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NEW ZEALAND MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK
 Telephone: (212) 826-1960

Fax: (212) 758-0827

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Grped to UNSC, MEA, UNSC, LGL, EUR, DSP3, HRU

SECURITY COUNCIL: RWANDA

Your U51312.

2 Following are the text of Res 925 (1994), which was adopted unanimously this evening, plus the text of the New Zealand EOJ given by the Permanent Representative after the vote.

3 There were some relatively minor, though not easily negotiated, changes made to the text over the course of the day as a result of Chinese efforts to soften the language on genocide (PP6) and the reference to the appointment of the Special Rapporteur by the CHR (PP16) and American insistence on beefing up the "end point" reference (PP10) and to slim down the mandate para (OP4).

4 In the end, the Chinese had to settle for relatively small changes to PP6. The Americans proposals for PP10 and OP4 provoked a lengthy and confused debate about whether to consolidate the existing mandate of Res 912/918, as we (and they) had originally proposed, or whether, as Washington insisted this afternoon, to put the focus on the not significantly different tasks set out in para 18 of the SecGen's latest report.

5 The substantive but unacknowledged objective of the US changes was to remove from the mandate the obligation to provide support to humanitarian relief operations, a concept missing (inadvertently) from the language in the SecGen's report. The untidy compromise was to reaffirm in PP1 that the old mandates continue, to use the report language in PP10 and to shorten the description of the "tasks" in OP4, but in the fuller language of Res 918.

6 As an exercise in providing precision in mandates, the changes to PP1, PP10 and OP4 were a fiasco. But they were insisted on by the Pentagon which fears the potential burdens that could fall on them if required to provide support as distinct from security to humanitarian relief operations.

7 All delegations spoke in explanation of vote. The French and the Presidency tried beforehand to persuade Rwanda not to speak but Bizimana insisted. His statement, however, was very mild and contained a condemnation of the massacres in Rwanda.

8 Other notable features of the statements were:

Djibouti: the focus on human rights might play well at home for Council members but did not deal with the fundamental issue of how to stop the killing; the Security Council must have a standing force at its disposal as proposed by former USG and peacekeeping guru Brian Urquhart;

Czech Rep: genocide in Rwanda amounts to another holocaust with machetes replacing gas chambers;

Nigeria: countries outside Africa must now support the African offers of troops, particularly with contributions of logistic support; Rwanda is an international problem which must be solved internationally;

Russian Fed: flexibility in operation of UNAMIR is necessary but fluidity of situation means that Council must keep tighter control on UNAMIR than normal; hence importance of reviews in August and October;

Spain: adoption of the resolution is not the end of the Council's consideration of the SecGen's report: consideration should be given to establishing a commission of experts to investigate human rights abuses;

China: UN bodies must stay within their areas of competence; the Council should not link its work to that of the CHR;

US: US is leasing 50 APCs to UNAMIR, and US agencies have provided almost US\$100 million on humanitarian and emergency relief supplies since the death of the Presidents; others have a role to play.

9 Our remarks about the need for structural reform in the system for responding to crises such as in Rwanda were listened to closely, and were warmly applauded afterwards by the Canadians.



Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/1994/684*
8 June 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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S/RES 925 (1994)

Draft resolution

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolutions 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994 and 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994, which set out the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 31 May 1994 (S/1994/640),

Bearing in mind the statement made by the President of the Council on 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22),

Reaffirming its resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993 on the security of United Nations operations,

Noting with concern that, to date, the parties have not ceased hostilities, agreed to a cease-fire, or brought an end to the violence and carnage affecting civilians,

Noting with the gravest concern the reports indicating that acts of genocide have occurred in Rwanda and recalling in this context that genocide constitutes a crime punishable under international law,

Reiterating its strong condemnation of the ongoing violence in Rwanda and, in particular, the systematic killing of thousands of civilians,

Expressing its outrage that the perpetrators of these killings have been able to operate and continue operating within Rwanda with impunity,

Noting that UNAMIR is not to have the role of a buffer force between the two parties,

Noting also that UNAMIR's expanded military component will continue only as long as and to the extent that it is needed to contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda and to provide security, as required, to humanitarian relief operations,

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Underscoring that the internal displacement of some 1.5 million Rwandans facing starvation and disease and the massive exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries constitute a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions,

Reiterating the importance of the Arusha Peace Agreement as the basis for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Rwanda,

Commending the countries which have provided humanitarian assistance to Rwandan refugees, as well as emergency aid to alleviate the sufferings of the Rwandan people, and those countries which have contributed troops and logistical support to UNAMIR, and reiterating the urgent need for coordinated international action in this respect,

Welcoming the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the contributions of the countries of the region, especially that of the facilitator of the Arusha peace process, and encouraging them to continue their efforts,

Welcoming the visit to Rwanda and to the region by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights,

Noting the appointment, pursuant to resolution S-3/1 of 25 May 1994 adopted by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, of a Special Rapporteur for Rwanda,

Reaffirming its commitment to the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda,

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's report of 31 May 1994 (S/1994/640);
2. Endorses the Secretary-General's proposals contained therein for the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR, in particular:
 - (a) The immediate initiation of the deployment of the two additional battalions in phase 2 in close synchronization with phase 1;
 - (b) The continuation of urgent preparations for the deployment of the two battalions envisaged for phase 3; and
 - (c) Flexible implementation of all three phases to ensure effective use of available resources to accomplish the tasks listed in paragraphs 4 (a) and (b) below;
3. Decides to extend the mandate of UNAMIR, expiring on 29 July 1994, until 9 December 1994;
4. Reaffirms that UNAMIR, in addition to continuing to act as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire, will:

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- (a) Contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, including through the establishment and maintenance, where feasible, of secure humanitarian areas; and
- (b) Provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations;
5. Recognizes that UNAMIR may be required to take action in self-defence against persons or groups who threaten protected sites and populations, United Nations and other humanitarian personnel or the means of delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief;
6. Demands that all parties to the conflict cease hostilities, agree to a cease-fire and immediately take steps to bring an end to systematic killings in areas under their control;
7. Welcomes the assurances of both parties to cooperate with UNAMIR in carrying out its mandate, recognizes that such cooperation will be essential to the effective implementation of the mandate, and demands that both parties adhere to those assurances;
8. Demands further that all parties cease forthwith any incitement, especially through the mass media, to violence or ethnic hatred;
9. Urges Member States to respond promptly to the Secretary-General's request for resources, including logistical support capability for rapid deployment of additional UNAMIR forces;
10. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that UNAMIR extend the close cooperation it has with the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the United Nations Rwanda Emergency Office also to the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda appointed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights;
11. Demands that all parties in Rwanda strictly respect the persons and premises of the United Nations and other organizations serving in Rwanda, and refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against personnel engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping work;
12. Emphasizes the necessity that, inter alia:
- (a) All appropriate steps be taken to ensure the security and safety of the operation and personnel engaged in the operation; and
- (b) The security and safety arrangements undertaken extend to all persons engaged in the operation;
13. Commends the efforts of States, United Nations agencies, international organizations and non-governmental organizations which have provided humanitarian and other assistance, encourages them to continue and increase such assistance, and urges others to provide such assistance;

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14. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to establish a special trust fund for Rwanda and invites the international community to contribute generously to it;
15. Commends the tireless efforts of the UNAMIR Force Commander to prevent more innocent lives from being lost, and to bring about a cease-fire between the parties;
16. Commends also the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to achieve a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement, invites them, in coordination with the OAU and countries in the region to continue their efforts, and demands that the parties undertake serious efforts to bring about political reconciliation;
17. Decides to keep the situation in Rwanda and the role played by UNAMIR under constant review and, to that end, requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council as appropriate, and in any case no later than 9 August 1994 and 9 October 1994, on progress made by UNAMIR in the discharge of its mandate, the safety of populations at risk, the humanitarian situation and progress towards a cease-fire and political reconciliation;
18. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Mr President,

New Zealand warmly welcomes the adoption of this resolution today. Its adoption will enable the Secretariat and countries contributing troops and equipment for UNAMIR to move ahead speedily with the deployment of the expanded force.

It is important, however, to remember the history of today's resolution. As I said at the time we adopted Resolution 918 almost four weeks ago, we were very disappointed that that resolution, adopted against the background of horrific reports of human brutality, approved only a tentative first phase of the expanded United Nations presence in Rwanda. We would have much preferred the Council, in that resolution, to have taken the step it has taken today and approved the whole concept of operations proposed by the Secretary-General in his earlier report.

We believe that the tentativeness displayed by the Council in adopting Resolution 918 sent a very confused signal to potential troop contributing countries about the Council's commitment to the idea of an expanded UNAMIR. As we think subsequent events have shown, that signal had the result of delaying decisions by troop contributing countries to commit themselves to the operation.

At the same time, we want to express our warm appreciation of the willingness shown by a number of African countries to offer troops, notwithstanding this "orange light", and also by those countries such as the United States which have made very substantial offers of assistance with equipment.

It is particularly welcome that this resolution ends the doubt about the determination of the Council to do what is necessary for Rwanda. This resolution gives effect to the Council's wish that UNAMIR should deploy as soon as possible to provide security for Rwandans at risk and for essential humanitarian relief operations.

In New Zealand's view, it is very important that this resolution states clearly the Council's grave concern at the genocide that has taken place in Rwanda. The systematic killings of thousands upon thousands of innocent civilians has characterised the terrible violence in Rwanda. There is no doubt in our minds that genocide has occurred, and it is significant that at last the Council has formally recognised that.

New Zealand welcomes the recognition given in this resolution to the importance of close cooperation between UNAMIR and the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights and the recently appointed Special Rapporteur for Rwanda. Reconstruction of Rwandan society on the basis of respect for human rights will be an important task for the future and the United Nations must be equipped to support the people of Rwanda in this effort.

It is auspicious that this resolution has been adopted on the day that the parties have resumed their ceasefire talks. We cannot stress too strongly the importance of the parties ceasing the appalling and unnecessary hostilities immediately and honouring their assurances to cooperate with UNAMIR in carrying out its mandate. We demand that they agree to a ceasefire and work hard to find peaceful solutions to the violence which has engulfed their country.

Nevertheless, even if a ceasefire were to come, we are conscious that UNAMIR will be operating in an unstable and dangerous environment. It is important that this resolution has reiterated the fact that UNAMIR has the authority to act robustly in defence of its mandate, and can take forceful action against militias or anyone else who threaten protected sites and populations.

We will continue to follow the situation in Rwanda closely and look forward to further progress reports from the Secretary General.

In conclusion, Mr President, I would like to comment briefly on the remarks contained in the final section of the Secretary-General's report. The Secretary-General says that the delay in the international response to the genocide in Rwanda demonstrates the inadequacy of the international community's system for responding to crises of this nature. We endorse fully the Secretary-General's assessment that the system requires review to strengthen its reactive capacity.

One obvious deficiency in the system is the lack of an appropriate mechanism within the Council for a proper discussion of the concerns that led to the decision in Resolution 918 to delay authorisation of the full force for Rwanda. We understand fully the wishes of those Council members and potential troop contributing countries who sought greater clarity in the concept of operations for the expanded force. The questions that were asked were important ones and deserved answers. But we had no forum for discussion of such "hands on" issues.

Recent history has demonstrated many times that the informal consultations of the Council do not provide an appropriate forum for Council members to explore with the Secretariat at the necessary working level the important,

but technical issues involved. Nor do bilateral discussions between individual Council members and the Secretariat, which do not permit an interchange of ideas between the range of Council members, provide an adequate alternative.

Thus, in the absence of a resolution of these important issues, in the tragic case of Rwanda the Council was forced to temporise. That was bad for the United Nations and bad for the people of Rwanda. We consider that the proposed review of the United Nations system for responding to crises like that in Rwanda must address this structural deficiency.

New Zealand has made specific proposals to address this issue on two occasions over the past 12 months, first informally and more recently in the formal proposals put forward during New Zealand's presidency of the Council in April. Document S/PRST/1994/22 of 3 May records that it was not possible to reach agreement on measures to improve the Council's management of peacekeeping operations. But it was decided to keep this under review. New Zealand will ensure that this process of review is actively pursued.