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New York

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Date: 20 June 1994 Page 1 of 15
To: WELLINGTON No: 2819 PRECEDENCE: Immediate
WGTH UNSC

LD: SFAT (MEA, UNCTAD, ILO, ICAO, IAEA, ECU, DP3, DDP1, EAB) ~~W~~
copied to UNSC, MEA, UNC

SUBJECT: Security Council: RWANDA

Our IPT refers.
Copy of Sec Gen's letter and IPT press releases follow.

~~W~~ Coms, please pm -
P/S MFA
Deputy HONORARY DATA, OAS, DDI
Deputy MOD



19 June 1994

Dear Mr. President,

Since the breakdown of the peace process in Rwanda in the wake of the tragic events of 6 April 1994, I have reported to the Security Council on several occasions, repeatedly stressing the need for an urgent and co-ordinated response by the international community to the genocide which has engulfed that country.

The Security Council initially decided, by resolution 912 (1994) adopted on 21 April, to adjust the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and to reduce its strength to 270 all ranks. However, in my letter of 29 April to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/518), I pointed out that the situation had deteriorated to the point where it had become necessary to consider what further action the Council could take, or authorize member states to take, in order to contribute to the restoration of law and order, to end the wanton violence and massacres of defenceless civilians and to promote a ceasefire.

On the basis of my report of 13 May (S/1994/565), the Security Council adopted resolution 918 (1994) on 17 May, authorizing the expansion of the force level of UNAMIR up to 5,500 troops and expanding its mandate to contribute to the security and protection of civilians at risk as well as to provide security and support for humanitarian relief operations. The Council requested me, as a first phase, to immediately bring up to full strength the mechanized infantry battalion already in Rwanda, and further requested me to report as soon as possible on the next phase of UNAMIR's deployment.

On the basis of a further report which I submitted to the Security Council on 31 May (S/1994/640), following the visit of a special mission from Headquarters to Rwanda, the Council adopted resolution 925 (1994) on 8 June, endorsing my proposals for the simultaneous deployment of the first and second phases of the expanded operation, and requested me to continue urgent preparations for the deployment of the third phase. As of 18 June, UNAMIR

His Excellency
Mr. Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby
President of the Security Council
New York

consists of a total force of 503 all ranks (354 troops, 25 military staff personnel and 124 military observers) under the command of Major-General Romeo A. Dallaire. Two Canadian C-130 aircraft are also supporting the mission. I must again reiterate my admiration for the dedication and courage of all UNAMIR personnel, despite serious casualties.

In anticipation of the expansion of the mandate of UNAMIR, I had written, on 30 April, to a number of Heads of State in Africa to encourage them to provide troops, and to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), asking him to support my requests. I pursued my efforts through numerous contacts with Heads of State and Governments during my visit to South Africa in early May, and with African leaders at the OAU Summit conference in Tunis earlier this month. At the same time, the Secretariat had already commenced efforts to secure the equipment and troops required by UNAMIR for the implementation of phases one and two. Accordingly, over 50 potential contributing countries were approached.

To date, the United Nations has received offers for the following:

- Ethiopia: motorized infantry battalion (fully equipped);
- Ghana: mechanized infantry battalion (offer not yet confirmed and made on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);
- Senegal: mechanized infantry battalion (offer not yet confirmed and made on the condition that it be fully equipped);
- Zambia: motorized infantry battalion (on the condition that it be fully equipped);
- Zimbabwe: motorized infantry battalion (on the condition that it be fully equipped);

- Congo: infantry company (on the condition that it be fully equipped);
- Malawi: infantry company (on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);
- Mali: infantry company (on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);
- Nigeria: infantry company (on the condition that its equipment requirements are met);

- Italy: 1 aircraft (most probably C-130, not to fly into Rwandese air space);

- Netherlands: 1 Fokker 27 aircraft (not to Rwandese air space);
 - United Kingdom: 50 trucks for infantry and APCs);
 - United States: 50 armoured personnel carriers (APCs).
- France, on a bilateral basis, has offered 10 million French Francs to Senegal to cover equipment requirements of 200 men.

Some countries have indicated an interest, but not yet made commitments, to provide the following:

- Australia: 1 medical company;
- Canada: a communication company;
- Italy: 20 water/fuel trucks;
- Romania: a surgical team;
- Russian Federation: 8 transport helicopters and a number of heavy transport cargo aircraft.

On the basis of the offers for troops and equipment received so far, and of the discussions between the Secretariat and the Governments concerned, the United Nations expects, in the best of circumstances to complete the deployment of the first phase of UNAMIR in the first week of July 1994. This envisages bringing the 1st Battalion presently in Kigali to its full strength. The confirmation of the offer from Ghana is expected. Meanwhile, 10 APCs, which are being transferred to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), have already started arriving in Rwanda as part of the deployment of the first phase. In addition, the United States will start airlifting 50 APCs to Entebbe on 24 June.

The deployment schedule for the second phase of expanded operation, which was intended to be synchronized with phase one, cannot be determined at this time. The confirmations of the resources required, namely two infantry battalions, a communications unit and other logistic support, have not yet been received from the Governments concerned. Moreover, the Secretariat has still not been able to secure offers for medical support units. In the absence of firm commitments for military logistic units, it will be necessary to hire a civilian contractor on an emergency basis. Such a contractual alternative already exists within UNAMIR and it would be extended to UNAMIR until the necessary logistic support from Governments can be secured.

In the conditions prevailing in Rwanda, it is clear that additional troops can only be deployed once the necessary equipment to support them is on the ground, and after the troops have been trained to use the equipment with which they may not be familiar. It also is noteworthy that, although Governments are expected to offer fully trained and equipped units for UN operations, almost all offers received from Governments are conditional in one way or another. The difficulties that the Secretariat has faced in securing resources for UNAMIR's expanded mandate show that there is no guarantee that the stipulated conditions can be met. Even if they can, protracted negotiations will be required, not only with the Governments making these conditional offers, but also with other Member States. In this context, it should be noted that none of those Governments possessing the capacity to provide fully trained and equipped military units have offered so far to do so for the implementation of the Security Council's resolutions to deal with the situation in Rwanda.

In light of the above, it is evident that, with the failure of member states to promptly provide the resources necessary for the implementation of its expanded mandate, UNAMIR may not be in a position, for about three months, to fully undertake the tasks entrusted to it by those resolutions. Meanwhile, the situation in Rwanda has continued to deteriorate and the killings of innocent civilians has not been stopped. Furthermore, the parties have not yet come to an agreement for a ceasefire in the talks under UNAMIR auspices, nor have they respected the ceasefire to which they agreed at the recent OAU summit in Tunis.

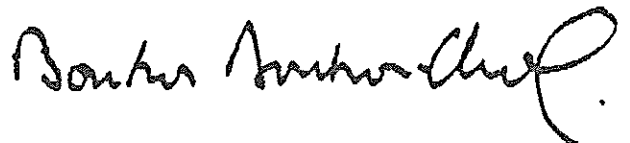
In these circumstances, the Security Council may wish to consider the offer of the Government of France to undertake, subject to Security Council authorization, a French-commanded multinational operation in conjunction with other Member States, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to assure the security and protection of displaced persons and civilians at risk in Rwanda. Such an operation was one of the options envisaged in my letter of 29 April (S/1994/518) and a precedent exists for it in the United States-led operation (UNITAF) which was deployed in Somalia in December 1992. If the Security Council decides to authorize an operation on these lines, I consider it would be necessary for it to request the Governments concerned to commit themselves to maintain their troops in Rwanda until UNAMIR is brought up to the

necessary strength to take over from the multinational force and the latter has created conditions in which a peace-keeping force operating under Chapter VI of the Charter would have the capacity to carry out its mandate. This would imply that the multinational force should remain deployed for a minimum period of three months.

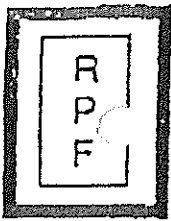
The activities of the multinational force and UNAMIR would be closely coordinated by the respective force commanders, who would take into account the fact that the former would be operating under Chapter VII of the Charter. UNAMIR would continue to fulfil, to the extent permitted by the resources made available to it, its mandated responsibilities in and around Kigali and at the airport. It would also continue to assist in providing support for the delivery of humanitarian aid to accessible areas. During this period, UNAMIR would operate on the assumption that the parties will cooperate with the activities of the mission. However, in the event that the safety and security of UNAMIR personnel were to be jeopardized, I would immediately reassess the situation and make appropriate recommendations to the Security Council.

It is self-evident that the efforts by the international community to restore stability in Rwanda, both by halting the genocide and by securing a ceasefire, are directed to a resumption of the Arusha peace process. In this connection, as the Council is aware, my new Special Representative for Rwanda, Mr. Shaharyar M. Khan, plans to take up his assignment shortly.

I should be grateful, Mr. President, if you would bring the contents of this letter to the attention of the members of the Security Council.

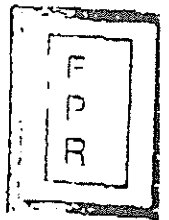


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FRONT PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS

RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT



H.E. Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby
President,
United Nations Security Council,
New York

7
20 June 1994

Your Excellency,

RE: FRENCH MILITARY INTERVENTION IN RWANDA

The Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) is dismayed by the decision of France to intervene unilaterally in Rwanda. The purpose of the proposed military is allegedly to stop the massacres.

Your Excellency, many countries across the world have responded favourably to the request of the U.N. Secretary General for men and materials for a successful implementation of resolutions 918 and 925. To date, more than 7,000 soldiers have been offered, mostly by African countries. It is reported that some countries like Ethiopia and Zimbabwe have their own equipment. Others such as Ghana have agreed to provide troops so long as the necessary equipment is available. Some of the equipment, like the Armoured Personnel Carriers the United States of America promised to supply, is already in the region. With troop offers far exceeding what we consider adequate, namely a 2500-man mission, the U.N. mission in Rwanda should have taken off by now.

The prospect of a permanent member of the Security Council supporting and then ignoring Security Council resolutions to launch a unilateral operation in a country in which that permanent member has had a partisan and controversial involvement raises very strong questions about the motives of the mission. It does also raise the question as to what value members of the Council attach to its decisions. The direct responsibility which French governments, present and past, bear for the tragic situation in Rwanda is a matter which should be treated with the seriousness it deserves:

- i) France is a long-term supporter of the governments which organized and supervised the acts of genocide in Rwanda.
- ii) France has been and remains the principal arms supplier to the criminal regime (see the 1994 Arms Project Report of Human Rights Watch).
- iii) France trained the Presidential guards, as well as much of the regular army and the militia who are at the forefront of the ongoing atrocities.
- iv) French troops fought side by side with the discredited Rwandese government forces for three years to prop up the dictatorial regime of the late President

Habyarimana. Reputable human rights organisations such as Amnesty International and Africa Watch have documented how the Rwandese government forces killed thousands of innocent civilians during the three-year period (October 1990 to December 1993) when the French were still openly fighting on the government side. The French troops never intervened to stop those massacres, and the French government never condemned them.

- v) We have good reason to believe that there are even now French troops who are caught up in the besieged government army camps in Kigali. The proposed French operation, therefore, could indeed partly be a rescue mission, among other things. This may explain why President Mitterand finds the intervention so urgent that he had to declare that his operation cannot wait for Security Council authorization.
- vi) France is one of the few countries which have recognized the rump government, hosted some of its officials who are very notorious for their role in inciting atrocities through the media, and has granted asylum to the masterminds of the genocide in Rwanda who are commonly known as "Escadron de la Mort".
- vii) French political and diplomatic support for the regime of the late President Habyarimana encouraged intransigence on the part of the regime during the Arusha peace talks and stalled the process of implementing the Arusha Agreement.
- viii) It has recently been reported and repeated by very credible newspapers in Belgium that President Habyarimana's plane was shot down by French Military officers acting on behalf of extremists who wanted to derail the peace process.

In view of this very detrimental role of France in Rwanda in the recent past, her apparent good faith should not be taken for granted when the issue of the proposed French intervention is up for discussion. The intervention is, in our view, intended to assist the authors of the genocide in Rwanda to prosecute the war, to protect them from being brought to justice for their war crimes, and to preserve a role for them in the future politics of the country.

The RPF condemns the proposed French intervention unreservedly. We have, for the duration of the war in Rwanda, considered France a party to the conflict in every respect. We equally consider the return of France to Rwanda a hostile act of war against the Rwandan people, and the RPF will fight the proposed intervention by any means at its disposal for as long as is necessary.

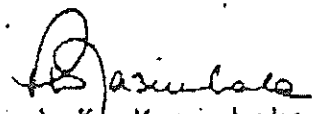
In the absence of a comprehensive ceasefire agreement between the parties, the RPF intends to proceed with its operations to rescue the Rwandese at risk, to restore law and order in the country, and to bring the criminals to justice regardless of the presence of the French troops in Rwanda.

We are of the firm opinion that the solution to the crisis in Rwanda must be found in the context of resolution 918 and 925/1994 of the U.N. Security Council, and we reaffirm our strong support for the U.N. humanitarian mission mandated by those resolutions. We request members of the Security Council to prevail upon France to illustrate its good faith in this matter by putting the resources which it plans to use in its unilateral mission at the disposal of the U.N. force.

Your Excellency, the RPF wishes to draw your attention and that of the Council to the very grave consequences which the intervention of France will give rise to. French intervention will have a destabilizing effect in the region. In Rwanda itself, it will bring to an end the ongoing ceasefire negotiations and it will lead to an escalation of the conflict as Rwandese government forces see the prospect of military backing by France. The RPF itself will be compelled to re-evaluate its commitment to the U.N. mission proposed by the Security Council.

Finally, the return of French troops to Rwanda may have severe repercussions on the continued relevance of the Arusha Peace Agreement as the basis for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Rwanda.

The Rwandese Patriotic Front urges Your Excellency and, through you, all Security Council members, to recall and uphold resolutions 918 and 925 which authorized the Secretary General to expand UNAMIR and give it a humanitarian mission, including the protection of people threatened by genocide. These resolutions have received wide support both within the international community and in Rwanda. The Security Council must not allow France to usurp the role of the U.N. while furthering its own interests in Rwanda. It is indeed unfortunate, but nevertheless incumbent upon the Rwandese Patriotic Front, to point out that if the United Nations and all interested parties had heeded our warnings, Rwanda would have been saved the worst tragedy in its history. The task at hand is for all of us to avert any further catastrophe in Rwanda, which an intervention by France at this stage would inevitably bring about.



Patrick K. Mazimhaka

Vice-Chairman
RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT

cc. The Secretary General
Member Security Council (all).

FRONT PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS
RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT

Washington, June 18, 1994

PRESS RELEASE

FRENCH MILITARY BACKING FOR THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE IN RWANDA

The Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) is dismayed by the decision of France to intervene unilaterally in Rwanda. The purpose of the proposed military intervention is allegedly to stop the massacres.

The United Nations Security Council by resolutions 918 and 925/1994 devised a plan to send a humanitarian U.N. force of 5,500 soldiers for exactly the same purpose. Many countries across the world have responded favourably to the request of the U.N. Secretary General. To date, more than 7,000 soldiers have been offered. It is reported that some countries like Ethiopia and Zimbabwe have their own equipment. Others such as Ghana have agreed to provide troops so long as the necessary equipment is available. Some of the equipment like the APC's promised by the USA is already in the region. The U.N. mission appeared well on the way to taking off.

The prospect of a permanent member of the Security Council by passing the mechanisms determined by the Security Council to launch a unilateral operation in a country in which that permanent member of the Security Council has historically had partisan and contraversial involvement raises very strong questions about the motives of the mission.

The direct responsibility which French governments, present and past, bear for the tragic situation in Rwanda is a matter which should not be treated lightly:

- i) France is a long time supporter of the clique that organised and supervised the execution of genocide in Rwanda.
- ii) France has been and remain the principal arms supplier to the regime as indicated in the 1994 Arms Project Report of Human Rights Watch.
- iii) France trained the Presidential guards, much of the regular army and the militia who are at the fore front of the ongoing atrocities.
- iv) French troops fought side by side with the discredited Rwandese government forces to prop up the dictatorial regime of the late President Habyarimana for 3 years. Reputable human rights organisations such as Amnesty International and Africa Watch have documented how the Rwandese government forces killed thousands of innocents civilians during the period (October 1990 to December 1993) when the French were

still openly fighting on the government side. The French troops never intervened to stop those massacres and the French government never condemned them.

- v) We have credible intelligence that there are even now French troops who are caught up in the besieged government army camps in Kigali. The French operation may partly be a rescue mission. This may explain why President Mitterrand has announced today that their operation can not wait for the U.N. Security Council authorization.
- vi) France is one of the very few countries which have recognized the rump government, hosted some of its officials who are very notorious for their role in inciting atrocities through the media and has granted asylum to the masterminds of the genocide in Rwanda who are commonly known as "Escadron de la Mort".
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In view of the very detrimental role of France in Rwanda in the recent past, her good faith should not be taken for granted when the issue of the proposed French intervention is up for discussion. The intervention is in our view intended to assist the authors of genocide to prosecute the war, to protect them from being brought to justice for their war crimes and preserve a role for them in the future politics of the country.

The RPF condemns the proposed French intervention unreservedly. We have for the duration of the war in Rwanda considered France a party to the conflict in every respect. We equally consider the return of France to Rwanda a hostile act of war against her people. The RPF will fight the proposed intervention by any means at its disposal and for as long as is necessary.

In the absence of a comprehensive ceasefire agreement between the parties the RPF intends to proceed with its operations to rescue Rwandese at risk, restore law and order and to bring the killers to justice regardless of the presence of the French troops in Rwanda.

We are of the firm opinion that the solution to the crisis in Rwanda must be found in the context of resolutions 918 and 925/1994 of the U.N. Security Council and we reaffirm our strong support for the U.N. humanitarian mission mandated by those resolutions. We request members of the Security Council to prevail upon France to illustrate its good faith in this matter by putting the resources

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which it plans to use in its unilateral mission at the disposal of U.N. force.

The RPF wishes to draw the attention of the International Community to the very grave consequences which the intervention of France will give rise to. French intervention will have a destabilizing effect in the region. In Rwanda itself, it will bring to an end the ongoing ceasefire negotiations and lead to an escalation of the conflict as Rwandese government forces see the prospect of military backing by France. The RPF itself will be compelled to reevaluate its commitment to the U.N. mission proposed by the security council. Finally, the return of French troops to Rwanda may have severe repercussions on the continued relevance of the Arusha peace agreement as the basis for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Rwanda.

For the Political Bureau of the Rwandese Patriotic Front

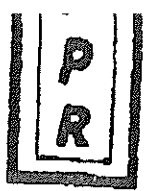
Gahima

Mr. Gerald Gahima
Special Envoy to the United Nations and the USA.

Contact: Tel: 301-588-8566 or 703-553-0452
Fax: 703-553-0458



FRONT PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT



Bxl, 18.06.1994

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APPEL A LA MOBILISATION GENERALE.

A tous les Rwandais de l'intérieur du pays et de la diaspora, Maintenant vous connaissez la part de la France dans l'élaboration du plan de génocide dont vos parents, frères et sœurs ont été victimes.

Aujourd'hui la France, parachevant son plan, vole au secours des bourreaux aux abois. Elle réussira, comme dans le passé à tromper l'opinion internationale et avoir son aval, voire même son soutien.

Aux pays africains qui veulent suivre la France dans l'achèvement de son sinistre plan nous disons: " Soyez Prudents ". Peut-être que vous avez des dettes à régler à la France mais trouvez d'autres moyens que le sang des Rwandais.

A toute la Communauté Internationale, ne vous rendez pas complice d'un projet auquel vous n'avez pas été associé.

Rwandaïses et Rwandais, Ne vous laissez pas intimider par des déclarations fallacieuses des diplomates français menaçant de répondre par la force à vos actes de légitimes défense.

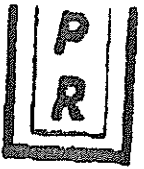
Le sang qui coule dans les veines de leurs soldats est aussi rouge que le vôtre. Mobilisez-vous pour tenir en échec le plan de trahison française. Après tout vous êtes Rwandais, vous devez vivre ou mourir au Rwanda et pas ailleurs. Vous en avez le temps, les moyens et la détermination.

Restez vigilants et pensez toujours à 500.000 Rwandais victimes du machiavélisme français, de ses armes et de ses amis bourreaux. Ils ont été sacrifiés pour que vous retrouviez votre dignité.

Dr Jacques BIHOZAGARA.
Membre du Bureau Politique.



RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT



La 17.06.94

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COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

LES VICTIMES DU DOUBLE-JEU FRANCAIS.

Parmi les plus grandes victimes du double-jeu français, il y a lieu de citer : les Nations Unies, le FPR, certains pays de l'Union Européenne et la plupart des pays francophones d'Afrique.

Les Nations-Unies d'abord car elles sont entrain de dérailler suite au marathon français destiné à faire avaliser ses initiatives d'intervention au Rwanda. Comment peut-on expliquer que l'ONU, après autant d'énergie dépensée pour l'application de la Résolution 918 s'écarte aussi rapidement de sa piste au profit d'une initiative française issue d'un cadre inhabituel ?

En tout cas le FPR se réserve le droit de revoir ses engagements vis-à-vis des Nations Unies. Au cas où une quelconque force serait

Le FPR n'a pas été épargné par le double-jeu de la France parce qu'il a suffi d'un entretien informel avec Monsieur Bernard KOUCHNER et Monsieur Gerald LAROME, Directeur de la Cellule d'Urgence au Ministère Français des Affaires étrangères pour que la France parle de l'ouverture au Nord d'un COULOIR HUMANITAIRE (GATUNA-BYUMBA-KIGALI). Cet axe qui sert depuis plus d'une année de couloir de ravitaillement des populations déplacées est utilisé indistinctement par toutes les organisations d'assistance humanitaire et son fonctionnement ne date pas d'hier.

Quant à certains pays de l'Union Européenne et de l'Afrique francophone, le FPR espère qu'ils sont assez mûrs pour ne pas se laisser entraînés par la France qui, visiblement a des comptes à rendre avec des Rwandais.

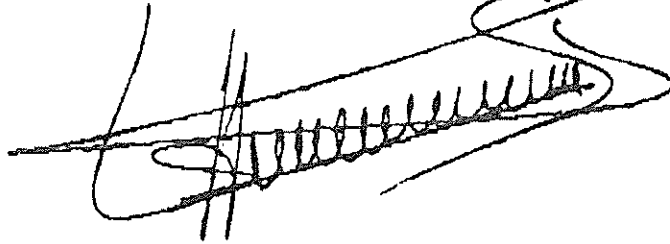
La clarification apportée hier par Monsieur Alain Jupé ne change rien ni aux intentions de la France ni à la position du FPR vis-à-vis d'elle. Ces enfants, femmes, hommes, orphelins, invalides auxquels la France vole au secours sont nos frères et soeurs. Ils ont été mutilés par les armes que la France a fournies et continue de fournir. Ils sont victimes d'un plan de GENOCIDE que la France connaissait apparemment (Voir le Soir du 17.06.94)

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Soyez sûrs qu'ils sont avec nous pour dire non à toute forme de participation, si humanitaire soit-elle de la France au Rwanda.

Que les pays qui sont aujourd'hui mobilisés par la France pour intervenir au Rwanda sachent avec qui et pourquoi ils s'engagent car des bruits courent déjà comme quoi il y aurait des soldats français traqués dans des camps militaires de KIGALI.

Dr. Jacques BIHOZAGARA.
Membre du Bureau Politique.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jacques Bihozagara', written over a horizontal line.