
Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-Jul-1993 13:18 EDT

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

Norma D. Schillaci

(SCHILLACI)

FROM:

Jennifer C. Ward
(WARD)

SUBJECT:

info memo to lake

Info Memo to Lake

African Issues Update as of 7/12/93

1. In Brief:

-- An agreement was reached between the Togolese opposition and the Eyadema Government to hold elections in late August;

-- Rwanda's peace pact is to be signed July 15, according to a press report;

-- State is considering whether to receive an envoy from President Mobutu, following A/S Moose's recent conversations;

-- The situation in Congo remains at an impasse between the Government and the opposition; the army has not yet intervened.

-- An agreeemnt was reached in Angola between the GRA and UNITA to deliver humanitarian assistance by air.

No progress on the negotiating front. An IWG has been called on Angola next week. You have Wisner memorandum on Angola.

2. NIGERIA

Further to my memo to you last week, the situation still remains unclear although an FMG (IBB) announcement on an interim government, possibly a government of national unity, is due today. Dissension within the SDP, between Abiola and his party, within the military over the nature/composition/length of tenure of the proposed interim government. State preparing a suggested "next steps" to show displeasure with IBB's machinations. We need to keep the Liberia dimension in mind. EC political committee meeting today on subject of Nigeria. Jesse Jackson has called for President Clinton to mediate and has offered his assistance.

0 Draft proposed White House Statement for your approval in works which would reiterate our position re June 12 elections, focus on our goals in/for Nigeria rather than the current procedural manoeuvres, condemn FMG actions with

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respect to human rights groups, newspapers, etc. Will likely also suggest response to Babangida letter by the President along similar lines, appealing to Nigerian ego, as example for Africa, etc.

CC: Records

(RECORDS)

Additional Header Information Follows

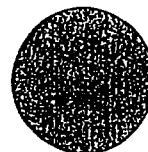
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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August 2, 1993

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: R. RAND BEERS, Acting

FROM: SUSAN E. *[initials]* VICE

SUBJECT: Five Imminent New U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

Within the next two or three weeks, the UN Security Council will consider establishing five new peacekeeping operations: in Haiti, Liberia, Abkhazia, Rwanda, and Cambodia. The U.S. has some interest in resolving each of these conflicts; however, we do not have the funds to pay for them.

By the end of FY 94, the U.S. is expected to be over \$1 billion in debt to the UN for peacekeeping. This is before the establishment of any new or expanded missions. Thus, we have two choices: voting for missions for which we cannot pay, or; vetoing resolutions because we lack sufficient funds. The first course is irresponsible and eventually will cripple the UN's infrastructure so that operations will suffer or shut down. The latter course may result in a "snowball effect" since some other P-5 countries are in an equal or worse financial situation.

The reality is that the U.S. must begin immediately to make tough choices among new as well as existing operations, while we fight strenuously to obtain sufficient funds from Congress and support from the American public.

Haiti

The UNSC is expected to vote this week to establish the police and military presence in Haiti. Very rough U.S. estimates put the cost of the Haiti operation at least \$50-60 million annually. If the operation is assessed, which is probably the most economical option for the U.S., our share would be roughly \$20 million. We will, however, be able to reduce our overall costs by receiving reimbursement for our military contribution. No offsets have been identified to cover our assessed costs.

Liberia

Within two or three weeks the UNSC will be asked to send 250 military observers to Liberia to guarantee the neutrality of ECOMOG. Very rough (and probably inflated) estimates put the

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annual cost of the UN mission at \$42 million. No offsets have been identified for our assessed costs.

In addition, the UN is asking the US voluntarily to lift and equip the five additional ECOMOG battalions called for under the Gordon-Somers plan. Much of this cost could be offset by reprogramming already identified ESF funds. In informal consultations in Washington, Gordon-Somers also asked the U.S. to pay the lion's share of the stipends for the anticipated 16,000 ECOMOG troops. State/AF's estimate of the cost of this additional support is \$104 million.

Much of the draft Gordon-Somers plan needs clarification and rationalization before it is ripe for Security Council consideration. As currently constructed, the size of the force may be excessive and the costs exorbitant. Moreover, these costs do not include those for UN-sponsored elections due in seven months or for post-conflict reconstruction. Until the plan has been further vetted and refined, it is difficult to estimate the ultimate cost of the entire UN/ECOWAS operation, much of which may fall to the U.S.

Abkhazia

As a result of the signing of a ceasefire last week, the UNSC faces an immediate decision as to whether to send 50 military observers to Abkhazia. At the G-7 Conference, President Clinton and Secretary Christopher pledged U.S. support for UN action in the event of a ceasefire. Now President Shevardnadze and leaders of the Russian Federation are putting substantial pressure on the U.S. to support the rapid dispatch of observers. Failure to do so within a week's time could undo the fragile ceasefire, which in turn could lead to Shevardnadze's ouster.

The UN estimates the annual cost of the proposed observer mission to be \$18 million per year. No offsets have been identified.

Rwanda

In addition to the recently approved small observer mission on the Uganda-Rwanda border, the UNSC will soon be asked to authorize a joint UN-OAU Neutral Interpository Force as part of the anticipated settlement of the Rwandan civil war on August 4. France is pushing hard to secure UNSC support for ending this conflict, which has had serious humanitarian consequences. The force is likely to be 500 strong, but the size of its UN component remains to be determined. Its likely cost is unknown. No offsets been identified thus far for either Rwandan peacekeeping operation.

Cambodia

UNTAC's mandate expires on August 28. UNSC and Core Group countries are considering the optimal UN successor presence in Cambodia. If asked by the new Cambodian government, the UN will

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likely supplement its planned human rights, development, and determining presence with a SYG's Special Representative (SRSG), a modest interim UN liaison office, and some quantity of military observers. The role of the observers could range from liaison and reporting to border monitoring or military training. Their numbers could vary from 20 to 500.

A small military observer presence (20-30) coupled with a UN coordinating office and SRSG could cost approximately \$25 million a year. Arguably, only the observer mission would be an assessed peacekeeping operation. The rest should be paid for through the UN's regular budget or through voluntary contributions to UN-affiliated organizations like UNDP, UNESCO, and UNICEF. No U.S. funds have been identified to offset the USG's potential peacekeeping assessment.

Additional Complications

Clearly, one important aspect of tackling this broad problem is finding offsets to pay for new operations since obtaining brand new money is obviously unlikely in the near term. Unfortunately, making use of offsets to pay for assessed peacekeeping operations is not as simple as transferring funds from ESF or FMF to another 150 account. The arcane Congressional committee structure and legal restrictions on the CIPA account (from which assessed peacekeeping operations are paid) require that Congress pass a budget amendment to enable such a transfer of funds. Given the current hostility among Congressional appropriators to peacekeeping, obtaining a budget amendment for new operations in regions of little public interest could be difficult and require, at a minimum, high-level Administration lobbying.

Concurrences by:  Rosemarie Forsythe, Richard Feinberg,
Jennifer Ward, Fervel Saeed

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RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000

RUTAYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000

SUBJ: NDADAYE WORKING VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND MEETING WITH A/S
MOOSE

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 312767

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL PREF PGOV OVIP BY US CG RW SO

SUBJECT: NDADAYE WORKING VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND MEETING WITH A/S
MOOSE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT MELCHIOR NDADAYE MADE A PRIVATE WORKING VISIT TO WASHINGTON OCTOBER 5-8 TO DESCRIBE THE DEMOCRATIC CHANGES IN BURUNDI AND TO SEEK CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS, REFUGEE REPATRIATION, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. NDADAYE MET WITH THE DEPUTY SECRETARY (SEPTTEL), AF A/S MOOSE, RP DAS OAKLEY (SEPTTEL), NSC SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR WARD, AND USAID ACTING DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR MICHEL (SEPTTEL). THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED A WARM WELCOME FROM HIS U.S. INTERLOCUTORS, WHO CONGRATULATED BURUNDI FOR ITS DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS AND REAFFIRMED OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE OUR SUPPORT. IN HIS MEETING WITH NDADYE, A/S MOOSE CITED BURUNDI AS AN EXAMPLE FOR OTHER NASCENT DEMOCRACIES AND EXPRESSED OUR CONFIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS COMMITTED TO PROTECTING MINORITY RIGHTS. NDADYE REVIEWED THE MANY CHALLENGES FACING BURUNDI AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEBT RELIEF. A/S MOOSE ASSURED HIM THAT THE U.S. AND OTHER DONOR COUNTRIES WERE ACTIVELY ADDRESSING THIS PROBLEM. THE TWO SIDES ALSO REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN NEIGHBORING ZAIRE AND RWANDA.

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WHILE IN WASHINGTON, THE PRESIDENT ALSO HELD MEETINGS WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, THE WORLD BANK, THE IMF, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY, AND THE MEDIA. END SUMMARY

A/S HAILS BURUNDI DEMOCRACY; NDADYE OUTLINES CHALLENGES

3. A/S MOOSE MET WITH NDADAYE ON OCTOBER 8 AT THE PRESIDENT'S HOTEL. ALSO ATTENDING WERE FORNMIN NTIBANTUNGANYA, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISERS NTAMOBWA AND SINZOBAMVYA, AND BURUNDI DESKOFF AISTON. A/S MOOSE CONGRATULATED NDADAYE FOR BURUNDI'S SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND EXPRESSED OUR PRIDE AT HAVING BEEN ABLE TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS. HE NOTED THAT WE HAVE OFTEN CITED BURUNDI AS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE FOR FLEDGLING DEMOCRACIES AND WELCOMED THE RECENT AMNESTY AS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN ENSURING HARMONY IN THE COUNTRY. A/S MOOSE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF SAFEGUARDING MINORITY RIGHTS IN A DEMOCRACY AND EXPRESSED OUR CONFIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS COMMITTED TO THAT IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE. HE ASSURED NDADAYE THAT WE WOULD REMAIN ENGAGED IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS AND THAT BURUNDI COULD COUNT ON OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT.

4. NDADAYE REPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN STRUCK BY THE GREAT SYMPATHY BURUNDI ENJOYED IN THE U.S. AND SAID THAT IT GAVE HIM ADDED STRENGTH TO FACE THE MANY CHALLENGES AHEAD, INCLUDING RESETTLING OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OFS REFUGEES, DEVELOPING THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, AND INCREASING PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THE COUNTRY. ON THE LAST POINT, NDADAYE NOTED THAT THE GRB HAS SOUGHT TO ATTRACT INVESTORS THROUGH ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREE TRADE ZONE AND PROMULGATION OF AN INVESTMENT CODE FAVORABLE TO BUSINESS. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD MET NUMEROUS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY ON HIS CURRENT TRIP AND FOUND A GREAT DEAL OF INTEREST IN INVESTING IN BURUNDI. A/S MOOSE WELCOMED THE GRB'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE INVESTMENT AND NOTED THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS THE BIGGEST CONTRIBUTOR TO ECONOMIC GROWTH.

5. THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT AS MANY AS 300,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES LIVE IN BURUNDI AND THAT 200,000 BURUNDI REFUGEES LIVE IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. WITH DEMOCRACY IN BURUNDI AND A PEACE SETTLEMENT IN RWANDA, THE REGION NOW FACES THE REAL POSSIBILITY OF HAVING TO REPATRIATE AS MANY AS HALF A MILLION PEOPLE. NDADAYE NOTED THAT MANY RWANDAN REFUGEES HAD BEEN IN BURUNDI OVER THIRTY YEARS AND WOULD PROBABLY CHOOSE TO STAY FOR ECONOMIC REASONS. HOWEVER, THE GRB WANTS TO MAKE SURE THAT THEY ARE DOCUMENTED AS RWANDAN CITIZENS SO THAT THEY CAN MOVE FREELY BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND TRAVEL UNHINDERED.

6. A/S MOOSE ASSURED NDADAYE THAT THE U.S. INTENDED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE REPATRIATION EFFORT AND NOTED THAT HE HAD RECENTLY SPOKEN AT LENGTH ABOUT THIS PROBLEM WITH THE UNHCR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR AFRICA. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE GRB MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT AS WELL. THE PRESIDENT

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AGREED, ADDING THAT HE HAD SENT HIS MINISTER IN CHARGE OF REPATRIATION TO UNHCR HEADQUARTERS IN GENEVA TO DISCUSS THE MASSIVE REPATRIATION EFFORT.

MOOSE/NDADAYE DISCUSS DEBT RELIEF

7. A/S MOOSE NOTED THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY NDADAYE IN HIS OCTOBER 7 MEETING WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY WHARTON (SEPTTEL) AND ASSURED THE PRESIDENT THAT THE G-7 AND OTHER DONOR COUNTRIES HAD MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON THE QUESTION OF DEBT RELIEF. HE POINTED OUT THAT THIS YEAR THE U.S. HAD UNDERTAKEN A MODEST INITIATIVE TO ALLEVIATE THE DEBT BURDEN OF THE POOREST COUNTRIES AND THAT, WORKING WITH OUR PARTNERS IN THE PARIS CLUB, WE HOPED TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL RELIEF IN THE FUTURE.

8. NDADAYE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE U.S. EFFORT BUT NOTED THAT EIGHTY-ONE PERCENT OF BURUNDI'S DEBT IS MULTILATERAL AND WOULD NOT BENEFIT FROM BILATERAL U.S. DEBT CANCELLATION PROGRAMS. HE SAID THAT THE DONOR COUNTRIES SHOULD WORK TO ALLEVIATE THE MULTILATERAL DEBT BURDEN OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. A/S MOOSE ASSURED THE PRESIDENT THAT THIS ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED IN TOKYO AND THAT THE DONORS WERE SENSITIVE TO THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT. NDADAYE NOTED THAT OUR AID PROGRAM INCLUDED FUNDING FOR A PORTION OF BURUNDI'S DEBT PAYMENTS UNDER ITS STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM. HE SAID THAT THE COUNTRY WAS GRATEFUL FOR THIS ASSISTANCE, WHICH WAS ANOTHER WAY OF ALLEVIATING BURUNDI'S ONE BILLION DEBT BURDEN.

RWANDA, ZAIRE, SOMALIA DISCUSSED

9. RWANDA: NDADAYE SAID THAT HE HAD MET THE PREVIOUS NIGHT WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, WHO IS ALSO ON A PRIVATE WORKING VISIT TO WASHINGTON. HABYARIMANA BRIEFED NDADAYE ON THE UN VOTE AND BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE PEACEKEEPERS APPROVED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD BE DEPLOYED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NDADAYE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE DEMOBILIZATION AND FORCE INTEGRATION PROCESS WOULD BE DIFFICULT AND HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT A UN FORCE OF 2500 MIGHT NOT BE LARGE ENOUGH TO OVERSEE DEMOBILIZATION OF 30,000 RWANDAN SOLDIERS. A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT MUCH DEPENDED ON THE WILL OF THE TWO SIDES. HE ADDED THAT HE WAS FULLY BRIEFED BY GENERAL DALLAIRE, WHO LED THE UN RECONNAISSANCE MISSION, AND WAS VERY IMPRESSED WITH THE TEAM'S WORK AND THE REPORT THEY PRODUCED.

10. ZAIRE: A/S MOOSE SAID THAT THE PARTIES MAY BE NEARING AN ACCORD AND THAT WE HAD JUST SEEN A DRAFT TEXT, WHICH WAS RATHER LONG AND COMPLICATED. NDADAYE STRESSED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NEEDED TO HELP ZAIRE -- NOT THROUGH TROOP DEPLOYMENTS BUT PERHAPS THROUGH SENDING A UN DELEGATION TO MEDIATE THE TALKS. HE THOUGHT THAT A NEUTRAL PARTY WAS NEEDED AND EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO ACT

NOW BEFORE THE SITUATION DETERIORATES AND ARMED CONFLICT BREAKS OUT, WHICH COULD DESTABILIZE THE WHOLE REGION. A/S MOOSE AGREED AND POINTED OUT THAT WE HAD SUPPORTED THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S APPOINTMENT OF LACKDAR BRAHIMI AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. NDADYE SUGGESTED THAT A MISSION COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM SEVERAL COUNTRIES MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN USING JUST ONE PERSON AS MEDIATOR. A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT HE HAD HEARD THAT SEVERAL AFRICAN LEADERS MIGHT GO TO KINSHASA TO TRY TO HELP RESOLVE THE IMPASSE, WHICH HE THOUGHT COULD HAVE POSITIVE RESULTS.

11. SOMALIA: A/S MOOSE BRIEFED NDADYE ON THE U.S. DECISION TO INCREASE OUR FORCES TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION WHILE WORKING WITH THE UN AND AFRICAN LEADERS TO PURSUE A POLITICAL SOLUTION. NDADYE EXPRESSED HIS VIEW THAT THE WARRING FACTIONS NEEDED TO BE DISARMED BEFORE A POLITICAL TRANSITION COULD BE NEGOTIATED. A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT THE PARTIES THEMSELVES HAD ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF DISARMAMENT IN ADDIS AND THIS AGREEMENT NEEDED TO BE REINFORCED. HE REITERATED OUR POSITION THAT WE NEEDED TO WORK ON THE POLITICAL AND PEACEKEEPING TRACKS SIMULTANEOUSLY.

NDADYE MEETS WITH NSC SR. DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA AFFAIRS

12. JUST PRIOR TO HIS MEETING WITH A/S MOOSE, THE PRESIDENT MET WITH NSC SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS JENNIFER WARD, WHO CONGRATULATED NDADYE FOR THE COUNTRY'S SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION. SHE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION -- A PRINCIPAL PRIORITY OF THE NDADYE ADMINISTRATION. NDADYE AND WARD ALSO DISCUSSED THE IMPORTANT ROLE THAT AN INDEPENDENT PRESS PLAYS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. WARD URGED THAT THE COUNTRY'S NATIONAL COUNCIL ON COMMUNICATIONS BECOME THE KIND OF INDEPENDENT COMMISSION WHICH COULD MEDIATE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MEDIA. NDADYE REVIEWED THE CHALLENGES FACING HIS COUNTRY, AND WARD ASSURED THE PRESIDENT OF OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT.

CHRISTOPHER

BT

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2767

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SIT: GEORGEL VAX

1

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

09-Nov-1993 12:39 EDT

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

Eric P. Schwartz

(SCHWARTZ)

FROM:

Jennifer C. Ward
(WARD)

SUBJECT:

Burundi refugees

Background: As you know, elements of the Burundi military launched recently an attempted coup d'etat against the democratically-elected government of President Ndadaye, resulting in the death of the President and several members of his Cabinet, as well as inter-ethnic violence primarily in the countryside. We have no estimates of the number killed. Some 650,000 new refugees have fled to neighboring states, primarily Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire. As a result..... appeal for \$17 million to meet the needs of the refugees over the next three months.....State R/P for the President for \$20 million of which \$4.25 million would go to the UNHCR for Burundian refugees.

--- We want to be as helpful as possible in this humanitarian crisis and encourage UNHCR's efforts as well as those of the ICRC and WFP;

--- AID's Office of Disaster Assistance has already approved contributions of \$50,000 as a result of our Ambassadors' having declared disasters in Rwanda and Burundi;

--- We are working on a drawdown of monies from the President's emergency fund to provide substantial funding for your appeal.

CC: Records

(RECORDS)

CC: Pat A. Battenfield

(BATTENFIELD)

CC: Lloyd R. George

(GEORGEL)

Additional Header Information Follows

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

20-Dec-1993 11:25 EDT

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Pat A. Battenfield (BATTENFIELD)

FROM: Jennifer C. Ward
(WARD)

SUBJECT: Africa

Over the past year, we have made progress on key aspects of our Africa policy -- democratization and conflict resolution. We have focused on support for South Africa's transition to democracy and resumption of the peace process in Angola. In addition, we have made strategic inputs to facilitate peacekeeping efforts in several countries. Strong progress on democratization has been registered in a number of countries, particularly the smaller ones, where U.S. assistance in support of elections and civic education has been critical. Nevertheless, developments in certain key countries, to include Nigeria, Zaire, Kenya and Sudan are disturbing.

Major Accomplishments:

o South Africa: President Clinton met in June with South Africa's State President De Klerk and ANC President Mandela, highlighting this Administration's support for change in South Africa. Last month the President signed the South Africa Democratic Transition Support Act, lifting remaining federal sanctions against South Africa and sent Commerce Secretary Ron Brown to South Africa with a high-level private sector delegation. We are currently working on a series of initiatives to support South Africa's transition to a multiracial democracy, both before and after the April 27 elections. Prospective U.S.- South Africa military relations are currently being examined.

o Angola: Following establishment of diplomatic relations with Angola in June, the U.S. played a major role in helping arrange a cease-fire and resumption of talks between the Government and UNITA. We have appointed Ambassador Paul Hare as the U.S. special representative to the peace process to assist the efforts of the UN Special Representative. At present, the talks have produced agreement on a number of key items. We are hopeful that a peace agreement which can be supported by the international community will be reached early in the new year. DoD has been tasked to look at options for a possible UN peacekeeping presence in Angola.

o Regional peacekeeping: The President recently approved a

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package of \$30 million to support the deployment of additional African peacekeeping forces to Liberia, following the July peace accords brokered by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. Agreement has been reached between the three factions to seat a transitional government on December 22. DoD will assist the UN and the regional forces to prepare a comprehensive logistics and financial plan and civilians under contract to DoD have been authorized to provide support for the new peacekeeping forces.

In order to build the peacekeeping capacity of regional organizations, we have provided assistance directly to the OAU in support of a border monitoring force in Rwanda. Some of these funds will also finance equipment for a small OAU mission to Burundi, where a democratically-elected regime was recently overthrown and ethnic tensions resulted in widespread violence and killing. The U.S. also played an early role in helping get established the UN peacekeeping mission in Mozambique. President Clinton met with President Chissano of Mozambique in October and we agreed to provide additional ship visits as well as excess defense articles.

Significant Upcoming Events and Issues

We will be reexamining early in 1994 our policy in key countries, Sudan and Zaire:

- o The decades-old civil war in Sudan has already taken hundreds of thousands of lives, with no end in sight. Regional peace-making efforts have not produced results. Sudan has been placed on the Terrorism List. A DC meeting will look at the value of our continued presence in Khartoum in light of Sudanese threats to U.S. interests, possibilities for sharing intelligence information with key Western and Arab partners, as well as stronger U.S. demarches to handle Sudan's humanitarian crisis.

- o We will also be examining stronger U.S. responses to Zaire's continuing slide into chaos and anarchy. Diplomatic efforts in concert with Belgium and France have shown little success at moving either President Mobutu or the opposition towards implementing agreements in support of a democratic transition. Meanwhile, bilateral and multilateral donors have almost completely abandoned this nation of almost 40 million persons.

- o Because of its failure to cooperate on anti-narcotics efforts, we may no longer be able to provide assistance to or support for Nigeria in the IFIs come next month. We are currently implementing visa restrictions against officials of the new military regime and OPIC has withdrawn their facilities for projects in Nigeria. Additional measures are likely to await the outcome of a proposed constitutional conference scheduled for March.

Significant Dates:

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March -- Nigerian Constitutional Conference

April 27 -- South African elections

November - Mozambique elections

CC: Records

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SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC
SUBJECT: RWANDA: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS RESOLUTION 893
AUTHORIZING DEPLOYMENT OF SECOND BATTALION
1. ~~(C)~~ THE SECURITY COUNCIL JANUARY 6 ADOPTED
UNANIMOUSLY RESOLUTION 893 AUTHORIZING DEPLOYMENT OF A
SECOND BATTALION TO RWANDA. THE COUNCIL ALSO AGREED TO
THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE SC PRESIDENT TO
BOUTROS-GHALI, INFORMING HIM THAT THE 90-DAY REVIEW
CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 872 HAD BEEN COMPLETED. SOME
COUNCIL MEMBERS QUESTIONED THE NECESSITY OF TWO SEPARATE
ACTIONS. THE FRENCH AND U.S. DELEGATIONS CONVINCED THE
OTHERS THAT A LETTER WAS NEEDED TO MAINTAIN THE
PROCEDURE ESTABLISHED IN THE CASES OF HAITI AND LIBERIA
OF ACKNOWLEDGING THE COMPLETION OF A 90-DAY REVIEW WITH
A LETTER. SINCE REQUIREMENTS FOR 90-DAY REVIEWS SEEM TO
BE BECOMING STANDARD PRACTICE FOR THE COUNCIL, THERE IS
A DESIRE TO DEVISE A SIMPLE MECHANISM FOR MEETING SUCH
REQUIREMENTS, NAMELY, A LETTER. THE FRENCH AND U.S.
ALSO CONVINCED THE OTHERS THAT A RESOLUTION WOULD HELP

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TO CLARIFY THAT THE COUNCIL AUTHORIZED THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE SECOND BATTALION, A CONCLUSION THAT MIGHT BE QUESTIONED BY SOME INTERPRETATIONS OF RES 872. THE RWANDA CASE DIFFERS FROM THOSE OF HAITI AND LIBERIA IN THAT THE SIZE OF THE FORCE IS TO BE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED. ALTHOUGH THIS INCREASE WAS CLEARLY FORETOLD IN THE SYG'S PREVIOUS REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 13, THE USG THOUGHT IT BEST TO RETAIN THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S EXPLICIT CONTROL OVER THE DISPATCH OF ADDITIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES.

2. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF RESOLUTION:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,
REAFFIRMING ITS RESOLUTION 872 (1993) OF 5 OCTOBER (1993) ESTABLISHING THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA (UNAMIR),
RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS 812 (1993) OF 12 MARCH 1993, 846 (1993) OF 22 JUNE 1993 AND 891 (1993) OF 20 DECEMBER 1993,

HAVING EXAMINED THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF 30 DECEMBER 1993 (S/26927), IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REVIEW CALLED FOR IN ITS RESOLUTION 872 (1993), AS WELL AS HIS PREVIOUS REPORT OF 24 SEPTEMBER 1993 (S/26488 AND ADD. 1),

WELCOMING THE CONCLUSION, ON 5 NOVEMBER 1993, OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE STATUS OF UNAMIR AND ITS PERSONNEL IN RWANDA,

TAKING NOTE OF THE PROGRESS DESCRIBED IN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT OF 30 DECEMBER 1993 IN IMPLEMENTING THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT,
WELCOMING FURTHER THE VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN RWANDA MADE BY UNBAMIR,

NOTING WITH CONCERN THE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE IN RWANDA AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR RWANDA OF THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI, AND URGING ALL CONCERNED TO REAFFIRM THEIR COMMITMENT TO PEACE,

WELCOMING ALSO THE JOINT STATEMENT MADE BY THE PARTIES IN KINIHIRA ON 10 DECEMBER 1993 CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE PROMPT ESTABLISHMENT OF A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT,

-- 1. REAFFIRMS ITS APPROVAL OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR AS OUTLINED IN HIS REPORT OF 24 SEPTEMBER 1993, INCLUDING THE EARLY DEPLOYMENT OF THE SECOND BATTALION TO THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE AS INDICATED IN PARAGRAPH 30 OF HIS REPORT OF 30 DECEMBER 1993;

-- 2. STRONGLY URGES THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE FULLY IN FURTHERING THE PEACE PROCESS, TO COMPLY FULLY WITH THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT, ON WHICH THE SCHEDULE CONTAINED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 000069

DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR JENNIFER WARD;

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;

SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC

SUBJECT: RWANDA: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS RESOLUTION 893

AUTHORIZING DEPLOYMENT OF SECOND BATTALION

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IN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT OF 24 SEPTEMBER 1993 IS BASED, AND IN PARTICULAR TO ESTABLISH A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS AGREEMENT;

-- 3. STRESSES THAT CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR UNAMIR WILL DEPEND UPON THE FULL AND PROMPT IMPLEMENTATION BY THE PARTIES OF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT;

-- 4. WELCOMES THE CONTINUED EFFORTS BY THE SECRETARY-GENE AND HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO HELP PROMOTE AND ENHANCE DIALOGUE AMONG ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED;

-- 5. COMMENDS THE EFFORTS OF MEMBER STATES, UNITED NATION AGENCIES AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE PROV HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER ASSISTANCE AND URGES OTHERS TO PROV SUCH ASSISTANCE;

-- 6. COMMENDS IN PARTICULAR THE EFFORTS OF THE ORGANIZAT OF AFRICAN UNITY, ITS MEMBER STATES AND AGENCIES IN PROVIDI DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL, HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER SUPPORT FOR T IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 872 (1992);

7. REITERATES ITS REQUEST TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE SIZE AND COST OF UNAMIR TO SEEK ECONOMIES;

-- 8. DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

END TEXT.

3. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF SC PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SYG.

THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF YOUR REPORT ON THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA (UNAMIR) OF 30 DECEMBER 1993 (S/26927), ON THE BASIS OF WH THEY HAVE COMPLETED THEIR REVIEW PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH RESOLUTION 872 (1993).

END TEXT.

WALKER

BT

#0069

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0069
<^SSN>0069

TOR: 940107131048 M0815394
<^TOR>940107131051 M0815396

DIST: PRT: SIT{C2}
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER RAGLE RICE SUM2 VAX WARD

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA0312 0242344-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 242344Z JAN 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 242344Z JAN 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 0153
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3906
INFO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0279
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1567
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0308
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0126
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1010
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0254
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0722
SUBJ: UN CONCERN OVER RWANDA
TEXT:
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 000312
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR JENNIFER WARD;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC
SUBJECT: UN CONCERN OVER RWANDA
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ACTION REQUEST: PARA. 8
3. SUMMARY: AT THE REQUEST OF UNDPKO'S HEDI ANNABI,
USUN POLOFFS MET TO DISCUSS THE DETERIORATING SITUATION
IN RWANDA. ANNABI IS CONCERNED THAT THE COMBINATION OF
INCREASING COVERT ACTIVITIES AND A STALEMATED POLITICAL
PROCESS COULD PRODUCE A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE
ATMOSPHERE. HE HAS ALREADY COMMUNICATED THESE FEARS TO
BOTH FRANCE AND BELGIUM, HAS SOLICITED THEIR
PARTICIPATION IN DEFUSING THE EMERGING CRISIS, AND IS
NOW MAKING A SIMILAR REQUEST OF THE US.
A BREWING CRISIS IN RWANDA?
4. DPKO'S HEDI ANNABI OUTLINED AN EMERGING CRISIS IN
RWANDA AS A CONSEQUENCE OF TWO PRESSING ISSUES. FIRST,
THE GOVERNMENT IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN DISTRIBUTING ARMS
AND TRAINING ITS MILITIA; THESE COVERT ACTIVITIES ARE
PARTICULARLY DISTURBING GIVEN THE PRESENCE OF A RPF
BATTALION IN KIGALI. SECOND, THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE

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COMPETING OVER THE LISTS FOR THE UPCOMING ELECTION, WHICH IS BLOCKING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE TIMETABLE FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION IS ALREADY BEHIND SCHEDULE, AND ANNABI IS CONCERNED THAT FURTHER DELAQS WILL ONLY JEOPARDIZE THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AND ULTIMATELY ADD TO THE FINANCIAL COST OF THE OPERATION.

5. ANNABI COMMENTED THAT THE MILITARIZATION AND POLITICAL STALEMATE MUST BE READ AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF A DETERIORATING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION: THERE ARE NO SALARIES FOR CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES, THE MILITARY, AND OTHER PUBLIC EMPLOYEES, WHICH ONLY ADDS TO AN INCREASING FLAMMABLE ENVIRONMENT (AND ALREADY HAS LED TO DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS).

UN RESPONDS

6. IN RESPONSE TO THE REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S MILITIAS WERE RECEIVING ARMS, GENERAL DALLAIRE PLNNED A VERQ AGRESSIVE DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENT; UN OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, CONVINCED DALLAIRE THAT A MORE SUBTLE APPROACH MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVE AT THIS TIME. ACCORDINGLY, A FEW WEEKS AGO DALLIARE SIMPLY DISCUSSED HIS CONCERNS WITH THE PRESIDENT. ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT DENIED INVOLVEMENT IN SUCH EVENTS, APPARENTLY HE NOTED AND WAS IMPRESSED BY THE GENERAL'S CONCERN.

7. THE UN HAS ALSO ASKED THE "FRIENDS OF RWANDA" - FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE US - TO TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN BROKERING THE CURRENT POLITICAL STALEMATE: BELGIUM HAS AGREED TO APPROACH THE RPF; FRANCE HAS AGREED TO APPROACH THE GOVERNMENT; AND THE UN IS NOW ASKING THE US TO APPROACH BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF. THE UN HOPES THAT IT CAN DEFUSE THE CRISIS AT THE "FRIENDS" LEVEL, AND THEREBY AVOID HAVING TO BRING IT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

8. ACTION REQUEST: UN ASKS THE US TO APPROACH THE GOVERNMENT, THE RPF, AND OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE CURRENT POLITICAL STALEMATE.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#0312

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0312

TOR: 940124190733 M0840520

DIST:

PRT: SIT{C2}

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE SUM2 VAX WARD

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA0312 0242344-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 242344Z JAN 94 ZDK
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 242344Z JAN 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 0153
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3906
INFO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0279
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RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1567
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0308
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0126
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1010
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RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0722
RUFHMS/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0148
SUBJ: UN CONCERN OVER RWANDA
TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 000312
CORRECTED COPY - MUSCAT ADDED
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR JENNIFER WARD;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
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8. ACTION REQUEST: UN ASKS THE US TO APPROACH THE GOVERNMENT, THE RPF, AND OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE CURRENT POLITICAL STALEMATE.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#0312

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0312

TOR: 940131094121 M0852851

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE RICE VAX

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Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA0708 0492049-CCCC--RUEADWW.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 182049Z FEB 94

LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

OSRI: RUCNDT

DTG: 182049Z FEB 94

ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4463
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0289INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0155
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0760
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0128
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0261
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0348
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1041
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1597

SUBJ: UN DEPLOYS ADDITIONAL TROOPS IN RWANDA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 000708DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR JENNIFER WARD;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC

SUBJECT: UN DEPLOYS ADDITIONAL TROOPS IN RWANDA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~-- ENTIRE TEXT.2. DPKO'S ISEL RIVERO NOTIFIED USUN POLOFF THAT THE
SECOND BATTALION FROM GHANA HAS BEEN DEPLOYED IN RWANDA,
BRINGING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF UN TROOPS TO 2160. SHE
ADDED THAT THIS DEPLOYMENT WAS PARTICULARLY CRUCIAL
GIVEN THE CONTINUING ACTS OF VIOLENCE BY VARIOUS GROUPS
THAT ARE CONTRIBUTING TO A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL
INSTABILITY.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#0708

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0708

TOR: 940218160048 M0891249

DIST:

SIT: RAGLE RICE STEINBERG VAX

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