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OUTGOING CODE CABLE

IMMEDIATE

TO: DALLAIRE, UNAMIR, RIGALI
FROM: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK
DATE: 22 June 1994
NUMBER: 2037
SUBJECT: Security Council proceedings

- ...
1. As discussed, please find attached a summary of the discussions held this morning during informal consultations of the Security Council, before the adoption of resolution 929 (1994) which has been sent to you under separate cover.
 2. A copy of the statements made by France, New Zealand and the United States during the formal meeting of the Council, as well as the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council today by the RPF, are also attached. Regards.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Wednesday, 22 June 1994

3392nd MEETING

The Council met at 1.15 p.m. and adopted resolution 929 (1994) on Rwanda by 10 votes to none, with Brazil, China, New Zealand, Nigeria and Pakistan abstaining (text attached to yesterday's summary).

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INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS

Rwanda

France told the Council that, given the RPF's public pronouncements, it would be pointless to expect it to come out enthusiastically in favour of France's proposed operation: the Front had made it publicly clear that it wanted no foreign intervention, not even under UN auspices. However, France's contacts with the Front indicated that the RPF position might change once the draft resolution had been approved; the Front was, he said, interested in cooperation in order to avoid any damaging conflict. In that connection, the French Foreign Minister had met the Prime Minister designate of Rwanda in Paris; the latter, while unwilling to make any public pronouncement approving the French initiative, regarded France as a "reliable partner" and had indicated that contacts would continue.

Today, French envoys were to meet RPF representatives at the Ugandan/Rwandese frontier. Also, the RPF had been in contact with a number of third countries, which had also indicated that, whatever the Front's public position, it was not opposed to future cooperation or other arrangements. He hoped that in view of the information he had provided, the Council's perception of the atmosphere prevailing between the RPF and France would alter.

Turning to the point made yesterday that countries might be holding off from committing themselves to UNAMIR while they waited to see what developed with the French initiative, he mentioned that Canada had decided to provide a 350-man communications unit for UNAMIR: that, in his view, gave the lie to those who said that France's initiative was hindering the strengthening of UNAMIR.

He recalled that Senegal had promised troops for the French operation, and informed the Council that Belgium had agreed to supply medical support equipment and Portugal had offered to provide a C-130 for troop transport; France expected further, similar offers.

Referring to his letter of yesterday (S/1994/738), he called once again for an immediate meeting of the Council, under rule 2 of the provisional rules of procedure, to vote on the draft resolution.

Nigeria stood alone in saying that he had not yet received instructions, and pleaded for more time. His Minister was in a meeting, and besides, the Secretary-General of the OAU was on his way to New York, and his input would be very useful for Nigeria's final position.

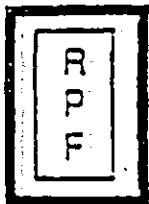
France showed scant sympathy for Nigeria's predicament: Nigeria's capital was well aware of developments in the Council, and the French Ambassador had met the Nigerian Foreign Minister there only yesterday. He expressed astonishment that communications between New York and Lagos should be so bad: the matter must come to a vote, and quickly.

The SG agreed: the risk was that, according to the latest news, the "disease" of genocide was likely to spread to Burundi. The SRSG to Burundi had asked him to tell the Council that he had been trying to maintain peace there for the last 74 or 75 days, and immediate action by the Council was necessary. He repeated that, in the absence of immediate assistance for UNAMIR, he must welcome the French initiative. He stressed that, while he did not underestimate the dangers involved in the French action, inaction would be even more dangerous.

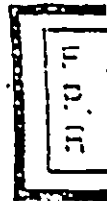
Spain agreed that the Council should move as soon as possible, and the UK added that any delay whatever could only add to the uncertainty and the fragility of the situation in Burundi: this would benefit no one, on whatever side of the argument, and the Council must move because the consequences of its inaction in Rwanda had already been serious. The Russian Federation took up the UK's point, adding that he now viewed the Council's earlier decision to run down UNAMIR as a mistake. The Council should not repeat that mistake and allow hundreds of thousands to die in Burundi through inaction; indeed, the Council should immediately set to work to avoid that eventuality once the present draft resolution was passed.

France recalled that yesterday, Nigeria had said that he needed until one o'clock today to receive instructions. The Council should therefore meet then.

The President agreed: the agenda for the meeting was therefore circulated and adopted.



FRONT PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS
RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT



His Excellency Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby
 President of the Security Council
 United Nations

22 June 1994

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Mr. President

The Rwandese Patriotic Front wishes to reiterate its position that it is totally opposed to the United Nations sponsored French invasion of Rwanda and puts the Security Council on notice that such an invasion will be resisted with all means at its disposal.

The Rwandese Patriotic Front wishes to put it on record that the tragedy in Rwanda has been largely due to interference by foreigners including the United Nations in the internal affairs of our country. The four year conflict in Rwanda was fueled by the supply of arms to the dictatorial regime by countries such as Egypt and France. France in particular has not only physically participated in combat operations on the side of Habyarimana forces but also trained and armed the presidential guard and the militia who are responsible for genocide in Rwanda.

The Rwandese Patriotic Front is dismayed that the United Nations Security Council would endorse an action that not only violates the Arusha Peace Agreement but is certainly going to lead to an escalation of the conflict.

The Rwandese Patriotic Front has made its position very clear. Many other organizations including the Organization of Africa Unit have advised against this intervention. Since the Security Council is set to proceed with the endorsement of French invasion of Rwanda let it be put on record that it bears responsibility for whatever consequences. Kindly distribute this statement to all members of the Security Council.

For the Political Bureau of the Rwandese Patriotic Front

Claude Dusaidi

RPF Representative to the United Nations

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14.
 12:00 pm
 22/6/94

Monsieur le Président,

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Ma Délégation se félicite de l'adoption de cette résolution, dont elle espère vivement, et c'est pour cette raison qu'elle en a pris l'initiative, qu'elle contribuera à atténuer, dans un très bref délai, les souffrances du peuple rwandais.

Depuis deux mois maintenant, la population du Rwanda est victime de massacres d'une ampleur inégalée, à tel point que l'on n'hésite plus à employer pour les qualifier le terme de génocide. Des centaines de milliers de civils ont fui leur pays pour échapper à une mort atroce et ont trouvé refuge dans des camps dans les Etats voisins. D'autres, abrités dans des églises, centres médicaux, camps improvisés, sites prioritaires pour les organisations humanitaires, tentent d'échapper à la mort, mais ces refuges ne leur offrent plus qu'une protection précaire. Des orphelinats, même, sont la cible des attaques et des exactions des miliciens.

Monsieur le Président,

La France, devant cette situation tragique et compte tenu du retard pris par le déploiement de la MINUAR renforcée, a cru de son devoir de réagir, en proposant au Secrétaire Général d'intervenir, dans le cadre d'une opération multinationale, au Rwanda, pour protéger ces civils sans défense et sauver ces nombreuses vies en danger. Nous n'avons fait ainsi que répondre aux appels pressants que le Secrétaire Général n'a cessé de lancer depuis deux mois à l'ensemble des Etats membres. Je souhaiterais rendre hommage à la persévérance dont il a fait preuve à ce sujet.

L'initiative française poursuit un but exclusivement humanitaire, elle est motivée par la détresse des populations, devant laquelle la communauté internationale ne peut ni ne doit, selon nous, rester passive. Nos soldats au Rwanda n'auront pas pour mission de s'interposer entre les belligérants et encore moins d'influer de quelque manière que ce soit sur la situation militaire et politique. Notre objectif est simple : secourir les civils menacés, faire cesser les massacres, et cela de manière impartiale.

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La France espère vivement, Monsieur le Président, que d'autres pays se joindront à cette initiative et répondront à l'appel lancé par notre Conseil. Elle se félicite à cet égard que le Sénégal ait d'ores et déjà fait part de sa décision de s'associer à notre action. D'autre part, elle note avec satisfaction que l'Union de l'Europe occidentale a décidé de soutenir les efforts et de coordonner les contributions de ses Etats membres, dont certains ont confirmé qu'ils étaient prêts à s'associer à l'opération.

Ma Délégation rappelle que le déploiement sans retard de la MINUAR, aux termes des résolutions 918 (1994) et 925 (1994) adoptées par le Conseil de Sécurité, revêt à ses yeux une importance capitale : l'initiative française n'a pas pour but de se substituer à la MINUAR ; bien au contraire, l'action de la France et des pays qui s'associeront à elle n'a pour seul but que de combler un vide aux conséquences désastreuses. Elle prendra fin dès que les troupes du Général Dallaire, dont nous saluons le courage dans ces circonstances difficiles, auront reçu les renforts tant attendus, et au plus tard dans deux mois, comme le précise la résolution que nous venons d'adopter. La France encourage donc le Secrétaire Général à poursuivre sans relâche ses efforts pour permettre le déploiement effectif, dans les plus brefs délais, de la MINUAR renforcée.

Monsieur le Président,

Ma Délégation voudrait, pour terminer, souligner une nouvelle fois l'attachement de la France à ce que soit trouvée une solution politique négociée sur la base des Accords d'Arusha, seul moyen de mettre définitivement fin aux combats et aux massacres qui affligent le Rwanda aujourd'hui. Les pays africains et l'OUA ont un rôle essentiel à jouer à cet égard et la France appuiera tous leurs efforts en ce sens.

— Je vous remercie, Monsieur le Président./.



EXPLANATION OF VOTE : RWANDA

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Mr President

New Zealand has abstained on this resolution. I need to explain why. But first let me say we admire and greatly respect the humanitarian motivation that France has shown in putting this resolution before the Council. There is no difference between us on the objectives or motives. Only the means.

New Zealand's credentials on the need for an urgent and forceful intervention in Rwanda to protect civilians from systematic slaughter are second to none. It is very well known that almost two months ago New Zealand circulated a draft resolution calling for an expanded United Nations operation under Chapter VII. I therefore repeat we share one hundred percent the humanitarian intentions which underlie the French initiative. But good intentions are not enough in this sort of situation.

We are not convinced that this operation will be able to protect civilians from massacres. We think that there is, to the contrary, a very grave risk that the operation will become bogged down and worse still that it will undermine the United Nations attempt to put in the field the kind of operation that will work.

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Mr President, this concern is based not only on our own judgment of the situation, but also on the representations we have received from private humanitarian organisations and NGOs with practical experience of the situation in Rwanda. They too are very concerned that this operation will not achieve the noble humanitarian objective on which it is based and in fact make the situation worse.

Mr President, Somalia has shown us that even where we have the best of humanitarian intentions, if we do not employ the right means tragedy can be the result. We have already seen the evidence. Trying to run two separate operations in parallel with different command arrangements does not work and, in the long run, those who we set out to save are those who suffer. The Security Council must learn from history.

Mr President, we also have another reservation about this initiative. There is already clear evidence that this initiative is already having negative impacts on UNAMIR. Countries who were offering to support UNAMIR are hesitating. The security risks have dramatically increased.

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Mr President, we have strongly urged that France redirect
the energy, enthusiasm and resources which it is employing
in this initiative to support the one operation which we
believe would be effectively able to curtail the massacres
- that is UNAMIR. If that energy, enthusiasm and money
were put at the disposal of the United Nations we have no
doubt that the delays which UNAMIR is currently facing
would disappear overnight:

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JUNE 22, 1994

EXPLANATION OF VOTE

L0003523

RWANDA

MR. PRESIDENT, SO MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE TRAGEDY IN RWANDA, IN THIS ROOM, IN THE PRESS, IN OUR CAPITALS. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO CATALOGUE ONCE AGAIN THE HORRORS OF WHAT HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE THERE. THE TALES OF BUTCHERY -- OF SLAIN ORPHANS, NUNS, MOTHERS, HOSPITAL PATIENTS, INNOCENT VICTIMS -- BECOME ALMOST MIND-NUMBING. BUT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BECOME NUMB TO THIS TRAGEDY, FOR IT IS STILL UNFOLDING BEFORE OUR EYES. DESPITE THE DEMANDS THAT THE KILLINGS STOP, DESPITE THE EXPRESSIONS OF OUTRAGE, REPORTS OF CONTINUING ATROCITIES STILL REACH OUR EARS. MR. PRESIDENT, I NEED NOT REMIND YOU OF THE HOURS UPON HOURS THAT THE COUNCIL HAS SPENT DELIBERATING ON HOW TO BEST HANDLE THIS CRISIS OF APPALLING PROPORTIONS. OUR DECISIONS HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT ONES, MADE IN THE FACE OF A DIFFICULT, AND FLUID, SITUATION. WE STAND BEHIND THOSE DECISIONS, AND BELIEVE THAT THE UN AND UNAMIR HAVE A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY. BUT THE ENORMITY OF THE TRAGEDY CAUSES US ALSO TO WELCOME THE BOLD FRENCH INITIATIVE.

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IN SUPPORTING THIS RESOLUTION, THE UNITED STATES WISHES TO EMPHASIZE OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH INITIATIVE AND THE EFFORT THE COOPERATING FORCE WILL UNDERTAKE TO GUARANTEE THE SECURITY AND PROTECTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS, REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS IN RWANDA. THE GRAVE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN THAT COUNTRY DEMANDS A SWIFT RESPONSE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND WE COMMEND THE FRENCH FOR ACTING TO ADDRESS THIS NEED.

WE WISH TO UNDERLINE AS WELL THE MANDATE THE COOPERATING FORCE HAS RECEIVED TO PLAY A TRULY IMPARTIAL ROLE IN RWANDA. WE RECOGNIZE THAT SKEPTICISM REMAINS IN SOME QUARTERS ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE COOPERATING FORCE. WE WANT TO POINT OUT THAT THE SCOPE OF THE RESOLUTION HAS BEEN NARROWED TO ADDRESS EXACTLY THAT CONCERN, AND THAT THE MANDATE OF THE FORCE IS LIMITED TO ADDRESSING HUMANITARIAN NEEDS AS CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 925, SUB-PARAGRAPHS 4(A) AND (B).

IN LIGHT OF THIS SITUATION, WE ENCOURAGE THE FORCE UPON ITS ARRIVAL AND THROUGH ITS ACTIONS TO DEMONSTRATE ITS IMPARTIALITY AND EVEN-HANDEDNESS IN DEALING WITH THE PARTIES IN RWANDA. THIS WILL CLARIFY FOR ALL THAT THE FORCE HAS A HUMANITARIAN MANDATE, DESIGNED TO PROTECT INNOCENT CIVILIANS, AND NOT TO INTERVENE IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

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IN A SIMILAR MANNER, WE WISH TO CALL UPON THE PARTIES IN RWANDA TO RECOGNIZE THE HUMANITARIAN ROLE THE COOPERATING FORCE HAS BEEN CALLED UPON TO PLAY. WE FURTHER CALL UPON THE PARTIES TO ASSIST THE FORCE IN FACILITATING THE PROVISION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THOSE WHO SO DESPERATELY REQUIRE IT.

THE FRENCH DECISION TO SEND TROOPS TO RWANDA REFLECTS THE CONTINUED NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS' OWN PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES AND THE NEED FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION BY INFLUENTIAL MEMBER STATES TO SUPPLEMENT UN PEACE OPERATIONS IN PARTICULAR SITUATIONS. EXAMPLES OF SUCH ACTION IN THE RECENT PAST INCLUDE ALLIED COALITIONS THAT RESPONDED TO IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT AND TO THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN SOMALIA, THE EFFORTS OF ECOWAS IN LIBERIA, AND NATO ACTION TO ENFORCE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS IN BOSNIA.

THE POINT HERE IS THAT IF WE ARE TO RESPOND EFFECTIVELY TO THE VARIETY OF CONFLICTS WE SEE IN THE WORLD TODAY, WE MUST BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ACCEPT IMPERFECT SOLUTIONS WHEN NO PERFECT SOLUTIONS ARE AVAILABLE TO US. WE MUST CONTINUALLY MAKE JUDGMENTS, ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, OF WHAT IS APPROPRIATE, WHAT IS CONSISTENT WITH PRINCIPLE, AND WHAT WILL WORK.

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IN CLOSING, WE ONCE AGAIN COMMEND THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, WHICH
HAS MADE A NOBLE OFFER TO LEAD THE WORLD COMMUNITY IN DEALING
WITH THE TRAGEDY IN RWANDA. THIS EFFORT DEMANDS THE COOPERATION
OF ALL.

