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115/23/37

New Zealand Mission  
to the United Nations

30 April 1994

To: WATN  
WATN UNSC

IMMEDIATE

SFAT (MEA, HRU, UNC, LAL, DP3, DSP1)

Security Council: Rwanda

Copy of:

- Presidential Statement adopted  
30 April (1am)

- Sec Gen's letter of 29 April  
asking Council to reconsider its  
action on Rwanda

- dropped on table -  
no prior discussion  
with Pres, or  
other SC members  
To be discussed  
this week.

- Draft resolution submitted by  
New Zealand but not in the event  
voted on given agreement / consensus  
with Presidential Statement language  
(slightly modified)

11.58 pm  
mess, tabled with  
Pres to vote  
if NAM didn't  
agree to Presidential  
statement. They did

Cable report follows 2/4/94

JW.

As Adopted S/PRES/1994/24

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30 April 1994

The Security Council is appalled at continuing reports of the slaughter of innocent civilians in Kigali and other parts of Rwanda, and reported preparations for further massacres. It endorses the concern expressed by the Central Organ for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that the massacres and wanton killings have continued unabated in a systematic manner in Rwanda. It recalls that such killings have already been condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994.

Attacks on defenseless civilians have occurred throughout the country, especially in areas under the control of members or supporters of the armed forces of the interim Government of Rwanda. The Security Council demands that the interim Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front take effective measures to prevent any attacks on civilians in areas under their control. It calls on the leadership of both parties to condemn publicly such attacks and to commit themselves to ensuring that persons who instigate or participate in such attacks are prosecuted and punished.

The Security Council condemns all these breaches of international humanitarian law in Rwanda, particularly those perpetrated against the civilian population, and recalls that persons who instigate or participate in such acts are individually responsible. In this context, the Security Council recalls that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying such a group in whole or in part constitutes a crime punishable under international law.

*Rwanda/1994  
wouldn't allow  
genocide.*

The Security Council reiterates the demand in its resolution 912 (1994) for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of hostilities between the forces of the interim Government of

Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. It commends the efforts by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to mediate such an outcome, and requests them to continue their efforts in liaison with countries of the region and the OAU. It also commends the courage and determination of UNAMIR personnel in affording protection to civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR.

The Security Council welcomes the efforts that have been made by countries of the region, with the assistance of the Organization of African Unity, to bring about an end to the fighting and the killings in Rwanda. It also commends the efforts of States, United Nations agencies, and non-governmental organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance to the suffering people of Rwanda.

The Security Council is deeply concerned at the situation of the many thousands of refugees and displaced persons who have been forced to flee the fighting and killings in Rwanda.

The Security Council calls on all States to assist the UNHCR and other humanitarian and relief agencies operating in the area in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs in Rwanda and its bordering States. The Council calls on States bordering Rwanda, working with the OAU, to provide appropriate protection to refugees and to facilitate transfer of goods and supplies to meet the needs of the displaced persons within Rwanda.

The Security Council calls on all Rwandan parties to guarantee the protection of displaced persons and refugees in Rwanda and refugees outside Rwanda and to ensure safe passage for humanitarian assistance.

The Security Council underlines the urgent need for coordinated international action to help bring peace to Rwanda and to alleviate the suffering of the Rwandan people. It requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the OAU and countries of the region, to take appropriate measures to ensure that international efforts to assist the situation in Rwanda are carried out in an effective and coordinated manner, and to ensure that all relevant parties are kept fully informed.

The Security Council emphasizes the importance of Kigali airport for the provision of international relief efforts to Rwanda, as well as for the requirements of UNAMIR. It calls on the parties to allow the airport to be kept open at all times for such purposes.

The Security Council stresses the importance of ensuring that the situation in Rwanda does not affect adversely the security and stability of neighbouring countries.

The Security Council warns that the situation in Rwanda would be further seriously aggravated if either of the parties were to have access to additional arms. It appeals to all States to refrain from providing arms or any military assistance to the parties to the conflict. It states its willingness in principle to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo to Rwanda.

The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to preserving the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda. It reiterates its conviction that the Arusha Peace Agreement remains the only viable framework for the resolution of the Rwanda conflict and serves as the basis for peace, national unity and reconciliation in the country. It calls again on the parties to renew their commitment to this Agreement.

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The Security Council requests the Secretary-General:

(a) in consultation with the Secretary-General of the OAU, to report further on action which may be undertaken with a view to assisting in the restoration of law and order in Rwanda and in providing security for displaced persons;

(b) to work with UNHCR, the OAU and countries of the region to take such preventive diplomatic steps as may be necessary to prevent the spread of violence and atrocities to neighbouring countries;

(c) to explore urgently ways of extending humanitarian relief assistance to refugees and displaced persons;

(d) to consult the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on measures to provide humanitarian assistance to those displaced persons congregated along the borders with Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Burundi,

(e) to bring to its attention any information that he might receive concerning arms flows into Rwanda, and to consult the countries of the region and the OAU about the practical implementation of an arms embargo on Rwanda, and

(f) to make proposals for investigation of the reports of serious violations of international humanitarian law during the conflict.

The Security Council states its intention to consider urgently the letter of the Secretary-General dated 29 April 1994 (S/1994/518) and further recommendations that the Secretary-General may provide.

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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

29 April 1994

Dear Mr. President,

I regret to have to inform you that the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has reported a further deterioration of the situation in Kigali and other parts of Rwanda.

The capital city is effectively divided into sectors controlled by the Rwanda Government Forces (RGF) and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) respectively, with frequent exchanges of artillery and mortar fire between the two sides. UNAMIR reports strong evidence of preparations for further massacres of civilians in the city and there are several large concentrations of civilians who fear for their lives but enjoy little effective protection. Massacres continue on a large scale in the countryside, especially in the south.

A new complication is that in recent days both sides have begun to express lack of confidence in UNAMIR's impartiality and this is affecting their cooperation with my Special Representative and the Force Commander.

His Excellency  
Mr. Colin R. Keating  
President of the Security Council  
United Nations  
New York

These developments raise serious questions about the viability of the revised mandate which the Security Council gave to UNAMIR by resolution 912 on 21 April 1994. In particular, it has become clear that that mandate does not give UNAMIR the power to take effective action to halt the continuing massacres. At best it can provide limited protection to small groups of threatened persons in the city of Kigali and it would be unable to save them if a new wave of massacres were to start. According to some estimates, as many as 200,000 people may have died during the last three weeks. This humanitarian catastrophe is rightly a matter of growing anguish in Africa and the rest of the world and demands urgent action by the international community.

In considering what action should be taken, it has to be recognized that the disastrous incident of 6 April which caused the deaths of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi has had two consequences which require different responses from the international community. First, that incident sparked a resumption of fighting between the Rwanda Government Forces (RGF) and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). Secondly, it reawakened deep-rooted ethnic hatreds, which have plagued Rwanda in the past and which have again led to massacres of innocent civilians on a massive scale.

The revised mandate which the Security Council gave to UNAMIR in resolution 912 on 21 April is an adequate response to the first of these consequences. My Special Representative and the Force Commander have been making strenuous efforts to help the parties agree to a ceasefire and a return to implementation of the Arusha Accord. Those efforts have not yet succeeded but the present mandate and strength of UNAMIR are sufficient for them to continue.

The events of the last few days have confirmed, however, that UNAMIR's revised mandate is not one which enables it to bring the massacres under control. Some of these have been the work of uncontrolled military personnel but most of them have been perpetrated by armed groups of civilians taking advantage of the complete breakdown of law and order

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in Kigali and many other parts of Rwanda. It has become clear that the horrors for which they are responsible can be ended only if law and order is restored, a task which is far beyond UNAMIR's present capacity.

In these circumstances, I urge the Security Council to reexamine the decisions which it took in resolution 912 and to consider again what action, including forceful action, it could take, or could authorize Member States to take, in order to restore law and order and end the massacres. In making this recommendation, I am of course aware that such action would require a commitment of human and material resources on a scale which Member States have so far proved reluctant to contemplate. But I am convinced that the scale of human suffering in Rwanda and its implications for the stability of neighbouring countries leave the Security Council with no alternative but to examine this possibility.

I should be grateful if you would bring this matter to the attention of the members of the Security Council.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali



9/11

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## Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/1994/522  
29 April 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

### New Zealand: draft resolution

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its previous resolutions on the situation in Rwanda, in particular its resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994 by which it condemned the ongoing violence in Rwanda and demanded an immediate end to the mindless violence and carnage which are engulfing Rwanda,

Appalled at continuing reports of the slaughter of innocent civilians in Kigali and other parts of Rwanda, and reported preparations for further massacres,

Endorsing the concern expressed by the Central Organ for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that the massacres and wanton killings have continued unabated in a systematic manner in Rwanda,

Recalling that such killings have already been condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994,

1. Takes note that although attacks on defenceless civilians may have been perpetrated by all parties, in the main they appear to have occurred in areas under the control of members or supporters of the armed forces of the interim Government of Rwanda;
2. Recalls that the killing of the members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying such a group in whole or in part constitutes genocide and is a crime punishable under international law;
3. Condemns all breaches of international humanitarian law, particularly those perpetrated against the civilian population, and recalls that persons who instigate or participate in such acts are individually responsible;
4. Demands that the interim Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front take effective measures to prevent any attacks on civilians in areas under their control;

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S/1994/522  
English  
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5. Calls on the leadership of both parties to condemn publicly such

attacks and to commit themselves to participate in such attacks are prosecuted and punished;

6. Reiterates the demand in its resolution 912 (1994) for an immediate cease-fire and cessation of hostilities between the forces of the interim Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front;

7. Commends the efforts by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to mediate such an outcome, requests them to continue their efforts in liaison with countries of the region and the OAU and also commends the courage and determination of UNAMIR personnel in affording protection to civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR;

8. Welcomes the efforts that have been made by countries of the region, with the assistance of the Organization of African Unity, to bring about an end to the fighting and the killings in Rwanda and commends the efforts of States, United Nations agencies, and non-governmental organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance to the suffering people of Rwanda;

9. Expresses deep concern at the situation of the many thousands of refugees and displaced persons who have been forced to flee the fighting and killings in Rwanda;

10. Calls on all States to assist the UNHCR and other humanitarian and relief agencies operating in the area in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs in Rwanda and its bordering States and calls on States bordering Rwanda, working with the OAU, to provide appropriate protection to refugees and to facilitate transfer of goods and supplies to meet the needs of the displaced persons within Rwanda;

11. Calls on all Rwandan parties to guarantee the protection of displaced persons and refugees in Rwanda and to ensure safe passage for humanitarian assistance;

12. Determines that there is an urgent need for coordinated international action to help bring peace to Rwanda and to alleviate the suffering of the Rwandan people and requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Secretary-General of the OAU and countries of the region, to take appropriate measures to ensure that international efforts to assist the situation in Rwanda are carried out in an effective and coordinated manner, and to ensure that all relevant parties are kept fully informed;

13. Emphasizes the importance of Kigali airport for the provision of international relief efforts to Rwanda, as well as for the requirements of UNAMIR and calls on the parties to allow the airport to be kept open at all times for such purposes;

14. Stresses the importance of ensuring that the situation in Rwanda does not affect adversely the security and stability of neighbouring countries;

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15. Warns that the situation in Rwanda would be further seriously aggravated if either of the parties were to have access to additional arms, appeals to all States to refrain from providing arms or any military assistance to the parties to the conflict, and expresses its willingness in principle to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo to Rwanda;

16. Reaffirms its commitment to preserving the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda, reiterates its conviction that the

15. Warns that the situation in Rwanda would be further seriously aggravated if either of the parties were to have access to additional arms, appeals to all States to refrain from providing arms or any military assistance to the parties to the conflict, and expresses its willingness in principle to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo to Rwanda;

16. Reaffirms its commitment to preserving the unity and territorial integrity of Rwanda, reiterates its conviction that the Arusha Peace Agreement remains the only viable framework for the resolution of the Rwanda conflict and serves as the basis for peace, national unity and reconciliation in the country and calls again on the parties to renew their commitment to this Agreement;

17. Requests the Secretary-General:

(a) in consultation with the Secretary-General of the OAU, to report further on action which may be undertaken with a view to assisting in the restoration of law and order in Rwanda and in providing security for displaced persons;

(b) to work with UNHCR, the OAU and countries of the region to take such preventive diplomatic steps as maybe necessary to prevent the spread of violence and atrocities to neighbouring countries;

(c) urgently to explore ways of extending humanitarian relief assistance to refugees and displaced persons;

(d) to consult the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on measures to provide humanitarian assistance to those displaced persons congregated along the borders with Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Burundi;

(e) to bring to its attention any information that he might receive concerning arms flows into Rwanda, and to consult the countries of the region and the OAU about the practical implementation of an arms embargo on Rwanda; and

(f) to make proposals for investigation of the reports of serious violations of international humanitarian law during the conflict;

18. Decides to consider urgently the letter of the Secretary-General dated 29 April 1994 (S/1994/518) and further recommendations to the Secretary-General may provide.

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