Secretary-General's priority has been to strengthen the United Nations Organization, to enable it to seize the opportunities offered by the post-cold-war era, and to realize the goals of the Charter and the objectives of peace, development and democracy.

On 31 January 1992, the Secretary-General, at the first Security Council meeting ever held at the level of heads of State and government, was invited to prepare an analysis and recommendations on ways to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. The Secretary-General added to these dimensions of peace a further concept, that of post-conflict peace-building. His report, entitled An Agenda for Peace, was published on 17 June 1992.

An Agenda for Peace defines the role and functions of the United Nations in a new era which has seen the establishment of numerous peace-keeping operations and observer missions under the authority of the Security Council and the command of the Secretary-General. The report, which has been translated into at least 29 languages, has been the focus of wide-ranging discussions.

On 3 January 1995, the Secretary-General issued a supplement to An Agenda for Peace as a position paper. This paper highlights certain areas where unforeseen difficulties have arisen with regard to United Nations peace-keeping operations. The supplement reviews the lessons learned and offers guidelines for improving future operations.

Since the cold war ended, the United Nations has mounted more peace-keeping operations than in its previous 40 years, involving the deployment of some 70,000 troops, military observers and civilian police, in addition to civilian personnel. These operations include notably the United

(more)

* This press release supersedes Press Release BIO/95/3/Rev.2* of 11 April 1995.

For use of information media; not an official record

Nations Angola Verification Mission III, the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador, the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, the United Nations Operation in Somalia, the United Nations Protection Force in the republics of the former Yugoslavia, and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia.

The Secretary-General has also appointed a number of Special Envoys and Representatives to advise him on the creation of conditions for ending hostilities, defusing tensions or consolidating peace in various areas of the world. Peace-building activities, to provide the foundations for lasting peace, include measures to enhance confidence, to reform and strengthen democratic institutions, to integrate former combatants into civilian society, and to restore the fabric of war-torn societies so as to prevent a recurrence of conflict.

Since his first year in office, the Secretary-General has worked towards a reinvigorated and expanded vision of development. A series of landmark conferences has been held, including the Summit on the Economic Advancement of Rural Women, held at Geneva in February 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and the World Conference on Human Rights, held at Vienna in 1993. In May 1994, the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction was held in Yokohama. In September 1994, the International Conference on Population and Development was held in Cairo, and the World Summit for Social Development was held in Copenhagen in March 1995. In September 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women will be held in Beijing. The Second Conference on Human Settlements, "The City Summit", will take place in Istanbul in 1996. The Secretary-General sees this series of conferences as a continuum, offering unique opportunities to raise levels of awareness and to set norms and standards. In these conferences and summits, Member States and non-governmental organizations, as well as concerned individuals, work together to create a global commitment to all aspects of development. In this year, as the United Nations celebrates its fiftieth anniversary, global awareness of the crucial importance of development is an important aspect of the work of the Organization.

The Secretary-General's own vision of development was set out in May 1994 in a report to the General Assembly entitled An Agenda for Development. In his report, the Secretary-General addressed peace, the economy, the environment, society and democracy as the five foundations of development. The Secretary-General also examined the multiplicity of actors engaged in development work and outlined his vision of the role of the United Nations in development in an increasingly complex world. Universal respect for and protection of human rights is an integral part of development, he declared. Human rights, including group rights such as those of indigenous peoples, women, children and the disabled, are a focus of the Secretary-General's attention. In November 1994, in response to the request of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General issued his recommendations for the implementation of An Agenda for Development.

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The two agendas, peace and development, are inextricably linked. In February 1995, the Secretary-General published in companion volumes, as parallel texts, the revised An Agenda for Peace and An Agenda for Development.

The Secretary-General has advocated a strong supporting role for the United Nations in the democratic transformation which has characterized the post-cold-war period. The United Nations has responded to the calls of some 40 nations for assistance in the organization and supervision of democratic elections. The presence of more than 2,100 observers in the South African elections in April 1994 made it the largest United Nations electoral assistance operation ever mounted. Recognizing that democracy is far more than the holding of free and fair elections, the United Nations has also developed various programmes to cooperate in the development of democratic institutions, rule of law and popular participation. In addition, the best support for democracy must lie in the democratization of international life, which the Secretary-General has pursued throughout his term.

The financial crisis, suffered by the Organization because assessed contributions for the regular budget and for peace-keeping are not paid on time and in full, threatens the effective operations of the Organization. The Secretary-General has commissioned a number of studies aimed at ensuring that the United Nations is an organization capable of meeting the challenges of the next 50 years.

The Secretary-General has undertaken a programme of restructuring and reform designed to reduce the number of high-level posts in the Secretariat, to decentralize decision-making and to reduce costs and managerial inefficiencies. However, the capacity of the United Nations to deal with vastly expanded operations has been a particular source of concern to the Secretary-General.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali has travelled to more than 50 countries to represent the United Nations and to offer his good offices to further the cause of peace. In December 1993, he was the first non-Korean to cross the DMZ from Seoul to Pyongyang.

Honorary Degrees, Awards, Memberships

The Secretary-General's role in advancing the goals of peace, development and democracy has been recognized by many awards and honorary degrees.

He was awarded a doctorate of law honoris causa from the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow (September 1992); a doctorate honoris causa from l'Institut d'Etudes politiques de Paris (January 1993); the Christian A. Herter Memorial Award from the World Affairs Council, Boston (March 1993); a doctorate honoris causa from The Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium (April 1993); the "Man of Peace" award, sponsored by the Italian-based Together for Peace Foundation (July 1993); an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Laval, Quebec (August 1993); and the Arthur A. Houghton Jr. Star Crystal Award for Excellence from the African-American Institute, New York (November 1993).

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In addition, he was given an honorary membership of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Moscow (April 1994); an honorary foreign membership of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow (April 1994); an honorary foreign membership of the Academy of Sciences of Belarus, Minsk, (April 1994); an honorary doctorate from the University Carlos III of Madrid (April 1994); an honorary degree from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. (May 1994); a doctorate in international law honoris causa from the University of Moncton, New Brunswick, Canada (August 1994); and honorary doctorates from the University of Bucharest (October 1994), University of Baku (October 1994), University of Yerevan (November 1994), University of Haifa (February 1995), University of Vienna (February 1995), and University of Melbourne (April 1995). He was made a Fellow of Berkeley College, Yale University (March 1995.)

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His Early Career

Mr. Boutros-Ghali has had a long association with international affairs as a diplomat, jurist, scholar and widely published author.

He became a member of the Egyptian Parliament in 1987 and was part of the secretariat of the National Democratic Party from 1980. Until assuming the office of Secretary-General of the United Nations, he was also Vice-President of the Socialist International.

He was a member of the International Law Commission from 1979 until 1991, and is a former member of the International Commission of Jurists. He has many professional and academic associations related to his background in law, international affairs and political science, among them, his membership in the Institute of International Law, the International Institute of Human Rights, the African Society of Political Studies and the Academie des Sciences morales et politique (Academie Francaise, Paris).

Over four decades, Mr. Boutros-Ghali participated in numerous meetings dealing with international law, human rights, economic and social development, decolonization, the Middle East question, international humanitarian law, the rights of ethnic and other minorities, non-alignment, development in the Mediterranean region and Afro-Arab cooperation.

In September 1978, Mr. Boutros-Ghali attended the Camp David Summit Conference and had a role in negotiating the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel, which were signed in 1979. He led many delegations of his country to meetings of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as to the Summit Conference of the French and African Heads of State. He also headed Egypt's delegation to the General Assembly sessions in 1979, 1982 and 1990.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali received a Ph.D. in international law from Paris University in 1949. His thesis was on the study of regional organizations. Mr. Boutros-Ghali also holds a Bachelor of Laws degree, received from Cairo University in 1946, as well as separate diplomas in political science, economics and public law from Paris University.

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Between 1949 and 1977, Mr. Boutros-Ghali was Professor of International Law and International Relations at Cairo University. From 1974 to 1977, he was a member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the Arab Socialist Union.

Among his other professional and academic activities, Mr. Boutros-Ghali was a Fulbright Research Scholar at Columbia University (1954-1955); Director of the Centre of Research of The Hague Academy of International Law (1963-1964); and Visiting Professor at the Faculty of Law, Paris University (1967-1968). He has lectured on international law and international relations at universities in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and North America.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali was President of the Egyptian Society of International Law from 1965; President of the Centre of Political and Strategic Studies (Al-Ahram) from 1975; member of the Curatorium Administrative Council of The Hague Academy of International Law from 1978; member of the Scientific Committee of the Academie Mondiale pour la Paix (Menton, France) from 1978; and associate member of the Institute Affari Internazionali (Rome) from 1979. He served as a member of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation from 1971 until 1979. Mr. Boutros-Ghali also founded the publication Alahram Iqtisadi, which he edited from 1960 to 1975, and the quarterly Al-Seyassa Al-Dawlia, which he edited until December 1991.

The more than 100 publications and numerous articles that Mr. Boutros-Ghali has written deal with regional and international affairs, law and diplomacy, and political science.

During the course of his career, Mr. Boutros-Ghali has received awards and honours from 24 countries, which, besides Egypt, include Belgium, Italy, Colombia, Guatemala, France, Ecuador, Argentina, Nepal, Luxembourg, Portugal, Niger, Mali, Mexico, Greece, Chile, Brunei Darussalam, Germany, Peru, Cote d'Ivoire, Denmark, Central African Republic, Sweden and the Republic of Korea. He has also been decorated with the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali was born in Cairo on 14 November 1922. He is married to Leia Maria Boutros-Ghali.

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# Nations Unies

## Communiqué de presse

**Service de l'information** **Office des Nations Unies à Genèv**

Notice biographique

BIO/95/3/Rev.3*
8 juin 1995

**M. BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL**

**DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES**

Le 1er janvier 1992, M. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, devenu le sixième Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, a entamé un mandat de cinq ans. De mai 1991 à sa nomination par l'Assemblée générale, le 3 décembre de la même année, M. Boutros-Ghali avait été Vice-Premier Ministre égyptien chargé des affaires étrangères, après avoir exercé, à partir d'octobre 1977, les fonctions de Ministre d'État aux affaires étrangères.

Le Secrétaire général a pour priorité de renforcer l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de lui permettre de saisir les occasions qui s'offrent à elle depuis la fin de la guerre froide, de concrétiser les buts de la Charte et de réaliser les objectifs de paix, de développement et de démocratie.

Le 31 janvier 1992, lors de la première réunion du Conseil de sécurité tenue au niveau des chefs d'État ou de gouvernement, le Secrétaire général a été prié d'effectuer une étude et de formuler des recommandations sur le moyen de renforcer la capacité de l'Organisation dans les domaines de la diplomatie préventive, du maintien et du rétablissement de la paix. Dans son rapport intitulé Agenda pour la paix, publié le 17 juin 1992, il a enrichi l'action menée en faveur de la paix d'un nouvel élément, celui de la consolidation de la paix après les conflits.

L'Agenda pour la paix définit le rôle et les fonctions de l'ONU dans une ère nouvelle, au cours de laquelle de nombreuses opérations de maintien de la paix et missions d'observation ont été menées sous l'autorité du Conseil de sécurité et le commandement du Secrétaire général. Ce rapport, traduit en une trentaine de langues, a fait l'objet de multiples débats.

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* Ce communiqué de presse remplace et annule le communiqué BIO/95/3/Rev.2* du 11 avril 1995.

(à suivre)

Le 3 janvier 1995, le Secrétaire général a publié, comme supplément à l'Agenda pour la paix, un rapport de situation décrivant certains domaines dans lesquels des difficultés imprévues se sont présentées dans le cadre d'opérations de maintien de la paix des Nations Unies. Ce supplément dresse le bilan de l'expérience acquise et présente des principes directeurs pour l'amélioration des opérations futures.

Depuis la fin de la guerre froide, l'Organisation a lancé plus d'opérations de maintien de la paix que pendant ses 40 premières années d'existence. Outre le personnel civil, quelque 70 000 soldats, observateurs militaires et policiers ont été déployés dans le cadre d'opérations telles que l'Autorité provisoire des Nations Unies au Cambodge, la Force de protection des Nations Unies dans les républiques de l'ex-Yougoslavie, la Mission d'observation des Nations Unies en El Salvador, la Mission de vérification des Nations Unies en Angola III, l'Opération des Nations Unies au Mozambique et l'Opération des Nations Unies en Somalie.

Le Secrétaire général a également nommé un certain nombre d'envoyés et de représentants spéciaux chargés de le conseiller sur les dispositions à prendre afin de créer des conditions propices à la cessation des hostilités, à l'apaisement des tensions ou au raffermissement de la paix dans différentes régions du monde. Les activités de consolidation de la paix, qui visent à jeter les bases d'une paix durable, comportent des mesures propres à accroître la confiance, à réformer et à renforcer les institutions démocratiques, à intégrer les combattants démobilisés dans la société civile et à ressouder des sociétés déchirées par la guerre, de façon à éviter que les conflits ne reprennent.

Dès la première année de son mandat, le Secrétaire général s'est attaché à revitaliser et à élargir la notion de développement. Une série de conférences qui feront date se sont tenues, notamment la Réunion au sommet pour la promotion économique de la femme, à Genève en février 1992, la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'environnement et le développement, à Rio de Janeiro en 1992, et la Conférence mondiale sur les droits de l'homme, à Vienne en 1993. En mai 1994, la Conférence mondiale sur la prévention des catastrophes naturelles a eu lieu à Yokohama. En septembre 1994, la Conférence internationale sur la population et le développement s'est tenue au Caire, et le Sommet mondial pour le développement social a eu lieu à Copenhague en mars 1995. En septembre 1995, la quatrième Conférence mondiale sur les femmes aura lieu à Beijing. La deuxième Conférence des Nations Unies sur les établissements humains aura lieu à Istanbul en 1996, sur le thème "Un sommet pour les villes". Le Secrétaire général voit dans ces diverses réunions une succession d'occasions uniques permettant de sensibiliser l'opinion mondiale et de fixer normes et règles. Ces conférences et sommets offrent en effet aux États Membres et aux organisations non gouvernementales, mais aussi aux particuliers intéressés, la possibilité de s'employer ensemble à donner une dimension mondiale aux efforts déployés en faveur du développement sous tous ses aspects. Cette année, alors que l'Organisation des Nations Unies célèbre son cinquantième anniversaire, un volet important de ses travaux consiste à faire prendre conscience de l'importance cruciale que revêt le développement.

Le Secrétaire général a exposé sa propre conception du développement dans un rapport intitulé Agenda pour le développement soumis à l'Assemblée générale en mai 1994. Il y présente la paix, l'économie, l'environnement, la société et la démocratie comme les cinq piliers du développement. Il traite des multiples acteurs qui participent au développement et expose ses vues sur la contribution que l'Organisation devrait apporter au développement dans un monde de plus en plus complexe, soulignant notamment que le respect universel et la défense des droits de l'homme font partie intégrante du développement.

(à suivre)

Les droits de l'homme, qui comprennent notamment les droits de groupes tels que les populations autochtones, les femmes, les enfants et les handicapés, constituent l'une des préoccupations du Secrétaire général. En novembre 1994, à la demande de l'Assemblée générale, le Secrétaire général a formulé ses recommandations pour la mise en oeuvre de l'Agenda pour le développement.

Ces deux agendas, de par leur thème – la paix et le développement –, sont inextricablement liés. En février 1995, le Secrétaire général a publié, dans deux volumes conjoints, des versions revues de ces deux textes complémentaires que sont l'Agenda pour la paix et l'Agenda pour le développement.

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Le Secrétaire général préconise que les Nations Unies soutiennent activement le processus de démocratisation qui caractérise la période de l'après-guerre froide. L'ONU a répondu à l'appel lancé par quelque 40 pays pour qu'elle les aide à organiser des élections démocratiques et les supervise. Elle a envoyé plus de 2 100 observateurs en Afrique du Sud lors des élections qui s'y sont tenues en avril 1994, faisant de cette opération d'assistance électorale la plus importante de son histoire. Reconnaissant que la démocratie va bien au-delà de la simple tenue d'élections libres et régulières, les Nations Unies ont également mis en place divers programmes de coopération au développement des institutions démocratiques, de l'État de droit et de la participation populaire. Dans le même ordre d'idées, le meilleur soutien à la démocratie doit être trouvé dans la démocratisation de la vie internationale, objectif que le Secrétaire général poursuit depuis son entrée en fonction.

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Du fait que les contributions au budget ordinaire et aux opérations de maintien de la paix ne sont pas versées intégralement et en temps voulu, l'Organisation traverse une crise financière qui pourrait mettre en péril son bon fonctionnement. Le Secrétaire général a fait établir un certain nombre d'études visant à assurer que l'Organisation des Nations Unies aura les moyens de s'acquitter des tâches qui l'attendent pendant les 50 années à venir.

Le Secrétaire général a lancé un programme de restructuration et de réforme tendant à réduire le nombre de postes de rang élevé au Secrétariat et à décentraliser la prise de décisions, ainsi qu'à réduire les dépenses et à remédier aux insuffisances de la gestion. Il ne se préoccupe pas moins de faire en sorte que l'Organisation soit dotée des moyens qui lui sont nécessaires pour mener à bien des opérations de plus en plus vastes.

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Le Secrétaire général s'est rendu dans plus de 50 pays afin d'y représenter l'ONU et d'offrir ses bons offices pour la cause de la paix. En décembre 1993, il a été le premier non-Coréen à traverser la zone démilitarisée entre Séoul et Pyongyang.

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Titres universitaires honorifiques, distinctions et affiliations

Le rôle qu'a joué le Secrétaire général pour faire progresser les objectifs de paix, de développement et de démocratie a été reconnu par un grand nombre de distinctions et titres universitaires honorifiques.

Il a reçu un doctorat en droit honoris causa de l'Institut de droit de l'Académie des sciences de Russie, à Moscou (septembre 1992); un doctorat honoris causa de l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris (janvier 1993); le Christian A. Herter Memorial Award du World Affairs Council, Boston (mars 1993); un doctorat honoris causa de l'Université catholique de Louvain, Belgique (avril 1993); la distinction intitulée "L'homme de la paix" parrainée par la Fondation "Ensemble pour la paix" dont le siège est en Italie (juillet 1993); un doctorat honoris causa de l'Université Laval, Québec (août 1993); le Arthur A. Houghton Jr. Star Crystal Award for Excellence de l'Institut afro-américain, New York (novembre 1993); il a été nommé membre d'honneur de l'Académie des

(à suivre)

sciences naturelles de Russie, Moscou (avril 1994); membre d'honneur étranger de l'Académie des sciences de Russie, Moscou (avril 1994); membre d'honneur de l'Académie des sciences du Bélarus, Minsk (avril 1994); il a reçu un doctorat honoris causa de l'Université Carlos III de Madrid (avril 1994); un titre universitaire honorifique de la School of Foreign Service de l'Université de Georgetown, Washington, D. C. (mai 1994); un doctorat en droit international honoris causa de l'Université de Moncton au Nouveau-Brunswick, Canada (août 1994); et des doctorats honoris causa de l'Université de Bucarest (octobre 1994), de l'Université de Baku (octobre 1994), de l'Université d'Erevan (novembre 1994), de l'Université d'Haïfa (février 1995), de l'Université de Vienne (février 1995) et de l'Université de Melbourne (avril 1995). Il est titulaire d'un fellowship du Berkeley College de l'Université de Yale (mars 1995).

Fonctions antérieures

Diplomate, juriste, universitaire et auteur de nombreux ouvrages, M. Boutros-Ghali a une longue expérience des affaires internationales.

Entré au Parlement égyptien en 1987, il appartenait au secrétariat du Parti national démocrate depuis 1980. Avant d'assumer les fonctions de Secrétaire général de l'ONU, il a également été Vice-Président de l'Internationale socialiste.

Membre de la Commission du droit international de 1979 à 1991, il a également fait partie de la Commission internationale des juristes. Il a exercé bon nombre d'activités professionnelles et universitaires en rapport avec son expérience du droit, des affaires internationales et des sciences politiques; il a notamment été membre de l'Institut du droit international, de l'Institut international des droits de l'homme, de la Société africaine d'études politiques et de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques (Institut de France, Paris).

Depuis une quarantaine d'années, M. Boutros-Ghali a pris part à de nombreuses réunions sur le droit international, les droits de l'homme, le développement économique et social, la décolonisation, la question du Moyen-Orient, le droit humanitaire international, les droits des minorités (ethniques, notamment), le non-alignement, le développement de la région méditerranéenne et la coopération afro-arabe.

En septembre 1978, M. Boutros-Ghali a assisté à la Conférence au sommet de Camp David et a pris part à la négociation des accords de Camp David signés par l'Égypte et Israël en 1979. Il a maintes fois dirigé la délégation égyptienne aux réunions de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA) et du Mouvement des pays non alignés, ainsi qu'à la Conférence au sommet des chefs d'État français et africains. Il a également dirigé la délégation égyptienne à l'Assemblée générale lors de ses sessions de 1979, 1982 et 1990.

M. Boutros-Ghali a obtenu un doctorat en droit international à l'Université de Paris en 1949; sa thèse portait sur l'étude des organisations régionales. Il est également titulaire d'une licence en droit obtenue à l'Université du Caire en 1946, ainsi que de diplômes en sciences politiques, en sciences économiques et en droit public conférés par l'Université de Paris.

Entre 1949 et 1977, M. Boutros-Ghali a été professeur de droit international et de relations internationales à l'Université du Caire. De 1974 à 1977, il a été membre du Comité central et du Bureau politique de l'Union socialiste arabe.

(à suivre)

Entre autres activités professionnelles et universitaires, M. Boutros-Ghali a été titulaire d'une bourse de recherche Fulbright à l'Université Columbia (1954-1955), Directeur du Centre de recherche de l'Académie de droit international de La Haye (1963-1964) et professeur invité à la faculté de droit de l'Université de Paris (1967-1968). Il a donné des conférences sur le droit international et les relations internationales dans nombre d'universités d'Afrique, d'Asie, d'Europe, d'Amérique latine et d'Amérique du Nord.

M. Boutros-Ghali est Président de la Société égyptienne de droit international depuis 1965, Président du Centre d'études politiques et stratégiques (Al-Ahram) depuis 1975, membre du Conseil administratif (Curatorium) de l'Académie de droit international de La Haye depuis 1978, membre de la Commission scientifique de l'Académie mondiale pour la paix (Menton, France) depuis 1978 et membre associé de l'Institute Affari Internazionali (Rome) depuis 1979. Il a siégé à la Commission pour l'application des conventions et recommandations de l'Organisation internationale du Travail de 1971 à 1979. Il est également fondateur de la publication Alahram Igtisadi, dont il a été rédacteur en chef de 1960 à 1975, ainsi que de la revue trimestrielle Al-Seyassa Al-Dawlia, qu'il a dirigée jusqu'en décembre 1991.

M. Boutros-Ghali est l'auteur de plus de 100 publications et de nombreux articles sur les affaires régionales et internationales, le droit et la diplomatie, et les sciences politiques.

Au cours de sa carrière, M. Boutros-Ghali s'est vu décerner des distinctions et des titres honorifiques par 24 pays dont, outre l'Égypte, la Belgique, l'Italie, la Colombie, le Guatemala, la France, l'Équateur, l'Argentine, le Népal, le Luxembourg, le Portugal, le Niger, le Mali, le Mexique, la Grèce, le Chili, le Brunéi Darussalam, l'Allemagne, le Pérou, la Côte d'Ivoire, le Danemark, la République centrafricaine, la Suède et la République de Corée. Il a également été décoré de l'Ordre souverain militaire de Malte.

Né au Caire le 14 novembre 1922, le Secrétaire général est marié à Leia Maria Boutros-Ghali.

* *** *

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| FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL FORM | |
|---|---|
| TO: ISMAEL DIALLO<br>SPOKESMAN'S OFFICE,<br>UNAMIR, KIGALI | FROM: HIRO UEKI RG<br>OFFICE OF THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS<br>TELEPHONE: (212) 963-1262 |
| FACSIMILE: 3.3090 | FACSIMILE: (212) 963-7055 |
| PAGE 1 OF 2 | DATE: 8 JUNE 995 |
| SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE | |

-- MESSAGE --

Please find attached an article on UNAMIR which appeared in today's New York Times.

To contact Mr. Khan here at Headquarters please dial 3.1292. He will be here today and tomorrow only.

Regards.

1.212.963.1292

NY Times 8 June 95

# Send the Peacekeepers Home, a Ravaged Rwanda Tells U.N.

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, June 7 — While world attention has been on strengthening the United Nations force in Bosnia, quiet talks have been going on with Rwanda, which wants peacekeepers — or many of them — to leave.

A year after a genocidal rampage left hundreds of thousands dead, and with the perpetrators threatening a comeback, the Security Council has been trying to persuade Rwanda to allow more than 2,500 troops and military observers to stay on to provide security.

For Rwanda, that is the wrong kind of help.

"Here for once we have a small African country with difficulties who knows what it wants and what it needs to do," said Manzi Bakuramutsa, Rwanda's representative at the United Nations and an agricultural development expert. "Give us a chance to help ourselves." What Rwanda needs, he said, is an army of civilians, a huge development corps.

"We need the doctors, the judges, the lawyers, the people who can help us lift the country. We don't need any more military," he said.

James Gustave Speth, administrator of the United Nations Development Program, has assembled $634 million in pledges for Rwanda's economic recovery. Of the $69 million disbursed, $29 million has been for debts. One of his projects is assembling 50 specialists to help set up a court system.

"It's cheaper in the long run to support reconstruction and reconciliation than to sustain refugee camps," he said in an interview. He added that the world had a pattern of "opening their hearts and pocketbooks in a crisis" but being slow to recognize the need for development "when things sort of move off the front pages." Rwanda's development needs will be reassessed at a meeting in Kigali in July.

The United Nations faces a Friday deadline on the Rwanda question, one that is important to the future of international missions in small nations that tumble into catastrophe. There are now 5,586 troops, 317 military observers and 64 civilian police officers in Rwanda. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is suggesting 2,330 troops, 320 observers and 65 police.

Despite the threat of renewed war, Rwanda says that it does not need a large United Nations force for security. It wanted only about 500 troops to remain, but was persuaded to raise that number to 1,800. Rwanda agreed to urgings that it accept a six-month extension of the force, but asked that the extension be final.

The Rwanda Government, dominated by members of the minority Tutsi community but with a Hutu President and Prime Minister, took office last July after a Tutsi military force, the Rwandan Patriotic Front, took power. The Front halted months of bloodshed that began in April 1994, after the country's President, Juvénal Habyarimana, was killed in a suspicious plane crash and his Hutu supporters unleashed a campaign of terror against Tutsi.

As the Patriotic Front came to power, Hutu began fleeing the country, leaving the capital and many towns in ruins. The country's central bank was penniless and Government offices had no chairs or windows.

Hostility against the United Nations, which withdrew a force last year as the genocide was beginning, runs high.

Mr. Bakuramutsa was especially bitter about United Nations' claims that peacekeepers were in Rwanda to help in "confidence-building," which many officials and diplomats here believe is vital.

"It is up to the Rwanda Government and people to build confidence between themselves," Mr. Bakuramutsa said. "It is not an intermediary who can do that on our behalf."

KIGALI LE 2 JUIN.

DE:Z. BENAMADI
CHEF DE LA RADIO

A : W. DE SOUZA
DIRECTEUR EXECUTIF

SUJET: CONFERNCE DE PRESSE DE M. KAGAME.

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint un compte remdu de la conference de presse donnee par M. PAUL KAGAME, vice-president et ministre de la defense de la republique rwandaise. Ce compte rendu est une traduction extensive de ce qu'a dit m. kagame en kinyarwanda. S'agissant des propos tenus en anglais par le general KAGAME lors de cette meme conference, un memo vous sera remis des que possible.

Haute consideration,

cc: THE F.C

Pauline

Please copy to

- Mr S. BUO
- Mr I. DIALLO ✓

and ask them to discuss it with me.

2 6 95

WS

Conférence de presse du Général Kagame

A la question de savoir comment il a reçu le dernier rapport de Human Rigths Watch, le Général Kagame a répondu, je cite :" Nous n'avons pas été surpris par ce rapport, parce que nous savions déja que les anciennes forces gouvernementales parmi les réfugiés rwandais se trouvant dans les camps au Zaire et en Tanzanie procédaient aux entrainements militaires et recevaient des armes de certains pays avec l'objectif d'attaquer le Rwanda. Nous avons informé les autorités Zairoises et Tanzaniennes. Puisque cela est maintenant confirmé par d'autres sources, nous espérons que ces pays prendront des mesures appropriées pour mettre un terme à ces préparatifs. Les pays cités par ce rapport devraient aussi arrêter d'armer ces réfugiés; dans le cas contraire, ils devraient savoir que ce n'est pas seulement le Rwanda qui subira les conséquences de la guerre, mais aussi ses pays limitrophes et même toute la région entière. Fin de citation.

Est-il vrai que ces réfugiés rwandais qui veulent attaquer le Rwanda ont des complices à l'intérieur du pays ?

Cela est bien possible mais je n'ai pas encore d'élements qui me permettent de confirmer ces informations, a précisé le Général Kagame. Il a rappelé toutefois que le Gouvernement a le pouvoir et les prérogatives de poursuivre les personnes qui se rendraient coupables de tels actes. Nous ferons une enquête à ce sujet. Cependant, je dois indiquer qu' en général il n' y a pas de quoi s'inquieter et que la securité est bien maitrisée sur tout le territoire du pays, a rassuré le Vice-président rwandais.

Est-ce que le Gouvernemnt rwandais n'a- t-il pas en quelque sorte une responsabilité dans les préparatifs d'attaque contre le Rwanda, sinon comment expliquer que l'actuel ambassadeur du Rwanda au Zaire est connu comme l'un des fondateurs de la milice Interahamwe ?

Le Général Kagame a répondu qu'il n'était pas informé des relations entre le nouvel ambassadeur du Rwanda au Zaire et les Interahamwe mais espère que si cela était vrai, l'ambassadeur aurait changé et se serait désolidarisé des miliciens.

A la question sur la collaboration entre les réfugiés rwandais et le Palipehutu du Burundi, le Général Kagame a indiqué qu'il avait reçu plusieurs informations sur la collaboration entre les Interahamwe et le Palipehutu dans les attaques qu'ils menent contre leurs pays. Il a aussi signalé que parmi les personnes qui s'étaient infiltrées récemment dans la région de Cyangugu en provenance du Zaire étaient des personnes qui ont été identifiées comme des Burundais. Cette question sera examinée avec les autorités burundaises pour résoudre les problèmes de sécurité à la

frontière commune, au cours de la visite que le Ministre des affaires étrangères et le premier ministre rwandais doivent effectuer au Burundi, a ajouté le Général Kagame.

Un journaliste a demandé au Général Kagame de commenter sur le problème des autorités qui sont accusées de protéger les Interahamwe, et à titre d'exemple, le Bourgmestre de la commune de Musambira qui a arrêté plusieurs Interahamwe et qui a été arrêté lui-même ?

Le Général Kagame a précisé qu'il n'était pas sûr qu'il ne s'agissait pas de rumeurs, mais que si cela était vrai, c'était un problème qu'il fallait résoudre au plus vite.

A la question de savoir ce qu'il en était des informations selon lesquelles des véhicules de la MINUAR auraient été interceptés avec des chargements d'armes et de munitions non enregistrées, le Général Kagame a indiqué que les gendarmes avaient intercepté 7 ou six camoins de la MINUAR avec des chargements de munitions non-enregistrées et que la MINUAR avait ensuite produit des documents attestant que ces chargements étaient bel et bien les leurs. Les gendarmes poursuivent encore leur enquête pour en savoir plus et la population sera informée des résultats de l'enquête.

A M. LE DIRECTEUR EXECUTIF

Veuillez trouver ci-joint la transcription integrale de la partie en anglais de la conference de presse donnee hier par M. le vice president et ministre de la defense, general PAUL KAGAME.

A votre haute appreciation,

ZOUAOUI BENAMADI,
Chef de la Radio.

2 June 1995

A Press Conference was held today by General Kagame, Vice President and Minister of Defence of Rwanda at the Ministry of Defence, to give his views and through him the views of the Government on the recent report by Human Rights Watch.

QUESTION: A question was asked by a reporter concerning the Human Rights Report which suggested that UNAMIR's new mandate should cover the refugee camps in Zaire. Since the Rwandan government wanted a reduction in UNAMIR's troops, he wondered what the Vice-President thought about that suggestion.

KAGAME: Well my view on that is that first of all we have requested the UN to create a force that can go to these camps both in Zaire and Tanzania primarily to separate these groups, the militias and the former government forces from the rest of the population in the camps. Here we are looking at the possibility of the easy return of the refugees once they are freed from the influence of these groups that have been keeping them outside even many times by force. Well at first it seems that it was a good idea by the UN. They turned out later to say that they would not be able to create, there was no country willing to provide a force and they did not have the resources so they resigned it to leaving that task to the UNHCR and the host government forces to be the ones to deal with the questions. But here they are not dealing with the question of separating these groups they are only dealing with the question of simply stabilizing the situation in the camps perhaps for the convenience of the Non-governmental Organizations or other agencies working within the camps not really solving the problem of separating these groups. To us that remained a big problem, there was a lot lacking in terms of dealing with the specific problem of dealing with refugees the way you deal with refugees, give them the liberty, give them the freedom to make a decision to come back to the country and isolate these other criminal groups so they can be dealt with in terms of bringing them to courts of law, to be able to hold them accountable for the crimes they committed in the country. So we still think this was the best thing to do. There is absolutely no good reason why inside Rwanda there should be a force of 5,600 troops. Because you see here they have chosen to be in a place that is secure, which means it is in a place that has less problems that actually requires their presence in terms of providing security. So they should be doing that in the camps. This is where the problem is. The problems we have here are the responsibility of the Government and the Government institutions. They shouldn't be the ones to deal with such problems. And I think just out of logic that you would simply remain with a small force if any force at all inside the country to simply play the monitoring role, the role to observe and inform the international community what is happening on the ground in Rwanda. But I don't find them responsibility for UNAMIR in terms of protection or security inside the camp because problems are outside there. And this is why you have now a problem of refugees, carrying out military

training, regrouping, receiving arms. They are doing it with a lot of freedom and I wonder how the international community can miss the opportunity to be informed about this, to look at this, to deal with this kind of situation and simply keep focussing inside Rwanda where the people, the Government in the country can deal with the problems we have. But all we need is just support to enable us to carry out our responsibilities. So I think it's important that UNAMIR realizes or UN realizes that there is more work to do in the refugee camps outside Rwanda than inside the country. This is my feeling about it.

QUESTION: Noting that the Human Rights Watch report stated that the UN should tighten their resolution concerning the arms embargo against Rwanda . The Vice President was asked if he did not think that the Government and the Ministry of Defence should defend the Rwandese people?

KAGAME: Well that is true. It seems these days we live in a world where logic doesn't serve any purpose. First of alle there was an embargo on Rwanda which was passed in May during the time we were fighting. Here it made sense because the idea was to prevent the escalation of fighting, perhaps of killing. But here really the killings were done by people who were armed with the machetes, not mainly with guns. So even putting an embargo did not really serve very useful purpose. But at least the idea was that and it made sense. So after the war when genocide was stopped, up to now there is still an arms embargo on Rwanda. Again, this is a different situation that does not call for an amrs embargo on the country of Rwanda. But secondly it does not make sense because we have people outside Rwanda who are being armed free. They are being armed through the host countries, who've wished to do so. So the arms embargo in effect has not really served the purpose. So those who are keeping an arms embargo on Rwanda should see this. That it's not simply talking about an arms embargo that matters, it's effectiveness that matters. So it clearly has not served its purpose. And it has really been unfair on top of that to keep an arms embargo on Rwanda because the situation inside the country is totally different from that which was used to impose an arms embargo on the country. So maybe the international community, the UN has got to review the whole thing. So to come to your point certainly it creates problems for us. We are not able to equip our soldiers, we are not able to train them properly, we are able to carry out our responsibilities because we have our hands tied by this embargo. We've got to deal with the problems we have in a different way. We've got to face it the hard way but this is does not mean in any way that we are not capable of handling the situation properly. We are certainly in a position to deal with the situation in a manner than cannot run this country into chaos even with the threat from outside.

QUESTION: Replying to a question as to why the Government of Rwanda was not arresting people suspected in last genocide as the Government of Belgian was doing, Mr. Kagame responded:

KAGAME: Well first of all it's good that the Beligian Government has done that. They have done the right thing. Maybe they should do more. They should even go ahead and do the same event to the people who are inside the Belgian soil (?). They have issued an for Bagasora who may be in Zaire or Cameroon but they also have people in Belgium who should be arrested I think in connection with the genocide that transpire in Rwanda. But they have done a good thing, at least we should recognize that. Maybe they should also set an example for other countries to do the same. As regards to why Rwanda hasn't done that I inform you that we still have a lot of problems. In our justice system there are lots of inadequacies. There is a lot lacking in terms of appreciating exactly what should be done. I imagine it will take a bit of time before we put things in order but as you know we haven't even been able to try those who we have already arrested, let alone issuing arrest warrants to people who are outside the country. But some discussions are going on. We are trying to put our house in order as far as the judicial process is concerned. So we hope soon the Minister of Justice will be able to come out with something that satisfies the people of Rwanda in terms of meeting the justice requirements as regards bringing those responsible for the genocide to.....In effect there is a problem. There is a problem and we think we shall have to discuss it and look into the matter and collectively we should be able to help the Minister of Justice to deal with the immense problems we are faced with in a situation where they have no means, they have no magistrates. Perhaps even the lack of vision on the part of individuals that have different responsibilities. But as you know we are in a process of really rebuilding the country not only in terms of its infrastructure but also in terms of making people understand the history of these problems we have and how to deal with them.

QUESTION: A journalist stated that according to the Human Rights Watch report Various countries were accused of helping the militia of the former government in Zaire. In light of information held by the Vice President, and in light of the denial of France and South Africa, what was he doing to investigate the situation?

KAGAME: What I can tell is that when you learnt about the arms supplies to the refugees in Zaire and elsewhere, we brought this to the attention of the international community to the UN. Even to the countries that are being alleged to have the responsibility of allowing such arms shipment into their countries for these refugees. This is what we tried to do. But the fact that some people are denying any responsibility does not really mean they have no responsibility over this. In any case I don't expect anybody to just come up and say, yes, I am the one who has been supplying arms. They expected the responses that everybody is going to deny having a hand in doing that. But the fact is that arms have been flowing into Zaire. They must be coming from somewhere. Whether the governments are directly involved or not they still have responsibility in the sense that even if these are private companies that are doing it they must

be doing it on their territories.So they must have responsibility to deal with such situations that originate from their territories. It doesn't matter whether it is a private company operating from France or from South Africa or from elsewhere, it still is the responsibility of these governments to make sure that these companies don't do so. So I think somewhere there lies the responsibilty. So we can still go farther and work out the details as regards who has the responsibility, and how the governments that have been mentioned can help to deal with the situation but for sure I think they must do something. Not only are they contravening the arms embargo resolution that was passed by the UN, they are also causing problems for the country of Rwanda and for the whole region. Because I think the situation that may develop out of these arms shipments and then subsequent use of them to destabilize our country we have spill overs in other countries in the region. I am sure it works in nobody's interests.

QUESTION: Asked if the government forces were able to defend the country in case of attack, and pursue the attackers from the former government wherever they may be, Mr. Kagame stated:

KAGAME: Well what we can say here is that we have the capacity to deal with the problem. How wedeal with the problem is a different matter, whether it involves hot pursuit or something else. That will come when the problem unfolds. But you have the liberty, you have the capacity to respond appropriately to any such threat should it become a reality. We have the capacity, we have the freedom to operate appropriately in response to anything that will will come out of the situation. So that will involve a lot of options.

QUESTION: General Kagame responded to a question about The European Community's announcement yesterday that they were considering resuming development aid to Rwanda which was frozen after the Kibeho killings, and that resumption of aid would depend on the consequences that would come from the findings of the Investigating Committee. The Vice President was asked what were the consequences taken by the government as a result of that report.

KAGAME: Well I think there are many things to look at for us even before that report came out out, we were already carrying out our own investigation to find out if they are any individuals who acted contrary to the instructions that were given to them at the time of the operation to close the camps. And we are soon coming out with the conclusions of our investigations maybe in a week and if the responsibility lies on the shoulders of anybody then they will be held accountable. But this is as far as the Government and the Government forces are concerned. But I think in the report they also talked about the responsibility of the NGOs, they also talked about the responsibility of UNAMIR. So I would like to ask those presenting such views to know who is going to handle that side. We also would want to have somebody to have somebody handle the other side, the side of the NGOs and

UNAMIR that were also equally implicated as far as having responsibilities was concerned.

QUESTION: A journalist stated that after the victory on the battle field last year the RPA was the only organized body left in Rwanda and was therefore left in charge of running the country. Now that things were slowly going back to normal, did the Vice President think that the RPA should concentrate on purely military duties and return to their barracks:

KAGAME: Well you more or less describe the situation the way it is. I think the RPA initially had responsibility to fight the forces that were here killing the people of Rwanda. We have been in the process of trying to restore total normalcy and establish civil administration and I think we've gone a long way in doing that. The military is remaining only in terms of the security where depending on the threats that still hang outside, from Zaire, from Tanzania. We still our soldiers operating .....in different areas, in the communes, to deal with the problem of the situation, to deal with more or less even covering the vacuum that was created by this transition, where in some areas there was not any civil administration based at the local level. You would find troops operating in such areas but mainly for the purpose of keeping security in the area and as we restore the local administration, and as we deal with the security problems in the entirety, it is well understandable that as long as the threat is reduced then the army continues to confine itself to its specific duties of national defence and security. Where there have been overlaps it's because either there has been a vacuum or it's because of the security problem that drags them into carrying out such responsibilities. But on the biggest part, I think the ... has been restored, and the civil and local administrations are being established and have been established , so the reverse kind of situation is really taking place, but that will depend on how fast we can deal with the security aspect that is likely to emanate from outside the country.

QUESTION: The Vice President was asked if there was any pressure from the international community to grant a general amnesty to most of the population who participated in the acts of genocide.

KAGAME: Well I think they have, whether you call them pressures or misunderstandings or simply misrepresentation of our own situation. The international community has certainly had in some cases the approach that is not compatible with the kind of situation that we have in our country. To give you an example there have been all sorts of suggestions of saying release from prison women and children who murdered. You see they simply go on those sentiments that so and so is a woman so it doesn't matter whether she killed 100 people, maybe she should be released from prison because she is a woman. We have had this kind of suggestion from the international community. We have of course had disagreements as to what comes first, whether it is

reconciliation or whether it is justice. Our view is that reconciliation does not simply come about without certain factors being in place to contribute to that. And these factors are actually that people must see justice being done and that will ease the conscious of reconciliation. You cannot simply tell the people who are agrieved, seriously agrieved in the case of Rwanda to just reconcile with murderers. I think you would try the murderers and then the process of reconciliation ... in other cases. So there have been misunderstandings, I think to some extent we even think there has been a situation where people have become unreasonable. Maybe they think in the situation of Rwanda having lost one million people doesn't really mean much, something you can just forget and move forward. And I think the people of Rwanda will have the right to think that this is an insult. It's an insult in the sense that we value the lives of our people as much as other people value the lives of their people. I was even giving an example to some people recently when they had been pushing that argument of reconciliation, it seems that you cannot unite Hutus and Tutsis, you know they are so simplistic in their thinking. They think the question is the Hutu and the Tutsi, they've never seen the problem as being political. They've never seen the problem as being a mismanagement of the political affairs of the country, that has really brought about this kind of situation. And I was giving them an example why do they think it is easy to forget about the killings that were carried out in Rwanda, yet people are commemorating incidents of situations of this nature that took place 50 years ago. So this is why I get the reading that actually people think our lives are worthless, theirs mean a lot. That's why they come around and tell us forget the lives of people that were lost here hundreds of thousands. So I think it's our mistake, maybe we shouldn't over rely on what other people can do for us. We should not over rely on the international's solutions to our problems. We should be the ones to be at the forefront in doing all that we can to solve our problems. And then the international community can simply play a supportive role. But if we want them to solve our problems, surely they'll come here and tell you to forget what happened. They'll say, a million people is nothing, just forget them. So it's up to us to know how to go about the problem and then arrest the supporters.

QUESTION: Members of the Government are not united in the issue of reconciliation and the granting of general amnesty. Would you comment on that.

KAGAME: My views have been very clear, I am being very clear to you now. Let somebody in the government who thinks differently come out very clear and tell us what he thinks. But as long as nobody comes out to present different views from what I am presenting, people have reason to believe that we are united. Other than that we may be assumed to be divided. ...If there is anybody in the Government who thinks the justice is not the first thing to be carried out in order to facilitate reconciliation, they should come out and put them clearly.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM)
ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LES MIGRATIONS (OIM)
ORGANIZACIÓN INTERNACIONAL PARA LAS MIGRACIONES (OIM)

TEL. /Fax: +(250)72053

RUE DE NTARUKA N°3
KIYOVU, P.O. BOX 2493
KIGALI - RWANDA

27 MAY 1995

TO:
HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MINISTER FOR THE INTERIOR
HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MINISTER FOR REHABILITATION
HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MINISTER FOR INFORMATION
HIS EXCELLENCY, THE SRSG AMBASSADOR KHAN
THE RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE, UNDP
UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS AND APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE
MEDIA

PLEASE FIND ATTACHED FOR YOUR PERUSAL THE COPY OF A SELF-EXPLANATORY PRESS RELEASE ON THE SUBJECT OF A BROADCAST ON RADIO RWANDA CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION.

JEAN VICTOR NKOLO
CHIEF OF MISSION AD INTERIM

ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LES MIGRATIONS (O I M) IOM OIM KIGALI

-- Att.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM)
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# COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

*KIGALI, LE 27 MAI 1995*

L'ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LES MIGRATIONS (OIM) VOUDRAIT EXPRIMER SA SURPRISE ET SA DECEPTION A LA SUITE DES INFORMATIONS DIFFUSEES PAR RADIO RWANDA LES 26 ET 27 MAI 1995 ACCUSANT UN VOLONTAIRE DES NATIONS UNIES (VNU) AFFECTE A L'OIM D'AVOIR FALSIFIE SON VISA RWANDAIS.

CES INFORMATIONS COMPRENAIENT DES AFFIRMATIONS CLAIREMENT CONTRAIRES AUX FAITS. APRES QU'UNE ANOMALIE SUR LA VALIDITE DE SON VISA LUI FUT SIGNIFIEE A UN POSTE FRONTIERE LE 18 MAI 1995, LE VNU S'EST LUI MEME SPONTANEMENT PRESENTE AUX SERVICES DE L'IMMIGRATION LE 24 MAI 1995. DES FONCTIONNAIRES ONT TOUT DE SUITE AFFIRME QU'IL AVAIT FALSIFIE LA DATE D'EXPIRATION DE SON VISA ET L'AFFAIRE FUT TRANSMISE AU PARQUET. A AUCUN MOMENT, LE VNU IMPLIQUE NE FUT ARRETE OU DETENU, CONTRAIREMENT AUX DECLARATIONS DIFFUSEES CE MATIN PAR RADIO RWANDA.

LE JUGEMENT DU PARQUET -UN VERDICT VERBAL- PRONONCE LE 26 MAI 1995 STIPULE QUE MALGRE L'EXISTENCE D'UNE "ANOMALIE" DANS LE VISA IL N'Y A AUCUNE PREUVE ETABLISSANT UNE INTENTION DE FRAUDER DE LA PART DU VNU. IL Y AVAIT UNE DIFFERENCE ENTRE LA DUREE DE LA VALIDITE TELLE QUE MARQUEE DANS LE PASSEPORT ET CELLE INSCRITE DANS LES REGISTRES DE L'IMMIGRATION. LE DETENTEUR DU PASSEPORT NE PEUT ETRE TENU RESPONSABLE D'UNE TELLE ANOMALIE. UNE AMENDE DE 10,000 FRANCS RWANDAIS A ETE PAYEE ET LE PASSEPORT RENVOYE AUX SERVICES DE L'IMMIGRATION AVEC LA PROMESSE QUE CELUI-CI POUVAIT ETRE RECUPERE LE LENDEMAIN.

C'EST AINSI QUE NOUS FUMES CHOQUES EN ENTENDANT RADIO RWANDA DIFFUSER DANS LE CADRE DE SES JOURNAUX PARLES (EN FRANCAIS, KINYARWANDA ET ANGLAIS) DES INFORMATIONS SELON LESQUELLES LE VNU AVAIT FALSIFIE SON VISA ET ETAIT DETENU. RADIO RWANDA DIFFUSA AUSSI UN ENTRETIEN AVEC LE DIRECTEUR DE L'IMMIGRATION. NOUS NE POUVONS TOLERER QUE DES DECLARATIONS FAUSSES ET DIFFAMATOIRES SUR DES SUJETS D'UNE TELLE GRAVITE SOIENT DIFFUSEES SUR LES ONDES DE LA RADIO NATIONALE.

LA REPUBLIQUE DU RWANDA A STATUT D'OBSERVATEUR A L'OIM, UNE ORGANISATION INTER-GOUVERNEMENTALE. LE 14 JANVIER 1995, OIM ET LE GOUVERNEMENT RWANDAIS ONT SIGNE UN ACCORD DE SIEGE QUI PERMET A L'ORGANISATION DE JOUIR "AU RWANDA DES MEMES PRIVILEGES ET IMMUNITES QUE CEUX ACCORDES AUX INSTITUTIONS SPECIALISEES DES NATIONS UNIES EN VERTU DE LA CONVENTION DU 21 NOVEMBRE 1947 SUR LES PRIVILEGES ET IMMUNITES DES INSTITUTIONS SPECIALISEES".

IOM NE PERMETTRA PAS QUE CE MALHEUREUX EPISODE, ET ENCORE MOINS LA MANIERE INCONSIDEREE AVEC LAQUELLE L'AFFAIRE A ETE RENDUE PUBLIQUE, NE TERNISSE LES EXCELLENTES RELATIONS QUE L'ORGANISATION ENTRETIENT AVEC LE GOUVERNEMENT RWANDAIS A TOUS LES NIVEAUX.

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KIGALI - RWANDA

# IMMEDIATE PRESS RELEASE

KIGALI, 27 MAY 1995

THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM) WISHES TO EXPRESS ITS SURPRISE AND DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE REPORT MADE BY RADIO RWANDA ON 26 AND 27 MAY 1995 ACCUSING A UNITED NATIONS VOLUNTEER (UNV) DETACHED TO IOM OF FALSIFYING HIS RWANDAN VISA.

THESE REPORTS MADE STATEMENTS THAT ARE IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO THE FACTS. AFTER AN ANOMALY REGARDING THE VALIDITY OF HIS VISA WAS BROUGHT TO HIS ATTENTION AT A BORDER POST ON 18 MAY 1995, THE UNV PRESENTED HIMSELF SPONTANEOUSLY TO THE IMMIGRATION OFFICE IN KIGALI ON 24 MAY 1995. IT WAS IMMEDIATELY ALLEGED BY IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS THAT HE HAD FALSIFIED THE DATE OF EXPIRATION OF THE VISA AND THE CASE WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE PARQUET. AT NO TIME WAS THE UNV INVOLVED PLACED UNDER ARREST OR DETAINED, CONTRARY TO WHAT WAS STATED THIS MORNING BY RADIO RWANDA.

THE JUDGEMENT OF THE PARQUET -A VERBAL "VERDICT"- ON 26 MAY STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WAS AN "ANOMALY" IN THE VISA THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF BAD INTENTION ON THE PART OF THE UNV. THERE WAS A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE LENGTH OF VALIDITY AS MARKED IN THE PASSPORT AND THAT RECORDED IN THE IMMIGRATION OFFICE'S FILES. THE HOLDER OF THE PASSPORT CANNOT VERY WELL BE MADE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH AN ERROR. A FINE (FRW 10,000.--) WAS PAID AND THE PASSPORT SENT BACK TO THE IMMIGRATION OFFICE WITH THE PROMISE THAT IT COULD BE COLLECTED THE FOLLOWING DAY.

IT WAS THEREFORE WITH SOME SHOCK THAT WE HEARD RADIO RWANDA BROADCAST A REPORT ON ITS NEWS PROGRAM (IN KINYARWANDA, FRENCH AND ENGLISH) SAYING THE UNV HAD FALSIFIED HIS VISA AND WAS IN DETENTION. THE REPORT INCLUDED AN INTERVIEW WITH THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION. WE CANNOT ALLOW FALSE AND SLANDEROUS STATEMENTS ON SUCH A SERIOUS MATTER TO BE BROADCAST ON NATIONAL RADIO.

IOM IS AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN WHICH THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA IS AN OBSERVER. ON 14 JANUARY 1995, IOM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA SIGNED A LEGAL AGREEMENT (ACCORD DE SIEGE) GRANTING TO THE ORGANIZATION THE SAME IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES AS THOSE GRANTED TO SPECIALISED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UN CONVENTION OF 21 NOVEMBER 1947 ON PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF SPECIALISED AGENCIES.

IOM WILL NOT ALLOW THIS UNFORTUNATE EPISODE, AND MORE PARTICULARLY THE RASH WAY IN WHICH IT WAS PUBLICISED, TO JEOPARDISE THE EXCELLENT RELATIONSHIP THE ORGANIZATION ENJOYS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AT ALL LEVELS.

To Mr Diallo (Spokesman)
Sec 2215 PSG RUSH REPLY
THIS FAX

**COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE.**

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération, Dr. Anastase GASANA, a offert un dîner le 17 mai 1995, à l'Hôtel des Mille Collines, à l'honneur de Madame Karol STEIN, Directrice à Mayence du Jumelage-Coopération entre la Rhénanie Palatinat et le Rwanda ainsi qu'à la délégation allemande qui l'accompagnait, et qui comprenait notamment l'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne au Rwanda, Monsieur August HUMEL, Le Responsable du Jumelage -Coopération Rhénanie Palatinat/Rwanda, Monsieur Rudolf FISCHER et le Chef de la Coopération Technique Allemande au Rwanda (GTZ), Monsieur PISTOL.

Au cours des toasts échangés,le Ministre GASANA a loué les excellentes relations de coopération entre l'Allemagne et le Rwanda et a exprimé à la délégation allemande la satisfaction du Gouvernement pour l'aide humanitaire, après la guerre, le génocide et les massacres, en faveur de la population rwandaise, fruit de l'amitié entre le peuple allemand et le peuple rwandais.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération a exprimé la reconnaissance du Gouvernement et du peuple Rwandais pour les engagements de l'Allemagne à la Table Ronde de Genève qui placent l'Allemagne en tête ~~de en tête~~ de classement des donateurs pour la reconstruction et la réhabilitation du Rwanda.

La Directrice du Jumelage-Coopération Rhénanie Palatinat / Rwanda, Mme Karol STEIN a souhaité que tout soit fait pour sauvegarder et maintenir les bonnes relations d'amitié et de coopération entre l'Allemagne et le Rwanda et a exprimé ses encouragements au Gouvernement et au peuple rwandais pour les efforts entrepris pour la reconstruction du pays. Evoquant les actions de jumelage-coopération Rhénanie Palatinat / Rwanda, elle a exprimé au Ministre GASANA la volonté de la Rhénanie Palatinat de continuer les actions positives pour un meilleur avenir du Rwanda.

Le Chef de la Coopération Technique Allemande (GTZ) au Rwanda, Monsieur PISTOL, a souligné les résultats positifs de la récente commission mixte de coopération germano-rwandaise et a souligné que l'Allemagne suit d'un oeil attentif l'évolution de la situation socio-économique du Rwanda. Il s'est félicité de l'intérêt de la population rwandaise dans différentes communes du pays pour les actions de la coopération technique allemande et a souhaité que cela puisse aller toujours de l'avant. Monsieur PISTOL a informé le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération que la phase d'aide humanitaire d'urgence par l'Allemagne est prévue de se terminer au mois de septembre 1995 et il a exprimé ses espoirs pour un avenir prometteur pour le Rwanda.

Fait à Kigali, le 18 mai 1995

Télesphore KAGABA
Chef de division
INFORMATION, DOCUMENTATION
et ARCHIVAGE au MINAFFET

Ex/D12

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UNAVEM II-MR. BEYE SRSG/UNPROFOR-MR. Y. AKASHI-M. PEREYRA/ ONUSAL-SRSG MR. E. TER HORST/UNOMIG-FORCE COMMANDER/UNMIH-DSRSG C. OSSA/HUMANITARIAN COORDINATOR-MR. ZEJJARI/ESCWA-EXEC SEC-MR. BAKJAJI/UNIKOM-FORCE COM MAJOR GEN. K. THAPA/UNOMIL-SRSG MR. NYAKYI/ UNHCR-MR. J. AMUNATEGUI/UNAMIR-SRSG MR. S. KHAN/UNMOT-UN HEAD OF MISSION- MR. D. SILOVIC/MINURSO-CAO MR. A OUNI

I MUST VERY FORCEFULLY REMIND YOU THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES ARE ANY STATEMENTS REGARDING A SECURITY SITUATION TO BE MADE TO THE PRESS UNLESS THE TEXT HAS BEEN CLEARED BY MY OFFICE. THIS IS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL IN CASES INVOLGING THE KIDNAPPING/DETENTION OF STAFF MENBERS WHERE PREMATURE AND IRRESPONSIBLE STATMENTS TO THE MEDIA CAN, AND HAVE JEOPARDIZED DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS AND PLACED THE LIVES OF STAFF AT RISK. PLEASE ENSURE THAT ALL STAFF MEMBERS IN YOUR ORGANIZATION ARE INFORMED OF THIS MATTER. REGARDS. SEVAN.

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Conférence de presse
IPC, 11 mai 1995, 14:00 heures

Monsieur François-Xavier NSANZUWERA,
Président du CLADHO (Collectif des Ligues et Associations de Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Rwanda)
Procureur de la République près le Tribunal de première instance de Kigali

# RWANDA: ET SI DEMAIN IL Y AVAIT UN AUTRE GENOCIDE?

Pourquoi cette conférence ? Cela fait un peu plus d'un mois que j'ai quitté le Rwanda où je suis Procureur de la République près le tribunal de première instance de Kigali. Je suis également Président du Collectif des Ligues et Associations de défense des droits de l'homme (CLADHO) jusqu'aux prochaines élections qui auront lieu dans le courant de ce mois.

J'ai décidé de rester en Belgique pendant une année au moins.

Aujourd'hui, les gens me demandent de parler, de parler de justice au Rwanda, de la situation des droits de l'homme au Rwanda. Ce qui est normal et même légitime. Mais le problème est que je subis des pressions de tous genres.

Les plus fanatiques du pouvoir rwandais actuel me reprochent d'avoir abandonné la justice dans des moments difficiles où l'on avait besoin de moi. Les plus durs m'accusent même de désertion.

Les nostalgiques de l'ancien régime génocidaire considèrent mon départ du Rwanda comme une défection et me demandent de faire des déclarations fracassantes sur les violations actuelles des droits de l'homme. L'on va même jusqu'à tenter de m'entraîner dans le révisionnisme du génocide.

Ce n'est pas uniquement la communauté rwandaise qui exerce cette pression, mais même des amis ou des connaissances belges et français. L'on me demande de prendre position dans la problématique rwandaise.

En date du 6 avril 1995, je participais à Paris à un débat organisé par Reporter Sans Frontières, dont le thème était : "Le retour des médias de la haine au Rwanda". J'ai été sidéré de constater que dans l'auditoire il y avait des européens qui se considèrent plus hutu que les hutu du Rwanda, d'autres qui se considéraient plus tutsi que des tutsi du Rwanda.

Aujourd'hui, je suis écartelé entre ces deux courants.

Par cette conférence, j'ai voulu proclamer haut mon droit à ne pas choisir la voie des extrémistes hutu ou tutsi ainsi que de leurs sympathisants réciproques ici ou ailleurs. Je réclame mon refus de me voir classé dans tel ou tel courant. J'ai choisi la voie de la modération, de la justice et du droit.

J'ai décidé de prendre du recul avec le passé récent. Pourquoi?

En 1990, j'étais Procureur de la République près le Tribunal de 1ère Instance de Kigali. J'ai connu les arrestations massives et arbitraires suite à l'attaque du FPR, du 1er octobre 1990. J'ai suivi la naissance, les faux pas et les dérapages du multipartisme au Rwanda. J'ai connu les manifestations sauvages des adhérents de l'ancien parti unique, le Mouvement républicain national pour le développement (MRND) et son allié, la Coalition de la défense de la République (CDR), le parti extrémiste hutu.

En 1993, j'ai publié un livre intitulé : "*La magistrature rwandaise dans l'étau du pouvoir exécutif. La peur et le silence, complices de l'arbitraire*". Au début de ce livre, j'écrivais : "*Plus que jamais la peur est là, peu de gens osent dénoncer l'arbitraire. L'on se réfugie derrière le silence*".

En janvier 1994 dans une lettre adressée au Ministre de la Justice et au Procureur Général, j'attirais l'attention sur le climat de psychose généralisé qui régnait dans la capitale rwandaise.

En février 1994, dans une émission radiodiffusé à laquelle participaient également le Préfet de la Préfecture de la Ville de Kigali et le Commandant de Groupement de la Gendarmerie nationale, je déclarais qu'un climat d'insécurité généralisé régnait dans la Capitale, que l'Etat ne protégeait pas la population et que celle-ci ne savait à quel saint se vouer.

La date du 7 avril 1994 marquait le début du génocide des rwandais d'ethnie tutsi et les massacres des rwandais hutu de l'opposition, génocide et massacres qui ont pris fin avec la défaite des Forces armées rwandaises (FAR) et le départ au Zaire du Gouvernement génocidaire du tandem Kambanda Jean - Sindikubwabo Théodore.

Pendant le génocide, j'étais réfugié à l'Hôtel des Milles Collines. Je fis partie du convoi de la MINUAR qui, lors d'une tentative d'évacuation le 3 mai 1994, fut bloqué par les miliciens interahamwe et les para-commandos rwandais. Blessé lors de cette tentative d'évacuation, je suis resté à l'Hôtel des Milles Collines jusqu'à ce que je trouve refuge le 27 mai 1994 dans une zone contrôlée alors par le FPR.

Après le génocide et l'installation du gouvernement actuel, j'ai repris en juillet 1994 mes fonctions de Procureur de la République près le Tribunal de 1ère Instance de Kigali. J'ai également été élu Président du Collectif des Ligues et Associations de défense des droits de l'homme au Rwanda (CLADHO).

Les conditions dans lesquelles j'ai travaillé et dans lesquelles continuent de travailler mes adjoints sont désastreuses. Très prosaïquement, à l'heure actuelle, mon bureau n'a pas de vitres. Je dispose de quatre adjoints (magistrats instructeurs) pour traiter huit mille dossiers. Depuis octobre 94, j'ai espéré en la venue de magistrats étrangers pour nous aider. Le droit n'est-il pas universel ?

Aujourd'hui cette aide que les Rwandais de bonne volonté attendaient fait toujours défaut. Je me suis senti abandonné et trahi.

Callewaert (B) vond dit een "lafe houding"; bgma. iedereen heeft in Rw een halve familie verloren

estime que j'ai droit au repos. J'ai perdu plus de la moitié de ma famille dans le génocide. Mon épouse a perdu toute sa famille, ses parents, six frères et soeurs. Il lui reste un seul frère. N'avons-nous pas droit de chercher un havre de tranquilité. C'est ainsi que j'ai accepté une bourse d'études que m'a offerte l'Université d'Anvers qui me permet de vivre modestement avec mon épouse mais également de continuer à travailler, depuis la Belgique, à la réhabilitation de l'appareil judiciaire rwandais.

Cette décision difficile, les extrémistes des deux bords prétendent l'expliquer à leur manière, voire la récupérer.

Aujourd'hui, le Rwanda traverse une crise grave, dont la manifestation la plus choquante est celle des événements du camp de Kibeho. Quelles qu'aient pu en être les circonstances exactes, qui doivent encore être déterminées par la Commission internationale d'enquête mise en place, la controverse qui porte sur le nombre des morts me paraît déplacée.

Autre manifestation de cette crise: les disparitions ont repris. Dans un communiqué rendu public par CLADHO le 20 mars 1995, j'attirais l'attention sur la résurgence du phénomène des disparitions, alors que la situation avait, jusque là, semblé s'améliorer à cet égard.

Le droit de propriété n'est pas respecté. Il semble bien que certaines arrestations trouvent en réalité leur source dans la lutte pour les biens, les terres ou les maisons.

L'Armée patriotique et les commissaires politiques du FPR, ceux que l'on connaît sous le nom d'ABAKADA, s'ingèrent dans le fonctionnement de la justice. Des magistrats ont peur de l'Armée. Le rapport publié en avril par la FIDH et Human Rights Watch est éloquent à cet égard.

Un an après le début du génocide, la démocratie et la justice se cherchent encore.

Le phénomène de l'impunité est toujours présent.

Aucun prévenu du génocide n'a été jugé. Les cerveaux du génocide sont toujours en liberté au Zaire, au Kenya, au Cameroun, en France et ici en Belgique. L'inculpation et la mise en détention préventive de deux rwandais par la justice belge constitue un geste très positif, et interpelle de manière concrète le Tribunal pénal international, et les autres systèmes judiciaires concernés. La Belgique doit poursuivre dans cette voie, et aller plus loin encore.

Il y a un mois, je m'élevais contre la recrudescence d'arrestations massives et de dénonciations calomnieuses. Je voudrais insister sur le fait que ces arrestations ont augmenté d'une manière inquiétante après l'annonce, à la radio nationale, que le Procureur Général du Tribunal International n'entamerait pas les poursuites avant la fin de l'année 1995,

Aujourd'hui la situation dans les prisons est tragique, le cynisme de la communauté internationale y est pour quelque chose.

En décembre 1994, devant un intergroupe du Parlement Européen à Strasbourg où j'avais été invité avec mon ami le Président de la Ligue burundaise des droits de l'homme et Madame Caroline STAINIER de la FIDH, et même ici j'avais demandé qu'on aide la justice rwandaise, que seuls les jugements des "génocidaires" contribueraient à la cohabitation pacifique au Rwanda. J'avais expliqué que : "*Ce qui s'est passé au Rwanda au cours des mois d'avril, mai, juin et juillet 1994 est une atteinte à l'humanité entière et exige que la Communauté internationale prenne des mesures énergiques dans les plus brefs délais afin de ne pas retomber dans les mêmes erreurs : règne de l'impunité, développement de la violence et indifférence de la Communauté internationale*" et que : "*Un des seuls moyens de permettre au peuple rwandais de retrouver la paix, d'oeuvrer à la réconciliation nationale et de construire la démocratie, c'est de rétablir la confiance en mettant sur pied un véritable appareil judiciaire et en engageant toutes les procédures légales visant à l'élargissement des innocents et aux jugements de tous les coupables*".

Cet appareil judiciaire n'existe pas. Beaucoup de magistrats sont morts pendant le génocide. D'autres se trouvent au Zaïre, soit parce qu'ils sont impliqués dans le génocide, soit parce qu'ils ont peur de revenir. Ceux qui sont sur place ne peuvent pas rendre justice dans la sérénité, non seulement parce qu'ils doivent faire face à des difficultés matérielle inoules, mais aussi en raison de l'ingérence des militaires et des Abakada.

Dans un réquisitoire pour la réhabilitation de l'appareil judiciaire rwandais, au mois de janvier 1995, je demandais au Ministre de la Justice de faire appel à des juristes étrangers pour la création d'un Collectif de juristes internationaux pour enquêter sur le génocide, les crimes de guerre et les violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda. J'estimais que le refus d'aider la justice rwandaise revient à nier au peuple rwandais son droit au droit, son droit à la justice et à la paix.

Des juristes africains et occidentaux devraient se mobiliser pour aider la justice dans ce pays meurtri par le génocide. Il y a urgence à faire des enquêtes sérieuses non seulement sur le génocide mais également sur les crimes de guerre et les violations actuelles des droits de l'homme.

Je voudrais vous lire un texte écrit par un médecin, Claude AIGUESVIVES, membre de Médecins du Monde. Il est connu pour son humanisme mais également pour sa discrétion.

*Chef d'inculpation : un million de mort.*

*Ils sont arrivés ! Ordinateur portables talkie-walkie en bandoullière, Convention des Droits de l'Homme sous le bras; voilà les observateurs des Droits de l'Homme au volant de leur Toyota puissante. Enfin... que de temps perdu ?*

*Vitres cassées, plafond étoilé par les impacts de balles, chaises défoncées; dossiers même le sol; voici Monsieur le Procureur Chef de Kigali, il recherche désespérement un taxi...*

*Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali n'a qu'un dossier ; chef d'inculpation un million de mort...*

*Messieurs les conseillers des Droits de l'Homme ont beaucoup de travail, beaucoup de monde aujoud'hui en prison, la situation est désespérante, affligeante, certains en prisons sont sûrement innocents... Il faut faire quelque chose ?*

*Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali n'a qu'un dossier; chef d'inculpation un million de morts.... Son dossier n'intéresse personne, et toujours pas de taxi.*

*Une émeute éclate à la prison de Kigali, coups de feu, corps mutilés qui jonchent le sol, lumière de caméras, crépitement des fax des conseillers des droits de l'Homme.*

*L'émotion est importante. Comment des victimes de génocide peuvent-elles se comporter comme leur bourreau ? Avoir été autant massacré ne servirait-il plus de leçon ? La violence serait-elle gratuite ?*

*Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali trouve enfin un taxi pour se rendre sur les lieux d'émeute des prisonniers, mais les images sont déjà sur CCN, les conseillers des Droits de l'Homme confirment, Monsieur le Procureur s'éloigne.*

*Nous ne comprenons plus rien. Un géopoliticien nous explique l'inexorabilité de ces crimes qui tour à tour frappent une ethnie.*

*Alors ils étaient comme les autres; ainsi l'impunité pourra confondre victimes et bourreaux.*

*Simplification diabolique de cette ellipse; mais il est bien question du diable et de l'enfer rwandais que la Communauté internationale ne souhaite pas élucider.*

*Comment juger le mal, quand nous sommes incapables de le retrancher, de le séparer de la communauté meurtrie. Condamné à l'absorber; il est peut-être notre seul viatique humanitaire ?*

*Sa digestion est difficile il nous faudra courrir, glisser, zapper sur d'autres lieux en affirmant sans y croire que l'histoire ne recommencera pas.*

*Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali découragé est enfin reçu, il s'exprime devant tous les représentants de l'univers. Il est félicité pour son dossier. Il est posé à côté de celui du Cambodge, de la Bosnie ou du Kurdistan...*

*Depuis on a l'impression qu'il ne se passe rien."*

Je voudrais ne pas être ce procureur- là.

Si l'on refuse d'aider la justice rwandaise, les extrémistes (il y en a partout) vont prendre le dessus et il n'y aura pas de justice. Tous les prévenus mourront car les prisons rwandaises sont surpeuplées et le monde dira : Rwanda: un génocide de

plus. Quel cynisme ! Comme si le Rwanda était condamné à vivre dans une logique de la violence.

Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est contribuer à la perpétration de la culture de l'impunité, c'est abandonner les magistrats rwandais, c'est renforcer des groupes d'extrémistes qui aujourd'hui découragent ceux qui avaient espéré, après la défaite des génocidaires, l'avènement d'un Rwanda respectueux des droits de l'homme. Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est renforcer ceux qui, aujourd'hui, divisent arbitrairement la population en deux catégories, celle des "purs" et celle des "assassins", selon l'origine ethnique supposée des uns ou des autres.

Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est renforcer le moral des assassins, des génocidaires qui, dans les camps du Zaïre, renforcent leur emprise sur des réfugiés innocents en leur disant qu'il n'y a pas de justice au Rwanda.

Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est abandonner les membres des associations de défense des droits de l'homme qui dénoncent aujourd'hui avec courage, comme ils l'ont fait par le passé, les violations, les atteintes aux droits de la personne humaine, mais qui risquent demain, si un appareil judiciaire rwandais ne naît pas, de se taire et de venir ainsi complices par leur silence, pour ne pas trahir la mémoire des victimes du génocide et pour survivre si les extrémistes prennent le dessus des modérés.

Le peuple rwandais a droit au droit. Il faut lui donner sa dernière chance. Et la communauté internationale, si elle ne veut pas être accusée d'escroquerie morale, doit agir. Elle doit agir pour renforcer les modérés. Les victimes du génocide, dans leur repos éternel, nous regardent tous. Ils sont morts, victimes d'un régime tyrannique. Ils rêvent, pour les rescapés et les autres groupes composant la société rwandaise, d'un Rwanda où le droit a le dessus sur la force brutale.

Et moi, dans ce pays d'accueil, je réclame le droit à la tranquillité, même à la compréhension. Il existe au Rwanda des Rwandais qui se reconnaissent Rwandais, et non Hutu ou Tutsi. J'aimerais être de ceux-là. Si demain, la communauté internationale qui n'a rien fait avant le génocide, pendant le génocide et après le génocide fait quelque chose en aidant réellement la justice rwandaise, je suis prêt à repartir pour le Rwanda, pour y exercer mes fonctions en toute indépendance, et de la manière dont j'estime qu'elles devraient pouvoir y être exercées.

Bruxelles, le 11 mai 95.
François-Xavier NSANZUWERA.

NOTE FOR THE ATTENTION OF THE SRSG

Subject: The Archbishop of Canterbury's visit to Rwanda
9-13 May 1995

Reference: See attached News Release

This note is to inform you of the above-mentioned visit and also the need for UNAMIR assistance, notably with regard to transportation.

It was, through a meeting which took place at "The English Language Church" during the morning of Saturday 2 April 1995, to which I was invited in my capacity as member of the Church, that I learned about this programme (please see the attached draft programme, page 2, of the News Release of 14 March 1995 of the Office of the Archbishop in London).

In the third paragraph of the News Release it is mentioned that the Archbishop hopes to have meetings with authorities of the current Administration as well as with Representatives of the United Nations and other assistance agencies in Rwanda, during the afternoon of 11 May 1995.

His Grace Jonathan RUHUMULIZA, President of the above Meeting, mentionned furthermore that the assistance of UNAMIR is kindly requested for the transport (by helicopter) of the Archbishop to Butaré during the morning of 12 May 1995 in order to visit the displaced persons camp there. To the request made by His Grace, I told him that the authority in UNAMIR to which the request should be made is the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Rwanda. The latter proposes to contact you officially to inform you of the forthcoming programme.

B. Dessandé
6 April 1995

cc: ED/OSRSG
[redacted]

# NEWS RELEASE

FROM THE OFFICE OF
THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
LAMBETH PALACE
LONDON SE1 7JU 071-928 8282

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

14 March 1995

## ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO VISIT RWANDA 9-13 MAY 1995

The Archbishop of Canterbury will visit Rwanda between 9 and 13 May 1995.

The Archbishop wishes to visit the people of Rwanda in order to offer his public and prayerful support to them as they try to rebuild their lives following the traumatic events of April last year. He will learn at first-hand of the horrors which they have been through.

It is expected that he will visit a number of sites where massacres took place; he also hopes to visit a camp for internally displaced people. He hopes to meet members of the current administration, other church leaders, representatives of the United Nations and other aid agencies. He will be seeking to encourage Anglican leaders to play a positive and constructive role in the moves towards rebuilding the country.

During the meeting of the Primates of the Anglican Communion, now taking place in Windsor, the proposed visit received strong support and encouragement from the Archbishops of the African Provinces.

The Archbishop will be accompanied by his wife, Eileen, Bishop Ken Barham, who is part-time assistant bishop in Rwanda, and two members of his personal staff.

Canon John Peterson (the Secretary General of the Anglican Communion) will accompany the party for part of the programme, but will also be following a separate programme of his own in his capacity as Secretary General.

**The Press Office: Lambeth Palace 0171 928 8282**

Delegation will consist of: The Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs Carey; Canon John Peterson



## OUTLINE OF PROPOSED VISIT BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO RWANDA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Monday 8 May: | 2225 | BA069 | LHR |
| Tuesday 9 May | 1220 | | Entebbe |

Meeting with British High Commissioner

1630 Uganda Air to Kigali
?1730 Arrive Kigali

Accommodation: Hotel des Milles Collines
or other suitable guest house

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wednesday 10 May: | am | Gahini<br>Site of 1st Anglican Mission<br>& killings in April 1994. |
| | | Visit orphanage and hospital |
| | | Service: Theme: Knowing the Roots of our Faith |
| | | Lunch |
| | | Proceed to Rukara.<br>Visit Roman Catholic Church, where many people were murdered. Prayers. |
| | | Meet Ecumenical group of leaders, |
| | pm | Dinner in Kigali for Anglican Church Leaders. |
| Thursday 11 May: | am | Eucharist at Kigali Cathedral. |
| | | Meeting with President/Prime Minister |
| | | Lunch |
| | | Travel to Ruhanga |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Service of Penitence and Remembrance.<br><br>(Ruhanga is the place where a community of 150 Hutus and Tutsis refused to be separated, and were all massacred in the Church. They are now buried outside in mass graves.)<br><br>Return to Kigali |
| | + pm | Reception/Meeting with Aid Agencies and UNAMIR |
| Friday 12 May: | ? | UN Flight to Butare |
| | | Visit camp for displaced people |
| | ? | Lunch - Butare |
| | | Visit to Kigeme<br>(Diocese of Bishop Norman Kayumba). |
| | | Return by air to Kigali. |
| Saturday 13 May: | am | Meeting between Government & Church Leaders. |
| | | A visit in Kigali. |
| | | Lunch |
| | | **Service:** Theme: 'In hope of the Resurrection' |
| | 2030 | Depart Cameroon Air to Nairobi |
| | 2355 | Depart BA066 to London Heathrow |
| Sunday 14 May | 0600 | Arrive Heathrow |

**Party to include:** The Archbishop of Carey and Mrs Carey
Canon John Peterson - Secretary General of the Anglican Communion.

Canon Colin Fletcher: Archbishop's Chaplain
The Reverend Andrew Deuchar: Archbishop's Secretary for Anglican Communion Affairs

It is suggested that Canon Peterson should pursue a separate programme for part of the visit.

e.g.

Thursday 11 May: Fly to Ruhengeri/Gisenyi

Visit local churches

pm Visit Goma

Friday 12 May: Visit Bukavu
Cyangugu

then rejoin Archbishop at Butare.

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ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA
UNAMIR - MINUAR

**NOTE FOR THE SRSG**

Subject: The Archbishop of Canterbury's visit to Rwanda, 9-13 May 1995

Ref: Letter dated 12 April 1995 from the Rt. Reverend Jonathan RUHUMULIZA, Bishop Coadjutor of Kigali Diocese and Chairman of the Visit's Executive Committee

1. The second meeting on the above-mentioned subject was held on 19 April 1995 in St. Etienne's Cathedral of Kigali under the chairmanship of the Rt. Revd. J. RUHUMULIZA. As well as the representatives of the Rwandese Clergy, Ministers BIHOZAGARA (Rehabilitation), MAZIMPAKA (Youth and Sports), INYUMBA (Family and Women's Issues) form part of the Coordinating Commission. Their representatives attended the meeting. At the request of the Director of State Protocol (Mr. RUDAHUNGA), present at the meeting, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Works, and Social Affairs respectively, became members of the said Committee.

2. Among other items on the agenda centred on the preparations for this visit, and which calls for your attention, is the request for assistance to UNAMIR, namely :

- **Round Trip Air Transportation**

  For the Archbishop and his Delegation

  - Kigali/Gahini/Nyarubuye - Wednesday 10 May 1995
  - Kigali/Butare/Kigeme - Vendredi 12 May 1995

  It is understood that 14 personalities comprising the Archbishop and Representatives of Government will make the trip.

- For the Secretary-General (Canon John Peterson) of the Anglican Consultative Council

  -Kigali/Ruhengeri/Gisenyi/Goma/Bukavu/Cyangugu

For this itinerary I indicated to the participants that UNAMIR helicopters, in keeping with the Mandate of the Mission, are not authorized to fly over territories of Rwanda's neighbouring countries. The Rt. Revd. RUHUMULIZA replied that this point would be reviewed with the Secretary-General himself. However, the dates of 11-12 April are to be maintained but confirmed later.

3. **Grading of half a kilometer of the Gahini road and two kilometers of the Ruhanga road:**

I indicated that on your instructions I should discuss this item with the competent military unit before giving a response.

4. **Vehicles for transport of Delegation**

On this point, I intervened to clarify that UNAMIR assists the Government but does not replace it, and that the Commission should firstly solicit an input from the Government on behalf of this distinguished visitor and his delegation to Rwanda before requesting UNAMIR's assistance for transport needs. Here again, the request should specify : type and number of vehicles, dates and times of utilization, as well as the different itineraries to be followed.

The Committee for Transport intends to furnish the relevant particulars as soon as possible.

5. **Voice Amplifier**

Without giving a precise answer, I suggested that the Committee responsible for Information approach ORINFOR for this equipment.

The Meeting requested UNAMIR (Information Section) to assist in the coverage of the visit by supplying video cassettes - an officer of the Australian Medical Unit present at the Meeting indicated that Major Peter Seaman, Public Relations Officer (Tel. 75216) should be approached with regard to this item.

6. Moreover, the Meeting noted from the draft programmmme for 11 May 1995 that a "reception/meeting with Aid Agencies and UNAMIR" is foreseen for the Archbishop from 19H00 and 21H00, the place to be specified at a later date.

7. The Secretary-General of the Anglican Consultative Council, Canon John Peterson, will arrive in Kigali at the beginning of the week and a meeting with him is foreseen for Tuesday 25 April 1995 from 14H00 to examine the draft programme.

B.P. Dessandé
Chief of Protocol
Room no. 4060 Ext. 11069

cc: FC SPA
DFC OIC/ADM
OIC/OSRSG AIROPS
SPOKESMAN MOVCON

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ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA
UNAMIR - MINUAR

# PRESS RELEASE

UNAMIR PR-95.29 02 May 1995

Kigali, RWANDA - Some media reports have cited UNAMIR as the source of allegations that the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) has exhumed and took away some bodies from Kibeho Camp.

UNAMIR denies categorically being the source of such information.

The position of UNAMIR on the recent Kibeho incidents has been duly communicated through earlier press releases and other official channels. That position remains unchanged.

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Note to editors: For more information, please contact Ismael Diallo, UNAMIR Spokesperson in Kigali Telephone (212) 963-3582 or (250) 84266, ext. 11075.

File Press

To Spokesman:
It would be appreciated if as has been the practice, press releases are discussed with OSRSG before being issued.
Many thanks
SRB
21/4/95

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MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA

UNAMIR - MINUAR

**NEWS RELEASE**

UNAMIR NR-95.24 April 19, 1995

KIGALI, RWANDA -- On April 18, 1995 at approximately 8:15 p.m., a group of two to four armed men arrived at the Brown and Root Administration office in Kigali. After physically assaulting the security guards, the men entered the building and forced the staff to lie on the floor. Some of the staff were kicked in the ribs and face by the thieves, resulting in a dislocated jawbone of one staff member. The operations manager was held at gunpoint and asked to show the thieves the location of the Brown and Root safes. After doing so, the safes were forced open and approximately $40,000 US was stolen. The thieves then looted the pockets of the staff members, stealing more than $7,000 in personal cash and some passports. They also stole a number of computers, radios and a fax machine from the building. On departure the men stole an UNAMIR vehicle.

In another incident the same night, an UNAMIR vehicle was stolen at gunpoint from the Meridien Hotel in Kigali by a man dressed in what appeared to be a uniform.

"These incidents are of great concern to me," said Maj.-Gen. Guy Tousignant, UNAMIR Force Commander. "They represent a deterioration in the general security situation in Kigali. We are taking the appropriate measures of increased vigilance to prevent further incidents and to ensure the safety of both UN soldiers and civilians in Rwanda."

UN military police are currently investigating both of these incidents.

-30-

**Note to editors: For more information, please contact Ismael Diallo, UNAMIR Spokesperson in Kigali at (212) 963-3582, ext 11075 or the UNAMIR Military Spokesperson, Lt(N) Kent Page at (212) 963-3582, ext 11124.**

Spoke

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UNAMIR - MINUAR

**NEWS RELEASE**

UNAMIR NR-95.22 April 18, 1995

KIGALI, RWANDA -- On April 14, 1995 at approximately 3 p.m., sixteen men were shot and killed, reportedly by soldiers of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) on the banks of the Rubyiro River, approximately two kilometres east of the village of Nyabishungu. Nyabishungu is located about twenty kilometres southeast of Cyangugu.

The killing apparently took place after 8 unknown persons are said to have attacked two RPA soldiers at about 11 a.m. the same morning near Nyabishungu, killing one RPA soldier and wounding the other. Between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. that day, approximately twenty RPA soldiers reportedly came to the Nyabishungu area and rounded up seventeen men - all local civilians. The men were brought to the banks of the Rubyiro River where they were shot. All of the men died with the exception of one who feigned death and later made his way to the nearby Mashesha Hospital for treatment of his injuries.

UNAMIR is in touch with the Rwandese Government on this incident which it views with great concern. UNAMIR military observers and Human Rights representatives are currently investigating this incident.

-30-

**Note to editors: For more information, please contact Ismael Diallo, UNAMIR Spokesperson in Kigali at (212) 963-3582, ext 11075 or the UNAMIR Military Spokesperson, Lt(N) Kent Page at (212) 963-3582, ext 11124.**

SPOKESMAN

UNITED NATIONS
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UNAMIR - MINUAR

**NEWS RELEASE**

UNAMIR NR-95.23 April 18, 1995

KIGALI, RWANDA -- On April 18, 1995 a cordon operation was conducted at the Kibeho Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camp, located in the southwest of Rwanda by a battalion of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) troops.

The operation commenced early this morning. Shots were initially fired in the air and as a result, the displaced persons, estimated at about 100,000, made their way to the centre of the camp near the UNAMIR compound. It is reported that ten people died due to the crush of the crowd. An RPA commander announced to the displaced persons gathered that the government wished to see the camp closed down soon and to have all IDP's return to their home communes. It was also announced that the IDP's would be provided with transportation and relief supplies for their return home. The RPA also announced that the government would ensure the security of the returnees.

Some huts were burned during the operation, but this was caused by cooking fires - no fires were deliberately set and no violence was directed at any of the IDP's. Many IDP's removed the plastic sheeting covering their huts and placed their belongings inside in preparation for the journey home.

UNAMIR formed troops and military observers located inside the Kibeho Camp are monitoring the situation.

-30-

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UNAMIR - MINUAR

cleared with me on 15.4.

Slash 18.4.

**NEWS RELEASE**

UNAMIR NR-95.21 April 15, 1995

**UNAMIR Soldier Fatally Injured In A Single Vehicle Accident**

KIGALI, RWANDA -- On April 15, 1995, at approximately 10:45 a.m. a Senegalese Battalion vehicle carrying ten soldiers was involved in a single vehicle accident at Kamonyi while enroute to Kigali.

The exact details of the accident are unknown at this time other than it involved the loss of control on a bend in the road. A second vehicle in the convoy was unaffected and no other persons or vehicles were involved.

A passing motorist, Dr E.T. Wesselius of the Netherlands forensic investigation team rendered assistance at the accident. The soldiers were transported to the Australian Medical Hospital in Kigali where seven were admitted for treatment: four of these are being treated for non life-threatening injuries; two were released after minor treatment; and, one soldier died in hospital as a result of injuries sustained in the accident.

An investigation into the incident is underway.

-30-

**Note to editors: For more information, please contact Ismael Diallo, UNAMIR Spokesperson in Kigali at (212) 963-3582, ext 11075 or the UNAMIR Military Spokesperson, Lt(N) Kent Page at (212) 963-3582, ext 11124.**

Public info

UNAMIR HQ
Force Headquarters
Ops Cell
KIGALI

12 April 95

3000.19(Ops)

See Distribution

**TRANSPORTATION OF LOCALS IN UNAMIR MILITARY VEHICLES**

1. At a rally/demonstration held against UNAMIR on 11 Apr 95, the Prefect of KIGALI warned that UNAMIR personnel should desist from fraternizing with local females forthwith. The Prefect also mentioned that the civil population will be informed through radio broadcasts to throw stones at all UN/UNAMIR vehicles seen carrying local females.

2. In view of the above, you are reminded of the policy as published by the CTO and advised to inform all UNAMIR/UN pers under command to take the warning seriously and to desist from the practice of carrying Rwandan females with immediate effect.

3. For your compliance.

J ARP
Col
for Force Commander

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List B, C & D

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List A

UN NATIONS

# Press Release Secretary-General

Department of Public Information • News Coverage Service • New York

SG/SM/5611
11 April 1995

## SECRETARY-GENERAL, DEPLORING INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES AGAINST UNAMIR, URGES ALL SEGMENTS OF RWANDESE SOCIETY TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT

The following statement on Rwanda was issued today by the Spokesman for the Secretary-General:

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been informed by his Special Representative in Rwanda of a demonstration held outside the headquarters of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) today.

The Secretary-General deplores the fact that speeches of a highly inflammatory nature, and containing completely unfounded allegations, were made against UNAMIR and the United Nations. He particularly regrets that some responsible officials in Rwanda attended the demonstration and are reported to have made unfortunate statements.

The Secretary-General calls on all segments of Rwandese society to exercise restraint at this critical time in order not to exacerbate tensions further. He also hopes that the Government of Rwanda will do everything possible to ensure that UNAMIR receives, at every level, the cooperation necessary for carrying out its mandate.

* *** *

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MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA

UNAMIR - MINUAR

**NEWS RELEASE**

UNAMIR NR-95.20 April 10, 1995

## UNAMIR Helps Ease Prison Conditions

KIGALI, RWANDA -- On April 10, 1995, UNAMIR commenced work on a project with the Rwandan Government to help ease the overcrowded prison situation in Rwanda. Three UNAMIR trucks, escorted by RPA, transported 120 prisoners from the Gitarama prison to the Gisenyi prison thereby relieving some of the stress on the overcrowded Gitarama prison.

"I am very happy that the Rwandan Government is addressing this important problem", said Major General Guy Tousignant, UNAMIR Force Commander. "We are working together to move the prisoners simply to provide improved living conditions for them. UNAMIR will continue to assist in any way it can to help alleviate the overcrowded prison conditions in Rwanda."

This marks the beginning of an overall project to move 2400 prisoners from the Gitarama prison to four other prisons which will considerably help ease the prison situation. UNAMIR will also provide assistance in the renovation of existing facilities to improve living conditions.

The loading and reception of the prisoners will take place in the presence of Human Rights and International Committee of the Red Cross representatives.

UNAMIR continues to work together on a wide variety of projects with the Rwandan Government as "Partners For Peace" towards the peaceful reconciliation and rebuilding of Rwanda.

-30-

**Note to editors: For more information, please contact Ismael Diallo, UNAMIR Spokesperson in Kigali at (212) 963-3582, ext 11075 or the UNAMIR Military Spokesperson, Lt(N) Kent Page at (212) 963-3582 ext 11124.**

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UNAMIR - MINUAR

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."

* * * * *

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ICTR

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA

TRIBUNAL PENAL INTERNATIONAL POUR LE RWANDA

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# COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE DU PROCUREUR

Cette semaine marque le premier anniversaire du génocide et des autres violations du droit international humanitaire perpétrés au Rwanda. Nous nous joignons à la communauté internationale pour saluer la mémoire de ceux qui ont été sacrifiés et pour exprimer nos inquiétudes quant à la situation désespérée dans laquelle se trouvent les survivants. Le Tribunal international pour le Rwanda a pour mission d'aider ce pays à s'engager sur la voie de la réconciliation nationale en traduisant en justice les responsables des massacres.

Le Tribunal contribuera, avec l'aide du gouvernement rwandais, à ce processus de réconciliation nationale en engageant des poursuites contre les Rwandais et toutes autres personnes qui ont dirigé ou organisé le génocide. La nomination d'un Procureur adjoint, M. Honoré Rakotomanana, et d'un Directeur des Enquêtes par le Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies, ainsi que l'arrivée à Kigali d'une première équipe d'enquêteurs marquent le début de ce processus.

Le Procureur du Tribunal, M. Richard Goldstone, ne manque pas de souligner : "Les enquêtes effectuées à ce jour nous ont permis d'identifier environ 400 suspects qui pourraient être poursuivis pour génocide et crimes contre l'humanité. Certains d'entre-eux se trouvent toujours au Rwanda. D'autres se trouvent dans différents pays d'Afrique, d'Europe et d'Amérique. Nous cherchons à nous assurer la coopération de divers pays pour obtenir la remise des suspects au Tribunal. Je me suis fixé comme objectif de présenter les premiers actes d'accusation dans le courant du deuxième semestre de cette année."

Le 5 avril 1995

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

ICTR

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA

TRIBUNAL PENAL INTERNATIONAL POUR LE RWANDA

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# PRESS RELEASE OF THE PROSECUTOR

This week marks the first anniversary of the genocide and other violations of international humanitarian law that were perpetrated in Rwanda . We join with the international community in taking this opportunity to mourn those whose lives were lost and to express concern for the plight of the survivors. It is the task of the International Tribunal for Rwanda to assist Rwanda embark on the path of national reconciliation by bringing to justice those responsible.

The Tribunal, with the support of the Rwandan government, will contribute to this process of national reconciliation by prosecuting those Rwandans and any others who led or organized the genocide. With the appointment by the Secretary General of a Deputy Prosecutor, Honoré Rakotomanana, and a Chief of Investigations, as well as the arrival of a first group of investigators in Kigali, that process has begun.

The Prosecutor of the Tribunal, Justice Richard Goldstone, points out: "Based on our investigations to date, we have identified approximately 400 suspects who may be prosecuted for acts of genocide and crimes against humanity. Some are still in Rwanda. Others are in several African countries, in Europe and North America. We will seek the cooperation of various countries to surrender the suspects for trial. It is my objective to issue the first indictments in the second half of this year."

April 5, 1995

TANSLATED LOCAL PUBLICATION

- LE MESSAGER N° 53
  April/1995
  journal privé

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By EDITIONS CENTRALES
(S.A.R.L.)
B.P. 948 Tél:74224
KIGALI

MAYBE IF THE MULTIPARTY SYSTEM WERE STOPPED

SOME PEOPLE WOULD HAVE PEACE.
( LE MESSAGER N° 53/APRIL 1995)

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Rwandese people are afraid of truth and I don't know whether it is part of our nature or not. We don't want to acknowledge that we can't do everything. It is high time we changed in action and in words. However, since we have been unavailingly preaching this, let us seek moderation and the welfare of the majority of the Rwandese population. We have the government and the authorities. We have always had them but all of them are the same. Very few among them struggle for the welfare of the Rwandese population but they don't have the means. A lot of authorities look, first of all, for their interests and those of their relatives and friends. And when this is not possible, they engage conflicts with those who don't help them.

This is how conflicts are born among the authorities and are extended to the population. Back to multiparty system, we can ask ourselves whether this system is not the cause of insecurity prevailing in the countryside. They started calling people interahamwe and thus arresting them. Now this word is out of date. They are asking the political party people belonged to before the war. When someone belonged to MDR they immediately arrest him saying that he is a " Parmehutu" which made them flee and they immediately take him to prison.

These days, as you have been reading, some authorities through many articles published in newspapers like Imvaho, argue that multiparty system is not democracy. This is how they understand the issue and they are our leaders. You can struggle to explain but they will not understand. Instead, they will call you "IGIPINGA" ( opponent ). Those who say that we are in the multiparty system aim at misleading people since political parties instead of ensuring the welfare of the population, are endangering them.

If this multiparty system cannot be practised, better stop it and give the ministries, belonging to parties, to individuals. RPF should be frank to acknowledge that it doesn't respect the Arusha Peace Accords. In this respect, the population can maybe have peace. Those who call themselves leaders of political parties should carefully ponder upon the issue. They should understand that without the population no political party can exist. By reasoning in that way, they would take appropriate measures.

These parties would join RPF family and the five years would be for the military regime which would bring back security. In the same vein, it would be better if the President of the Republic were a soldier. This would avoid the suspicion that Military Authorities don't abide by the decisions taken by Civilian Authorities. It is obvious that no democracy can be achieved in this country and no one should tell us that we have it. Because we are hungry for democracy, we behave as if we have it, which leads to conflicts between citizens and the authorities. We want open and full dictatorship to which we will clap our hands provided we live in a well-defined situation. We must acknowledge that the "weapon" is powerful

## WHY DOESN'T TWAGIRAMUNGU RESIGN ?

Some people are asking themselves this question. They say that TWAGIRAMUNGU should resign and take rest otherwise he will carry the responsibility of what is being done in this country. Thus in history they will say that the first governments which excelled in the killings are those of KAMBANDA, from April to July 1994, and TWAGIRAMUNGU since July up to the present. However, some people don't want to accept that killings are still being committed. They should accept the truth. People are being kidnapped and they disappear ( read Le Tribun issue N° 34 October II 94 Page 5)

Another reason which should make TWAGIRAMUNGU resign is that the followers of his party are leaving him. Some died during the massacres except that there are people ( extremists) who don't accept this reality. They say that members of MDR who died are only the two ministers : Agatha UWILINGIYIMANA and Faustin RUCOGOZA. I don't know whether they don't know of other people who died because they adhered to the branch of MDR which sided with TWAGIRAMUNGU. We may mention people like Déo HAVUGIMANA, Viateur KALINDA, Emmanuel RUKUNDO to name only a few. Many people have died because their identity cards showed that they were coming from GISHOMA, the same commune as TWAGIRAMUNGU, or they were his relatives.

However, as it happens, some of his followers participated in bad acts, they ate cows, destroyed houses and some even may have killed! This category fled to Zaire, Burundi and Tanzania ( I don't mean here that all those who fled are criminals.

Another category of his followers didn't participate in the killings but are now being scolded simply because they are Hutus. They are called " Parmehutus". Any young man in the countryside is not well considered by people who ask him why he wasn't killed, why his family is still living. In addition, they say that he belongs to the party which originates from Parmehutu.

Old people are scolded too. They are accused of having belonged to "Parmehutu". So, if they didn't kill, they ate other people's cows. This category is persecuted, jailed and in some regions men live in the bush. If you have the authority get up and go to the countryside and reassure innocent people who are afraid. Tell those who mistreat them that they fall in the trap of RTLM.

RTLM was preaching that RPF aimed at killing any Hutu and the same thing is happening in some places. If you don't fight against this when it is still early, you will fall in the trap of RTLM ( here I address RPF). The majority of MDR members are being killed and those who have means to flee, don't hesitate. How do you see the jailing of people from your region. Did you, you and Minister Nkubito, ever tried to know why these people are suffering ? The last category is composed by people for whom to belong to MDR has become like a sin. They thus quit their party to seek safety in RPF.

These people are against you and they want to get rid of you. 100% of them base themselves on the document your party wrote in November 1994, and on some authorities of MDR who made themselves more democratic than others ignoring that we live the after war period, to declare that they cannot accept all this, that they want to dissever from the "Power Wing".

This is dangerous. If your followers are called "Powers" you too will be accused of being a "power" and all the posts you hold in the government, the National Assembly and in the Embassies will be left to them. Since there will be more posts than people they will invite others who want to eat or who are afraid of being called opponents to join them.

You should resign before you are removed. After the publication of the document I mentioned above, some newspapers whenever you cough, whenever you spit, write about you. Does it mean that you are the only guilty authority in this country? It is true that someone who doesn't work can't commit mistakes but why don't they acknowledge the good things you do? If you don't pay attention, your followers will abandon you to seek safety elsewhere. They will spoil your image and thus you will be removed from your post of Prime Minister. Another reason which makes me ask you to resign is that you are not respected. Your orders are not obeyed and the one you thought to blame is openly condemning you. I am afraid that sooner or later even the younger soldiers will disobey you!

**HOWEVER SOME PEOPLE WANT YOU TO STAY !**

When you talk to people you realise that some are sad because of some acts done and which are attributed to the Prime Minister, Minister Nkubito and to the prosecutor of the Republic. These people say : Minister Nkubito formerly hated injustice. Now that he is Minister for Justice people are summarily arrested. Prisons are swarmed with people the majority of whom doesn't have dossiers and they ask themselves why he doesn't react, whether he is tired or not good willing. If there are people who weaken him he should follow the example of MBONAMPEKA and resign.

Other people say that prosecutor NSANZUWERA had told the journalist of Le TRIBUN that he would resign if the situation didn't change but it seems that he came back to his decision. It seems that he cannot resign when the country has got problems. Maybe TWAGIRAMUNGU has got the same reasons as his. Any way I think that the problems of this country are difficult to solve even though we shouldn't despair.

Do the population know why you turn a deaf ear to their problems? Could you ask the population that you abandoned to vote for you if elections were to take place now? Do what you should do. You only once depicted the problems of the population and maybe you got threatened since you didn't say anything later on. Don't accept to pay for what you are not responsible for. This is how I see things if someone doesn't agree with me, his reaction is welcome. I hope that many people are concerned about this issue.

**WHY NO ONE CONFIDES IN TWAGIRAMUNGU AND HIS FOLLOWERS?**

I read the article of HITIMANA Chromos N° 51 of LE MESSAGER INTUMWA where he said : "TWAGIRAMUNGU'S FOLLOWERS ARE DISAPPOINTED" The ideas included in this article are founded. I thus, in the following points, decide to complete him.

**1. HIS FOLLOWERS ARE NOT PARMEHUTU.**

When you read IMBONI, LE TRIBUN, KIBERINKA and other newspapers which praise the present regime, you notice that they are enthusiastic at convincing people that the current MDR is not different from PARMEHUTU of 1959 and 1960. Even IMBONI doesn't accept that MDR-PARMEHUTU was stopped in 1973 because MRND was PARMEHUTU!

To say such things is to mislead the population and ignore willingly the truth. MDR we have in the country belongs to TWAGIRAMUNGU and his followers. It is thus different from MDR-PARMEHUTU and from what has been termed "POWER". Here are our explanations :

MDR of Twagiramungu is the genuine MDR since it has been founded in July 1991 when thousands and thousands of people were disgusted with HABYARIMANA and his MRND. They decided to restart and renovate MDR-PARMEHUTU and thus adapt it to the present times.

In this renovation, the party became MDR simply in order to strengthen the principle of true unity between Rwandese so that no one could be excluded due to his ethnic group. The new MDR is not thus a party of Hutus as some people want to affirm. It is known that there are Tutsis who adhered to this party ( we can mention their names when necessary)

However no one can deny that at a certain time, division erupted in this party due to people who wanted to serve personal interests even though it had become clear that they had lost confidence of people. One part which was guided by NSENGIYAREMYE, KARAMIRA, MUREGO, SEBATWARE condemned TWAGIRAMUNGU, the president of the party because he had decided to stick to the ideology of the party whereas his opponents preached that their programme was PARMEHUTU's and that TWAGIRAMUNGU and his followers were INYENZI-INKOTANYi( enemies), people of LUNARI and other names which aimed at convincing the population that they disregarded the interests of Hutus. They felt that it was a good way of having many followers on their side. However, TWAGIRAMUNGU, got followers because his ideas fitted the new Rwanda, the country where Hutus and Tutsis live in mutual-respect where every one enjoys his rights.

People like : MUREGO, SEBATWARE, MBONYUMUTWA, SHINGIRO, NKEZABERA J.M.V, BICAMUMPAKA Jérôme and many others who became "Powers" and killers, were against TWAGIRAMUNGU because they saw him as a great politician who would lead the country whereas they would feel uneasy due to the hatred they nourished towards KAYIBANDA, his father-in-law.

The conflict in MDR grew more tense when NSENGIYAREMYE was removed from the Prime Ministry. He and his followers ( they called themselves Parmehutu) took this occasion to get rid of TWAGIRAMUNGU dismissing him from the party alleging that he was a betrayer. But they didn't succeed. This conflict was strengthened by what is known as the KABUSUNZU congress ( 23-24/07/1993. This congress led TWAGIRAMUNGU and his followers to work together and that was how AMAJYOJYI ( his followers) were born in MDR.

As they were teaching true unity and reconciliation within the party based on respecting its ideology, they got new followers. This led those who called themselves Parmehutu to get discouraged. They joined MRND-CDR but they called themselves "powers" to mislead people as they were ashamed of going back to what they had refused.

It is thus true that Twagiramungu followers and POWERS ( who formerly called themselves Parmehutus) followed a different political line. It was even believed that these two groups were simply disputing posts. Another thing which shows that they were totally different is that many people, including religious people, tried to unite them but to no avail. This difference was also shown during the massacres in which the POWERS, Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi participated but in general TWAGIRAMUNGU followers didn't dirty their hands. Even some of them, mainly politicians, have been chased because they were called Inyenzi or accomplices.

## 2. THEY, TOO, LOST THEIR RELATIVES

The atrocities committed in this country in April-July 1994 were done in two ways: Genocide and massacres and when the two are joined they are called "mass killings'. What is astonishing in these days is that people of one ethnic group think they are the only ones to have lost relatives whereas other Rwandese, even though they didn't die due to their ethnic belonging, lost their lives simply because of their ideas they shared with RPF.

Here are names of TWAGIRAMUNGU followers who died during the mass killings :

- Madam Agatha UWIRINGIYIMANA : We all know her since she was Prime Minister. She struggled, without reserve, against MRND-CDR dictatorship. She was president of MDR in BUTARE and thus she was among the people who formed the Political Bureau of the party. She has been courageous and the country should always remember her. She died with her husband Ignace BARAHIRA.

- Faustin RUCOGOZA : He was Minister for Information and president of MDR in BYUMBA and thus in Political Bureau of the party.

- Zacharie SERUBYOGO : He was a great businessman and Vice-President of MDR in Cyangugu. He was in the Political Bureau of the party. Members of CDR had called him a Tutsi who changed his identity.

- Stanislas SINIBAGIWE : He was director of the School Press ( IMPRISCO ) and Vice-President of MDR in Byumba. He was ipso facto a member of the Political Bureau of the party.

- Stanislas BUSHAYIJA : He was a medical assistant and member of MDR political Bureau since he was secretary of the party in

Byumba.

- There are other members of the party who were killed and who were in the leading organs at the prefectorial, communal and cell levels. These are people like : Charles NTAZINDA ( BUTARE-NYABISINDU), Straton SEBANYAMBO ( KIGALI-KANZENZE ), Michel TWAGIRUMUKIZA ( GITARAMA-MUSAMBIRA), Jean-Marie NTOYIRYO ( KIGALI BIRYOGO) GASAMAGERA Alias LOCOMOTIVE RWA MDR ( KIGALI-SHYORONGI), Vicent HABYARIMANA ( GIKONGORO-MUBUGA ), Viateur KARINDA and Tarcisse RUBWIRIZA ( BYUMBA ) and other people, we cannot name, especially young men who belonged to the JDR-INKUBA family.

In these days, we remember the last year killings. It is not fair to insist only on the genocide of Tutsis. It is true that many people died in it, but we shouldn't forget that many Hutus, especially the authorities who belonged to MDR and PSD parties, died in these massacres of April 1994. It is astonishing to see that some widows are excluded from associations of the massacres widows under the allegation that Hutu were not killed. Another sad thing is that on the Women's Day ( 8 March 1995 ) no speech delivered on that day praised the courage of Agatha UWIRINGIYIMANA whereas she struggled for the country and for women in particular. We hope that this mistake will be avoided during the burial ceremony ( scheduled on 7 April 1995) of the former authorities of this country who have been victims of the massacres.

### 3. TWAGIRAMUNGU'S FOLLOWERS HAVE LOST ON BOTH SIDES.

When the new government was created on 19 July 1994, MDR followers jumped with happiness that finally their TWAGIRAMUNGU was appointed Prime Minister in respect of Arusha Peace Accords. They hoped that this post would enable him to change the administration of this country in a way to eradicate dictatorship, corruption, ethnic division and other ills the country was suffering from during the regime of HABYARIMANA. However, they soon got

disappointed.

In fact, no one can condemn TWAGIRAMUNGU. He doesn't actually hold the authority as accorded by Arusha Peace Accords. When you hear him on the radio you realise that his ideas are still the same except that he has no occasion to put them in action. This issue is very frustrating to his followers who notice that their chief has no clear role to play in this country.

Much more frustrating for them is that some RPF members consider them as enemies especially since when they issued that document of November 1994 which criticised the administration of the country but also gave advice to the government on what can be done to normalise the situation.

What is sad is that some MDR members, seeing that the document didn't please RPF, went to tell the latter that they were not responsible for what the Political Bureau declared. They added that the document was written by people who shared Parmehutu ideas with TWAGIRAMUNGU.

Actually, apart from some people who call their colleagues "Powers" and "Parmehutu" because they want to curry favours with RPF as they are afraid of losing their posts, there is no "power wing" nor "Parmehutu" in MDR TWAGIRAMUNGU. We explained this in the beginning. It is said that those who spread these rumours are the tools of those who want MDR to be divided and this would give occasion to exclude TWAGIRAMUNGU and his companions of struggle and their posts would be given to people said to belong to MDR whereas in fact they are like puppets. Beyond the understanding is the fact that those who accuse others of being "Powers" are those opportunists or people who had attended the Kabusunzu congress which gave birth to "Power Wing".

This fact of mistaking MDR TWAGIRAMUNGU for Parmehutu, killers ,powers and other things which aim at making people enemies of the nation, serves as a basis for security people to arrest any one who was in the MDR organs in sectors, communes and cells. We are informed that many of MDR members who didn't flee because they were innocent have been arrested accused allegedly of being Interahamwe. When they think that someone may become burgomaster it becomes worse. They immediately look for people who falsely accuse him of the killing he didn't commit.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Up to now, we don't understand why members of MDR are still being persecuted whereas actually they are not against the regime of BIZIMUNGU and KAGAME. If they dared to show the government what is not going well this should not be the reason to call them Parmehutus or to imprison them. Except if this is a pretext some people found to carry out their plan of taking the power alone. It is said that in RPF, some members ( rather family members) didn't appreciate the good decision of power sharing taken by their leaders.

It would be better if a meeting of confidence building and mutual-criticism was held between RPF and political parties existing in this country. In this meeting, they would frankly say the truth on what they see as a hindrance to the cooperation they promised when they created the government of National Unity and if necessary some members would leave but in a democratic way. This would put an end to the suspicion. In any case, to persecute someone basing oneself on ethnic or political belonging, should be stopped because it would encourage the true enemies of the country.

François RENZAHO

## THE NEWSPAPER "LE MESSAGER INTUMWA" IS UNJUSTLY PERSECUTED

These days, every where in this town of Kigali, there are two divergent criticisms about LE MESSAGER-INTUMWA. One group says that the newspaper is no longer following its ideology ( Radio Rwanda on 30/03 1995 in the emission "music and ideas" delivered by Néron BIZIMANA). This journalist convinced Rwandese people that he doesn't know why the journalists of Le Messager are not yet arrested. He accused us! It is normal since we don't have justice yet. This journalist profits by the distraction of the authorities, to point with finger and insult anyone of his choice especially anyone he doesn't share political ideas with.

When he said this, his colleagues with whom he shares ideas, had on the previous day torn 37 copies of Le Messager. My colleague journalist told me that this country is still behind. We have stepped backwards. We criticised Habyarimana and very often wrongly but they didn't tear our copies. They instead wanted to arrest us but our accomplice warned us and we hid ourselves. My colleagues are convinced that they are not only extremists but also ignorant. Another group lives on fear. When they remember what has been done on their director MUTSINZI they say that Le Messager will disappear since all its journalists will be killed.

Some advises me to flee and others tell me to stop writing. When we issue a number they are astonished to see me around whereas I should be in hide-out. All this is said and those who are concerned have got reasons. They don't want us to say the truth on the current situation and some willingly ignore how the Newspaper started because it goes against their egoistic interests.

In any case, our writings aim at constructing the country and we publish what we hear from the population. We don't want to flee so that we may not be killed by our opponents. We must collaborate with others to build this country. It is said that no one can challenge his fate!

Remember those who fled the war and Interahamwe who ran to Zaire to escape from death. When they arrived there they died of diarrhoea. If they kill me I will not be the first to be victim of injustice and as they themselves say, from April to July many innocent people have been killed! I would however like to ask rwandese and mainly the authorities not to be afraid of newspapers. We point out mistakes so that they can be corrected. We have no intention to discourage them. They should know that to flatter them would serve them no good.

Our readers, when they think about how the authorities persecute us using, this time, Radio Rwanda, are concerned because the persecuted newspapers belong to Hutu journalists : NYABARONGO, LE MESSAGER, LE PARTISAN. The redaction staff of LE MESSAGER doesn't see things this way. Many people add that these newspapers are condemned because they were on the side of MDR, so to say that they have Parmehutu ideology. Since anyone who was in MDR is considered as a parmehutu, these newspapers aim at defending Hutus!

This is not true. We defend the wronged people we don't care whether they are Hutus, Tutsis, or Twas. Why did they call us Inyenzi (enemies) before? You should be familiar with our writings since we didn't change. I invite you to read the article issued in N° 28 on 5/3/1993 page 7 and see whether we changed. We will speak for anyone who is wronged. We will combat injustice no matter how we can be persecuted. We will sometimes issue some of our articles already published so as to show you that we didn't abandon our ideology. The article we are going to issue for the second time is

January 1995. When you discuss the incident with some people, they reply that it served him right, commenting that he should know the environment for which he is writing. It did not stop there, the paper for which he is the editor continued to come out; but the children selling it in town often meet with trouble. They are sometimes attacked by youngsters who snatched the papers out of their hands.

commodities through the paper, I tell them that five thousand copies do come out."!

On top of treading on thread due to poverty, there is lack of qualifications in journalism. The quality and validity of the written media are nowhere to be seen. As a consequence, it is not surprising to read a paper and not find any news in it. How can it be collected if there are no means available to do so? That is why so many papers are full of commentaries, the few news items being mingled with opinions or sheer rumours.

**THAT IS NO REASON FOR HAVING ONE'S HEAD HACKED TO PIECES**

Mistakes are not made by the press alone. Government and military authorities and various organizations are accountable as well. A newsperson reports the truth if he/she has got it. Yet there are various authorities or individuals who stand in their way, thus preventing them to carry out their functions properly. It is then here that you find everything classified "as Government, military or professional confidential". Some situations are complicated for unknown reasons. For example, a journalist with KINYAMATEKA has tried to visit Rilima three times, but to no avail. Despite that he had all the required documents from the Minister of Justice, not a single time was he allowed in.

No media can work properly if there is not enough freedom of press which guarantees that people can view things differently. Someone who thinks differently from you should not be deemed as your enemy. But, this seems to have become a principle in Rwanda. Starting from earlier, journalists have been persecuted due to their opinions. Under the former government, journalists would be beaten to death, put in jail and even killed. Even today the prospects for an improved situation are not high. The journalist MUTSINZI had his head hacked to pieces with a small hatchet on 29

little by little to such a point that journalists worthy of the name ended up emerging. But in the meantime, incendiary papers also came into being. These were inciting Rwandese to division based on political parties, ethnic or regional belonging and ideological differences. We can cite the magazine KANGURA and Radio RTLM. These are some of the media which set fire on Rwanda, causing indescribable killings throughout the country. Most of the professional journalists were killed in the process, others fled to far-away countries and refused to come back for various reasons.

## PAPERS HAVE TO BE BORN AGAIN

In the aftermath of genocide and massacres, some of the papers have resumed thanks to assistance from donors one of whom is "Reporters sans Frontières", an organization defending the rights of the press. There are quite new papers, though. At present there are 18 publications in Rwanda plus others coming our from neighbouring countries.

When examined carefully, the press suffer from the same problems as earlier, which have even increased. Often you find that a paper is run by one or two persons. I discussed with one who confirmed he was at the same time the editor and journalist of his paper. When asked about his equipment, he replied: " Apart from my pen and notebook, there is nothing more". No photocopier, no office, no address, nothing. He collects information on foot, or catches a taxi when there is extra money over the printing fees. He has recourse to friends to type his articles. Do not ask him about computer he who sometimes cannot afford a pen. When it comes out, his paper is sold by children roaming the city or at stalls at "Gare routière" or the roundabout in Kigali. Sending it out in prefectures is out of question as he cannot afford the postal costs. When asked about the number of copies printed per issue, the journalist (who requested anonymity) said: "I never go beyond a thousand, but when people want to pass advertisements of their

TANSLATED LOCAL PUBLICATION

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KIGALI

## THE JOURNALISTS IN RWANDA ARE TREADING ON EGGS WITH A HEAP OF PROBLEMS.

( KINYAMATEKA/SPECIAL /APRIL 1995 )

Journalism is a difficult profession all over the world in general, and in Africa in particular. Numberless are journalists who have been killed, imprisoned, persecuted or kept in perpetual fear on account of their articles. Those who died in Rwanda are themselves many. Last year's massacres alone claimed lives of about 48 of them. In addition to profession-related problems, the Rwandan journalist is faced up with problems pertaining to poverty, lack of professional training, lack of democratic background and freedom of speech for the individual. All these handicaps are traceable to all stages of information processing: collecting, writing and distribution.

### THEIR HISTORY IS SHORT.

Papers have mushroomed since the advent of multiparty system. They came from nearly zero to almost sixty. Some were pretending to support this or that political agenda or this or that politician. Most of the time they would be sponsored by those for whom the support was intended. Other people would create papers just to earn money. Often people have launched papers following a badly-studied project; these would usually stop shortly after, due to bankruptcy. There are also papers which came into being because their owners wanted to get their ideas across especially that they were finally allowed to. However, those who initiated papers were mere apprentices. As a result, mistakes were many: we can cite the case of stories totally different from the truth, defamatory articles normally punishable by law.

There were even people who, on behalf of journalism, indulged in blackmail by charging on certain persons under pain of being written upon. Fortunately, all those setbacks went on dwindling

the role played by the Church in genocide.

Just recently, the paper Imboni in its issue n° 6 has published the following: "starting from 1952, only four bishops have been abiding by the principle of the Gospel. These are: Bishops Aloys BIGIRUMWAMI, Joseph SIBOMANA, Wenceslas KALIBUSHI and Bishop RUBWEJANGA". As for the others, "all of them were accomplices of the killers". One way of highlighting the nature of the press in our country is to show how the media review the problems facing Rwanda. However, Kinyamateka does not agree with all the ideas published by the various papers, even if this article has compiled those ideas. Concerning the fact there are no articles from such big papers as KINYAMATEKA and IMVAHO, it is simply because the current crucial problems facing the country have been discussed by both papers in their issues of the past months, and our focus has been on the issues that were coming out by the time we were writing this article.

themselves, they feel like refugees in their own country. The problem of property is also reflected in the Rwandese legal system whereby no one may appropriate oneself with property belonging to a third party. This was also substantiated in the letter N° 10/06.01 dated 20 Jan 1995 sent to the Prime Minister by the Minister of Justice stipulating that "the property of those who committed genocidal acts remain theirs or that of their lawful successors as long as the justice has not seized it". (Le Tribun n° 44)

He also indicated that selling that property might make it impossible to pay compensation for the damage for which the owners of the property in question are responsible. The issue of property, land and houses has so far not been addressed properly. What the Prime Minister said in his Speech on the Government's Agenda regarding the property belonging to the perpetrators of the genocide was never implemented, i.e the conversion of such property into compensation in favour of the successors of the victims. In any case, it is not apparent that the kind of definite settlement of that conflict expected by "Libération" has been reached. Another problem troubling both the population and the Government is that the University and the secondary schools have not reopened yet. The dates for reopening have been postponed indefinitely.

The Catholic Church which played a big role in education has to revise the agreement that had been passed between them and the Government. In this respect, now a joint commission of both parties has been set up to establish a revised agreement. The requirements for the schools to reopen are many. The relevant Ministry estimates that a total outlay of 849,000,000 RwF is needed (see Arc-en-ciel n° 6 on page 7). While schools have not reopened yet, there are also problems in the public service. The law says that when somebody dies, his/her successors are entitled to a one-time three-month salary. This has not applied yet. It is a serious problem as published by "Libération" n° 4. Other recurrent issues that are common today and which are taking much place relate

The report discloses the killings committed by RPF from a little before April 1994 up to the period after it took over the power in Kigali.

The killings revealed by Amnesty International and imputed to RPF had been denounced by the former defeated Government. John KAMBANDA, the former Prime Minister in his refuge in Bukavu declared in an interview to the paper "JUA" published in Zaire that "the prefecture of Byumba was counting 800,000 inhabitants; now the number has been reduced to 200,000. Could we possibly know where the others have gone?" This interview was translated in Kinyarwanda and published by "KIBERA" in its special issue dated 25 Feb 1995, showing that even if KAMBANDA does not state it openly, he however confirms that the people missing in that prefecture were not killed by RGF, thus attributing them to RPF. Even though the population feels concerned by those political problems as they still remember how unsolved political issues have resulted in genocide, they have other day-to-day problems that are nonetheless serious.

## THE ISSUE OF PROPERTY

Today the issue of property, houses and land is at its height. "Libération" in its issue n° 4 published in Rwanda is of the opinion that the problem at issue should be met with an overall solution. Upon their return, the genocide survivors rescued by RPF, found their houses destroyed and their property looted. When Rwandese refugees who had fled before April 1994 came back, they occupied the houses and land left by the population which fled to Zaïre from the war, especially those who have not returned because they participated in massacres.

In addition, "Libération" talks of the problem of caseload refugees who took refuge outside the country in 1960 and 1973, also leaving their property, land and houses behind. When this category of refugees comes back in Rwanda and fail to find where to settle

BURUNDI and TANZANIA." (UMUHUZA, December 1994, p.22)

While the commanders of the defeated army are of the opinion that Arusha Peace Accords should be literally implemented, for Paul KAGAME, the essential is to abide by "the main principles contained in the Accords, and not article by article". On the question regarding the fusion of armies, only those who did not take part in the killings will be mingled with RPA. (Speech by Major General KAGAME at Gako on 25 Jan 1995)

As of now, out of the total defeated army, only 1011 have joined RPA. "Le TRIBUN" in its issue n° 44 of early March 1995 discloses that 80 soldiers trained at Gako are currently in detention. They are accused of having participated in genocide. "Le TRIBUN" that releases the information shows that there should be no sensationalism over the issue while " around 500 RPA soldiers are in prison together with the 80 in question." The information comes in to contradict rumours spread alleging that the 80 soldiers were killed.

**VERY FEW NEWSPAPERS HAVE PUBLISHED ARTICLES ABOUT MASSACRES COMMITTED BY RPA**

Information as to which the 80 military had been killed never appeared in any paper. It was circulated only as a grapevine. The killings much reported upon and still widely talked about are the genocide. It is estimated that between 500,000 and one million people perished on account of their ethnicity. However, practically no paper has related the killings attributed to RPA. The paper "NYABARONGO"(Le canard déchaîné), in its unnumbered issue which came out in late Feb 1995, published a report by Amnesty International (an international organization that monitors the respect of human rights by Governments) on "killings, disappearances of people allegedly imputed to RPA". The report by Amnesty International published by "Nyabarongo" is written in French; it was not translated to Kinyarwanda for the readership.

# RWANDA'S CURRENT PROBLEMS AS REVIEWED BY THE PRESS.
## ( KINYAMATEKA/ SPECIAL /APRIL 1995)

Rwanda is currently facing various problems. The authorities are confronted with thorny issues of socio-political nature. Presenting the manner in which the press analyses those problems is essential as the media express ideas shared by the population, and shape their future viewpoints on issues facing the country.

### THE DEFEATED ARMY WOULD BE TRAINING TO ATTACK

There is talk of military drills carried out by former RGF (national army before 7 April 1994) currently living as refugees in Goma and Bukavu, in Zaire. The paper KIBERA in its issue of 25 Dec 1995 reproduces an article in French by Colette Braeckman published in "The Guardian" in England. The article confirms that "thousands of Rwandese military refugees were transferred from Mugunga camp in the vicinity of Goma to Chimanga camp in Bukavu, where they undergo military training, at 50 km from Rwandan border".

Even though the article confirms that military preparations are under way at the named locations, the journalists of UMUHUZA, a periodical published in Brussels, Belgium have approached Generals Augustin BIZIMUNGU and Gratian KABILIGI, commanders of the defeated army. Both generals stated that there was no military training exercised by their army (UMUHUZA, issue of December 1994). However, they added that "war could resume if there is no other remedy". The other remedy General BIZIMUNGU refers to is peace talks that would take place between the Government of KAMBANDA and the commanders of the defeated army on the one hand, and RPF on the other. The Government of Kigali is totally against such talks. Paul KAGAME, Vice-President of the Republic and Defence Minister says: "...No one could talk with people who set up gangs of criminals which continue killing people by launching attacks from

Secondly, people mistake Arusha Peace Accords for either one's capacity to perform a job or patriotism! Those who are thirsty for peace follow the criterion of competence because they aim at having all capable Rwandese take part in the reconstruction of our country. But for those who do not want to follow the procedure, it is not necessary for them to continue invoking Arusha Accords to win them posts in the administration. Just an example: if UNAR party followers apply for posts for which they are truly qualified, would they be denied just because their political party is not mentioned in Arusha Accords? A new Rwanda should not be equated with new trees and grass jutting out after the war, but with genuine constructive ideas apart from setting obstacles, or seeking elections and other bragging acts that are only good at reviving the sorrow of the bereaved. Journalists will always make noise unless you obstruct your ears by thrusting trees therein!

The authority (the Prime Minister) held us for some time and went on giving orders to us as to how to publish information. Due to indignation, some of us went back home without having asked a single question. Major RUTAYISIRE, ORINFOR Director, in his interview with Radio Rwanda was not less astonished with the Prime Minister's conference. But more importantly, he explained what journalism is in an accurate way. He said: "the problem at present is that there is a change in the functioning of Radio rwanda, and some officials are not quite happy with the change. Formerly, Radio Rwanda was instrumental to the Government in organizing animation sessions and worshipping the authorities. Whether they have been killing or embezzling public funds, the message is the same: there is development in Rwanda. May God prevent Rwanda from media that are always praising the authorities. Long live X or Y, we support you 100%! Praising the authorities even when they have misbehaved is doing a disservice to the country. A good press is the one that presents the Government's good achievements and at the same time discloses its misdoings. He summarized his explanation in a traditional saying: 'he who announces the death of a chief of household should not be held responsible for the latter death'. When a journalist collects information from a competent source and broadcasts it thereafter, he/she should not be blamed for it. In so doing, the journalist will have used the necessary research techniques because he/she will have checked with those concerned by the news item". Once bitten, twice shy! Those who did not understand will never do.

The Accords signed in Arusha, Tanzania, are not instrumental to Rwandese! Firstly, when they were signed, one of the parties, pretending to act on behalf of all Rwandese, was harbouring a hidden agenda of decimating part of the population! He lied wittingly as he was using CDR Party and RTLM (former extremist radio) to repudiate the Accords!

TANSLATED LOCAL PUBLICATION

- INTAREMARA N° 005/8
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KIGALI

## THE PRESS ARE MAKING NOISE TO THE PRIME MINISTER

( Intaremara N° 005 8/ April 1995)

In his press conference held on 23 march 1995, the Prime Minister criticized and even threatened the media though the latter seemed to not be frightened anyhow. In fact, journalists are not frightened at all, they simply let the speaker deliver his/her speech, making him/her believe that he/she has subdued them! "We thought that the media that used to revile the authorities had gone away with Kangura (a former extremist publication)! It is the latter which would publish cartoons representing naked Government officials! Naked! But Radio Rwanda is even more appalling!", the Prime Minister said. He added that "because journalists think that the national radio belongs to them while it has actually its owners (meaning authorities), they broadcast whatever they wish to the point that the information released causes misunderstanding among people". The Prime Minister went as far as saying that Radio-Rwanda was behaving as a Public Prosecutor or his office!

Such a speech was a reaction to a news item broadcast by Radio Rwanda according to which 122,000,000 Rwf had been embezzled from the Ministry of Finance; the information had been obtained from the General Inspector of Finance in the Ministry of Finance. What the Prime Minister refrained from disclosing was the reason behind the escape of one of the officials accused of the fund embezzlement in question! His accomplice was not that lucky since he has been arrested on account of a similar crime before the information on embezzlement was released: he requested a five hundred thousand-franc bribe in exchange of a cheque to be paid to a firewood supplier for the Ministry of Defence. The accused is no one else than Philemon who is known for similar malpractice; proof is that, at present, we know of many businessmen who have delayed getting their cheques for fear of being obliged to cede to the said official half of the amount due to them!

about it! He however went on to say that he did not know of any Government or country that would be supplying those arms! So, every Wednesday we will go there for a briefing as if we were his soldiers or employees. Let him tell lies to his kin!

## HE WILL TELL US LIES EVERY WEDNESDAY

( Intaremara N° 005/8 April 1995)

On 28 March 1995 at AMAHORO hotel, UNAMIR Headquarters, there was a press conference convened by Ambassador SHAHARYAR KHAN. He started by telling us about his visit to Kibungo and Byumba. He found out that the security situation was all right. He said: "What I saw is quite different from what I had heard, I saw the population was in good condition. Some were busy doing their field work, others doing business. Apart from people who came and found their houses occupied by others, everything is okay. (Here we should not exaggerate, we have already said it: people can share the land and even the house; after all the new occupants did own houses formerly!) He went on commenting on certain UNAMIR soldiers' misbehaviour; we have only individual cases and the blame should not be put on UNAMIR as whole! That is fine, we agree! But, is UNAMIR made of buildings? Is it made of paper or cars they spend most of their time driving? They cannot offer a lift to Rwandese even if you are being beaten by a heavy storm! Then what assistance did they come to provide ? The press continued besetting him with questions- sometimes very sharp ones- until he suddenly became angry with Chantal from Radio Rwanda and Kayitana Charles from Rwanda-Weekly on the grounds that he would not answer "stupid questions". That Indian does not want to hear of the word "Interahamwe"! Is this out of antipathy towards them? Is this out of sympathy and support for them? Does he know them at all? If so, what the hell would he have come to do?

What surprised me most is his answer to the question posed by Kamanzi Innocent of Radio-Rwanda whether he knew something about the planes that landed in Goma, Zaire, loaded with arms destined to attack Rwanda! He replied: "Bulgarian arms! I heard about them, I won't comment on that until the press have broadcasted or written

who can do something about it, spare no efforts to have those devilish people punished.

This date marking the beginning of the mourning period of three months should be no opportunity to avenge one's victims just as certain people expect it with fear. I figure no one can go in for that kind of stupidity and wickedness. Those who indulge in spreading such rumours are the very ones who committed genocide. By so doing, they hope that something like their crime can be staged, thus annulling the prospect of being punished for their crimes. You always hear the phrase "double genocide" from their mouths. May they keep quiet, that will never happen again. The date of 7th April should not be the only reference; each family should set its own date to commemorate or rather mourn its beloved ones and pray for them as the majority were christians. Ten months ago RPF stopped the killings in the country; the expatriates supposed to help us with reconstruction of the country feel first concerned with the "problem of people who occupy houses and land belonging to others". Had they truly wanted to help us, they would have constructed cheap houses and let the Government collect rents from the occupants. There is no shame in so doing; on the contrary, that would be genuine assistance different from condescending relief thrown to us as if we were unable to achieve anything on our own. Who would fail to achieve something on their own if they enjoyed peace?

Give us peace and you shall see!

would be good for us if Inkotanyi accepted the negotiations. As for those who fight for ruling this country, we will not give them this chance because they are telling lies on the radio.

I don't mean that innocent people died starting from 1973. During the first Republic and during the Monarchy Rule, people died. You shouldn't advance that you fight RPF because it is fighting. Inkotanyi should know that if they come to take the power without caring for the democratic process the population will not accept. The holders of the authority know how it is good especially when they come from war! Don't sow misunderstanding between soldiers, sergeants and commandants plunging them into war with Inkotanyi whereas you are enjoying the regime you got by means of weapons.

**TO END THE WAR IS NOT TO DEFEAT INKOTANYI!**

The lesson we should draw from the recent event: we jumped with joy, we drank beer, and sang the song SERUBUGA and his group composed when we heard that General RWIGEMA was dead. He died but Inkotanyi are still fighting. Always there have been slogans that Inyenzi should be killed in Bweyeye, Butama, Birunga and Bugarama! It would be a mistake if leaders of political parties thought to kill HABYARIMANA would solve our problems. Instead of killing Inkotanyi, you should kill what made them Inkotanyi! I am not going to dirty myself by condemning or approving of the attack of Inkotanyi on 7-8/January 1993. I cannot condemn Inkotanyi sparing HABYARIMANA because he belongs to the " MAJORITY POPULATION".
If you don't abandon this habit of insulting them they will, in one night, arrive in Kigali and I don't know where we will hide our flat noses saying that we are Hutus! I warn you! Wherever you are, dream of Negotiations, when you eat, eat with negotiations and when you drink, do it with negotiations. You can even defeat them, but it would be useless since you will not defeat the reason behind

## EDITORIAL
## ( INTAREMARA N° 005/8 April 1995)

From 7 April 1994 to 7 April 1995: a whole year has elapsed. The year leaves us with sorrow that is yet to last unless the justice administration does its best to punish the perpetrators of genocide (those who left us bereaved) soon. And the punishment must be administered here in Rwanda so that we can witness it and feel relieved! Even if no one can assure that all those who are guilty of genocide have met their punishment, at least our hearts will feel relieved from anguish.

It is very regrettable that a whole year has elapsed while all planners and perpetrators of genocide are still given asylum by countries with whom we are supposed to hold bilateral cooperation, extended even to the Embassy level. Instead of extraditing those criminals, they rather treat them with more care and envisage even to defend them. We strongly need to know our true friend countries apart from the common hypocrisy practised in diplomacy. This would enable us to distinguish our true friends from sheer hypocrites.

Since 1959, the national policy has taught the population that Tutsis people are hypocritical, wicked and the like. As a consequence, this has downgraded the thinking of the victims who were always reluctant to take initiatives for fear of matching this or that description! This of course is no excuse for preventing those who killed their families from being punished. It would even be better if the killers were denounced by their relatives.

We do not wish to commemorate the 7$^{th}$ April 1996 while those killers are still going unpunished. The date is extremely wounding, and we would like the wounds to heal to leave scars. But again we request that nobody should wound the scars as a wounded scar proves to be more painful than a fresh wound. You Rwandese

them from the battle field or go and arrest those who live in Meridian Hotel

Edouard MUTSINZI

their attack. You cannot kill them all. Mister NGURUBE would be my witness, you killed him many times but now he is with them!

## STOP ARRESTING ACCOMPLICES!

To ask Inkotanyi to stop fighting whereas we don't give them any thing is not good. I remind you that we have been living the calm thanks to leaders of political parties: Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU ( MDR ), Dr Théoneste GAFARANGA ( PSD), Justin MUGENZI ( PL ) who accepted to go to Brussels to meet Inkotanyi! This meeting gave us peace except that HABYARIMANA and his disciples continued to sabotage the outcome of this meeting. They needed war! HABYARIMANA's people said : "Those leaders of have parties betrayed the country". The accomplices of HABYARIMANA in MDR said : "If TWAGIRAMUNGU and his colleagues decide to negotiate with Inkotanyi as they did in Belgium, they should sign durable accords which will lead us until the war and the negotiations are over".

The bad habit of arresting accomplices goes with asking the residence permit. When you have a new identity card, they call you Inkotanyi and when you are a Tutsi it becomes worse. I don't blame the Gendarmes who do it because they have been taught that the enemy of this country is a Tutsi.

When you ask those who come from the same region as HABYARIMANA, which ethnic group do KANYARENGWE, Major RIZINDE, Commandant BISERUKA and Pasteur BIZIMUNGU belong to ( the first is the chairman of RPF the last leads RPF delegation in Arusha negotiations and these come from the same region as HABYARIMANA!), they respond that they are like covers! I don't know why only Tutsis and some Hutus from the south are called accomplices. To detect Inkotanyi from identity cards and ethnic belonging is not good for us. If you want Inkotanyi go and arrest

RPF is not a political party. You remember that it has been given five years so that the issue which pushed them to attack can be settled. So far, it hasn't submitted any statute to the Ministry for Home Affairs yet. However, nothing has been done since the population is still being killed.

**THEY STARTED KILLING INNOCENT PEOPLE LONG BEFORE 1990!**

News broadcasted on the Radio say that Inkotanyi are killing innocent civilians. They gather people and throw grenades at them. Let's accept because the battle field is the secret of the fighters. If Inkotanyi attacked in 1990 no one can affirm that Rwandese started being killed in these two years. We can accept many of the things our parties MDR, PL, PSD, even PDI say. I don't know on what HABYARIMANA and his followers base themselves to condemn RPF saying that it wants to take power by force! What would happen if RPF said on its Radio Muhabura :

" WE CAN'T ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT WHICH DOESN'T PROTECT ABAGOGWE FROM BEING KILLED! WE CAN'T ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT WHICH SUPERVISED THE MASSACRES OF THE POPULATION IN BUGESERA! WE CAN'T ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT WHICH INCARCERATED 8,000 INNOCENT PEOPLE! WE CAN'T ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT WHICH VEILED THE INQUIRY ON THE DEATH OF COLONEL MAYUYA! WE CONDEMN 11 SOLDIERS WHO, WITH ARMS AND UNDER THE COVER OF THE NIGHT, OVERTHREW DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. WE CONDEMN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH KILLED ATROCIOUSLY PRESIDENT KAYIBANDA AND HIS COLLABORATORS. WE CONDEMN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH PERSECUTES TUTSIS!"

These atrocities were committed before Inkotanyi attacked. Why was KAYIBANDA killed ? Colonel MAYUYA had been killed and his killer was killed, is it Inkotanyi who killed him? I think that it

entitled:

**TO END THE WAR IS NOT TO DEFEAT INKOTANYI!**

When two armies who know each other are at war, they make people laugh! These days they are appealing to every rwandese to support the army by any means so as to defeat the "enemy" that is Inkotanyi! They are no longer even calling them Inkotanyi. The names like Inyenzi, enemy, are now heard on Radio whereas the Arusha Negotiations have forbidden this insulting language. Inkotanyi are being insulted on Radio Rwanda. However, I have never heard Inkotanyi insulting the government on their Radio MUHABURA !

When you ask those who support HABYARIMANA why they have resumed the habit on insulting Inkotanyi they tell you that Inkotanyi disregarded the negotiations and attacked! We don't know the relationship between insults and opening fire.

**INSULT WILL NOT DEFEAT INKOTANYI**

If those Inkotanyi attacked our country, which is also theirs, don't think that you love it more than them. Before the war broke out, HABYARIMANA had been in contacts with president MUSEVENI of UGANDA. HABYARIMANA announced to the world that MUSEVENI had cheated him since he failed to the promise of not allowing Inkotanyi to attack Rwanda. When Inkotanyi attacked MUSEVENI justified himself saying that Uganda was not a prison for Rwandese refugees. Inkotanyi said : "We stole the arms of Uganda and attacked Rwanda". We thought that Radio Rwanda had abandoned insulting words against Inkotanyi but they were hidden some where waiting for Inkotanyi to attack so as to insult them again as if this would defeat them.

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UNAMIR - MINUAR

**NEWS RELEASE**

UNAMIR NR-95.19 March 23, 1995

**UNAMIR Investigation Into Byumba Shooting Incident**

KIGALI, RWANDA -- An ongoing United Nations military police investigation into the shooting incident which took place at the Nigerian Battalion Camp at Byumba on March 20 has uncovered new testimony resulting in a Nigerian soldier being placed into custody.

It is understood that the soldier and a Rwandan civilian were involved in an argument which took place at a local bar in the evening of 19. The investigation has revealed that the soldier and a Rwandan civilian were involved in a quarrel which took place within the perimeter of the camp. During a brief struggle between the two men, the Rwandan was fatally wounded by a single shot fired by the Nigerian soldier.

At this point in the investigation, it is not clear how the Rwandan came to be within the confines of the camp, nor are the reasons for the altercation evident. However, it has been confirmed that both the soldier and the Rwandan were involved in an argument which took place earlier in the evening at a local bar.

A full investigation of the incident involving UNAMIR military police, the Rwandan Patriotic Army and the local Gendarmerie is in progress. Complete disciplinary action will be taken as warranted by the results of the investigation.

**Note to editors: For more information, please contact Ismael Diallo, UNAMIR Spokesperson in Kigali at (212) 963-3582, ext 11075 or the UNAMIR Military Spokesperson, Lt(N) Kent Page at (212) 963-3582, ext 11124.**

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UNAMIR - MINUAR

Excellent

# PRESS RELEASE

In cooperation with the Rwanda Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, UNAMIR, with UNICEF and other UN agencies, has carried out a successful operation to organise the sitting of secondary school admission exams.

About 65,000 primary school pupils took their exams on schedule as a result of a coordinated effort between the UN and the Rwanda Lower Education Ministry, which covered 400 exam centres across the country. Thirty-nine UNAMIR vehicles and a helicopter were used to carry out the operation successfully. For the first time in Rwanda's history, official exam was set in four languages: Kinyarwanda, French, English and Swahili.

The Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, Mr. Pierre Célestin RWIGEMA, met with the Special Representative of the Secretary General on 21st March and congratulated him for the exemplary cooperation. This cooperation represents UNAMIR's continuing support for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda's infrastructure and economy in general.

- - - -

21 March 1995

Comm SRSG Spokesman FC E/D 15-2-95

08Feb95 RWANDA: FORMER RADIO MILLE COLLINES DIRECTOR REJECTS ALLEGATIONS OF "GENOCIDE".

Source: TF-1 TV, Paris, in French 1900 gmt 6 Feb 95

Excerpts from report by French TF-1 TV

[Studio] In Rwanda, Operation Retour, led by the United Nations, is continuing. Sixty per cent of Rwandans leaving [refugee] camps are returning to their villages, while others find refuge in Zaire or Burundi. Quite obviously, the memory of genocide is still on everybody's mind.

Gilles Bouleau and David Cosset found in Cameroon the director of the infamous Radio Mille Collines which incited massacres during the war. He took refuge there with his family. This is the first time he has given an interview:

[Bouleau] He was the man behind a regime which slaughtered one million people in less than three months. The international press and UN experts see him as an African Goebbels, the instigator of long-planned genocide and the organizer of a final solution aimed at eradicating the Tutsi ethnic group. From April to July 1994, the 800,000 Tutsis living in Rwanda were methodically chased, decapitated with machetes, buried alive, drowned and burnt en masse in churches.

The greatest ally of the killers was Radio Mille Collines [RTLM], a station funded by people close to the Hutu authorities and managed by zealous and competent Ferdinand Nahimana. Twenty-four hours a day, on 94 and 106 MHz, the journalists and presenters of RTLM repeatedly incited murders of Tutsis, incited racial hatred and drew up an endless list of wanted opponents.

[Video recording shows slaughtered people; audio recording in vernacular of excerpt from RTLM broadcast, with subtitles in French shown on screen; processed from the French subtitles] In truth, all Tutsis will perish. They will vanish from this country. They believe they will rise from the dead, but they are disappearing little by little thanks to the weapons hitting them, but also because they are being killed like rats.

[Nahimana, former programme director at Radio Mille Collines, in French] As far as Rwanda is concerned, I for one admit that there have been massacres, slaughters on a large scale, but I reject the word genocide.

[Bouleau] In November 1994, before the accumulation of damning, corroborated and irrefutable evidence, the UN Security Council took a historic decision. An international tribunal was set up to try to sentence those behind the Rwandan genocide.

Ferdinand Nahimana, who has discreetly found refuge in Yaounde with his wife and his four children, is preparing his defence. He is dissecting the reports which point to him as one of the main culprits. He complains that he is idle, that he is reduced to unemployment and that he has not yet obtained the post of history lecturer he has been demanding from the Cameroonian government...

[Nahimana] If there were calls to murder, they should be produced, they should be produced. [Video recording shows slaughtered people; audio recording in vernacular of excerpt from RTLM broadcast, with subtitles in French shown on screen; processed from the French subtitles] But, by the way, the guerrilla fighters (the Tutsis) who phoned me, where are they now? Well, they have been slaughtered, that's for sure! They have been massacred! Come and sing: Come, dear friends, let's congratulate one another! They have been exterminated! Come, dear friends, let's congratulate one another! God is fair!

[Q] Would you be ready to stand before the international tribunal for the genocide in Rwanda of your own accord?

[A] But, as far as I am concerned, there is no problem, I have told you that I have a clear conscience. Have you got a butcher before you?

(c) BBC Monitoring Summary of World Broadcasts.

BBC MONITORING SERVICE