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PRESS RELEASE USUN #124-(95)
August 16, 1995

Statement by Ambassador Karl F. Inderfurth, United States Alternate Representative to the United Nations for Special Political Affairs, in Explanation of Vote, in the Security Council, on the Rwandan Arms Embargo Resolution, August 16, 1995

Mr. President, the United States has just cast its vote in favor of a resolution which removes the arms embargo placed upon the previous government of Rwanda. The current government of Rwanda has been seeking this change for a number of months, and we have supported their request from the beginning. The government of Rwanda faces a threat from extremists in the militias and former army, who will continue to be restricted from buying arms. With the adoption of this resolution, the Government of Rwanda will be better able to deter violent action by these groups or, if necessary, defend the new Rwandan society it is trying to build. The Government of Rwanda has agreed to certain conditions, such as reporting their purchases to the Council, in order to assuage the concerns of Council members and neighboring states. We appreciate the flexibility shown by the government of Rwanda on these issues. We fully support their right of self-defense, but underline that an unwarranted stockpiling of arms should not take place.

This step, however, goes only part of the way towards normalizing the situation in Rwanda. The prompt submission by the Secretary-General of recommendations for a commission of inquiry into allegations of arms flows to former Rwandan armed forces, and the speedy establishment of such a commission are also necessary for the reduction of tension and the creation of a climate of trust.

Today's resolution underlines the expectation that the Government of Rwanda will shoulder all the responsibilities of an effective government, including creating the conditions of trust and confidence which are necessary for the safe and voluntary return of refugees.

One key element in creating such a climate of trust is an immediate improvement in the overcrowded conditions of Rwandan prisons. The United States is gravely concerned about the humanitarian crisis caused by the detention of more than 50,000 prisoners. We believe the Government of Rwanda should take measures as soon as possible to reduce the prison population through the release of young and elderly prisoners wherever possible, to reach agreement with international humanitarian organizations on steps to alleviate the overcrowding, to reduce the number of arrests to the absolute minimum, and to take steps to establish a functioning judiciary in Rwanda, beginning with naming a new Supreme Court.

Mr. President, the Council's action today takes one step towards addressing the problems of the region. We trust that the Secretary-General and the governments of Rwanda and its neighbors will also take steps which are necessary for improving the situation. The Council, for its part, will surely be taking further actions to address the multi-faceted situation in Central Africa.

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Doc Symbol:SC/6084

Security Council SC/6084
3566th Meeting (PM) 16 August 1995
SECURITY COUNCIL LIFTS ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA, EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY

Resolution 1011 Says Non-Governmental Forces
In and Outside Rwanda Should Not Receive any Arms

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council this afternoon lifted its embargo on the sale of arms and related materiel to Rwanda until 1 September 1996, effective immediately. The embargo was imposed on 16 May 1994 by Council resolution 914 (1994).

Adopting resolution 1011 (1995) unanimously, the Council decided to allow the flow of arms and materiel through certain points of entry to be designated by the Rwandan Government. On 1 September 1996, the embargo will be terminated, unless the Council decides otherwise, after considering periodic reports by the Secretary-General on the export of arms to Rwanda.

The Council further decided that all States should continue to prevent the sale or supply of arms, munitions, and materiel, including paramilitary police equipment and spare parts, to non-governmental forces in Rwanda and in neighbouring countries if the arms and materiel were for use in Rwanda.

Emphasizing that the uncontrolled circulation of arms, also to civilians and refugees, was a major cause of destabilization in the Great Lakes subregion, the Council decided that no arms and related materiel supplied to the Rwandan Government may be resold to, transferred to, or made available for the use of any State neighbouring Rwanda, or any person not in the service of the Government of Rwanda.

Recognizing that the registration and marking of weapons assist in monitoring and enforcing restrictions on the illicit deliveries of weapons, the Council further decided that States should notify the Security Council Committee monitoring the embargo of all exports from their territories of arms or related materiel to Rwanda. The Rwandan Government was asked to mark and register all imports of arms and materiel and notify the monitoring Committee of those imports; the Committee, in turn, would report regularly to the Council on information it received.

The Council requested the Secretary-General to report to it

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within six months and again in 12 months on the exports of arms to Rwanda. The
(page 1a follows)

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3566th Meeting (PM) 16 August 1995

Secretary-General was asked to make recommendations on the establishment of a commission to investigate allegations of arms flows to former Rwandan government forces in the Great Lakes region of central Africa.

The Council also encouraged the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the Governments of neighbouring States on the deployment of United Nations military observers in the airfields and other transportation points in and around border crossing points. It called on neighbouring States to cooperate with and assist those observers to ensure that arms and related materiel are not transferred to Rwandan camps within their territories.

Also by the resolution, the Council called on the Government of Rwanda to continue its efforts to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence for the safe return of refugees and to take further steps to resolve the humanitarian problems in its prisons, and to expedite disposition of the charges against those detained.

Addressing the Council after the adoption of the resolution, the representative of Rwanda said Belgium and France had a particular responsibility, based on history, to cooperate with his country and help it get back on track. However, such responsibility did not give any country the right to speak for Rwanda. Rwanda's main objective was based on the principle of sovereignty; it had no intention of provoking a war against its neighbours.

The representative of Zaire said the resolution would encourage an increase in the flow of refugees. His Government would be forced to refuse admittance to refugees at the border as it would not submit to international principles regarding refugees that might turn out to be suicidal for Zaire.

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

The meeting, which began at 5:23 p.m., adjourned at 6:55 p.m.
Security Council - - Press Release SC/6084
3566th Meeting (PM) 16 August 1995

(page 2 follows)

(more) Report on Rwanda

The Security Council meets this afternoon to consider a report of the Secretary-General (S/1995/678), dated 8 August, on the implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), the humanitarian situation in the country and the progress made in the repatriation of refugees. By its resolution 997 (1995), the Council had extended the mandate of UNAMIR until 8 December, adjusted that mandate to emphasize peace-building activities and authorized the gradual reduction of its troop level.

While the Government of Rwanda has made efforts to stabilize conditions within the country in the past 12 months, the

Secretary-General reports, many of the causes of the tragic conflict and ensuing genocide remain unresolved. The weakness in the economy and the lack of public revenue to run an effective administration continue to hamper efforts to address the problems in a comprehensive manner. Since the tensions on the country's borders could erupt into uncontrollable violence at any time, the Government of Rwanda, the countries of the subregion and other members of the international community must address the vital issues confronting the country, he says.

During his visit to the subregion in July, the Secretary-General notes that some government leaders expressed a strong interest in the establishment of an international commission, under the auspices of the United Nations, to address allegations of arms flows to former Rwandan government forces. Reports of infiltration and sabotage by armed elements, as well as allegations that members of former government forces and militias are conducting military training and receiving deliveries of arms, have greatly heightened tension in border areas. The Governments of Zaire and Rwanda admitted that the border situation had deteriorated and they have exchanged accusations of involvement. The Secretary-General states his intention to pursue further consultations and present recommendations to the Council on the possible establishment of an international commission.

The Secretary-General also discussed with heads of State and government in the region the idea of convening a regional conference that would consider the interrelated problems of peace, security and development. To address more urgent and immediate problems facing the repatriation of refugees, it may be useful to convene, at the earliest possible date, a regional meeting aimed at developing specific measures to fulfil commitments already entered into by Rwanda, neighbouring countries hosting Rwandan refugees and humanitarian agencies, the Secretary-General says.

Further, he stresses that it is imperative that representatives of all sectors of Rwandan society begin talks in order to reach an agreement on a constitutional and political structure to achieve lasting stability. While the talks would necessarily exclude those political leaders suspected of planning and directing the genocide last year, the Government should promote such talks so that thousands of others who live under suspicion could gain confidence and join in reconstruction efforts. Visible measures should also be put in place to ensure respect for human rights and security for all Rwandans, which would in turn encourage the voluntary return of refugees.

In accordance with resolution 997 (1995), the repatriation of UNAMIR troops has begun. As of 3 August, the troop strength has been reduced to 3,571 towards an authorized level of 1,800. With the adjusted mandate, the activities of the military component have shifted to assisting in the process of normalization of the country. It also assists in the delivery of humanitarian aid and the provision of engineering and logistical support. Its ability to provide such assistance, however, is increasingly limited by the gradual reduction of

its manpower and other resources, the Secretary-General points out.

The Council also has before it a report by the Secretary-General dated 9 July (S/1995/552) on the implementation of the arms embargo imposed against Rwanda and Rwandan factions in neighbouring countries. The report describes the results of consultations held between the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General and the countries neighbouring Rwanda on the proposed deployment of United Nations military observers in their respective territories, including at the airfields located in eastern Zaire, to monitor the sale or supply of arms and materiel. The report states that although Rwanda and Burundi welcomed the proposal, there was strong opposition in some countries to the deployment of United Nations observers.

Also before the Council is a draft resolution (S/1995/703) prepared in the course of prior consultations. The draft reads as follows:

Draft Resolution on Rwanda

"The Security Council,

"Recalling all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolutions 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994, 997 (1995) of 9 June 1995 and 1005 (1995) of 17 July 1995,

"Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on monitoring of the restrictions on the sale or supply of arms dated 9 July 1995 (S/1995/552),

"Having also considered the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) dated 8 August 1995 (S/1995/678),

"Emphasizing that the uncontrolled circulation of arms, including to civilians and refugees, is a major cause of destabilization in the Great Lakes subregion,

"Welcoming the proposal of the Government of Zaire to establish an international commission under United Nations auspices to investigate reports of arms supplies to former Rwandan government forces,

"Recognizing that the registration and marking of weapons are of considerable assistance in monitoring and enforcing restrictions on the illicit deliveries of weapons,

"Noting with great concern reports of military preparations and increasing incursions into Rwanda by elements of the former regime and underlining the need for effective measures to ensure that Rwandan nationals currently in neighbouring countries, including those in camps, do not undertake military activities aimed at destabilizing Rwanda or receive arms supplies, in view of the great likelihood that such arms are intended for use within Rwanda,

"Stressing the need for representatives of all sectors of Rwandan society, excluding those political leaders suspected of planning and directing the genocide last year, to begin talks in order to reach an agreement on a constitutional and political structure to achieve lasting stability,

"Taking note of the letter dated 5 July 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/547), requesting urgent action to lift the

restrictions on the sale or supply of arms and materiel to the Government of Rwanda to ensure the security of the Rwandan population,

"Welcoming the improvement in the working relations between the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR and recalling the mandate of UNAMIR, as adjusted in resolution 997 (1995), in particular
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to help achieve national reconciliation,

"Recalling that the prohibition on the delivery of arms and materiel to Rwanda was originally aimed at stopping the use of such arms and equipment in the massacres of innocent civilians,

"Taking note of the Council's decision in resolution 997 (1995) to reduce the force level of UNAMIR, and reaffirming that the security of that country is the primary responsibility of the Government of Rwanda,

"Deeply concerned by the situation in Rwanda's prisons and judicial system, particularly overcrowding, the lack of judges, detention of minors and elderly prisoners, and absence of speedy judicial or administrative review of charges, and in this respect, welcoming renewed efforts by the United Nations and donor countries, in coordination with the Government of Rwanda, to initiate, on an urgent basis, measures to improve this situation,

"Underlining the need for increased efforts by the Government of Rwanda in the promotion of a climate of stability and trust in order to facilitate the return of Rwandan refugees in neighbouring countries,

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"1. Commends the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy in pursuing regional responses to the problem of illicit arms supplies in the region and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his consultations in this regard;

"2. Requests the Secretary-General, as proposed in paragraph 45 of his report (S/1995/678), to make recommendations to the Security Council, as soon as possible, on the establishment of a Commission mandated to conduct a full investigation to address allegations of arms flows to former Rwandan government forces in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa;

"3. Calls upon the Governments of Rwanda and neighbouring States to cooperate with the Commission's investigation;

"4. Encourages the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the Governments of neighbouring States concerning the deployment of United Nations military observers in the airfields and other transportation points in and around border crossing points and calls on the neighbouring States to cooperate with and assist these observers to ensure that arms and related materiel are not transferred to Rwandan camps within their territories;

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council

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within one month of the adoption of this resolution on his efforts for the preparation and convening, at the earliest possible time, of the regional Conference on Security, Stability and Development, as well as for the convening of a regional meeting to address the problems facing the repatriation of refugees;

"6. Calls upon the Government of Rwanda to continue its efforts to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence for the safe return of refugees and take further steps to resolve the humanitarian problems in its prisons, and to expedite disposition of the charges against those detained;

B

"Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

"7. Decides that, with immediate effect and until 1 September 1996, the restrictions imposed by paragraph 13 of resolution 918 (1994) shall not apply with regard to the sale or supply of arms and related materiel to the Government of Rwanda through named points of entry on a list to be supplied by that Government to the Secretary-General, who shall promptly notify all Member States of the United Nations of the list;

"8. Decides also that on 1 September 1996 the restrictions imposed by paragraph 13 of resolution 918 (1994) on the sale or supply of arms and related materiel to the Government of Rwanda shall terminate, unless the Council decides otherwise after its consideration of the second report of the Secretary-General referred to in paragraph 12 below;

"9. Further decides, with a view to prohibiting the sale and supply of arms and related materiel to non-governmental forces for use in Rwanda, that all States shall continue to prevent the sale or supply, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment and spare parts, to Rwanda, or to persons in the States neighbouring Rwanda, if such sale or supply is for the purpose of the use of such arms or materiel within Rwanda, other than to the Government of Rwanda as specified in paragraphs 7 and 8 above;

"10. Decides also that no arms and related materiel sold or supplied to the Government of Rwanda may be resold to, transferred to, or made available for use by, any State neighbouring Rwanda, or person not in the service of the Government of Rwanda, either directly or indirectly;

"11. Further decides that States shall notify all exports from their territories of arms or related materiel to Rwanda to the Committee established by resolution 918 (1994), that the Government of Rwanda shall mark and register and notify to the Committee all imports made by it of arms and related materiel, and that the Committee shall report regularly to the Council on notifications so received;

"12. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council within 6 months of the date of adoption of this resolution, and again within 12 months, regarding, in particular, the export of arms and related materiel referred

to in paragraph 7 above, on the basis of the reports submitted
by the Committee established by resolution 918 (1994);
"13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."
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DATE: 15 August 1995

TO: KHAN UNAMIR Kigali	FROM: ANNAN DPKO New York <i>Handwritten signature</i>
FAX NO: 3-3090	FAX NO: (212) 963-4879 ROOM S-3720
SUBJECT: Zaire and the arms embargo	

TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSMITTED PAGES INCLUDING THIS PAGE: 7

Please find attached, for your information, copies in English and French of the note verbale, dated 10 August 1995, which was addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Permanent Mission of Zaire (S/1995/683). The note, which sets out the position of Zaire on the lifting of the arms embargo, was issued today. Regards.

*Arms
embargo
(Rwanda)*

SRS G

Reçu le 16 AOUT 1995
ED's office



Security Council

Distr.
GENERALS/1995/583
11 August 1995
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

NOTE VERBALE DATED 10 AUGUST 1995 FROM THE PERMANENT MISSION
OF ZAIRE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Zaire to the United Nations presents its compliments to the President of the Security Council and has the honour to transmit the following position of Zaire on the draft resolution under discussion in the Security Council concerning the lifting of the arms embargo imposed by the Council.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zaire has taken note of the draft resolution under discussion in the Security Council concerning the lifting of the embargo on the supply of arms to Rwanda, a draft that was put forward by the United States of America, a permanent member of the Council.

"This draft resolution calls for the following observations on the part of the Government of the Republic of Zaire:

"I. The thinking that emerges from a close scrutiny of this draft is that, in reality, it is aimed at:

- "(a) Lifting the embargo on the supply of arms to Rwanda; and
- "(b) Decreeing or imposing an embargo on Zaire and countries adjoining Rwanda.

"In the view of the Government of the Republic of Zaire, this approach is unacceptable, because:

"1. Today, owing to the turmoil created by the massive influx of Rwandan refugees into its territory, it is the security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Zaire, not of Rwanda, that are being threatened.

"2. Rwanda lies at the origin of the heightened tension prevailing in the Great Lakes region, which could erupt at any moment, because that country is spurring a new flow of refugees towards Zaire while at the same

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time obstructing the return of the refugees to Rwanda in dignity and safety.

"3. In general, Rwanda has not shown evidence of good faith in fulfilling its obligations under the tripartite agreement on the repatriation of Rwandan refugees signed at Kinshasa on 24 October 1994 by Zaire, Rwanda and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and in particular, in fulfilling the obligation relating to the creation of security or reception zones within Rwanda in order to receive refugees from the camps set up in Zaire and to ensure their reintegration in safety and dignity.

"4. Rwanda is manifestly seeking to resolve its problems of scarcity of territory and overpopulation of arable lands as well as its inter-ethnic conflicts, to the detriment of its neighbours, through violence and methods that run counter to the rules of domestic and international law, including the expulsion of its nationals for political or ethno-tribal reasons.

"II. In order to attain the objectives of security and peace in the Great Lakes region, the Security Council should deplore the proliferation of weapons currently in circulation in a region that is also sensitive and in a state of heightened tension, and it should take vigorous measures to put an end to it, rather than lifting the embargo on the supply of arms and other matériel to Rwanda.

"The Security Council should give priority to the question of disarming the militias and other armed bands that are circulating in the countries of the Great Lakes region and sowing destruction, as they did recently in Virunga park, where a group of Italians working for the non-governmental organization Mundo Justo were killed by elements of the former Rwandan armed forces.

"III. The proposed lifting of the embargo may well help to ignite the Great Lakes region and East Africa.

"It is manifestly contrary to the objectives of peace and security pursued by the Security Council.

"IV. For all these reasons, the Government of the Republic of Zaire:

"1. Opposes the lifting of the embargo on the supply of arms to Rwanda, since that would aggravate the insecurity in the region and would carry with it the seeds of war;

"2. Rejects the idea of redeploying military observers to Zaire;

"3. Reiterates its support for the setting up of an international commission of inquiry under United Nations auspices with a view to conducting investigations into the supply of weapons to the former Rwandan armed forces and to verifying the truth of the allegations of engaging in destabilization activities. This commission would be able to supervise the

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disarming of the armed bands by the regular armed forces of the country in Rwanda, Zaire, Burundi, Uganda and elsewhere;

*4. Undertakes to give its assistance to the United Nations international commission of inquiry;

*5. Reassures the entire international community and the Security Council that no State in Central Africa in general and the Great Lakes region in particular will be destabilized by Zaire or from Zaire, and certainly not with its assistance.

*Kinshasa, 9 August 1995

*(Signed) KAMANDA wa KAMANDA
Deputy Prime Minister
Minister for Foreign Affairs

The Permanent Mission of the Republic of Zaire would be grateful if you would have this note verbale distributed as a document of the Security Council.



Conseil de sécurité

Distr.
GÉNÉRALE

S/1995/683
11 août 1995

ORIGINAL : FRANÇAIS

NOTE VERBALE DATÉE DU 10 AOÛT 1995, ADRESSÉE AU PRÉSIDENT
DU CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ PAR LA MISSION PERMANENTE DU ZAÏRE
AUPRÈS DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES

La Mission permanente de la République du Zaïre auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies présente ses compliments à la présidence du Conseil de sécurité et a l'honneur de lui communiquer la position du Zaïre sur le projet de résolution en discussion au Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, projet relatif à la levée de l'embargo sur les armes décrété par le Conseil.

Citation :

Le Ministère des affaires étrangères de la République du Zaïre a pris connaissance du projet de résolution en discussion au Conseil de sécurité sur la question de la levée de l'embargo sur les armes destinées au Rwanda, projet de résolution initié par les États-Unis d'Amérique, membre permanent du Conseil de sécurité.

Ce projet de résolution appelle de la part du Gouvernement de la République du Zaïre les observations suivantes :

I. La philosophie qui se dégage de l'examen attentif de ce projet de résolution est qu'il tend en réalité :

- a) À lever l'embargo sur les armes destinées au Rwanda; et
- b) À décréter ou à imposer l'embargo sur le Zaïre et les pays voisins du Rwanda.

Pour le Gouvernement de la République du Zaïre, cette approche du problème est inacceptable parce que :

1. Au jour d'aujourd'hui et à cause de l'effervescence créée par l'afflux massif des réfugiés rwandais sur son territoire, c'est la sécurité, l'intégrité territoriale et la souveraineté du Zaïre qui sont menacées et non celles du Rwanda.

2. Le Rwanda est à la base de la forte tension qui règne dans la sous-région des pays des Grands Lacs et qui peut dégénérer à tout moment, car ce pays encourage un nouveau flux des réfugiés vers le Zaïre en même temps qu'il

fait obstruction au retour des réfugiés au Rwanda dans la dignité et la sécurité.

3. D'une manière générale, le Rwanda n'a pas fait preuve de bonne foi dans l'exécution des obligations que lui impose l'Accord tripartite, Zaïre-Rwanda-HCR sur le rapatriement des réfugiés rwandais, signé à Kinshasa le 24 octobre 1994, et en particulier dans l'exécution de l'obligation relative à la création des zones de sécurité ou d'accueil à l'intérieur du Rwanda pour recevoir les réfugiés des camps établis au Zaïre et pour assurer leur réinsertion, dans la sécurité et la dignité.

4. Le Rwanda cherche manifestement à résoudre ses problèmes d'exiguïté de territoire, de surpeuplement, de terres arables ainsi que ses conflits interethniques au détriment de ses voisins, par la violence et des méthodes contraires aux règles de droit interne et international, notamment l'expulsion de ses nationaux pour des raisons politiques et ethnotribales.

II. Pour atteindre les objectifs de sécurité et de paix dans la sous-région des Grands Lacs, le Conseil de sécurité devrait déplorer la prolifération des armes actuellement en circulation dans une région aussi sensible et soumise à une forte tension, prendre des mesures énergiques pour y mettre fin, plutôt que de lever l'embargo sur la fourniture d'armes et d'autres matériels de guerre au Rwanda.

Le Conseil de sécurité devrait donner priorité à la question du désarmement des milices et d'autres bandes armées circulant dans les pays de la sous-région des Grands Lacs et semant la désolation, comme cela a été le cas dernièrement au parc de Virunga où un groupe d'Italiens travaillant pour l'organisation non gouvernementale Mundo Justo ont été tués par des éléments des ex-FAR.

III. La levée de l'embargo projetée est susceptible de contribuer à l'embrasement de la sous-région des Grands Lacs et de l'Afrique de l'Est.

Elle est manifestement contraire aux objectifs de sécurité et de paix que poursuit le Conseil de sécurité de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

IV. Pour toutes ses raisons, le Gouvernement de la République du Zaïre :

1. S'oppose à la levée de l'embargo sur la fourniture d'armes au Rwanda parce qu'elle contribuerait à aggraver l'insécurité dans la région et porte les germes de la guerre;
2. Rejette l'idée du redéploiement des observateurs militaires au Zaïre;
3. Réitère son appui à la création d'une commission internationale d'enquête, sous les auspices de l'ONU, en vue de mener des investigations sur la fourniture d'armes aux ex-FAR et de vérifier la réalité éventuelle des prétendues activités de déstabilisation. Cette commission internationale d'enquête pourrait superviser le désarmement des bandes armées, par les forces régulières de pays au Rwanda, au Zaïre, au Burundi et en Ouganda, etc.;

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4. S'engage à apporter son concours à la Commission internationale d'enquête de l'ONU;

5. Rassure l'ensemble de la communauté internationale et le Conseil de sécurité qu'aucun état de la région de l'Afrique centrale en générale, et de la sous-région des pays des Grands Lacs en particulier, ne sera déstabilisé par le Zaïre, à partir du Zaïre et surtout pas avec son concours.

Fait à Kinshasa, le 9 août 1995

Le Vice-Premier Ministre,

Ministre des affaires étrangères

(Signé) Me KAMANDA wa KAMANDA

Fin de citation

La Mission permanente de la République du Zaïre vous serait très reconnaissante de bien vouloir publier la présente note verbale comme document du Conseil de sécurité.

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15 August 1995

DAILY PRESS BRIEFING OF OFFICE OF SPOKESMAN FOR SECRETARY-GENERAL

Joe Sills, the Spokesman for the Secretary-General, informed correspondents at today's noon briefing that Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had returned to Headquarters and was meeting at 12:30 p.m. with Algeria's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ramtane Lamamra, who would be handing the Secretary-General a letter from Algeria's President. At 1 p.m., the Secretary-General would receive the 1995 United Nations summer interns who were completing their stay. He would meet with Ambassador Julio Londono-Paredes of Colombia at 4 p.m., with Ambassador Nunes Amorim of Brazil at 4:15 p.m., and with the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Weston, at 4:30 p.m.

Later, at 5:30 p.m., the Secretary-General would meet, with MajorGeneral Phillip Valerio Sibanda of Zimbabwe, Force Commander-designate for the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III); with Japan's Permanent Representative, Hisahi Owada, at 6 p.m.; and with the SecretaryGeneral of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Gertrude Mongella, at 6:30 p.m. The Secretary-General would then meet with the Under-SecretaryGeneral for Administration and Management, Joseph E. Connor, at 7 p.m.

Turning to the Security Council, Mr. Sills said that it had held brief consultations before its formal meeting at which a presidential statement had been made on the commemoration of the end of the Second World War in the AsiaPacific region. At noon, the Council had resumed its consultations. It would consider the Secretary-General's report on Rwanda and a draft resolution on the lifting of the arms embargo imposed against that country. Consideration of the draft had been delayed until today to allow the NonAligned Movement to study the amendments being proposed to the text. The Council would then consider the situation in Georgia, and had before it a report of the Secretary-General on that subject. The three-month report did not call for a mandate renewal, but provided information on the situation there.

After its consultations yesterday, the Council had authorized its President to make two statements to the press on Western Sahara and on the plight of the civilians kidnapped

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by Kashmiri rebels, Mr. Sills said. On Western Sahara, the Council had expressed deep concern at the slowness of the identification process and had called on both parties to cooperate fully with the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) to ensure progress in the identification and registration process. The Council had also expressed its full confidence and support for the Acting Special Daily Press Briefing - - 15 August 1995 Representative of the Secretary-General for Western Sahara, Erik Jensen, for his efforts in cooperation with both parties. Mr. Sills added that MINURSO's mandate would end on 30 September, and some Council members had expressed concern as to whether it should be extended, in the absence of further progress.

In the second statement, the Council strongly condemned the kidnapping of civilians in Kashmir, as a result of which a Norwegian had been killed. It also expressed its deep concern over the reappearance of kidnapping, an act of international terrorism condemned by the international community, and demanded the release of all detainees.

On Rwanda, the Spokesman said that the Department of Humanitarian Affairs had convened a meeting yesterday in Geneva on the prison situation in that central African country. Seventeen governments, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and a number of United Nations bodies and non-governmental organizations had attended. A number of governments had expressed support for the United Nations initiative and a willingness, in principle, to provide support, but they believed that more details, including costing, were needed. Officials of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) would be going to Rwanda on Thursday, 17 August, to work with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and the Government to prepare a specific plan and detailed costing of the requirements to relieve the situation. Measures to expedite the judicial process and improve the physical conditions at the sites where prisoners were being held would be examined and presented.

Regarding Somalia, Mr. Sills informed reporters that he had checked with United Nations security on the question posed at yesterday's briefing about the reported detention of a Pakistani United Nations staff member. There had been no incident of that type, he said.

The leaders of the different factions in Liberia were arriving in Abuja, Nigeria, for their forthcoming meeting. Their discussions would be followed by a meeting of the Committee of Nine of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on Liberia. The Secretary-General's Special Representative for Liberia, Anthony Nyakyi, was in Abuja for the meeting. Mr. Sills noted that the meeting was very important due to the mid-September renewal date for the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the sentiment in the Security Council that unless progress was made, UNOMIL's continuation was in question.

Turning to the situation in Guatemala, the Spokesman said

that talks between the Government and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG) would resume tomorrow in Mexico City and continue through Saturday, 19 August. The talks would be based on two working documents, prepared by the United Nations, dealing with the socio-economic situation and agrarian matters.

The Executive Chairman of the United Nations Special Commission monitoring the disarmament of Iraq, Rolf Ekeus, would leave today for a fourday visit to Baghdad, Mr. Sills continued. His current plans include a stopover in Amman, on his way back from Iraq. There were no details available regarding possible meetings in Amman, he added.

Meanwhile, Iraq's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Nizar Hamdoon, had informed Mr. Ekeus that the "so-called end-of-August deadline" by which the United Nations was being asked by Iraq to lift the embargo against it, had been withdrawn.

Turning to the former Yugoslavia, the Spokesman said that two people had been killed in a traffic accident on Mount Igman last night. Despite media reports that they were personnel of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), they were actually former UNICEF officials who had been working for a contractor for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Both of them were British and there were no indications that their vehicle had been fired upon. However, a complete investigation was under way.

Apart from that, it had been generally quiet in the former Yugoslavia. The Bosnian Government offensive in the area of Donje Vakuf, Bosnia and Herzegovina, continued, but at a significantly reduced level of activity over the last 24 hours. The shelling in the Dubrovnik area in Croatia had also abated in the same period. The United Nations could only give limited information because it had limited access to both areas.

Concerning United Nations Protected Area (UNPA) Sector East in Croatia, there was small-arms fire from about 6:30 p.m. to 10:45 p.m., yesterday. Four United Nations observation posts, manned by Russian soldiers, had been hit, with no reports of injuries. The firing had been from the Croatian Army. There had also been some mortar and artillery fire in the Sector. The United Nations forces had left one of their observation posts, and the Croatians had established a position there. As a result of the shelling of those posts, the United Nations was reviewing their continued status.

Some 200 more refugees from the Banja Luka area in Bosnia had crossed the Sava River into Croatia by noon local time today, and about 10 busloads of refugees had left Banja Luka for the river this morning. Buses were also reported coming into Banja Luka from outlying villages, in addition to many other refugees trickling into the city on their own, after being evicted from their homes. At the moment, there were an estimated 30,000 to 35,000 Muslims and up to 15,000 Croats remaining in the area.

Going further, Mr. Sills said that reports from Belgrade had stated that about 130,000 Krajina Serbs had entered the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had added that there were still lines of people trying to enter that country but all those who wanted to go in were being allowed to do so.

Mr. Sills stated that there was still no response from the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, to the letter from the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, seeking access to the Srebrenica area to investigate the alleged mass graves.

Turning to United Nations finances, he said that, as of 31 July, the Organization was owed \$2.61 billion by Member States -- \$866 million for the regular budget and \$1.74 billion for peace-keeping operations. Details were available in the Spokesman's office.

The Associate Administrator of UNDP, Rafeeuddin Ahmed, would hold a press briefing at 11 a.m. on Thursday, 17 August, in Conference Room 9 on the launching of the UNDP's Human Development Report 1995.

In response to a question as to whether the United Nations intended to do something about the Croatian attacks on its observation posts in the southern part of Sector East, Mr. Sills said that their status was being evaluated. They could not be maintained if they were fired upon and the lives of the troops endangered. Asked whether the attacks would justify a request for close air support, the Spokesman said that such a request was possible, but it had not been made.

Asked if some of the forces of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) were being pulled out of Croatia, he said that the departure of 125 Nepalese troops had already been announced. The total force strength would be reduced as quickly as possible from around 10,000 to the mandated size of 8,750. Any further cuts, or change in UNCRO's mandate, would have to be determined by the Council.

Replying to a question as to whether there was a total figure for the number of those who had been "ethnically cleansed" from the Banja Luka area, Mr. Sills said he did not have any cumulative totals other than the reports of yesterday's 600 refugees and today's 200 people who had left. He added that there were indications that the vast majority of the Muslims and ethnic Croats in that area wanted to depart while, at the same time, the Bosnian Serbs were forcing them to leave. For their part, the United Nations and the UNHCR were helping those who wanted to leave the area.

In response to a question on the Fourth World Conference on Women and why the United Nations had chosen "mainland China" as the venue, the Spokesman said that the Beijing Conference was a United Nations conference. He added that it was not taking place in "mainland China", but in China; from the United Nations standpoint, there was only one China. He explained that all world conferences were approved by the General Assembly, which also chose the venue for each event based on which Member State offered to act as host. The Assembly had selected China some time ago to host the Conference on Women.

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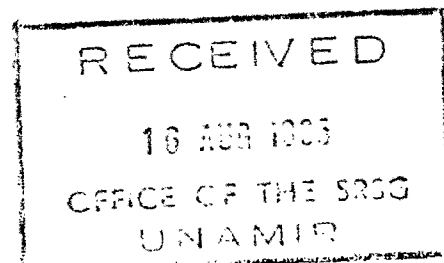
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DATE: 15 August 1995

TO: KHAN/TOUSIGNANT UNAMIR Kigali	FROM: ANNAN DPKO New York
FAX NO: 3-3090	FAX NO: (212) 963-4879 ROOM S-3727
SUBJECT: Allegations by Zaire	

TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSMITTED PAGES INCLUDING THIS PAGE: 2

Please find attached, for your information, an AFP report regarding a statement by the Deputy Prime Minister of Zaire who alleges that Rwanda and Burundi are about to launch an attack on the refugee camps in Zaire. Regards.



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Attack on refugee camps "imminent," Zaire says

KINSHASA Aug 15 (AFP) - Zaire charged on Tuesday that a joint military force set up by Rwanda and Burundi was about to launch a tank and rocket attack on camps for Hutu refugees from both countries on its territory.

The attack was "imminent," a Deputy Prime Minister Gerard Kamanda Wa Kamanda said in a statement.

Kamanda, who is in charge of foreign affairs, said the government had called in the charges d'affaires of both Burundi and Rwanda in order to "draw the attention of the two governments concerned to the worsening of tension on the border between Zaire and its two eastern neighbours.

The statement said that Zaire could call for a meeting of the UN Security Council if the situation continued to worsen.

There was no immediate reaction to the Zairean statement from the governments in either Rwanda or Burundi.

Thousands of Hutus who fled Rwanda last year in the wake of a genocidal war set off by the previous Hutu led regime there, and eventually won by forces of the minority Tutsi group, are still living in camps in Zaire.

The camps also house a number of refugees from Burundi, which like Rwanda is home to two main ethnic groups, the Hutus and the Tutsis. There have recently been fears that similar bloodshed to that seen in Rwanda last year could spread to Burundi.

AFI NewsEDGE

KEYWORDS: Zaire-Rwanda-Burundi

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FRANCE

CONSEIL DE SECURITE

RWANDA

Intervention prononcée par M. Hervé LADSOUS
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
Représentant permanent adjoint de la France
auprès des Nations Unies

New-York, le 15 août 1995

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA FRANCE AUPRES DES NATIONS UNIES
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~~La situation humanitaire, les conditions de
détention, l'absence quasi totale de dialogue entre les réfugiés et les
Autorités de l'État ne peuvent qu'être les premières étapes à l'ordre~~

Monsieur le Président,

Ma Délégation s'est prononcée en faveur du projet de résolution qui vient d'être adopté par le Conseil de Sécurité. Je dois dire qu'elle l'a fait en conservant des interrogations sur l'opportunité d'une telle décision.

Mon Gouvernement comprend très bien que, d'un point de vue juridique, les Autorités de Kigali souhaitent recouvrer leur pleine souveraineté. Il est normal qu'un Gouvernement demande à exercer toutes ses compétences pour assurer la sécurité de ses habitants et qu'il dispose des moyens pour ce faire. En suspendant le régime de l'embargo à l'encontre du Rwanda jusqu'au 1er septembre 1996, le Conseil de Sécurité vient de faire droit à cette requête.

Pour autant, la décision que nous venons de prendre ne doit pas être totalement déconnectée du contexte politique qui prévaut au Rwanda et dans les pays de la région. Nous savons que le Gouvernement de Kigali a fait beaucoup d'efforts pour favoriser la normalisation de la situation au Rwanda. Le rapport du Secrétaire général du 8 août 1995 l'atteste. Toutefois, ce rapport souligne également que de très nombreux problèmes n'ont pas connu à ce jour ne serait-ce qu'un début de solution.

Il reste en effet près de deux millions de citoyens rwandais en dehors des frontières du Rwanda. Voilà plus d'un an que nous répétons que le retour des réfugiés, à l'exception des criminels qui doivent être jugés, doit constituer la priorité du Gouvernement de Kigali. Pour l'instant, force est de constater que bien peu ont consenti à retourner dans leur village. La faute en incombe bien sûr en partie aux milices qui continuent de faire pression sur ces civils innocents mais la situation au Rwanda, pour sa part, ne favorise pas non plus ces retours.

Les arrestations encore nombreuses, les conditions dramatiques de détention, l'absence quasi-totale de dialogue entre les réfugiés et les Autorités de Kigali ne peuvent guère inciter les rwandais expatriés à rentrer

chez eux. Nous pensons que la décision de lever l'embargo renforcera encore leur prévention. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous aurions préféré que cette levée soit progressive et concerne prioritairement les équipements de maintien de l'ordre, et d'abord ceux destinés à équiper la police et la gendarmerie.

Nous ne voulons pas cependant désespérer de la situation. Nous espérons que l'autorisation d'importer des armes désormais accordée au Gouvernement du Rwanda sera utilisée avec mesure et à bon escient et que ce flux supplémentaire n'accroîtra pas les tensions entre les pays de la région comme certains signes semblent l'indiquer.

La Communauté internationale doit continuer d'apporter son plein soutien au Gouvernement de Kigali pour lui permettre de mener à bien l'oeuvre de réconciliation nationale et de reconstruction qu'il s'est engagé à poursuivre. Si nous voulons éviter de nouvelles catastrophes, il faut progresser rapidement vers cet objectif.

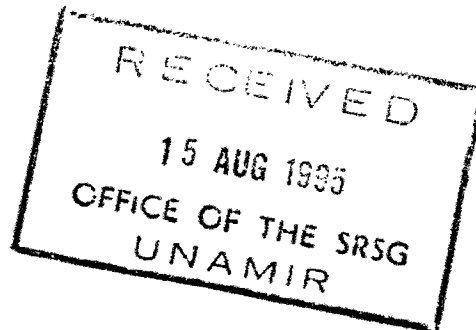
Mon Gouvernement reste persuadé que l'organisation à bref délai d'une conférence régionale sur la paix, la sécurité et le développement constituera un point de départ solide et indispensable pour ramener la stabilité dans la région des Grands Lacs. Nous attendons pour cette raison avec intérêt le rapport que doit remettre le Secrétaire général à ce sujet au Conseil de Sécurité dans un délai d'un mois.

Le Gouvernement français reste pour sa part pleinement disposé à participer à une initiative constructive qui permettrait la réintégration de tous les rwandais dans leur patrie, la restauration de la démocratie et la reprise du progrès dans cette partie de l'Afrique.

Je vous remercie, Monsieur Le Président.

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14 August 1995

DAILY PRESS BRIEFING OF OFFICE OF SPOKESMAN FOR SECRETARY-GENERAL

Joe Sills, the Spokesman for the Secretary-General, informed correspondents at today's noon briefing that the Secretary-General would be back at Headquarters tomorrow.

The Security Council was holding consultations today on the situations in Rwanda, Somalia, and the Western Sahara. It was considering a draft resolution on Rwanda, which included the lifting of the arms embargo and the Secretary-General's proposals for a regional conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes area. The Council was expected to hear a report, delayed from Friday, on Somalia from Chinmaya Gharekhan, Senior Adviser to the Secretary-General.

On Western Sahara and the United Nations Mission for the referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), said Mr. Sills, the Council would be given the Council would be given the fortnightly briefing on the situation there. The Council also had draft resolution, circulated last Friday circulated last Friday by the United States, regarding the establishment of a commission of inquiry for Burundi.

Fred Eckhard, of the Spokesman's Office, on the subject of peacekeeping, said that a backlash against the Croatian minority in Bosnia and Herzegovina had developed in the Banja Luka region in response to the displacement of Krajina Serbs from Croatia. That had led to the expulsion of large numbers of Croats today, with about 600 of them being pushed north across the Sava River into Croatia. The Croatian Government had announced its intention to resettle them in its territory. As many as 12,000 Bosnian Croats were thought to remain in the Banja Luka region, which had suffered severe ethnic cleansing at the hands of the Serbs. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was concerned that the current backlash could focus on the up to 30,000 Muslims in the region in the coming days. Meanwhile, international relief measures continued by road and air to reach the tens of thousands of Croatian Serbs streaming across Bosnia and into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Turning to Angola, Mr. Eckhard said the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, was to meet Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos to be given details of the Angolan leader's talks last week in Gabon with the

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leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), Jonas Savimbi. The leaders had agreed that UNITA would be given one of the two vice-presidential posts in the present Government. It was then expected that UNITA would name Dr. Savimbi for one of them. Mr. Beye would hold a similar briefing with UNITA officials later this week. However,

Mr. Eckhard continued, the two leaders had not yet agreed fully on how to integrate UNITA fighters into the Angolan armed forces and talks are scheduled to resume at the military level.

Meanwhile, the Zimbabwean battalion was now fully deployed with the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), bringing the Mission's total to some 3,700. The new Force Commander, Major-General Phillip Valerio Sibanda of Zimbabwe, who takes over from Major-General Chris Abutu Garuba of Nigeria on 10 October, was at Headquarters today for briefings until Thursday.

Turning to Haiti, Mr. Eckhard said that the country's Provisional Electoral Council had significantly improved the procedures for a partial rerun of the first round of elections yesterday in 21 of 133 communes. Although there had been a low turnout, all polling places had been functioning fully by 8:30 a.m., and polling operations had been smoother, with few technical problems. As for security, provided with strong United Nations support, there had been no significant incidents.

Mr. Sills added that the Chairman of the United Nations Special Commission monitoring the disarmament of Iraq, Rolf Ekeus, had been invited back to Baghdad by the Iraqi authorities for some additional information. There were no details as to the specific nature of the information. While the Iraqis had asked for Mr. Ekeus to return fairly quickly, no decision had been made on the date of his next visit.

Asked whether it was true that some Pakistani United Nations personnel had been kidnapped in Somalia by the forces of Mohammed Farah Aidid, the Secretary-General's Spokesman said he had no information on that yet. He would look into it.

Asked to spell out the United Nations position on the Serbian plans to move Krajina Serbs to Kosovo, Mr. Eckhard said that despite news reports on those plans, there was nothing yet on the matter within the United Nations. Information could get to the United Nations through the Geneva-based International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), which has a standing Working Group on Ethnic and National Communities and Minorities that sent people periodically to Kosovo and other minority areas to talk with leaders there and report to Headquarters. There was nothing yet from them.

Asked for information on the results of the talks that Mr. Yasushi Akashi had recently held, Mr. Eckhard said that there was nothing yet to pass on to reporters.

In response to a question as to whether the Croatian Government had granted United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) and other humanitarian agencies access to areas it had captured, Mr. Eckhard said that, as of

last week, the Croatian Government had not allowed UNCRO personnel unrestricted access through the region it had captured. While it had taken incremental steps to grant more access to areas the United Nations wanted to see, they had not been fast enough. Specifically, there had not been sufficient access granted to villages around Knin, which were reported to have been burned and looted.

Mr. Eckhard was asked whether it was true that there were exchanges of small arms fire in Sector East and if the returning Serbs had taken over some Croat homes in Vojvodina and other parts of northern Serbia. He replied that since the United Nations only maintained a presence in Belgrade, he could not confirm what was going on in Vojvodina. As for the small arms fire in Sector East, that was a daily occurrence, with occasional mortar rounds being swapped as well. Regarding the reports of the Yugoslav army deploying troops and tanks to its border with Croatia, he said that while there had been reports of such movements, there were no reports of their entering Sector East.

Noting that the Secretary-General had said it was unhealthy for the Organization to be over-dependent on any Member State, a correspondent asked whether he had in mind any specific percentage by which to cut the United States share of the United Nations budget; Mr. Sills said the Secretary-General did not suggest specific numbers, though he had indeed stated, in his article in Sunday's edition of the Washington Post, that excessive reliance on one State was not healthy and that the Organization should create a better balance in the distribution of assessments. Other countries should pick up any difference that would result from the reduction in United States assessments. Determining specific assessment rates was the job of the Committee on Contributions of the General Assembly, and of the Assembly. Moreover, a high-level working group had also been created to consider the United Nations financial situation.

Pressed to comment on whether the Secretary-General had any concerns or opinion on whether the United Nations' political dependence on that same Member State was unhealthy for it, the Spokesman said that the Secretary-General's statement related to financial matters, and he did not wish to go beyond what had been written in the article.

Asked whether the Secretary-General was still running for reelection, Mr. Sills said that the Secretary-General was not running for reelection. On several occasions he had stated that he had several months to make up his mind on that matter, and he would do at the appropriate time.

Replying to a question on whether there was a United Nations presence in the areas of Bosnia that had the 12,000 ethnic Croats and 30,000 Muslims he had referred to, Mr. Eckhard said that the Organization's presence in the Serb-held parts of Bosnia had been minimal all along, consisting today mainly of UNHCR workers. So, it was the relief community that was at work there, with no military observers in the Banja Luka area; the figures about population movements were from a UNHCR source.

A reporter stated that some United States human rights

groups, such as the Human Rights Watch, had not found any "pattern of systematic, government endorsed abuses to drive out the local population" in the Krajina, despite isolated or individual acts there. He asked if the UNHCR or any United Nations observer there had chosen to characterize the situation that way. In response, Mr. Eckhard said that was a problem of access to anyone -- whether United Nations or non-governmental organizations. Probably, assessments had been based on comments by refugees after they had left, and those needed to be checked. It was too early to make any assessment.

A correspondent asked whether the United Nations was making any efforts to reach the alleged mass graves photographed by the United States. Mr. Eckhard said that, following the adoption of a Security Council resolution to that effect, a cable had been sent out, asking for efforts to reach those sites. However, the Serbs had not yet responded or allowed access to the area of the alleged graves.

Commenting on the veracity of a report that the United Kingdom would be pulling its troops from Gorazde, Mr. Eckhard said that the country had informed the United Nations that it would so at the end of September. The United Nations was talking to other governments regarding contributions to replace the departing British contingent. Some of the other troop contributors were being consulted regarding the possibility of deploying their troops from UNCRO to Bosnia. Nothing had been finalized yet.

Responding to a question on whether the United Nations had any comment on the fact that Haiti's opposition parties had boycotted the elections, resulting in lower turnout and therefore problems, Mr. Eckhard said that the United Nations was limited to providing technical assistance and security. The difference in the quality of the recent polls had little to do with the low turnout; it had more to do with the fact there they had been better arrangements by Haiti's Provisional Electoral Council.

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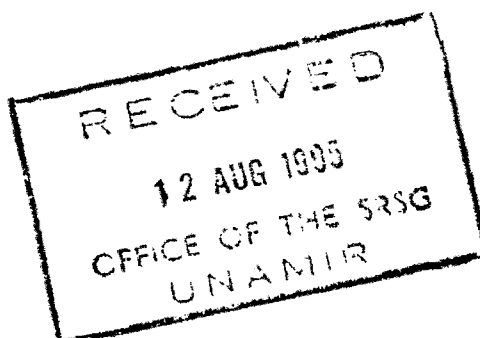
DATE: 11 August 1995

12-8-95

TO: KHAN/TOUSIGNANT UNAMIR Kigali	FROM: ANNAN for DPKO New York
FAX NO: 3-3090	FAX NO: (212) 963-4879 RCCM S-3727
SUBJECT: Arms embargo	

TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSMITTED PAGES INCLUDING THIS PAGE: 2

Please find attached, for your information, copy of a
Reuter report on the arms embargo. Regards.



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Non-aligned nations want Rwanda arms embargo lifted

By Evelyn Leopold

UNITED NATIONS, Aug 9 (Reuter) - Non-aligned members of the Security Council as well as the United States want the arms embargo lifted against Rwanda, U.N. officials and diplomats said on Wednesday.

Rwanda has argued that it needs weapons for self-defence and that the embargo was imposed when the previous Hutu-dominated government was in charge. Britain and France, however, are more cautious, the envoys said.

The non-aligned group in the council, which includes Rwanda, Botswana, Honduras, Indonesia, Nigeria and Oman, circulated a resolution to lift the embargo.

A copy of the document, obtained by Reuters on Wednesday, recalled that the original purpose of the embargo was to stop weapons from being used in the massacres of civilians, which was no longer the case.

It would require Rwanda to supply a list of designated points of entry for delivery of arms.

Diplomats said the United States believed that the Rwanda situation was similar to Bosnia. All former Yugoslav republics had been under an arms embargo before Bosnia declared independence.

But they said that Britain and France had hesitations, saying incoming weapons should be monitored. They argued that there were too many guns in the region already.

About 500,000 Rwandans, mostly of the Tutsi ethnic group, were killed in massacres a year ago that were carried out by the Hutu military and militia members. Most of them have fled to Zaire along with two million Hutus after a Tutsi-led army took over the government in July 1994.

The Rwandan military is massing troops along its western border should exiled Hutu soldiers attack.

Rwanda's U.N. ambassador Manzi Bakuramutsa told a news conference on Wednesday his country wanted "to acquire just enough arms for protection in its own self-defence and sovereignty and is ready to give all guarantees."

He said there was a real threat on the border "because these people are getting arms, are getting strengthened in different ways."

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KEYWORDS: RWANDA-UN



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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE UNTIL 0001 GMT 13 JUNE 1995
AI INDEX : AFR 47/13/95

RWANDA: STOP ARMS FLOW TO PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE

Secret shipments of arms to the perpetrators of genocide in Rwanda could be used again by the former army of Rwanda and associated militia, now largely based in Zaïre, to commit further massive human rights abuses.

"There looms a real possibility of large-scale human rights abuses, fuelled by the hand grenades, landmines, rifles, machine guns and ammunition being supplied to those responsible for last year's crimes against humanity," said Amnesty International today as it released its report *Rwanda: Arming the perpetrators of the genocide*.

The re-arming of those known to have committed mass killings in Rwanda requires urgent action by the international community, which has clearly failed to bring to justice those responsible for genocide and other crimes against humanity, Amnesty International said. In 1994, over half a million members of the minority Tutsi ethnic group as well as moderate Hutu and others were murdered.

Amnesty International has confirmed continuing reports of secret transfers of weapons and ammunition to the former army of Rwanda and the Hutu militia Interahamwe, now based in Zaïre under their former commanders. The arms shipments came from countries including Bulgaria and Albania, involved United Kingdom-based arms traders, and arrived at Goma Airport in Zaïre on large cargo planes registered in Ghana, Nigeria, Ukraine and Russia.

Amnesty International has also confirmed allegations that secret night flights of arms were continuing to arrive regularly in Goma until at least mid-May 1995, virtually every Tuesday at around 11:00pm, even though the airport does not officially have night landing facilities and cargo flights normally occur only during the day.

In addition to Zaïrian authorities allowing the delivery of arms transfers from abroad, Zaïrian army commanders are also reported to have re-sold to the former Rwandese government forces weapons seized when those forces originally fled across the border in 1994.

Many of the militia have been incorporated into the former army. They use the imported arms for military training in secret military camps near the refugee camps in eastern Zaïre and for cross border raids which have included deliberate and arbitrary killings.

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The rearmed militia have made death threats to refugees wishing to return to Rwanda and refusing to join the militia, Amnesty International said.

In one recent incident, a Hutu regional medical officer was shot dead and one of his children stabbed to death in Gisenyi, Rwanda. While in a refugee camp near Goma, Dr Anatole Bucyendore was told that the Interahamwe would kill him and his family if he returned to Rwanda. Before his assassination on 25 February 1995, Bucyendore had again received death threats, reportedly from unnamed persons in Goma.

Amnesty International takes no position on sanctions, embargoes or boycotts, but opposes transfers of weapons that can be reasonably assumed to contribute to human rights abuses. The organization also does not take a position in principle on whether or in what circumstances it would be legitimate to resort to violence as a means to political ends.

In the context of the situation of the exiled Rwandese now in Zaïre, Amnesty International is opposed to military transfers to forces which continue to be under the command of those who were responsible for the genocide in Rwanda. Amnesty International believes that such transfers are likely to result in further human rights abuses.

The organization is calling on all the governments named in its report to take immediate, practical steps to investigate reports of military transfers emanating from or in transit through their countries and to prevent any transfers to the former Rwandese army and militia.

The Government of Zaïre, in particular, should allow the independent monitoring of all cargo planes landing in Goma or other Zaïrian airports.

Amnesty International also calls on the international community to ensure that those individuals outside Rwanda who are suspected of genocide and other crimes against humanity are brought to justice in fair trials that exclude the death penalty in all cases. They must not be allowed to rearm.

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[EMBARGOED FOR: 13 June 1995]

amnesty international

RWANDA

Arming the perpetrators of the genocide



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RWANDA

Arming the perpetrators of the genocide

The events which occurred in Rwanda between April and July 1994 were crimes against humanity. The arms that were supplied to the government at the time were used to carry out acts of genocide, deliberate and arbitrary killings and other grave human rights violations. There is now mounting evidence that similar types of arms continue to reach the perpetrators of these crimes who are now outside Rwanda in other countries.

Amnesty International is extremely concerned by persistent reports of large supplies of weapons and ammunition reaching the perpetrators of crimes against humanity in Rwanda, namely the *Forces armées rwandaises* (FAR - the former Rwandese Armed Forces) and the *Interahamwe* militia,¹ who continue to commit human rights abuses. The supplies arrive via Goma airport in eastern Zaire. In May 1995, these reports were continuing. Some of the weapons and ammunition have been used by these forces for cross-border incursions from Zaire into Rwanda where political killings have taken place and have also been used to intimidate Rwandese refugees to prevent them from returning. Amnesty International is concerned that such abuses could escalate.

This report describes the recent secret transfer of weapons and ammunition from several countries, including Albania and Bulgaria to the exiled Rwandese armed forces in eastern Zaire by traders in the United Kingdom using aircraft registered in Ghana, Nigeria, Ukraine and Russia.² In Zaire and other countries, commanders of these exiled forces who were responsible for crimes against humanity and acts of genocide last year have purchased or negotiated transit facilities for these military supplies. They have been able to evade the February 1995 United Nations (UN) Security Council call for suspected perpetrators of genocide to be arrested and tried in cooperation with the International Tribunal on Rwanda.

¹ In 1992, the ruling party of the former president of Rwanda, the *Mouvement républicain national pour la démocratie et le développement* (MRND), National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development, created a private Hutu militia known as the *Interahamwe* ("Those who attack together") which initiated a pattern of deliberate and arbitrary killings of Tutsi civilians and moderate Hutu spokespersons. Another allied private militia known as the *Impazumagambi* ("Those who have the same goal") was created by the MRND's coalition partner, the *Coalition pour la défense de la république* (CDR), Coalition for the Defence of the Republic. These militia and their commanders, backed by their counterparts in the FAR and Presidential Guard, planned and perpetrated the mass killings in Rwanda which began on 6 April 1994 in which over half a million people were killed in the space of three months.

² This report does not address the many critical human rights issues facing Rwanda at present which are detailed in other reports by Amnesty International in 1994 and 1995.

The exiled army and militia have been given bases to regroup and receive military training. This training involves not only Hutu exiles from Rwanda but Hutu exiles from Burundi as well. The exiled Rwandese armed forces have used imported weapons and ammunition to commit further human rights abuses, particularly political killings.

Amnesty International takes no position in principle on whether or in what circumstances it would be legitimate to resort to violence as a means to political ends. In the context of the situation of the Rwandese armed groups now in Zaire, Amnesty International is opposed to military transfers to forces which continue to be under the command of those who were responsible for the genocide in Rwanda. Amnesty International believes that such transfers are likely to result in further human rights abuses.

Furthermore, Amnesty International does not take a position in principle on punitive measures such as sanctions, embargoes or boycotts. However, the organization does oppose military, security or police transfers to governments and armed opposition groups which can reasonably be assumed to contribute to human rights abuses such as deliberate and arbitrary killings, "disappearances", torture or ill-treatment. These transfers may include equipment, personnel, or training, as well as proven financial or logistical support for such transfers. Governments should prohibit such transfers from taking place unless it can be reasonably demonstrated that such transfers will not contribute to such human rights abuses.

Although the majority of the mass murders which began in Rwanda on 6 April 1994 were carried out using local farming implements such as machetes and hoes, the killings were largely initiated or supervised by members of the security forces who had more sophisticated light weaponry. In most cases when the killers met resistance, they first used grenades and then firearms, including automatic rifles. After the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) took power on 19 July 1994, most of the the former FAR and the mainly Hutu militia fled into Zaire taking with them weapons made in Belgium, China, France, South Korea, and South Africa. At first the Zairian army in the Goma area confiscated many of these weapons, but later the Rwandese forces who fled to eastern Zaire were allowed to retain most of their weapons. Since then, some of the weapons confiscated by the Zairian army are reported to have been sold back to the exiled FAR commanders.

Since December 1994 many of the 25,000 to 30,000 soldiers of the former FAR and the *Interahamwe* militia who were responsible for crimes against humanity in 1994 have been regrouping in Zaire where they are re-arming and undergoing military training under the leadership of their former senior commanders. They are commanded by, amongst others, the former head of the FAR and the Presidential Guard who was in charge during the mass killings in 1994 and the colonel responsible for arming the *Interahamwe* since their creation in 1992.

The information in this report comes from various sources including first hand accounts as well as unpublished and published information which has been made available to and confirmed by Amnesty International. The aim of this report is to urge governments, particularly those named in this report, to investigate the transfer emanating from, or transiting through, their countries to Central Africa of weapons and ammunition which are being used to carry out human rights abuses and which could easily fuel further acts of mass killing.

Arms supplies via Goma airport

Despite denials by Zairian government officials, there are numerous reports that the commanders of the exiled Rwandese armed forces have been involved in the procurement of large supplies of weapons and ammunition from abroad via Goma airport. The Zairian authorities and the international community have failed to take effective action against this supply of arms despite a UN arms embargo which remains in force.

Allegations that between ten and twelve plane-loads of arms were delivered from Bulgaria to Goma in Russian Ilyushin cargo aircraft "over the past three months" were first made on 10 April 1995 by Robin Cook, the United Kingdom (UK) Shadow Minister on Foreign Affairs, who visited Goma on 24 March 1995. He claimed that a "UN source" had confirmed this and he called for the arms deliveries to be stopped in accordance with the UN arms embargo on Rwanda which was established on 17 May 1994.³

Following this allegation, the Zairian Minister of Defence, Admiral Mavua Mudina, and several top military leaders visited Goma as a "commission of inquiry". On 15 April 1995, Admiral Mudina released a statement denying reports of arms supplies to Goma and also denying that groups of Hutu militia from Rwanda and Burundi were training on Zairian soil.

However, Amnesty International has confirmed that night flights into Goma by large cargo aircraft continued into mid-May 1995, usually on Tuesdays at around 11.00pm despite the fact that the airport does not officially have night landing facilities and that normal cargo flights occur only during the day. These secret night landings are alleged to be large cargo planes carrying arms and ammunition deliveries. Goma airport is the only airport in eastern Zaire capable of receiving large cargo aircraft and is strictly guarded by the Zairian security police, the *Service national d'intelligence et de protection* (SNIP), National Intelligence and Protection Service.

³ UN Security Council Resolution 918 of 17 May 1994 established a Committee to gather information to help enforce the arms embargo. UN officials have said that the embargo applies to all Rwandese nationals.

Witnesses at Goma airport saw three cargo planes with English-speaking pilot crews who had flown in weapons on 4 April 1995, reportedly via Gabon. Zairian soldiers at the airport claimed that the large quantity of weapons were delivered for use by the 1,500 troops of the *Contingent zairois pour la sécurité dans les camps* (CZSC), the Zairian Contingent for Security in the Camps, who are responsible for policing the refugee camps run by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, this claim is disputed by witnesses who state that the CZSC were given their personal weapons from the local Zairian garrison stocks and did not need three large cargo plane-loads of weapons. The CZSC is monitored by 27 international staff of the Civilian Security Liaison Group. Apparently, the latter's mandate does not cover the airport. Another sighting was reportedly made in Goma during April 1995 of a Liberian-registered cargo aircraft.

A UK television program due to be broadcast on 13 June 1995 describes a series of arms flights to Goma for the exiled Hutu armed forces⁴. During 1994, these flights were made by Boeing 707 aircraft registered in Ghana and Nigeria but between November 1994 and May 1995 the aircraft used were a Ukrainian-registered Antonov 124 as well as Ilyushin 76 cargo aircraft registered in both the Ukraine and Russia. They have delivered arms from Plovdiv and Burgas in Bulgaria to Goma for the exiled Hutu armed forces, usually landing on Tuesday nights around 11.00pm. Fuel stops have been made in Cairo, Egypt, and in one instance in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. One such delivery was reportedly received in the presence of the former Prime Minister of Rwanda, Jean Kambanda, and a former leader of the *Interahamwe*, Jean-Baptiste Gatete, who are now in exile.

Arms caches are said to have been established along the Zaire/Rwanda border between 5 and 7 km inside Zaire. One such cache in the *Parc National des Volcans* near the border with north west Rwanda was seen to contain, among other things, French M60 medium machine guns, AK47 assault rifles, fragmentation grenades in boxes with US markings and South African 7.62 ammunition. The US grenades are said to have been obtained by exchanging or buying weapons from the Angolan armed opposition group, the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, which has operated from Zaire and which is also subject to a UN arms embargo.

Reports of secret arms flights to the exiled former FAR and *Interahamwe* via Goma airport date back to July 1994. In November 1994, four pilots employed by a UK company admitted publicly to having flown four large charter plane-loads of small arms, mainly hand grenades, rifles and ammunition of Chinese and Russian origin, from Israel and Albania to

⁴ The Cook Report, Carlton Television, United Kingdom.

Goma during April 1994⁵. The supplies are said to have included Israeli-made weaponry such as Uzi sub-machine guns, as well as weapons such as grenades captured by the Israeli army from the Egyptian army in 1973 and Chinese ammunition obtained through Tirana. One pilot told Amnesty International that he was "tricked" into flying 36.5 tonnes of arms and ammunition into Goma airport at night, thinking it was a delivery to the Zairian government, but said it was in fact for the exiled Rwandese army. A UK company organised the flights, one from Tel Aviv and other flights from Tirana, the Albanian capital, where Israeli and Albanian officials are alleged to have supplied the arms and ammunition. A Nigerian-registered and owned aircraft was reported to have been used, as well as a Ghanaian-registered Boeing 707 based in the United Kingdom.

Since the imposition of the UN arms embargo in May 1994, governments of the major arms suppliers to the previous government of Rwanda, notably the governments of France and South Africa, have stated that they no longer authorize arms sales to Rwanda. The French authorities were reported in February 1995 to be investigating a French-registered company which allegedly sold Kalashnikov rifles illegally to Rwanda using a Kenya-based cargo company. However, allegations of French and South African military collaboration with the exiled Hutu armed forces have continued.⁶

Amnesty International has received reports that local Zairian soldiers have sold arms to the former FAR commanders which they had confiscated in July 1994 from retreating FAR soldiers. In April 1995, Colonel Theoneste Bagosora, the former Rwandese Ministry of Defence official widely alleged to have organised the supply of weapons and coordinated activities of the *Interahamwe* leading up to and during the genocide, was reported to be second-in-command of the exiled forces and based in the Chimanga camp near the Zaire border with south west Rwanda. In March 1995, Colonel Bagosora and a Zairian commander at Katindo were questioned by the Zairian gendarmerie about arms trafficking. The Zairian commander was accused of selling arms confiscated from the FAR last July. A local businessman said that the deals were becoming increasingly open and that sales had included 1,500 grenades and at least 30 rifles. Another witness claims that at least six multiple-barrel light artillery batteries were confiscated from the FAR last July by the Zairean garrison in Goma, but there were only two remaining by May 1995, the rest having been sold back to the former FAR.

⁵ The Big Story, Twenty-Two Television, United Kingdom, 17 November 1994

⁶ Human Rights Watch Arms Project, "Rwanda/Zaire: rearming with impunity", Washington, May 1995.

Political killings and death threats against refugees

Since February 1995, former *Interahamwe* militiamen and FAR soldiers have been using their accumulated stocks of weapons and ammunition to mount cross-border raids which have included deliberate and arbitrary killings of civilians. They have also used their military strength to create a climate of intimidation including death threats in many of the refugee camps to persuade Rwandese refugees not to return to their homes in Rwanda and to force young men to join the militia and the regrouped FAR.

During April 1995, up to 30 armed groups of Hutu were situated along eastern Zaire's border with Rwanda. Militia crossed the border into Rwanda at night on an almost daily basis, as has been observed at the Kamayola and Kibumba camps. Cross-border raids have also increased in the south west of Rwanda and the north west of Burundi. One aim of these incursions has been to target political opponents, although the raids are also linked to cattle rustling and attacks on infrastructure and military targets. The Head of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights office in Rwanda stated publicly on 14 April 1995 that:

"Dozens of people have been killed in these attacks from across the border since the end of January...It was reported yesterday that there was another incursion that resulted in casualties...The motivations for the attacks vary...[and include] killing as a punishment of people who have returned to Rwanda without permission of the refugee camp authorities...[and] killing of people who appear to be cooperating with the Rwandese government, for example, those who have handed over their weapons or have given information about who took part in the genocide..."

Dr Anatole Bucyendore, a Hutu regional medical officer and head of the AIDS prevention program in Rwanda, was shot dead and his two-year-old child was repeatedly stabbed to death in Gisenyi, Rwanda on 25 February 1995. His wife and other child were severely wounded in the attack. Dr Bucyendore had fled to Goma from Rwanda in 1994. While in Goma he was threatened on various occasions that if he returned to Rwanda he and his family would be killed by the *Interahamwe*. Nevertheless, Dr Bucyendore decided to return to Gisenyi to work at the hospital there. Before his assassination, he had again received death threats, reportedly also from unnamed persons in Goma.

The UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) reported on 6 March 1995 that four insurgents captured in Kigali believed to be members of the *Interahamwe* and former army had sackloads of landmines and grenades which the insurgents said were to be used to attack civilian targets in Kigali, including the central market place, as part of a concerted destabilisation campaign. They said they came from Mugunga camp near Goma. Agents of the former government used landmines and other explosives extensively to terrorise the civilian population during 1993 and early 1994, particularly in Kigali. On 1 April 1995 the burgomaster of Gishoma was assassinated by insurgents surrounding his house with a

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In addition to the 17 May 1994 UN arms embargo on Rwanda, on 29 March 1995 the UN Security Council called on all states "in particular neighbouring states, to refrain from supplying or allowing the transit of arms and to deny sanctuary and any other assistance to those extremist elements which seek to destabilise the situation in Burundi." An arms embargo was also placed on Zaire by the European Union in 1993. In a report on 20 April 1995, the Organisation of African Unity urged all countries to stem the illegal flow of arms to the region. On 18 May 1995 the governments of Zaire and Burundi expressed their joint concern about "the deterioration in security on their common border stemming from the proliferation of weapons in the sub-region." Amnesty International takes no position on arms embargoes as such; it is concerned that some governments have continued to allow arms to reach known human rights violators who are likely to use them to commit further abuses.

In February 1994, before the start of the genocide in Rwanda, Amnesty International had already expressed concern that arms had been transferred from the former Rwandese government authorities and the FAR to Hutu militia who deliberately killed over 2,000 unarmed civilians, most of them Tutsi. By May 1994, Amnesty International reported that the FAR was helping to coordinate the killings, and that commanders of the FAR had supplied military weapons to both the *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi* militia for this purpose, while the government and military authorities were involved at the highest level in orchestrating and directing the murder campaign. The Presidential Guard was reported to have been in charge of military training of the *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi*.

Now, one year after the mass killings which claimed over half a million lives in Rwanda, the supply of arms and ammunition through Goma in eastern Zaire to those who have been responsible for crimes against humanity requires urgent action by the international community.

Bringing the perpetrators to justice

Leaders of the former FAR, the Presidential Guard and the *Interahamwe* militia include many of those who planned and organized the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. If arms supplies continue to reach the forces under their command, there is a danger that they may continue to commit large scale human rights abuses. Many of those now in exile in Zaire and other countries are not only allowed by governments to evade justice, but are also reported to be

FAR at military bases near Mugunga south of Goma and Panzi near Bukavu where the bulk of the defeated army was housed until late November and December 1994, as well as near Chimanga, between the volcanic hills near the *Parc National des Volcans* on the border with north-west Rwanda, and on the Island of Idjwi in Lake Kivu. The border areas with Rwanda near these camps are sites of cross-border insurgency during which human rights abuses have been carried out. According to ex-FAR soldiers who have deserted, in late 1994 several hundred ex-FAR troops and commanders were also moved to another secret camp in the Central African Republic for special training.⁹

Commanders have also been allowed to organize the supply of weapons to members of the former *Interahamwe*, many of whom reside in the refugee camps in eastern Zaire. These refugee camps run from Katale, Kahinda and Kibumba in the north Kivu region to Kamanyola, Kanganiro, Luvungi, Lubarika and Luberizi near Uvira in the south Kivu region closer to the border with Burundi. Hutu militia living in these camps are reported to have declined in number as they are recruited into the ex-FAR, but those who remain try to create a climate of fear in the refugee camps. Up to one third of the Hutu refugees in camps near Bukavu and Uvira are originally from Burundi and fled to Rwanda after the massacres in Burundi during November 1993.

On 31 May 1995, an international warrant for the arrest of a former leader of the *Interahamwe*, Colonel Theoneste Bagasora, was issued from Belgium. Colonel Bagasora was reported in November 1994 to have said that he wished to "wage a war that will be long and full of dead people until the minority Tutsi are finished".¹⁰ In March 1995 he said that a destabilisation insurgency campaign and a small scale incursion into Rwanda was being planned for mid-July (19 July 1995 will be the first anniversary of the RPF victory) after which recognition of the need for negotiations around the August 1993 Arusha Peace Accords between the former and present government of Rwanda will be advanced by a "major European power".

Many of the former FAR commanders recognize that the Rwandese government will not countenance their free return to Rwanda and so have curtailed public threats of human rights violations and expressed support for international negotiations which they hope would include a blanket amnesty for previous crimes against humanity. Major General Bizimungu nevertheless stated publicly in March 1995 that "The [former] Rwandese army has not lost the war" and one of his senior commanders stated on 4 March that the ex-FAR would "kill all Tutsi who prevent us from returning". Militia commanders in eastern Zaire from Rwanda

⁹ Interviewed for the Cook Report, *op cit*

¹⁰ Human Rights Watch, *op cit*.

2. Amnesty International calls on the government of Zaire to:

- a. allow the independent international monitoring of all cargo landing in Goma or any other airport in Zaire which may contain weapons or ammunition that are likely to be used by the former FAR or the Rwandese militia to carry out human rights abuses.

3. Amnesty International calls on all individual governments and inter-governmental organizations, including the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, to take immediate practical steps to:

- a. ensure that suspected perpetrators of crimes against humanity are brought to justice in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 978 of 27 February 1995; adopt legislation to enable authorities to cooperate with the International Tribunal on Rwanda; provide resources, as well as any relevant information on human rights violations, to the International Tribunal, and practical support to help rebuild the judiciary in Rwanda to ensure fair trials which exclude the death penalty;
- b. ensure that any military transfers to the armed forces of Rwanda and Burundi are not used to commit human rights violations such as deliberate and arbitrary killings and are not distributed to militia likely to commit such violations.
- c. provide better support for adequate civil policing in both Rwanda and Burundi which conforms to international standards, including standards of impartiality to help protect the human rights of all sectors of the population, whether Hutu or Tutsi;

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and Burundi stated that "our struggle is one and the same".¹¹ On 4 April 1995, Major General Bizimungu, and 13 other senior ex-FAR commanders released a signed Declaration of Support for the *Rassemblement pour le retour et la démocratie au Rwanda* (RDR), Rally for Return and Democracy in Rwanda. The RDR claims to be a new political entity excluding the old "government in exile". It is seeking a negotiated return of all exiled Rwandese and is said to favour a blanket amnesty for all crimes committed in the ethnic conflict.

Recommendations

Amnesty International takes no position on punitive measures such as sanctions, embargoes or boycotts, but is opposed as a matter of principle to military, security or police transfers to governments and armed opposition groups that can reasonably be assumed to contribute to human rights abuses such as deliberate and arbitrary killings, "disappearances", torture or ill-treatment. Such transfers may include equipment, personnel, or training, as well as proven financial or logistical support for such transfers. Governments should prohibit such transfers from taking place unless it can be reasonably demonstrated that such transfers will not contribute to such human rights abuses.

Amnesty International does not take a position in principle on whether or in what circumstances it would be legitimate to resort to violence as a means to political ends. In the context of the situation of the exiled Rwandese now in Zaire, Amnesty International is opposed to military transfers to forces which continue to be under the command of those who were responsible for the genocide in Rwanda. Amnesty International believes that such transfers are likely to result in further human rights abuses.

1. Amnesty International calls on all states named in this report to:

- a. carry out thorough investigations into reports that the former armed forces and militia of Rwanda now in Zaire, many of whom led or participated in crimes against humanity during 1994, have obtained - and may still be obtaining - weapons or ammunition emanating from or transiting through their countries;
- b. act immediately to prevent the transfer of any weapons, ammunition or military training to the former armed forces and militia of Rwanda which are likely to contribute to further human rights abuses such as deliberate and arbitrary killings.

¹¹ BBC Newsnight, 15 March 1995