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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE SITUATION IN RWANDA

I. INTRODUCTION

- 1. The present report is submitted in response to the letter of the President of the Security Council of 6 May 1994 (S/1994/546), requesting me to provide indicative contingency planning with regard to the delivery of humanitarian assistance as well as support to displaced persons in Rwanda.
- 2. It will be recalled that the resumption of the civil conflict following the tragic events of 6 April 1994, and the ensuing violence and massacres, created a situation that called into question the ability of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to carry out its mandate under Security Council resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993. Hence, with Council resolution 912 (1994), adopted on 21 April 1994, the Security Council authorized the adjustment of UNAMIR's mandate (a) to act as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire; (b) to assist in the resumption of humanitarian relief operations to the extent feasible; and (c) to monitor and report on developments in Rwanda, including the safety and security of the civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR. In compliance with resolution 912 (1994), the force was sharply reduced, and now stands at 444, all ranks, in Rwanda, and 179 military observers at Nairobi pending repatriation or redeployment to the Mission. Reductions to the authorized level have been suspended pending the outcome of the ongoing consideration by the Council.
- 3. The situation in Rwanda remains highly unstable and insecure, with widespread violence. Combat between the Rwandese government forces and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) continues, even though both the Rwandese government forces and RPF have separately expressed their readiness to enter into a cease-fire. The Rwandese government forces controls the west and southwestern parts of Rwanda, while RPF is in control of the northern and eastern parts of the country, as well as areas in the south-east. The capital, Kigali, is divided between the Rwandese government forces and RPF, but the front line is fluid and changing as military actions continue. The Rwandese government forces continue to control the airport but hostilities in its vicinity interrupt its operations from time to time. Armed militia and other unruly elements continue to operate, although less frequently than at the beginning of the conflict, killing and terrorizing innocent civilians. It is estimated that nearly 2 million persons have been displaced, seeking safer places within Kigali, in

various regions of the country and in border areas in neighbouring countries, principally the United Republic of Tanzania. Under these conditions, a major humanitarian crisis has developed.

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

4. In accordance with resolution 912 (1994), and in support of the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Republic of Tanzania, in its capacity as the facilitator of the Arusha peace process, and other interested parties, my Special Representative, Mr. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, and the UNAMIR Force Commander, Major-General Romeo Dallaire, have undertaken, both inside Rwanda and at Arusha, all possible efforts since the resumption of the conflict to bring about a cease-fire agreement between the parties. Unfortunately, their efforts have been of no avail, but they are determined to persevere. Obviously, a cease-fire agreement is the first step in establishing a stable and secure environment in the country, thus allowing the organized, coordinated and secure delivery of humanitarian assistance and the reactivation of the Arusha peace process. In the prevailing conditions, however, it is essential that the United Nations consider what measures it can take even before a cease-fire is achieved.

III. HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS

- Given the pace of developments and the security situation, it has not been possible to assess accurately the humanitarian situation in Rwanda. However, early reports indicate that there are 250,000 displaced persons in the north, 65,000 in the east, and 1,200,000 in the south and south-west. Although there are some concentrations, the internally displaced appear to be widely scattered. At Kigali itself, some 30,000 displaced persons have taken refuge in public places and religious sanctuaries, where they are running out of food, water and basic medical supplies. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that 80,000 of the original 272,000 refugees from Burundi have remained in Rwanda. This situation is complicated by the fact that, prior to the war, some 1.2 million drought-affected people in the south who required emergency food assistance had been identified. In neighbouring countries, the Rwandese refugee population is estimated at more than 300,000, and UNHCR reports that as many as 1,500 refugees continue to arrive daily in the United Republic of Tanzania. It is most important that the basic humanitarian needs of these populations are met as soon as possible.
- 6. The Department of Humanitarian Affairs of the Secretariat has established the United Nations Rwanda Emergency Office (UNREO), in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), UNHCR, the World Food Programme (WFP), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). The office, temporarily located at Nairobi, has overall responsibility for coordinating humanitarian relief activities, including the prepositioning of relief supplies. Close coordination with the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), other international organizations and bilateral donors concerned is an essential part of the work of the office. An advance humanitarian assistance team has been positioned at Kigali to work with UNAMIR in carrying out

humanitarian operations and to advise in the expansion of activities where the situation permits. Other sub-offices in Rwanda or neighbouring countries are envisaged. A "flash" appeal covering immediate emergency assistance needs totalling about \$16 million was issued on 25 April 1994.

- 7. In spite of the difficulties, limited emergency operations have been initiated. For example, medical and nutritional supplies from UNICEF have been distributed in Kigali. WFP has been able to deliver more than 500 tons of food in the north and 840 tons in the south. Currently, three NGOs are active in Rwanda. Médecins sans Frontières is active in the north and Médecins du Monde is active in the south. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has remained without interruption in Rwanda, focusing on emergency medical care and carrying out food deliveries in the north and south and in Kigali. UNAMIR has assisted in the delivery of food and other relief supplies to displaced persons in the Kigali area and has provided security for the activities of the advance team and NGOs. UNHCR is responding to the needs of refugees in neighbouring countries.
- 8. The United Nations humanitarian organizations, in consultation with UNAMIR and ICRC, have agreed on the following principles, which should serve as the basis for humanitarian operations in Rwanda:
- (a) Ensuring the security of relief staff (both national and international), the beneficiaries of relief assistance and of the relief materials themselves;
- (b) Joint identification by the responsible authorities and the respective United Nations humanitarian organizations of distribution sites;
- (c) Clear identification of interlocutors from the side of the authorities for the humanitarian aid organizations to liaise with regarding humanitarian operations, both at a central level as well as at the field level;
- (d) Acceptance by the responsible authorities of the monitoring and reporting responsibilities of the United Nations organizations regarding the distribution and use of relief materials;
- (e) An understanding that aid should be provided based on need, regardless of race, ethnic group, religion or political affiliation.
- 9. These principles have been submitted to the Rwandese government forces and RPF authorities for approval. The Rwandese government forces have formally notified the Humanitarian Coordinator of its agreement. RPF has also agreed to these principles.
- 10. While it is too early to present fully developed operational plans for the distribution of humanitarian assistance in Rwanda, the basic effort will be to respond to the urgent needs of all affected persons in all parts of the country whenever conditions so permit. With the consent of appropriate authorities in neighbouring countries, it is envisaged that extensive cross-border operations will be utilized to transport relief supplies. The detailed operational plans will take into account the need to avoid, as far as possible, further

displacement of the population. The objective will be to deliver assistance to the distressed in their existing locations, provided that these sites can be made secure.

IV. CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

- 11. In his letter of 6 May 1994 (S/1994/546), the President of the Security Council informed me that, in view of the unabated hostilities and killings taking place in Rwanda, urgent and effective means of action must be considered. This would require that the Council decide upon an expanded mandate under which UNAMIR would support and provide safe conditions for displaced persons and other groups in Rwanda who have been affected by the hostilities or are otherwise in need, and assist in the provision of assistance by humanitarian organizations. The efforts of UNAMIR in this regard would be coordinated with those of the humanitarian organizations operating in Rwanda and/or engaged in assisting Rwandese refugees in neighbouring countries. The mission, as it would function under this amended mandate, is referred to herein as UNAMIR II.
- 12. UNAMIR II would provide security assistance to humanitarian organizations in their programmes for distribution of relief supplies. UNAMIR II would establish access to sites where displaced and other affected persons are concentrated and could assure their protection. Such protected sites would include areas inside Rwanda along the border with neighbouring States where refugees and displaced persons are concentrated. All protected sites would be patrolled and monitored by UNAMIR II, in cooperation with the local authorities wherever possible. At the same time, UNAMIR II would devote equal attention to the needs of displaced persons in the interior of the country and would provide escorts to relief convoys and security to United Nations installations there.
- 13. UNAMIR II would monitor border crossing points as operationally required, as well as the deployment of the parties in conflict, in order to assure the effective conduct of UNAMIR II operations.
- 14. Kigali airport is the most practical point of entry into the country and is therefore important for the induction of personnel, equipment and humanitarian relief goods. The parties would be expected to establish the airport as a "neutral zone" under the exclusive control of the United Nations before commencement of the deployment of the expanded force. However, if continued fighting prevents this, UNAMIR II would use other points of entry and resupply, such as secondary airstrips within the country. In addition, UNAMIR II would establish lines of communication, deployment and supply routes by land through neighbouring countries, particularly for the resupply of those protected sites located on Rwanda's borders.

A. Rules of engagement

15. UNAMIR II's rules of engagement do not envisage enforcement action. The Mission would depend primarily on deterrence to carry out its tasks. However, UNAMIR II may be required to take action in self-defence against persons or groups who threaten protected sites and populations and the means of delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief.

B. Force structure

- 16. In order to execute its mandate, UNAMIR II must be composed of a credible, well-armed and highly mobile force. The size of the force is determined also by the size and terrain of the area of operation, which is land-locked, difficult and mountainous with very limited infrastructure. With these criteria, it is estimated that a minimum viable force of approximately 5,500 troops, including 5 infantry battalions, will be required to carry out the tasks described above. Readjustment of the size of the force may be necessary as the situation evolves.
- 17. The composition of the force would therefore include:
- (a) A force headquarters of approximately 219 personnel, built around the nucleus of the present headquarters, would include a supporting military signals/communication squadron. The force headquarters would continue to operate at Kigali;
- (b) Five battalions (approximately 4,000 personnel) comprising two mechanized battalions and three motorized battalions, each of which would have a mechanized company;
- (c) A force support battalion of approximately 721 personnel, which would provide logistical, maintenance, and medical service, and would include an engineer company capable of undertaking tasks such as mining clearance, bomb disposal and the rehabilitation of essential roads, bridges and the other infrastructure, as required by UNAMIR II to carry out its mandate;
- (d) A helicopter squadron of approximately 110 personnel and 16 helicopters;
- (e) A military police force of approximately 50 personnel would provide internal force security;
- (f) A military observer group of 320 officers would conduct the humanitarian security monitoring, liaison and escort-duty tasks throughout the area of operation, including at the border areas if necessary;
- (g) A force of 90 United Nations civilian police would be deployed in a similar fashion to the military observers, but would be dedicated to maintaining liaison with the local civilian authorities on matters relating to public security.

C. Deployment schedule

- 18. The deployment of UNAMIR II would be conducted in three phases, subject to the timely availability of the necessary troops, equipment and airlift. "D-Day" is the date on which the Security Council resolution would be adopted authorizing the expanded mandate of UNAMIR II.
- 19. Phase 1 (D-Day + 7). The Ghanaian battalion would be brought to its full strength of 800 personnel and equipped with armoured personnel carriers. This unit would ensure the protection of Kigali International Airport, as well as other sites in the city, where thousands of displaced persons have sought refuge under UNAMIR protection. This battalion would also subsequently act as the force reserve.
- 20. Phase 2 (D-Day + 14). Deployment of two battalions (one mechanized and one motorized), some advance elements of the support battalion and all of the force headquarters and signal squadron. These troops would be deployed where the security situation is of greatest concern and where there is the highest concentration of displaced persons, including at border areas if necessary.
- 21. Phase 3 (D-Day + 31). Induction of the rest of the force support battalion and two other infantry battalions. The rest of the support battalion would establish logistic and engineer advance bases in the Ruhengeri, Byumba and Butare prefectures in order better to serve the field force. The two infantry battalions would be deployed to certain specific areas of the country in order to provide the necessary support and assistance to people in need in these areas and provide security arrangements to humanitarian assistance programmes.

D. Logistics

- 22. The deployment and logistical support of a force of 5,500 under the schedule described above is a difficult undertaking. In addition, Rwanda is a land-locked country with only one major airport (Kigali) and three secondary airports. Land movement between regional seaports (Mombasa, Dar es Salaam) and Rwanda requires several days in the best of conditions. It is therefore essential to deploy self-sufficient military contingents capable of operating independently, while logistical support is put in place by the United Nations. The concept of operations calls for the first three units to be moved by air, requiring military and commercial strategic airlift, that is, up to 10 passenger flights and 40 cargo flights (C-5A aircraft). The remainder of the force and its material would be transported by sea and air as soon as technically possible.
- 23. Because of the need to stabilize the security situation in Rwanda as quickly as possible, deployment of UNAMIR II will have to be carried out rapidly. The longer the delay in the deployment of the force from the time of a Security Council decision, the greater the prospect of the mission not achieving its purpose in operational terms.

24. The most rapid deployment would be achieved with two formed infantry brigades with their integral logistical support. If formed brigades cannot be made available, it would be necessary to draw on the recent United Nations stand-by arrangements, but specific contributions for this Mission must still be negotiated. It is estimated that this process would require one to two months. Simultaneously with stand-by arrangements, the traditional method of requesting Governments for military forces would be used. Experience shows that it would take at least two to three months to achieve full deployment of forces. If forces are accepted without adequate equipment, experience shows that a further delay of several months would be incurred in providing the necessary equipment for those forces. It is therefore essential that Member States agree to make arrangements on a bilateral basis to provide the troops, equipment and airlift required for UNAMIR II.

E. Command and control

25. UNAMIR II would be headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who would have overall authority for all the activities of the Mission. The military component of the Mission would be commanded by the Force Commander. The present UNAMIR force headquarters would be expanded as indicated in paragraph 17 (a) above and would remain located at Kigali. Battalions would be deployed to designated regions or sectors in accordance with the modus operandi described in paragraphs 19 to 21 above. Battalion commanders would act as sector commanders within their assigned regions, under the direction of the Force Commander. The military signal unit would establish communications between the force headquarters, battalion headquarters and other designated units as necessary.

V. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

26. The cost associated with the deployment of the force described above would be approximately \$115 million for a six-month period (see annex). It would be my recommendation to the General Assembly that the costs would be considered an expense of the Organization in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations and the assessments would be levied on Member States and be credited to the UNAMIR special account.

VI. OBSERVATIONS

27. The solution to the crisis in Rwanda must, in my judgement, be found through implementation of the Arusha agreement, which both sides say that they accept. For this to be achieved, it is clearly necessary that a cease-fire be agreed and put into effect at the earliest possible date. I have instructed my Special Representative and the Force Commander to continue to give the highest priority to the pursuit of both objectives. The Security Council may wish to issue another urgent call for the parties to agree to a cease-fire and, even before it comes into effect, to accept the designation of Kigali airport as a neutral zone under the exclusive control of the United Nations.

- 28. Meanwhile, there is an urgent requirement for the United Nations to increase its efforts to address the desperate humanitarian crisis created by the conflict. I welcome the idea that protected sites should be established close to Rwanda's borders with Burundi and the United Republic of Tanzania in order to facilitate the provision of relief to displaced persons who are already present in those areas. But I believe that it is essential that any such initiative should be matched by action to assist persons in need in the interior of Rwanda. These outnumber, by a factor of five, the displaced persons who are in the border areas or have already crossed into neighbouring countries. To concentrate the international community's efforts on the latter would be to address only a small part of the problem. Moreover, there would be a risk that protected sites in the border areas would act as a magnet to people in need in the interior of the country and would therefore increase even further the number of displaced persons.
- 29. Expanded humanitarian operations, both in the border areas and in the interior, would also clearly be facilitated by a cease-fire, which would contribute immeasurably to the effective and secure distribution of relief supplies. However, if a cease-fire is not in place by the time the expanded force is deployed, my Special Representative and the Force Commander will continue to pursue this objective as the force is being put in place. I met with my Special Representative in Paris today and encouraged him to continue his efforts with a view to achieving a cease-fire agreement as soon as possible.
- 30. As noted above, should UNAMIR II need to initiate deployment and resupply through neighbouring States, the Mission would require the active support of those States. UNAMIR II would also require the cooperation and support of the Rwandese parties. In this connection, I should like to note that my Special Representative and the Force Commander have presented the concept outlined herein to both the Rwandese government forces and RPF. I am encouraged by their initial positive responses. I have asked my Special Representative and the Force Commander to obtain confirmation from both parties of their support to this operation without preconditions.
- 31. The world community has witnessed with horror and disbelief the slaughter and suffering of innocent civilians in Rwanda. While the chances for a lasting peace are fundamentally in the hands of the political and military leaders of the country, the international community cannot ignore the atrocious effects of this conflict on innocent civilians. I therefore recommend to the Security Council that it approve the phased expansion of UNAMIR, as described above, to enable the Mission immediately to help alleviate the humanitarian crisis in Rwanda. The mandate for UNAMIR II should be for a period of six months from the date of initial deployment, on the understanding that it would be reviewed by the Council as necessary and, in particular, following an agreement on a cease-fire.
- 32. In concluding, I must again emphasize that in order for UNAMIR II to attain its objective, there can be no delay in its deployment.

33. I would like to express my deep gratitude to my Special Representative, the UNAMIR Force Commander, and all UNAMIR personnel, for their outstanding performance in the pursuance of UNAMIR's mandate under the extremely dangerous conditions in Rwanda.

<u>Annex</u>

United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda

Summary cost estimate for the deployment of approximately 5,500 troops for a six-month period

(In thousands of United States dollars)

		<u>Amc</u>	<u>ount</u>
1.	Military personnel costs	60	100
2.	Civilian personnel costs	11	100
3.	Premises/accommodation	1	300
4.	Infrastructure repairs		700
5.	Transport operations	6	000
6.	Air operations	8	600
7.	Naval operations		_
8.	Communications	3	100
9.	Other equipment	4	500
10.	Supplies and services	4	500
11.	Election-related supplies and services		-
12.	Public information programmes		300
13.	Training programmes		_
14.	Mine-clearing programmes		500
15.	Assistance for disarmament and demobilization		-
16.	Air and surface freight	12	000
17.	Integrated Management Information System		_
18.	Support account for peace-keeping operations		800
19.	Staff assessment	1	500
	Total	<u>115</u>	000