

CRISIS IN EASTERN ZAIRE

Amnesty International's appeal for the protection of human rights in the crisis in eastern Zaire

Hundreds of thousands of people are at mortal risk in eastern Zaire and neighbouring areas as a consequence of the fighting which broke out in September 1996, and of the legacy of past human rights violations. As the conflict has grown the risk has spread.

Amnesty International is launching an urgent appeal for the protection of human rights in the region, outlined in detail within this document. In summary the key points are:

1. A strong international presence in eastern Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda is urgently needed to monitor human rights and protect all non-combatants. Human rights monitors must have freedom of movement throughout the region and the authority to intervene with those in control of territory to seek action when human rights are violated. A strong international presence is crucial to ensure the safety of any refugees who choose to return to Rwanda or Burundi.
2. Proposals for international or regional intervention to protect human rights, such as calls for so-called humanitarian corridors, must be premised on providing protection and assistance for those at risk of human rights abuses wherever they are, wherever they are. Attempts to induce, persuade or pressure population groups to move are likely to result in a further serious escalation of human rights abuses if measures are not first introduced to ensure effective protection of human rights.
3. All those (refugees) in the region who have been forced to flee in order to seek protection from human rights violations have a right to international protection wherever they are. The principle of *non-refoulement* must be respected. No one should be required to return to a country where they are at risk of human rights violations in order to receive international protection and assistance.
4. Refugee camps must be places of safety. They should exclusively be a refuge for non-combatants. Effective international supervision will be needed to exclude non-combatants. The camps will need an impartial law enforcement force to keep them safe for civilians.
5. Urgent action is needed to convey to all combatants that killings, torture and deliberate or indiscriminate attacks on civilians are crimes for which both commanders and those who carry them out are responsible. Anyone who commits, orders, or in an official position acquiesces in such actions can and should be prosecuted under national and international law. Anyone alleged to be responsible for such acts should be immediately suspended pending independent judicial investigation.

6. Local, regional or national officials who make public statements liable to incite parts of the population to carry out acts of violence against individuals or members of specific ethnic groups should be immediately suspended. Forcible exile of any group is unacceptable, and all authorities must publicly commit themselves to fully protect the human rights of all ethnic groups within the region.

7. The international community has the responsibility to strengthen the criminal justice system by providing resources, including police, legal and judicial experts and the governments of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi must allow such experts to operate in their country. The international community, especially neighbouring states, must undertake to arrest, detain and ensure the prosecution of suspects against whom there is evidence of involvement in human rights violations. The situation in the Great Lakes also clearly demonstrates the need for a permanent international criminal court, to take action when national institutions are unable or unwilling to prosecute.

8. If peace-keeping or “neutral” troops are sent to Zaire, then measures are needed to ensure they are able to play an effective role in the protection of human rights. Such measures should include: requiring international field personnel to report on violations witnessed, the presence of a civilian human rights component in the operations and assistance in the establishment of permanent, independent and effective national institutions able to protect human rights in the long term.

9. The international community should stop and prevent all transfers of weapons and ammunition to the armed forces, militia and other armed groups in Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi until it can be reasonably demonstrated that such transfers will not be used to commit human rights abuses.

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Hundreds of thousands of people are at mortal risk in eastern Zaire and neighbouring areas as a consequence of the fighting which broke out in September 1996, and of the legacy of past human rights violations in Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi. As the conflict has grown, the risk has spread.

Decades of bitterness and misrule with intermittent periods of organized mass atrocities in the three adjoining countries have set populations against each other. But the many disparate groups in danger today are united in their vulnerability to killings, torture and other grave human rights abuses inflicted in connection with the organized use of armed force.

Amnesty International has worked for many years to promote respect for human rights in Zaire and the neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Burundi. The present appeal sums up the measures it believes are most needed immediately and in the long term. It is launching this appeal in the hope that concerted action by governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, local commanders and concerned citizens can prevent more abuses and start to lay the basis for a situation where human rights are protected.

Overview of the human rights situation before September 1996

For many years ethnic tensions in eastern Zaire have been brewing because of political and economic power struggles among prominent members of the ethnic groups living there. By September 1996 the level of human rights abuse in the North-Kivu region had reached a critical level, while South-Kivu region was on the brink of a human rights crisis.

The North-Kivu region of eastern Zaire is bounded on the east by Uganda and Rwanda, while the South-Kivu region is bounded by Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania. Majority Hutu and minority Tutsi are the main ethnic groups in Rwanda and Burundi. The governments and security forces of both countries today are Tutsi-dominated.

North- and South-Kivu have been home for many years to Zairian Hutu and Tutsi, known as *Banyarwanda*, "people of Rwanda". The Banyarwanda are the largest single group in North-Kivu. In some areas they comprise over 80 per cent of the population.

Since 1991 armed conflict has been brewing in the Masisi district of North-Kivu between the *Banyarwanda* and members of other ethnic groups including the Hunde and Nyanga, who call themselves "natives" (*autochtones*). The ongoing armed conflict has led to the displacement of over 300,000 members of the Hutu, Hunde and other ethnic groups who live in camps for internally displaced people, which are almost constantly moving because of the threat of attacks. Others are trapped and unable to leave conflict areas.

Over the years the Zairian Government has responded to the conflict militarily. In early 1996 large numbers of troops were sent to North-Kivu to carry out counter-insurgency operations. Those who suffered have been principally unarmed civilians. Amnesty International has documented several instances of mass extrajudicial executions of civilians in North-Kivu in 1996 in the course of counter-insurgency operations against an anti-*Banyarwanda* armed group known as *Bangilima*.¹

In July 1994 the Tutsi-dominated Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) took power in Rwanda, ousting the former Hutu-dominated Rwandese Government. In the genocide carried out in the preceding three months by soldiers and militia loyal to the former government, as many as one million people lost their lives.

After the RPF took power, nearly one million Rwandese fled to Zaire. Some 700,000, mostly Hutu, remained in North-Kivu region as of September 1996. Many of the Rwandese believed to have been responsible for killings during the 1994 genocide are among those who fled to Zaire.

Many refugees from Burundi are also living in eastern Zaire. Tens of thousands of people in Burundi were forced to leave their homes in late 1993 and 1994 to escape the widespread massacres which began in October 1993 following the assassination of President Melchior Ndadaye. Large-scale massacres of civilians in Burundi by the army and by armed militia - both Tutsi and Hutu - are continuing to this day.

Amnesty International delegates visited Rwanda, Burundi and eastern Zaire in September 1995 to investigate the situation in the refugee camps and the risks which refugees might face on returning to their countries. The delegates concluded that for a large number of refugees, the most significant obstacles to their return to Rwanda and Burundi were the absence of justice in both Rwanda and Burundi and widespread human

¹ See *Zaire: Lawlessness and Insecurity in North and South-Kivu, November 1996, AI Index: AFR 62/14/96*.

rights abuses, especially in Burundi². The return was also hampered by the distortion of information about the true situation in their country. Their findings have been confirmed in more recent Amnesty International visits to the region, which have documented a persistent pattern of human rights violations in Rwanda and Burundi, including arbitrary arrest, "disappearance" and extrajudicial executions by the security forces of those two countries, as well as deliberate and arbitrary killings of unarmed civilians by Rwandese and Burundi armed opposition groups.

In the South-Kivu region of Zaire there have been political tensions between local political and military authorities and the Tutsi community, the *Banyamulenge*, "people of the Mulenge" (the Mulenge is a forest on the high plateau in Uvira district of South-Kivu), many of whom claim to have lived and worked in that area of Zaire for generations and many of whom hold Zairian nationality. Successive Zairian legislators have sought to enact laws that would effectively disenfranchise *Banyarwanda* as non-Zairians or even legalise their expulsion from the country. One of the contributing factors to the conflict which broke out in September may have been an announcement of preparations for a census in advance of multi-party elections in early 1997. Such a census might render *Banyarwanda* devoid of Zairian nationality and the right to vote.

The issue of continued international arms supplies to ethnically divided security forces and militia groups well known for grave human rights violations has been a major contributing factor to the crisis of the Great lakes region. Amnesty International questioned governments about these supplies during 1994 and in June 1995 called for an international inquiry and total cessation of all arms to the former Rwandese armed forces and militia, as well as strict human rights controls on arms to the governments of Rwanda and Burundi. The Security Council established an International Commission of Inquiry in September 1995 which has, during 1996, confirmed some allegations of illicit arms supplies, military training of refugees and fundraising for arms amongst Rwandese Hutu exiles.

Populations at risk

Before September 1996, most of the serious human rights abuses reported to Amnesty International in both North- and South-Kivu were committed by members of the *Forces armées zairoises* (FAZ), Zairian Armed Forces. Extrajudicial executions, torture and arbitrary arrest by FAZ were rife.

² *Rwanda and Burundi; the Return Home: Rumours and Realities, February 1996, AI Index: AFR 02/01/96.*

In early September 1996 fighting broke out in South-Kivu region between the FAZ and a Tutsi-led armed group linked to the *Banyamulenge*. On 31 October after fighting between the FAZ and this Tutsi-led force, now known as *L'alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo-Zaire* (AFDL), the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire, the latter took control of Bukavu, the capital of South-Kivu. Some 83 bodies were counted by Western journalists, including that of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bukavu, Christophe Munzihirwa, who had publicly criticized the AFDL and its alleged support by the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA). Several of those killed appeared to be victims of execution, but it was unclear who had carried them out. After the AFDL captured Goma, the capital of North-Kivu, about 300 bodies were found. The circumstances of their death remain unclear, although many reportedly died from gunshot and shrapnel wounds.

At the end of October 1996 the RPA became openly engaged in the fighting in eastern Zaire. Before that there had allegedly been reports that they were providing political and military support to the Tutsi-led AFDL.

Populations currently at risk in Zaire include:

- **Tutsi in South-Kivu** region and elsewhere in the country. Since the beginning of 1996 there have been many allegations of killings and "disappearances" against Tutsi in South-Kivu, some of which Amnesty International has been able to document. At least one local official, the Deputy Governor of South-Kivu, reportedly made a public call in October 1996 for all *Banyamulenge* to leave their homes within a week and be restricted to camps in Zaire or cross to Rwanda. *Banyamulenge* fleeing to Rwanda since September have alleged that the FAZ were perpetrating widespread human rights violations including hundreds of killings. At the start of November there were reports that many Tutsi who had been detained by the FAZ were extrajudicially executed before the capture of Bukavu.

Zairian Tutsi are at risk of arbitrary arrest, torture, extrajudicial execution and forcible expulsion from Zaire by members of the Zairian security forces, sometimes colluding with gangs of civilians or Hutu refugees. Zairian Tutsi are also at risk of deliberate and arbitrary killing or hostage-taking from other armed groups such as the *Bangilima* in North-Kivu, from other Zairians and possibly from members of the former Rwandese army and militia. Many Tutsi have fled from the Zairian capital, Kinshasa, to the neighbouring Republic of Congo following attacks on many of them and their property.

- Other Zairians are at risk of abuses from armed groups such as the Tutsi-led AFDL. Members of the AFDL are reported to have arbitrarily and deliberately killed dozens of unarmed civilians in refugee camps and at Lemera hospital in

South-Kivu. Some non-Tutsi Zairians are also at risk of human rights violations such as arbitrary arrest, torture and extrajudicial executions from the Zairian security forces, especially if they are known human rights activists or have been seen to condemn attacks on Tutsi or the counter-insurgency operations.³

- Refugees from Rwanda and Burundi, mainly Hutu, are at risk of deliberate and arbitrary killings and other abuses from armed groups such as the AFDL in South-Kivu and the *Bangilima* in North-Kivu. Refugees are also at risk of abuses perpetrated by other refugees responsible for killings during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, and from abuses by members of the RPA who have entered Zaire. They are at further risk of *refoulement* by the Zairian authorities or being forced out of their country by the AFDL.

Many people who have fled or have been forced to go to Rwanda and Burundi may also be at risk. They include:

- Returnees to Rwanda. Hutu refugees returning to Rwanda from Zaire are at risk in Rwanda of human rights violations including arbitrary arrest, extrajudicial execution, torture, "disappearances", or detention without trial in life-threatening conditions. Despite the gravity of the situation in Zaire, very few Rwandese refugees have returned to Rwanda.
- Zairian refugees in Rwanda. About 20,000 Zairians have fled to Rwanda to escape the fighting in North- and South-Kivu. Many of them are Tutsi, but other Zairian ethnic groups may be at risk of arbitrary arrest or extrajudicial execution in Rwanda, or of being forced back to Zaire.
- Returnees to Burundi. They are at risk of extrajudicial execution by members of the Burundi army. Amnesty International is receiving reports of hundreds of extrajudicial executions of refugees returning to Burundi by Burundi government forces at the border with Zaire. Dozens of bodies have been found in the nearby Ruzizi river and Lake Tanganyika.
- Zairians who have fled to Burundi. Those who are not Tutsi may be at risk of arbitrary arrest, torture or extrajudicial execution by members of the Burundi armed forces.

³ *Many human rights activists and organizations in eastern Zaire have been working under daily threats and intimidation from military and civilian authorities. For examples of arbitrary arrest and severe ill-treatment of human rights defenders, see Zaire: Lawlessness and Insecurity in North and South-Kivu.*

In addition to the threat of grave human rights violations including extrajudicial executions, "disappearances" and torture, civilian populations in eastern Zaire and the border area are now at risk of being killed in deliberate or indiscriminate attacks on civilians, in violation of the laws of war.

Order in the midst of chaos: Military discipline to ensure human rights

Some reports from North and South-Kivu have given the misleading impression that armed forces are out of control. Any armed unit, however small, which carries out organized attacks is operating under a system of command and control. Orders depend on calculations about supplies of weaponry, ammunition and other essential goods to both sides, as well as on the logistics and politics of resupply. The commanders who order or acquiesce in killings or other gross human rights violations are responsible for them as are the soldiers or fighters under their command.

Over the years Amnesty International has made repeated appeals to the Zairian Government to take effective measures to prevent human rights violations by the FAZ. In 1986, Amnesty International issued a report on torture and killings in Shaba region which stated that "the highest authorities of Zaire must intervene to ensure that the armed forces respect the country's laws. In particular, the high command of the armed forces should issue and implement clear public instructions to all members of the armed forces that the torture or extrajudicial execution of prisoners will not be tolerated under any circumstances and that those responsible....will be brought to justice." On 20 September 1996 Amnesty International urgently appealed to Prime Minister Léon Kengo wa Dondo and armed forces Chief of Staff General Eluki Monga to take immediate measures to prevent human rights violations against members of the *Banyamulenge* Tutsi ethnic group and to ensure that the perpetrators of any human rights abuses were brought to justice. The authorities never responded and human rights violations have escalated dramatically.

These recommendations remain valid and urgent. Immediate action is needed to convey to all fighters, all members of armed forces operating in eastern Zaire and all those who are in charge of those armed forces and units or are directing their activities, including the heads of state of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi, that killings, torture, and deliberate or indiscriminate attacks on civilians are crimes for which both commanders and those who carry them out are responsible. It should be emphasized that anyone who commits, orders, or - in an official position - acquiesces in such actions may be prosecuted under national and international law. Fighters and commanders should be told that they must respect human rights and the laws of war at all times.

Local, regional and national officials should be told that they must not make public statements which may incite the population to carry out acts of violence against individuals or members of specific ethnic groups. The Zairian Government must immediately suspend such officials, investigate the alleged statements and bring those officials to justice.

Rwandese government officials must desist from making any statements or carrying out actions likely to fuel human rights abuses against Tutsi or others in Zaire. Amnesty International is concerned that some Rwandese authorities have said that Zairian Tutsi men must not seek refuge in Rwanda, but that they must stay in Zaire to fight. Tensions are being exacerbated in Zaire by reports that senior Rwandese officials have said that they will only accept Tutsi deportees if Rwanda is also given parts of Zaire the Tutsi occupied. Reports that an "old map" of Rwanda incorporating parts of eastern Zaire has been distributed to journalists in Rwanda, in addition to suggestions by the Rwandese President that there should be a second Berlin Conference to redelimit borders, have attracted dangerous hostility against both Tutsi and Hutu in Zaire.

In Rwanda, there has been a sharp escalation of killings by members of the RPA and by armed opposition groups since the beginning of 1996, while in Burundi, massacres by government forces and armed groups have continued unabated since Major Pierre Buyoya took power in July 1996⁴. The UN recently reported that as many as 10,000 people have been killed in Burundi since 25 July 1996. Amnesty International has repeatedly appealed to the authorities of both countries to give public instructions to those under their command to refrain from killing unarmed civilians; to remove those accused of responsibility for such abuses from positions where they are likely to repeat them; to conduct independent investigations into the alleged killings and to bring those responsible to justice. The international community should reinforce Amnesty International's appeals and hold the authorities accountable for abuses by those under their political or military control.

Protecting those at risk

Urgent measures must be taken to protect people at risk of human rights abuses.

A strong international presence in eastern Zaire is urgently needed to monitor compliance with human rights norms and protect all non-combatants. The Zairian Government has already agreed to a small office of the UN High Commissioner for

⁴ See *Rwanda: Alarming Resurgence of Killings, August 1996, AI Index: AFR 47/13/96; Burundi: Leaders are Changing, but Human Rights Abuses Continue Unabated, August 1996, AI Index: AFR 16/21/96.*

Human Rights in Kinshasa; it could be expanded to include a regional office in eastern Zaire. The Zaire operation and the existing human rights field operations in Rwanda and Burundi should be grouped under one umbrella for the Great Lakes region, which includes Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi, so as to be able to deploy resources where and when they are needed. Human rights observers will need freedom of movement, with security guarantees, throughout the region and the authority to intervene with those in control of territory to seek action where human rights are violated.

Any such expanded operation in the Great Lakes region will need guarantees of at least six months' funding. Governments should publicly state that they are prepared to fund such a presence and ensure that the funding is made available promptly.

In the event of any peaceful settlement, all parties to the conflict should commit themselves to measures to protect human rights, including cooperating with human rights monitors and non-governmental human rights organizations. The human rights monitoring presence in eastern Zaire would play a role in verifying that the parties abide by these commitments.

In accordance with the internationally recognized principle of *non-refoulement*, refugees who have sought protection in Zaire from human rights violations in their own countries should not be required to return home but should be afforded all possible protection and the necessary humanitarian assistance in Zaire. Similar provisions must be made for the protection of Zairians who have been forced to flee in the face of human rights abuses and have become internally displaced.

Refugee camps in eastern Zaire must be places of safety. They should exclusively be a refuge for non-combatants. Effective international supervision will be needed to exclude combatants, including leaders of the former Rwandese army and militia. The camps will need an impartial law enforcement force to keep them safe for civilians.

Human rights abuses and the threat of attack in Zaire have caused many people to flee the country. The principle of *non-refoulement*, binding on all states and set out in numerous international treaties, requires that no country may turn back anyone who arrives at its border seeking protection from human rights violations. All countries in the region should keep their borders open to allow entry to anyone seeking protection. Other states should ensure that responsibility for providing protection and assistance to such refugees is equitably shared.

Some refugees from Rwanda and Burundi may decide to return to their countries. A strong continuing international presence will be crucial to monitor the safety of returnees for more than just a few weeks after their return and intervene with

the authorities to protect individuals at risk. Measure should be taken to prevent arbitrary arrests and to ensure that a fair justice system begins to function rapidly.

Bringing the perpetrators of human rights violations to justice

Impunity for perpetrators of human rights violations is one of the greatest hindrances to effective protection of human rights in the region. There can be no long term solution to the crisis within the region without effective action to bring those responsible for human rights violations to justice in accordance with international standards for fair trial, and without use of the death penalty. While the primary responsibility for dealing with impunity lies with national institutions, the criminal justice system in Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda does not have the capacity to deal with the widespread human rights violations occurring in the region, and cannot provide adequate guarantees of fair trial. In particular, Rwanda has failed to take effective action to establish an independent and competent judicial system able to guarantee fair trials without the death penalty and to address prolonged pre-trial detention of around 84,000 people accused of genocide.

The international community has the responsibility to strengthen the criminal justice system in these countries by providing resources, including police, legal and judicial experts. It is the responsibility of the governments of Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda to take concerted steps to allow foreign police, legal and judicial experts to work in their country to help them to reconstruct and reform the criminal justice system.

The international community, in particular neighbouring states, have to give an undertaking to arrest, detain and prosecute, or to transfer to a competent jurisdiction for prosecution, suspects against whom there is adequate evidence of involvement in human rights violations.

The establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda created the expectation that all those involved in the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 would be arrested and prosecuted, even though it was understood that the Tribunal would be able to prosecute only a small number of the thousands of perpetrators. Unfortunately, the Tribunal has not been able to work as effectively as the situation demands. This has largely been due to delays in appointment by the international community of judges and the registrar, short-term financing, bureaucratic restrictions on the appointment of experienced personnel, lack of cooperation by states in investigations and transfers of suspects to the Tribunal and reported inefficiency in the Tribunal. The situation in the Great Lakes region demonstrates the need for a permanent international criminal court which would enable the prosecution of perpetrators of genocide, and other crimes against humanity, war crimes and other serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, especially where national institutions are unable or unwilling to undertake such prosecution.

Peace-keeping and human rights

Governments and inter-governmental organisations are currently discussing the possibility of sending a peace-keeping or humanitarian force to eastern Zaire. Human rights concerns have to be addressed in the planning and implementation of any peace-keeping operation and mechanisms must be established within the operation to ensure the full protection of human rights both during the transitional settlement period and in the longer term, when the main UN operation comes to an end. Amnesty International has set out a 15-point program in its document entitled "Peace-keeping and Human Rights" (AI index: IOR 40/01/94) which includes:

- early inclusion by the international community of human rights concerns when designing and implementing peace settlements and for a continued human rights program in the post peace-keeping phase;
- all international field personnel to report any human rights violations they may witness;
- a specialized international civilian human rights component should be part of any peace-keeping operation;
- peace settlements should provide for impartial investigations of past abuses and measures to be established to ensure that any perpetrators of human rights violations are brought to justice;
- human rights monitors should be mandated to carry out investigations and verify compliance with human rights obligations;
- civilian police monitors should monitor, supervise and train national police and security forces and verify their adherence to international human rights and criminal justice standards;
- human rights components in peace-keeping operations should assist in the establishment of permanent, independent and effective national institutions for the long term protection of human rights and the reinstatement of the rule of law;

Stopping the flow of arms

Weapons and ammunition supplied to the armed forces and other armed groups of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi have been repeatedly misused to commit extrajudicial executions and other human rights violations. Official and clandestine arms supplies have reached the armed forces, militia and other armed groups in the three countries which have committed repeated human rights abuses against civilians. Arms of various origins,

including Belgian, Chinese, Chilean, Egyptian, French, German, Israeli, Russian, Romanian, South African, US and Yugoslav, have reportedly been found in the area.

The UN International Commission of Inquiry into illicit arms trafficking has been hampered by the non-cooperation of some governments, especially the government of Zaire, by limited resources to conduct its difficult investigations and by its restricted terms of reference which has been to focus exclusively on the armed Rwandese Hutu exiles after the period starting 17 May 1994 when the UN arms embargo on Rwanda began. Support should be given for the continuation of the Commission's work, or a similar international monitoring unit, with adequate resources and broader terms of reference to report on all past arms transfers to Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire which may be used by combatants in the Great Lakes region.

The international community should stop and prevent all transfers of weapons and ammunition to the armed forces, militia and other armed groups in Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi until it can be reasonably demonstrated that such transfers will not be used to commit human rights abuses. International observers including military and customs personnel should be posted to the area to monitor cargoes arriving by land, sea and air to ensure that they do not contain supplies which may be used to carry out human rights abuses. The observers should have a mandate to investigate any reports of violations of the measures to prevent transfers.

Building for the future

Over the years Amnesty International has made numerous recommendations to the governments of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi to ensure respect for human rights in their countries. These recommendations concern the cessation and prevention of human rights violations; independent investigation of alleged violations; bringing those responsible to justice; and affording redress to the victims and their dependants. Some recommendations address specific problems such as the large number of refugees in the area.⁵ Others concern the development of institutions essential for the protection of human rights, including an independent judiciary.

The recommendations have largely gone unheeded, yet almost all of them remain valid. Their implementation today is a matter of urgency. Other governments should press the governments of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi to give urgent and serious attention to Amnesty International's recommendations and to begin implementing them as soon as possible. It is essential that recommendations focussing on human rights

⁵ See especially *Rwanda and Burundi; the Return Home: Rumours and Realities*.

issues are not overlooked or dismissed in any humanitarian response, if a long term solution is to be found.

Armed political groups should establish effective systems of control for the prevention of human rights abuses by their members. Governments which support such groups should insist that they do so and withdraw support to groups who continue to carry out the abuses.