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June 1998

Rwanda

The hidden violence: "disappearances" and killings continue

A. INTRODUCTION

The human rights crisis in the Great Lakes area is continuing. Amnesty International has therefore decided to launch two actions on the Great Lakes area. The first one is this action on Rwanda, beginning 23 June 1998, which will be followed closely by an action on Burundi, to begin 30 July 1998.

In Rwanda, unarmed civilians - both Tutsi and Hutu - are killed almost daily in the armed conflict in the northwestern parts of the country. Whole families have been wiped out. "Disappearances" have reached alarming proportions in many parts of the country. Many foreign governments have turned a blind eye to the grave human rights violations being carried out by the current Rwandese security forces. Their condemnation is generally restricted to abuses committed by armed opposition groups.

But the violence is not inevitable. People inside and outside Rwanda can make a difference. The Rwandese Government can do more to protect human rights. Leaders of armed opposition groups can prevent the killing of unarmed civilians. Governments and people around the world can ensure that the international community does not turn its back on Rwanda again.

This action focuses on "disappearances" and killings. Action File groups and their sections will receive another action on the death penalty, unfair trials and prison conditions later this year.

B. AIMS OF THIS ACTION

The main aims of this action are to:

- 1) raise awareness internationally about the nature and the scale of human rights abuses in Rwanda
- 2) call upon the Rwandese Government and armed opposition groups to respect international human rights and humanitarian law
- 3) refute the criticisms sometimes made to Amnesty International by the Rwandese government and some other governments, and by a few journalists, e.g. the accusation that AI is supporting the perpetrators of the genocide and is not impartial.

4) call upon
foreign governments,
inter-governmental organizations
the media and
influential groups of civil society

- to publicly denounce "disappearances" and killings in Rwanda - to exert pressure on the Rwandese government and on armed opposition groups to prevent further human rights violations - for foreign governments, to end transfers of light weapons and associated military equipment to all parties in Rwanda.

C. CAMPAIGNING MATERIAL

The action is based on the following material: an external leaflet, Dealing with the truth (AFR 47/19/98), summarizing Amnesty International's concerns in a brief and accessible way, and responding to some of the criticisms sometimes made to Amnesty International with regards to our Rwanda work a longer external report, The hidden violence - "disappearances" and killings continue (AFR 47/23/98), focussing on the issues of "disappearances" and killings in the context of armed conflict in Rwanda a news release a photograph order form

You might also want to refer to the earlier reports, Ending the Silence. September 1997 (AFR 47/32/97), and Civilians trapped in armed conflict. December 1997 (AFR 47/43/97). This action follows on from an earlier Section Level and RAN action, which took place from October 1997 to January 1998 ("Ending the Silence", AFR 47/34/97 and Update, "Civilians trapped in armed conflict", AFR 47/41/97).

D. BACKGROUND

1. Amnesty International's human rights concerns in Rwanda

This action puts the emphasis on two concerns: arbitrary and indiscriminate killings of unarmed civilians and "disappearances". However, other human rights concerns could also be raised where appropriate.

Main concerns

In February/March 1998, an Amnesty International mission found detailed evidence of further killings of unarmed civilians, which are mainly taking place in the context of the armed conflict in the northwestern parts of Rwanda. Thousands of civilians have been killed during January and February 1998 alone, and killings have continued throughout March, April and May. For example, in January 1998, members of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) killed at least 300 civilians in a massacre in Rubavu commune, Gisenyi (for details, see The hidden violence, III.3.). The pattern continues to be the same: Armed opposition groups attack buses, villages, marketplaces, etc., and the RPA reacts with reprisal operations. Both sides are targeting civilians. The army has ordered the population to cut down their banana plantations to deprive insurgents of their hiding place. Homes have been abandoned. The army is facing a significant insurgency and many soldiers have also been killed during battles.

The mission found also an increasing number of "disappearances" and suspected "disappearances" in different parts of Rwanda. Many of the victims are people originally from

the northwest. Some people were last seen being led away by soldiers and may be held in military camps to which access is strictly denied. In other cases, neither the identity of the victims nor that of the perpetrators has been established. Dead bodies have been found -- some of them mutilated -- in various locations, including in the capital Kigali. The circumstances of their death remain a mystery. The government has provided assurances that cases of "disappearances" are investigated. Yet the results of these investigations are hardly ever disclosed and most of the families of the "disappeared" remain without news.

Please refer to the report *The hidden violence* for examples and cases of killings and "disappearances".

Other concerns

On 24 April 1998, 22 people were executed in public, in the first judicial executions of people found guilty of participation in the 1994 genocide. Many of those executed had not had a fair trial. There are fears that more people will be executed soon. Currently, more than 100 people have been sentenced to death.

The trials of those accused of genocide began in December 1996, and so far more than 300 people have been tried. However, many of these trials have not met international standards of fairness. In 1997, less than half the defendants had a lawyer. In many cases, witnesses were not present at the trials. Some defence witnesses have been threatened and prevented from testifying. Although trials in some areas of the country have improved, the overall situation remains of serious concern to AI.

Rwandese prisons currently hold some 130,000 people on charges relating to the genocide. Many of them have been detained for several years without trial, in prisons which are grossly overcrowded and where conditions are often life-threatening. Conditions in many local detention centres (cachots) are even worse, and detainees are regularly subjected to beatings and other forms of ill-treatment.

While many of those detained are believed to be guilty, a significant proportion are widely believed to be innocent. In some cases, the accusation of participation in the genocide appears to have been used to arbitrarily arrest people for other motives, for example in the context of property disputes or because they are believed to be opponents of the current government. Many detainees do not even have a case-file.

2. Attacks by the Rwandese Government on human rights bodies

Amnesty International as well as other human rights bodies, particularly the United Nations Human Rights Field Operation for Rwanda (UNHCRFOR), have been strongly criticized by the Rwandese Government.

The relationship between the Rwandese Government and Amnesty International has become increasingly strained over the last year. The government accuses Amnesty International of not understanding the particularities of the country, and of misinforming the public.

During the February 1998 mission, the Amnesty International delegation had meetings with various civilian and military authorities: the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anastase Gasana; Minister at the President's Office, Patrick Mazimhaka; advisor to the President on refugee

issues, Ephraim Kabaija; the Minister of Justice, Faustin Ntezilyayo, and his deputy, Gerald Gahima; the Director of Kigali Central Prison, Ignace Muhatsi; the Director of Prison Administration at the Ministry of Justice, Françoise Nyarampamwa; the Military Prosecutor, Andrew Rwigamba; the Auditeur militaire, Joseph Nzabamwita; a spokesperson at the Ministry of Defence, Jean-Pierre Kimonyo; the Chief of Staff of the Gendarmerie, Col. Marcel Gatsinzi. The delegation also tried to obtain meetings with the President, the Vice-President, the Minister of Interior, the RPA Chief of Staff and some regional officials. However, these meetings did not take place because the person was not available or because of practical difficulties.

During these meetings, the AI delegates attempted to discuss specific cases of grave human rights violations and sought reassurances that the Rwandese Government would act to protect human rights. Some meetings were constructive and positive, and government officials emphasized they were interested to continue the dialogue with Amnesty International. Other meetings were openly hostile. One official, referring to the organization's recent reports on Rwanda, warned that Amnesty International would get itself into a difficult situation if it continued publishing such reports. AI was accused of publicizing false information and being manipulated by armed opposition groups. However, the officials were not able to provide a precise indication of any mistake AI had made in any of its recent reports.

During the mission, the Foreign Minister issued a statement accusing Amnesty International of tarnishing the country's image. After the return of the mission, and following AI's press statement summarizing the findings, the government again accused AI of misinforming the public, but did not answer any of the detailed charges. On 14 March 1998, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Defence called AI "another hand of the insurgency" and accused it of "pushing the agenda of the criminals who are continuing the genocide". In late April 1998, a diplomatic representative of the Rwandese Government declared that the government was reviewing its relations with Amnesty International and was therefore not willing to meet AI representatives. The International Secretariat is currently preparing a reply to the government. This reaction appears to be an excuse for not dealing with the human rights concerns AI has raised, as the government has persistently failed to respond to the specific cases mentioned in AI reports. However, at least one other Rwandese ambassador agreed to meet AI representatives around the same period.

The government's criticisms are not limited to Amnesty International. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the UN Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda have been increasingly targeted by the Rwandese Government. UN HRFOR was established after the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (HCHR). Its task is, among other things, to monitor the human rights situation and report on it. Since 1997, the relationship between the Rwandese government and the High Commissioner for Human Rights (HCHR) has deteriorated. During a visit by Mary Robinson, in December 1997, the government suggested a change in the mandate of the UNHRFOR which removed the monitoring component and requested a joint review of its mandate with the government. On 9 May 1998, the government suspended the operations of the UNHRFOR until completion of the review. It also requested the Chief of the UNHRFOR, Mr Fischer, and his deputy, Mr Munzu, to return to Geneva for talks on the future of the UNHRFOR. By early June 1998, no formal agreement had been reached on the review of the mandate and all UNHRFOR's activities remained blocked. Amnesty International is especially concerned about these developments because UNHRFOR is one of the few critical voices with regards to the human rights situation in Rwanda (see further below).

3. The international community needs to act

Since the failure of the international community to prevent the genocide in 1994, several foreign governments have decided to strongly support the current Rwandese government, and some steps have been taken internationally to ensure that the crime of genocide does not remain unpunished. While Amnesty International welcomes initiatives of the international community to end impunity, it regrets that many governments have been turning a blind eye to the grave human rights violations being carried out by the current Rwandese security forces. Many Western and African governments continue to give public support to the Rwandese Government without commenting on human rights violations for which the government is responsible..

In addition, some foreign media and even some NGOs do not always share Amnesty International's viewpoint or are not prepared to take a public stand on current human rights violations. It is generally believed that human rights work in Rwanda should focus on past human rights violations - the genocide -, and that the current government needs support rather than criticism over its human rights record.

On the international level, the United States (US) government is Rwanda's main ally and most influential supporter. During his visit in March 1998 to Africa, President Bill Clinton expressed his strong support for the Rwandese government and regional allies. Clinton met regional leaders from Uganda, Kenya, DRC, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Rwanda in Entebbe, Uganda, for a "Summit for Peace and Prosperity" where links between these governments were strengthened. During his short visit to Rwanda, President Clinton acknowledged the responsibility of the international community and especially the US in the 1994 genocide; this was the first time the US government accepted responsibility for having failed to prevent the genocide. The US policy aims at supporting the judicial system, and financially assisting survivors of the genocide . While AI welcomes these steps, it regrets that the US government has failed to address human rights abuses committed by the current Rwandese Government. The US remains a close political and military ally of the Rwandese Government and the RPA. The US authorities have supplied training to members of the RPA in 1996 and 1997 and assistance to the RPA's counter-insurgency operations in 1996, 1997 and 1998 during which grave human rights violations have been committed. US military personnel have been present in Rwanda, contracted by the US government or by private companies. The US government's refusal to publicly criticize the Rwandese Government for its serious human rights violations also influences the policy of other key Western governments and governments in the region.

Another key ally of the Rwandese Government is the United Kingdom (UK). UK government representatives in London and in Kigali have publicly expressed their strong political support for the current government. The UK is also

providing a training programme for the Rwandese police and is assisting the Rwandese Government economically.

One of the most influential governments in the region is Uganda. For many years, the current Ugandan Government has had close political and military links with the current government of Rwanda. Many senior members of the current Rwandese Government and the RPA lived in Uganda for some years before the victory of the Rwandese Patriotic Front over the former government and army of Rwanda in July 1994.

On 28 January 1998, the governments of Zimbabwe and Rwanda signed a military cooperation agreement, according to which Zimbabwe will send officers to Rwanda to train the army, the police and the security service. In 1997, the Zimbabwe Government provided military assistance, including troop transports and intelligence services, to RPA soldiers and the AFDL in DRC (ex-Zaire). Many Rwandese and Congolese soldiers were responsible for unlawfully killing tens of thousands of refugees and Congolese civilians. The Rwandese Government has reportedly obtained Russian-made MI-24 helicopters through a company based in South Africa. The RPA has continued to use military helicopters during its operations in areas inhabited by unarmed civilians (for more details on MSP transfers, see *The hidden violence*, III.2.) .

During the Amnesty International mission to Rwanda in February 1998, the delegation met with members of the US, German and Dutch embassies, who all expressed their support for the current government. They acknowledged that human rights abuses were going on but pointed to the ferocity of the killings carried out by armed opposition groups, and the difficult task faced by the army. For example, one diplomat stated that human rights violations are taking place, but that his embassy was not willing to denounce human rights abuses publicly because it would put at risk the good relations with Rwanda and because they would consider it paternalistic.

However, there have been some serious disagreements between members of the international community and the Rwandese Government recently.

In early May 1998, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan received a hostile reception during his visit in Rwanda. He was sharply attacked for the role of the UN during the genocide.

For several years, a heated debate has been going on about the French responsibility in the genocide. A commission (mission d'information parlementaire) has been established to gather information on the degree of French involvement. Many former French government officials reject any responsibility and the relationship between France and Rwanda remains tense. AI supports the initiative of investigating the role of France in the genocide - but believes it should have stronger powers and be a fully fledged commission of inquiry. The AI section in France has established contact with the commission.

Some Western governments (including Germany and the UK) and prominent figures strongly protested against the execution on 24 April 1998 of 22 people accused of participating in the genocide. Among them were the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, the UN Human Rights Commissioner Mary Robinson, the Pope, the World Council of Churches, the EU, and the African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights. Amnesty International had specifically asked the Pope, the World Council of Churches and some politicians to protest. This is one of the first times that leading politicians and figures have taken such a critical stance on the human rights record of the current Rwandese government. The Rwandese Government dismissed this international campaign, asking rhetorically where the international community was during the genocide.

4. Rwanda in the media - an unbalanced picture

Human rights violations committed by the current Rwandese security forces remain largely unknown. Some influential media -- national and international -- portray the situation in an incomplete and unbalanced way. They report killings committed by armed opposition groups but rarely killings committed by the RPA; often, their reports are based on those by the Rwandese News Agency, which is the only news agency in the country and very close to the government. Killings where the perpetrators remain unidentified are often automatically attributed to the armed opposition, without independent verification. Many areas in northwestern Rwanda are now inaccessible because of the security situation, making independent investigations and reporting very difficult.

Rwandese journalists who express independent or critical views, or who speak out about human rights violations committed by the RPA, risk becoming a target and being labelled as interahamwe, a term now used to designate anyone perceived as a threat to the current government (originally, this was the militia carrying out killings during the 1994 genocide).

Many foreign journalists express sympathy with the Rwandese government's claims that the country needs support for its reconstruction and legal and social assistance to deal with the aftermath of the genocide. However, this is sometimes seen as a reason not to criticize the human rights abuses of the current Rwandese security forces.

The unbalanced picture of Rwanda in the media is largely reflected in the views expressed by some international non-governmental organizations. NGOs contribute to the process of reconstruction of the country, and provide assistance that helps dealing with the past abuses committed during the genocide. However, few organizations do publicly acknowledge that the current Rwandese security forces have committed atrocities in the context of armed conflict, and that the abuses are continuing. International NGOs may fear expulsion or obstruction of their work if they speak out.

5. How to influence armed opposition groups?

The leaders of armed opposition groups in Rwanda are not publicly known. The groups usually carry out their attacks without acknowledging the responsibility for the killings. Therefore, it is not possible to send appeals to armed opposition groups. The only way of reaching them is through publicity inside and outside the country.

E. RECOMMENDED ACTIONS

The specific context that Amnesty International faces in its work on Rwanda, as explained above, need to be taken into account during this action:

Mass appeals to the authorities in Rwanda may be of limited use and so lobbying, publicity and outreach become the key campaigning techniques AI members will probably face sharp criticism from the Rwandese government and their supporters and need to be prepared for it.

The leaflet Dealing with the truth aims to respond to the criticisms made towards Amnesty International and to explain Amnesty International's position to a wider public as well as to influential actors inside and outside Rwanda. It also makes recommendations to the Rwandese Government, to armed opposition groups and to the international community. In your

campaigning activities, you should use the leaflet as the main campaigning tool, together with the external document.

The following box summarizes Amnesty International's concerns and recommendations (For the whole list of concerns, see above, D.1.; for more detailed recommendations are contained in the report, chapter V) which you should raise in your publicity, lobbying and outreach activities:

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S MAIN CONCERNS AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN RWANDA

Main concerns

AI is concerned about the deteriorating human rights situation in Rwanda. Between December 1997 and May 1998, hundreds and possibly thousands of people "disappeared" across Rwanda

Thousands of unarmed civilians have been killed by members of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) and by armed opposition groups in the context of armed conflict in the northwestern part of Rwanda. The killings by both sides are continuing.

AI is concerned that human rights abuses committed by the RPA remain often largely unknown. For example, more than three hundred unarmed civilians were killed by RPA soldiers in Rubavu commune, Gisenyi prefecture, in January 1998. AI has detailed information from several independent sources about this massacre, including a list with the names of more than 200 victims. This massacre - and many others like it - was never publicly reported or acknowledged. AI recognizes that the Rwandese Government has a duty to defend the country against attacks by armed groups but this does not give the security forces a right to kill unarmed civilians.

Recommendations

AI calls upon the Rwandese Government to undertake prompt and thorough investigations into all cases of reported "disappearances", whether government officials are involved in the "disappearance" or not; to make sure that no detainees are held in secret or unofficial detention centres, and no civilians are detained in military detention centres; and to bring to justice those found responsible for "disappearances".

AI calls upon the Rwandese Government to stop killings of unarmed civilians, i.e. to respect the basic principles of international humanitarian law, especially those laid out in the Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions; to carry out independent investigations into reports of extrajudicial executions; to make public the results of these investigations; and to ensure that individuals found responsible for ordering or carrying out extrajudicial executions are brought to justice.

AI calls upon the Rwandese Government to ensure strict control over the chain of command in the RPA, and to remind members of the security forces at all levels that it is their duty to protect the civilian population of Rwanda in its entirety.

AI calls upon armed opposition groups to stop killings of unarmed civilians, i.e. to respect international humanitarian law; to make sure that all those under their command respect the basic principles of international humanitarian law, especially those laid out in the Geneva Conventions; to investigate and denounce deliberate and arbitrary killings committed by those under their command and to prevent further killings.

AI calls upon the Rwandese Government to allow local and international human rights organization to investigate and monitor the human rights situation, in particular the UN Human Rights Field Operation (UNHCRFOR)

AI calls upon foreign governments and intergovernmental organizations such as the UN and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to publicly condemn human rights abuses being carried out by both sides to the conflict in Rwanda; and to exert whatever influence they have over the Rwandese Government, the RPA and armed opposition groups to respect international human rights and humanitarian law

AI calls upon foreign governments and intergovernmental organizations to provide assistance to the authorities in carrying out investigations into "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions; in particular, to initiate and assist in carrying out independent investigations into large-scale killings, such as the massacre of as many as several thousand people in Nyakimana cave, in Kanama, Gisenyi, in October 1997.

AI calls upon foreign governments to prevent the transfer of small arms and associated equipment, as well as military helicopters and armoured vehicles, to all parties in Rwanda, where these have been used to facilitate serious human rights abuses by all sides in the armed conflict

AI calls upon foreign governments to support the work of the UN Commission of Inquiry into arms transfers to the former Rwandese armed forces, but to urge the UN Security Council to extend its mandate to cover arms transfers to other parties, including the RPA

1. Publicity

1.1. Publicity outside Rwanda

Press officers, Rwanda coordinators and Action File groups are asked to publicize Amnesty International's concerns and recommendations as widely as possible by contacting journalists in the print media, radio and TV who are specialized on Africa and foreign policy issues, send them the external document and the leaflet, and brief them about AI's concerns in Rwanda send the leaflet to all journalists networks and local and national print media, radio and TV stations do a press conference on Rwanda, if possible around an event such as the visit of a member of the Rwandese government to your country give interviews to journalists about AI's position and work on Rwanda organize public conferences, public events and stalls

Make sure you say that AI is not singling out the Rwandese Government

unfairly, but is very concerned about grave human rights abuses carried out by both sides.

1.2. Publicity inside Rwanda and in the region

African sections are asked to send open letters to the following newspapers, according to the distribution indicated. In these open letters, please raise Amnesty International's main concerns and recommendations as outlined in the box above. The government largely controls the media in Rwanda. However, some African newspapers are read in Rwanda (see those listed below), and this is one of the rare opportunities to make our concerns public in the country. In all the countries to which you are asked to send open letters, Rwanda is an issue of foreign/refugee policy and there is a certain level of media interest. Open letters by African sections will show that African human rights activists themselves campaign for an improvement of the human rights situation in Rwanda.

Burkina Faso groups: Amani, Ligue des droits de la Personne dans la région des Grands-Lacs (LDGL), BP 3042, Kigali, Rwanda, Tel/Fax: 00250 73307 Senegal section: 1. Abbé Dominique Karekezi, Kinyamateka, B.P.761, Kigali, Rwanda 2. Fred M'membe, The Post, Private Bag E352, Lusaka, Zambia, Fax 00260 1 225452 or 00260 1 223383, Email <post@zamnet.zm> Ghana section: 1. William Pike, New Vision, PO Box 20087, Kampala Uganda 2. Patrick Fungamango, Daily Mail, PO Box 31421, Lusaka, Zambia, Fax 00260 1 225881 Nigeria section: Charles Oyango-Obbo, The Monitor, POBox 12141, Kampala, Uganda South African CS: 1. Joseph Odineo, East African, PO Box 49010, Nairobi, Kenya, Fax 00 254 2 217112 or 00 254 2 214047 and 2. Tom Mushindi, The Daily Nation, PO Box 49010, Nairobi, Kenya Mauritius section: 1. The Editor, The Crusader, PO Box 22708, Kampala, Uganda 2. The Editor, The Times of Zambia, PO Box 30394, Lusaka, Zambia, Fax 00260 1 222880 Tanzania section: 1. The Editor, Family Mirror, PO Box 6804, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 2. Pascal Shija, The Express, PO Box 20588, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Côte d'Ivoire section: 1. Michel Ladiluya, Le Palmarès, BP 63, Kinshasa, DRC 2. Ipakala Abeiye Mobiko, La Référence Plus, BP 12520, Kinshasa, DRC, Fax 001 212 3727648 2. Approaches to the Rwandese government /Outreach

Given the difficult relationship between Amnesty International and the Rwandese Government, we suggest that section staff, coordinators and CAFRAN and Action File groups encourage other influential actors to approach the Rwandese Government. This means that, contrary to most actions which were focusing on appeals to the Rwandese authorities, outreach is a priority in this action.

Please contact influential groups/target sectors such as: - parliamentarians on the national, regional and local level - mayors - leaders of political parties - leaders of religious organizations - human rights and humanitarian organizations - women's organizations - academics whose universities have academic links with Rwanda

Please approach the groups or individuals mentioned above, by sending them the leaflet and the external document, and arrange a meeting. In your contacts with protestant and catholic churches, you should mention positively that the Pope as well as the World Council of Churches called upon the Rwandese Government to stop the executions in April 1998.

Please ask them to write a letter (in English or French) to the Rwandese authorities, raising Amnesty International's concerns in Rwanda (for addresses see Appendix No.1). This may not always be easy and you might have to engage in an explanation and a debate. However, we suggest that this is worth the effort because it will show that Amnesty International and the UN High Commissioner are not alone with their concerns. If the government faces

criticisms similar to AI's concerns from other organizations and individuals, it will have to take them more seriously.

Depending on the group or person you meet, you might either want to prepare a letter for them which they just have to sign, or ask them to write a letter. In any case, please ask them to raise the concerns mentioned in the box above on page 8.

African sections and groups are specifically asked to link up with human rights organisations in their own country, such as the Union Interafricaine des Droits de l'Homme (Burkina Faso) or the Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de l'Homme (LIDHO).

Furthermore, AI groups in Zambia are asked to send to Kenyan NGO's . In their letter, they should explain AI's concerns and recommendations and ask the organization to campaign for the respect of human rights in Kenya. Please include in your letter the Rwanda leaflet. Please write to: 1) Kenya Human Rights Commission, POB 55235, Nairobi, Kenya, Fax 254 2 574997, 2) International Commission of Jurists, POB 5 9743, Nairobi, Kenya, Fax 254 2 562098 , 3) Release Political Prisoners, POB 50613, Nairobi, Phone/Fax 254 2 240300

Section staff, coordinators, CAFRAN and Action File groups should coordinate their outreach work carefully, and according to their capacities.

Country coordinators (or section staff, if there is no country coordinator) should also send the report to the Rwandese embassy in your country, if there is one. In consultation with campaign coordinators, they should also try to seek a meeting; despite some government representatives' refusal to meet Amnesty International, the Rwandese ambassador in France, for example, has recently met Amnesty International delegates. Furthermore, they should send one letter to the President, the Vice-President, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Interior and the RPA Chief of Staff (see address list, Appendix No.1).

3. Lobbying

3.1. Home government lobbying

The following recommendations can be combined with the Burundi action, starting 30 July. Particularly in your meetings with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Development/Cooperation, you might want to integrate the two actions and raise concerns about both Rwanda and Burundi.

In all meetings and letters, please make sure that the government representatives - Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Ministers of Justice and Human Rights - of your country receive the external report and leaflet.

Lobbying Foreign Ministries/Ministers of Justice: All sections are asked to write a letter to your own Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and to arrange meetings. This can be done by the country coordinator, or by a staff member of the section or coordinating structure. If possible, the section director should lead this government meeting. In your covering letter, please raise Amnesty International's main concerns in Rwanda (as mentioned in the box above) and ask the Minister to raise these concerns in contacts or meetings with the Rwandese government as well as in intergovernmental fora. Please send copies of your letters to your government to the diplomatic representation of your country in Rwanda.

African sections and coordinating structures are asked to focus their lobbying on the OAU Ministerial Conference on Human Rights in Luanda, Angola, 26-30 October 1998. This is a meeting of African Ministers of Justice and Ministers for Human Rights which has a highly political significance, as it is the first time that there is such a meeting on human rights at OAU level. African sections are asked to meet their Minister of Justice or Minister for Human Rights (if that post exists) prior to the Ministerial Conference. In this meeting, please - explain AI's concerns in Rwanda (see box above) - ask the Minister of Justice/Human Rights to raise human rights concerns about Rwanda at the forthcoming OAU Ministerial Conference - ask the Minister of Justice/Human Rights to bring forward a resolution at the Ministerial Conference expressing concern about killings (carried out by both the RPA and armed opposition groups) and "disappearances" in Rwanda, and calling upon the Rwandese Government to investigate reports of killings and "disappearances" African sections and coordinating structures are asked to organize these meetings together with local human rights organizations, such as RADDHO in Senegal.

European Union sections are asked to call upon their governments to take a common position within the European Union (EU), publicly denouncing human rights abuses in Rwanda committed by all sides to the conflict. This is particularly important for the sections in the UK, Austria and Germany - the three Troika countries (from 1 July 1998).

Sections (and groups) in the United States, Uganda, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Israel and Romania -countries which have supported the Rwandese Government politically or through MSP transfers - will get additional support in their lobbying from other sections (see next chapter, second government lobbying). Specific recommendations on lobbying the governments in these countries are made in the next section.

Lobbying Ministries of Development/Cooperation: Sections in donor countries are asked to write a letter to the Ministry of Development/Cooperation, and to arrange meetings. This can be done by the country coordinator, or by a staff member. If possible, the section director should lead this government meeting. In your covering letter, please raise Amnesty International's main concerns in Rwanda (as mentioned in the box above) and ask the Minister to raise these concerns in meetings with the Rwandese government as well as in intergovernmental fora. Please bear in mind that AI does not call for sanctions or the suspension of development aid, but asks donor governments to use their influence on the Rwandese Government to put pressure on them to respect human rights.

3.2. Second government lobbying

AI members are also asked to lobby governments which have supported the Rwandese Government politically and/or militarily - the US, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Romania, Israel and South Africa. Sections/groups in the US, Uganda, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Romania are asked to take the lead on this part of the action and send the report and action to their government; their action will be supported by additional letters from MSP coordinators/networks and Rwanda Action File groups.

United States Please write a letter to Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State, and to Susan Rice, advisor on Africa policy, with a copy to the US ambassador in your country: - explaining Amnesty International's concerns in Rwanda (see box above) - calling upon the US government to publicly condemn the human rights violations in Rwanda, carried out by the

security forces as well as armed opposition groups - calling upon the US government to use its influence as a main ally of the Rwandese government to push for the respect of human rights and humanitarian law in Rwanda - calling upon the US government to clarify the relationship between the support US military have provided to members of the RPA since 1996 and the RPA's counter-insurgency operations during which grave human rights violations have been committed - ask the US government to clarify the exact role of US military personnel reportedly present in Rwanda -whether contracted by the US government or by private companies - welcoming that the UN Security Council, through a US initiative, decided

to resume the work of the UN Commission of Inquiry into arms transfers to the former Rwandese armed forces (ex-FAR); however, urge the US Government as a member of the UN Security Council and initiator to propose broadening the Commission's mandate, investigating also arms transfers to the RPA (for details, see The hidden violence, III.2.) The US section is asked to send a copy of their letter to relevant media and NGOs in the US.

Addresses Secretary of Defense, William Cohen, 1000 Defense Pentagon, Washington DC 20301-1000, USA State Department, Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, 2201 C Street North West, Washington DC 20520 State Department, Assistant Secretary for Africa, Susan Rice, 2201 C Street North West, Washington DC 20520

Uganda Please write a letter to President Yoweri Museveni and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eriya Kategaya - explaining Amnesty International's concerns in Rwanda (see box above) - calling upon the Ugandan Government to publicly condemn human rights abuses committed by the security forces as well as armed opposition groups in Rwanda - calling upon the Ugandan Government to use its influence as a main ally of the Rwandese Government to push for the respect of human rights and humanitarian law in Rwanda by all sides in the armed conflict

Addresses: President Yoweri Museveni, Office of the President, State House, PO Box 7168, Kampala, Uganda Bigadier Eriya Kategaya, Minister of Foreign Affairs, PO Box 7048, Kampala, Uganda

Sections/coordinating structures in Ghana, Mauritius, South Africa, Tanzania and Senegal are asked to send letters to non-governmental organizations in Uganda, explaining AI's concerns in Rwanda and sending them the leaflet. Please write to the following organizations in Uganda, according to the distribution indicated:

Ghana section: Norah Matovu Winyi, HURINET, PO Box 21265, Kampala, Uganda and FIDA, President, PO Box 21 57, Kampala, Uganda Mauritian section: Helen Byanyima, Forum for Women and Democracy (FOWODE), PO Box 7176, Kampala, Uganda South African CS: Livingstone Sewanyana, Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI), PO Box 11027, Kampala Tanzania section: Ms Stella Sabiti, Centre for Conflict Resolution (CECORE), PO Box 5211, Kampala, Uganda Senegal section: Latigo Lpoti, Jamii ya Kupatanisha, PO Box 198, Kampala, Uganda

Zimbabwe Please write a letter to President Mugabe and to the Foreign Affairs Minister: - explain Amnesty International's human rights concerns in Rwanda, especially the killings of civilians in the context of armed conflict (see box above) - express concern about the agreement of military and police cooperation between the Rwanda and Zimbabwe - ask what

kind of training the Zimbabwe Government is providing to the Rwandese security forces, and whether this training has a component on human rights protection and on the implementation of the UN Code of conduct for law enforcement officials - ask whether the government has any rules which prohibit the export of arms who would most likely violate international human rights and humanitarian law - ask what guarantees are sought by the Zimbabwe Government to ensure that their training for the Rwandese security forces does not lead to further human rights violations, in order to ensure that events of 1997 will not be repeated when Zimbabwe's military assistance to the armed forces of Rwanda and DRC may have helped facilitate the killing and "disappearance" of tens of thousands of civilians in Eastern DRC - call upon the Zimbabwe Government to publicly denounce human rights abuses in Rwanda, whether they are committed by armed opposition groups or by the security forces

Addresses: President Robert Mugabe, Office of the President, Private Bag 7700, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe The Hon. Stanley Mudenge, Minister of Foreign Affairs, PO Box 4240, Harare Zimbabwe

The following African sections (and groups if there is no section) are asked to send a copy of your letter to the following newspapers and ask them to publish it as open letter (please enclose the leaflet): Zambia groups Francis Mdlongwa, Financial Gazette, PO Box 66070, Harare, Zimbabwe, Fax 00263 4 52831, Email <mod@harare.iafrica.com> Ghana section Trevor Ncube, Independent, PO Box BE1165 Belvedere, Harare, Zimbabwe, Fax 00263 4 773941, Email <tncube@zimind.samara.co.zw> South Africa CS: Stephen Mpofu, Bulawayo Chronicle, PO Box 585, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, Fax 00263 9 75522 Mauritius section: Charles Chikerema, The Herald, PO Box 396, Harare, Zimbabwe, Fax 00263 4 791311 or 00263 4 700305

The following African sections are asked to send a copy of their letter with a covering note to the following human rights organizations (please enclose the leaflet): Senegal section: David Chimini, Zimrights - Zimbabwe Human Rights Association, PO Box 3951, Harare, Fax 00263 4 755829, Email <zimrights@samara.co.zw> Tanzanian section: Eileen Sawyer, Legal Resources Foundation, PO Box 918, Harare, Zimbabwe, Fax 00263 4 728213, Email <lrfhri@pci.co.zw> Côte d'Ivoire section: Kevin Lawe, Zimbabwean Lawyers for Human Rights, PO Box 19, Harare, Zimbabwe, Fax 00263 4 704436

South Africa Please write a letter to the South African government - expressing concern that the South African Government provides arms to the Rwandese Government, e.g. about reports that helicopters have been obtained through a company in South Africa and are used for surveillance and attacks in northwestern Rwanda - asking how the South African Government monitors and ensures that these arms do not contribute to human rights violations in the region - calling upon the South African Government to prevent further supplies of weapons and other types of military, security or police equipment to Rwanda, which could be used by the Rwandese security forces or by armed opposition groups to commit human rights abuses.

For your info, see a letter from Kader Asmal to a French AI member (Appendix 2).

Addresses: Professor Kader Asmal, Office of the Chairperson of the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, c/o Ministry of Water Affairs and Forestry, Private Bag X9052, Cape Town 8000, South Africa Minister of Foreign Affairs: Mr. A. B. Nzo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 120 Plein Street, Room 1714, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

Romania In April 1997, the Rwandese Government has allegedly received arms from a Romanian company, sent from Bucharest to Kigali. Please write letters to the Romanian President, Emil Constantinescu, and the Foreign Minister, Andrei Plesu: - explaining Amnesty International's concerns in Rwanda (see box above) - expressing concern about the alleged arms sales from a Romanian company to Rwanda in April 1997 - ask whether the Romanian Government has started an investigation and if so, what are the results - calling upon the Government to initiate an investigation if one is not under way - calling upon the Romanian Government to prevent further supplies of weapons and other types of military, security or police equipment to Rwanda which is likely to contribute directly to further human rights abuses Addresses: Excelentei Emil Constantinescu, Presedintele Romaniei, Palatul Cotroceni, Bd. Geniului 1, 76238 Bucuresti, Fax: 0040 1 312 1179 Foreign Minister Andrei Plesu, Aleea Modrogan 14, 71274 Bucuresti, Romania, Fax 0040 1 230 7489

Israel Please write letters to the Israeli Government - expressing concern about reports that the RPA received arms from Romania, with the assistance of an Israeli company based near Tel Aviv - ask whether the Israeli Government has started an investigation and if so, what are the results - calling upon the Israeli Government to initiate an investigation if one is not under way - calling upon the government to prevent further supplies of weapons and other types of military, security or police equipment to Rwanda which is likely to contribute directly to further human rights abuses

Addresses: Binyamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister, Office of the Prime Minister, 3 Kaplan Street, Hakirya, Jerusalem 91007, Israel, Fax 00972 6917915 General Yotzhak Mordechai, Minister of Defence, Ministry of Defence, 7 'A' Street, Hakirya, Tel Aviv, Israel, Fax 00972 3 6976218

3.3. Lobbying the African Commission for Human and People's Rights The next session of the African commission for Human and People's Rights will take place in Luanda, Angola, from 15 to 24 October 1998. Selected sections are asked to write letters to or meet members of the African Commission, if possible together with local human rights organizations. The names of the commissioners and the distribution of sections to commissioners is indicated in Appendix No.3. The Senegalese section and the Togo section will be contacted separately for recommendations for their meetings with two commission members who are also Special rapporteurs: the Special Rapporteur on arbitrary and extrajudicial execution, Ambassador Halem ben Salem, in Senegal, and the Special Rapporteur on Women, Mrs Julienne Ondziel, in Togo.

In your letter/meeting, please - give them the report and leaflet - explain Amnesty International's concerns in Rwanda (see box above) - welcome the prompt reaction of the African Commission to the executions in Rwanda in April 1998 - calling upon the African Commission to continue their effort to push for the respect of human rights in Rwanda, by expressing concern about killings and "disappearances" in Rwanda, and to consider sending a mission to Rwanda to investigate human rights violations and raise human rights concerns with the government

African sections and groups are also asked to write letters to the ambassadors of the OAU for their country, as indicated below. Please divide the letters as indicated in Appendix No.4. In your letters, please - explain AI's concerns in Rwanda (see box above) - ask the ambassador to raise human rights concerns about Rwanda at the forthcoming OAU Ministerial Conference

on Human Rights in Luanda. - ask the ambassador to recommend to the OAU Conflict Resolution Mechanism to prepare a report for the next meeting of the OAU Council of Ministers in February 1998

3.4. Lobbying the European Union (EU)

Sections in EU countries should send the leaflet and a covering letter to all their members of the European Parliament (MEP's). In their letters to those MEP's who are members of the Committee for Development and Cooperation, the Subcommittee for Human Rights or the ACP-EU Joint Assembly, they should also include the external report.

F. FEEDBACK

Please send us feedback on this action - what you have done, how you liked it, and if you have problems or suggestions! Please contact Juliane Kippenberg at the Central Africa team, under 0044 171 4135620 or email jkippenb@amnesty.org. If you have a meeting with a Rwandese embassy, please contact us for advice on the preparation of the meeting. This action will be followed by an update if the political and human rights developments require it.

Thanks for taking part in this action!

Source: Amnesty International, International Secretariat, 1 Easton Street, WC1X 8DJ, London, United Kingdom