

The French Republic

Position for the Historical Security Council

I. Rwandan Crisis: January 11, 1994.

On June 20, 1990, the President of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand, gave an address to the Franco-African Summit in La Baule, France. In this speech, our President elaborated on the democratization of Africa and outlined the role France aims to play in seeing that endeavor become a reality. “We have hope,” he says, “because democracy is a universal principle.” However, he continues to say that democracy is not a “ready-made system” that can be transferred from any nation to one existing in Africa: it is the people, with their own methodology of thinking, their own history that much led the way towards this universal principle. President Mitterrand, addressing all people of the many African nations, had a simple message in this speech: “to you free people, to you sovereign states that I respect: choose your path, determine the steps and the pace. France will continue to be your friend, and if you wish, your support internationally as well as domestically.” The Republic of France echoes the sentiments of our President in our dedication to supporting democracy in African nations.

As we come to this meeting, one of the African nations closest to the French Republic has found itself in a situation, which could prove to be a hindrance in its aspirations toward democracy: The Republic of Rwanda is well on the path, but has reached a standstill. In his address, President Mitterrand made it clear that France would not “abandon any African country” which sought our help. This is why France acted quickly to assist the Rwandan government in the protection of their country. With a potential insurgency by the Ugandan-based Rwandan Patriotic Front (PPF) on October 4, 1990, our nation sent three hundred troops, consisting of both Foreign Legionnaire paratroopers of the *1er* and *2e Régiment étranger parachutiste* (REP) and Marines of the *Régiment parachutiste d’infanterie de Marine* (RPIMa), inside Rwanda with mortars and light artillery in hand: their objective was to assist in the defense of Rwanda against the insurgency, which aimed to reinstall the Tutsi-dominated regime. Additionally, French troops were deployed in the city of Kigali to evacuate and protect French citizens inside Rwanda. By 1992, the size of our forces inside of the nation grew to reach 700, but their goal retained our nation’s original intent: to protect democracy and to prevent the destabilization of Rwanda as a nation.

With the support of the international community, the situation in Rwanda has seen significant improvement and the process towards establishing peace is promising. France is in full support of Security Council Resolution 812 (*S/RES/812*), which calls upon both sides involved in the conflict, both the Government of Rwanda and the RPF, to respect the cease fire agreement of March 9, 1993. Since the aforementioned date, both have respected this aspect of the peace process, which is a testament to their aspirations towards peace in Rwanda. In addition, France is in full support of the Security Council’s consultation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and endorses any further recommendations developed by the OAU that aim to fortify the peace process, per *S/RES/812*. Up until this point, the OAU has played a critical role in the peace process and France hopes that they will continue this role moving forward.

As was signed on August 4, 1993, the Arusha Peace Agreement was a quintessential step in creating a peaceful Rwanda. Even though the document has been signed by all parties involved, the undertaking of peace has arrived at a stand-still. France contends that the framework outlined in the Arusha Peace Agreement is the greatest means of obtaining a political solution in Rwanda. It is the belief of the French Republic that a political solution is the only solution that will leave Rwanda in a long-lasting peace: either side obtaining a dominant position would simply return the country deeper into violence for an indefinite amount of time. Although the agreement has been signed, the conditions upon its signing must be endorsed by either party for the peace to become a reality of all individuals in Rwanda. The framework has been signed and both parties have consistently endorsed their dedication to the agreement, but that cannot be the end for Rwanda: it is now upon the parties involved to promptly implement the accords in Arusha and produce results.

Democracy cannot exist when one political party is dominant. Once more referring back to the Franco-African Address, President Mitterrand explained several necessary conditions for this universal principle of democracy: two of which were free elections and multiparty politics. With the elections in Rwanda coming ever closer, this is the most important time for the international community to support the implementation of the transitional government in Rwanda to ensure both of these conditions are met. Henceforth, both the United Nations

Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) have played critical roles and France commends their commitment to assisting our fellow Member State Rwanda. Created by Security Council Resolution 846 (*S/RES/846*), UNOMUR was established to monitor the border between Uganda and Rwanda to verify that no military equipment reaches in Rwanda, with focus on the transit of lethal weapons or munitions via roads or tracks. This effort was done in collaboration with the Ugandan government and has the full support of the Republic of France. Due to the recent unrest that has plagued Rwanda, it comes as no surprise that many of its citizens resist disarmament for their own protection. In addition, UNAMIR, created by Security Council Resolution 872 (*S/RES/872*), has played the most significant role in Rwanda. UNAMIR, which no includes UNOMUR, has been entrusted with a crucial mandate, which includes monitoring the observance of the cease-fire agreement, monitoring the final transitional period leading up to elections, and investigate noncompliance with the Arusha Peace Agreement. Bearing in mind that both free elections and a multi-party system are essential to democracy in Rwanda, the Republic of France fully endorses the critical role that has been played thus-far by UNAMIR and fully supports its mandate leading into the election period. These free elections are essential to establishing a long lasting peace in Rwanda. Although both coalitions of the peace agreement have consistently reaffirmed their commitment to cease-fire and the elections, France will support an extension of UNAMIR's mandate if the need for an extension should arise.

The September 1993 Report of the Secretary-General on Rwanda (*S/26788*) stated that two essential conditions must be met in order for the United Nations to carry out its recommended goal in Rwanda. According to the report, "First, the parties must cooperate fully with one another and the United Nations in carrying out their commitments under the Arusha agreement." While both parties have contended that they are dedicated to establishing peace, the second part of that necessity is in our hands; we, as the Security Council, must fully support the monitoring of the peace process to ensure its longevity. France is in full support of both the Arusha agreements as a framework in moving forward and the UNAMIR as the monitoring system. If we are to see a long-lasting peace in Rwanda, these two must be a priority for the Security Council. "Second, the United Nations must be provided in a timely manner with the necessary human and financial resources." The Republic of France emphasizes that no military solution is acceptable; a political solution must be the reality to establish peace. In that regard, France is in support of increasing troop levels in UNAMIR on a necessary basis: the transitional period must be overseen to prevent a power vacuum. Although the United Nations is in the midst of financial constraints, we have to remember that peace should be a priority of all Member States.

With both sides respecting the cease-fire and the Arusha agreements having been endorsed, the international community finds itself on the edge of peace in Rwanda. However, today we unfortunately come to the realization that peace is still a long distance from being realized. General Roméo Dallaire, Force Commander of UNAMIR, received intelligence from an informant, who was a current top level trainer in the Interhamwe-armed militia of MRND. Per the informant, he led demonstrations the previous Saturday, which aimed to target deputies of opposition parties and Belgian soldiers; this was to provoke the RPF to engage, thus potentially starting a civil war. His orders were to assassinate opposition party members upon entry or exit from Parliament. Additionally, the Belgian troops were to be provoked and, if Belgians soldiers resorted to force, a number of them were to be killed; thus guaranteeing Belgian withdrawal from Rwanda. The Republic of France heavily condemns these actions and finds them absolutely unacceptable. While in the midst of a peace process, any actions that aim to provoke, or in this case kill, members of an opposition party is a blatant violation of the cease-fire; France finds these actions completely intolerable. With regards to the Belgian troops, our nation finds any attempts to attack UN peacekeeping forces are absolutely appalling and deplorable.

Keeping this intelligence in mind, France must reiterate its point: now, more than ever, we have to dedicate ourselves to fully support the UNAMIR and their mandate. To that end, the Security Council must be prepared to increase troop level in Rwanda; a measure our nation remains in full endorsement of. In addition, the Republic of France supports the institution of an intelligence capability within the UNAMIR. The improved access to informants would significantly increase the foresight of the entire peacekeeping operation, in addition to assisting in the protection of the ground forces. However, our nation retains its commitment to a non-military solution; France does not intend to arbitrate conflicts of any Member States. This will only add conflict to the already tense situation. It must be the peace-keepers, under the direction of the United Nations and the Security Council, who monitor the elections and the establishment of the transitional government. Most worrisome of all, Dallaire's transmission indicated that the informant has been ordered to register all Tutsi living in Kigali, which he suspects is for their extermination. We, as a nation, are appalled by this possibility and fervently deplore such actions. Additionally, the individual is prepared to reveal the location of a major weapons cache of the Interhamwe: such information is crucial to the success of UNAMIR. Moving forward, the Security Council must ensure that no peacekeepers are subject to any preventable harm, as well as monitor both the transitional government and the safety of both parties in

Rwanda. France firmly believes that democracy is a universal principle that should be shared by all people of Rwanda. We look forward to meeting with fellow Member States to discuss these issues further.