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NYPM File: 2/88/1

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Date: 11 May 1994

Page 1 of 15

To: WELLINGTON
WGTV UNSC ✓No: 2597PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE

LD: SFAT (MEA UNSC, ISAC, HRU, LGL, EUR, DP3, DSP3, EAR)
~~Copied to UNSC, UNIC, HRU, DSP3, LGL, ISAC, EUR,~~

SUBJECT: Security Council: Rwanda

1 PT refers.

Copy of Presidential draft resolution follows
 together with US talking points to Council
 meeting tonight and

UNHCR update, Human Rights Watch Press Release
 and Oxfam letter to NZ Perm Rep.

2/15

The Security Council,

2/15 -

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 by which it established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), its resolution 909 (1994) of 5 April 1994 which extended the mandate of UNAMIR until 29 July, 1994, and its resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994 by which it adjusted the mandate of UNAMIR;

n2

Recalling its statement of 7 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/16) which inter alia, reaffirmed the importance of the Arusha Peace Agreement to the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Rwanda, and the necessity for all parties to re-commit themselves to its full implementation;

n2

Recalling also its statement of 30 April 1994 (S/PRST/1994/24) by which it strongly condemned the ongoing violence in Rwanda and demanded an immediate end to the mindless carnage;

n2

Concerned that the situation in Rwanda which has resulted in the death of thousands of innocent civilians, including women and children, the internal displacement of a significant number of the Rwandan population, and the massive exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries, constitutes a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportion;

n2

Expressing once again its alarm at continuing reports of widespread and flagrant violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda;

n2

Mindful of its abhorrence of the crime of genocide punishable under international law;

n2

Underlining the urgent need for coordinated international action to help restore peace in Rwanda, and alleviate the suffering of the Rwandan people, and in this connection welcoming cooperation between the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) as well as with leaders of the region, especially the facilitator of the Arusha peace process;

new OK

Having considered the letters of the Secretary-General dated 29 April 1994 (S/1994/518), and 3 May 1994 (S/1994/530);

new OK

Determining that the situation in Rwanda constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region;

n2

Recognizing that the people of Rwanda bear ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country;

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1. Strongly urges all parties to the conflict to immediately cease hostilities and agree to a cease-fire;

✓ good

2. Reaffirms its commitment to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda;

OAU must!

3. Stresses its conviction that the Arusha Peace Agreement constitutes a viable framework for the resolution of the conflict in Rwanda, and in this connection urges all parties to commence political dialogue;

4. Decides that UNAMIR's mandate under resolution 912 (1994) shall be adjusted as follows:

NZ

(a) To act as intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire;

NZ

(b) To monitor observance of any cease-fire agreement;

NZ

(c) To assist in advancing the peace process within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement;

new-open ended

(d) To monitor and report on developments in Rwanda;

5. Also decides that UNAMIR's mandate shall also include the following responsibilities:

(a) Security

(1) Assure safe conditions for displaced and other persons in need, including refugees (mostly from Burundi) who have sought asylum in Rwanda;

As per para 11-5 & 5 non-paper

(2) Provide security to humanitarian assistance activities;

(3) Provide escort to convoys;

(4) Provide security to UN installations;

(5) Assure control of vital geographic features;

(6) Monitor border crossing points as operationally required;

(7) Monitor deployment of the parties in conflict in order to ensure effective conduct of UNAMIR-A operations.

(b) Humanitarian Assistance

(1) Assist in the establishment and maintenance of secure areas for the safe support of those in need;

(2) Establish access to those in need;

(3) Provide support for the provision of food, water, medical services, shelter and other relief to those in need;

(4) Provide assistance with demining;

(5) Provide assistance for the rehabilitation of essential facilities and services.

(c) Liaison

(1) Strengthen liaison between UNAMIR-A and all parties;

(2) Support liaison arrangements with humanitarian agencies;

(3) Assist in the collation of information relating to violations of international humanitarian law.

6. Authorizes an expansion of the UNAMIR force level to 5500 troops and urges the deployment of that force in the shortest possible time; NZ

7. Encourages the Secretary-General to accelerate his efforts, in conjunction with the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity to obtain commitments from the Organisation of African Unity member States and other members of the United Nations NZ

5/15

for the necessary personnel to accomplish the urgent deployment of the expanded UNAMIR;

8. Requests member States to offer the Secretary-General urgently, logistical support capability for quick deployment of the UNAMIR expanded force level and its support in the field;

NZ

9. Commends the efforts of States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organisations which have provided humanitarian and other assistance, encourages them to continue and increase such assistance, and urges others to provide such assistance;

NZ

10. Also commends the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity and its agencies, as well as those of the Tanzanian Facilitator, in providing diplomatic, political, humanitarian support for the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Council;

NZ

11. Calls upon all States to refrain from providing arms or any military assistance to the parties in conflict, and states its willingness to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo on Rwanda and decides that all States shall immediately take measures with a view to prohibiting the supply of arms and related materiel to any of the parties in Rwanda; that all States shall prevent the sale or supply to Rwanda by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircrafts, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary police equipment and spare parts;

new
not OK

12. Further calls upon all States, and international organisations, to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted prior to the date of the adoption of this resolution;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to bring to its attention any information that he might receive concerning arms flow into Rwanda;

14. Also requests the Secretary-General to present a report, not later than 31 July 1994, on possible options for international prosecution of persons responsible for genocide or other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda since the outbreak of current hostilities;

NZ

15. Invites the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in coordination with the Organisation of African Unity and countries in the region, to continue their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace

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Agreement;

- 16. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter;

Delivered by
Amb Albright to U
11/5/94

US

TALKING POINTS
RWANDA

7/6

- We remain extremely concerned about the on-going tragedy in Rwanda. This is a problem that demands immediate international action.
- The United States wants to play a constructive role in alleviating the suffering in Rwanda and supporting efforts to achieve a lasting political solution.
- There have been a number of proposed responses to this tragedy. We would like to explore these ideas further, here in the Council, as well as with representatives of concerned African states.
- We have already taken some important steps. We will continue to support the diplomatic efforts now underway by the UN, OAU, the Tanzanian government and regional leaders to reach a ceasefire and return to the Arusha peace process. We want to consider how to support the UN effort to work with the OAU to ensure the safety of displaced persons on both sides of the border.
- We are committed to provide humanitarian relief, to implement an arms embargo and to have the UN Human Rights Commission fully investigate the situation in Rwanda.
- In addition, there may be another vitally important humanitarian mission that the UN and/or OAU could perform.
- We would be interested in exploring the possibility of creating a protective zone along the Rwandan border with an international force to provide security to populations, where refugees and displaced persons are in the most immediate danger.
- Such a mission could not only provide security for the protective zone and the distribution of humanitarian assistance but could also assist in refugee repatriation and serve in a preventive capacity to deter the spread of violence to Burundi. The operation would require robust rules of engagement.

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- This mission may require fewer troops and be less complex logistically than some other proposals now being discussed.
- It would, however, need the active support of neighboring countries, such as Burundi and Tanzania, and the assent of the Rwandan parties.
- In considering the actual humanitarian/peacekeeping mission in Rwanda, we must be mindful not to upset the delicate political balance that presently exists in Burundi.
- We must also work together to define clearly achievable objectives and an end-state such as resettlement of the displaced persons and refugees and/or a sunset provision requiring reconsideration of the operation in six months to preclude the mission becoming an open-ended one.
- If capable troops were available and the mission considered viable, the U.S. would fully support the operation politically and diplomatically and endeavor to help by providing financial resources, some lift, equipment and humanitarian assistance, upon agreement of a clear concept of operations.
- We would expect to be joined in this effort by other concerned nations.

(If asked what direct support U.S. could provide:

- If the mission were mounted independently by the OAU or by a collection of concerned states with the blessing of the UN Security Council, the U.S. would offer some assistance on a voluntary basis.
- If the mission were funded through UN assessments, the U.S. would seek the normal reimbursement for contributions of equipment or services.)
- At the same time, we have serious reservations about proposals to establish a large peace enforcement mission, which would operate throughout Rwanda with a mandate to end the fighting, restore law and order and pacify the population.
- While we have not definitively ruled in or out any particular response, in our view, there are several problems with this approach:

not being suggested.

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- Neither the UN nor the OAU have demonstrated a capability to mount large-scale peace enforcement missions with success.
 - This mission would be particularly complex, perhaps even more so than Somalia.
 - It remains very unclear whether the parties to the conflict would use force to oppose such a mission.
 - Thus far, it is unclear that any country has committed to send troops, and it appears unlikely that there will be sufficient pledges to mount the large force required.
 - Logistically, it would be difficult to stage a sizeable force out of Kigali, because all movement of troops and supplies would have to be done through an airport at the epicenter of a civil war.
 - It is unclear precisely what the peace enforcement mission would be or when it would end.
 - Finally, the chances of success appear slim.
- The SYG's indicative contingency planning falls between these two approaches. However, we believe that many of the problems we just laid out would also bedevil the SYG's proposed mission - particularly the logistical and recruitment aspects.
- Again, let me say that we hope we can work together to try to craft a viable diplomatic solution and provide relief to the hundreds of thousands who are suffering as a result of this tragic conflict.

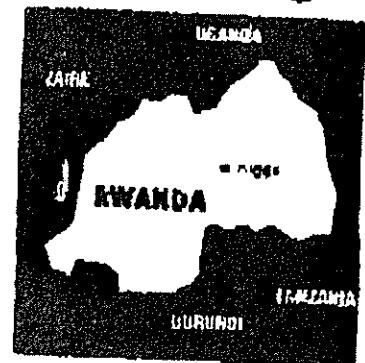
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UNHCR UPDATE

on RWANDA

**UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR REFUGEES**

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10 May 1994

UNHCR NEEDS \$56.7 MILLION FOR RWANDESE AND BURUNDI REFUGEES

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees made an urgent appeal Tuesday for \$56.7 million to aid some 860,000 refugees who fled ethnic violence in Rwanda and Burundi. The funds would cover a three-month period through July 15.

Much of the appeal focuses on Tanzania, where about 250,000 Rwandese refugees converged over a 24-hour period two weeks ago in the largest and swiftest exodus UNHCR has ever seen. Between 400 and 1,500 refugees, most traveling in small groups, continue to arrive daily in Tanzania.

Relief workers have warned of a refugee catastrophe unless enough food, clean water, shelter and sanitation services are provided to the Rwandese refugees packed into the Benaco camp in Tanzania, about 18 kilometers from the Rwandese border. Children comprise half of the population at Benaco, which is about an hour's drive from the town of Ngara. The children are most vulnerable to outbreaks of dysentery, measles and cholera in the midst of the rainy season.

Another 47,000 Rwandese refugees are in Burundi, 10,000 in Zaire and 8,000 in Uganda.

The exodus from Rwanda began after an April 6 plane crash in the capital Kigali killed the presidents of Burundi and Rwanda and triggered widespread ethnic clashes.

In addition to the Rwandese refugees, UNHCR is assisting 785,000 Burundi refugees who have returned to Burundi. These are people who escaped, mostly to Rwanda, after similar ethnic violence engulfed Burundi in October. About 80,000 Burundi refugees remain in Rwanda, 60,000 in Tanzania and 100,000 in Zaire.

The fighting in Rwanda also forced some 20,000 Zairean refugees to flee back to their homeland. The Zaireans, who had fled civil strife in their own country, had been in Rwanda for several years.

(more)

The World Food Program on Tuesday made its third food distribution since the Rwandese swarmed into Tanzania April 28-29. The three-day food ration was increased from 1,300 to 1,900 kilocalories. WFP said it has enough food in central Africa to feed the refugees.

UNHCR has been airlifting medicine, jerrycans, blankets, kitchen sets and shelter materials since the fighting in Rwanda broke out. Chartered planes land in Mwanza, Tanzania, and the supplies are then ferried by truck to Ngara -- a two-day trip. UNHCR desperately needs more trucks to keep the convoys going to Ngara, an area so remote it presents tremendous difficulties to reach during the current rainy season.

Major agencies participating in UNHCR's assistance programs in central Africa are Médecins Sans Frontières from France, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland, Oxfam, CARE, Caritas, ICRC, IFRC, Médecins du Monde, Medair, and Pharmaciens Sans Frontières, International Rescue Committee, Concern and Action internationale contre la faim.

12/15

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/AFRICA

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For Immediate Release
May 11, 1994

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REPRESENTATIVES OF RWANDA'S GENOCIDAL GOVERNMENT EXPECTED IN NEW YORK; MILITIA GROUPS ORDERED TO HALT THE SLAUGHTER DURING KIGALI VISIT BY UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Human Rights Watch/Africa has learned that the National Committee of the MRND Youth Wing (Interahamwe) has ordered militia groups to stop killing Tutsi and members of opposition political parties. In a communique broadcast May 9 over the national Radio Rwanda and the private Radio des Milles Collines, leaders of the Interahamwe said that ending the killings would be "their contribution to the new government," referring to the regime created by the Rwandan military forces in early April. The leaders also directed their members to assist in stopping killings by others, presumably the militia belonging to the allied Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique (CDR) party. On May 10 the number of civilians killed by the militia appeared to diminish somewhat.

The decision to halt the slaughter of Tutsi and political opponents was taken 48 hours before the anticipated arrival of Jose Ayala Lasso, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, in the national capital of Kigali. Mr. Ayala Lasso has undertaken a fact-finding investigation to Rwanda and Burundi as his first mission in the newly-created post devoted to protecting human rights.

The self-proclaimed government of Rwanda is apparently concerned about the impression that would be made upon Mr. Ayala Lasso and world public opinion if the widespread killings continued during his visit. The regime, which is seeking to win international acceptance, has sent abroad teams of representatives to make the rounds of European, African and North American capitals. Belgium has refused them visas, denying them access to the European Union, and the United States has withheld permission for them to visit Washington, D.C., although it cannot prohibit them from visiting the United Nations in New York.

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The Foreign Minister of the rump government, Jerome Bicanumpaka, is expected in New York on May 12. He may be accompanied by Jean Bosco Barayagwiza, leader of the CDR party whose militia is responsible for many of the killings. Bicanumpaka and Barayagwiza were received by a number of officials in Paris, including Bruno Delaye, chief advisor on African affairs for French President Francois Mitterand. Mitterand has been a long-time backer of the government of the late President Juvenal Habyarimana. Other representatives of the self-appointed government have been received in Egypt.

The privately-owned radio station, Radio des Milles Collines (RTL) has been used to incite Rwandans to kill Tutsi, members of the political opposition and human rights activists. On May 4, the United Nations peacekeeping force attempted to evacuate 62 of the several hundred civilians stranded in a Kigali hotel. Although in possession of a safe-conduct signed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Rwandan army that was supposed to protect it, the convoy was attacked by militia ordered into the streets by Radio des Milles Collines. Directed to prevent passage of the convoy, the militia wounded nine of the civilians and forced them to return to the hotel. The Rwandan government has reportedly sought to trade the civilians for Rwandan army officers captured by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF).

At the time of a previous massacre of Tutsi in March 1992, the national Radio Rwanda also encouraged Hutu to attack Tutsi. The director of the radio at that time, Ferdinand Nahimana, who holds a doctorate in history from the University of Paris, resigned in the face of intense criticism of his role by local and international human rights groups. More recently, Nahimana has served as head of the Radio des Milles Collines.

The private station is owned and operated by intimates of former President Habyarimana. A major stockholder and Chairman of the board is Felicien Kabuga, an important businessman whose son is married to a daughter of Habyarimana. Among other stockholders are Alphonse Ntivamunda, a son-in-law of Habyarimana; Andre Ntarugira, Minister of Postal Services and Communication; Tarcisse Renzaho, prefect (governor) of the province of Kigali city; and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, the head of the CDR.

In a separate development, the Rwandan ambassador in Washington has sent Rwandans resident in the United States details on how to make contributions to the Rwandan armed forces, should they be so inclined. The account to which they are to send money is at the Riggs National Bank in Washington, D.C.

Human Rights Watch/Africa commends the U.S. and Belgium for their decisions to refuse visas to representatives of the self-proclaimed government, and deplores the decision of France and Egypt to grant hearings to representatives of a government engaged in genocide. Human Rights Watch/Africa urges the United States to take the lead in encouraging other nations to refuse diplomatic courtesies to those who try to justify the unjustifiable killings of some 200,000 unarmed civilians. They should refuse visas to these representatives and should also refuse to meet with them at the United

BY:

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Nations.

Human Rights Watch/Africa calls on President Clinton to encourage other heads of state to follow the example set by a White House press release April 22, drawing attention to the identities of those with the power to stop the killing, such as: Colonel Bagosora, the military officer in charge during the first days of the massacre; General Augustin Bizimungu, Commander in Chief of the Rwandan Armed Forces; and Captain Pascal Simbikangwa, who is reportedly directing the killing of the Tutsi by the militias.

Human Rights Watch/Africa calls on the international donor community, whose assistance is vital to the existence of any Rwandan government, to issue a clear, firm, public statement that no regime built upon the bodies of 200,000 civilians will ever receive international assistance, either through bilateral aid or through a multinational entity. The donors have taken joint action in the past, such as when they pressed successfully for the signing of the August peace accords ending the war between the Rwandan government and the RPF. They must once more act together, promptly and unequivocally, to halt the slaughter.

Human Rights Watch/Africa urges the United States to play a leading role in getting more U.N. troops sent to Rwanda to protect civilian lives and to assist in the distribution of humanitarian aid. Once the decision is made to send these soldiers, the U.S. must assist in transporting the troops and their needed materiel as quickly as possible to Rwanda.



15/15

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URGENT - BY FAX

THE Ambassador Mr Terence Christopher-O'Brien
The Permanent Representative of New Zealand
to the United Nations

FAX: 0101 212 758 0827

11 May 1994

ACTION

Dear Ambassador,

We understand that the Security Council will consider a resolution drafted by you on Rwanda tonight. We very much welcome this initiative. We hope the resolution will increase the mandate and strength of UNAMIR. We believe it is vital that UNAMIR has a mandate and capacity to protect civilians by establishing secure areas in Kigali, and in the north, south and west of Rwanda, as well as protect the delivery of relief. Some examples of areas that should be protected include Cyangugu, Gitarama, Kabgayi and Gisenyi, all of which have pockets of civilians threatened by militias.

As part of increasing UNAMIR's mandate we believe the UNSC should invoke chapter VII of the UN charter. This would ensure the UN troops have the means to do the job properly and send a very clear message to those committing atrocities that the UN means business.

In addition we believe UN human rights monitors should form part of a UNAMIR force to monitor, bear witness and respond to human rights abuses.

Given the urgency of the situation we hope your resolution will set a deadline for the dispatch of extra troops, including an advance party in the next few days.

If there is anything we can do to support your efforts please let me know.

*Your sincerely,
David Bryer*

David Bryer
Director

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