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Date: 25 May 1994

TO: WELLINGTON No. 2671
WGTV UNSC No.

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE

LD: SFAT (MEA, UNC, HRU, LGL, DP3, DPS3, EAB)
P/S MFAT

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Replied to UNSC, MEA, UNDC, HRU, LGL, DSP3

Subject: SECURITY COUNCIL: RWANDA

Ward/Wong telecon refers.

2 We responded positively to urgent RPF approach to us for help in gaining access for First Vice-Chairman of RPF visiting UN headquarters today to UN facilities to hold a press conference. As you know this is only available to member states but it is common practice for states to lend their support to such requests for other groups and individuals. In our opening remarks we said that "New Zealand as a member of the Security Council had taken the view that it would meet equally with all parties to all conflicts being considered by the Security Council and consistent with this view believed that access to the UN buildings and to the UN press core should be equally available to all delegations, including the RPF".

3 We then introduced Patrick Mazimhaka as "First Vice-Chairman of RPF responsible for external relations for three years during which time he represented the RPF in negotiation of the Arusha Peace Agreement from July 1992 - August 1993. He is now one of two Vice-Chairmen and is responsible for political affairs including programmes relating to youth, women, education and party building. He left Rwanda on 13 May and while in Washington yesterday briefed the State Department, Congress and the National Security Council. Today he met with the UN Secretary General and various Ambassadors."

4 Copy of Mazimhaka's statement follows together with a record of the questions and answers which followed. We draw your attention to our response to one question directed to us about any possibility of New Zealand involvement in UNAMIR II.

Mc Hughes

Question

Only 3 African countries have responded to the call for participation in UNAMIR II, Europe appears to be totally ignoring Rwanda, is there a disparity?

Answer (RPF)

Only one European country participated in UNAMIR I and the events which transpired were entirely the responsibility of the UN command at that time in our view. RPF has heard that Italy may participate but this has yet to be confirmed. As to double standards, the Europeans plead that they are overcommitted in Bosnia and if this is true then there are no double standards.

Question

RPF has said it wishes to see a force deployed as soon as possible, and it will cooperate with the Secretary General to this end. Is the RPF prepared to see 5,500 troops deployed, some to Kigali, and to see the airport under neutral control?

Answer (RPF)

5,500 is on the high side, some argue that that many is needed to protect the force itself but one can't push that argument too far. RPF is prepared to have troops in Kigali given there are still pockets of civilians there needing protection. As to Kigali airport, the proposal to make it neutral is too late, RPF had initially made this proposal and asked for UN control but the government forces rejected it and used the airport as a base for launching attacks against RPF. The sovereignty of the airport is not important but its usability by the UN is.

Question

RPF has said it controls more than half the country, is this true?

Answer (RPF)

Yes, RPF is in effective control of more than half.

Question

Is the RPF winning territory?

Answer (RPF)

RPF objective is not to win territory but to engage in an operation to rescue civilians behind the government lines. This is why the RPF does not favour a cease-fire which would leave the government forces free to resume killing civilians.

Question

Are the killings planned?

Answer (RPF)

It is our contention that they were. RPF pointed out for over a year that preparations were under way and militia were being armed for this purpose.

Question

The Secretary General has moved his Special Representative Booh Booh to Nairobi, does this still constitute a problem and what are the specific RPF charges against him?

Answer (RPF)

RPF is giving the Secretary General the opportunity to deal with this matter and won't go into the specific charges but RPF (and others in opposition in Rwanda) did not find he performed well.

Question

France has offered to equip Senegal and the RPF has refused, why?

Answer (RPF)

RPF has had a very stormy relationship with France during this conflict and the less involvement France has in it the better. RPF needs to be sure that the equipment France provides would not be used to harm RPF.

Question

What kind of equipment specifically?

Answer (RPF)

A nuclear bomb. (Laughter). Actually, equipment which would carry detectors going beyond the operation of the UN, beyond the range of UN operations.

Question

The Secretary General said today that "I failed to bring troops to Rwanda", what should he be doing to rally support for UNAMIR II?

Answer (RPF)

Three countries have expressed a willingness to supply troops already. The deployment of the force is not contingent on a ceasefire or on any negotiations in Rwanda between the parties and could be deployed quite quickly.

Question

Are the radio broadcasts continuing and are the massacres continuing?

Answer (RPF)

They are both still going on but the massacres are on a reduced scale because there are frankly less people available to be killed. The government militia is killing as many as it can find.

Question

Some say the Security Council is waiting for a military victory, perhaps by the RPF, won't it just mean things would be turned around and the Hutu would become the victims?

Answer (RPF)

RPF will not resort to genocide, it is not the flip side of the coin and is not politically on the same wave. RPF is not a Tutsi organisation but would begin to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement with the other parties.

Question

How long will it take the UN to deploy?

Answer (RPF)

We don't expect right away but sending the present mission to Kigali now is an indication the Secretary General is working very hard to deploy.

Question

New Zealand has been very active, would it consider sending troops?

Answer (NZ, Wong)

No formal request has been made of New Zealand. If one were made it would be given serious consideration in the same way that all requests from the UN are for contributions to peacekeeping forces. New Zealand participates in many peacekeeping forces around the world, eg Mozambique and the middle east. We are responding to the first two weeks of our Presidency and the events of Gorazde and have on Monday announced we will be sending 240 troops to Bosnia. This is a big thing for a small country with a small defence force.

Question

The Secretary General used the word genocide today, how would you describe it?

Answer (RPF)

If you don't use the word genocide, what word then? Up to 40% have been killed, this is a total devastation for Tutsi. Yes I would use the term genocide and think it is even very mild, perhaps there is another word we can use.

Question

Is this the worst atrocity in human history?

Answer (RPF)

Yes

Question

Is Uganda still sending arms?

Answer (RPF)

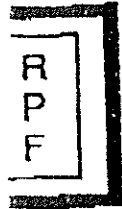
The UN has funded an operation to monitor the border for the past two years, during that time there has been not one report of arms crossings. RPF does not know where diplomats get there information but we should ask the Secretary General for a report about the situation.

Question

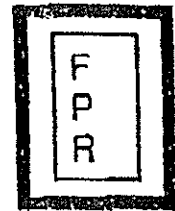
Could any force have stopped the killing?

Answer (RPF)

Possibly in the early stages.



FRONT PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS **RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT**



6/8

**Statement by Patrick Mazimhaka,
Vice-Chairman of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF)
at the United Nations
Wednesday, 25 May, 1994**

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for coming to this Press Conference on Rwanda. My name is Patrick Mazimhaka, and I am the Vice-Chairman of the Rwandese Patriotic Front.

I would like to express my great appreciation for your interest in the human tragedy which has been unfolding in Rwanda since April 6, 1994.

The Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front concluded a peace agreement, in Arusha, Tanzania, on August 4, 1993, the implementation of which was scheduled to begin at the end of December 1993, after the full deployment of the UN Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR). This was not to be. For three months the President of Rwanda and his party blocked all efforts, both national and international, to put transitional institutions of government in place. It was obvious that they had a hidden agenda and the RPF drew the attention of the international community, including all western countries represented in Kigali, to the disturbing development. The UN mission investigated and found evidence to support our claims that militia were being trained, armed and deployed across the country contrary to the letter and spirit of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

On April 6, 1994 a classical coup d'etat took place in which the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi died together with close aides. The same evening, after a meeting of military leaders chaired by Colo. Bagosora, the Rwandese Army, the presidential guard and MRND-CDR militias erected barricades, attacked and killed leaders of political parties and other prominent personalities who were perceived not to share the same political views as the coup makers. The following day they announced a new government consisting of Hutu extremists from dissident factions of some parties - people who were no longer acceptable in their professed parties.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it soon became clear that parallel to political killings there was an elaborate, country-wide plan to exterminate the Tutsis. Tutsi homes were attacked and whole families killed in the most brutal manner. Thanks to international television you have seen the macabre pictures coming out of Rwanda. Most non-governmental organizations in Rwanda estimate that 500,000 Tutsis have been killed. Let me point out that even this conservative figure represents 40 % of the Tutsi population in Rwanda.

Ladies and Gentlemen, civilised society is shocked by the sight of dead children, mutilated babies; bodies of children, men and women floating down river Kagera and wonder how our society could reach such a level of barbarism. There is an answer. After 34 years of political military dictatorship, the Rwandan typically obeys authority. What you see is a response to incessant exhortations to the people to kill the so-called enemies of the state. These calls are made by people in power and they are repeated over and over again through the MRND-CDR radio station RTLM and the national radio. The typical content of such hate messages runs like this:

- "kill Tutsis, cut them up, and throw them in River Nyabarongo as the quickest means of getting them back to Ethiopia where they [supposedly] came from".
- "this time let us (Hutus) avoid the mistakes of 1959. Don't spare even the children. That way they will not come back"

We contend that if the authorities wished to put an end to the genocide they would do so merely by sending messages to that effect over the same radio stations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, premeditated extermination of a people is nothing but GENOCIDE and that is what the present Rwandese Army, Government and MRND-CDR are doing to the Tutsis. The Rwandese Patriotic Front and governments which were witnesses to the Rwanda peace process bear responsibility for failing to prevent the genocide but let us not be guilty of failing to punish the perpetrators. Your governments are signatory to the Geneva convention on Genocide and we beg you to urge your governments to assume their leadership role in this regard.

When the forces opposed to the Arusha Peace Agreement threw our country into chaos, the initial reaction of RPF was to find ways of restoring law and order without resorting to military confrontation. The commander of RPF forces, Maj. Gen. Paul Kagame, sent a message to the Rwandan Army High Command, through the UNAMIR force commander, requesting the Government army to refrain from and to attempt to stop the militias from killing innocent civilians. They responded rather by attacking our single battalion stationed in Kigali. The RPF battalion commander had to request permission to defend his troops and the RPF officials in Kigali. The UNAMIR force commander after consultation with the U.N. Security Council granted the permission. On April 10, 1994 our forces started a general military campaign with the following objectives;

1. To reinforce our battalion in Kigali,
2. To rescue the Rwandese population which was by then under general attack,
3. To contribute to restoration of law and order.

Through our operations law and order has been re-established in half of the country and we have been able to rescue and give security to hundreds of thousands of people most of whom would have died.

I must re-iterate that the RPF is committed to the democratization process and the principles of rule of law and power-sharing as enshrined in the Arusha Peace Agreement. Our priorities therefore are:

1. To restore law and order,
2. To put in place a broad-based transitional government,
3. To seek urgent assistance for the displaced persons,
4. To initiate a program of rehabilitation and reconstruction of our devastated country.

The broad-based transitional institutions, however, shall not include political parties, organizations and individuals who have participated in or instigated the genocide and other political killings.

We have asked the UN Secretary General to deploy a force in the shortest time possible to protect innocent civilians and assist in the distribution of humanitarian aid. We have assured him of our cooperation.

The envoy of the Secretary General who is currently in Rwanda should concentrate on discussing the modalities of such a deployment with military leaders of the RPF and RGF.

Mr Riza should prevail on the Rwanda government forces to take concrete measures to stop killing innocent people, disarm the Militia and immediately stop Radio broadcasts inciting people to kill their fellow citizens, as a prelude to the deployment of the humanitarian force.

Talks with the so-called interim government will not contribute to obtaining a ceasefire and subsequently a peaceful solution. That bunch of murderers are puppets of the Rwanda Army which holds the actual power. The UN should endeavor to promote a dialogue between the RPF and RGF in order to end this tragedy.