Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~Transition Institutions... (4 pages)~~	~~01/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~Transition Institutions: Impasse Persists (6 pages)~~	~~01/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~Transition Institutions: Only President takes Oath of Office (3 pages)~~	~~01/05/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~004. cable~~	~~Transition Institutions: Still Stalled (4 pages)~~	~~01/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
005. cable	Ugandan... (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	Increased Ugandan... (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
007. cable	Iraq Sanctions - Rwandan View (1 page)	01/18/1994	P1/b(1)
008. cable	A/S Moose's Conversation with Oau Syg Salim -- Zaire, Congo, and Burundi (4 pages)	01/24/1994	P1/b(1)
~~009. cable~~	~~A/S Moose Bilaterals during Houphouet-Boigny Funeral (2 pages)~~	~~02/03/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~010. cable~~	~~A/S Bennet Meets Prime Ministers (4 pages)~~	~~02/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
011. cable	Status of A/S Bilaterals during Houphouet Funeral (4 pages)	02/04/1994	P1/b(1)
~~012. cable~~	~~Postscript to Your Trip (3 pages)~~	~~02/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[01/04/1994 - 02/25/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch123

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~Rwanda - UNDP Roundtable (2 pages)~~	~~02/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
014. cable	Fonmin Moderately Happy... (3 pages)	02/18/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	UN-Rwanda: Violence in Kigali... (2 pages)	02/25/1994	P1/b(1)
016. cable	Readout from... (6 pages)	02/25/1994	P1/b(1)
~~017. cable~~	~~Gatabazi's Funeral... (3 pages)~~	~~02/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
018. cable	Rwanda/Internal Security... (2 pages)	02/25/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
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Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[01/04/1994 - 02/25/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh123

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 040508Z JAN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5427
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RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 1553
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 4242
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0680
RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 4238
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 4453
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0243
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 6231
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 1102
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
SUBJ: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: MAYBE JANUARY 5?
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00034
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: MAYBE JANUARY 5?
REF: KIGALI 0032
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. SOME TRANSITIONS INSTITUTIONS MAY BE INSTALLED JANUARY 5. THE PRESIDENT HAS AGREED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE IN THE MORNING AND HAS AGREED TO SWEAR IN ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES IN THE AFTERNOON. THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE AND POLITICAL PARTIES LEADERS, INCLUDING THE RPF, WHO OBJECT TO THE LIST OF LIBERAL PARTY (PL) DEPUTIES SUBMITTED BY THE PRESIDENT, ARE SCRAMBLING TO FIND FORMULAS THEY CAN LIVE WITH, GIVEN THIS ACKNOWLEDGED OPENING FROM THE PRESIDENT. INVITATIONS TO CEREMONIES HAVE YET TO BE EXTENDED. END SUMMARY.
PRESIDENT ANNOUNCES CEREMONIES
---
3. A COMMUNIQUE FROM THE PRESIDENCY, ISSUED MORNING OF JANUARY 4 VIA RADIO RTLM, ANNOUNCED THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS PREPARED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE UNDER THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD MORNING OF JANUARY 5. IT FURTHER SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO SWEAR IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES THE SAME AFTERNOON. IT SAID HE HAD GIVEN A LIST OF DEPUTIES FOR THE SWEARING-IN TO THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER SO SHE COULD INVITE THOSE CONCERNED TO THE CEREMONY.

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CONTESTED LISTS

4. RTLM SUBSEQUENTLY READ OUT THE LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET DIRECTOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER CONTAINING THE LISTS OF DEPUTIES PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT. AS EXPECTED, IT CONTAINED THE CONTESTED LIST SUBMITTED BY PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI. THIS LIST IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PL/LANDO WING OF THE PARTY, TO PM-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, AND TO THE RPF FOR ALLEGEDLY INCLUDING MRND AND CDR MEMBERS LOYAL TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA RATHER THAN PERSONS "LEGALLY" ELECTED BY THE PARTY IN SEPTEMBER. TO EVERYONE'S SURPRISE, THE PROPOSAL CONTAINED THE MDR LIST SUBMITTED BY TWAGIRAMUNGU. THIS LIST INCLUDES SOME PERSONS FAVORABLE TO TWAGIRAMUNGU AND SOME TO THE OTHER FACTION OF HIS PARTY.

PM-DESIGNATE ACKNOWLEDGES OPENING

5. CHARGE CONTACTED PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE AT BEHEST OF WESTERN DIPLOMATS, THE NONCE, AND UNAMIR, TO DISCUSS HIS REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT'S OVERTURE. THE DIPLOMATS AND UNAMIR, WHO MET MIDDAY TO REVIEW THE STATE OF PLAY, WERE WORRIED THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU MIGHT JEOPARDIZE THE POSSIBILITY FOR MOVEMENT BY ISSUING AN IRRESPONSIBLE PUBLIC STATEMENT AT A MEETING OF THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY HE CONVOKED FOR AFTERNOON 1/4.

6. TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD CHARGE HE HAD CANCELLED THE DIPLOMATIC MEETING IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL WHICH HE SAID HE VIEWED AS A POSITIVE OPENING. THE MAJOR PROBLEM: STRONG OBJECTIONS TO THE PL/DEPUTIES LIST PROVIDED BY MUGENZI. HE HINTED AT TWO OPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION -- HAVING THE TWO FACTIONS SHARE THE SEATS OR HAVING NO/NO PL DEPUTIES SWORN IN UNTIL THE PARTY RESOLVES ITS DIFFERENCES. HE HINTED THAT PSD LEADER GATABAZI WAS AN OBSTACLE TO MODERATION AND COMPROMISE. HE SAID HE IS SATISFIED WITH THE MDR LIST, WHICH HE PRESENTED, AND BELIEVES HAVING THE PRESIDENT TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE IS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE WAS ON HIS WAY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH THE RPF. CHARGE URGED TWAGIRAMUNGU TO USE THE PRESIDENT'S OPENING TO ARRIVE AT A POSITIVE SOLUTION TO THE IMPASSE AND ENCOURAGED

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 00034

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: MAYBE JANUARY 5?

HIM NOT TO LET "EXTREMISTS" DICTATE THE TERMS OF A SOLUTION. AT GENERAL DALLAIRE'S REQUEST, CHARGE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT A RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT WHICH APPEARED TO BLOCK PROGRESS MIGHT BE USED AS A PROVOCATION FOR VIOLENCE.

7. CHARGE CONTACTED GATABAZI WHO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S WILLINGNESS TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE AND PROVIDE A FIXED DATE FOR THE CEREMONY WAS POSITIVE. BUT HE NOTED THE ABSENCE OF REFERENCE TO

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FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT AS A DRAWBACK. HE SAID HE HAD PROPOSED THAT THE SWEARING-IN OF THE GOVERNMENT BE ADDED TO THE JANUARY 5 SCHEDULE. ON THE PL LIST OF DEPUTIES, GATABAZI REITERATED THE TWO OPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION AND SAID LANDO, LEADER OF THE PL FACTION OPPOSING MUGENZI, BELIEVES BOTH ARE REASONABLE: HE IS WILLING TO WAIT FOR THE PL DEPUTIES TO BE SWORN IN AND HE IS WILLING TO SEEK WAYS OF SHARING THE ELEVEN PL SEATS. CHARGE REITERATED THE POINTS MADE TO TWAGIRAMUNGU. GATABAZI SAID "WE ARE NOT GOING TO CLOSE THE DOOR THE PRESIDENT HAS OPENED."

8. PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI ALONG WITH HIS VICE PRESIDENT CALLED ON CHARGE AFTERNOON OF 1/5. HE EXPRESSED TOTAL SATISFACTION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL, WITHOUT ACKNOWLEDGING POSSIBLE CHALLENGES FROM THOSE OPPOSED TO HIS LIST OF DEPUTIES. INSTEAD, HE SAID THE PARTIES SHOULD ADOPT A POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER PARTIES AND SHOULD INSIST THAT PARTY MEMBERS BE LOYAL TO PARTY RULES AND IDEOLOGY. HE ACCUSES THE "DISSIDENTS" IN HIS PARTY OF LACK OF LOYALTY AND OTHER PARTY LEADERS OF INTERFERENCE. MUGENZI SAID THAT IF THE PL FAILS TO SAY "NO" NOW TO RPF-MDR-PSD INTERFERENCE, HE WORRIES WHERE IT WILL END.

9. MUGENZI WENT ON TO TALLY VOTES ALLEGEDLY CONTROLLED BY THE RPF IN THE GOVERNMENT AND ASSEMBLY AND TO RAIL AGAINST TWAGIRAMUNGU'S PROPOSAL TO HAVE A TUTSI HEAD THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. HE PREDICTED RWANDANS WILL FEEL DECEIVED WHEN THEY DISCOVER THEY'VE TRADED CONTROL BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FOR CONTROL BY THE RPF. HE SAID HAVING TUTSIS IN CONTROL OF JUSTICE, INTERIOR AND THE GENDARMERIE WOULD RETURN POWER TO THE TUTSI. WHAT, HE ASKED, DO WE SAY TO THE HUTU? CHARGE LISTENED, THEN MADE THE SAME POINTS AS ABOVE. SHE ALSO MADE POINTS MADE WITH PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, AND RPF PRESIDENT (REFTEL).

COMMENT

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10. THE POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN TWAGIRAMUNGU OF THE MDR AND MUGENZI OF THE PL, THAT ENDURED FOR TWO YEARS AND LED THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CHALLENGE TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S TOTAL CONTROL OF RWANDA, IS DEAD. THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF MUGENZI, WHOSE COMMITMENT TO RECONCILIATION AND A MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETY SEEMED UNSHAKABLE -- HE LOST A BROTHER TO ASSASSINS IN THE PROCESS -- IS NOTHING SHORT OF INCREDIBLE. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU REJECTS HIM AS A MEMBER OF HIS CABINET.

11. THE OPENING FROM THE PRESIDENT IS A HOPEFUL SIGN. IF THE POLITICAL PARTIES OBJECTING TO THE PL/MUGENZI LIST CAN FIND A FORMULA THEY CAN LIVE WITH, THERE IS A CHANCE THAT WE WILL HAVE AT LEAST TWO OF THE THREE INITIAL TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE IN TIME FOR SECURITY COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS JANUARY 5. MUGENZI'S INTRANSIGENCE COULD FOIL THIS. THERE ARE ALSO SKEPTICS WHO BELIEVE THAT HAVING THE

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PRESIDENT THE ONLY "INSTITUTION" DULY SWORN IN UNDER
THE PEACE ACCORD COULD OPEN THE WAY FOR FURTHER
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 00034
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: MAYBE JANUARY 5?
NEGATIVE MACHINATIONS AND MEDDLING.
LEADER
BT
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 041530Z JAN 94
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0438
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RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 4232
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4447
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0237
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 6227
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1098
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: IMPASSE PERSISTS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 00032
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: IMPASSE PERSISTS
REF: KIGALI 04655
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: WEEKEND MANEUVERING SAW NO PROGRESS ON THE IMPASSE OVER INSTALLATION OF TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. POSTURING BY ALL POLITICAL ACTORS, INCLUDING PRESS RELEASES, PRESS CONFERENCES, STATEMENTS AND EVEN DEMONSTRATIONS, WERE UNHELPFUL IN POINTING THE WAY TO COMMON GROUND FOR COMPROMISE. WESTERN DIPLOMATS TOOK THE OFFENSIVE, MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, AND THE RPF PRESIDENT TO IMPRESS UPON THEM THE URGENCY OF RESOLVING THE IMPASSE.
FOLLOWING MEETING WITH DIPLOMATS, PRESIDENT SIGNALED UNAMIR POSSIBLE WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT MINISTERS OF PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE. THE PRICE IS NOT YET CLEAR. THE LONGER THE STALEMATE PERSISTS, THE GREATER THE RISK OF A RETURN TO VIOLENCE BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. WESTERN DIPLOMATS WILL MEET AGAIN TODAY WITH UNAMIR TO REVIEW THE STATE OF PLAY IN ADVANCE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING JANUARY 5.
END SUMMARY.
NO PROGRESS
---
3. DEADLOCK CONTINUES ON RWANDAN EFFORTS TO PUT IN

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PLACE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS CALLED FOR IN THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD. THE PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT THE DIVIDED PARTIES REACH ACCOMMODATION AND PRESENT COMMON LISTS OF PROPOSED MINISTERS AND ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, CONTENDS THAT THERE IS NO MORE HE CAN DO TO BRING ABOUT PARTY RECONCILIATION, THAT ALL OF HIS NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONCLUDED. THE RPF INSISTS THAT THE PROPOSED DEPUTIES OF THE LIBERAL PARTY ELECTED LAST SEPTEMBER BE OFFICAL LIST FOR THAT PARTY.

POLITICAL POSTURING

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4. THE VARIOUS POLITICAL ACTORS TOOK THEIR CAUSES TO THE PUBLIC IN A VARIETY OF WAYS OVER THE NEW YEAR'S WEEKEND. PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMANA ANOUNCED A PRESS CONFERENCE 12/31 THAT THE SWEARING IN CEREMONY WOULD BE HELD ON MEW YEAR'S DAY AT 10:00 A.M. THE MORNING NEWS ON NEW YEAR'S DAY CARRIED A PRESS RELEASE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE ANNOUNCING THAT THE CEREMONY HAD BEEN CANCELED BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT REFUSED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE ON THAT DAY.

5. THE PRESIDENT IN HIS TRADITIONAL NEW YEAR'S SPEECH URGED RWANDA'S POLITICIANS, ESPECIALLY THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS TOWARD FORMATION OF STABLE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS THAT COULD ENSURE A DURABLE PEACE. ON NEW YEAR'S DAY HIS CABINET DIRECTOR ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE STATING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT REFUSED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE AND WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR BLOCKING THE INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AS ALLEGED BY THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE.

6. PRESIDENT OF THE RPF, COLONEL KANYARENGWE, HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE AFTERNOON OF 12/31 AT WHICH HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF PUTTING THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE A RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO MEET DEADLINES IMPOSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND BY THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

7. ALSO ON 12/31 THE MDR WING OPPOSED TO TWAGIRAMUNGU HELD A DEMONSTRATION MARCH THROUGH KIGALI TO PROTEST THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE'S INFLEXIBILITY. THE ~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 00032

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: IMPASSE PERSISTS

DEMONSTRATION ATTRACTED BETWEEN THREE AND FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE AND WAS AT TIMES VIOLENT WITH DEMONSTRATORS THROWING ROCKS AT PASSING CARS.

8. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH RAUIO FRANCE INTERNATIONAL (RFI), PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU BLAMED THE PRESIDENT FOR BLOCKING INSTALLATION OF THE TRAMSITION INSTITUTIONS. HE THREATENED TO PROCEED WITH FORMING THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT'S BLESSING IF HE CONTINUED TO OBSTRUCT. IN A STATEMENT READ BY TWAGIRAMUNGU ON RADIO RWANDA EVENING OF 1/2, HE ANNOUNCED THAT HIS NEGOTIATIONS WERE AT AN END AND

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COULD ONLY BEGIN AGAIN IF THE PRESIDENT INSISTED. HE SAID INTERMINABLE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER DIDN'T LIKE FACTION X OR Y WOULD LEAD NOWHERE.

9. THE MRND HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE EVENING OF 1/2 IN WHICH IT BLAMED PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FOR BLOCKING THE FORMATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AND FOR INTERFERING IN THE AFFAIRS OF POLITICAL PARTIES FOR PARTISAN REASONS. THEY ALSO ACCUSED HIM OF CONNIVANCE WITH THE RPF AND SUGGESTED THAT IF HE WAS INCAPABLE OF FORMING A GOVERNMENT, THEN ANOTHER PRIME MINISTER SHOULD BE FOUND.

10. NOT TO BE OUTDONE, THE HARDLINE CDR PARTY, WHICH HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY SILENT UP TO NOW, ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD SIGN THE CODE OF ETHICS REQUIRED OF POLITICAL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AND JOIN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE CDR HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE TO THIS EFFECT ON 1/2, WHICH ATTRACTED KEY HEMBERS OF THE MDR FACTION OPPOSED TO TWAGIRAMUNGU.

11. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECURITY GENERAL (SRSG) BOOH BOOH ISSUED A STRONG STATXEMENT AT A PRESS CONFERENCE 1/3. HE SAID THE DELAY IN PUTTING TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE WAS INCOMPREHENSIBLE AND UNACCEPTABLE. IT CAST DOUBT, HE SAID, ON THE CREDIBILITY OF RWANDAN AUTHORITIES IN THE EYES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE RWANDAN PEOPLE.

DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE

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12. THE NONCE APOSTOLIQUE SUMMONED THE HEADS OF EMBASSIES OF FRANCE, BELGIUM, GERMANY AND THE U.S. TO A MEETING WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECURITY GENERAL (SRSG) BOOH BOOH MORNING OF NEW YEAR'S DAY. BOOH BOOH APPEALED TO THE DIPLOMATS FOR THEIR HELP IN UNBLOCKING THE SITUATION WHICH HE BELIEVED WAS AT AN IMPASSE. BOOH BOOH SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY AGITATED DURING A 12/30 MEETING, CLAIMING THAT HIS ENEMIES WERE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO CHASE HIM FROM POWER AND SAYING THAT HE WOULD REFUSE TO GIVE ARMS TO HIS ENEMIES SO THAT THEY COULD ASSASSINATE HIM. HE THREATENED "CONSEQUENCES" IF THE INSTALLATION CEREMONY WAS ORGANIZED WITHOUT HIM AND ASKED THAT UNAMIR HELP BLOCK ACCESS TO ANY CEREMONY AT THE CND HELD WITHOUT HIS CONSENT. BOOH BOOH SAID THAT UNAMIR WAS TRYING T
SET UP A MEETING
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND KAGAME. HOWEVER, THE RPF TERMS, I.E., THAT THE ACTUAL AND FUTURE PRIME MINISTERS BE PRESENT, ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PRESIDENT. THIS MEETING IS STILL PENDING. BOOH 99# SAID THAT PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI WAS OFFERING TO SHARE MINISTERIAL AND ASSEMBLY POSITIONS WITH THE OTHER WING OF HIS PARTY UNDER THE AUSPICES OF UNAMIR MEDIATION. BOOH BOOH SAID FORMER PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE, IN A MEETING NEW YEAR'S EVE, ATTACKED PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU FOR REJECTING SUGGESTIONS FOR MINISTERIAL POSTS FROM THE DISMAS WING OF THE PARTY. DISMAS INSISTED FORMER

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~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 KIGALI 00032
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: IMPASSE PERSISTS FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA MUST BE IN THE MINISTERIAL LINEUP.

13. THE DIPLOMATS DECIDED TO MAKE A JOINT DEMARCHE ON THE PRIME MINISTER, THE PRESIDENT AND RPF PRESIDENT KANYARENGWE TO IMPRESS UPON THEM THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION. THE DEMARCHE, HIGHLIGHTING THE APPROACHING DEADLINES 1/5 IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, 1/15 FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, URGED THAT POLITICAL ACTORS ENGAGE IN CONFIDENCE BUILDING RATHER THAN MUD SLINGING AND THAT THE INSTITUTIONS TRULY BROAD-BASED TO FOSTER NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

14. PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU MET WITH THE DIPLOMATS AFTERNOON OF 1/1. HIS RESPONSE TO THE DEMARCHE BLAMED THE ENTIRE PROBLEM ON THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID THE PRESIDENT WANTS GUARANTEES IN THE GOVERNMENT AND IN THE ASSEMBLY SO THAT HE CAN CONTINUE TO EXERCISE POWER AS HE HAD DONE DURING THE SINGLE PARTY ERA. HE ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF MANIPULATING THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF HIS PARTY, THE MDR, AND ALSO THE PL IN ORDER TO ASSURE HIMSELF OF SUPPORT FROM CERTAIN OF THEIR MEMBERS. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE CANNOT ACCEPT OUTSIDE FORCES DESTROYING THE MDR PARTY AND THAT HE WILL NEVER BASE HIS POLITICS ON ETHNIC OR REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS. HE DISMISSED THE ACCUSATION THAT HE IS PRO RPF, SAYING THAT BRINGING THE RPF INTO THE GOVERNMENT IS HIS ROLE. HE WAS ESPECIALLY UPSET BY ACCUSATIONS COMING FROM MEMBERS OF THE MRND THAT HE WAS IN COMPLICITY WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AD INTENT ON MAKING A "COUP D'ETAT". HE NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ONLY ROLE IN PUTTING THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS INTO PLACE IS TO ADMINISTER THE OATH OF OFFICE. THEREFORE, HE CANNOT HOLD UP THE PROCESS BY INSISTING ON RECONCILIATION INSIDE THE PARTIES AS A PRECONDITION.

15. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA MET WITH THE NONCE AND THE WESTERN DIPLOMATS MORNING OF 1/3. FOLLOWING OUR DEMARCHE, THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD FRAMEWORK AND INSISTED THAT IT BE APPLIED TO THE LETTER. HE ASKED DIPLOMATS FOR IDEAS ON WHAT HE SHOULD DO TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. HE INSISTED THAT HE AND OTHERS COULD NOT INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PARTIES; NO ONE COULD UNBLOCK THE PARTIES BUT THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. THE DIPLOMATS REFRAINED FROM OFFERING CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS. CHARGE SUGGESTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD CONCLUDE THAT RWANDANS LACKED THE WILL TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORD IF THE DEADLOCK WERE NOT BROKEN SOON. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR UNDERSCORED THIS POINT AND NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR US TO CONVINCE OUR GOVERNMENTS TO CONTINUE SUPPORT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN THE

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INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IF IT APPEARED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT THE GOODWILL TO IMPLEMENT THE ACCORD WAS LACKING.

16. RPF PRESIDENT KANYARENGWE RECEIVED THE DIPLOMATS MORNING OF 1/4. HE ARGUED AS HE HAD DONE IN A PRIVATE MEETING WITH CHARGE THE PREVIOUS DAY THAT THE PRESIDENT ALONE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING RWANDA. HE SAID THE ARUSHA ACCORD HAD DEPRIVED THE PRESIDENT OF A BLOCKING THIRD IN THE GOVERNMENT AND ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF PROVOKING THE PROBLEMS IN THE PARTY IN ORDER TO CREATE DIVISIONS SO HE COULD OBTAIN CONTROLLING BLOCKS IN BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. HE SAID THE RPF CANNOT ACCEPT HABYARIMANA BEING ABLE TO BLOCK ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ASSEMBLY. HE SAID

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 KIGALI 00032

YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: IMPASSE PERSISTS

THE RPF WANTS GUARANTEES THAT IT CAN ENTER A GOVERNMENT WHERE IT CAN WORK AND NOT BE BLOCKED. HE APPEALED TO THE DIPLOMATS FOR HELP IN HAVING THE PRESIDENT RESPOND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION RATHER THAN IN HIS OWN PERSONAL INTEREST. HE CLAIMED THAT THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING RWANDA IS THE PROBLEM OF ONE PERSON.

POSSIBLE OPENING
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17. THE NONCE AND DIPLOMATS MET EVENING OF 1/3 WITH SRSG BOOH BOOH AND GENERAL DALLAIRE TO REVIEW THE STATE OF PLAY. GENERAL DALLAIRE REPORTED THAT A POSSIBLE OPENING MAY HAVE APPEARED IN HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR ENOCH RUHIGIRA. RUHIGIRA REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS PREPARED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE AND THEN HAVE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU PROCEED TO SWEAR IN WHATEVER LIST OF MINISTERS HE WANTED WITHOUT PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL AFTER THE PRESCRIBED THREE-DAY WAITING PERIOD.

THE RPF
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18. ON THE OTHER HAND, RPF CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE TOLD GENERAL DALLAIRE THAT HE PLNNED TO LEAVE FOR MULINDI AFTERNOON OF 1/4 WITH SOME OF HIS CLOSE COLLABORATORS IF THERE WAS NO MOVEMENT TOWARD INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. HE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY LIST OF DEPUTIES OR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS NEGOTIATED BY UNAMIR. HE ALSO COMPLAINED TO THE GENERAL THAT THE RPF HAD WALKED INTO A TRAP AND HE URGED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO IMPOSE A DATE FOR INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTION.

RISK OF VIOLENCE
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19. AT THE MEETING WITH DIPLOMATS EVENING OF 1/3, UNAMIR OFFICIALS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE SITUATION

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COULD EASILY DETERIORATE INTO RENEWED VIOLENCE.
GENERAL DALLAIRE PUT FORWARD A POSSIBLE SCENARIO
WHEREBY THE RPF WOULD RETURN TO MULINDI. HE SAID
TAKING BACK WOULD BE MUCH HARDER THAN BRINGING TO
KIGALI AND PREPARE TO RENEW HOSTILITIES. HE
SPECULATED THAT IF THIS SHOULD HAPPEN, THE RPF WOULD
WIN THE NEXT ENCOUNTER.
COMMENT
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20. ALTHOUGH THERE IS PLENTY OF BLAME TO GO AROUND,
IT DOES SEEM THAT ONE OF THE KEY PROBLEMS IS THE
PRESIDENT'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE OUTCOME OF
THE PEACE ACCORD WHEREBY HE CAN NO LONGER BE ASSURED
OF CONTROLLING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY. LEADER
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#0032
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
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RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
SUBJ: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: ONLY PRESIDENT TAKES OATH OF OFFICE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/01/2007 John L. Mills
200103014 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.03)]

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 00045
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: ONLY PRESIDENT TAKES OATH OF OFFICE
REF: KIGALI 0036

1. (C) SUMMARY. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE UNDER THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD MORNING OF JANUARY 5. NEITHER THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY NOR THE GOVERNMENT HAVE YET BEEN SWORN IN. THE CONTINUING DISPUTE OVER LIBERAL PARTY DEPUTIES PROMPTED THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AND THE DEPUTIES OF SEVERAL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE RPF, TO BOYCOTT THE CEREMONY. THE PRESIDENT HAS AGAIN CLAIMED THE HIGH GROUND, SAYING HE IS READY TO ADMINISTER THE OATH OF OFFICE WHEN THE DEPUTIES PRESENT THEMSELVES. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT ADMINISTERED THE OATH OF OFFICE PRESCRIBED IN THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD TO PRESIDENT JUVENAL HABYARIMANA MORNING OF JANUARY 5. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THE ACCORD, HE IS TO REMAIN PRESIDENT DURING THE 22-MONTH TRANSITION PERIOD. IN ATTENDANCE WERE THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CND (THE LEGISLATURE), THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AS WELL AS THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER, THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE, AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF

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THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL. THE CEREMONY WAS OVER IN FIVE MINUTES. THE PRESIDENT THEN INVITED ALL PRESENT TO RETURN AT 3 PM FOR THE SWEARING IN OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES AS AGREED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER THE EVENING BEFORE.

3. (U) ON THE MIDDAY NEWS, A COMMUNIQUE ANNOUNCED THAT THE MDR (READ MDR/TWAGIRAMUNGU), PSD, PDC AND PL (READ PL/LANDO) WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE SWEARING IN CEREMONY FOR THE DEPUTIES IF THE PRESIDENT CONTINUED HIS MANEUVERS AIMED AT DELAYING THE INSTALLATION OF THE BROAD BASED GOVERNMENT. THE COMMUNIQUE NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD UNILATERALLY DECIDED NOT TO FOLLOW THE PROGRAM OUTLINED BY THE PRIME MINISTER (REFTEL), THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PROTOCOL RATHER THAN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PROTOCOL HAD DIRECTED THE MORNING CEREMONY, AND THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD HAD TAKEN AWAY ENTRY TICKETS FROM SOME DEPUTIES-ELECT.

4. (U) AT 4 PM, THE PRESIDENT ENTERED THE ASSEMBLY HALL AND ANNOUNCED THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SESSION. HE NOTED THE ABSENCE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, REQUIRED BY THE PEACE ACCORD TO OBSERVE THE SWEARING-IN OF THE DEPUTIES, AND THE ABSENSE OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE RPF AND THE PSD. HE SAID HE WAS READY TO ADMINISTER THE OATH AS SOON AS THOSE CONCERNED ARE READY TO PRESENT THEMSELVES. HE APPEALED TO THE ABSENT POLITICAL PARTIES TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT, AND TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO HELP, SO THAT THE ASSMBLY AND THE GOVERNMENT CAN BE PUT IN PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NEITHER THE CURRENT NOR THE FUTURE PRIME MINISTER WERE PRESENT.

5. ~~(S)~~ PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELLOR CHASTIZED THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER FOR REVISING THE SCHEDULE FOR THE CEREMONIES (REFTEL) WITHOUT CONSULTING THE PRESIDENT AFTER SHE AND HE HAD AGREED ON THE PROGRAM. HE TOLD CHARGE THE PRESIDENT FIRST HEARD HER SCHEDULE ON THE RADIO LATE LAST NIGHT.

6. ~~(S)~~ PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR ENOCH RUHIGIRA SUGGESTED TO CHARGE AFTER THE ABORTED AFTERNOON CEREMONY THAT THE ONLY SOLUTION WOULD BE FOR THE PL LEADERS TO AGREE TO DISTRIBUTE THEIR ASSEMBLY SEATS BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS. HE NOTED THAT IF ALL 11 WERE TO COME FROM ONE FACTION OR THE OTHER, THERE

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 00045

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: ONLY PRESIDENT WOULD ALWAYS BE SOME PARTIES THAT WOULD BOYCOTT. HE CLAIMED MUGENZI HAD JUST TOLD HIM HE WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT THIS APPROACH. NOTING THAT LANDO HAD AT ONE POINT BEEN WILLING TO DISCUSS SUCH AN OPTION, CHARGE ENCOURAGED HIM TO EXPLORE THIS OR ANY OPTION THAT MIGHT RESOLVE THE IMPASSE SOON. BOTH AGREED THAT ANY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO WOULD NEED ENDORSEMENT FROM OTHER PARTIES, IN PARTICULAR, THE RPF AND THE MRND.

7. ~~(S)~~ RPF PRESIDENT KANYARENGWE RETURNED TO

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MULINDI, THE RPF HEADQUARTERS IN NORTHERN RWANDA, AFTERNOON OF 1/4. WHEN UNAMIR COMMANDER GENERAL DALLAIRE WENT TO COLLECT HIM MORNING OF 1/5, HE CHOSE TO STAY IN MULINDI UNTIL HE HAD EVIDENCE THAT HIS PRESENCE WOULD BE NEEDED IN KIGALI. THE RPF HAD ALREADY LET IT BE KNOWN THAT THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN A SWEARING-IN CEREMONY WITH THE PL/MUGENZI DEPUTIES. SOME RPF SOLDIERS WERE VISIBLE IN THE HALL DURING THE PRESIDENT'S SWEARING IN, AND A FEW OTHER RPF OFFICIALS WERE IN THE AUDIENCE, BUT NONE OF THE SENIOR LEADERS WERE PRESENT.

8. (C) COMMENT. DEPRESSION, AND SOME FEAR, PREVAILS IN KIGALI. THE PRESIDENT HAS DEFIED THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT BY CHOSING HIS LIST OF DEPUTIES OVER THEIRS. BUT HE HAS THROWN THE BALL IS BACK IN THE COURT OF THE PRESIDENT'S OPPONENTS. THE RPF'S RIGID POSITION ON THE PL DEPUTIES, THAT ONLY THOSE ELECTED IN SEPTEMBER CAN SIT IN THE ASSEMBLY, MAY PREVENT LANDO FROM CUTTING A DEAL WITH MUGENZI EVEN IF MUGENZI IS WILLING. THE OPTION OF HAVING PL DEPUTIES TAKE THE OATH LATER IS ALSO APPARENTLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE RPF.

9. (C) COMMENT CONTINUED. AS LONG AS THE STALEMATE PERSISTS, RWANDA IS IN THE UNTENABLE POSITION OF HAVING A PRESIDENT SWORN IN UNDER THE THE ARUSHA ACCORD WHOSE POWERS ARE CONSIDERABLY REDUCED AND A LAME-DUCK GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHOSE DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY IS PROSCRIBED BY A JUDICIAL RULING. AS THE PRESIDENT TOLD THE DIPLOMATS EARLIER IN THE WEEK, "MY TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE WILL RESOLVE NOTHING." BUT IT DOES KEEP HIM LEGAL: HIS CURRENT FIVE-YEAR TERM EXPIRES JANUARY 8.

LEADER

BT

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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SSN: 0045
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TOR: 940105132210 M0811362
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RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
SUBJ: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: STILL STALLED
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
6/7/2006 William E. LANDFAIR
Z0103014 DOS
[Z011-0262-M-1 (1.04)]

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00155
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: STILL STALLED
REFS: (A) KIGALI 0111, (B) KIGALI 0066
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. INSTALLATION OF RWANDA'S TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IS STILL STALLED. ALL OF THE ACTORS HAVE DUG THEIR HEELSQR OF COMMUNIQUES CONTINUES. DIPLOMATS CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.
WAR OF COMMUNIQUES
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3. THE MDR FACTION OPPOSED TO PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE 1/11 ACCUSING HIM AND THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE POLITICAL IMPASSE. THE COMMUNIQUE CHARGED THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU REFUSES ANY ADVICE, INCLUDING THAT OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS, WHO PROPOSED COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS TO PARTY DIFFICULTIES (REF A).
4. THE PL FACTION LED BY JUSTIN MUGENZI HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE 1/11 AT WHICH MUGENZI CLAIMED HE AND CURRENT JUSTICE MINISTER ARE THE TRUE LEADERS OF THE PARTY. HE DENOUNCED PSD LEADBR FELICIEN NGANGO AND RPF VICE PRESIDENT PATRICK MAZIMHAKA FOR SAYING THE PL HAS A LEADERSHIP CRISIS. IN ADDITION, HE ACCUSED NGANGO, WHO IS PSD'S CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE

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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, OF SIDING WITH PL/LANDO SO HE WILL HAVE A WEAK (LANDO) RATHER THAN A STRONG (FORMER JUSTICE MINISTER MBONAMPEKA) OPPONENT IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. MUGENZI ALSO TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE TAMZANIAN AMBASSADOR AND OAU REPRESENTATIVE WERE MEDIATING BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS OF THE PL.

MEDIATION

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5. TWO DAYS OF MEDIATION BETWEEN MUGENZI AND LANDO HAVE APPARENTLY RESULTED IN VIRTUALLY NO MOVEMENT TOWARD COMPROMISE ON THE ISSUE OSTENSIBLY BLOCKING INSTALLATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: MULTIPLE LISTS OF PL DEPUTIES. THERE APPEARS TO BE LITTLE INCENTIVE FOF THE LANDO FACTION TO COMPROMISE. THE RPF TOLD AMBASSADOR, IN CONTRAST TO WHAT THEY TOLD DCM (REF B), THAT THEY WOULD INSIST ON THE PL/LANDO LIST REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE TWO FACTIONS DECIDED. TWAGIRAMUNGU, TOO, FIRMLY SUPPORTS THE LANDO LIST. THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET DIRECTOR, HOWEVER, BELIEVES THAT COMPROMISE IS THE ONLY SOLUTION, WHICH COULD MEAN THAT MUGENZI HAS A FALL-BACK POSITION. AT THE END OF THE RECONCILIATION MEETING 1/11, THE LANDO FACTION ISSUED A LETTER CALLING MUGENZI'S LIST FALSE, SAYING THAT MUGENZI HAD BEEN KICKED OUT OF PL AND SHOULD NOT EVEN BE CONSIDERED FOR A MINISTERIAL POST.

6. MUGENZI TOLD AMBASSADOR 1/12 THAT LANDO HAD STAYED BUT A FEW MINUTES TO DISCUSS MODALITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS IN MONDAY'S MEETING AND WALKED OUT TUESDAY WHEN MUGENZI BEGAN TO REVIEW THE HISTORY OF THEIR DISCORD. MUGENZI BELIEVES THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE DISPUTE OVER DEPUTIES, THE CRITICAL ISSUE IS WHETHER THE PL SLOT FOR MINISTER OF JUSTICE GOES TO A TUTSI. WITH THE OTHER KEY SECURITY POSITIONS HELD BY RPF, TUTSIS WOULD THUS DOMINATE GOVERNMENT. THIS IS AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF ARUSHA, HE SAID. THE MRND MUST HAVE ITS PLACE; IT HAS STRONG SUPPORT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE PEOPLE WOULD NOT ACCEPT A TRANSFER OF CONTROL FROM MRND TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

HEELS DUG IN

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7. MEANWHILE, THE AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED A THREE-DAY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 00155

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: STILL STALLED

ROUND OF HIGH-LEVEL TALKS WITHOUT PERCEIVING SIGNIFICANT FORWARD MOVEMENT IN ACTORS' POSITION. UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOOH BOOH THOUGHT THE PROBLEM LAY PRIMARILY WITH THE PRESIDENT WHO APPARENTLY FEARED ATTACKS AGAINST HIS PERSON OR POSITION IF HE DID NOT HAVE A BLOCKING VOTE IN LEGISLATURE OR GOVERNMENT. THE PRESIDENT NEEDED SOME ASSURANCE HE COULD PLAY HIS ROLE IN THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS AND STILL BE AROUND FOR THE NEXT ELECTION. THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ALSO FBLT PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS BEING UNWISE IN IGNORING HIS POLITICAL BASE AND MIGHT SOLVE THE PROBLEM

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THROUGH MORE FLEXIBILITY IN CHOOSING HIS GOVERNMENT.
8. AMBASSADOR'S VISITS TO CURRENT AND DESIGNATED PRIME MINISTERS ELLICITED STANDARD DEFENSE OF THEIR LINE, TO WIT THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DIVISIONS IN THE PARTIES AND HENCE THE CURRENT IMPASSE. HE TOLD BOTH THAT SUCH A SINGULAR ACCUSATION MIGHT HAVE VALIDITY IN A ONE-PARTY STATE BUT NOT IN A COUNTRY RULED BY COALITION GOVERNMENT, WHERE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND BLAME HAD TO BE SHARED. AMBASSADOR TOLD PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE THAT TWO KEY POLITICAL FIGURES COULD BREAK THE DEADLOCK THROUGH COMPROMISE--THE PRESIDENT OR THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF. WHOEVER DID WOULD GET CREDIT FOR STATESMANSHIP THAT WOULD LEAD RWANDA TO A NEW DAY. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE WAS LOOKING AROUND FOR ALTERNATIVES THAT WOULD SATISFY THE PARTIES BUT ALSO FIT INTO HIS SCHEME FOR FORMULATING GOVERNMENT. SINCE HE WANTS PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT PEOPLE HE CAN WORK WITH, THAT EXCLUDES THE MAJOR LEADERS OF HIS OWN PARTY.
9. DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL CABINET RUHIGIRA, TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT THE PROBLEM WAS ONE OF PERSONAL AMBITION AND THE GLOBAL ALIGNMENT OF FORCES. IF THE PRESIDENT ACCEPTED THE GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATIVE LISTS BEING PROPOSED BY HIS OPPONENTS, RPF WOULD DOMINATE THROUGH ITS CONTROL OF KEY POSITIONS. THIS WAS NO LONGER A SHARING OF POWER BUT A TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. RUHIGIRA DID NOT ACCEPT AMBASSADOR'S ARGUMENT THAT PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE AND PL WERE NOT SUBJECT TO PATRIOTIC FRONT CONTROL. RUHIGIRA DID, HOWEVER, SUGGEST POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKTHROUGH IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD ACCEPT A BROKERED PEACE WITHIN PL AND THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE WOULD NAME TO GOVERNMENT A PERSON FROM THE ALTERNATE FACTION OF HIS PARTY. IN LATER DISCUSSIONS, PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS ARGUED AGAINST ACCEPTING ANYTHING OTHER THAN PL LANDO LISTS. IN ANY CASE, LANDO WALKED OUT OF PL RECONCILIATION TALKS LEAVING THE LATEST INITIATIVE AT A DEADEND.
DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE CONTINUES.
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10. FOLLOWING JOINT DEMARCHES WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER (REF A), BELGIAN AMBASSADOR LED HIS LIBYAN, TANZANIAN AND U.S. COLLEAGUES IN A JOINT DEMARCHE OF PATRIOTIC FRONT. CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE, JOINED BY JACQUES BIHOZAGARA AND PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, LAID OUT STANDARD RPF ANALYSIS OF SITUATION, ASKED FOR DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE ON THE PRESIDENT, AND NOTED PATRIOTIC FRONT CONCERN FOR THEIR SECURITY, GIVEN EVIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS ARMING PARTY MILITIA. KANYARENGWE, NONETHELESS, PROTESTED PATRIOTIC FRONT DETERMINATION NOT TO GO BACK TO WAR BUT TO PRESS FOR APPLICATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD. SPEAKING FOR THE DIPLOMATIC GROUP, BELGIAN AMBASSADOR URGED GOODWILL, PATIENCE AND FLEXIBILITY. AMBASSADOR RAWSON SAID THAT HIS RECENT ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS HAD REVEALED ALL POLITICAL

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: STILL STALLED
LEADERS TO BE PATRIOTS WHO WANTED PEACE, BUT WHO WERE
STUCK IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THEIR OWN ARGUMENTS. MORE
DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE WOULD LEAD TO A BREAKTHROUGH
IN THE CURRENT IMPASSE.
COMMENT
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11. DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE IS HAVING NO OBVIOUS EFFECT
ON THE VARIOUS ACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR PUTTING IN
PLACE RWANDA'S TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. THERE IS NO
SIGN THAT EITHER PL FACTION WILL GIVE GROUND ON THE
OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR THE BLOCKAGE, MULTIPLE LISTS OF
PL DEPUTIES. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE SHOWS NO
SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS
FROM THE OPPOSING WING OF HIS PARTY, EVEN IF HURDLE
AT THE ASSEMBLY LEVEL COULD BB OVERCOME. NO RWANDAN
HAS OFFERED ANY IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO ADDRESS AND
OVERCOME THE REAL IMPASSE: THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE
PRESIDENT TO SWEAR IN AN ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT OVER
WHICH HE DOES NOT HAVE VETO, AND THE UNWILLINGNESS OF
THE RPF TO ENTER AN ASSEMBLY OR GOVERNMENT WHICH THE
PRESIDENT CAN CONTROL WITH BLOCKING VOTES. RAWSON
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX WILSON
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHCAA9208 0341900-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 031858Z FEB 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 031858Z FEB 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHAB/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY 3317
INFO: RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY 1399
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA PRIORITY 5984
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 9463
RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRIORITY 0710
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI PRIORITY 2129
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 2128
SUBJ: A/S MOOSE BILATERALS DURING HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY FUNERAL

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VZ NARA, Date 10/3/2023
2011-0262-M-1

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 029208
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, OVIP, IV, NI, BN
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE BILATERALS DURING HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY FUNERAL

REF: ABIDJAN 1382 (NOTAL)

1. WHILE IN COTE D'IVOIRE FOR THE HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY FUNERAL, A/S MOOSE WOULD LIKE TO HOLD BILATERALS WITH THE FOLLOWING IN PRIORITY ORDER:

BENIN PRESIDENT SOGLO
NIGERIA FOREIGN MINSTER KINGIBE (WOULD WELCOME THE ADDITION OF MINSTERS KALU AND CIROMA)

UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BEYE
ANGOLA UNITA LEADER SAVIMBI
ANGOLA ANGOLAN MINISTER (BUT ONLY TO PROVIDE BALANCE IF MEETING IS ARRANGED WITH SAVIMBI

2. IF OTHER PRIORITIES PERMIT MOOSE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN MEETING WITH CAR PRESIDENT PATASSE AND RWANDA PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA.
3. A/S MOOSE WOULD PREFER TO CONDUCT THESE MEETINGS ON

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7 AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF SECRETARY O'LEARY AND HER DELEGATION OR ON THE MARGINS OF LUNCH IN YAMASOUKRO. IF THERE IS NO OTHER OPTION' MEETINGS LISTED

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PARA 1 COULD BE ARRANGED FOR SUNDAY, BUT A/S MOOSE WOULD PREFER TO RESERVE THIS TIME FOR SECRETARY O'LEARY. ONE TUESDAY MORNING MEETING WOULD BE FEASIBLE PROVIDED IT DOES NOT DELAY 11 A.M. ARRIVAL IN MONROVIA. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#9208
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9208

TOR: 940203144502 M0862374

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX
□

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2/6/2008 Harmon E. Kirby
2011030141 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.09)]

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OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 040817Z FEB 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5655
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 4304
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0757
RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 4296
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4520
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 6286
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1126
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0496
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: A/S BENNET MEETS PRIME MINISTERS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00505
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: A/S BENNET MEETS PRIME MINISTERS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. A/S BENNET MET CURRENT AND FUTURE PRIME MINISTERS FEBRUARY 2 FOR A DISCUSSION THAT CENTERED ON DOMESTIC POLITICS. PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE EXPLAINED THAT A GLOBAL COMPROMISE WORKED OUT OVER LAST WEEK AMONG KEY PLAYERS HAD JUST BEEN REJECTED BY LIBERAL PARTY PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENCY. BENNET URGED FOCUS ON PROCESS AND BASIC OBJECTIVES AND REMINDED THE PMS THAT SUCCESS IN RWANDA'S PEACEKEEPING OPERATION WOULD BE A SUCCESS FOR PEACEKEEPING THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HE ALSO NOTED THAT RWANDA COULD BE A STRONGER PARTNER AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IF IT HAD A GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.
3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS, DOUGLAS J. BENNET, CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMANA 2/2 TO TALK ABOUT PEACEKEEPING AND RWANDA'S ROLE ON THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. INSTEAD, REFLECTING THE CURRENT PREOCCUPATION OF ALL RWANDAN AUTHORITIES, THE PRIME MINISTER FOCUSED CONVERSATION ON DOMESTIC POLITICS. ALSO PRESENT WAS PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, OF THE SAME POLITICAL PARTY AS THE CURRENT PM, WHO TOOK THE LION'S SHARE IN EXPLAINING RECENT POLITICAL MANEUVERINGS. ACCOMPANYING A/S BENNET WERE THE AMBASSADOR AND DCM, NOTETAKER.
POLITICAL DEAL...ALMOST

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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4. PRIME MINISTER AGATHE EXPRESSED HER ANGUISH AT THB MONTH-LONG STALEMATE PREVENTING INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AND SAID THAT ILLEGAL DEMONSTRATIONS, KILLINGS IN KIGALI AND ELSEWHERE, AND ECONOMIC DETERIORATION WERE MAKING THE COUNTRY ALMOST UNGOVERNABLE. PM-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE WAS ASHAMED THAT RWANDA HAD FAILED TO KEEP ITS PLEDGE AND COMMITMENT OF AUGUST 4, THE DATE THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD WAS SIGNED. HE LAID THE BLAME ON POLITICIANS WHO PUT PERSONAL INTERESTS AHEAD OF NATIONAL INTERESTS AND ON CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS IN SOME OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES, IN PARTICULAR THE LIBERAL PARTY (PL) AND THE MDR, THE PARTY OF THE PMS.

5. TWAGIRAMUNGU EXPLAINED THAT A COMPROMISE HAD BEEN WORKED OUT AMONG KEY ACTORS OVER THE PAST WEEK TO UNBLOCK THE POLITICAL IMPASSE. THE DEAL CONSISTED OF ACCEPTING THE INITIAL LIST OF PL DEPUTIES AMENDED TO ACCOUNT FOR VOTING IRREGULARITIES, APPOINTING PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI TO A CABINET POST, AND INCLUDING 1-2 MINISTERS FROM THE MDR FACTION OPPOSING TWAGIRAMUNGU. HE IMPLIED THAT DETAILS STILL HAD TO BE WORKED OUT, BUT CLAIMED THAT PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI, PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR RUHIGIRA, AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL COUNSELOR RENZAHO ALL ACCEPTED THE DEAL. (COMMENT. WE LEARNED LATER THAT THE RPF AND ITS ALLIES HAVE ALSO AGREED TO THE DEAL.)

DEAL SQUELCHED

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6. TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD A/S BENNET THAT THE DEAL HAD FALLEN APART. IN A MEETING EARLIER 2/2, RUHIGIRA AND RBNZAHO HAD REPORTEDLY ACCUSED HIM OF SUPPORTING THE RPF AND THE PSD CANDIDATE FOR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER AND TOLD HIM TO STOP MEDDLING IN THE LIBERAL PARTY. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISORS TO BE TELLING HIM THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD REJECTED THE COMPROMISE SOLUTION.

7. THE PM-DESIGNATE ALSO SAID THAT MUGENZI MADE IT CLEAR AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE SAME DAY THAT ONLY THE SECOND LIST OF PL DEPUTIES WAS ACCEPTABLE. (COMMENT. AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE MUGENZI APPARENTLY MADE A STATEMENT THAT IS UPSETTING A NUMBER OF PEOPLE. HE REPORTEDLY COMPARED THE ARUSHA ACCORD TO A BIG BOX THAT WAS BROUGHT BACK FROM TANZANIA, BUT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 00505

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: A/S BENNET MEETS PRIME MINISTERS

WHEN OPENED CONTAINED ONLY A "DEAD DOG". END COMMENT.)

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT

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8. TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD A/S BENNET HE WOULD REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT THAT HE HAS MADE ALL THE NECESSARY CONTACTS AND WANTS TO SET THE GOVERNMENT UP AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. HE SAID HE WOULD ARGUE THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION IS DETERIORATING, THE RPF ARE

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BBING PROVOKED TO RETURN TO WAR, AND RWANDA IS OBLIGED TO REPLY TO THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. ONE OPTION WOULD BE TO PROCEED WITHOUT THE BLOCKING PARTY, BUT THAT WOULD POSE PROBLEMS FOR THE ELECTIONS OF ASSEMBLY OFFICERS. INSTEAD, HE SAID, HE WOULD ASK THE PRESIDENT TO TELL MUGENZI TO ACCEPT POLITICAL COMPROMISE. THE PRESIDENT, HE SAID, MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN MUGENZI AMD THE NATION. EVERYONE IS TIRED. HE ASKED FOR USG UNDERSTANDING.

CONCERN OVER REJECTION

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9. AMBASSADOR RAWSON REITERATED USG INTEREST IN COLLABORATION AMONG ALL POLITICAL PARTIES, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD, AND IMPROVED SECURITY FOR THE POPULATION. HE SAID HE HAD APPEALED TO THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY TO ENCOURAGE MUGENZI TO ACT IN THE INTEREST OF THE NATION. APPARENT REJECTION OF A DEAL IS CAUSE FOR CONCERN.

10. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE WANTS A POSITIVE SOLUTION. HE IMPLIED THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS HIDING BEHIND THE HUTU MAJORITY TO OBTAIN POWER AND TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE BURUNDI SITUATION TO STIR UP FEARS OF TUTSI EXTREMISTS. NORMALLY IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, THE PM-DESIGNATE SAID, THE MAJORITY MUST GIVE ASSURANCES TO THE MINORITY. HERE, THE MAJORITY IS DEMANDING ASSURANCES FROM THE MINORITY, AND THE MINORITY WON'T GIVE THEM.

FOCUS ON PROCESS

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11. A/S BENNET URGED THE PRIME MINISTERS TO FOCUS ON PROCESS AND ON THE BASIC OBJECTIVE OF EQUITY FOR ALL RWANDANS. HE SUGGESTED THEY CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY THAT WHAT THEY VIEW AS DEVIOUSNESS MIGHT ALSO REFLECT UNCERTAINTY AND INSECURITY OVER A FUTURE OF UNKNOWNS. HE SAID ONLY RWANDA CAN SOLVE ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTED RWANDAWS WORK ON ELICITING LEADERSHIP FROM THE PRESIDENT. OLD HABITS, HE SAID, AND FEARS CAN DESTROY THE PROCESS.

ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL

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12. A/S BENNET TOLD THE PRIME MINISTERS THAT THE REAL CHALLENGES AHEAD ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL REST WITH THE NEW ISSUES. HE URGED RWANDA TO SUPPORT SANCTIONS IN HAITI AND IRAQ AND CAUTIONED THAT EACH PEACEKEEPING OPERATION (PKO) MUST BE CONSIDERED ON ITS MERITS. THE RWANDAN PKO, HE SAID, HAD BECOME A MODEL; ITS SUCCESS WILL SIGNAL SUCCESS FOR PEACEKEEPING AROUND THE WORLD. FIGHTING FOR A CAUSE THAT GOES WELL BEYOND RWANDA, HE MUSED, MAKES IT ALL THE MORE WORTHWHILE. BUT, HE CAUTIONED, WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT, IT WILL BE HARD FOR RWANDA TO PLAY AS ACTIVE A ROLE ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS THE USG WOULD LIKE.

13. IN REPLY, TWAGIRAMUNGU COMMENTED ON THE IRONY OF RWANDA STRUGGLING TO HAVE A SEAT ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO HELP RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD BUT NOT BEING ABLE TO RESOLVE ITS OWN INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

COMMENT

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 00505
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: A/S BENNET MEETS PRIME MINISTERS
14. SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS WITH VARIOUS POLITICAL ACTORS OVER DINNER WITH A/S BENNET INDICATED THAT A NUMBER OF THEM INVESTED QUITE HEAVILY IN THE COMPROMISE DEAL THAT HAS NOW COLLAPSED. THEY ARE NOW LOOKING TO MORE DRASTIC MEASURES, AND MULLING OVER THE CONSEQUENCES OF BY-PDSSING THE PRESIDENT TO SET UP THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. SECURITY, THE RPF SAID, THE POTENTIAL FOR A VIOLENT BACKLASH FROM THE PRESIDENT'S INTERAHAMWE SUPPORTERS, IS THEIR GREATEST CONCERN.
RAWSON
BT
#0505
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 0505
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TOR: 940204033452 M0863812
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
8/1/2003 Frank E. Schmelzer
200203242 DoS
[2011-0262-M-2 (1.11)]

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHLGB0576 0401000-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 090925Z FEB 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 090925Z FEB 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 5681
INFO: ****
SUBJ: POSTSCRIPT TO YOUR TRIP
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 00576
IO FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY BENNET
ALSO FOR AF/C FROM AMBASSADOR
E.O: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, RW, US
SUBJECT: POSTSCRIPT TO YOUR TRIP
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. IT TURNS OUT THAT YOU CAME TO KIGALI AT PRECISELY THE RIGHT TIME. WE DID NOT KNOW IT THEN BUT, ON THE DAY YOU ARRIVED, THE PRESIDENCY WAS IN FULL RETREAT FROM COMPROMISE POSITIONS IT HAD PREVIOUSLY TENDERED. THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE HAD SEWED DOWN ONLY PATCHES ON THE QUILTWORK DEAL THEY DESCRIBED TO YOU ON WEDNESDAY. YOU HAD THE RIGHT MESSAGE: THAT WE CARED DEEPLY, THAT RWANDANS COULD TURN THIS AROUND AND MAKE THEIR COUNTRY A MODEL IN AFRICA, AND, THAT THEY SHOULD DO SO POST HASTE. WE TOOK LONG MILEAGE FRO YOUR SHORT STAY. IN MARATHON DISCUSSIONS AT THE END OF THE WEEK WITH KEY PLAYERS (LIBERAL PARTY LEADER MUGENZI, THE PRESIDENT'S COUNSELORS, THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY OPPONENTS, MRND HARDLINER DR. BIZIMUNGU), I DROPPED YOUR NAME AND INVOKED YOUR VIEWS AT THE SLIGHTEST EXCUSE.
3. INDEED, YOU WILL GO DOWN IN RWANDAN ORAL TRADITION AS COINER OF THAT IMMORTAL EPIGRAM "IN A MATTER OF HOURS." EVERYBODY WE MEET ASKS US ABOUT IT. WE UNDERSTAND THE PRIME MINISTER SPENT THE BEST PART OF A PRESS INTERVIEW EXPLAINING THE LOGICAL IMPERATIVE OF COMING TO AN AGREEMENT QUICKLY. OTHER PHRASES WHICH WE ARE TRYING TO IMBED IN THE RWANDAN POLITICAL LEXICON INCLUDED: "RWANDA AS A POLE OF STABILITY," "WE NEED SOME GREAT LEADERS TO STEP FORWARD," "DISPROVE THE IDEA THAT ETHNIC TENSIONS MUST DESTROY SOCIETY, "GODSPEED WITH AN EMPHASIS ON SPEED.""
4. RWANDAN TV ONLY BROADCASTS ON WEEKENDS. MY SET DOES NOT WORK BUT OUR USIS STALWARTS TELL ME THAT THE TV COVERED YOUR VISIT "SUBSTANTIALLY" IN THE NEWS ON

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FRIDAY AND SATURDAY. RADIO COVERAGE, AS EXPECTED IN VIEW OF THOSE REPORTERS WHO KEPT FOLLOWING US, WAS CONTINUOUS THROUGHOUT YOUR STAY. REVELANT EMBASSY REPORTING MAY BE FOUND IN KIGALI 0475, KIGALI 0489, KIGALI 0505 AND KIGALI 0551.
5. PENDING ISSUES. WITH ALL OUR EFFORTS, WE ARE AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE PEACE PROCESS. IMMEDIATE OUTSTANDING ISSUES INCLUDE:
-- INSTALLING INSTITUTIONS--MY GERMAN, FRENCH AND BELGIAN COLLEAGUES AND I HAVE STARTED ANOTHER ROUND OF DEMARCHES ON PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, RPF AND PRESIDENT; BOOH BOOH IS CONVENING THE POLITICAL PARTIES; WE ARE HOPEFUL.
-- FIXING BUDGET AND LOGISTICS. YOUR WILLINGNESS, IN THE MIDST OF ALL THAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD, TO LOOK INTO MUNDANE BUT VITAL LOGISTICS AND BUDGET ISSUES IS MUCH APPRECIATED BY ALL HERE.
-- SECURITY. SECGEN'S SPECIAL REP BOOH BOOH AND GENERAL DALLAIRE HAVE BEEN TALKING TO HEADQUARTERS ABOUT APPROACHES ON SECURITY CONCERNS. I TOLD DALLAIRE THAT WE BELIEVED MISSIONS SHOULD OPERATE WITHIN THEIR TERMS OF REFERENCE. HOWEVER, UNAMIR ALREADY HAD A MANDATE TO ESTABLISH AN ARMS SECURE ZONE IN KIGALI. THERE WAS REAL BENEFIT TO THE UN ACTIVELY PURSUING ITS MANDATE TO MAKE KIGALI SECURE. HE WILL LET ME KNOW IF THEY NEED ANY HELP WITH HEADQUARTERS IN GETTING THE OPERATIONAL AUTHORITY THEY NEED TO CARRY OUT WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO DO.
-- SECURITY COUNCIL. FINALLY, WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR THAT THERE IS A DRAFT PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT BEING CIRCULATED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. FROM THE FIELD PERSPECTIVE, WE SEE NO HARM AND VERY POSSIBLY SOME GOOD IN SUCH A SECURITY COUNCIL INITIATIVE. WE HAVE TO KEEP AFTER RWANDAN POLITICOS OR THEY WILL FALL BACK INTO THEIR BICKERING WAYS.
6. THANKS FOR COMING, FOR TAKING ON A RIGOROUS
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 00576
IO FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY BENNET
ALSO FOR AF/C FROM AMBASSADOR
E.O: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, RW, US
SUBJECT: POSTSCRIPT TO YOUR TRIP
SCHEDULE AND FOR PUSHING THE PEACE PROCESS BACK ON TRACK HERE IN RWANDA.
7.REGARDS RAWSON
BT
#0576
NNNN

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

SSN: 0576
<^SSN>0576

TOR: 940209052153 M0872475
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
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ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 2185
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 8122
INFO: ****
SUBJ: RWANDA - UNDP ROUNDTABLE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/18/2005 Harry R Mebre
200502395 DoS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.12)]

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 040575
GENEVA FOR IEA SCHLAIKJER
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDA - UNDP ROUNDTABLE

REF: A) KIGALI 0688 B) GENEVA 01390

1. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DEPARTMENT AND AID/AFR AGREE WITH POST'S RECOMMENDATIONS IN REF (A). HOWEVER WITH RESPECT TO YOUR RECOMMENDATION IN PARA 3 OF REF (A), POST SHOULD RECAST THE NOTE VERBALE (OR LETTER) TO REMOVE THE FEB. 19 DEADLINE. POST SHOULD INFORM THE UNDP THAT IF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT INSTALLED PRIOR TO THE UPCOMING UNDP ROUNDTABLE, THE USG WILL NOT PARTICIPATE SUBSTANTIVELY IN THE ROUNDTABLE.

3. POST IS INSTRUCTED TO REPORT THE UNDP'S AND THE GOR'S REACTION TO THE NOTE/LETTER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. DEPENDING ON POST'S REPORT, DEPARTMENT CAN, IF NECESSARY, CONTACT UNDP OFFICIALS IN NEW YORK TO SOUND THEM OUT ON THEIR VIEWS CONCERNING THE POSSIBLE NEED TO POSTPONE THE ROUNDTABLE.

4. FOR GENEVA: IF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT DOES NOT FORM AND THE UNDP NONETHELESS DECIDES TO GO AHEAD WITH THE ROUNDTABLE AS SCHEDULED, POST IS INSTRUCTED TO SEND AN OFFICER TO OBSERVE THE PROCEEDINGS, TAKE NOTES AS APPROPRIATE, AND MAKE THE ONE-SENTENCE STATEMENT CONTAINED IN REF (A), PARA 2. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#0575
NNNN

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0575
TOR: 940216183920 M0885882
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 251647Z FEB 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 251647Z FEB 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 4348
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0836
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 4351
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4585
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0353
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0939
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 6327
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1146
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0530
SUBJ: GATABAZI'S FUNERAL; PRESIDENT'S NEW INITIATIVE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
1/18/2005 William E. Landfair
200404138 DOS
[2011-0262.M-1 (1.16)]

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 00833
BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW
PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: GATABAZI'S FUNERAL; PRESIDENT'S NEW INITIATIVE
REF: KIGALI 0830
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: CALM APPEARS TO REIGN IN KIGALI THE DAY AFTER MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS GATABAZI WAS BURIED OUTSIDE THE SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY TOWN OF BUTARE. MBANWHILE, HABYARIMANA HAS CONVENED A MEETING OF POLITICAL LEADERS TO LOOK AT THE CONTINUING GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS. THE PRESIDENT APPARENTLY INTENDS TO SET UP ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS, BUT I WARNED HIS ADVISORS OF THE DAMGERS IN SUCH ACTION. UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI ALSO CALLED THE PRESIDENT NIGHT 2/24 URGING HIM TO PROCEED WITH TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. END SUMMARY.
3. RWANDAN CLERGY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CONDUCTED THE FUNERAL OF FELICIEN GATABAZI, MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, IN SOLEMN DIGNITY AT THE BUTARE REGIONAL STADIUM. IN ADDITION TO REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENCY, MOURNERS INCLUDED RPF'S BIZIMUNGU AND TITO RUTAREMARA AND COMS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FROM FRANCE, BELGIUM, SWITZERLAND, UNICEF AND MYSELF.
4. THE MECHANISMS SET UP TO HANDLE AN OVERFLOW CROWD AND LEAD THEM THROUGH A LENGTHY MASS AND INTERMENT CBREMONIES DEMONSTRATED RWANDAN CAPACITY TO DO THINGS RIGHT IF THEY SO DESIRE. THE FUNERAL PREPARATIONS ALSO SHOWED HOW MUCH OF RWANDAN POLITY AND CIVIL SOCIETY IS STILL INTACT. GENDARMERIE SMARTLY PERFORMED THEIR POLICING ROLES, THE ARMY PROVIDED AN HONOR COMPANY, POLITICIANS OF ALL STRIPE PARTICIPATED IN THE CEREMONIES. THE MASS WAS LED BY A TUTSI BISHOP WHO HAD BEEN GATABAZI'S TEACHER MANY YEARS AGO AMD SPOKE OF HIM AS A SON.
5. ON RETURN TO KIGALI AFTER THE FUNERAL AND INTERMENT AT SAVE MISSION STATION (RWANDA'S OLDEST CATHOLIC MISSION), I FOUND THAT RTLM (PRO-HABYARIMANA RADIO) HAD PUBLICLY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF A GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE AS THE RESULT OF PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PARTY OFFICIALS TODAY. WE HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY DISCERNED THAT THE PRESIDENT INTENDED TO USE THIS ALL-PARTY GATHERING TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT.
6. AFTER NUMEROUS EFFORTS, I FINALLY REACHED THE PRESIDENT'S LEGAL ADVISER AND CABINET DIRECTOR. I TOLD THEM BOTH THAT THE RWANDAN POLITICAL SYSTEM HAD ENTERED A NEW ORDER WHEN THE PRESIDENT WAS SWORN IN AS PART OF THE ARUSHA INTERIM ARRANGEMENT ON 1/5. WE NOW LIVED IN A POLITICAL VACUUM THAT COULD ONLY BE FILLED BY PROCEEDING TO INSTALL THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ANY GOVERNMENT SET UP OTHERWISE MIGHT BE CONTRARY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW (THE ARUSHA ACCORD).
7. THE LEGAL COUNSELOR TRIED TO ARGUE THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORD COULD BE INTERPRETED IN TWO DIFFERENT WAYS. I URGED HIM NOT TO ELABORATE LEGAL JUSTIFICATIONS BUT TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORT OF WHAT I WAS TRYING TO COMMUNICATE. I WAS NOT A LAWYER, BUT I KNEW WE HAD A LAW WHICH PROHIBITED ASSISTANCE TO UNCONSTITUTIONAL REGIMES. I WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE TO QUERY WASHINGTON REGARDING OUR COOPERATION WITH ANY GOVERNMENT OTHER THAN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORD. I WANTED TO GET THIS MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT, NOT AS A DICTATE OR CHALLENGE, BUT SO THAT HE WAS FULLY INFORMED ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE ISSUE UNDER CONSIDERATION AND WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 00833
BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW
PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: GATABAZI'S FUNERAL; PRESIDENT'S NEW
BY ANY SUBSEQUENT U.S. ACTIONS. IN THE NEXT CALL, CABINET DIRECTOR RUHIGIRA TOOK NOTE OF MY COMMENTS AND WENT IMMEDIATELY TO THE POLITICAL GATHERING. HE WAS ALREADY AWARE THAT THE ONLY STEP WE WOULD CONSIDER JUSTIFIED WAS A INITIATIVE TO INSTALL THE INTERIM GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS.
8. WHEN THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOOH BOOH RETURNED MY CALL AFTERNOON

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2/25, I INFORMED HIM OF WHAT I HAD TOLD THE PRESIDENT'S COUNSELORS. HE SAID THAT UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI HAD CALLED THE PRESIDENT THE NIGHT BEFORE AND, THOUGH HE COULD NOT REVEAL ALL THAT HAD BEEN SAID, THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAD URGED THE PRESIDENT TO STOP DALYING AND GET THE INTERIM INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED. BOOH BOOH SAID THAT UN VIEW ON THIS PRIORITY COINCIDED PRECISELY WITH OURS.

9. CALM HAS RETURNED TO KIGALI. THE STREETS SEEM BACK TO NORMAL. AT A TOWN MEETING NOON 2/25, WE SAW OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL AMERICANS FROM ALL OVER TOWN. THE PREFECTURE, AFTER A LONG MEETING ON SECURITY, HAS DECIDED TO CONTINUE THE CURFEW THROUGH THE WEEKEND. WE WILL MAINTAIN REGULAR UPDATES ON THE SITUATION TO THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY THROUGH OUR WARDEN NET.

10. COMMENT: WE CAN HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S CALL TO THE PRESIDENT AND MY OWN WARNING SHOTS ACROSS THE BOW DETERRED HIM FROM TRYING TO RECREATE GOVERNMENT OUTSIDE THE ARUSHA CONTEXT, BUT WE WILL HAVE TO AWAIT THE RESULTS OF TODAY'S MEETING. RPF IS MEETING WITH MDR FACTION OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE AT OUR RESIDENCE TOMORROW AT 10:00 A.M. IN ANOTHER CONFIDENCE-BUILDING EXERCISE. I WILL SOLICIT THEIR VIEWS AT THAT TIME.

11. WE WERE VERY CLOSE TO A GLOBAL AGREEMENT ON MONDAY. SOMEONE CLEARLY DID NOT WANT INSTITUTIONS TO BE INSTALLED AND TOOK DRACONIAN MEASURES TO PREVENT THIS. IT IS DISCONCERTING TO HEAR RWANDANS BLAME, WITH EQUAL FERVOR, THE PRESIDENT, THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE OR THE RPF. THIS DISPUTE ABOUT WHO WOULD WANT TO KILL GATABAZI IS BUT A REFLECTION OF THE DEEP DISTRUST THAT STILL SEPARATES THE PUTATIVE PARTNERS IN THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS. YET THE CENTRAL COHESION OF RWANDAN SOCIETY AND ITS CAPACITY FOR GOOD HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED IN ITS DIGNIFIED FAREWELL TO PUBLIC WORKS MINISTER GATABAZI. THE IMPRESSIONS OF THAT EVENT MAKE THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD WORTH OUR CONSTANT EFFORT AND CONTINUING PRESSURE ON RWANDANS TO GET THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE. END COMMENT. RAWSON

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

SSN: 0833
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TOR: 940225115551 M0902690
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Rwanda/Internal Security: Violence in Kigali... (2 pages)	03/03/1994	P1/b(1)
~~002. cable~~	~~A Visit with Habyarimana (4 pages)~~	~~03/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~Demarche... (3 pages)~~	~~03/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
004. cable	UN-Rwanda: Situation... (3 pages)	03/09/1994	P1/b(1)
005. cable	President Habyarimana Goes Calling [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	03/10/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
~~006. cable~~	~~Burundi... (2 pages)~~	~~03/10/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~007. cable~~	~~Rwanda Impasse... (2 pages)~~	~~03/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
008. cable	Fonmin Claes' Interview on His Trip to Rwanda and Burundi and on Situation in Zaire [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	03/11/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
009. cable	President Appoints New Members to National Security Council (4 pages)	03/16/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	AF/C Director Render's Talks in Paris on Central African Issues, March 14 (5 pages)	03/18/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	Burundi Coup... (3 pages)	03/21/1994	P1/b(1)
012. cable	President Museveni's Comments on Rwanda... (3 pages)	03/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[03/03/1994 - 03/31/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh124

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Rwanda/Burundi... (2 pages)	03/22/1994	P1/b(1)
~~014. cable~~	~~[Belgian Aid to Rwanda] (2 pages)~~	~~03/24/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
015. cable	Tanzania Economic/Political Information for A/S Moose (5 pages)	03/25/1994	P1/b(1)
016. cable	Tanzania Economic/Political Information for A/S Moose The Opposition and Government Supporter is Significant (3 pages)	03/25/1994	P1/b(1)
017. cable	President Mwinyi on Regional and Domestic Crises (4 pages)	03/25/1994	P1/b(1)
~~018. cable~~	~~[Installation of Transition Regime] (5 pages)~~	~~03/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~019. cable~~	~~Demarche Request... (3 pages)~~	~~03/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~020. cable~~	~~Rwanda President Habyarimana Receives DASD Irvin, Promised Installation Ceremonies Aborted (3 pages)~~	~~03/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~021. cable~~	~~President Mwinyi on Rwanda/Burundi (2 pages)~~	~~03/30/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~022. cable~~	~~Draft Seeurtiy Council Resolution on Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~03/31/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
023. cable	Demarche on... (4 pages)	03/31/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[03/03/1994 - 03/31/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh124

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

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PER E.O. 13526
5/3/2005 William E. Landfair
20010304 DOS
[2011-0762-M-1 (1.19)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1250
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 6400
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RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SAAA// PRIORITY
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0594
SUBJ: A VISIT WITH HABYARIMANA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 01459
KAMPALA FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE
AND AMBASSADOR CARSON
E.O. 12356: DECL OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINR, RW
SUBJECT: A VISIT WITH HABYARIMANA
REF: KIGALI 01458
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ASKED ME TO SEE HIM SATURDAY MORNING, 4/2; HE HAD FOUR THINGS ON HIS MIND: THE POLITICAL IMPASSE, PATRIOTIC FRONT'S TERRORISM, THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE UNDER THE ACCORD, AND THE U.S. VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON PEACEKEEPING IN RWANDA. I REVIEWED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S POSITION ON INSTALLING INSTITUTIONS, WAS AGNOSTIC ON SOURCES OF INTERNAL POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND DID NOT COMFORT THE PRESIDENT ON THE U.S. VOTE. END SUMMARY.
3. THE PRESIDENT WONDERED HOW THE PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) COULD INSIST ON KEEPING THE CDR PARTY OUT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHEN ALL INTERNAL POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THOUGHT THAT THE CDR SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS FROM THE START. THE PROBLEM, IN HIS VIEW, WAS RELATED TO RPF'S ULTIMATE INTENTIONS: THEY WERE A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION SEEKING TO TAKE POWER BY FORCE. INITIALLY THEY TRIED A CLASSIC MILITARY ATTACK, THEN THEY TRIED GUERRILLA WARFARE, AND WHEN THEY FAILED TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVE, THEY PULLED OUT THEIR THIRD BATTLE PLAN--NEGOTIATIONS ACCOMPANIED

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BY POLITICAL ASSASSINATION TO DESTABILIZE THE INTERNAL POLITICAL ORDER.

4. REVERSING THE COINAGE, HABYARIMANA THEN RAISED THE WAY IN WHICH THE OPPOSITION AND RPF TRIED TO UNDERMINE THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT, WHICH STILL HAD A FUNCTIONAL, STABILIZING ROLE TO PLAY UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORD. HE MENTIONED RPF COMMUNIQUES WHICH HAD CALLED HIM TRAITOR AND ASSASSIN, BUT OBVIOUSLY ALSO HAD IN MIND RECENT HARSH WORDS WHICH PRIME MINISTER UWILINGIYIMANA HAD DIRECTED TOWARD HIM. THERE HAD TO BE AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT AMONGST POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IF THE ARUSHA ACCORD WERE EVER TO WORK.

5. TOWARD THE END OF OUR HOUR-LONG COVNERSATION, THE PRESIDENT UNVEILED THE OBVIOUS REASON FOR CONVOKING ME--HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE U.S. VOTE FOR RENEWAL OF THE UN PEACEKEEPING MANDATE. THE UN PRESENCE WAS ESSENTIAL IF RWANDA WERE EVER TO GET OUT OF ITS CURRENT TROUBLES. HE RECOGNIZED THAT RWANDA HAD GIVEN THE UNITED STATES FEW REASONS TO SUPPORT THEIR CASE, BUT, IN FACT, REAL PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN PLANNING DEMOBILIZATION, IN RESOLVING OUTSTANDING POLITICAL ISSUES REGARDING THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND, IN ESTABLISHING AN EFFECTIVE UN PRESENCE ACROSS THE COUNTRY. RWANDA NEEDED A BIT MORE TIME. WOULD I PLEAD WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE AND OTHER AUTHORITIES IN WASHINGTON FOR A POSITIVE VOTE ON EXTENSION?

6. I REMINDED THE PRESIDENT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S POSITION ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL BLOCKAGES HAD THREE ELEMENTS: EQUITY IN THE TREATMBNT OF ALL RECOGNIZED PARTIES (NOT SUPPORT AS SUCH FOR ANY PARTICULAR PARTY), FORMATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF A WATCHDOG NATIONAL COMMISSION TO MAKE SURE PARTIES KEPT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ACCORD, AND A CONCLUSION THAT NO INTRAPARTY ISSUE SHOULD, HENCEFORTH, BE PERMITTED TO STALL INSTALLATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT. FOR THAT SINGLE CEREMONY TO SUCCEED, ALL MAJOR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS (PRESIDENCY, PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, HIGH COURT) AS WELL AS MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND RPF HAD TO BE PRESENT. THE PRESIDENT PROTESTED THAT HE HAD THREE TIMES TRIED TO SET UP SUCH A CEREMONY AND OTHERS DID NOT SHOW UP. I POINTED OUT THAT THE LAST TIME HE HAD SUBMITTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER A LIST OF DEPUTIES

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 01459

KAMPALA FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE
AND AMBASSADOR CARSON
E.O. 12356: DECL OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINR, RW
SUBJECT: A VISIT WITH HABYARIMANA

DIFFERENT THAN HERS ON THE EVE OF THE CEREMONY, AND THAT AFTER HE HAD ASSURED A PROMINENT AMERICAN VISITOR (DASD IRVIN) THAT THE CEREMONIES WOULD GO FORWARD. OPERATIONALLY, POLITICAL ACTORS MUST AGREE ON A SINGLE LIST OF DEPUTIES AND MINISTERS BEFORE THE CEREMONY BEGINS, OR IT WILL NEVER GET OFF THE GROUND. I ENCOURAGED HIM TO ENGAGE DIRECTLY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE AND RPF TO

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SECURE SUCH A LIST. IN THE VIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE CDR ISSUE WAS THE LAST POSSIBLE POINT OF CONTENTION; ALL OTHER ISSUES COULD BE DEALT WITH AFTER THE INSTITUTIONS WERE IN PLACE.

7. AS REGARDS TERRORISM, I HAD HEARD BOTH RPF AND CDR, WITHIN THE LAST WEEK, ACCUSE EACH OTHER OF BEING THE SOURCE OF ALL VIOLENCE IN THIS COUNTRY. THE CASUALTIES RESULTING FROM CIVIL WAR WERE FAIRLY EASY TO DETERMINE. BUT ABSENT INCRIMINATING EVIDENCE, I WAS NOT IN POSITION TO SAY WHO MIGHT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL VIOLENCE; VIRTUALLY EVERY POLITICAL FORCE IN RWANDA HAD LOST A PROMINENT PERSONALITY TO SUCH VIOLENCE; MY ONLY CONCLUSION WAS THAT SOME GROUP DOES NOT WANT THE ARUSHA ACCORD TO SUCCEED AND SABOTAGES IT AT CRITICAL MOMENTS. THE ANSWER TO SUCH SABOTAGE WAS TO PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLAE AND LET THE UNITED NATIONS WORK WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT SERVICES TO FIND OUT WHO PERPETRATED THESE ACTS AND STOP THEM. I RECALLED THAT TARGETED, PERSONALIZED POLITICAL KILLINGS IN THE LATE 80'S HAD BROUGHT ABOUT POLITICAL REVOLT AND STATE DISINTEGRATION IN LIBERIA. POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED VIOLENCE UNDERMINED THE VERY ESSENCE OF THE NATION. I ENDED WITH A PLEA THAT THE PRESIDENT DO EVERYTHING IN HIS POWER TO KEEP KIGALI CALM IN THIS TENUOUS TIME AS WE ALL TRIED TO HURDLE THE LAST OBSTACLE TO SETTING UP GOVERNMENT.

8. ON THE QUESTION OF UN MANDATE, I REMINDED THE PRESIDENT THAT DAS BUSHNELL HAD MADE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR TO RWANDAN AUTHORITIES ON HER RECENT VISIT THE DEGREE OF SKEPTICISM IN WASHINGTON REGARDING SUCCESS OF THE UN MISSION. SHE HAD ASKED FOR ACTIONS, NOT WORDS, TO JUSTIFY U.S. SUPPORT. THOSE ACTIONS HAD NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING. THE PRESIDENT HAD, NO DOUBT, SEEN THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT CALLING FOR A SIX-MONTH EXTENSION BUT WITH REVIEW IN TWO MONTHS. I HAD DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT DESK ON FRIDAY NIGHT AND WASHINGTON WAS STILL DEBATING WHAT ITS POSITION WOULD BE ON 4/5. I WOULD OBVIOUSLY COMMUNICATE HIS PLEA TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, WHO WAS TO BE IN KAMPALA 4/3-5, AND TO OTHERS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

9. COMMENT: OTHER THAN REAFFIRMING OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PRBSIDENCY AS AN INSTITUTION WITHIN THE ARUSHA ACCORD, I CHOSE NOT TO BELABOR HABYARIMANA'S CONCERN ABOUT "MUTUAL RESPECT." POLITICAL EMOTIONS ARE TOO TAUNT AT THE MOMENT TO INDUCE CONFIDENCE BUILDING BY ANY INITIATIVE OTHER THAN AN EARNEST, HONEST EFFORT ON ALL SIDES TO PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE. NOR DID I TRY TO COMFORT THE PRESIDENT OVER OUR POSITION ON THE UN VOTE. IT WILL NOT HURT TO LET HIM WORRY; HE MUST NOT SEE U.S. SUPPORT AS A GIVEN. I CREDIT HABYARIMANA'S ASSURANCE THAT HE WILL NOT PUT FORWARD ANY PRECONDITION FOR SWEARING IN THE INSTITUTIONS OTHER THAN THAT THE CDR HAVE ITS PLACE IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. BUT WE CAN USE THE LEVERAGE OF OUR HESITANT SUPPORT TO KEEP HIM TO HIS WORD. END COMMENT. RAWSON

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BT
#1459
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1459
<^SSN>1459

TOR: 940404054342 M0972870
<^TOR>940404054443 M0972871

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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Cable

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 090422Z MAR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0000
INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0000
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
SUBJ: DEMARCHE ON RWANDAN IMPASSE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/1/2007 John L. Mills
200103014 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.20)]

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 059818
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW, TZ, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE ON RWANDAN IMPASSE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST.

3. WE UNDERSTAND THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA WAS TRAVELING TO UGANDA AND TANZANIA THIS WEEK TO DISCSS THE CURRENT IMPASSE OVER INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO APPROACH THE HOST GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS TO OBTAIN A READOUT ON THESE MEETINGS. IN YOUR MEETINGS, POSTS SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUING IMPASSE IN RWANDA. THE LONGER THE IMPASSE DRAGS ON, THE GREATER THE RISK FOR FURTHER VIOLENCE AND, POSSIBLY, A RETURN TO WAR.

-- FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORDS IS THE ONLY SOLUTION. RENEWAL OF THE RWANDAN WAR WOULD LEAD TO NTOLD HUMAN SUFFERING AND COULD THREATEN THE STABILITY OF THE ENTIRE REGION.

-- WE HAVE URGED ALL SIDES TO BE FLEXIBLE AND SHOW SOME WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE SO THE TRNSITION GOVERNMENT CAN

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BE INSTALLED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE ASK YOU TO DELIVER THE SAME MESSAGE TO YOUR RWANDAN CONTACT IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF.

4. FOR KAMPALA ONLY: WE UNDERSTAND AMB. CARSON IS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH PRES. MUSEVENI SOON. PLEASE RAISE RWANDA WITH THE PRESIDENT AND MAKE THE ABOVE POINTS, AS WELL AS THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS:

-- THE PARTIES ARE SEEMINGLY VERY CLOSE TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT. IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF A FEW MINISTERIAL AND ASSEMBLY POSITIONS THAT SEPARATE THE SIDES.

-- IT IS CRUCIAL THAT ALL PARTIES MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE IN ORDER TO OVERCOME THE IMPASSE. THE FEB. 25 AND 27 MEETINGS CALLED BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA APPEARED TO PRODUCE SOME IMPORTANT COMPROMISES.

-- WHILE WE UNDERSTAND THE RPF'S CONCERNS ABOUT BEING EXCLUDED FROM THESE MEETINGS, WE ASK YOU TO ENCOURAGE YOUR CONTACTS IN THE RPF TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE AND TRY TO BUILD ON WHAT HAS BEEN AGREED TO, RATHER THAN SIMPLY REJECTING THE RESULTS OF THE MEETINGS OUT OF HAND.

-- THE ARUSHA ACCORD ALLOWS EACH PARTY TO CHOOSE ITS OWN DEPUTIES TO THE NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. IT IS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE ACCORDS TO ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE IN THIS PROCESS. WE HAVE MADE THIS POINT TO ALL SIDES AND WE ASK YOU TO DELIVER THIS SAME MESSAGE TO YOUR RWANDAN CONTACTS ON BOTH SIDES.

-- ALTHOUGH THE RPF HAS STATED ITS PREFERENCE FOR THE SEPTEMBER (LANDOALD NDASINGWA) LIST OF PL DEPUTIES THE RPF LEADERSHIP TOLD US AT ONE POINT THAT THEY WOULD ACCEPT HATEVER LIST THE PL ITSELF COMPROMISES ON, PROVIDED THERE IS A CONSENSUS WITHIN THE PL ITSELF. THEY NOW APPEAR TO INSIST THAT THEY WILL ACCEPT ONLY THE SEPTEMBER LIST. WE ASK YOU TO URGE YOUR RPF CONTACTS TO LEAE SUCH DECISIONS TO THE PL.

-- WE ARE TROUBLED BY THE NUMEROUS COMMUNIQUES FROM THE RPF CONTAINING HEATED RHETORIC AND PERSONAL INVECTIVES WHICH ONLY SERVE TO INCREASE DIVISIONS. WE ASK YOU TO URGE YOUR RPF CONTACTS TO TONE DOWN THE RHETORIC AND WORK

AT RESTORING DIALOGUE.

-- WE WOULD WELCOME ANY SUGGESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE FOR HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MIGHT ASSIST RWANDANS IN BREAKING THE IMPASSE.

5. FOR DAR ES SALAAM: PLEASE SEEK A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI AND, IN ADDITION TO THE POINTS IN PARA 3, PLEASE MAKE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS:

,- YOUR EFFORTS AS FACILITATOR WERE CRUCIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THE CURRENT

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IMPASSE THREATENS TO UNDO ALL THAT AS ACHIEVED DURING THE TALKS.

-- WE KNOW THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HA TRIED TO REMAIN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN RWANDA. AS FACILITATOR, YOU HAVE EARNED THE RESPECT OF ALL SIDES AND WE ASK YOU TO CONTINUE TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES TO ASSIST THE RWANDANS TO OVERCOME THE CURRENT IMPASSE.

-- WE WOULD WELCOME ANY SUGGESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE FOR HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MIGHT ASSIST RWANDANS IN BREAKING THE IMPASSE. TALBOTT
BT
#9818
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9818

TOR: 940308233511 M0923817

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. cable	President Habyarimana Goes Calling [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	03/10/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[03/03/1994 - 03/31/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch124

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHLGB1017 0690911-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 100908Z MAR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 100908Z MAR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5895
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0862
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 4365
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 4366
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4605
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0373
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1038
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 6350
RUEHYD/USDAO YAOUNDE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0545
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SAA//
SUBJ: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA GOES CALLING
TEXT:

Declassified in Part
U.S. Department of State
11/20/2002 John L. Mills
200003723
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.22)]

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 01017
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, UG, RW
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA GOES CALLING
1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMMARY. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA MET WITH THB PRESIDENTS OF ALL RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS BETWEEN FEBRUARY 26 AND MARCH 8. IN EACH MEETING HE SOLICITED SUPPORT FOR HIS PROPOSALS FOR RESOLVING THE POLITICAL IMPASSE. HIS TRAVELS ELICITED REPROACH FROM THE RPF WHO SEE HIM "HIJACKING" THE PEACE PROCESS. MEANWHILE, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS BEEN ESSENTIALLY SIDELINED IN MAKING INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS. WHILE HABYARIMANA MAY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE PRESIDENTS OF ZAIRE AND BURUNDI, IT IS LIKELY THAT HE HEARD SOME TOUGH TALK IN TANZANIA AND UGANDA. END SUMMARY.
GREAT LAKES SUMMIT
---
2. (U) PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TRAVELLED FEBRUARY 26 TO GBADOLITE IN ZAIRE FOR A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND PRESIDENT NTARYAMIRA, OSTENSIBLY UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CEPGL, A REGIONAL ORQIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI. PRESS REPORTS
INDICATE THE THREE TALKED ABOUT THE SITUATIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE CEPGL.
UGANDA

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3. (U) THE PRESIDENT PAID A ONE-DAY VISIT MARCH 7 TO KAMPALA WHERE HE MET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI. THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, AN MRND ACOLYTE, ACCOMPANIED THE PRESIDENT. ALTHOUGH MINISTER OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, LANDOALD NDASINGWA, LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY FACTION OPPOSING THE PRESIDENT, WAS TO HAVE JOINED THE GROUP, RADIO RWANDA REPORTS THAT NDASINGWA DID NOT GO ON THE TRIP BECAUSE "HE WAS NOT INFORMED IN TIME."

4. (U) IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE THE TWO PRESIDENTS THANKED THE UNITED NATIONS FOR ITS ROLE IN HELPING TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD, ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE "NORTHERN CORRIDOR" (RWANDA'S ACCESS TO THE SEA THROUGH UGANDA) TO BE OPENED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND CONFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT TO RESOLVE ONCE AND FOR ALL THE PROBLEM OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. THEY AGREED TO CREATE A MIXED TECHNICAL COMMISSION AIMED AT DEFINING MODALITIES FOR ORDERLY RETURN OF THE REFUGEES AND RECOMMENDED A REGIONAL SUMMIT BE HELD TO FIND A GLOBAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES IN THE REGION. IN ADDITION, PRESIDENT MUSEVENI EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE BLOCKAGE DELAYING THE INSTALLATION OF A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WOULD BE LIFTED SOON.

5. (U) RPF RADIO MUHABURA CRITICIZED THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, ACCUSING HIM OF TRYING TO ENLIST MUSEVENI'S HELP TO PRESSURE THE RPF INTO ACCEPTING HABYARIMANA'S PROPOSALS FOR ENDING RWANDA'S POLITICAL IMPASSE. THEY CHARGED HE PLANNED TO TAKE THE SAME MESSAGE TO TANZANIA. THE RPF REITERATED ITS CLAIM THAT AGREEMENT IN THE ALL-PARTY MEETING CHAIRED BY THE PRESIDENT RESULTED FROM INTIMIDATION AND TERRORISM AND ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT AND HIS "HENCHMEN" OF DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO TORPEDO THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT. THE RPF CHARGED THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ALLIES WANT TO KEEP THE STATUS QUO WHILE THE RPF AND ITS ALLIES WANT CHANGE AND DEMOCRACY WITH LAWS THAT WILL BENEFIT ALL THE PEOPLE. THUS, RADIO MUHABURA SAID, THE RPF'S COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTING THE ARUSHA ACCORD.

TANZANIA

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6. (U) PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TRAVELLED MARCH 8 TO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 01017

YAOUNDE FOR DAO

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, UG, RW

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA GOES CALLING

DAR ES SALAAM WHERE HE MET WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI, THE FACILITATOR IN THE ARUSHA PEACE PROCESS.

7. ~~(C)~~ (b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

COMMENT

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8. (C) (b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1) RAWSON

BT
#1017
NNNN

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

SSN: 1017
<^SSN>1017

TOR: 940310042643 M0926497
<^TOR>940310042640 M0926495

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX WILSON
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHLGB1020 0690948-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 100945Z MAR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 100945Z MAR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5900
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0866
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 4369
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 4368
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4607
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0377
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 6354
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1159
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ-4-SAA//
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0547
SUBJ: BURUNDI TRUCK CAUGHT CARRYING ARMS
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/20/2002 John L. Mills
200003723 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.23)]

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KIGALI 01020
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINS, RW, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDI TRUCK CAUGHT CARRYING ARMS
REF: BUJUMBURA 812
1. (U) RWANDA'S TWO PRIVATE RADIO STATIONS, THE RPF'S RADIO MUHABURA AND PRO-HUTU RTLM, REPORTED ACCIDENT 3/6 NEAR THE RPF'S KIGALI HEADQUARTERS INVOLVING A PICK-UP TRUCK FILLED WITH ARMS AND AMMUNITION. THE TRUCK, THE REPORTS SAID, BORE BURUNDI LICENSE PLATES. RADIO RTLM CLAIMED THE ARMS AND MUNITIONS WERE DESTINED FOR THE RPF. RADIO MUHABURA ALLEGED THE VEHICLE WAS COMING FROM A GOVERNMENT MILITARY CAMP NEAR THE AIRPORT AAHN THE WEAPONS WERE INTENDED TO DESTABILIZE BURUNDI.
2. (S) HEAD OF THE UN OBSERVER FORCE IN KIGALI TOLD DCM THE TRUCK BORE OFFICIAL LICENSE PLATES FROM BURUNDI. THE UNAMIR OFFICER SAID THAT THE DRIVER, WHOM HE INTERVIEWED TWICE, STUCK TO HIS STORY: HE BOUGHT THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION IN KIGALI TO TAKE BACK TO BURUNDI. AN INVESTIGATION OF THE INCIDENT IS UNDERWAY.
3. (S) PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR TELEPHONED EMBASSY 3/8 TO EXPRESS CONCERN OVER WEEKEND KILLINGS IN BUJUMBURA AND THE POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS THAT MIGHT OCCUR IN RWANDA. HE URGED THE U.S. TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO ASSURE THAT THE BLOOD NOT CONTINUE TO FLOW. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, THE CABINET DIRECTOR ACKNOWLEDGED HEARING ABOUT THE VEHICLE ACCIDENT AND SAID AN INVESTIGATION IS UNDERWAY. DCM

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NOTED THAT IF IT WERE DETERMINED THAT THE ARMS WERE
DESTINED FOR BURUNDI, THIS WOULD BE VERY TROUBLING.
RAWSON
BT
#1020
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1020

TOR: 940310050601 M0926571

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/1/2007 John L. Mills
200103014 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.24)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDRA1552 0700938-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 110938Z MAR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 110938Z MAR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4119
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 3714
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1625
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0969
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0058
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4710
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0225
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4441
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0360
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0842
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0525
SUBJ: RWANDA IMPASSE: TANZANIAN ROLE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 001552
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW, TZ
SUBJECT: RWANDA IMPASSE: TANZANIAN ROLE
REF: STATE 59818

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE HABYARIMANA TRIP HERE THIS WEEK APPARENTLY WAS TO COUNTERACT A SIMILAR VISIT BY RPF REPRESENTATIVES LATE LAST WEEK. FOREIGN MINISTER RWEGASIRA IS OFF TO KIGALI TODAY TO TALK WITH ALL PARTIES, BUT HE HAS NO MAGIC FORMULA TO SELL. PRIVATELY, THE GOT BLAMES HABYARIMANA FOR THE CURRENT IMPASSE, AND WOULD LIKE TO HAVE GREATER INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR UPON HIM. END SUMMARY.

3. UPON RECEIPT OF REFTEL, I REQUESTED AN APPOINTMENT WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI. HOWEVER, WITH THE "IDD EL FITR" WEEKEND APPROACHING, I MAY NOT SEE HIM SO QUICKLY. THEREFORE, DRAWING FROM POINTS IN REFTEL, I DISCUSSED THE RWANDA QUESTION WITH MFA PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, DR. IBRAHIM MSABAHA.

4. THE PS NOTED THAT PRESIDENTS HABYARIMANA AND MWINYI HAD A TETE-A-TETE ABOUT WHICH HE HAD NOT BEEN BRIEFED YET IN DETAIL. ESSENTIALLY, HOWEVER, THE HABYARIMANA TRIP WAS TO COUNTERACT A VISIT TO DAR LATE LAST WEEK BY RPF REPRESENTATIVES. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE TANZANIANS, THE RPF HAD PLACED THE ENTIRE BLAME FOR THE CURRENT IMPASSE UPON PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. THE RPF OFFICIALS CLAIMED HE WAS ATTEMPTING TO DIVIDE THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN ORDER TO DELAY FURTHER

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS IN A NAKED EFFORT TO RETAIN POWER. FOR ITS PART, THE RPF INSISTED ON FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. SHOULD THERE BE FURTHER DELAY, THEY THREATENED OMINOUSLY THAT THERE WOULD BE RENEWED WAR, ONLY NOW THE RPF WAS ALREADY IN KIGALI. (MSABAHA SAID THE GOT BELIEVED THAT BOTH THE GOR AND THE RPF WERE DISTRIBUTING ARMS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE SUPPORTERS, AND A RENEWAL OF VIOLENCE WOULD LIKELY DETERIORATE INTO A GENERAL CONFLAGRATION MUCH WORSE THAN JUST A CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO CONVENTIONAL FORCES.)

5. ACCORDING TO MSABAHA, HABYARIMANA'S TALE WAS TOTALLY DIFFERENT. HE PLACED THE BLAME FOR DELAY ON THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR INABILITY TO AGREE ON CABINET/PARLIAMENTARY SEATS. THE PRESIDENT PROFESSED TO WANT A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION.

6. FOREIGN MINISTER RWEGASIRA IS OFF TO KIGALI TODAY. HE APPARENTLY HAS NO SET FORMULA TO PROPOSE, AND HIS INSTRUCTIONS ARE ESSENTIALLY "TO DO HIS BEST." HE WILL CONSULT ALL SIDES IN THE HOPES OF RECOMMENCING THE DIALOGUE AMONG THEM. THE PS NOTED THAT THE GOT'S ROLE HAD CHANGED FOLLOWING THE SIGNATURE LAST YEAR OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, AND THE FACILITATOR HAD CEDED THE LEAD TO THE UN AND OAU. NEVERTHELESS, THE RWANDA PROBLEM WAS TANZANIA'S CONCERN FOR THE OBVIOUS REASONS OF REGIONAL INSTABILITY AND REFUGEES. THE GOT COULD NOT REALISTICALLY ABANDON SHIP AS SOME OF THE OTHER OUTSIDERS WERE THREATENING. THE GOT WOULD STAY ENGAGED IN SPITE OF THE ALTERED CIRCUMSTANCES.

7. ASKED HOW THE U.S. AND OTHERS COULD BE HELPFUL, MSABAHA REPLIED "BY INCREASING PRESSURE ON HABYARIMANA TO MOVE FORWARD." HE CONFIDED THAT, WHILE OFFICIALLY NEUTRAL, THE GOT NEVERTHELESS VIEWED THE RWANDAN PRESIDENT AS BEING PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CURRENT STALEMATE. HE SHARED U.S. CONCERNS AT THE IMPASSE AND THE POTENTIAL FOR RENEWED VIOLENCE, BUT COULD NOT RESIST COMMENTING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DID NOT DEMONSTRATE THE SAME VIGOROUS RESPONSE TO THE RWANDA/BURUNDI CRISES AS IT HAD ELSEWHERE. I RETORTED THAT EVERY SITUATION WAS UNIQUE AND SHOULD BE DEALT WITH INDIVIDUALLY. BURUNDI SEEMED TO BE A BIT BETTER THAN SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, AND MANY OF THE REFUGEES HAD RETURNED. I ADDED THAT AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND OTHERS IN KIGALI WERE COORDINATING CLOSELY IN A TREMENDO
US EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL
OUTCOME. ON THESE POINTS, MSABAHA AGREED. DE VOS
BT
#1552
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1552

TOR: 940311050318 M0929305

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. cable	Fonmin Claes' Interview on His Trip to Rwanda and Burundi and on Situation in Zaire [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	03/11/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[03/03/1994 - 03/31/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh124

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526
U.S. Department of State
05/06/2011 Archie M. Bolster
201005065
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.25)]

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 111637Z MAR 94
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OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 111637Z MAR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0052
RUTAKNAXAMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0395
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0899
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0524
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0408
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 7219
SUBJ: FONMIN CLAES' INTERVIEW ON HIS TRIP TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI AND ON SITUATION IN ZAIRE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BRUSSELS 02763
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, BE, RW, BY, UG, TZ
SUBJECT: FONMIN CLAES' INTERVIEW ON HIS TRIP TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI AND ON SITUATION IN ZAIRE
1. ~~C~~ - WHERE MARKED
2. (U) BELGIAN FONMIN CLAES DISCUSSED HIS END-FEBRUARY TRIP TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI WITH COLETTE BRAECKMAN OF THE INDEPENDENT DAILY "LE SOIR". EMBASSY'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE MARCH 10 INTERVIEW AS WELL AS COMMENTS FROM MFA DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARAN AFRICAN AFFAIRS ELABORATING ON CLAES' TRIP FOLLOW.
BEGIN EMBASSY TRANSLATION:
Q. YOU HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO RWANDA. MINISTER OF DEFENSE DELCROIX IS LEAVING FOR RWANDA TODAY. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND?
A. I CANNOT HIYE MY CONCERN IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL VACUUM, THE FREE FALL OF THE ECONOMY, AND THE FACT THAT THE CONDITIONS THAT WERE SUPPOSED TO LEAD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS HAVE NOT YET BEEN FULFILLED. MEANWHILE, WE CAN'T WAIT ANY LONGER. IT IS NECESSARY THAT ALL PARTIES THAT CONSIDER THEMSELVES CAPABLE OF PARTICIPATING IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORDS DO SO, EVEN IF IT MEANS THEY WILL BE JOINED BY THE OTHERS LATER ON. OTHERWISE, I FEAR RWANDA WILL VEER TOWARDS AN ALMOST STRUCTURAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS.
Q. YOU WARNED YOUR INTERLOCUTORS AND THREATENED TO SUSPEND COOPERATION. WERE YOU LISTENED TO?
A. MY REMARKS WERE NOT HEEDED, TO SAY THE LEAST. WHILE I

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WAS THERE A POLITICAL LEADER WAS ASSASSINATED AND I KNOW THAT MANY WEAPONS ARE CIRCULATED AMONG THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. FOR ME, THERE IS NO OTHER WAY OUT THAN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. BUT EVEN THEN, A LOT WILL HAVE TO BE DONE: FUSE THE TWO ARMIES, DEMOBILIZE A LARGE NUMBER OF ARMED MEN, PREPARE AN URGENT PLAN FOR THE ECONOMY. THERE AGAIN, THE NECESSARY FINANCIAL RESOURCES WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND.
Q. HOW DO YOU ANALYZE THE LATEST EVENTS IN BURUNDI, THE NEW MASSACRES IN BUJUMBURA?
A. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ARMY DOES NOT ACCEPT THE DIVISION OF POWERS THAT TOOK PLACE AFTER THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT NDADAYE AND WHICH WAS REPRODUCED AFTER THE DESIGNATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR.
Q. THE MORNING OF THE PUTSCH, BELGIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION WAS REQUESTED IN ORDER TO AVOID FURTHER CONFRONTATIONS...
A. THAT IS CORRECT. WE WERE ASKED TO SEND 2,000 SOLDIERS BUT IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE ARMY DID NOT WANT THEM. THERE WAS, THEREFORE, A RISK OF A VIOLENT CONFRONTATION. IN THE AFTERMATH, IT WAS DECIDED TO SEND A STABILIZATION FORCE COMPOSED OF TROOPS DESIGNATED BY THE OAU. BELGIUM WAS READY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FINANCING OF THIS FORCE WITH A CONTRIBUTION OF DOLS 2 MILLION.
BUT EVEN THIS, THE ARRIVAL OF 180 MEN, THE ARMY DID NOT WANT. IT THEN BECAME A QUESTION OF SENDING 65 ENGINEERING OR MEDICAL OFFICERS. WE WERE FAR AWAY FROM A STABILIZATION FORCE. BUT THE ARMY OF BURUNDI CONSIDERED THAT THIS INTERVENTION WAS ALSO HUMILIATING. DURING MY MEETINGS WITH THE GOVERNMENT IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE AUTHORITIES WISHED TO REORGANIZE THE ARMY: SEPARATE PURELY MILITARY ASPECTS FROM GENDARMERIE DUTIES; CREATE A SORT OF REPUBLICAN GUARD. BELGIAN AID WAS REQUESTED. BUT SHOULD WE DECIDE TOMORROW TO REESTABLISH MILITARY COOPERATION WITH BURUNDI, I ASK MYSELF WHAT SORT OF RECEPTION WOULD BE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BRUSSELS 02763
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, BE, RW, BY, UG, TZ
SUBJECT: FONMIN CLAES' INTERVIEW ON HIS TRIP TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI AND ON SITUATION IN ZAIRE
GIVEN TO OUR EXPERTS AND HOW THEIR SUGGESTIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTED.
Q. BELGIUM IS STILL INTERESTED IN CENTRAL AFRICA. ISN'T SHE ONE OF THE LAST COUNTRIES TO DEMONSTRATE SUCH AN INTEREST?
A. THIS MORNING I EXPLAINED TO THE UNSYG'S REP FOR AFRICA THAT THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES RISKED BECOMING DISCOURAGED OVER AFRICA, THAT THEY WOULD TURN THEIR BACKS ON IT, IF AFRICANS THEMSELVES GAVE NO MINIMUM GUARANTEES OF STABILITY IN ORDER TO ALLOW FRUITFUL COOPERATION. YOU KNOW, WITHIN THE EU, BELGIUM AND FRANCE ARE THE LAST TWO ADVOCATES OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. ONLY THE MAGHREB COUNTRIES, ON ONE HAND, AND SOUTH AFRICA, ON THE OTHER, ARE STILL CONSIDERED INTERESTING. I ALSO WISH TO POINT OUT THAT 85 PERCENT OF THE BELGIAN COOPERATION BUDGET IS STILL DESTINED FOR AFRICA. THIS COOPERATION MUST NOT BECOME IMPOSSIBLE.

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Q. SPEAKING OF ZAIRE, IS THE WESTERN TROIKA STILL IN EXISTENCE?
A. AS WILL PARIS AND WASHINGTON, WE WILL ACCEPT THE OUTCOME OF THE EXISTING PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSIONS. WE OBVIOUSLY RECOGNIZE THE NEW STRUCTURE (HIGH COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC - TRANSITIONAL PARLIAMENT) BECAUSE IT EMANATES FROM THE ACCORDS NEGOTIATED BY ZAIRIANS THEMSELVES. NEGOTIATED, BUT NOT YET SIGNED. JUST AS OUR PARTNERS, WE SUPPORT ANY PRIME MINISTER EMANATING FROM THIS NEW ZAIRIAN PARLIAMENT. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF PERSONALITIES FOR US BUT OF PRINCIPLE. THE HCR/PT REPRESENTS TO US THE NEW SOURCE OF LEGALITY IN ZAIRE. BUT I REPEAT THAT BEFORE ANY RESUMPTION OF INTERNATIONAL AID, SERIOUS GUARANTEES WILL BE NEEDED.
END EMBASSY TRANSLATION.
3. ~~(C)~~ WILFRIED JAENEN, BELGIAN MFA DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARAN AFRICA, WHO ACCOMPANIED FONMIN CLAES DURING HIS CENTRAL AFRICA SWING, CONFIRMED CLAES' PESSIMISTIC EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI. THE MURDER OF A POLITICAL LEADER JUST HOURS AFTER HE HAD PARTICIPATED IN A MEETING WITH CLAES HAD SHOCKED AND SADDENED THE FOREIGN MINISTER. (b)(1)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

4. ~~(C)~~ (b)(1), 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), E.O. 13526 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), E.O. 13526 1.4(d) THE GOB WAS PROVIDING APPROXIMATELY BF 1 BILLION IN DIRECT AID TO RWANDA. CLAES' MUCH PUBLICIZED THREAT TO REVIEW AID LEVELS ABSENT PROGRESS HAD NOT BEEN AN EMPTY ONE, JAENEN STATED. WHILE NEITHER CLAES NOR THE MFA HAD ANY "DROP DEAD" DATES IN MIND, THE UPCOMING UN REVIEW OF UNAMIR WAS A BUILT-IN DEADLINE. JAENEN SAID HE HOPED BOTH SIDES WOULD KEEP THIS IN MIND.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BRUSSELS 02763
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, BE, RW, BY, UG, TZ
SUBJECT: FONMIN CLAES' INTERVIEW ON HIS TRIP TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI AND ON SITUATION IN ZAIRE
5. ~~(C)~~ (b)(1), 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

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(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

6. (C) (b)(1), 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), 1.4(b), 1.4(d) BELGIUM WAS CURRENTLY ALLOCATING APPROXIMATELY BF 600 MILLION FOR ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES AND DISPLACED IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI. JAENEN SAID HE EXPECTED FURTHER BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH UGANDA, TANZANIA, AND KENYA ON THE POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING A REGIONAL COOPERATION SCHEME WITH AN EAST AFRICAN FOCUS.

BLINKEN

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#2763

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2763
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SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
5/6/2011 Archie M. Bolster
2010050 65
[2011-0262-M-2 (1.31)]

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 03329
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, EAID, BE, RW
SEBJECT: BELGIAN COOPERATION AID TO RWANDA TO BE ADAPTED
REF: BRUSSELS 2763
1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
2. AS REFTEL REPORTED, THE GOB'S PROMISE (OR THREAT, DEPENDING ON WHO YOU TALK TO) TO REEVALUATE BELGIAN COOPERATION AID TO RWANDA HAS COME TRUE. THE SECRETARIAT FOR COOPERATION DEVELOPMENT ANNOUNCED ON MARCH 23 IT WOULD ONLY CONTINUE THE FUNDING OF HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS. NEW DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN OTHER CATEGORIES WOULD NOT BE UNDERTAKEN. SOME COOPERANTS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN TEMPORARILY AND OTHERS WOULD BE URGED TO FINISH QUICKLY PROJECTS ALREADY UNDER WAY. SECRETARY DERYCKE, IN HIS STATEMENT, SAID THE GOB'S DECISION WAS PROMPTED BY THE INABILITY TO INSTALL A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI AND THE PERSISTENT DIVISIONS AMONG THE POLITICAL FACTIONS. "BELGIAN AID ADAPTATION IS A CLEAR POLITICAL SIGNAL TO KIGALI", DERYCKE NOTED.
3. RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS, FRANCOIS NGARUKIYINTWALI, VEHEMENTLY DENIED THAT BELGIUM HAD ISSUED AN ULTIMATUM TO THE GOR DURING THE CLAES AND DERYCKE VISITS IN FEBRUARY. HE EQUALLY DISMISSED REPORTS THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CRISIS LAY EXCLUSIVELY WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. NGARUKIYINTWALI SAID A LARGE MEASURE OF THE BLAME BELONGED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF AGATHA UWILINGIYIMANA WHICH HAD DONE NOTHING TO ASSURE SECURITY OR ECONOMIC RECOVERY.
4. SECRETARY DERYCKE'S CHEF DE CABINET, SONJA GERLO, BRIEFED POLOFF ON MARCH 24 ABOUT THE CONTROVERSIAL

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DECISION TO "ADAPT" BELGIAN AID. GERLO SAID PRESS REPORTS HAD SENSATIONALIZED THE IMPACT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT. THE GOB HAD NO INTENTION OF STOPPING ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA. THE GOB WOULD TEMPORARILY WITHDRAW APPROXIMATELY 20 COOPERANTS NOT INVOLVED IN HUMANITARIAN PROJECTS. THIS WITHDRAWAL WOULD REMAIN IN EFFECT AS LONG AS THERE WAS NO TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IN PLACE. ONCE THE TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS WERE IN PLACE, SHE EXPECTED IMMEDIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NEW GOR TO SET AID PRIORITIES. IN THE INTERIM, PROJECTS IN THE HEALTH AND EDUCATION SECTORS WOULD BE UNAFFECTED, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS AT THE HIHER EDUCATION LEVEL. ASSISTANCE TO THE LAW FACULTY, HOWEVER, WOULD CONTINUE. WORKING ON THE TRAINING OF JURISTS, ETC., WAS TOO IMPORTANT A PROJECT TO ALLOW ITS DISMANTLEMENT OR EVEN TEMPORARY DERAILMENT.

5. GERLO ADMITTED THAT ONE OF THE FACTORS LEADING TO THE GOB'S DECISION WAS THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING INTERLOCUTORS OR GROUPS WITH WHOM TO WORK COOPERATIVELY. THE RWANDA 1993 AID ENVELOPE HAD TOTALLED BF 1.3 BILLION. BELGIUM HAD BEEN ABLE TO DISBURSE ONLY BF 600 MILLION DUE TO LACK OF APPROPRIATE PARTNERS. IN ADDITION, THE GOB SUBSIDIZED NGOS'S AND UNIVERSITY PROJECTS AND PROVIDED EXTENSIVE ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES. THESE MONIES ALSO HAD TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE GENERAL SCHEME OF COOPERATION AID.

6. DERYCKE HAS ALSO BEEN INFLUENCED BY PRACICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE BELGIAN AID BUDGET IS A "USE IT OR LOSE IT" BUDGET. GERLO SAID THE SECRETARIAT AND MFA ARE CONVINCED THAT ORGANIZATION OF THE AID BUDGET ALONG REGIONAL LINES WILL RESULT IN GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN ALLOCATING RESOURCES. WITH MONIES NOT EARMARKED FOR A SPECIFIC COUNTRY, THE GOB COULD SHIFT FUNDS WITHIN A REGION WITHOUT HAVING TO GO BACK TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR APPROVAL EACH TIME. GIVEN THE LARGE NUMBERS OF HUTU AND TUTSI REFUGEES IN RWANDA, BURUNDI, TANZANIA, AND UGANDA, AN EAST AFRICAN FOCUS IS PARTICULARLY DESIRABLE.

BLINKEN

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3329

TOR: 940324115553 M0954170

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/4/2011 Archie M. Bolster
2010050065 DOS
[2011-0262-M-2 (1.35)]

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 01316
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT; DAS BUSHNELL MEETS HABYARIMANA AND RPF
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN MEETINGS WITH RWANDAN PRESIDENT AND PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERSHIP, DAS BUSHNELL URGED SPEEDY INSTALLATION OF TRANSITION REGIME, NOTED U.S. CONSTERNATION OVER INCREASED VIOLENCE IN RWANDA AND COST TO RWANDAN PEOPLE OF EACH DELAY IN FORMING A GOVERNMENT. SHE RECEIVED ASSURANCES OF GOOD FAITH AND INTENTION TO MOVE AHEAD FROM BOTH SIDES. THE PRESIDENT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE EVENTUAL SUCCESS OF THE TRANSITION, GIVEN THE LEVELS OF DISTRUST NOW IN THE BODY POLITIC, BUT SAID HE WOULD KEEP HIS WORD TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORD.
THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS BLAMED THE PRESIDENT FOR THE IMPASSE AND DEPLORED EFFORTS TO GAIN CONCESSIONS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF VIOLENCE. THEY CHARACTERIZED THE COALITION FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC (CDR) AS GANGSTERS WHO WOULD HAVE TO PROVE THEIR WORTH BEFORE BEING ADMITTED INTO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. BUSHNELL REMINDED THE FRONT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD NOT PUT THE GOVERNMENT IN PLACE. THEY WOULD HAVE TO WORK OUT THE POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT MADE THAT HAPPEN. END SUMMARY.
3. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA RECEIVED DAS BUSHNELL AND AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER 3/21 FOR AN HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION

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OF RWANDA'S POLITICAL IMPASSE. MS. BUSHNELL TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT SHE HAD TRAVELLED A LONG WAY TO BRING HIM WASHINGTON'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE SITUATION. RWANDA WAS IN AN HISTORIC TRANSITION, ONE WHICH HISTORIANS WOULD RECORD AS BEING GLORIOUS, OR IGNOMINIOUS AND TRAGIC. THE PRESIDENT'S NAME WOULD HEAD THAT CHAPTER OF HISTORY. THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD DONE EVERYTHING IT COULD TO HELP RWANDA PASS THROUGH THIS TRANSITION GLORIOUSLY, BUT WE HAD NOT SEEN THE SAME COMMITMENT FROM RWANDAN LEADERS.

4. THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING WHICH WOULD DECIDE WHETHER TO CONTINUE PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN RWANDA WAS COMING UP FAST, BUSHNELL REMINDED THE PRESIDENT. NEXT WEEK SHE WOULD MEET WITH THE INTERAGENCY GROUP THAT WOULD DECIDE THE U.S. POSITION AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL. LAST SUMMER SHE HAD TO WORK VERY HARD TO CONVINCE SKEPTICS THAT PEACEKEEPING COULD WORK IN RWANDA. NOW SHE HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO BRING TO THE TABLE TO OVERRIDE SUCH SKEPTICISM. SHE HAD TO BRING BACK FROM THIS TRIP GOOD NEWS ABOUT THE INSTALLATION OF TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS OR RWANDA'S CASE COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED.

5. DAS BUSHNELL TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT RWANDA WAS LOSING FUNDING WITH EACH DAY OF DELAY IN ESTABLISHING ITS GOVERNMENT. SHE HAD RECENTLY HAD TO DIVERT USD 2 MILLION FROM RWANDAN DEMOBILIZATION FUNDING TO ANOTHER COUNTRY BECAUSE THERE WAS NO GOVERNMENT AND NO PROGRAM TO WHICH IT COULD BE ALLOCATED. SHE NEEDED AN ENCOURAGING WORD TO TAKE BACK TO WASHINGTON FROM RWANDA IN ORDER TO SAVE U.S. ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMING FOR RWANDA'S RECONSTRUCTION. SHE HOPED THAT ENCOURAGING WORD WOULD COME FAST.

6. THE PRESIDENT IN RESPONSE SAID THAT HE HOPED TO PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE SOON. WHAT WORRIED HIM MORE WAS NOT WHETHER INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED BUT WHETHER THE TRANSITION WOULD SUCCEED. HE WAS GREATLY DISQUIETED BY THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE, LACK OF RESPECT, AND LACK OF GOOD FAITH IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE. HE HOPED THE UNITED STATES COULD HELP SUPPORT RECONCILIATION WITHIN THE TRANSITION PERIOD JUST AS WE HAD HELPED WITH THE WAR DISPLACED AND WITH STRENGTHENING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. HE HAS SUPPORTED THE ARUSHA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 01316

YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT; DAS BUSHNELL MEETS HAWLMIZ
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ACCORD AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO. HIS SIGNATURE WAS ON IT, AND HE KEPT HIS WORD.

7. THE WASHINGTON VISITORS ALSO RECORDED DEEP CONCERN OVER THE MOUNTING VIOLENCE IN RWANDA. THAT VIOLENCE WAS DESTROYING RWANDA'S GOOD NAME ABROAD, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY IT PUT EVERY RWANDAN CITIZEN AT RISK. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER NOTED THE DISTRIBUTION OF

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ARMS AND ARMS CACHES AS A DANGEROUS CHALLENGE TO PEACE. DAS BUSHNELL ASKED THE PRESIDENT TO BRING SECURITY TO HIS PEOPLE. WHEN HABYARIMANA PROTESTED HIS LIMITED ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE SECURITY SITUATION, AMBASSADOR RAWSON EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HOW EFFECTIVE THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN AFTER PREVIOUS DEMARCHES ON SECURITY IN RESTORING CALM AND ORDZR OHHD COUNTRY.

8. THE PRESIDENT THEN RAISED THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI. DAS BUSHNELL EXPRESSED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S CONSTERNATION OVER THE EVENTS THERE. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER NOTED THE QUICK U.S. ACTION TO PROTEST THE KILLINGS, SUSPEND ASSISTANCE AND GALVANIZE INENATIONAL OPINION AGAINST THE COUP ATTEMPR. THOSE ACTIONS HAD TURNED THINGS AROUND. A GOVERNMENT WAS IN PLACE AND IT WAS IN DIALOGNW
DT
LHE MILITARY, BUT THE SITUATION WAS UNSTABLE. HABYARIMANA REPORTED HOW DEEPLY THE EVENTS IN BURUNDI INFLUENCED ATTITUDES AND CHOICES IN RWANDA.
FUNDAME
TALLY, HABYARIMANA SAID,WHAT BURUNDI NEEDED WAS SECURITY FOR ITS PEOPLE, AND AN ACMY IN WHICH EACH CITIZEN COULD HAVE CONFIDENCE.

9. MRS. HABYARIMANA TELEPHONED AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER 3/22 PLEADING THAT THE COUNTRY WAS GOING OVER TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE PREBCANT NEEDED PEOPLE ON HIS SIDGO COANERCS TREND. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER RESPONDED THAT THE BEST SSLURVTW FOR THE PRESIDENT WAS WITHIN THE ARUSHA ACCORD. IF THE ACCORD WAS NOT IMPLEMENTED AND VIOLENCE BROKE OUT AGAIN IN RWANDA, EVEN THE AMERICANS, AFTER YEARS NSRGNCO RWANDA, OIEGHT HAVE TO GO HOME. THE PRESIDENT MUST AGREE TO PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE IMMEDIATELY AND RFOESTALL CHAOS AND DISASTER FOR RWANDA.1$
4! -,$:$4
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10. DURING AFCNOON 3/22, DAS BUSHNELL AND AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER TRAVELLED TO MUADMF
ZWSAQ -,$
GENERAL KAGAME. DAS BUSHNELL RAISED THE SAME POINTS SHE HAD WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, REPORTING THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD DONE EVERYTHING IT COULD TO HELP BUT SAW NO PROGRESS ON THE RWANDAN SIDE. SHE THANKED THE FRONT FOR KEEPING ITS PROMISE TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BY ACCEPTING A COMPROMISE WORKED OUT WITHIN THE LIBERAL PARTY ON THE DEPUTIES LIST. DAS BUSHNELL ALSO RECORDED THE U.S. POSITION THAT THE CDR WAS A POLITICAL FORCE WHICH HAD SUBSCRIBED TO ARUSHA PRINCIPLES AND SHOULD HAVE A PLACE IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

11. KANYARENGWE SAID THAT THE CURRENT POLITICAL IMPASSE WAS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST. THE FRONT HAD AGREED TO CHANGES IN THE LIBERAL PARTY, BUT IT HAD A HARD TIME ACCEPTING DECISIONS IMPOSED BY VIOLENCE. WHEN THE LIBERAL PARTY OBSTACLE HAD BEEN REMOVED, OTHER BIZARRE ISSUES HAD SUDDENLY EMERGED SUCH AS CHANGES IN THE MDR LIST AND THE ISLAMIC PARTY

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DELEGATE. KANYARENGWE THEN BLAMED CDR FOR ALL OF RWANDA'S RECENT POLITICAL VIOLENCE. SINCE CDR WORKED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF VIOLENCE, IT WOULD HAVE TO PROVE ITS SUPPOSED INTENTIONS TO ABIDE BY THE ARUSHA ACCORD. THE GOVERNMENT AND RPF WOULD HAVE TO REVIEW CDR'S RECORD UNDER TERMS OF THE ACCORD'S ARTICLE 61
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 01316
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT; DAS BUSHNELL MEETS HABYARIMANA AND RPF
AND, PERHAPS, LET THE COURTS JUDGE WHETHER CDR COULD JOIN THE ASSEMBLY.
12. GENERAL KAGAME SECONDED KANYARENGWE BY INSISTING THAT CDR'S ENTRY INTO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COULD NOT BE A PRE-CONDITION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INSTITUTIONS. THE PROBLEM WAS CDR'S CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR; THAT WAS NOT A POLITICAL MATTER BUT A SECURITY MATTER. THE FRONT HAD A MORAL RIGHT TO DEAL WITH SUCH BEHAVIOR IN SECURITY TERMS. THE POLITICAL PROBLEM WAS THAT SOMEONE WAS PURPOSEFULLY CREATING THE CURRENT IMPASSE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITIES BY IDENTIFYING THAT PERSON AND HELPING THE RWANDAN PEOPLE REMOVE THE IMPASSE.
13. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER STRONGLY DEFENDED THE PRINCIPLE OF INCLUSION. PARTIES COULD NOT BE DENIED A SEAT IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY JUST BECAUSE THE FRONT DID NOT HAPPEN TO LIKE THEM. THE FRONT'S SENDASHONGA (NEXT MINISTER OF YOUTH) RESPONDED BY INSISTING THAT CDR WAS NOT AN ACCEPTABLE PARTY. HE CALLED CDR GANGSTERS, WORSE THAN KLU KLUX CLAN. DAS BUSHNELL REMINDED THE FRONT THAT THE INTZRNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD NOT PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE FOR THEM. THEY WOULD HAVE TO WORK OUT SOME ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD LET THE GOVERNMENT BE SET UP AND THEY HAD BETTER DO IT FAST. TIME HAS BECOME FINITE. THE FAILURE TO REACH ACCOMMODATION COULD RESULT IN TRAGEDY FOR ALL RWANDANS.
14. COMMENT: THE CDR ISSUE REMAINS THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO SETTING UP INSTITUTIONS. THE OBSERVER GROUP IS AGREED THAT CDR HAS DULY INDICATED ITS INTENTION TO ABIDE BY THE ARUSHA ACCORD AND SHOULD BE SEATED IN THE ASSEMBLY. IN A MEETING WITH WESTERN OBSERVERS 3/23, RPF MAZIMHAKA AND KAREMERA ADAMANTLY HELD TO THE FRONT'S POSITION. MAZIMHAKA ADMITTED THAT THE CDR ISSUE WAS A VERY EMOTIONAL ONE WITH THE FRONT. NONETHELESS, THEY HAD AGREEEGAFMAREMERA SAID THE CDR SHOULD BE SHOWN WHERE THEY HAD DONE WRONG AND WHY THEY COULD NOT BE ACCEPTED INTO THE ASSEMBLY. HE REITERATED THOSE SENTIMENTS OVER DINNER AT THE RESIDENCE THAT EVENING. AMBASSADOR RAWSON TOLD HIM THAT IF RPF INSISTED ON A LONG REVIEW IN WHICH IT SAT AS JUDGE AND JURY ON CDR, THEN INSTITUTIONS WOULD NEVER BE ESTABLISHED. THE FRONT WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE WHAT HAD PRIMACY FOR THEM. A FIVE-HOUR MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS 3/24 FAILED TO CONVINCE THE RPF AND FINALLY BROKE DOWN IN MUTUAL

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RECRIMINATION. INSTITUTIONS ARE TO BE INSTALLED ON 3/25. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER SOME FORMULA CAN BE DEVISED FOR REMOVING THIS LOGJAM BEFORE THEN. END COMMENT.
15. DAS BUSHNELL AND AF/C RENDER CLEARED PARAS 2-9 OF THIS CABLE BEFORE DEPARTING KIGALI.
RAWSON
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#1316
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
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SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX
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LINE3: P 251547Z MAR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 251547Z MAR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0574
SUBJ: DEMARCHE REQUEST ON CDR PARTICIPATION
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
6/28/2006 Archie M. Bolster
2006012220 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.36)]

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 01319
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: AMGT, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE REQUEST ON CDR PARTICIPATION
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. NEGOTIATIONS OVER INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT APPEAR TO BE COMING DOWN TO THE WIRE. THE STICKING POINT THAT PREVENTED THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FROM TAKING PLACE 3/25 WAS CDR PARTICIPATION IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE CDR, WHICH INITIALLY DECLIMED TO SIGN THE CODE OF ETHICS THAT IS A PREREQUISITE FOR PARTICIPATION, HAS NOW SIGNED ELEVEN OF 20 COPIES.
3. HOWEVER, A FEW POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE RPF HAVE REFUSED TO ALLOW THE CDR TO SIGN THEIR COPIES OF THE CODE. (FOREIGN MINISTRY DISTRIBUTED COPIES TO EACH SIGNATORY LAST SEPTEMBER. ARTICLE 3 OF THE CODE REQUIRES THAT 20 COPIES BE SIGNED.) THE RPF INSISTS THAT THE ACCORD (ARTICLE 61) OBLIGES THE CDR TO GO THROUGH A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SCREENING PROCESS AND WIN THE APPROVAL OF 3/5 OF THE ASSEMBLY MEMBERS. THE PRESIDENT, WHO IDENTIFIED IN A COMMUNIQUE EARLIER THIS WEEK PROBLEMS WITH THREE PARTIES -- MDR, PDI, AND CDR -- THAT NEEDED TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE HE COULD SWEAR-IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, INDICATED TO UN REP BOOH BOOH HE WOULD DROP HIS CONCERNS WITH THE PDI AND MDR IF THE ISSUE OF CDR PARTICIPATION WERE RESOLVED. (COMMENT. THE RPF APPROACH APPEARS TO BE A MODIFIED VERSION OF THE EXCLUSION SANCTION THAT APPLIES TO PARTIES WHICH VIOLATE THE CODE OF ETHICS ONCE THEY HAVE SIGNED IT. END COMMENT.)
4. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CALL IN WASHINGTON RPF REPRESENTATIVE MURIGANDE TO IMPRESS

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UPON HIM OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE URGENCY OF INSTALLING THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT LETTING THESE NEWLY DISCOVERED PROBLEMS FORM A NEW POLITICAL IMPASSE. WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS:

-- THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONTINUING DELAY IN ESTABLISHING TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN RWANDA.

-- WITH EACH DAY OF DELAY, RWANDA IS LOSING OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION FUNDING.

-- THE ISSUE OF THE CDR SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO HOLD THE WHOLE COUNTRY HOSTAGE TO CONTINUED POLITICAL IMPASSE.

-- THE CDR PUBLICLY COMMITTED ITSELF TO SUPPORT THE ARUSHA PROCESS IN A RECENT LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

-- BY DENYING THE CDR THE RIGHT TO SIGN THE CODE OF ETHICS, THE RPF IS VIOLATING THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT WHICH PROVIDES THAT EACH PARTY REGISTERED IN RWANDA SHALL BE REPRESENTED IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (ART. 61). THE SIGNING OF THE CODE (ART. 80) IS EVIDENCE OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO ABIDE BY THE PEACE AGREEMENT.

-- THE RPF POSITION ALSO CONTRADICTS THE ARUSHA SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF INCLUSION RATHER THAN EXCLUSION IS CRITICAL TO ESTABLISHING A STABLE PEACE.

-- IF THE CDR FAILS TO LIVE UP TO ITS CODE OF ETHICS COMMITMENT, THE ACCORD PROVIDES FOR SANCTIONS. CDR SHOULD BE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO PROVE ITS WORTH WITHIN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, NOT OUTSIDE OF IT.

(NOTE. ARTICLE 82 PROVIDES THAT ANY POLITICAL FORCE THAT VIOLATES THE CODE OF ETHICS IS LIABLE TO EXCLUSION FROM THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. THE PROCEDURE FOR EXCLUSION IS PRESCRIBED. END NOTE.)

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 01319

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: AMGT, RW

SUBJECT: DEMARCHE REQUEST ON CDR PARTICIPATION

5. THE DEPARTMENT MIGHT WISH TO ASK AMBASSADOR CARSON IN UGANDA MAKE SIMILAR POINTS TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI, IF MUSEVENI IS IN A POSITION TO MAKE A TIMELY INTERVENTION ON THIS ISSUE WITH RPF IN MULINDI.

RAWSON

BT

#1319

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1319

<^SSN>1319

TOR: 940325133028 M0957005

<^TOR>940325133029 M0957006

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 251606Z MAR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 251606Z MAR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6051
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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RUEHJB/AHMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0908
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RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 4651
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0399
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1177
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 6381
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 1172
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SAAA// PRIORITY
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0576
SUBJ: ***NO SUBJECT FOUND***
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2/6/2008 Harmon E. Kirby
2001030144 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.37)]

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 01323
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINR, RW
SUBJECT; PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA RECEIVES DASD IRVIN, PROMISED INSTALLATION CEREMONIES ABORTED
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. RWANDAN PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA RECEIVED DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (DASD) FOR HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS PATRICIA IRVIN AFTERNOON 3/24 FOR AN HOUR-LONG VISIT. THE PRESIDENT WARMLY WELCOMED DASD IRVIN NOTING THAT HER VISIT WAS A SIGN OF UWITED STATES SYMPATHY FOR RWANDA AND SUPPORT FOR ITS NEEDS. HE ASKED HER TO THANK HER GOVERNMENT FOR ALL ITS HELP IN THE DIFFICULT THREE YEARS OF RWANDA'S RECENT HISTORY, ESPECIALLY HELP ON DISPLACED PERSONS.
3. DASD IRVIN EXPRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT HER DELIGHT IN BEING IN RWANDA AT THIS HISTORIC JUNCTURE. SHE HOPED THAT THE RWANDAN AUTHORITIES WOULD SOON BE ABLE TO PUT IN PLACE THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SO THAT U.S. PROGRAMS OF ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA COULD GO FORWARD. SHE THEN OUTLINED THE FUNCTIONS OF HER OFFICE AND THE PARTICULAR ROLE IT PLAYS IN HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS, PEACEKEEPING AND SUCH OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES AS DEMINING. IN OUTLINING HER ITINERARY TO AFRICA, SHE NOTED THE PARTICULAR INTEREST WHICH RWANDA HELD DUE TO THE PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES HERE AND THE CHALLENGE OF BRINGING A

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BETTER LIFE TO WAR-WEARY RWANDANS.
4. THE PRESIDENT INFORMED DASD IRVIN THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO SET UP TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THERE WOULD BE A CEREMONY THE NEXT DAY, FRIDAY. AMBASSADOR RAWSON QUERIED WHETHER ALL ISSUES HAD BEEN RESOLVED. THE PRESIDENT TURNED TO HIS DIRECTOR OF CABINET WHO MENTIONED THE CDR'S EXCLUSION FROM THE ASSEMBLY. THE AMBASSADOR REITERATED U.S. STRONG SUPPORT FOR INCLUSION OF ALL POLITICAL FORCES AND RECOUNTED THE RECENT EFFORTS OF STATE DEPARTMENT HIGH OFFICIALS TO CONVINCE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON THIS POINT. THE AMBASSADOR THEN ASKED IF THE PRESIDENT COULD GIVE ASSURANCES THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY REMAINING ISSUE. THE PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT HE HAD NOT YET SEEN ALL THE PARTY LISTS, BUT HE COULD GIVE ASSURANCE THAT HE WOULD BE AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING (CND) FOR INSTALLATION CEREMONIES AT 9:00 AM.
5. COMMENT: TWO HOURS AFTER THIS HEARTENING WORD, THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET SUBMITTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER A LIST OF DEPUTIES WHICH THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE SWEARING IN THE NEXT DAY. THIS LIST DIFFERED IN THREE RESPECTS FROM THE LIST THE PRIME MINISTER HAD PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED: A DIFFERENT NAME EACH FOR PDI AND MDR AND THE ADDED NAME OF A CDR DEPUTY.
6. AMBASSADOR'S LONG TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH VARIOUS PARTIES UNTIL MIDNIGHT FAILED TO BRIDGE THIS NEW IMPASSE. BY 9:00 AM, OFFICIALS GATHERED EXPECTANTLY AT THE CND, BUT RUMORS WERE RIFE THAT THE RPF DELEGATION WAS NOT COMING. WHEN PRIME MINISTER UWILINGIYIMANA ARRIVED SHE HURRIED OBSERVERS, RPF'S MAZIMHAKA AND KAREMERA AND PRESIDENT'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET RUHIGIRA INTO A SIDE ROOM. AFTER RAISING THE ISSUE OF THE DOUBLE LISTS, THE PRIME MINISTER DREW RPF AND PRESIDENCY REPRESENTATIVES INTO FOUR HOURS OF MUTUAL RECRIMINATION OVER EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH THE TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS.
7. PARTIES EVENTUALLY EVOLVED A CONSENSUS TO THE EFFECT THAT CHALLENGES IN ISLAMIC PARTY AND THE MDR SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE COURTS. PATRIOTIC FRONT REPRESENTATIVES WERE, HOWEVER, ADAMANT THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT IMMEDIATE INSTALLATION OF THE CDR IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE CDR WOULD HAVE TO PROVE ITS GOOD INTENTIONS. ITS CASE WOULD BE JUDGED BY THE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 01323
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINR, RW
SUBJECT; PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA RECEIVES DASD IRVIN, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON A THREE-FIFTHS VOTE AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT DID AGREE TO MEET WITH CDR UNDER UN AUSPICES AND FURTHER DISCUSS THE ISSUE AFTERNOON 3/25.
8. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID SHE WOULD ANNOUNCE ANOTHER INSTALLATION CEREMONY FOR THE NEXT DAY, SATURDAY, 3/26. WE ARE NOT AT ALL CONFIDENT THAT THE DIFFERENCES OVER CDR REPRESENTATION IN THE ASSEMBLY WILL BE BRIDGED BY THAT TIME. END COMMENT. RAWSON

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BT
#1323
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1323
<^SSN>1323

TOR: 940325111124 M0956634
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
5/6/2011 Archie M. Bolster
2010050 65 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.38)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDRA1999 0891358-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 301358Z MAR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 301358Z MAR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0232
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4309
INFO: RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0077
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0909
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4471
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 6610
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8675
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE 4468
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 3720
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 5995
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RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0367
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0653
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0973
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 3177
SUBJ: PRESIDENT MWINYI ON RWANDA/BURUNDI
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 001999
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW, BY, US, TZ
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MWINYI ON RWANDA/BURUNDI
REF: DAR ES SALAAM 1902 (NOTAL)
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. PRESIDENT MWINYI CALLED TOGETHER THE ENVOYS OF UNSC PERMANENT MEMBERS AND ARUSHA OBSERVERS TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI. HE ESSENTIALLY REITERATED OUR CONVERSATION OF LAST WEEK (REFTEL), SAYING THAT RWANDA AND BURUNDI WERE INTERLINKED. IT WAS TUTSI VERSUS HUTU IN BOTH COUNTRIES. HE WILL CONVENE A SUMMIT ON APRIL 6 OF BURUNDI'S NEIGHBORS (TANZANIA, KENYA, UGANDA, ZAIRE, ZAMBIA AND RWANDA) TO DISCUSS WAYS TO FIND A PERMANENT SOLUTION TO THE RECURRENT CONFLICT THERE. HE MENTIONED HIS INTENT TO SEEK AGREEMENT TO DISPATCH A 200-PERSON OAU FORCE INTO THE COUNTRY TO PROTECT THE GOVERNMENT IN BUJUMBURA AND TO BOLSTER THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE. HE ALSO HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE OAU FORCE MIGHT BE GIVEN THE ROLE OF DISARMING THE CURRENT TUTSI MILITARY AND RECONSTITUTING THE ARMY TO REPRESENT ALL OF THE BURUNDI PEOPLE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT WHILE AFRICANS WANTED TO HELP BURUNDI, THE AFRICANS NEEDED THE HELP OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE HELP HE WOULD BE SEEKING

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WOULD BE MORAL SUPPORT, ENCOURAGEMENT, AND FUNDING FOR THIS INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVE.

3. ON RWANDA, MWINYI REHASHED THE HISTORY SINCE THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, INCLUDING RECENT EFFORTS OF THE TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORDS, AN UNSUCCESSFUL UNDERTAKING. THE ONLY SUGGESTION THAT MWINYI COULD MAKE WOULD BE FOR FRANCE AND BELGIUM -- AND THE U.S. AS THE SUPER POWER -- TO BRING "PRESSURE" ON PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS ALONG. MWINYI STRESSED HIS CONCERN WITH EFFORTS IN THE UN TO WITHDRAW CURRENT UN FORCES THERE AND URGED IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THAT THE UN FORCE BE CONTINUED AS LONG AS NECESSARY.

4. IN ENSUING DISCUSSIONS, I COMMENTED THAT IN KIGALI THE RELEVENT DIPLOMATIC CORPS, TOGETHER WITH THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR, WERE MAKING HERCULEAN EFFORTS TO MOVE THE ENTIRE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD, PUTTING ENORMOUS PRESSURE ON ALL PARTIES. I ASKED WHAT ELSE DID THE GOT SUGGEST. AFTER CONSIDERABLE HEMMING AND HAWING, FOREIGN MINISTER RWEGASIRA TENTATIVELY SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS SOME SORT OF SANCTIONS MIGHT BE APPLIED. HE WOULD NOT SPECIFY, HOWEVER, WHAT TYPE OF SANCTIONS HE HAD IN MIND. I POINTED OUT THAT DE FACTO SANCTIONS WERE IN PLACE IN THE SENSE THAT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE HAD BEEN POSTPONED BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF A GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI. BOTH MWINYI AND RWEGASIRA TOOK THE POINT BUT HAD NO FURTHER COMMENT. MY EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES, AS WELL AS THE PRC AMBASSSADOR, EITHER CLAIMED IGNORANCE OF DETAILS IN BOTH RWANDA AND BURUNDI OR REMAINED SILENT.

5. COMMENT: THE TANZANIANS ARE OBVIOUSLY SEARCHING. MWINYI'S APPEAL TO EXTEND THE UN MILITARY PRESENCE IN RWANDA MAKES SENSE FREOM THIS PERSPECTIVE. WE WILL HAVE TO SEE WHAT COMES OUT OF HIS APRIL 6 SUMMIT TO DETERMINE HOW TO RESPOND TO A LIKELY AFRICAN REQUEST FOR FINANCING FROM THE DONORS TO INTERVENE THERE WITH AN OAU INTERVENTION FORCE. DE VOS

BT

#1999

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1999

TOR: 940330090454 M0964698

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER RAGLE VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
1/19/2005 William E. Leufair
2004 01096 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.39)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 310323Z MAR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 6614
INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 2440
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 3998
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 8018
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 2853
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0974
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 9033
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0399
SUBJ: DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 083633
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON RWANDA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. USUN IS INSTRUCTED TO SHARE THE FOLLOWING DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON RWANDA WITH THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS, AND SUBSEQUENTLY WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS DRAFT IS TO BE USED ONLY IF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT FORMED BY THE TIME THE PRESENT MANDATE FOR UNAMIR EXPIRES. IF THE GOVERNMENT IS FORMED, WE WILL PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE INSTRUCTIONS. TEXT FOLLOWS IN PARAGRAPH 3.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 812(1003) OF 12 MARCH 1993 AND ALL SUBSEQUENT RESOLUTION;

TAKING NOTE OF THE CONTINUING IMPASSE IN IMPLEMENTING KEY ELEMENTS OF THE THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT;

EMPHASIZING THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN RESOLUTION 893

OF 6 JANUARY, 1994, AUTHORIZED THE DEPLOYMENT OF A SECOND BATTALION TO THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE AS RECOMMENDED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN HIS REPORT OF 30 DECEMBER 1993, AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS THUS DONE ITS PART IN

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ENSURING THAT CONDITIONS EXIST FOR IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT,

WELCOMES THE CONTINUED EFFORTS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) TO HELP PROMOTE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PARTIES;

1) WELCOMES THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT OF 25 MARCH, 1994 (S/);

2) STRONGLY URGES ALL PARTIES TO HONOR THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT, IN PARTICULAR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT;

3) REAFFIRMS THE STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 17 FEBRUARY 1994 (S/PRST/1994/8) WHICH EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN AT THE DETERIORATION IN THE SECURITY SITUATION, ESPECIALLY IN KIGALI, AND WHICH CALLED THE ATTENTION OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT;

4) DECIDES TO EXTEND THE MANDATE OF UNAMIR UNTIL JUNE 7, 1994;

5) EMPHASIZES THAT ITS SUPPORT OF UNAMIR PAST JUNE 7, 1994 IS TIED TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF TANGIBLE PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT;

6) REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT NOT LATER THAN MAY 31, 1994 ON THE SITUATION IN RWANDA, THE PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH UNAMIR IS CAPABLE OF FULLY CARRYING OUT ITS MANDATE;

7) REITERATES ITS REQUEST TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE SIZE AND COST OF UNAMIR TO SEEK ECONOMIES, AND ASKS HIM TO REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF HIS EFFORTS IN HIS NEXT REPORT;

8) DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#3633
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3633
TOR: 940330223058 M0966462
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Demarche on Rwanda Resolution [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	04/01/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
002. cable	Burundi/Rwanda Summit (2 pages)	04/05/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	GOT Reiterates... (2 pages)	04/08/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	A/S Moose's Meeting with President Museveni (5 pages)	04/08/1994	P1/b(1)
~~005. cable~~	~~[Rwanda Situation] (4 pages)~~	~~04/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
006. cable	Tour D'Horizon with Foreign Minister Juppe's Africa Aide, April 7 [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	04/11/1994	~~P1/b(1)~~, P3/b(3) VZ
~~007. cable~~	~~Belgian Foreign Minister Reports Six Belgian Civilians Killed in Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~04/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
008. cable	TFRWO1: Request for Clearance for Movement of Military Assets (2 pages)	04/11/1994	P1/b(1)
009. cable	[Evacuation Operations] (4 pages)	04/11/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (4 pages)	04/11/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	DASD Wood's Consultations in Paris on Africa: Country Specific Issues (6 pages)	04/11/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/01/1994 - 04/11/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh125

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Demarche on Rwanda Resolution [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	04/01/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/01/1994 - 04/11/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh125

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Per E.O. 13526
U.S. Department of State
05/06/2011 201005065
Archie M. Bolster
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.41)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZEX
LINE3: O 012359Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 012359Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 2750
INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 2450
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 4099
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 8069
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 2863
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0999
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 9056
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0496
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 6695
SUBJ: DEMARCHE ON RWANDA RESOLUTION

REF A) USUN 1187; B) STATE 83633

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 086165
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE ON RWANDA RESOLUTION

REF A) USUN 1187; B) STATE 83633

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST.

3. EMBASSY IS INSTRUCTED TO MAKE A DEMARCHE TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT EARLY TUESDAY MORNING TO ENLIST FRENCH SUPPORT FOR EXTENDING THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA (UNAMIR) FOR A SHORTER LENGTH OF TIME

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1) THE VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION WILL BE HELD ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON IN NEW YORK. TALKING POINTS FOR THE DEMARCHE FOLLOW BELOW.

TALKING POINTS:

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

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(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

--DESPITE THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S RECOMMENDATION FOR A 6 MONTH EXTENSION, WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT A 2 OR POSSIBLY 3 MONTH EXTENSION WOULD PROVIDE AN INCENTIVE TO THE PARTIES TO RESOLVE THE FINAL ISSUE, INSTALL THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS, AND GET ON WITH THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORDS AND REBUILDING THEIR COUNTRY.

--WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS NOW ADVOCATING A 6 MONTH EXTENSION OF ALL PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS WHICH COME UP FOR RENEWAL IN ORDER TO FACILITATE LOGISTICAL ARRANGEMENTS; WHILE WE AGREE IN PRINCIPLE, WE FEEL THAT IN THE CASE OF UNAMIR, A SHORTER TIME FRAME WOULD PUT MORE PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES TO REACH AGREEMENT.

--THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN A FIRM SUPPORTER OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN RWANDA, AND WE NOTE THAT THE PARTIES ARE CLOSE TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE COMPOSITION OF A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT; NEVERTHELESS, THERE HAVE BEEN LONG DELAYS AND WE MUST SEND A STRONG POLITICAL SIGNAL THAT FURTHER DELAYS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE. TALBOTT
BT
#6165
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6165

TOR: 940401190245 M0970881

DIST:

SIT: BEERS DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS VAX

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2011-0267-M-1 (1.45)
10/20/2023 V2

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
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LINE2: ZNY SSSCC
LINE3: O 111245Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ETCC//
OSRI: RUSNMHS
DTG: 111245Z APR 94
ORIG: USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ETCC//
TO: RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHINGTON DC
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHINGTON DC
RHEHWSR/WHITE HOUSE SITROOM WASHINGTON DC
RUETIAA/DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGC/AEAGC-O/AEAGD-TO//
RHFQAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CAT/DO/LG/CV/SCMV//
RUSNNOT/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//J3//
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N3//
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/J6/SOCEUR//
RUFGAID/USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC//DJS/J3/JOD/EUCOM-LNO//
RHDITDP/HQ ACC LANGLEY AFB//DO/DOX/LG/XP/BSD/DOC//
RUCJAAA/USCINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
RHCUAAA/USCINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL//TCJ3/4/CAT//
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//USDP/GLOBAL//
RUEADWD/CSA WASHINGTON DC
RUENAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RUEACMC/CMC WASHINGTON DC
RUFTRWA/OPS SUPPORT CENTER RAMSTEIN AB GE
RHCUAAA/HQ AMC SCOTT AFB IL//XO/TACC//
RUEHNR/USDAO KENYA
RUEHBS/USDAO BRUSSELS
RUEHFR/USDAO PARIS
RUEHOL/USDAO BONN
RUFRSGG/COMPHIBRON ONE
RUFTDCA/DISA-EUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUCNDT/US MISSION US UN NEW YORK NY
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3//
RUSNPAN/HQ MARFOREUR BOEBLINGEN GE//G-3/G-4//
RUCBSAA/USCINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
RUCUSTR/USSTRATCOM OFFUTT AFB NE//J272//
RCCPJSA/NDOC OTTAWA
RUFQBBA/US SURVEY SEC SHAPE BE
SUBJ: ***NO SUBJECT FOUND***
TEXT:
~~S E C R E T~~
SECTION 001 OF 002

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OPER/DISTANCE RUNNER
MSGID/SITREP/RWANDA NEO SITREP 010//
PERIOD/1106001Z APR 94 TO 111245Z APR 94//
HEADING/OWN SITUATION//
RMKS/ 1. (S) RWANDA EVACUATIUN UPDATE: COORDINATING WITH U.S. AMBASSADOR FOR ACCOUNTING AND EVACUATION FROM BUJUMBURA. AT 110842Z, STATE DEPARTMENT REPORTS 18 OR 19 AMCITS FROM THE UNIVERSITY GROUP HEADED TO ZAIRE AND HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER. ONE C-141 DEPARTED BUJUMBURA AT 111116Z WITH 29 AMCITS, 19 KENYIANS, 7 CANADIANS, 5 SRI LANKAINS, 5 BELGIUMS, 1 BERMUDA CIT, AND 1 BURIKINA FASO FOR A TOTAL OF 67 PAX. MSN 5429 ARRIVED AT NAIROBI 1240Z.
2. (S)

/UNITDES	/UNITLOC	/CMNTS
USEUCOM	STUTTGART GE	
11MEU(FWD)	BUJUMBURA, BURUNDI	
USS PELELIU	OFF SHORE MOMBASA	
ESAT/C-21	NAIROBI, KENYA	
2 C-141	MOMBASA, KENYA	CREW REST UNTIL 110600Z OPCON USCINCEUR
1 C-141	NAIROBI,KENYA	AIRBORNE ETA 111230Z
1 C-141	BUJUMBURA, BURUNDI	BRAVO ALERT OPCON USCINCEUR

3. (S) INTEL UPDATE: THE SITUATION IN KIGALI AND RWANDA HAS NOT CHANGE SIGNIFICANTLY OVER THE LAST 6 HOURS. THERE WAS GUNFIRE IN KIGALI THROUGH THE AFTERNOON OF 10 APR. DURING THE EVENING AND EARLY MORNING HOURS OF 11 APR KAGILA WAS REPORTED QUIET. FRENCH AND BELGIUM FORCES ARE DEPLOYED IN THE KIGALI CONTINUING TO EVACUATE CIVILIANS VIA THE AIRPORT. ALL AMERICAN CONVOYS HAVE REACHED BUJUMBURA. EIGHT REMAINING AMERICANS ARE STILL IN RWAMAGANA WITH 32 OTHER WESTERNERS AND ARE MAKING A DECISION TO DRIVE TO TANZANIA OR TO
GO BACK TO THE KIGALI AIRPORT. THESE 40 WESTERNERS HAVE SOME U.N. PROTECTION. THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FTONT (RPF) CONTINUES FIGHTING GOVERNMENT FORCES WITHIN AND NORTH OF KIGALI. FIGHTING IN THE CITY WILL CONTINUE AND MAY INCREASE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. THERE HAVE BEEN NO MAJOR PROBLEMS OR ANTICIPATED PROBLEMS WITH THE EVACUATION VIA BURUNDI AND KENYA. BURUNDI REMAINS TENSE BUT QUIET.
4. (S) FLIGHT SUMMARY OF AIR OPERATIONS THIS PERIOD:

SERVICE	TYPE	LOCATION	SORTIES FLOWN THIS PERIOD/SORTIES TOTAL	REMARKS
USAF 5414	1 C-141	BUJUMBURA	0/2	ETD TBD AWAITING TASKING
USAF 5429	1 C-141	NAIROBI	1/2	ETA 111245Z
USAF 5412/5415	2 C-141	MOMBASA	0/3	AWAITING TASKING AWAITING LOAD
USAF 5419	C-5	NAIROBI	0/3	SUPPORTING BELGIUM OPNS ETD 111100Z
USAF 5425	C-5	NAIROBI	0/3	SUPPORTING BELGIUM OPNS ETA 111135Z
USAF 5420	C-5	MELSBROEK	0/1	SUPPORTING BELGIUM OPNS ETD TBD
USAF 5416	C-5	NAIROBI	0/3	SUPPORTING BELGIUM

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USAF 5417	C-5	NAIROBI	1/2	OPNS. CREW REST SUPPORTING BELGIUM
USAF 5418	C-5	NAIROBI	0/2	OPNS NMC SUPPORTING BELGIUM
USAF 5423	C-5	NAIROBI	1/1	OPNS ETD 111150Z SUPPORTING BELGIUM
USAF 5424	C-5	MELSBROEK	0/0	OPNS CREW REST SUPPORTING BELGIUM
USAF 5427	C-5	MELSBROEK	0/0	OPNS ETD 111000Z SUPPORTING BELGIUM
USAF	C-21	NAIROBI	1	OPNS ETD 111200Z SUPPORT FOR ESAT

5. ~~(S)~~ LOGISTICS: AIRCRAFT STATUS.

FIXED WING				ROTARY WING			
TYPE	POSS	MC	NMC	TYPE	POSS	MC	NMC
C-141	4	4	0	CH-53	4	4	0
KC-130	4	4	0				
C-5	9	8	1 (FUSELAGE TEAR - NAIROBI, KEYNA REPAIR TEAM ETA 110640Z)				
C-21	1	1	0				

6. ~~(S)~~ ALLIED INTENTIONS:

A. FRENCH: CONTINUE TO SECURE KIGALI INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT RWANDA, AND BACKHAUL FRENCH CITIZENS AND OTHER NATIONALS TO NAIROBI. KEEP THE FRENCH EMBASSY OPEN BUT EVACUATE FAMILIES AND NON-ESSENTIAL PERSONNEL.

B. BELGIUM: 12 C-130 AT NAIROBI FOR USE IN NAIROBI TO KIGALI SHUTTLE (7 BELGIUM, 1 DUTCH, 3 ITALIAN, 1 U.K.). BELGIUM WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE EQUIPMENT VIA C-5 AND BUILD UP COMBAT POWER. DEPLOYMENT TO KIGALI PROBABLY ON 12 APR 94.

C. GERMANY AND CANADA: KEEP EMBASSIES OPEN AT REDUCED STAFFING LEVELS.

7. ~~(S)~~ FUTURE ACTIONS:

A. 11TH MEU, 4 KC-130'S AND 3 CH-53'S REMAIN AT BUJUMBURA, BURUNDI FOR CINC TASKINGS.

B. 4 C-141'S AVAILABLE FOR PERSONNEL EVACUATION.

C. CONTINUE TO MONITOR PERSONNEL MOVEMENT AND COORDINATE WITH ALL AGENCIES TO FACILITATE POSSIBLE EVACUATION OF OTHER PERSONNEL.

D. UPON ARRIVAL IN NAIROBI, EMBASSY PERSONNEL WILL BE FLOWN TO WASHINGTON D.C. VIA SCHEDULED COMMERCIAL AIRLINES. DEPENDENTS WILL BE FLOWN TO CONUS VIA SCHEDULED COMMERCIAL AIRLINES.

E. PREPARE OPTIONS TO REDEPLOY 11 MEU(FWD) MARINES FROM BUJUMBURA UPON COMPLETION OF AMCIT EVACUATION TO NAIROBI. REDEPLOYMENT ORDER TO BE SUBJ SEP CORRESPONDENCE.

8. (U) PUBLIC AFFAIRS UPDATE: USEUCOM PAOS AND MEDIA POOL ARRIVED IN NAIROBI THIS MORNING ON C-5 MISSION AIRCRAFT. WORKING WITH AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PAO TO SUPPORT COVERAGE OF AMCIT EVACUEES ON C-141

~~S E C R E T~~

FINAL SECTION OF 002

FLIGHTS AND INTERVIEWS WITH THE EVACUEES AND U.S. AIRCREWS. AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PAO REPORTED GOOD NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE FROM TARMAC YESTERDAY AND CONFIRMED THAT USEUCOM COMBAT CAMERA TEAM WAS ON SCENE FOR OFFICIAL DOCUMENTATION. WILL REDEPLOY PAOS AND POOL UPON

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COMPLETION OF AIRLIFT OF BELGIUM MILITARY AND EQUIPMENT IF NO ADDITIONAL MISSION TASKING EXISTS FOR THEM. CDR 11TH MEU ADVISED MEWS MEDIA IN BUJUMBURA INCLUDING AP, NEW YORK TIMES AND ABC-TV. HE REPORTED GOOD INTERVIEWS AND COVERAGE OF 11TH MEU (FWD). 11TH MEU DEPLOYED WITH TWO USMC STILL PHOTOGRAPHERS FOR OFFICIAL DOCUMENTATION. CDR 11TH MEU WILL FORWARD RELEASE WITH ADDED INFORMATION ON THEIR DEPLOYMENT FOR USE IN INTERNAL AND PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAMS UPON REDEPLOYMENT.
9. (U) SITREP 011 WILL BE RELEASED AT 111800Z.
DECL/OADR
BT
#0536
NNNN

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

SSN: 0001
<^SSN>0536

TOR: 940411105451 M0985826
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DIST:
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	Tour D'Horizon with Foreign Minister Juppe's Africa Aide, April 7 [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	04/11/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/01/1994 - 04/11/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh125

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PREC: ROUTINE
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3008
INFO: RUCNANC/FRANCOPHONE COLLECTIVE
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 5575
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 5248
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7677
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0397
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 2849
SUBJ: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE'S
- AFRICA AIDE, APRIL 7
FURTHER SANCTIONS AND CONCERN OVER MORE DAMAGE TO
LIBYA'S REPUTATION AMONG ITS THIRD WORLD FRIENDS. SHE
STATED THAT FRANCE HAD TAKEN NO DIRECT ROLE IN THE

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VL NARA, Date 10/20/2023
2011-0262-M-1

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 09677
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KDEM, FR, XA
SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE'S
- AFRICA AIDE, APRIL 7
FURTHER SANCTIONS AND CONCERN OVER MORE DAMAGE TO
LIBYA'S REPUTATION AMONG ITS THIRD WORLD FRIENDS. SHE
STATED THAT FRANCE HAD TAKEN NO DIRECT ROLE IN THE
NEGOTIATIONS NOR HAD ANY PRESSURE BEEN APPLIED TO
LIBYA, OTHER THAN ONE CASUAL MENTION IN NEW YORK OF THE
NEED TO RESPECT THE ICJ DECISION. EXECUTION OF THE
AGREEMENT IS ANOTHER ISSUE, BUT THE GOF DOES NOT EXPECT
CHAD TO USE MILITARY FORCE TO RETAKE THE STRIP. FRANCE
WILL TAKE THE LEAD AT THE UN IN SEEKING TO GET A SMALL
NUMBER OF OBSERVERS SENT TO MONITOR THE WITHDRAWAL.
THE QUAI HOPES THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT THE
NEED FOR A RESOLUTION.
6. DUCOULOMBIER REITERATED STRONG FRENCH DESPAIR ABOUT
THE DEBY GOVERNMENT AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO RESPECT
HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CARRY OUT DESPERATELY NEEDED
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS. (b)(3) [10 U.S.C. 130(c)]

(b)(3)

(b)(3) DUCOULOMBIER STATED THAT THE LEVEL OF
EXASPERATION IN THE GOF TOWARD DEBY IS GREATER THAN IT
HAS EVER BEEN, AND PARIS HAS FEW FRESH IDEAS ON
RIGHTING THE SITUATION, ESPECIALLY SINCE ITS REGIONAL

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INTERESTS PREVENT THE GOF FROM ABANDONING CHAD. THE AOUZOU AGREEMENT WILL PROBABLY MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR FRANCE TO INCREASE SERIOUSLY THE ECONOMIC PRESSURE AGAINST DEBY.

MADAGASCAR

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7. DUCOULOMBIER STATED THAT THE STRONG HOPES HELD WITHIN THE GOF FOR A DEMOCRATIC MADAGASCAR HAVE BEEN PUT ASIDE IN THE FACE OF THE RAMPANT CORRUPTION AND (b)(3) (b)(3) ZAFY, ON THE OTHER HAND, NEVER STOPS COMPLAINING ABOUT THE INFLUENCE OF FORMER PRESIDENT RATSIRAKA AND ACCUSING THE FRENCH OF CONTINUING TO FAVOR HIM. SHE NOTED THAT DURING PRIME MINISTER RAVONY'S JUST CONCLUDED STOP IN PARIS, HE ATTEMPTED TO DISARM CRITICISM BY SHIFTING THE BLAME TO ZAFY AND POINTING TO HIS UNWORKABLE MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT. DUCOULOMBIER REMARKED THAT THE INABILITY OF THE GOM TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH ANY ASPECT OF THE AFTERMATH OF CYCLONES DAISY AND GERALDO HAD SHOCKED GOF AFRICANISTS, WHO WOULD HAVE EXPECTED AS MUCH FROM MOST AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS BUT NOT FROM ANTANANARIVO.

8. DUCOULOMBIER NOTED THAT FRENCH PLANS TO MAKE MADAGASCAR A PRIORITY TARGET FOR DEVELOPMENT HAVE BEEN PUT ON HOLD, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE GOM'S FAILURE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IFI'S. IN ADDITION, FRENCH PRIVATE ENTERPRISES ARE BEING COUNSELED TO PROCEED WITH CAUTION, GIVEN THE LEVEL OF CORRUPTION IN THE COUNTRY AND A TENDENCY FOR MALAGASY AUTHORITIES TO SINGLE OUT FRENCH NATIONALS (MOSTLY OF INDIAN OCEAN ORIGIN) FOR HARSH TREATMENT.

TOGO

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9. DUCOULOMBIER STATED THE CURRENT ATTEMPT BY PRESIDENT EYADEMA TO VOID THE RESULTS OF THE CONTESTED SEATS IN THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS HAS DRIVEN GOF AFRICANISTS TO DISMAY. EYADEMA, SHE STATED, CALLS PARIS "TEN TIMES PER DAY" LOOKING FOR SUPPORT FROM THE ELYSEE, COOPERATION MINISTRY, THE QUAI OR HIS FRIENDS IN THE CENTER-RIGHT PARTIES. SHE ASSERTED THAT EYADEMA WILL NO LONGER ACCEPT CALLS FROM JACQUES RIGAULT (COOPERATION MINISTER ROUSSIN'S TOGO "FIXER"), AND ADVICE FROM OTHER QUARTERS IS NOT FOLLOWED, EVEN THOUGH

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 09677

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KDEM, FR, XA

SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE'S - AFRICA AIDE, APRIL 7

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: WE MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE'S ADVISOR FOR AFRICA, NATHALIE LOISEAU DUCOULOMBIER ON APRIL 7 FOR A TOUR D'HORIZON OF AFRICAN ISSUES. ALTHOUGH MOST OF THE LUNCHEON WAS DEVOTED TO DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI (SEPTEL), ANGOLA, CAMEROON, CHAD, MADAGASCAR, TOGO AND MINISTER JUPPE'S TRIP TO JAPAN WERE ALSO DISCUSSED. KEY POINTS INCLUDED: -- (b)(3) (b)(3)

[10 U.S.C. 130(c)]

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(b)(3)
(b)(3) BUOYED BY THE FRENCH PRESENCE, HE REMAINS IMMOBILE AND UNREALISTIC.
-- FRENCH PATIENCE WITH PRESIDENT DEBY'S POOR PERFORMANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFORMS IS DRIVING GOF AFRICANISTS TO DESPAIR; WHILE THERE IS NO THOUGHT OF ABANDONING HIM (SINCE ANY LIKELY ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE WORSE), PARIS HOPES TO USE ECONOMIC PRESSURE TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION.
-- PRESIDENT EYADEMA IS BUSY WORKING THE AFRICA CIRCUIT IN PARIS IN AN ATTEMPT TO GIN UP SUPPORT (REPORTEDLY WITHOUT SUCCESS) FOR HIS BLATANT ATTEMPT TO OVERTURN, VIA THE SUPREME COURT, THE RESULTS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS; THE GOF HAS REMINDED HIM THAT AID WILL NOT BE RESUMED UNLESS A STABLE "COHABITATION" GOVERNMENT IS FORMED. END SUMMARY.

[10 U.S.C. 130(c)]

ANGOLA

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3. WE BRIEFED DUCOULOMBIER ON THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LUSAKA NEGOTIATIONS INCLUDING THE NEGATIVE DOS SANTOS RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER URGING ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMPROMISE PACKAGE ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. DUCOULOMBIER NOTED THAT SHE FOUND DOS SANTOS' RESPONSE CONSISTENT WITH THE UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS HE EXHIBITED IN PARIS CONCERNING HOPED FOR ARMS SALES TO THE GRA AND FRENCH SUPPORT. SHE ADDED THAT THE GOF HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT DOS SANTOS IS VERY BADLY COUNSELED. (b)(3)
(b)(3)

CAMEROON

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4. (b)(3)
(b)(3)
(b)(3) BIYA, BUOYED BY THE PRESENCE OF THE GOF ADVISORS, IS REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE UNTIL NIGERIAN FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN FROM BAKASSI -- SOMETHING THE FRENCH REALIZE IS NOT LIKELY TO OCCUR IN THE NEAR TERM. WHILE GOF EXPERTS ARE FAIRLY CONFIDENT THAT CAMEROON WILL WIN ITS LEGAL CASE BEFORE THE ICJ, A DECISION IS AT LEAST TWO YEARS AWAY. THE ONE BRIGHT SPOT FOR BIYA IS THE ERROR MADE BY OPPOSITION LEADER FRU NDI IN STATING HE WOULD GO TO NIGERIA TO NEGOTIATE A WITHDRAWAL. THAT WILL BE USED BY BIYA, DUCOULOMBIER PREDICTED, TO UNDERMINE SDF CLAIMS TO REPRESENT THE POLITICAL MAJORITY IN CAMEROON.

CHAD: AOUZOU

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5. DUCOULOMBIER SPECULATED THAT QADHAFI AGREED TO TO WITHDRAW FROM AOUZOU UNDER TH IMPLIED THREAT OF

BT

#9677

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

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<^SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 02

SSN: 9677
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TOR: 940411135102 M0986255
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SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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5/6/2011 Archie M. Baker
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[2011-0262-M-1 (1.46)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 111610Z APR 94
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DTG: 111610Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6408
INFO: RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//OASD/ISP// IMMEDIATE
RUSNTCC/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//J3//J4/BATTLE STAFF// IMMEDIATE
RHCUAAA/CINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL//J3/J4// IMMEDIATE
RHFQAAA/HQUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DC/IN// IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7281
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0072
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0920
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0412
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0035
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0434
SUBJ: BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER REPORTS SIX BELGIAN CIVILIANS KILLED IN RWANDA
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRUSSELS 04061
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY
SUBJECT: BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER REPORTS SIX BELGIAN CIVILIANS KILLED IN RWANDA
1. BELGIAN PRESS AGENCY 4/11 REPORTED THAT BELGIAN FONMIN CLAES HAD TOLD THE BELGIAN PARLIAMENT THAT SIX BELGIAN CIVILIANS HAD BEEN KILLED IN RWANDA SINCE LAST WEDNESDAY. CLAES SAID THREE BELGIAN CIVILIANS WERE KILLED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EVENTS AT GISENYI IN THE NORTH OF RWANDA ON LAKE KIVU AND THREE OTHERS MORE RECENTLY IN KIGALI.
2. THIS IS IN ADDITION TO THE 10 BELGIAN UNAMIR TROOPS WHO WERE KILLED IN KIGALI LAST THURSDAY.
3. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
BLINKEN
BT
#4061
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4061
TOR: 940411131355 M0986158
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX WADDELL

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Zaire/Internal Security... (2 pages)	04/13/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	Rwanda Evacuation: Letter of Thanks... (2 pages)	04/13/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	[Rwanda/Internal Istability... Peacekeeping] (2 pages)	04/13/1994	P1/b(1)
~~016. cable~~	~~Demarche on... (3 pages)~~	~~04/14/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
017. cable	[Burundi - Sitrep] (4 pages)	04/14/1994	P1/b(1)
018. cable	[Refugees] (2 pages)	04/14/1994	P1/b(1)
019. cable	[Rwanda/Belgium] (2 pages)	04/14/1994	P1/b(1)
020. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	04/14/1994	P1/b(1)
~~021. cable~~	~~[Situation as of 0600 EDT, 04/14/94] (2 pages)~~	~~04/14/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
022. cable	[Uganda-Rwanda Border] (2 pages)	04/14/1994	P1/b(1)
~~023. cable~~	~~WGRW01: Paris on Rwanda, April 14 (2 pages)~~	~~04/14/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
024. cable	Leotard: All Paratroops to Leave Rwanda 14 April [50 U.S.C. 403g, Section 6] [partial] (2 pages)	04/14/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/11/1994 - 04/14/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh126

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
025. cable	Suggested Letter of Appreciation to Belgian Foreign Minister (2 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/11/1994 - 04/14/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh126

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/5/2008 John L. Mills
20010301H DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.59)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA6467 1030232-CCCC--RHEHNSC.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 130231Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 130231Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS IMMEDIATE
SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM IMMEDIATE
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 2980
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2766
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7130
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8905
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA IMMEDIATE 7037
RUDKHD/AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE SMMEDIATE 6782
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA IMMEDIATE 4344
RUEHSL/AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA IMMEDIATE 0499
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 6573
INFO: ****
SUBJ: TFRWOL: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 0400 EDT, 04/12/94
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 096467
EMBASSIES PLEASE PASS CONSULS
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL
SUBJECT: TFRWOL: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 0400 EDT, 04/12/94
1. ~~(U)~~ THE EVACUATION OF AMCITS FROM RWANDA IS COMPLETE. TWO-HUNDRED FORTY-FOUR AMERICANS HAVE BEEN SAFELY EVACUATED; TWO HAVE ELECTED TO REMAIN IN RWANDA; 11 AMCITS WORKING WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ALSO REMAIN SUBJECT TO THE EVACUATION DECISIONS OF THOSE ORGANIZATIONS. (TFRW/EMBASSY BUJUMBURA TELCONS)
2. ~~(S)~~ ACCORDING TO THE UN, THE REMNANTS OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FLED THE CAPITAL TODAY FOR THE PROVINCIAL TOWN OF GITARAMA. AS MANY AS 2,000 RPF TROOPS ARE REPORTEDLY IN KIGALI, AND UN COMMANDER GENERAL DALLAIRE MAY MEET WITH RPF LEADERS TONIGHT. (TFRW-USUN TELCON)
3. ~~(S)~~ THE UNSC HAD SCHEDULED A MEETING THIS AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS THE DISPOSITION OF UNAMIR. USUN INTENDED TO DEMARCHE THE UN SECRETARIAT PRIOR TO THE UNSC MEETING, URGING SUPPORT FOR THE BELGIAN POSITION THAT A WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF THE UNCERTAIN SECURITY SITUATION IN RWANDA. (TFRW-USUN TELCON)
4. ~~(U)~~ THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI REMAINS CALM. CHARGE LANGE ADVISED THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF THE EMBASSY'S

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ORDERED DEPARTURE STATUS, AND OF THE TRAVEL WARNING
ISSUED ADVISING PRIVATE AMERICANS TO DEPART THE COUNTRY
IMMEDIATELY. (TFRW-EMBASSY BUJUMBURA TELCON)
5. (C) TFRW'S HOURS HAVE BEEN ADJUSTED TO 0500-2200
HOURS, WITH PERSONNEL "ON CALL" FROM 2200-0500.
(EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT)
6. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER
ROT
#6467
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6467

TOR: 940412223621 M0989544

DIST:

PRT: SIT{C2}
SIT: DESHAZER SUM SUM2 VAX
□

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. cable	[Peacekeeping Forces] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	04/13/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/11/1994 - 04/14/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh126

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526
U.S. Department of State
201005065 05/06/2011
Archie M. Bolster
[2011-0626-M-1 (1.61)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA4146 1030912-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 130911Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 130911Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6445
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7286
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0076
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0924
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 0008
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0416
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0039
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0438
RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//OASD/ISP// IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SUBJ: WGRWO1: GOB ON RWANDA, APRIL 13, 1000 HOURS LOCAL TIME

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 04146
DEPARTMENT XR AF/C, EUR/NE, AND IO/UNP
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY
SUBJECT: WGRWO1: GOB ON RWANDA, APRIL 13, 1000 HOURS LOCAL TIME
REF: A) BRUSSELS 4128) B) PARIS 9897; C) USUN 1503; D) USUN 1526; E) SECSTATE 96467

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. BELGIAN FONMIN CLAES MET WITH BOUTROS-GHALI IN GERMANY 4/12 TO URGE QUICK DECISION ON UNAMIR'S FUTURE. CLAES STRESSED PEACEKEEPING MANDATE IMPOSSIBLE IN CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. BELGIAN PARATROOPERS EXPECTED TO BE IN KIGALI AT LEAST UNTIL SOME TIME ON 4/14. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN, BUT FIVE DIPLOMATIC STAFF OF EMBASSY STILL OPERATING FROM AIRPORT AT KIGALI, AND WILL LEAVE AT END OF EVACUATION OPERATION. (b)(1)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d) END SUMMARY

3. AT 1000 AM LOCAL TIME 4/14, POLCOUNS SPOKE TO LODE WILLEMS, CHEF DE CABINET TO FONMIN CLAES ABOUT SITUATION IN RWANDA AND FUTURE OF UNAMIR. WILLEMS SAID CLAES MET WITH UNSYG BOUTROS-GHALI IN GERMANY 4/13. CLAES STRESSED BELGIUM DID NOT WANT TO TAKE A UNILATERAL BELGIAN DECISION ON ITS TROOPS WITH UNAMIR. BELGIUM, HOWEVER, SAW PEACEKEEPING AS IMPOSSIBLE'EQW"QQ:Q

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4. BOUTROS-GHALI RESPONDED THAT HE NEEDED A REPORT FROM UNAMIR FORCE COMMANDER DALLAIRE BEFORE HE WOULD MAKE A RECOMMENDATION/REPORT TO THE UNSC. HE SAID HE HAD ASKED DALLAIRE FOR SUCH A REPORT. HE PROMISED TO TELEPHONE CLAES IN BRUSSELS (CLAES RETURNS TO BRUSSELS THIS AFTERNOON FROM A COUNCIL OF EUROPE MEETING AND MEETING WITH ARAFAT IN STRASBOURG) AT 2300 BRUSSESL TIME ON THIS ISSUE.

5. CLAES ALSO ASKED FOR, AND GOT, ASSURANCES THAT THERE WOULD BE A UN INQUIRY INTO HOW THE MURDERS OF THE 10 BELGIAN BLUE HELMETS CAME ABOUT.

6. WILLEMS HAD HAD A REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL INFORMAL MEETING AND THANKED THE USG FOR THE POSITION WE TOOK ON NEEDING A TIMELY DECISION ON WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR IN THE CURRENT SECURITY CONDITIONS (REF D). HE HOPED THAT IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THE USG WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT A DECISION WHICH, (b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b)

E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d), (b)(1)

7. AS FOR THE EVACUATION, THE BELGIAN PARATROOPERS HAVE MANAGED TO EVACUATE MOST BELGIANS IN KIGALI WHO WANTED TO GET OUT. WILLEMS THOUGHT THERE WERE SOME 12 LEFT IN THE CITY AND PERHAPS SOME IN THE COUNTRYSIDE WHOM THE PARATROOPERS HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO REACH. EFFORTS WERE CONTINUING. BELGIUM WOULD NOT WITHDRAW ITS NATIONAL PARATROOPERS AT LEAST UNTIL AT LEAST SOME TIME 4/14. DECISIONS ARE BEING MADE BY THE DAY NOW. A USDAO SOURCE LIAISING WITH THE BELGIAN MILITARY REPORTED SEPARATELY THAT THE BELGIANS HAD EVACUATED 814 BELGIANS AND 184 OTHER NATIONALITIES BY AIR AND 360 BELGIANS AND 190 OTHER NATIONALITIES BY ROAD AS OF MORNING 4/13.

8. SOME OF THE FRENCH TROOPS HAD BEEN WITHDRAWN, BUT OTHERS WERE STILL AT THE AIRPORT. WILLEMS UNDERSTOOD THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 04146

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, EUR/NE, AND IO/UNP
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY
SUBJECT: WGRWO1: GOB ON RWANDA, APRIL 13, 1000 HOURS
LOCAL TIME

FRENCH WOULD LEAVE SOME TROOPS AT THE AIRPORT AT LEAST WHILE THE RWANDAN ARMY (FAR) CONTROLLED THE AREA AROUND THE AIRPORT, WHICH IT CONTINUED TO DO BY BELGIAN REPORTS. IF THE RPF TOOK THE AREA AROUND THE AIRPORT, HE UNDERSTOOD THE FRENCH WOULD WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS.

9. BOTH THE BELGIAN AND FRENCH EMBASSIES IN RWANDA HAD BEEN ORDERED TO CLOSE. THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR HAD LEFT THE COUNTRY "IN THE INTEREST OF HIS PERSONAL SECURITY." FIVE MEMBERS OF THE BELGIAN EMBASSY REMAINED IN PLACE AT THE AIRPORT BUT WOULD LEAVE KIGALI AT THE END OF THE EVACUATION OPERATION.

BLINKEN
BT
#4146
NNNN

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

SSN: 4146

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

<^SSN>4146
TOR: 940413051930 M0990109
<^TOR>940413052033 M0990112
DIST:
PRT: SIT{C2}
SIT: DESHAZER SUM SUM2 VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
11/5/2008 John L. Mills
200103014 DoS
[2011-0762-M-1 (1.65)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA8062 1040708-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 140159Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 140159Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHMPI/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 8244-8245 IMMEDIATE
INFO: ZEN/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 3000-3001 IMMEDIATE
ZEN/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1110-1111
ZEN/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 9183-9184
ZEN/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 3889-3890
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 2030-2031 IMMEDIATE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
ZEN/AMEMBASSY BONN 2618-2619
ZEN/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1008-1009
ZEN/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 9404-9405
ZEN/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3455-3456
ZEN/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 4635-4636
SUBJ: DEMARCHE ON RECONVENING ARUSHA TALKS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 098062
BUJ PLS PASS TO AMY. RAWSON; YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, TZ, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE ON RECONVENING ARUSHA TALKS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
ACTION REQUEST
,----------
2. WITH THE RPF MOVING ON KIGALI AND RWANDA TORN BY VIOLENCE, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT SOME EFFORT BE MADE TO STOP THE VIOLENCE, RESUME THE DIALOGUE, AND SEEK TO RESUSCITATE THE ARUSHA PROCESS, IF THAT IS STILL POSSIBLE. POST IS INSTRUCTED TO SEEK A MEETING WITH PRES. MWINYI AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY TO:
-- ASK THE PRESIDENT HOW HE SEES THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA AND WHERE HE BELIEVES IT IS HEADED.
-- EXPRESS OUR BELIEF THAT THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND ARUSHAOJ SHOULD CONTINUE TO GUIDE ANY POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS.
-- ASK HIM WHETHER HE BELIEVES THE ARUSHA ACCORDS CAN STILL BE IMPLEMENTED OR MIGHT FORM THE BASIS FOR A FUTURE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.
-- URGE HIM TO CONVOKE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVISIONAL RWANDAN GOVERNMENT, THE RPF, AND THE OBSERVER COUNTRIES TO ARUSHA FOR RENEWED PEACE TALKS.
IN MAKING THIS DEMARCHE, POST MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND AND TALKING POINTS:
BACKGROUND

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3. THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAS REAFFIRMED ITS SUPPORT FOR THE ARUSHA PROCESS AND HAS SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE A NEW CEASE FIRE AND RESUME TALKS WITH THE RPF WITH A VIEW TOWARD INSTALLING THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PROVIDED FOR IN THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. ALTHOUGH THE RPF HAS STATED THAT THEY STILL PLAN TO FORM A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT LEADING TO FREE ELECTIONS, AS CALLED FOR BY THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, THEY HAVE SHOWN NO DESIRE TO TALK AND REJECT ANY CEASE FIRE EXCEPT PERHAPS TO FACILITATE EVACUATION OF FOREIGNERS. THE RPF HAS THE MILITARY MOMENTUM AND HAS PUBLICLY REJECTED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND APPARENTLY PLANS TO TAKE KIGALI AND "RESTORE ORDER".

4. WHILE IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO GET THE RPF TO COME TO THE TABLE AT ARUSHA UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS AN OBLIGATION TO TRY. WE MUST TRY TO END THE FIGHTING AND PREEMPT THE RPF FROM OBTAINING A MILITARY VICTORY THAT MIGHT ALLOW THEM TO IMPOSE A GOVERNMENT ON THE RWANDAN PEOPLE. EVEN WITH A MILITARY "VICTORY", THE RPF WILL PROBABLY BE UNABLE TO GOVERN THE OVERWHELMINGLY HUTU POPULATIONHND WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT POWERSHARING. THE RPF RECOGNIZES THIS AND THUS MAY BE WILLING TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE DESPITE THEIR APPARENT MOMENTUM ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

TALKING POINTS

---

5. BELOW ARE TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH MWINYI:

-- WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW HOW YOU SEE THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA AND WHERE YOU BELIEVE IT IS HEADED.

-- IN LIGHT OF THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS CAN STILL BE IMPLEMENTED OR AT LEAST SERVE AS A BASIS FOR RENEWED DISCUSSIONS ON A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT?

,- THE RENEWED WAR IN RWANDA IS CAUSING MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN SUFFERING AND THREATENS THE STABILITY OF THE ENTIRE SUBREGION.

-- IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MAKE AN EFFORT TO END THE FIGHTING AND RETURN THE PARTIES TO THE ARUSHA PROCESS.

-- THE ARUSHA PROCESS HAS BROUGHT SUCCESS IN THE PAST EVEN WHEN IT APPEARED THAT THE PEACE PROCESS HAD STALLED OR BROKEN DOWNUM

-- DESPITE THE APPARENT EXECUTIONS OF SEVERAL POLITICAL LEADERS AND THE DRAMATIC CHANGES ON THE MILITARY FRONT, WE BELIEVE THAT THE ARUSHA PROCESS IS STILL VIABLE AND IS IN FACT THE ONLY SOLUTION POSSIBLE FOR RWANDA.

-- THE CONTRIBUTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS HAS BEEN ENORMOUS. WE MUST BUILD ON THAT PROCESS AND CANNOT LET THOSE EFFORTS GO TO WASTE.

-- FOR THESE REASONS, WE URGE YOU TO RECONVENE THE ARUSHA TALKS IMMEDIATELY AND CONVOKE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF, ALONG WITH THE OBSERVER COUNTRIES.

-- THE FIRST PRIORITY WILL BE TO NEGOTIATE AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE. AFTER THAT, WE BELIEVE THE PARTIES SHOULD NDERTAKE TALKS DESIGNED TO INSTALL A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT.

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6. INFO ADDRESSEES ARE ENCOURAGED TO SHARE OUR STRATEGY WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS/OAU/UN.
7. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#8062
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8062

TOR: 940414031908 M0992431

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
9/16/2011 Sharon E. Ahmad
2010 05065 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.70)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA8780 1041450-CCCC--RHEHNSC.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 141444Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 141444Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS IMMEDIATE
SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM IMMEDIATE
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 8819
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 3008
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2800
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8999
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA IMMEDIATE 7064
RUDKHD/AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE IMMEDIATE 6795
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA IMMEDIATE 4360
RUEHSL/AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA IMMEDIATE 0526
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 6596
INFO: ****
SUBJ: TFW01: SITUATION AS OF 0600 EDT, 04/14/94
NO. 39
PLEASE PASS DEPSEC TALBOTT
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 098780
EMBASSIES PLEASE PASS CONSULS
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL
SUBJECT: TFW01: SITUATION AS OF 0600 EDT, 04/14/94
NO. 39
PLEASE PASS DEPSEC TALBOTT
1. (S) APPROXIMATELY 12 JOURNALISTS, INCLUDING 7 AMERICANS, REMAIN IN KIGALI AT THE MILLES COLLINES HOTEL. BELGIAN FM CLAES HAS ORDERED BELGIAN FORCES TO GIVE "ALL POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE" TO EVACUATE THE JOURNALISTS, AND BELGIAN TROOPS HAVE A CONVOY UNDERWAY TO REACH THE HOTEL TO BRING THEM TO THE AIRPORT FOR EVACUATION. AT LEAST TWO OF THE GROUP INTEND TO REMAIN BEHIND IN KIGALI. (NAIROBI 6695, BRUSSELS 4188)
2. (U) FIGHTING CONTINUED IN KIGALI THIS MORNING. THE RPF HAS TAKEN MORE GROUND IN THE CITY, AND FIGHTING HAS MOVED CLOSER TO THE AIRPORT. THE UNAMIR COMMANDER HAS RECEIVED A COMMITMENT FROM THE RPF FOR A 24-HOUR EXTENSION TO PERMIT EVACUATION OF EXPATRIATES. EFFORTS CONTINUE TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER, BUT A MEETING YESTERDAY WAS CANCELLED FOLLOWING A PRESS LEAK. ONE OF OUR FSNS IN KIGALI REPORTS THAT, CONTRARY TO EARLIER REPORTS, THE EMBASSY HAS NOT/NOT BEEN LOOTED. (AP, TF/GEN. DELLAIRE TELCON, TF/RSO BUJUMBURA TELCON)

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3. (S) IN NEW YORK, THE UNSC RULED OUT COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF ITS PEACEKEEPERS, BUT MADE NO FINAL DECISION ON THE FUTURE OF UNAMIR. THE BELGIANS PRESSED FOR ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR FROM RWANDA. THE U.S. RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR FORCES UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS. THE BELGIAN CABINET MET TODAY AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR U.S. SUPPORT IN THE UNSC DISCUSSIONS YESTERDAY, AND REQUESTED CONTINUING U.S. SUPPORT FOR AN "ANGOLAN SOLUTION" IN RWANDA. (USUN 1553, BRUSSELS 4189, TF/EMBASSY BRUSSELS TELCON)

4. (S) EMBASSY BUJUMBURA REPORTED INCREASED TENSION IN THE BURUNDIAN CAPITAL YESTERDAY, BUT THE RSO REPORTS THAT BUJUMBURA IS "REMARKABLY CALM" TODAY. THE BURUNDIAN NATIONAL CRISIS COMMITTEE CONTINUED ITS EFFORTS AT RECONCILIATION, AND THE ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER TRAVELLED TO THE PROVINCES. (BUJUMBURA 1273, TF/EMBASSY BUJUMBURA TELCON)

5. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZED CONSIDERED.

CHRISTOPHER

BT

#8780

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8780

TOR: 940414105419 M0993252

DIST:

PRT: SIT{C2}

SIT: DESHAZER SUM SUM2 VAX

□

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
5/6/2011 Archie M. Bolster
2010 5065 DOJ
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.72)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHFRA0114 1041555-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 141555Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 141555Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3236
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0402
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7144
RUSNNOA/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0948
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2881
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 1599
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 6516
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0537
RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 7919
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6469
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7735
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0426
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 4176
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/AF//
SUBJ: WGRW01: PARIS ON RWANDA, APRIL 14
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PARIS 10114
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UN, RW, FR
SUBJECT: WGRW01: PARIS ON RWANDA, APRIL 14
REF: A) PARIS 9897 AND PREVIOUS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
RWANDA
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2. OUR LATEST ROUND OF CONVERSATIONS INDICATES FRENCH DISENGAGEMENT FROM RWANDA IS NEARLY COMPLETE, AND THERE HAS BEEN A RESULTING PALPABLE SENSE OF RELIEF AMONG GOF INTERLOCUTORS. COOPERATION MINISTER ROUSSIN TOLD THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY APRIL 13 THAT THE LAST COMPANY OF FRENCH MILITARY WOULD BE WITHDRAWN BY THE END OF THE DAY. ROUSSIN ALSO CONFIRMED THE DEATH OF A FRENCH GENDARME, WHO HAD BEEN PART OF THE GOF AID PROGRAM TEAM.
3. QUAI SOURCES TOLD US APRIL 14 THAT THE LAST COMPANY LEFT ON SCHEDULE, BUT A FEW INDIVIDUALS REMAIN WITH BELGIAN FORCES FOR LIAISON AND COMMUNICATIONS PURPOSES. THEY ALSO SAID THAT "MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES" (MSF) WAS PLANNING TO SEND A TEAM TO HELP AT RWANDAN HOSPITALS.
4. ELYSEE AFRICAN ADVISOR DOMINIQUE PIN COMMENTED THAT HE IS NOT SANGUINE CONCERNING PROSPECTS FOR THE CURRENT PEACE TALKS IN KIGALI.

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BURUNDI
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5. PIN INFORMED US HE WILL BE THE CHIEF GOF REPRESENTATIVE TO THE FUNERAL OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENT. HE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY AT LEAST ONE, AS YET UNNAMED, OFFICIAL FROM THE QUAI D'ORSAY.
BAY
BT
#0114
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0114
TOR: 940414115922 M0993422
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability.... (2 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1)
002. cable	[Reports on Rwanda Crisis] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	04/15/1994	~~P1/b(1)~~, b(6) VZ
003. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability: UNAMIR... (3 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Rwanda /Internal Instability: UN... (3 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1)
005. cable	[Rwanda/Internal Instability: Kigali] (2 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	The Balance Sheet in Rwanda/Burundi: A/S Moose Meets the Belgian Ambassador [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (5 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
007. cable	[Situation Report No. 46 as of 1500 EDT, 04/15/94] (2 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1)
~~008. cable~~	~~[Situation Report No. 47 as of 1700 EDT, 04/15/94] (2 pages)~~	~~04/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability: Situation in Rwanda's... (2 pages)	04/16/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	[Rwanda/Internal Instability: Refugees] (2 pages)	04/16/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	[Burundi - Sitrep No. 6] (3 pages)	04/16/1994	P1/b(1)
012. cable	[Redeployment] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1) VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/15/1994 - 04/19/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh127

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability: Violent... (2 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	Former A/S Cohen meets Mobutu (3 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	[Report of Rwanda Crisis - April 18] (3 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1)
016. cable	Burundi - Sitrep No. 8 (3 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1)
017. cable	Rwanda/Internal Istability... (2 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1)
018. cable	Egypt Ambassador El Sayad Calls on A/S Moose (3 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1)
~~019. cable~~	~~Ugandan Government... (2 pages)~~	~~04/19/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~020. cable~~	~~Belgian Meeting with Ghanaian Foreign Minister on Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~04/19/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
021. cable	Burkina's Minister of State... (4 pages)	04/19/1994	P1/b(1)
022. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability: Situation in... (3 pages)	04/19/1994	P1/b(1)
023. cable	[Burundi - Sitrep No. 9] (3 pages)	04/19/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
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OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/15/1994 - 04/19/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch127

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. cable	[Reports on Rwanda Crisis] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	04/15/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/15/1994 - 04/19/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh127

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
5/6/2011 Archie M. Bolster
2010050065 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.75)]

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA3607 1051641-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 151641Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 151641Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7772
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0124
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0229
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 1944
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 1483
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0468
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 7558
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 2330
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 3101
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 3015
SUBJ: TFRW01: ICRC, UNHCR AND UNV REPORTS ON RWANDA CRISIS - APRIL 15
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 03607
ROME FOR FODAG
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREF, EAID, PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: TFRW01: ICRC, UNHCR AND UNV REPORTS ON RWANDA CRISIS - APRIL 15
REF: (A) GENEVA 3543, (B) STATE 99238
SUMMARY
---
1. (U) AFTER ITS 4/14 SUSPENSION OF THE OPERATION TO COLLECT CASUALTIES FOR MEDICAL CARE IN KIGALI, ICRC NOW EXPECTS TO RESUME THOSE COLLECTIONS AS WELL AS FOOD DISTRIBUTIONS EITHER LATER TODAY OR ON SATURDAY. ICRC EXPAT DELEGATES REMAIN IN-COUNTRY OPERATING AT THE LIMITS OF THE RISKS THE ORGANIZATION IS WILLING TO TAKE.
2. (LOU) THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT MAY PROVIDE UNHCR WITH ASSISTANCE TO TRANSPORT A TEN-PERSON EMERGENCY TEAM PLUS EQUIPMENT FROM NAIROBI TO GOMA, ZAIRE THIS WEEKEND. UNHCR IS INVESTIGATING REPORTS THAT 3,000 TUTSIS WERE PREVENTED FROM FLEEING RWANDA AND ARE HOLED UP IN A CHURCH IN CYANGUGU, RWANDA THAT IS SURROUNDED BY ARMED FORCES. UNHCR WILL CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF THIRD-COUNTRY RESETTLEMENT FOR THE RWANDAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST TEMPORARILY IN BUJUMBURA. END SUMMARY.
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS
---
3. (U) YESTERDAY, MISSION REPORTED (REFTEL A) ON THE ICRC SUSPENSION OF OPERATIONS TO COLLECT CASUALTIES.

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LAST NIGHT, ICRC ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE DESCRIBING HOW "KIGALI ARMED MILITIAMEN" SHOT TO DEATH, IN THE PRESENCE OF MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, SIX WOUNDED PEOPLE WHO WERE BEING TAKEN BY RWANDAN RED CROSS VOLUNTEERS TO A FIELD HOSPITAL SET UP BY ICRC. ICRC DESCRIBED THIS AS AN "OUTRAGEOUS ACT" WHICH COMPELLED IT AND THE RWANDAN RED CROSS TO SUSPEND THE COLLECTION OF CASUALTIES IN THE CAPITAL, "WHERE THE MOST ELEMENTARY RULES OF HUMANITY ARE BEING FLOUTED." ICRC STRONGLY APPEALED TO ALL COMBATANTS, INCLUDING ARMED MILITIA AND THEIR LEADERS, TO PUT A STOP TO THE CARNAGE IN ALL AREAS OF RWANDA AFFECTED BY VIOLENCE AND TO ALLOW THE RED CROSS TO ASSIST THE WOUNDED WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. AN ICRC PRESS RELEASE ISSUED TODAY SAID THAT MORE THAN 10,000 PEOPLE HAVE DIED IN THE VIOLENCE.

4. (U) (b)(6) (b)(6) TOLD US TODAY THAT ICRC HAS ABLE TO GET KIGALI RADIO STATION MILLES COLLINES (WHICH HE SAID IS EFFECTIVELY "RUNNING THE CITY") TO PASS THE MESSAGE THAT ICRC'S HUMANITARIAN WORK WAS PROPER AND SHOULD BE ACCEPTED BY ALL. AS A RESULT, ICRC EXPECTS TO BE ABLE TO RESUME THE COLLECTION OF CASUALTIES AS WELL AS FOOD DISTRIBUTIONS EITHER LATER TODAY OR TOMORROW. THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM HAS OFFERED TO ICRC ANY FOOD REMAINING IN WFP'S WAREHOUSES IN THE KIGALI AREA. IN THE MEANTIME, ICRC'S SURGICAL ACTIVITIES HAVE CONTINUED AS MANY WOUNDED HAVE FOUND THEIR OWN WAY TO THE ICRC-RUN HOSPITALS.

5. (U) (b)(6) REPORTED THAT THE PLANNED 4/14 CONVOY FROM RUHENGERI TO GOMA, ZAIRE (REFTEL A) WAS UNABLE TO MOVE BECAUSE THE MILITARY ESCORT WOULD NOT ACCOMPANY IT. THE ICRC DELEGATE IS TRYING TO MAKE IT TO GOMA ON HIS OWN. GIVEN THE LARGE NUMBER OF RELIEF WORKERS HEADED FOR GOMA, ICRC MAY END UP SENDING ITS REINFORCEMENTS ELSEWHERE.

6. (U) (b)(6) SAID THE VIOLENCE IN KIGALI WAS CONTINUING. HE DID NOT HAVE REPORTS FROM OTHER PARTS OF RWANDA. HE SAID ICRC WAS KEEPING ALL OF ITS DELEGATES IN-COUNTRY, THOUGH THEY ARE "NOT NAIVE" -- THEY ARE OPERATING AT THE LIMITS OF HOW FAR THEY CAN GO IN A VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 03607

ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREF, EAID, PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL, RW

SUBJECT: TFRW01: ICRC, UNHCR AND UNV REPORTS ON RWANDA UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

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7. (U) (b)(6) (b)(6) SAID AN EMERGENCY RESPONSE TEAM OF ABOUT TEN PERSONS WILL ARRIVE, PROBABLY ON SUNDAY, IN GOMA TO PREPARE FOR POSSIBLE REFUGEE OUTFLOWS. HE SAID THE FRENCH MAY PROVIDE A C-130 TRANSPORT PLANE FOR THE TEAM AND ITS EQUIPMENT FROM NAIROBI TO GOMA. UNHCR IS ALSO SENDING AN OFFICER TO WORK AT UNHCR'S LOGISTICS HUB IN NAIROBI. THEY HAVE NOW DECIDED TO SEND ONE ADVANCE EMERGENCY RESPONSE OFFICER TO TANZANIA (MAUREEN

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CONNELLY, WHO RECENTLY WORKED ON THE BURUNDI REFUGEE CRISIS). THE REMAINDER OF THE TEAM WILL BE ON 72-HOUR NOTICE TO TRAVEL TO THE REGION, AS NECESSARY.

8. (U) (b)(6) SAID THAT UNHCR RECEIVED A REPORT THAT 3,000 TUTSIS ATTEMPTING TO FLEE RWANDA WERE HOLED UP IN A CHURCH IN CYANGUGU, RWANDA (OPPOSITE BUKAVU, ZAIRE) THAT IS SURROUNDED BY ARMED FORCES. THE HEAD OF UNHCR'S BUKAVU SUB-OFFICE WAS TRYING TO TRAVEL TO CYANGUGU TO SEE WHAT COULD BE DONE TO PROTECT THOSE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE. (b)(6) SAID UNHCR HAD ALSO RECEIVED OTHER REPORTS THAT RWANDANS ATTEMPTING TO FLEE WERE BEING STOPPED BY THE MILITARY.

9. (U) CURRENT NUMBERS FOR REFUGEE FLOWS AVAILABLE TO UNHCR ARE AS FOLLOWS. (NOTE. THE FIGURE FOR MOVEMENTS INTO ZAIRE CORRECT FIGURES REPORTED IN REFTEL A. END NOTE.)

RWANDANS:

-- 12,000 RWANDANS INTO ZAIRE, NORTH OF GOMA
-- 1,000 RWANDANS INTO BURUNDI
-- 400 RWANDANS INTO KISORO, UGANDA
-- A FEW HUNDRED RWANDANS INTO TANZANIA

BURUNDIANS:

-- 11,000 BURUNDI REFUGEES IN RWANDA RETURNED TO BURUNDI
-- 5,000 BURUNDI REFUGEES IN CYANGUGU, RWANDA, WENT TO ZAIRE (ADDING TO THE 75,000 BURUNDI REFUGEES WHO WERE ALREADY IN ZAIRE PRIOR TO THE APRIL 6 PLANE CRASH).

10. (LOU) PER REFTEL B, TASK FORCE EARLIER INSTRUCTED EMBASSY BUJUMBURA TO INFORM LOCAL UNHCR REP OF CONCERNS THAT (b)(6) COULD BE IN DANGER IF HE WERE SENT TO ZAIRE. WE CONTACTED UNHCR/GENEVA'S AFRICA LEGAL ADVISER KIMBIMBI TODAY TO DISCUSS THOSE CONCERNS. KIMBIMBI SAID THAT BACRE NDIAYE, THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR EXTRAJUDICIAL, SUMMARY OR ARBITRARY EXECUTIONS, HAD ALSO SENT A LETTER TO THE GRB (WITH A COPY TO UNHCR) URGING THAT (b)(6) EITHER BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN BURUNDI OR ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO AN ACCEPTABLE COUNTRY OTHER THAN ZAIRE. ACCORDING TO KIMBIMBI, THE BURUNDI GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED ABOUT 20 OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN FLOWN IN BY THE FRENCH, INCLUDING (b)(6). KIMBIMBI UNDERSTANS THAT HAS LEFT THE AIRPORT AND IS TEMPRARILY SAFE IN BJUMBURA. UNHCR EXPECTS IT WIL NEED TO PURSUE THIRD COUNTRY RESETTLEMENT FOR (b)(6) HE MENTIONED BELGIUM AND THE U.S. AS OSSIBLE COUNTRIES THAT WOULD BE APPROACHED.

UN VOLUNTEER PROGRAM

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11. (U) WE ALSO SPOKE TO (b)(6) SAID THAT 33 VOLUNTEERS IN RWANDA (16 FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, 17 FOR DEVELOPMENT WORK) HAD ALL EVACUATED SAFELY. UNV IS NOW MAKING DECISIONS ON WHICH OF THE VOLUNTEERS WILL BE REDEPLOYED TO HANDLE THE EMERGENCY IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND WHICH WILL BE LET GO. UNV HAS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 03607

ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

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TAGS: PREF, EAID, PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: TFRW01: ICRC, UNHCR AND UNV REPORTS ON RWANDA
DISCUSSED STAFFING NEEDS WITH UNICEF, AND UNHCR HAS
PROVIDED UNV WITH EARLY WARNING THAT VOLUNTEERS PROBABLY
WILL BE NEEDED IN ZAIRE AND TANZANIA. . UNV IS ALREADY
IDENTIFYING PEOPLE ON THEIR ROSTER TO FILL IMMEDIATE
NEEDS THAT MAY ARISE.
12. (LOU) (b)(6) SAID THAT A NUMBER OF THE
VOLUNTEERS WHO HAD BEEN EVACUATED FROM RWANDA WERE
TRAUMATIZED AND WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CONTINUE WORKING.
HE SAID THAT PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMANA WAS
ASSASSINATED ON THE UNV PART OF UNDP'S COMPOUND IN
KIGALI. THOUGH HE HAS NOT SPOKEN DIRECTLY TO THE
VOLUNTEERS, UNV REPORTS ARE THAT THE VOLUNTEERS AND
THEIR FAMILIES WERE ROUGHED UP AND THEN FORCED TO
WITNESS THE PRIME MINISTER'S ASSASSINATION. COUNSELING
EXPERTS ASSOCIATED WITH UN ORGANIZATIONS IN NAIROBI ARE
ASSISTING THOSE VOLUNTEERS AND OTHERS WHO WITNESSED
OTHER INCIDENTS.
13. (U) MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. RODGERS
BT
#3607
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 3607
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TOR: 940415124555 M0996208
<^TOR>940415124829 M0996214
<^TOR>940415124832 M0996216

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	The Balance Sheet in Rwanda/Burundi: A/S Moose Meets the Belgian Ambassador [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (5 pages)	04/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/15/1994 - 04/19/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh127

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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[2011-0626-M-1 (1.79)]

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RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
SUBJ: THE BALANCE SHEET IN RWANDA/BURUNDI: A/S MOOSE MEETS THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 100543
PARIS FOR PERLOW; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV PREL PREF PHUM BU RW CG BE FR
SUBJECT: THE BALANCE SHEET IN RWANDA/BURUNDI: A/S MOOSE MEETS THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE MET ON APRIL 14 WITH JUAN CASSIERS, BELGIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, TO DISCUSS THE ONGOING CRISES IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI, AND THE AMBIGUITY OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN ZAIRE. ZAIRE DESK OFFICER (NOTETAKER), AND BELGIAN DESK OFFICER ALSO ATTENDED. THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN SEIZED WITH THE RWANDA CRISIS OF LATE, AND MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON THE FATE OF UNAMIR, THE STATUS OF EVACUATION OF EXPATRIATES FROM RWANDA, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF SPILL-OVER INTO STILL-CALM BURUNDI. ON ZAIRE, A/S MOOSE AND THE AMBASSADOR AGREED ON THE NEED TO AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF THE CURRENT DELIBERATIONS ON THE PRIME MINISTER, AND RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER TRILATERAL MEETING ON THE MARGINS OF THE MAY 27 EUROPEAN UNION CONSULTATIONS. END SUMMARY.

"WE ARE NOT GOING OUT OF AFRICA..."

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3. CASSIERS CONFIRMED THAT THE BELGIANS PLANNED TO END THEIR PARTICIPATION IN UNAMIR, AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HOPED FOR A RAPID TERMINATION OF THE MANDATE, OR A SUSPENSION OF THE PEACEKEEPING OPERATION COMBINED WITH MAINTENANCE OF A SMALL POLITICAL PRESENCE. IN EITHER CASE, CASSIERS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF A RAPID AND ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR FORCES FROM RWANDA. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE BELGIAN UNAMIR CONTINGENT WOULD WITHDRAW UNDER UN COMMAND, WITH THE REST OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE, AND THAT BELGIUM DID NOT INTEND TO PULL ITS BLUE HELMETS OUT OF RWANDA UNILATERALLY.

4. HE SPECULATED THAT UNAMIR WOULD LIKELY DEPART RWANDA BY ROAD THROUGH TANZANIA, TO ASSURE THE SAFE REMOVAL OF ITS EQUIPMENT AND GIVEN THE LIKELY INSECURITY OF THE AIRPORT AFTER BELGIAN TROOPS DEPART FRIDAY. (b)(1)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

5. ACCORDING TO CASSIERS, BELGIUM EXPECTS TO WITHDRAW ITS NATIONAL FORCES BY FRIDAY, APRIL 15. ALTHOUGH HE SAID THERE "ARE SOME MISSIONARIES IN THE BUSH WE CANNOT FIND," THE MAJORITY OF BELGIANS WHO WISHED TO DEPART RWANDA HAVE BEEN SAFELY EVACUATED. A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED USG APPRECIATION FOR THE BELGIAN EFFORT ON THURSDAY TO EXTRACT 12 JOURNALISTS (INCLUDING 7 AMERICANS) FROM A HOTEL IN CENTRAL KIGALI. (NOTE: THE JOURNALISTS HAD FLOWN INTO KIGALI AFTER THE AMERICAN EVACUATION, AND THEN WERE TRAPPED IN A FIREFIGHT BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE RWANDAN MILITARY. THE BELGIANS MADE TWO UNSUCCESSFUL SORTIES--WHICH WERE TURNED BACK UNDER HEAVY FIRE--BEFORE UNAMIR WAS ABLE TO REACH THE HOTEL AND BRING THE JOURNALISTS TO THE RELATIVE SAFETY OF THE AIRPORT. END NOTE) CASSIERS IN TURN THANKED THE U.S. FOR THE LOGISTICAL ASSISTANCE PROVIDED DURING THE EVACUATION, AND FOR ITS SUPPORT ON THE UNAMIR ISSUE AT THE UNSC.

6. BELGIUM BELIEVES THAT THE RPF WILL TAKE OVER KIGALI "QUITE QUITE SOON," BUT CASSIERS SUGGESTED THAT THERE MIGHT STILL BE HOPE FOR THE ARUSHA PROCESS, "WITH MODIFICATIONS." (b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), 1.4(d) HE CONCLUDED BY ASSERTING THAT "WE ARE NOT GOING OUT OF AFRICA." BELGIUM INTENDS TO REMAIN ENGAGED ON THE CONTINENT, AND WILL HELP, ALBEIT "FROM A DISTANCE." CASSIERS SAID THAT IF BELGIUM CAN BE HELPFUL WITH HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE OR IN

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EFFORTS AIMED AT POLITICAL RECONCILIATION, IT WILL DO SO.

BURUNDI "ON ICE"
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7. CASSIERS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE RWANDAN CRISIS WOULD NOT SPILL OVER INTO BURUNDI. ALTHOUGH THE BELGIANS HAVE NOT ORDERED DEPENDENTS AND NON-ESSENTIALS OUT OF BURUNDI, BRUSSELS HAS SUGGESTED THAT THEIR NATIONALS CONGREGATE IN BUJUMBURA. ADDITIONALLY, IF FAMILY MEMBERS ARE NOT IN BURUNDI NOW, BRUSSELS HAS SUGGESTED THEY STAY OUT FOR THE PRESENT. (b)(1), 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

REMIND THE RPF OF ARUSHA
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8. A/S MOOSE RESPONDED THAT THE BELGIAN ASSESSMENT OF THE CRISIS COINCIDED IN LARGE MEASURE WITH OUR OWN. HE NOTED THAT THE WASHINGTON AND BRUSSELS HAD CONSULTED CLOSELY THROUGHOUT THE EVENTS IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI, AND THAT THIS HAD PROVEN USEFUL. THE U.S., ACCORDING TO MOOSE, WOULD LIKE THE UN TO CONTINUE A POLITICAL ROLE IN RWANDA, IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE A SETTLEMENT, BUT HE AGREED THAT IT WOULD TAKE SOME TIME FOR THE DUST TO SETTLE.

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

THE CENTER HOLDS IN BURUNDI
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9. MOOSE OUTLINED FOR THE BELGIAN THE U.S. MILITARY MISSION IN BURUNDI IN SUPPORT OF THE EVACUATION FROM RWANDA, AND THE STEPS WE HAD TAKEN TO SAFEGUARD AMERICANS IN BURUNDI. HE SAID THAT WE HAD WEIGHED HEAVILY THE MILITARY OPTION, AND HAD ONLY DEPLOYED THE MARINES AFTER SEEKING ASSURANCES FROM THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY. THE OPERATION HAD GONE WELL, AND MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT IT HAD GIVEN CONFIDENCE TO BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN BUJUMBURA. THE U.S. REMAINED CONCERNED ABOUT THE DESTABILIZING EFFECT OF A POTENTIAL INFLUX OF REFUGEES FROM RWANDA (ESPECIALLY RWANDAN POLITICIANS FLEEING THE BLOODSHED IN KIGALI), AND NOTED THAT WITH THE U.S. ORDERED DEPARTURE WE HAD GONE BEYOND BELGIUM'S PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES.

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

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(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

THAT THE SAFETY OF AMERICANS MUST BE OUR PRINCIPAL CONCERN.

ZAIRE: "THE RULES OF THE GAME..."

10. CASSIERS ASKED MOOSE FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN ZAIRE. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY REPLIED THAT RECENT EVENTS IN KINSHASA, INCLUDING THE PROMULGATION OF A TRANSITION CONSTITUTION AND A RENEWED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS ON THE INTERIM PRIME MINISTER, HAD CREATED A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF AMBIGUITY. HE NOTED THAT IT WAS A "TOUGH CALL" AS TO WHETHER THE OPPOSITION COULD GET ITS ACT TOGETHER, AND AS ALWAYS, THE ROLE OF TSHISEKEDI WOULD BE CRUCIAL. THE BELGIAN SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT "WOULD NOT GO FURTHER THAN MONSENGWO." THE BELGIAN POSITION IS THAT WITH THE PROMULGATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE "GAME IS THERE," AND THE POLITICAL CLASS MUST PLAY BY THE RULES. (b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

11. MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT MOBUTU CONTINUES TO TRY TO MANIPULATE THE PROCESS IN ZAIRE. CASSIERS AGREED, AND SAID THAT BELGIUM ENTERTAINED NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT MOBUTU'S COMMITMENT TO THE TRANSITION. THE ZAIRIAN LEADER CONTINUED TO OPERATE BY THE OLD RULES, THAT HE MADE COMPROMISES IF IT SUITED HIM, AND UNDID THEM IF HE PERCEIVED IT TO BE IN HIS INTEREST TO DO SO. (b)(1)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

(b)(1), E.O. 13526 1.4(b), 1.4(d) THE TWO REVIEWED THE MECHANISM UNDERWAY IN KINSHASA FOR THE SELECTION OF THE TRANSITION PRIME MINISTER, AND MOVED ON TO A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF NEXT STEPS FOR THE THREE.

12. BELGIUM, ACCORDING TO CASSIERS, WILL NOT PRE-JUDGE THE OUTCOME OF THE DELIBERATIONS ON THE PRIME MINISTER. THE BELGIANS ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT "WHOEVER COMES OUT," PROVIDED THE DECISION IS TAKEN DEMOCRATICALLY. MOOSE RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE NEXT TRILATERAL MEETINGS. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD BE ON THE ROAD A GREAT DEAL IN THE COMING WEEKS, INCLUDING A VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE ELECTIONS. THE EUROPEAN UNION CONSULTATIONS SCHEDULED FOR MAY 27 IN BRUSSELS MIGHT OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY FOR BILATERAL OR TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON ZAIRE, RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

13. BUJUMBURA, MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER
BT

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#0543
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
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11/05/2008 John L. Mills
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[2011-0262-M-2 (1.81)]

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SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM IMMEDIATE
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RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 3044
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2861
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7289
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9114
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA IMMEDIATE 7099
RUDKHD/AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE IMMEDIATE 6827
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INFO: ****
SUBJ: TFRWOL: SITUATION REPORT NO. 47 AS OF 1700 EDT, 04/15/94
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 100668
EMBASSIES PLEASE PASS CONSULS
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL
SUBJECT: TFRWOL: SITUATION REPORT NO. 47 AS OF 1700 EDT, 04/15/94
1. ~~(C)~~ SECURITY COUNCIL IN CONSTERNATION OVER UNAMIR: USUN DEPUTY PERMREP WALKER TOLD THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT IF A DECISION ON RWANDA WERE FORCED TODAY, THE U.S. WOULD HAVE TO SUPPORT TOTAL WITHDRAWAL. OUT OF THE ENSUING CONSTERNATION A BRITISH SUGGESTION EMERGED: SUSPEND UNAMIR, BUT ALLOW A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL, WITH SOME MILITARY ADVISERS, TO CONTINUE IN KIGALI WITH ATTEMPTS AT BRINGING THE PARTIES TOGETHER. JUSUN 15881
2. ~~(C)~~ BUJUMBURA SECURITY SITUATION: BURUNDI REMAINED CALM APRIL 15. SEVERAL OFFICIALS TOLD EMBASSY BUJUMBURA THAT THE MILITARY IS INCREASINGLY COMFORTABLE WITH THE INTERIM PRESIDENT, AND SENIOR OFFICIALS ARE SPREADING OUT IN THE INTERIOR TO MAINTAIN CALM THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRYSIDE. BUT OFFICIALS REMAIN CONCERNED THAT THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY STILL MIGHT SPILL OVER INTO BURUNDI AND TELL US THAT A RETURN TO THE ARUSHA PROCESS WOULD BE THE BEST MEANS TO PREVENT A SPILLOVER. MEANWHILE, EMBASSY BUJUMBURA HAS DRAWN DOWN TO MINIMUM STAFFING, HAS REDUCED CLASSIFIED HOLDINGS,

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AND REMAINS IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH THE TASK FORCE.
(EMBASSY BUJUMBURA)
3. (U) REFUGEE UPDATE:
UNHCR'S CURRENT NUMBERS ON REFUGEE FLOWS ARE:
-- 12,000 RWANDANS INTO ZAIRE, NORTH OF GOMA;
-- 1,000 RWANDANS INTO BURUNDI;
-- 400 RWANDANS INTO KISORO, UGANDA;
-- A FEW HUNDRED RWANDANS INTO TANZANIA;
-- 11,000 BURUNDIAN REFUGEES IN RWANDA RETURNED TO BURUNDI;
-- 5,000 BURUNDIAN REFUGEES IN CYANGUGU, RWANDA WENT TO ZAIRE (ADDING TO THE 75,000 BURUNDIAN REFUGEES WHO WERE ALREADY IN ZAIREY. (GENEVA 03607)
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#0668
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0668

TOR: 940415201518 M0997335

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX WILSON
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. cable	[Redeployment] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	04/18/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/15/1994 - 04/19/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh127

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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2011-0262-M-1 (1.85)
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RUEJDCA/DISA WASHINGTON DC
RULYSCC/CTF ONE FIVE SIX
RULYSCC/CTF ONE FIVE EIGHT
RUEHNR/KUSLO NAIROBI KE
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NARR/ ~~(S)~~ E.O. 13526 3.3(b)(5)

E.O. 13526 3.3(b)(5)

GENTEXT/SITUATION/
1. (U) GENERAL. SEE REF A.
1A. (U) ENEMY. SEE REF C.

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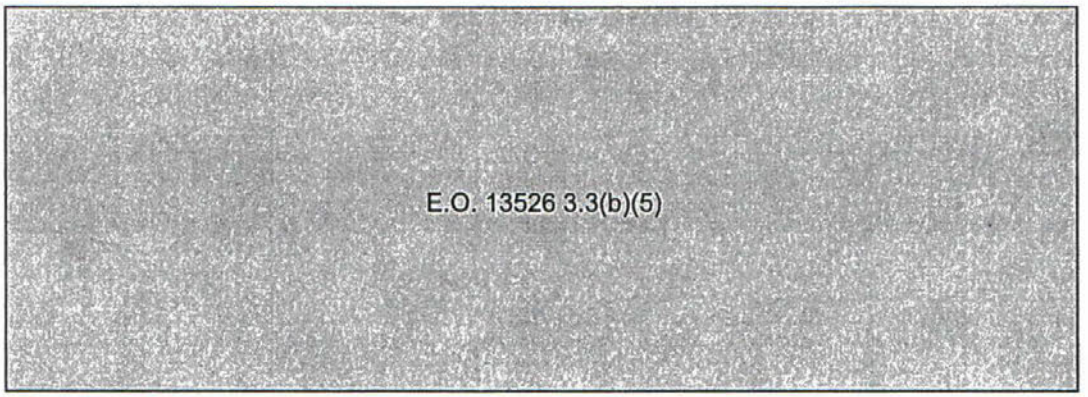

AKNLDG/YES//
DECL/OADR//
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SSN: 0001
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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LINE3: R 191352Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 191352Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0020
INFO: RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE MI
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4048
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0519
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0284
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2419
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5775
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1643
SUBJ: UGANDAN GOVERNMENT DENIES FUNDING RPF
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
9/11/2008 John L Mills
2001030 14 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.92)]

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KAMPALA 003093
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O 12356: N/A
TAGS: PINR, PINS, PREL, UG, RW
SUBJECT: UGANDAN GOVERNMENT DENIES FUNDING RPF
1. (U) THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEFENSE, AMAMA MBABAZI HAS DENIED ALLEGATIONS REPORTED IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES" OF APRIL 16 THAT THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT IS FINANCING AND SUPPORTING THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) REBELS WHO ARE FIGHTING THE KIGALI GOVERNMENT. THE "NEW VISION" OF APRIL 19 SAID TMAT THE MINISTER DISMISSED THE ALLEGATIONS AS A "COLLECTION OF HEARSAY BY THE JOURNALIST AND UGANDA'S POLITICAL OPPONENTS." THE "NEW YORK TIMES" REPORT WRITTEN NY NAIROBI-BASED CORRESPONDENT WILLIAM SCHMIDT, ALLEGED THAT THERE IS A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UGANDAN LEADER (MUSEVENI) AND THE RPF, AND THAT THE "UGANDAN LEADERSHIP IS DIRECTLY FINANCING AND SUPPORTING THE REBELS."
-
THE MINISTER NOTED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE FIRST TIME SUCH ALLEGATIONS HAVE BEEN LEVELED AGAINST THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT, SAYING THAT WAS WHY THE GOU HAD ASKED FOR A UN OBSERVER MISSION (UNOMOR) TO BE POSTED ON THE UGANDA-RWANDA BORDER. HE SAID THE UNOMOR FORCES HAVE SPENT "ALMOST A YEAR" AT THE BORDER, BUT HAVE NEVER SIGHTED ANY ARMS CROSSINQ OVER TO THE RPF AS ALLEGED.
2. (LOU) COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE "NEW YORK TIMES"

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ARTICLE WAS MISLEADING, AND BASED ON INACCURATE
INFORMATION. THE GOU REBUTTAL MAY NOT CHANGE THE
VIEW OF THOSE WHOSE MINDS ARE ALREADY MADE UP, BUT
AT LEAST IT PUTS THE UGANDAN POSITION ON THE PUBLIC
RECORD. END COMMENT.
3. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
BT
#3093
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3093

TOR: 940511032740 M1040411

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
5/6/2011 Archie M. Bolster
201005065 DOS
[2011-0262-M-1 (1.93)]

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHARA3316 1091445-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 191445Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
OSRI: RUEHAR
DTG: 191445Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0610
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 3212
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0395
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 5127
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1007
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0145
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0334
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 1793
RUEHKA/AMEMBASSY DHAKA PRIORITY 0003
SUBJ: BELGIAN MEETING WITH GHANAIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ACCRA 03316
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, BE, FR, BY, UN, GH
SUBJECT: BELGIAN MEETING WITH GHANAIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON RWANDA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR HENIN, ACCREDITED TO GHANA BUT RESIDENT IN ABIDJAN, GAVE US A READ-OUT APRIL 19 ON HIS MEETING EARLIER THAT MORNING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ASAMOAH. ASAMOAH HAD EXPLAINED WHY THE GOG POSITION ON UNAMIR IN RWANDA DIFFERED WITH THAT OF BELGIUM. THE GHANAIANS PLANNED TO STICK IT OUT IN RWANDA, THE FONMIN EXPLAINED, SINCE THEY NEEDED TO DO WHAT THEY COULD TO HELP THEIR AFRICAN BROTHERS.

3. HE SAID THAT UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI HAD TRIED TO CALL PRESIDENT RAWLINGS ON APRIL 18 AND RAWLINGS HAD TRIED TO RETURN THE CALL, BUT BOTH HAD HAD WRONG TELEPHONE NUMBERS. HAVING OBTAINED THE RIGHT NUMBERS, ASAMOAH INDICATED, THEY PROBABLY HAD SPOKEN ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 19. ALTHOUGH ASAMOAH APPARENTLY DID NOT HAVE THE RESULTS OF THAT CONVERSATION, HE ASSURED HENIN OF THE GOG'S CONFIDENCE THAT UGANDA HAD ENOUGH INFLUENCE WITH THE RPF TO PREVAIL ON ITS LEADERS TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE AND RESUME NEGOTIATIONS.

4. IN THE MEANTIME, ASAMOAH ASSERTED, THE RPF HAD NO INTEREST IN ATTACKING GHANA'S UNAMIR FORCE. IN ANY CASE, ACCORDING TO ASAMOAH, THE GHANAIAN FORCE WAS LARGE ENOUGH TO DEFEND ITSELF. HENIN SAID THAT ASAMOAH HAD ALSO EXPRESSED PLEASURE OVER THE PROSPECT OF HAVING SOME OF THE BELGIAN UNAMIR CONTINGENT'S EQUIPMENT ALLOCATED

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TO THE GHANAIAN FORCE. BROWN
BT
#3316
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3316
TOR: 940419104826 M1001949
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~Liberia: A/S Moose... (3 pages)~~	~~04/20/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
002. cable	Belgian Blue Helmets Depart Kigali [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1), P3/b(3) VZ
003. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability: Burundi... (3 pages)	04/20/1994	P1/b(1)
~~004. cable~~	~~Mwinyi... (2 pages)~~	~~04/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~005. cable~~	~~OAU Secretary General Discusses Rwanda with Representatives of Observer Countries (4 pages)~~	~~04/20/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
006. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability: Safety... (3 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1)
~~007. cable~~	~~Rwanda-Uganda Border... (2 pages)~~	~~04/20/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~Belgian Views on Rwanda (3 pages)~~	~~04/20/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	Increasing Discontent... (4 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1)
010. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability... (2 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1)
~~011. cable~~	~~[Troops in Rwanda] (2 pages)~~	~~04/20/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~012. cable~~	~~UN Arms Embargo Committee... (2 pages)~~	~~04/20/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/20/94 - 04/21/94]

2006-0192-F
eh128

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~[Burundi - Sitrep No. 10] (5 pages)~~	~~04/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
014. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability... (5 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1)
015. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability... (3 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1)
016. cable	[Zaire/Rwanda] (2 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1)
017. cable	Burundi... (5 pages)	04/20/1994	P1/b(1)
~~018. cable~~	~~Rwanda Crisis: Preparing for Arusha (2 pages)~~	~~04/21/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
019. cable	Peace Talks (2 pages)	04/21/94	P1/b(1)
020. cable	[Security Situation] (4 pages)	04/21/94	P1/b(1)
~~021. cable~~	~~Conversation with Prime Minister Kanyenkiko (4 pages)~~	~~04/21/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
022. cable	[Internal Security] (2 pages)	04/21/94	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/20/94 - 04/21/94]

2006-0192-F
eh128

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (1.97)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: OAASZYUW RUEHCAA3800 1100158-SSSS--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH
LINE3: O P 200155Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 200155Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHMV/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: RUEHZK/ECOWAS COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0000
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0000
SUBJ: LIBERIA: A/S MOOSE URGES TAYLOR TO SETTLE
- CABINET DISPUTE, PARTICIPATE IN LNTG

TEXT:

~~S E C R E T~~ STATE 103800
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, LI, US
SUBJECT: LIBERIA: A/S MOOSE URGES TAYLOR TO SETTLE
- CABINET DISPUTE, PARTICIPATE IN LNTG

REF: MONROVIA 1824 (NOTAL)

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE CALLED NPFL LEADER CHARLES TAYLOR APRIL 18 TO PRESS FOR RESOLTION OF THE IMPASSE OVER COMPOSITION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT (LNTG) AND TO URGE THAT THE NPFL END ITS BOYCOTT OF THE LNTG. THE NPFL LEADER SAID HE WILL NOT/NOT REMOVE MOMOLU SIRLEAF FROM THE NPFL CABINET LIST BUT IS WILLING TO SHIFT HIM TO JUSTICE FROM FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IF NECESSARY. HE INSISTED THAT THE NPFL GET ITS FAIR SHARE OF THE DIRECTORSHIPS OF AUTONOMOUS AGENCIES AND PUBLIC CORPORATIONS AND IMPLIED THAT THIS WAS A PRECONDITION FOR THE NPFL TO END ITS BOYCOTT OF THE LNTG. TAYLOR GAVE NO HINT THAT HE WAS AWARE OF THE PROSPECTIVE DEFECTION OF SOME OF HIS TOP ADVISORS (REFTEL). END SUMMARY

3. A/S MOOSE TELEPHONED CHARLES TAYLOR THE AFTERNOON OF

APRIL 18 TO UNDERLINE THE URGENCY OF RESOLVING THE LNTG CABINET IMPASSE AND GETTING ON WITH DISARMAMENT AND PREPARATIONS FOR ELECTIONS. MOOSE TOLD TAYLOR THAT THE LACK OF PROGRESS, ESPECIALLY ON THE LNTG ISSUE, COULD JEOPARDIZE UNSC EXTENSION OF UNOMIL'S MANDATE, WHICH EXPIRES APRIL 21. MOOSE NOTED THE OBJECTIONS THAT OTHERS HAVE RAISED TO INCLUSION IN THE CABINET OF NPFL'ER MOMOLU

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SIRLEAF. WHILE IT IS NOT THE PLACE OF THE USG TO RECOMMEND WHICH CANDIDATE SHOULD FILL WHICH JOB, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE IMPASSE OVER SIRLEAF THREATENS TO UNDERMINE THE PEACE PROCESS. AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE NOMINATION OF ANY ONE INDIVIDUAL, MOOSE ASSERTED. MOOSE ALSO REGISTERED USG CONCERNS ABOUT THE ONGOING FIGHTING BETWEEN THE NPFL AND THE LIBERIAN PEACE COUNCIL (LPC), URGING THE NPFL TO WORK WITH UNOMIL TO ESTABLISH A CEASE-FIRE. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE USG IS PRESSING ECOMOG TO ADDRESS THE LPC PROBLEM.

4. TAYLOR THANKED MOOSE FOR CALLING, SAYING THAT THE CONTACT WAS A WELCOME SIGN THAT THE USG REMAINS ENGAGED ON THE LIBERIAN PROBLEM. THE LNTG IMPASSE, HE CLAIMED, IS MORE THAN A DISPUTE OVER PERSONALITIES BUT REFLECTS "IGNU" DESIGNS TO MINIMIZE NPFL INFLUENCE IN THE LNTG. HE ASKED WHAT RIGHT FORMER IGNU OFFICIALS HAD TO CRITICIZE THE NPFL'S NOMINATION OF SIRLEAF WHEN HE HAD NOT SOUGHT TO BLOCK APPOINTMENT OF IGNU NOMINEES SUCH AS CONMANY WESSEH AND ROOSEVELT JAYJAY, BOTH OF WHOM, HE CLAIMED, WERE UNFIT TO SERVE. (WESSEH, HE ALLEGED, HAD LIVED AND STUDIED IN NORTH KOREA AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND IS "A COMMUNIST.") "WHERE'S THE FIRE COMING FROM ON SIRLEAF?" HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, ADDING THAT NO ONE HAD TOLD HIM WHY SIRLEAF WAS A PROBLEM. TAYLOR ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SIRLEAF MAY HAVE ALIENATED SOME IN THE REGION WITH HIS STAUNCH DEFENSE OF NPFL POLICIES BUT THAT SHOULD NOT DISQUALIFY IM FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER POSITION. THE NPFL LEADER INSISTED THAT HE WILL NOT DUMP SIRLEAF FROM THE CABINET. HE SAID HE TOLD FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER RECENTLY THAT HE WAS WILLING TO MOVE SIRLEAF TO JUSTICE AND CURRENT JUSTICE-DESIGNATE LAVELI SUPUWOOD TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BUT ONLY AS A LAST RESORT.

5. WHILE EVERYONE ELSE IS FOCUSING ON THE CABINET CONTROVERSY, TAYLOR SAID, HE IS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DISTRIBUTION OF DIRECTORSHIPS OF THE AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT GENCIES AND PUBLIC CORPORATIONS. NE CLAIMED THAT "IGNU" IS TRYING TO SHUT THE NPFL OUT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THESE INFLUENTIAL (AND LUCRATIVE) AGENCIES. HE IS WILLING TO ORK OUT A COMPROMISE WITH THE OTHER PARTIES ON WHO GETS

HICH OF THESE POSITIONS, BUT ALLEGED THAT FORMER IGNU OFFICIALS HAVE REJECTED ANY NPFL INCLUSION. TAYLOR ASKED THAT THE USG WEIGH IN WITH THE OTHER LIBERIAN PARTIES ON THIS ISSUE.

6. MOOSE SAID THAT THE USG HAS NO VIEW ON HOW OR WHETHER THE QUASI-GOVERNMENTAL BODIES SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE PARTIES -- THAT, QUITE PROPERLY, IS AN INTERNAL LIBERIAN ISSUE -- BUT RE-EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF REACHING A SETTLEMENT ON THE OVERALL LNTG COMPOSITION ISSUE IMMEDIATELY. PENDING RESOLUTION OF THE FINAL FOUR CABINET POSITIONS, MOOSE URGED TAYLOR TO HAVE THE OTHER, NON-CONTROVERSIAL NPFL NOMINEES TAKE UP THEIR POSITIONS IN THE LNTG IMMEDIATELY, SUGGESTING THAT THIS COULD BE DONE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE NPFL POSITION ON THE REMAINING CABINET POSITIONS. THE PARAMOUNT CONCERN SHOULD BE TO GET

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THE LNTG UP AND RUNNING TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. MOOSE SAID THAT THE DELAY IN GETTING THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT INSTALLED IN RWANDA ALLOWED OPPONENTS OF THE PEACE PROCESS THERE TO MOBILIZE TO UNDERMINE THE ACCORD, WITH THE TRAGIC RESULTS WE ARE NOW WITNESSING. LIBERIA HAS A CHANCE TO AVOID SUCH A FATE.

,. MOOSE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE POSITIVE IMPACT THAT PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS WOULD HAVE ON DISCUSSIONS NOW TAKING PLACE IN THE USG ON POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE FOR ELECTIONS, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND REBUILDING LIBERIA. MANY IN WASHINGTON REMAIN SKEPTICAL THAT LIBERIANS ARE SERIOUS ABOUT BRINGING PEACE TO THEIR COUNTRY. UNTIL THE LIBERIANS PROVE OTHERWISE BY SETTLING OUTSTANDING ISSUES, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO PLAN FOR ANY FUTURE FUNDING.

8. IN REPLY, TAYLOR SUGGESTED THAT IF THE NPFL RESUMED PARTICIPATION IN THE LNTG IT WOULD LOSE LEVERAGE ON ITS POSITION ON THE FINAL FOUR CABINET POSITIONS. IGNU SUPPORTERS WOULD PREFER THAT THESE POSITIONS REMAIN VACANT RATHER THAN BE PLACED IN THE HANDS OF THE NPFL AND ULIMO. THAT WAY, HE SAID, CARETAKER CIVIL SERVANTS BEHOLDEN TO IGNU WOULD CONTROL THE MINISTRIES.

9. FINALLY, MOOSE TOLD TAYLOR THAT HE HAD ASKED DAS BUSHNELL TO TRAVEL TO LIBERIA IN A FEW WEEKS TO REVIEW THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND SAID HE HOPED TAYLOR WOULD RECEIVE BUSHNELL AND CHARGE D'AFFAIRES TWADDELL IN GBARNGA. RECALLING THE DIFFICULT MEETING BUSHNELL HAD ITH TAYLOR IN JANUARY, MOOSE JOKED THAT HE WAS SENDING BUSHNELL "NOT AS A THREAT BUT AS AN OFFERING OF PEACE." TAYLOR LAUGHED AND SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT HE WOULD MEET

WITH BUSHNELL BUT DID NOT SAY SO DIRECTLY.

10. COMMENT: THE CONVERSATION WAS CORDIAL AND TAYLOR SEEMED APPRECIATIVE FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY. HOWEVER, TAYLOR DID NOT SEEM SWAYED BY THE NEED TO GET THE LNTG UP AND RUNNING. PREFERRING INSTEAD TO CONTINUE HIS TEMPORIZING BOYCOTT MANEUVER. HE GAVE NO INDICATION OF BEING AWARE OF THE PROSPECTIVE DEFECTION OF THREE OF HIS TOP ADVISORS (REPORTED REFTEL). CHRISTOPHER
BT
#3800
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3800

TOR: 940419220314 M1003317

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. cable	Belgian Blue Helmets Depart Kigali [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	04/20/94	P1/b(1), P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/20/94 - 04/21/94]

2006-0192-F
ch128

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (1.98)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHBSA4467 1101130-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC
LINE3: P 201127Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USDAO BRUSSELS BE
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 201127Z APR 94
ORIG: USDAO BRUSSELS BE
TO: RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO: [redacted] (b)(3) ---------- [10 U.S.C. 424]

SUBJ: [redacted] (b)(3) BELGIAN BLUE HELMETS DEPART KIGALI (U)

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS BE 04467
SERIAL: (U) [redacted] (b)(3)
PASS: [redacted] (b)(3)
COUNTRY: (U) BELGIUM (BE); RWANDA (RW); KENYA (KE).
SUBJ: [redacted] (b)(3) BELGIAN BLUE HELMETS DEPART KIGALI (U)
WARNING: (U) THIS IS AN INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE. REPORT CLASSIFIED ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~.

\- DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

DOI: (U) 940420

[redacted] (b)(3)

SUMMARY: ~~(C)~~ ALL BELGIAN UNAMIR TROOPS DEPARTED KIGALI BY 2030GMT 940419. C-130S TOOK THEM TO NAIROBI. REMAINDER OF UNAMIR FORCES STAY IN KIGALI.
TEXT: 1. ~~(C)~~ AFTER INITIALLY PLANNING ON WITHDRAWING ALL BELGIAN UNAMIR TROOPS BY LAND FROM KIGALI, [redacted] (b)(3)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(b)(3)

(b)(3) THE AIRLIFT OF THE TROOPS AND SOME OF THEIR EQUIPMENT WAS COMPLETED BY 2030GMT 940419.

2. E.O. 13526 1.4(c)

E.O. 13526 1.4(c)

3. ~~(C)~~ THE KIGALI AIRPORT WAS TURNED OVER TO A GHANAN UNAMIR FORCE. WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE REMAINDER OF THE UNAMIR FORCES IS UNKNOWN.

[10 U.S.C. 424]

COMMENTS: E.O. 13526 1.4(c)

E.O. 13526 1.4(c)

(b)(3)

WARNING: (U) REPORT CLASSIFIED ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L.~~

DECL:OADR

BT

#4467

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4467

TOR: 940420073325 M1004136

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.00)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDRA2485 1101228-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201228Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 201228Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4472
INFO: RUEHKA/AMEMBASSY DHAKA 0003
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0540
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0924
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0392
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0251
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0985
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4734
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0080
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0998
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1654
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4498
SUBJ: MWINYI LEANS ON THE RPF
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 002485
STATE FOR AF/E, OLIVER GRIFFITH
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINS, MOPS, RW, UG, TZ
SUBJECT: MWINYI LEANS ON THE RPF
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ACCORDING TO MFA RWANDA DESK OFFICER, THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE GOT'S INVITATION TO THE APRIL 23 ARUSHA TALKS. THE GOR HAS INDICATED ITS REPRESENTATIVES CAN TRAVEL FROM GITARAMA TO GOMA, ZAIRE WITHOUT DIFFICULTY, BUT WILL NEED ASSISTANCE IN GETTING FROM GOMA TO ARUSHA (THERE ARE NO INTERNATIONAL FLIGHTS OUT OF GOMA.)
3. ON THE RPF SIDE, RPF VICE-CHAIRMAN PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, WHO IS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TOLD MWINYI THAT APRIL 23RD WAS TOO SOON TO RESTART TALKS. HOWEVER, AFTER MWINYI INSISTED THAT THE RPF PRESENT ITSELF IN ARUSHA THIS WEEKEND, MAZIMHAKA AGREED TO CONTACT HIS SUPERIORS FOR A REPLY TO THE GOT INVITATION.
4. FOR BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
DEVOS
BT
#2485
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2485
TOR: 940420084904 M1004277

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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (7.01)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDSA2875 1101323-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201323Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
OSRI: RUEHDS
DTG: 201323Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1939
INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 7348
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8773
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1115
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0092
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0064
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0031
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3758
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0981
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2390
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 4791
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 3125
SUBJ: OAU SECRETARY GENERAL DISCUSSES RWANDA WITH
- REPRESENTATIVES OF OBSERVER COUNTRIES
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 ADDIS ABABA 002875
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, ET
SUBJECT: OAU SECRETARY GENERAL DISCUSSES RWANDA WITH
- REPRESENTATIVES OF OBSERVER COUNTRIES
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON APRIL 20, OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM CALLED A MEETING OF "OBSERVER COUNTRIES" ON RWANDA. ATTENDING WERE THE AMBASSADORS OF BURUNDI, TANZANIA, ZAIRE, UGANDA, GERMANY, AND THE U.S., THE CHARGES FROM BELGIUM AND FRANCE, AND OAU PERSONNEL.
3. SALIM OUTLINED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE OAU: PUSHING BOTH SIDES TO ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE, A HALT TO THE KILLING, AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. HE CONFIRMED THAT TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINYI HAS CALLED A MEETING OF BOTH SIDES AND OBSERVERS FOR SATURDAY, APRIL 23, IN ARUSHA. MWINYI HOPES THIS MEETING WILL LEAD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CEASEFIRE, AND DISCUSSIONS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. SALIM SAID HE HAD ASKED MWINYI TO INCLUDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAFE AREAS FOR NGO'S TO ENABLE THEM TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. SALIM ADDED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT OFFICIALS FROM BOTH SIDES CAPABLE OF MAKING DECISIONS ATTEND THIS MEETING.
4. SALIM ALSO PRAISED THE EFFORTS OF UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI AND PLEADED FOR CONTINUED UN INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA. "OTHERWISE THE UN IS SAYING AFRICAN LIVES

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MATTER LESS THAN LIVES OF PEOPLE ON OTHER CONTINENTS."
AMBASSADOR SAID THE U.S. WELCOMED THE OAU'S EFFORTS AND
SAID THE USG WAS ALSO WORKING TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF A CEASEFIRE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, AND THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. HE SAID THE U.S.
WOULD BE REPRESENTED AT THE ARUSHA MEETING.
5. BASICALLY, SALIM'S APPEAL FOLLOWED HIS STATEMENT TO
THE PRESS ON APRIL 19, THE TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS, I HAVE
INVITED YOU THIS AFTERNOON TO SHARE WITH YOU MY PERSONAL
CONCERN AND THOSE OF OUR CONTINENTAL ORGANIZATION ON THE
SERIOUSLY DETERIORATING HUMAN TRAGEDY TAKING PLACE IN
RWANDA, A MEMBER STATE OF OUR ORGANIZATION.
AS YOU ARE ALL NO DOUBT AWARE, THE ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY AND, INDEED, THE ORDINARY PEOPLE OF AFRICA
HAVE BEEN CONCERNED AND CONTINUE TO EXPRESS HORROR,
DISMAY AND SHOCK AT THE WANTON KILLINGS AND SENSELESS
VIOLENCE DAILY UNFOLDING IN RWANDA.
THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT THE LEVEL OF THE
CURRENT CHAIRMAN, THE SECRETARY GENERAL, AS WELL AS OF
THE CENTRAL ORGAN, HAS REITERATED AFRICA'S DEEP CONCERN
OVER THIS HUMAN TRAGEDY - INDEED, OVER MAN'S INHUMANITY
TO MAN AS THE RWANDA DRAMA HAS TURNED OUT TO BE.
AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU, I WISH TO RECALL THAT
IN ALL MY STATEMENTS AND PERSONAL CONTACTS WITH THE
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDA FRONT, I HAVE CALLED FOR
AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE BRUTAL KILLINGS TAKING PLACE IN
THE COUNTRY.
I HAVE EQUALLY EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN OVER THE
RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT FORCES
AND THOSE OF THE RPF AND HAVE THEREFORE CALLED FOR AN
IMMEDIATE HALT TO THE HOSTILITIES TO ENABLE THE TWO
PARTIES TO COMMENCE, WITHOUT DELAY, NEGOTIATIONS AIMED
AT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT TO
WHICH BOTH THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RWANDESE
PATRIOTIC FRONT HAVE REPEATEDLY PLEDGED THEIR COMMITMENT
AND READINESS TO IMPLEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE
ARUSHA PEACE PROCESS.
WE HAVE ALL BEEN FOLLOWING WITH GRAVE CONCERN AND
INDIGNATION THE RISING TIDE OF HUMAN SUFFERING IN
RWANDA. THIS PLIGHT OF THE RWANDESE PEOPLE HAS CAUSED
US ALL THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT AND BEYOND MUCH PAIN,
SORROW AND ANGUISH.
AMONG THE AFFECTED PEOPLE IN RWANDA CAN BE COUNTED THE
THOUSANDS WHO HAVE PERISHED IN "HELL ON EARTH" AS THE
SITUATION IN RWANDA WOULD SEEM TO EPITOMISE. IN
ADDITION, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF OTHER ORDINARY
RWANDESE HAVE BEEN DISPLACED WITHIN THE COUNTRY IN THE
MOST INHUMAN CONDITIONS.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 ADDIS ABABA 002875
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, ET
SUBJECT: OAU SECRETARY GENERAL DISCUSSES RWANDA WITH
- REPRESENTATIVES OF OBSERVER COUNTRIES
AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU, I HAVE BEEN IN CONSTANT
TOUCH WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT
AND OF THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT. MY LATEST CONTACT
WAS WITH THE FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE RWANDESE

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PATRIOTIC FRONT, MR. PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, WITH WHOM I HAD VERY LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS ON THE 17TH AND 18TH OF APRIL, RESPECTIVELY, ON THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND HOW THE OAU, IN CONCERT WITH THE FACILITATOR, PRESIDENT ALI HASSAN MWINYI, AS WELL AS THE UN, WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE TWO PARTIES8 CAN BRING ABOUT AN END TO THE MAYHEM AND HUMAN SUFFERING IN RWANDA AND THE IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR CONVICTION THAT AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND TO THE INDISCRIMINATE KILLINGS SHOULD CREATE CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION DF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IT IS AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THESE CONCERNS AND, INDEED, THE ROLE AND CONCERN OF THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES THAT I, UNRESERVEDLY, WELCOME AND SUPPORT THE INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA, H.E. ALI HASSAN MWINYI, FACILITATOR TO THE ARUSHA PEACE TALKS, TO CONVENE A PEACE CONFERENCE IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA, ON SATURDAY, 23 APRIL 1994.

THE MEETING IS EXPECTED TO BRING TOGETHER REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT, AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OBSERVER COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA, AS FACILITATOR, IS PROPOSING THIS CONFERENCE WITH TWO MAIN ITEMS ON THE AGENDA. THESE ARE:

A CEASEFIRE;

B) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT.

I HAVE TODAY, 19 APRIL, BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF TANZANIA, HON. JOHN MALECELA, AND THE TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, HON. JOSEPH RWEGASIRA, TO DISCUSS DETAILS OF THE CONFERENCE. I HAVE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, SUGGESTED THAT THE PROPOSED ARUSHA CONFERENCE SHOULD ALSO PROVIDE US WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS PRACTICAL MODALITIES FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO REACH ALL THE AFFECTED PEOPLE IN RWANDA. IN THIS CONNECTION, I HAVE BEEN APPROACHED BY A NUMBER OF HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS, NOTABLY OXFAM, TO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERNS OVER THE INACCESSIBILITY OF AREAS IN THE CONFLICT ZONES, WHERE THOUSANDS OF RWANDESE HAVE BEEN TRAPPED AND CONTINUE TO SURVIVE WITHOUT EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE AND CARE.

I WISH, AT THIS JUNCTURE, TO EXPRESS THE UNFLINCHING SUPPORT OF THE OAU FOR THE PROPOSED PEACE CONFERENCE IN ARUSHA. I ALSO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EARNESTLY APPEAL TO BOTH THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO PARTICIPATE, AT HIGH LEVEL, AT THIS MEETING NEXT SATURDAY. THE PARTICIPATION OF THE TWO PARTIES IS ESSENTIAL AND IMPORTANT IN ORDER TO FIND WAYS AND MEANS OF BRINGING TO A DEFINITE END THIS MAYHEM AND HUMAN SUFFERING. THEIR PRESENCE IS ALSO CRUCIAL IN BRINGING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE AND ITS CONSOLIDATION SO THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT CAN BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

AFRICA AND THE WORLD CANNOT AFFORD TO ADOPT A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE; DEFINITELY, THE OAU WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS MEANS TO ASSIST IN BRINGING

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ABOUT AN END TO THIS HUMAN CATASTROPHE.
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS, I WISH TO CONCLUDE BY STRESSING THE OAU'S SUPPORT FOR THE CONTINUED ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RWANDA. IN THIS REGARD, I CALL ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY SUPPORT TO ENABLE THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA (UNAMIR) TO EFFECTIVELY CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE.
I ALSO WISH TO APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 ADDIS ABABA 002875
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, ET
SUBJECT: OAU SECRETARY GENERAL DISCUSSES RWANDA WITH
- REPRESENTATIVES OF OBSERVER COUNTRIES
INCLUDING THE VARIOUS NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, TO PROVIDE INCREASED AND ADEQUATE RESOURCES TO CATER FOR THE THOUSANDS OF AFFECTED PERSONS IN RWANDA.
FINALLY, IN VIEW OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE WHICH TH
E OAU ATTACHES TO THE FORTHCOMING
PEACE CONFERENCE IN ARUSHA, I SHALL PERSONALLY LEAD THE OAU DELEGATION.
I THANK YOU.
END TEXT.
BAAS
BT
#2875
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2875
<^SSN>2875
<^SSN>2875

TOR: 940420092851 M1004378
<^TOR>940420092954 M1004380
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (203)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUTAKMA3154 1101419-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 201419Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 201419Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0030
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0288
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5780
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2423
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1903
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0694
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4049
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0142
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1652
SUBJ: RWANDA-UGANDA BORDER: SITUATION REAMAINS CALM
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 003154
PARIS FOR PERLOW
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
AF/E FOR WILSON
AF/C FOR AMB. RENDER
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RWANDA-UGANDA BORDER: SITUATION REAMAINS CALM

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE SITUATION ALONG THE RWANDA-UGANDA BORDER IS CALM. THERE CONTINUES TO BE NO/NO UNUSUAL MILITARY ACTIVITY ON THE UGANDAN SIDE IN SUPPORT OF THE RPF. ONLY THREE THOUSAND REFUGEES HAVE CROSSED INTO UGANDA SINCE THE APRIL 6 CRASH IN KIGALI.

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NO MILITARY ACTIVITY ON THE BORDER

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3. COL. ASHRA, THE UNOMUR COMMANDER ON THE UGANDA BORDER, TOLD US ON APRIL LG THAT HIS MONITORS REMAIN ON HIGH ALERT, BUT THEY HAVE NOT DETECTED ANY MOVEMENT OF UGANDAN TROOPS ACROSS THE BORDER TO REINFORCE THE RPF. NOR HAS THERE BEEN ANY MOVEMENT OF HEAVY EQUIPMENT, ARMAMENTS OR APC'S. ASHRA I8 CONVINCED THAT NOTHING MAJOR IS MOVING ACROSS THE BORDER.
4. ASHRA SAID THAT A NUMBER OF CIVILIAN TRUCKS CARRYING MEDICAL SUPPLIES CROSSED THE BORDER BETWEEN APRIL 16 AND 18. THE TRUCKS PASSED ALONG THE MAIN

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ROAD AND WERE INSPECTED. NO MILITARY SUPPLIES WERE FOUND. ASHRA SAID IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE MEDICAL SUPPLIES WERE GOING TO THE RPF. ASHRA ALSO REPORTED THAT HIS MONITERS HAD DETECTED FROM THE AIR ANOTHER SUSPICIOUS TRUCK CLOSE TO THE BORDER. ASHRA SAID IT IS POSSIBLE THIS VEHICLE COULD HAVE BEEN CARRYING SMALL ARMS AND AMMUNITION. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE EXTRAORDINARILY ROUGH TERRAIN IN THE AREA, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE ONLY TO CARRY THE EQUIPMENT IN SMALL LOADS ACROSS THE BORDER. ASHRA DISMISSED THE TRUCK AS BEING SMALL PEANUTS BECAUSE OF ITS SIZE AND LIMITED CARRYING COMPACITY. (COMMENT: THIS IS ONLY THE SECOND SUSPICIOUS VEHICLE SIGHTING REPORTED TO US BY THE UN SINCE APRIL 7.)

REFUGEE FLOW IS LOW -- MAINLY HUTUS

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5. SIAD FARAH, THE UNHCR REP IN KAMPALA, INFORMED US ON APRIL 19 THAT THE FLOW OF RWANDAN REFUGEES INTO UGANDA HAD BEEN SLOW AND LOW. APPROXIMATELY 3,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES HAVE COME ACROSS THE BORDER SINCE APRIL 6. MOST ARE HUTUS. THE UNHCR ESTIMATES THAT THERE ARE ABOUT 13,000 OTHER RWANDANS ON THE RWANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER WAITING TO ENTER UGANDA. THE GOU HAS NOT OBJECTED TO THE REFUGEES ENTERING, BUT IT APPEARS THE RPF MAY BE TRYING TO PREVENT THE REFUGEES FROM LEAVING RWANDA. THE UNHCR REP SAID HIS ORGANIZATION EXPECTS NO MORE THAN 25,000 NEW RWANDAN REFUGEES AND IS PREPARED TO COPE WITH NUMBER.

COMMENT

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6. WE WILL CONTINUE TO LIAISE WITH THE UNOMUR COMMANDER ON THE BORDER TO DETERMINE IF THE UGANDANS ARE ENGAGED IN ANY UNUSUAL MILITARY ACTIVITIES ALONG THE FRONTIER.

7. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BT

#3154

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3154

TOR: 940420103213 M1004519

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.04)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA4482 1101422-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201421Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 201421Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6628
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 7309
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0029
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0093
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0942
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0437
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0556
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0059
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0463
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0578
INFO: ****
SUBJ: BELGIAN VIEWS ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 04482
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: BELGIAN VIEWS ON RWANDA
REF: A) STATE 104017; B) STATE 98062; C) STATE 99209
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON 4/20 POLCOUNS CONVEYED DEPARTMENTS VIEWS ON RWANDA AS SET FORTH IN REFTELS TO LODE WILLEMS, CHEF DE CABINET TO BELGIAN FONMIN CLAES. WILLEMS RESPONDED THAT GOB AGREED THAT THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO A RETURN TO THE ARUSHA PRINCIPLES TO TRY TO BRING ABOUT A VIABLE POLITICAL PROCESS IN RWANDA. THIS, HE SAID, WOULD BE THE PURPORT OF PRIME MINISTER DEHAENE'S RESPONSE TO EXPECTED QUESTIONS BY THE BELGIAN PARLIAMENT 4/22. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION 4/20, BELGIAN MFA OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE EXPECTED BELGIAN AMBASSADOR IN TANZANIA WOULD BE AN OBSERVER TO ANY DISCUSSIONS WHICH MIGHT OCCUR AS A RESULT OF THE TANZANIAN INITIATIVE.
3. WILLEMS WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT, IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES WITH THE BLOODLETTING REPORTEDLY CONTINUING UNABATED IN RWANDA, THE TWO SIDES WOULD BE READY NOW TO TALK. HE AND MFA DESK OFFICER SEPARATELY NOTED TO EMBOFFS THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE USG, TANZANIA, OR APPROPRIATE OTHERS WOULD TAKE A LEAD NOW, AS FRANKLY "OUR MINISTRY HAS RAW NERVES" ON THIS SUBJECT. IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE IN BELGIUM, IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE GOB TO WORK DIRECTLY WITH THE "AUTHORITIES" IN KIGALI RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS. WILLEMS BELIEVED THAT IT

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WOULD BE SENSIBLE FOR THE USG OR OTHERS SUCH AS THE TANZANIANS TO WORK THROUGH THE BRITISH AND MUSEVENI TO APPROACH THE RPF AND THROUGH THE FRENCH WITH THE OTHER SIDE TO TRY TO PROMOTE TALKS.

4. WILLEMS SAID THE GOB WAS TRANSMITTING TO THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS A LIST OF NAMES OF PEOPLE CONNECTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ARUSHA PROCESS WHO HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN KILLED WITH A REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THEIR FATE. HE ADDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU HAD ESCAPED AND WAS NOW IN NAIROBI.

5. ON THE ISSUE OF INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE APRIL 6 CRASH OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S PLANE, WILLEMS SAID THAT THE BELGIAN MILITARY HAD NOT/NOT TO HIS KNOWLEDGE BEEN ABLE TO LOOK AT THE REMAINS OF THE PLANE. THE BELGIANS HAD BEEN TOLD BY RWANDAN SOURCES WHO STATED THAT THEY WERE EYEWITNESSES TO THE PLANE'S APPROACH TO KIGALI AIRPORT THAT MISSILES HAD BEEN FIRED AT THE PLANE FROM THE DIRECTION OF A FAR ENCAMPMENT. A SENIOR RWANDAN HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDER EVACUATED TO BRUSSELS (WE BELIEVE THIS IS MONIQUE MUSHAWAMARYIA) HAS TOLD THE BELGIANS SHE BELIEVES THE DOWNING OF THE PLANE WAS ORCHESTRATED BY EXTREMIST HUTU ELEMENTS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD, AND THAT HABYARIMANA'S WIFE MAY HAVE BEEN IMPLICATED IN THE PLOT. WILLEMS SAID THE BELGIANS HAD NOT SPOKEN TO THE FRENCH ABOUT THE "POLITICAL ASPECTS" OF THE TRAGEDY IN RWANDA AND DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THE FRENCH HAD ANY HARD INFORMATION ABOUT THE PLANE CRASH.

6. EMBASSY COMMENT: LAST WEEK, EMBOFF AND AMBASSADOR RAWSON HEARD WILLEMS SPECULATING THAT THE BELGIANS MIGHT/MIGHT LATER MOVE TO PNG RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS FOR HIS ACTIVITIES AND STATEMENTS ABOUT BELGIUM WHICH HAD ENDANGERED BELGIAN LIVES. BELGIAN MINISTRY OF JUSTICE HAS NOW STARTED JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST BELGIAN (NOW IN FRANCE) WHO RAN RADIO MILLE COLLINES AND SPREAD FALSE STORIES ABOUT GOB'S BEING BEHINDKDEATH OF HABYARIMANA. GIVEN THE CARNAGE IN RWANDA AND THE DEATHS OF THEIR OWN SOLDIERS, OUR BELGIAN INTERLOCUTORS ARE NOT ABLE TO SPEAK LIGHTLY OF DEALING WITH THE CURRENT "RWANDAN AUTHORITIES." LIKE THE U.S., THE BELGIANS SEE NO WAY OUT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 04482

YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: BELGIAN VIEWS ON RWANDA

OF THE CURRENT HORRORS BUT BY TALKS, BUT THEY WOULD CLEARLY PREFER THAT OTHERS, SUCH AS THE TANZANIANS OR OURSELVES, SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD FOR NOW IN PROMOTING SUCH TALKS.

BLINKEN
BT
#4482
NNNN

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

SSN: 4482
<^SSN>4482

TOR: 940420102641 M1004508

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<^TOR>940420102538 M1004506

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX WADDELL

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0762-M-2 (2007)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHKIA2239 1101729-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201729Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
OSRI: RUEHKI
DTG: 201729Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6363
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1652
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1584
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0368
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0419
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0050
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0182
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0863
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0128
SUBJ: ZAIRIAN TROOPS INTO RWANDA?
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KINSHASA 02239
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MARR, CG, RW, BE
SUBJECT: ZAIRIAN TROOPS INTO RWANDA?
REF: STATE 103902 (NOT SENT CAIRO))

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT

2. WE STAND BY EARLIER REPORTING TO THE EFFECT THAT ALTHOUGH ZAIRIAN TROOPS HAVE BEEN MOVED TO GOMA, WE HAVE NO CREDIBLE EVIDENCE THEY HAVE GONE FURTHER INTO RWANDA.

3. THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF RUMOR, SPECULATION, AND CONFLICTING INFORMATION EXTANT IN KINSHASA. FOR EXAMPLE, BELGIAN AMBASSADOR COENE TOLD CHARGE APRIL 20 THAT ACCORDING TO HIS INFORMATION BETWEEN 700 AND 1000 DSP TROOPS WITH WEAPONS, BUT NO VEHICLES, REMAIN IN GOMA WHERE THEY HAD BEEN POSITIONED SHORTLY AFTER THE PRESIDENTS' DEATH BY PLANE CRASH. (OTHER REPORTING SUGGESTS THE NUMBER OF DSP TROOPS IS SUBSTANTIALLY LOWER.) FRENCH DCM REPORTS SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME INFORMATION FROM THEIR HONORARY CONSUL IN GOMA.

4. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE ZAIRIAN ARMED FORCES HAS THE POTENTIAL TO BE A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN THE RWANDA EQUATION. THE MOVEMENT OF THE TROOPS TO GOMA, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS BY AIRCRAFT OWNED BY PRIVATE COMPANIES, SINCE THE ZAIRIANS HAVE NO AIRLIFT CAPABILITY. AID AFFAIRS OFFICER IS TRAVELING TO THE REGION APRIL 20 IN CONNECTION WITH REFUGEE RELIEF QUESTIONS AND WILL TRY TO GET A FIRST HAND READING ON THE SITUATION VIEWED FROM GOMA.

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2239
TOR: 940420133216 M1004912
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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2011-0262-M-2 (2.08)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201738Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 201738Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5824
INFO: RUEHDU/AMCONSUL DURBAN 0135
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 0150
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0191
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 0210
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUCPDC/USDOC WASHDC
SUBJ: UN ARMS EMBARGO COMMITTEE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA
-- TO MEET 4/21
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ USUN NEW YORK 001657
DEPT FOR L/AF, AF/S, IO/E AND IO/UNP
COMMERCE FOR SOLOMON
WHITE HOUSE PLEASE PASS NSC FOR MOZENA
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA-GA
E.O.12356: DECL:7/20/98
TAGS: PREL, MASS, ETTC, UNSC, SF
SUBJECT: UN ARMS EMBARGO COMMITTEE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA
-- TO MEET 4/21
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S 421 COMMITTEE (CONCERNING THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA) IS SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY, APRIL 21. THE QUESTION OF DISBANDING THE COMMITTEE AFTER SOUTH AFRICA'S APRIL 26-28 ELECTIONS IS NOT RPT NOT ON THE AGENDA FOR THE MEETING. NEITHER IS THIS QUESTION ON THE AGENDA OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ITSELF. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERMREP TO THE UN HAS INQUIRED OF USUN WHEN THE ARMS EMBARGO MIGHT BE LIFTED. END SUMMARY.
3. THE SC'S ARMS EMBARGO COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET MET DURING 1994. A MEETING HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 21 TO ELECT THE CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE, AND TO DISCUSS ALLEGATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN ARMS SALES TO RWANDA, AND PARTICIPATION IN ARMS EXHIBITIONS IN TURKEY AND MALAYSIA.
4. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE QUESTION OF THE FATE OF THE ARMS EMBARGO COMMITTEE HAS NEVER BEEN OPENLY ADDRESSED, THERE IS A PRESUMPTION THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL TAKE A POLITICAL DECISION TO LIFT THE EMBARGO AND DISSOLVE THE COMMITTEE SHORTLY AFTER THE SOUTH AFRICAN

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ELECTIONS, OR THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERMREP AND POLOFF HAVE ASKED USUN'S OPINION OF WHEN THE COUNCIL MIGHT ACT TO LIFT THE EMBARGO.

5. COMMENT CONTINUED: ELECTION OF A BUREAU FOR THIS COMMITTEE SO SOON BEFORE ITS IMMINENT DEMISE SEEMS POINTLESS, POLITICALLY, ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE SOME LEGAL REASON FOR THIS ACTION. END COMMENT.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT PLEASE ADVISE ON THE QUESTION OF WHEN THE ARMS EMBARGO SHOULD BE LIFTED, AND WHETHER IT WISHES USUN TO RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO EITHER IN THE 421 COMMITTEE, OR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, PRIOR TO ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1657

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1657

TOR: 940420134309 M1004942

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201800Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 201800Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3412
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0549
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0675
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0933
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0451
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1064
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0935
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 1202
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0479
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1499
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1005
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0697
RUEIAYD/ATO AFRICA PRIORITY
RUSNTCC/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 0938
SUBJ: WGRWOL: BURUNDI - SITREP NO. 10
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01385
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO. "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, PINR, ASEC, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: WGRWOL: BURUNDI - SITREP NO. 10
REFS: A) FBIS ABDIJAN 191950Z APR 94
B) BUJUMBURA 1360
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
GUNFIRE IN THE QUARTIERS
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2. THE RELATIVE CALM OF BUJUMBURA WAS INTERRUPTED LAST NIGHT WITH LOUD, HEAVY AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FIRE AND TWO GRENADE EXPLOSIONS IN THE QUARTIERS OF KAMENGE AND KINAMA. THERE HAVE BEEN NO/NO REPORTS OF DEATH, BUT A HEALTH MINISTRY STAFFER TOLD USAID DIRECTOR THIS MORNING THERE WERE SEVERAL PEOPLE WOUNDED. THIS MORNING PEOPLE RETURNED TO WORK AND THE MARCHE ALMOST AS IF NOTHING HAD OCCURRED, THUS BELYING AN UNEASY TENSION UNDERNEATH.
3. BUJUMBURA GENDARMES DISTRICT COMMANDER TOLD RSO TODAY THAT CIVILIANS IN THE QUARTIERS HAD STARTED

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SNIPPING AT SECURITY FORCES AROUND 2200 HRS LAST NIGHT AND THE FORCES RETURNED FIRE. AN EXPLANATION ALONG THE SAME LINE WAS PROVIDED TO CHARGE BY THE DEFENSE MINISTER. THE MOD SAID THAT CIVILIANS BEGAN SHOOTING AT SECURITY PATROLS FOLLOWING THE INTERIM PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO THE NATION ON RADIO LAST NIGHT, REF A. HOWEVER, A FRODEBU PARLIAMENTARIAN TOLD THE EC DEL THAT GENDARMES HAD ENTERED THE AREA WITH THE INTENT OF INTIMIDATING THE PEOPLE.

INTERIM PRESIDENT SPEAKS

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4. IN HIS REMARKS LAST NIGHT, INTERIM PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA SAID THAT AMONG PRIORITIES IN THE BURUNDI CRISIS, THE STATE SHOULD START QUICKLY TO DISARM THE CIVILIAN POPULATION SINCE THIS IS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEACE IN THE COUNTRY. THE PRESIDENT APPEALED TO THE OAU AND UN OBSERVERS TO SUPPORT EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE AND CONFIDENCE. IN CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS, NTIBANTUNGANYA CONGRATULATED THE SECURITY FORCES FOR HAVING DONE WHAT WAS POSSIBLE TO KEEP ORDER. WITH THE EXPRESSION OF THESE POLICY STATEMENTS, IT IS PLAUSABLE AND POSSIBLE THAT SOME HUTU REJECTED THE PRESIDENT'S.

5. GRB MINISTERS AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS COMMISSION CONTINUE TO STRESS THEY ARE SEEKING A NON-MILITARY APPROACH TO PEACE IN THE QUARTIERS. IN HIS REMARKS LAST NIGHT, NTIBANTUNGANYA CALLED ON ALL ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY--OFFICIALS, CLERGY, BUSINESSMEN, ETC.--TO GET INVOLVED IN THE EFFORT TO KEEP THE PEACE AND RESTORE CONFIDENCE. HE ALSO ASKED THE OAU AND UN MISSIONS TO PLAY AN APPROPRIATE ROLE IN THIS ENDEAVOR. ALLEVIATING THE CURRENT CONDITIONS IN THE QUARTIERS IS CRITICAL FOR THE GRB, BUT THE TASK IS UNLIKELY TO BE AN EASY ONE GIVEN THE MISTRUST AMONG RADICAL HUTUS. IN A CONVERSATION LATE THIS AFTERNOON, PM KANYENKIKO TOLD CHARGE AND AF/RA P/M ADVISOR THAT THE GRB HAD DECIDED A SERIES OF MEASURES TO RESTORE ORDER, SHORT OF USING SECURITY FORCES--THE LATTER OPTION WOULD BE A LAST RESORT. (MARLEY MEETING WITH THE PM WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL.)

A FRODEBIST VIEWPOINT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01385

DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO. "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, PINR, ASEC, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: WGRWOL: BURUNDI - SITREP NO. 10

6. YESTERDAY, USAID DIRECTOR WAS VISITED BY MME. FIDELIE NSABIMANA, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR AND SPOKESPERSON FOR FRODEBU. AFTER REQUESTING TRAINING ASSISTANCE, NSABIMANA SAID THAT THE GRB HAS RECENTLY CONCLUDED THAT THE CONTINUING PROBLEM OF GUNFIRE AND GRENADE BLASTS IN BUJUMBURA'S SUBURBAN QUARTIERS ARE MORE THAN RANDOM CRIMINAL ACTS. SHE DESCRIBED A

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SCENARIO IN WHICH THE TWO ETHNIC GROUPS ARE STRUGGLING FOR THE CONTROL OF THE BUJUMBURA METROPOLITAN AREA. SHE CITED THE SYSTEMATIC "ETHNIC CLEANSING" OF NEIGHBORHOODS, HUTUS CHASED FROM PREDOMINANTLY TUTSI AREAS, AND THE REVERSE. SHE CAUTIONED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON BLINDLY ENCOURAGING MILITARY INTERVENTION AND SOLUTIONS TO THE SOCIAL PROBLEM BECAUSE ABSOLUTE FORCE WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. SHE IMPLIED THAT ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY SUPPORT THE TUTSIS IN THIS STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF CERTAIN QUARTIERS.

7. NSABIMANA STATED THAT EVERYONE IS AFRAID OF RENEWED VIOLENCE IN BURUNDI BECAUSE THERE ARE STILL DIFFICULTIES ON THE POLITICAL FRONT. SHE STATED THAT EARLIER THIS WEEK THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT HAD RULED THAT THE AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE 85 WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL. THIS WOULD REOPEN UGLY POLITICAL ISSUES AND HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE PROCESS OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION TO BE DEBATED OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS OR MONTHS. (COMMENT: NSABIMANA IS INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE AND HER VALUE WITHIN FRODEBU HAS BEEN AS A POLITICAL ANALYST. THE INTERIM PRESIDENT SEEMS TO HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE IN HER. END COMMENT.)

UNSGSR ON THE COURT

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8. UNSGSR ABDALLAH CALLED ON CHARGE LATE LAST NIGHT FOR A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT DECISION REJECTING ARTICLE 85. ABDALLAH, FIRSTLY, QUESTIONED THE CREDIBILITY OF COURT DELIBERATIONS WHICH PRODUCED THE DECISION; ONLY THE FIVE REAPPOINTED JURISTS WERE PRESENT. SECONDLY, HE NOTED THAT IN THEIR DECISION, THE JURISTS HAD REJECTED THE ADMENDMENT'S FORM AND NOT APPARENTLY ITS SUBSTANCE. ABDALLAH IS CONTACTING ONCE AGAIN EUROPEAN CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERTS FOR THEIR ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETAION AS HE DID IN JANUARY, IN THE QUEST FOR AN APPROACH TO THE ISSUE. HE FEELS THAT IN MAKING SUCH A MOVE, TUTSIS ON THE COURT ARE ATTEMPTING TO CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH THE GRB/FRODEBU CAN BE FORCED INTO FURTHER POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, YESTERDAY, OPINED THAT THE UNSGSR SHOULD HAVE A CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERT ON HIS TEAM TO DEAL WITH LEGAL ISSUES QUICKLY--A WORTHY IDEA.

A UPRONIST CONCERN

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9. UPRONA PARLIAMENTARIAN LAURENT KAGIMBI CAME TO SEE PAO THIS AFTERNOON. AT TODAY'S PARLIAMENTARY SESSION, THE FRODEBU GROUP IN PARLIAMENT PROPOSED THREE RESOLUTIONS: ONE TO SACK THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, ONE TO SUSPEND THE WORK OF THE COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY WHICH HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED TO HELP REESTABLISH ORDER IN THE COUNTRY (WHICH FRODEBU CLAIMS ARE MONO-ETHNIC AND BIASED), AND ONE TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO THE ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT BY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01385

DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3

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NAIROBI FOR CO CO. "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, PINR, ASEC, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: WGRWOL: BURUNDI - SITREP NO. 10
PARLIAMENT. THE UPRONA GROUP MANAGED TO CONVINCE FRODEBU NOT TO GO TO A VOTE, BUT TO DISCUSS THE MATTERS FURTHER. KAGIMBI SAID THAT UPRONA CONVINCED THE FRODEBU MEMBERS "NOT TO CEDE TO THE PROVOCATION" OF THE COURT," BUT THAT THERE COULD STILL BE A VOTE ON THE THREE RESOLUTIONS SOON. KAGIMBI STRONGLY URGED THAT WESTERN DIPLOMATS AND UNSGSR IMPRESS UPON POLITICIANS INVOLVED, IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS, THAT BURUNDIANS SHOULD CHOOSE THE PATH OF NEGOTIATION OVER CONFRONTATION.
BURUNDI UNIVERSITY
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10. MEANWHILE, THE UNIVERSITY STAGGERS ON. PRESENTLY IT IS FUNCTIONING AS A MONOETHNIC INSTITUTION. WHILE THERE ARE A FEW HUTU STUDENTS ATTENDING CLASSES, AND EVEN FEWER HUTU FACULTY ON THE VARIOUS CAMPUSES, THE VAST MAJORITY REMAIN AWAY. NOBODY EXPECTS THEM TO RETURN ANYTIME SOON. QUITE A FEW HAVE GONE TO ZAIRE. THE DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF ECONOMICS, A RARE HUTU, HAS MOVED HIS FAMILY TO UVIRA (ZAIRE) AND CROSSES THE BORDER TWICE DAILY. HE SAYS THAT HE AND OTHER HUTU INTELLECTUALS FEAR AN ATTEMPT TO WIPE THEM OUT, AND VIRTUALLY ALL ARE SCRAMBLING TO FIND WAYS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.
11. ACCORDING TO A GREEK BUSINESSMAN (HUSBAND OF USIS CONTRACT EMPLOYEE), MINISTER OF COMMERCE JOSEPH NZEYIMANA MET WITH THE GREEK BUSINESS COMMUNITY YESTERDAY. WHEN ASKED IF HE WOULD SUPPORT SYLVESTRE NTIBANTUNGANYA AS SUCCESSOR TO CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA, HE REPLIED, "OF COURSE. BUT THERE WILL BE CONDITIONS."
RWANDA
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12. RWANDANS CONTINUE TO STRAGGLE INTO BUJUMBURA WITH HORROR STORIES OF INDISCRIMINATE KILLING, PILES OF BODIES, AND OVERWHELMING FEAR. THE RELATIVES OF AN FSN EMPLOYEE AND A RWANDAN JOURNALIST KNOWN TO USIS KIGALI, SHOWED UP AT THE CULTURAL CENTER TO SAY THEY SAW SCORES OF DEAD IN THE STREETS OF KIGALI, AND FEARED FOR THEIR LIVES UP UNTIL THE THEY TIME LEFT THE COUNTRY. BOTH MEN ARRIVED IN BUJUMBURA TUESDAY, APRIL 19.
OAU MISSION/BURUNDI
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13. THE OAU MISSION TODAY SENT AF/RA P/M ADVISOR LTC MARLEY A DOCUMENT WITH THE FISCAL DATA REQUIRED FOR THE USG CONTRIBUTION TO THE BURUNDI MISSION (MIOB). OAU ALSO INFORMED THAT FIVE MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY CONTINGENT FROM NIGER ARRIVED IN BURUNDI TODAY; THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE 47-PERSON CONTINGENT ARE DUE TO ARRIVE BY TUESDAY, APRIL 26. LANGE
BT
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03

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<^TOR>940420141153 M1005006

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 210803Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 210803Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4479
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0252
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0393
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0988
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 4499
INFO: RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0925
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1655
RUEHKA/AMEMBASSY DHAKA 0004
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0541
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4735
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0157
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0081
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0999
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 3188
SUBJ: RWANDA CRISIS: PREPARING FOR ARUSHA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 002502
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, TZ
SUBJECT: RWANDA CRISIS: PREPARING FOR ARUSHA
REF: A) DE VOS-AISTON TELECON 4/20, B) DAR ES SALAAM 2485

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. MFA PRINCIPAL SECRETARY (PS) MSABAHA CALLED ME IN LATE LAST EVENING TO SEEK U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE ANTICIPATED ARUSHA TALKS ON RWANDA. HE SAID THE GOR HAD ACCEPTED TO ATTEND, AND THE DELEGATION WOULD CONSIST OF GOR MINISTERS, MILITARY OFFICERS AND LEADERS OF THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES. THE GOR DELEGATION NEEDED ASSISTANCE TO TRAVEL TO ARUSHA. IT COULD MAKE ITS WAY TO GOMA, ZAIRE, BUT NEEDED AIR TRANSPORT FROM THERE TO ARUSHA. COULD WE HELP, ASKED THE PS? I REPLIED I DID NOT THINK THE U.S. HAD ANY AIRCRAFT ASSETS IN THE AREA, BUT PROMISED TO CONVEY THE REQUEST (WHICH I SUBSEQUENTLY DID, REF A).

3. MSABAHA ALSO NOTED OUR DEMARCHE TO PRESIDENT MWINYI ASKING HIM TO RECOMMENCE THE ARUSHA PROCESS, AND THEN UNABASHEDLY APPEALED FOR U.S. FINANCIAL HELP TO FUND THE ARUSHA EXPENSES. HE CLAIMED THE GOT WAS VIRTUALLY BROKE (TRUE), AND THAT IN ANY CASE THIS EMERGENCY HAD (OBVIOUSLY) NOT BEEN BUDGETED BY THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE. I STRESSED I COULD NOT MAKE A COMMITMENT, BUT

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WAS SOMEWHAT MORE HOPEFUL ON THAT SCORE AND WOULD SEEK WASHINGTON'S QUICK ASSISTANCE (AGAIN, REF A). HE WAS CLEARLY PLEASED.

4. MSABAHA INDICATED THAT RPF VICE PRESIDENT, PATRICK MAZIMHAKA WAS IN TOWN TODAY (4/20) AND HAD ASKED MWINYI TO DELAY THE ARUSHA MEETING. ACCORDING TO THE PS, THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT LOST HIS TEMPER AND SAID ANY DELAY WAS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE. EVENTUALLY, MAZIMHAKA BACKED DOWN AND PLEDGED TO URGE THE RPF TO AGREE TO THE APRIL 23 DATE. THE GOT IS HOPEFUL THAT WITH WASHINGTON, KAMPALA AND OTHERS PRESSURING HARD, THE RPF WILL COME AROUND. THE GOT LINE ON THE NEED FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE IS IDENTICAL TO THE U.S. POSITION, HE ADDED.

5. TIDBITS: MSABAHA COMMENTED THAT THE RPF WAS INSISTING THAT THE GOR DELEGATION BE COMPOSED OF MILITARY DECISION-MAKERS AND POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS IN ADDITION TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. THE GOR HAD AGREED. HOWEVER, OF CONCERN WAS THAT PATRICK MAZIMHAKA HAD SUGGESTED THAT THE RPF WANTED "TO REVIEW SOME PARTS OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS." THE GOT FEARED OPENING UP EVEN ONE ASPECT OF THE ACCORDS WOULD UNRAVEL THE ENTIRE PACKAGE AND WAS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, I ALLOWED AS HOW THAT MADE LOGICAL SENSE.

6. MSABAHA STATED THAT PRIME MINISTER JOHN MALECELA WOULD PRESIDE OVER THE ARUSHA TALKS IN ORDER TO SPARE MWINYI ANY PROTOCOL (OR OTHER) EMBARRASSMENT.

7. ACTION REQUESTED: I WOULD APPRECIATE EARLY GUIDANCE TO REPLY TO THE GOT'S REQUESTS FOR SUPPORT, ESPECIALLY AUTHORIZATION TO COMMIT THE USD ONE MILLION IN ESF FUNDS.

8. BUJUMBURA, MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. DE VOS

BT
#2502
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2502

TOR: 940421041733 M1006208

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA1403 1111551-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 211548Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 211548Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3421
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0552
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0678
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY 0213
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0936
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0454
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1067
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0939
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0363
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0483
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1505
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RUEHOU/AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU PRIORITY 0192
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1009
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0173
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0700
RUEIAYD/ATO AFRICA PRIORITY
RUSNTCC/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 0941
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01403
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, PINR, ASEC, BY
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO
REF: BUJUMBURA 1352
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: VISITING POL/MILOFF, ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE, YESTERDAY PRESENTED TO PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO THE TALKING POINTS CONVEYING USG APPRECIATION FOR BURUNDI COOPERATION IN THE EVACUATION OF AMERICANS FROM RWANDA AND TO ENCOURAGE PROGRESS TOWARDS NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. KANYENKIKO EXPRESSED HIS DELIGHT WITH THE DELIVERY OF THE PERSONAL MESSAGE, FOLLOWING SOON AFTER SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S LETTER; THE GRB LOOKS FOGHARD TO OUR CONTINUED COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP,

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HE SAID. THE PRIME MINISTER EXPLAINED THE GRB'S DETERMINATION TO FIND THE MEANS TO RESTORE ORDER IN BUJUMBURA'S QUARTIERS, HOPEFULLY, SHORT OF THE RESORT TO ARMED FORCE. HE CONFIRMED BURUNDI'S PARTICIPATION IN THE IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS TO BEGIN IN ARUSHA ON SATURDAY. END SUMMARY.

3. PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO EXPRESSED HIS DELIGHT AND APPRECIATION YESTERDAY AFTERNOON FOR THE PERSONAL MESSAGE DELIVERED FROM THE USG BY AF/RA POL/MIL ADVISOR, LTC TONY MALEY AND CHARGE. KANYENKIKO SAID HE WAS IMPRESSED THAT THE U.S. THOUGHT ENOUGH OF BURUNDI AND ITS PEOPLE TO SENDMA SPECIAL ENVOY. HE WAS PLEASED THAT THE GRB COULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART WITH US IN THAT HUMANITARIA EFFORT. BURUNDI, HE SAID, LOOKED FORWARD TO ITS CONTINUED CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S.

CURRENT PERSPECTIVE

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4. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM CHARGE ON THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI, KAYENKIDO SAID THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF NTIBANTUNGANYA WANTED TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TOWARDS A STABLE AND ORDERLY ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH BURUNDIANS COULD LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE. THEY WANT TO CREATE A COUNTRY WITH RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW -- NON-ETHNIC, NON-REGIONAL AND SECULAR. INDIVIDUALS CAUSING PROBLEMS IN THE QUARTIERS MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. EQUALLY, THE GRB WANTS TO IDENTIFY AND PUNISH GUILTY INDIVIDUALS, PUTSCHISTS, IN THE MILITARY -- SINCE THE MILITARY INSTITUTION IS NOT THE GUILTY PARTY.

5. TO A LARGE EXTENT, THE GRB'S PACIFICATION PROGRAM IS SUCCEEDING IN THE COUNTRY'S INTERIOR, BUT THE QUARTIERS CONTINUE TO PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING ITS BEST TO CONTEND EFFECTIVELY WITH BURUNDIANS RETURNING HOME FROM RWANDA AND TO PROVIDE APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES FLEEING THE FIGHTING THERE. KAYENKIDA SAID HIS BEST ESTIMATE ON RWANDAN REFUGEES COMING TO BURUNDI WAS AROUND 10,000 OR LESS. HE HAD HEARD STORIES ALSO OF RWANDANS BEING BLOCKED ON THE RWANDAN SIDE OF THE FRONTIER.

DEALING WITH THE QUARTIERS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01403
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, PINR, ASEC, BY
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO

6. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAD ELABORATED A SERIES OF MEASURES TO ADDRESS THE DANGEROUS SITUATION CURRENTLY EXISTING

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IN SUBURBAN QUARTIERS OF BUJUMBURA. HE STATED THAT THERE ARE POCKETS IN KAMENGE, CIBITOKE AND KINAMA, OF PEOPLE WHO WISH TO DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY AS WELL AS ELEMENTS OF BANDITS AND CRIMINALS. ALL ARE ARMED, HE SAID, AND THE GRB MUST FIND A WAY TO RESTORE ORDER. HE HOPES THAT THE MEASURES THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO USE WOULD OBVIATE THE NEED FOR GREATER FORCE -- BUT THAT HAS TO REMAIN A LAST RESORT.

7. KAYENKIDO SAID THE GRB HAD DEVISED THE FOLLOWING MEASURES TO DEAL WITH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GUNFIRE AND GRENADE EXPLOSIONS WHICH THREATENED PROGRESS:

-- SEEK THE SUPPORT OF QUARTIER RESIDENTS FOR THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION TO HALT THE VIOLENCE AND RESTORE PEACE.

-- INTENSIFY THE EFFORTS OF CABINET MINISTERS AND OTHER BURUNDI LEADERS TO GO INTO THE AREAS AND USE WHATEVER INFLUENCE TO OBTAIN THE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION OF RESIDENTS IN RESTORING PEACE.

-- BURUNDI LEADERS ALSO WILL EXHORT THOSE WITH ARMS TO PUT THEM DOWN, OR TURN THEM IN.

-- INVOLVE THE OAU OBSERVER GROUP AND THE OFFICE OF THE UNSGSR IN ASSISTING THE GRB EFFORTS.

-- THE GRB ADMINISTRATION WILL COLLABORATE WITH SECURITY FORCES DURING THE PROCESS.

ARUSHA TALKS

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8. TURNING TO RWANDA, POL/MIL OFF QUERIED THE PRIME MINISTER ABOUT BURUNDI'S PARTICIPATION IN DISCUSSIONS EXPECTED TO GET UNDERWAY IN ARUSHA ON APRIL 23. KANYENKIKO CONFIRMED THAT THE GRB WOULD BE REPRESENTED -- THEY HAVE TO DECIDE AT WHAT LEVEL -- AMONG OBSERVERS TO THIS IMPORTANT GATHERING. THE GRB, HE SAID, WANTED TO FIND OUT THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION TO BE FIELDED BY RWANDAN PRINCIPALS TO THE DISCUSSIONS; IF THE MOST IMPORTANT RWANDANS DO NOT SHOW UP IT WILL BE DUE TO A LACK OF POLITICAL WILL. CONTINUING, HE SAID, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS WAS THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE THAT SITUATION; IT WOULD NOT BE EASY AT THIS POINT, BUT IT IS CRITICAL FOR THE SUB-REGION'S STABILITY. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR BURUNDI TO HELP, HE STATED, THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE NOT DIRECTLY LINKED AND THE SUCCESS OF ONE DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE OTHER. HOWEVER, HE BELIEVED THAT EACH CAN AID THE OTHER TO FIND SUCCESS, IT TAKES GOOD WILL IN EACH NATION TO DO SO.

9. COMMENT: THE GRB HAS A DIFFICULT TASK IN CONTENDING WITH THE DISORDER IN BUJUMBURA QUARTIERS. WHILE SOME OF THE ELEMENTS DOING THE SHOOTING ARE CRIMINALS AND BANDITS, IT IS ALSO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01403

DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
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YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, PINR, ASEC, BY
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO
APPARENT THAT A LARGE PART OF THE PROBLEM IS CAUSED
BY THOSE WHO ARE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED. ABOUT THE
TIME OF THE SECOND KAMENGE INCIDENT LAST MONTH,
INTERIOR MINISTER NYANGOMA'S CONTACTS WITHIN
PREDOMINATELY HUTU QUARTIERS LEFT LITTLE DOUBT ABOUT
THE PRESENCE OF ELEMENTS INCLINED TOWARDS
DESTABILIZING ACTIVITIES. THE CURRENT INTERIM
GOVERNMENT, AS DURING NTARYAMIRA'S LAST WEEKS IN
OFFICE, IS FINDING ITSELF COLLABORATING WITH THE
MILITARY AS THE PRACTICAL MEANS OF ADDRESSING THE
PROBLEM WHICH THREATENS OVERALL STABILITY IN THE
COUNTRY IF THE SITUATION IN THE QUARTIERS CONTINUES
AS AT PRESENT. THIS NEW FOUND CIVILIAN/MILITARY
COOPERATION HAS CAUSED SOME STRAINS AMONG
FRODEBISTS/HUTU; SOME ARE UPSET BY THIS TURN OF
EVENTS. GIVEN THE TASK FOR THE GRB/FRODEBU TO
RESTORE ORDER, IT NEEDS TO FIND A WAY TO ENSURE ITS
HAS THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF ITS FOLLOWERS IN ORDER
NOT TO PROVOKE A GREATER PROBLEM. END COMMENT.
LANGE
BT
#1403
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 1403
<^SSN>1403
<^SSN>1403

TOR: 940421115701 M1007295
<^TOR>940421115707 M1007297
<^TOR>940421115712 M1007298

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~EU Proposes a Regional Approach.... (2 pages)~~	~~04/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~President Museveni Makes Last Push for Ceasefire (3 pages)~~	~~04/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~Rwanda-Uganda Border... (2 pages)~~	~~04/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~004. cable~~	~~Details on Arusha Talks (2 pages)~~	~~04/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
005. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability: Rwandan... (2 pages)	04/22/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability... (3 pages)	04/22/1994	P1/b(1)
~~007. cable~~	~~Department Condemns... (3 pages)~~	~~04/23/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
008. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	04/26/1994	P1/b(1)
~~009. cable~~	~~Rwanda Negotiations (2 pages)~~	~~04/28/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~010. cable~~	~~Mobutu and the Rwanda Crisis... (4 pages)~~	~~04/28/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
011. cable	Change to... (2 pages)	04/28/1994	P1/b(1)
~~012. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Belgian Support for U.S. Policy Objectives (2 pages)~~	~~04/28/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
013. cable	Discussions with International Committee of the Red Cross... (3 pages)	04/28/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/22/1994 - 04/30/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh129

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~014. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Discussions in Paris... (2 pages)~~	~~04/28/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
015. cable	Probable... (2 pages)	04/30/1994	P1/b(1)
016. cable	[Rwandan Patriotic Front] (2 pages)	04/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[04/22/1994 - 04/30/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh129

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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2011-0262-M-2 (2,19)
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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHBSA4584 1120845-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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LINE4: FM USEC BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 220844Z APR 94
ORIG: USEC BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC
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RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI
RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
SUBJ: EU PROPOSES A REGIONAL APPROACH TO DEALING WITH AFTERMATH OF RWANDAN CRISIS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 04584
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPE AND AF/C
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EAID, EUN, UN, BY, RW, TZ, UG, KE
SUBJECT: EU PROPOSES A REGIONAL APPROACH TO DEALING WITH AFTERMATH OF RWANDAN CRISIS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. HANS HAGERMANN, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR CENTRAL AFRICA IN THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE (DG-IA), TOLD POLOFF APRIL 21 THE EU IS CONSIDERING SUPPORT FOR A REGIONAL INITIATIVE TO FIND A PERMANENT SOLUTION TO THE RECURRENT CONFLICT IN RWANDA. HE SAID THE PROPOSAL, WHICH IS BEING PUT FORWARD BY DG-IA, IS SIMILAR TO ONE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINGYI RAISED AT THE APRIL 6 ARUSHA MEETING.
3. HAGERMANN SAID THE EU HAS ALREADY APPEALED TO THE WARRING PARTIES TO ESTABLISH A CEASEFIRE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, AND IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. THE NEXT STEP, HE CONTINUED, WILL BE FOR THE EU TO PROVIDE FUNDING TO COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND FOR REFUGEES. HE ADDED THAT THE FUNDING IS INTENDED TO BE A REWARD AND "CARROT" TO GET COUNTRIES, SUCH AS TANZANIA AND UGANDA, TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO AN OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE.
4. HAGERMANN SAID THAT DG-IA IS TRYING TO SELL THEIR IDEA TO THE DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORATE (DG-VIII), WHICH HAS ALL THE MONEY. THE PROPOSAL HAS ALSO BEEN PUT BEFORE THE MEMBER STATES AND COMMENTS ARE DUE BACK BY APRIL 22.

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5. HAGERMANN WELCOMED USG COMMENTS ON THE REGIONAL APPROACH AND ON ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES SUPPLYING TROOPS TO AN OAU FORCE.
(DRAFTED:POT:PHASLACH; CLEARED:POT:MRIES; APPROVED:POLC:JGREENWALD) EIZENSTAT
BT
#4584
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4584

TOR: 940422050352 M1008982

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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2011-0262-M-2 (2.20)
NZ 10/20/2023

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 221210Z APR 94
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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 1907
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0214
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 0698
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 2434
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 1666
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0795
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0295
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0149
RUEAYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0193
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE MI
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC
SUBJ: RWANDA: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MAKES LAST PUSH FOR CEASEFIRE
TEXT:

********** INCOMPLETE MESSAGE **********

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 003220
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
DAR FOR AMB. DE VOS AND LTC MARLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS, PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RWANDA: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MAKES LAST PUSH FOR CEASEFIRE
REFS: (A) KAMPALA 3182 (B) KAMPALA 3097
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MET APRIL 21 WITH THE RPF'S DR. RUDASINGWA AND THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR, ALONG WITH THE AMBASSADORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS FROM TANZANIA, U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE TO FINALIZE HIS FIVE POINT PLAN BEFORE PRESENTING IT TO RPF AND GOR LEADERS FOR APPROVAL. THE PLAN CALLS FOR A SIMULTANEOUS CEASEFIRE; GIVES THE TWO SIDES 96 HOURS THEREAFTER TO CONTROL VIOLENCE; AUTHORIZES UMAMIR TO VERIFY THE

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CEASEFIRE, WHILE THE OAU AND REGIONAL COUNTRIES WOULD "CONSIDER HOW THEY MIGHT CONTRIBUTE;" ASSUMING THE CEASEFIRE HOLDS AND THE KILLINGS STOP, COMMITS BOTH SIDES TO IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS; AND CALLS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE PLANE CRASH AND THE KILLINGS. THE SAME GROUP WILL RECONVENE AT 9:00 A.M. (LOCAL) SATURDAY, APRIL 23, SO THAT MUSEVENI CAN PASS THE (HOPEFULLY) AGREED-UPON PLAN TO PRESIDENT MWINYI BY TELEPHONE BEFORE THE ARUSHA MEETING CONVENES. AS NEXT STEPS, WE RECOMMEND ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR MUSEVENI'S EFFORTS (INCLUDING LETTERS FROM A/S MOOSE AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER); AND PRESSURING THE FRENCH TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING ABOUT WHAT THEY KNOW ABOUT THE CRASH, AND TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH HUTU EXTREMISTS TO STOP THB CARNAGE. WE ALSO ASK THAT, IF THE ARUSHA PROCESS RESUMES, LTC MARLEY OR AMB RAWSON COME THROUGH KAMPALA TO SEE MUSEVENI. END SUMMARY.

APRIL 21 MEETING

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3. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MET THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 21 WITH RPF SECRETARY GENERAL DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA AND RWANDAN AMBASSADOR CLAVER KANYARUSHOKI. THE AMBASSADORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS FROM TANZANIA, U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE WERE ALSO PRESENT.

4. THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER PRESENTED THE FORMAL TEXT OF MUSEVENI'S FIVE POINT CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL (REFTEL A, PARA 8). THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER ALSO OUTLINED THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED EARLIER IN THE DAY BY THE RPF REPRESENTATIVE AND THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR. THE RPF HAD CRITICIZED THE PROPOSED DRAFT BECAUSE IT REFERRED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA, WHICH THE RPF DESCRIBED AS ILLEGAL. THE RPF DID NOT WANT TO TALK TO GOR OFFICIALS, ONLY TO THE MILITARY. THE FIVE POINTS ALSO DID NOT CONDEMN THE CURRENT LEADERS FOR CAUSING THE MASSACRES, NOR DID IT CONTAIN ENOUGH MECHANISMS TO VERIFY THAT THE KILLINGS WOULD STOP. UNAMIR HAD PROVEN INEFFECTIVE AMD NEEDED TO BE AUGMENTED. THE RPF WANTED THE ROLE OF THE OAU ENHANCED AND SPELLED OUT.

5. THE TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER ALSO REVIEWED THE OBJECTIONS OF THE RWANDA AMBASSADOR AND THE CONCERNS OF THE U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE. KANYARUSHOKI EXPRESSED BASIC AGREEMENT WITH THE DOCUMENT, BUT SAID HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT TAKE MORE THAN 96 HOURS TO STOP THE VIOLENCE IN RWANDA. THE RWANDAN ENVOY ALSO OBJECTED STRONGLY TO THE GOR BEING TERMED ILLEGAL, AND SUGGESTED THAT IT WAS TOO SOON TO SIMPLY BLAME ALL THE VIOLENCE ON THE GOR. MASSACRES, HE CLAIMED, HAD BEEN REPORTED IN RPF-HELD TERRITORY. THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR ALSO SUGGESTED THAT A GREATER OAU ROLE

BT

#3220

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

SSN: 3220

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TOR: 940513025509 M1044732
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Cable

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2011-0262-M-2 (7.21)
VZ 10/20/2023

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 221221Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
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RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE MI
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1673
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0152
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4056
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0701
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1911
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2437
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5790
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0298
INFO: ****
SUBJ: RWANDA-UGANDA BORDER: SITUATION REMAINS CALM
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 003227
PARIS FOR PERLOW
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
AF/E FOR WILSON
AF/C FOR AMB. RENDER
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RWANDA-UGANDA BORDER: SITUATION REMAINS CALM
REF: KAMPALA 3154 (NOTAL)
1. THE DCM SPOKE WITH COL. ASRAR (CORRECT SPELLING), THE UNOMUR COMMANDER ON THE UGANDA-RWANDA BORDER, ON APRIL 21. ASRAR SAID THAT THE BORDER IS QUIET. HIS MONITORS REMAIN ON HIGH ALERT, BUT THEY HAVE NOT DETECTED ANY MOVEMENT OF UGANDAN TROOPS ACROSS THE BORDER TO REINFORCE THE RPF. NOR HAS THERE BEEN ANY MOVEMENT OF HEAVY EQUIPMENT, ARMAMENTS OR APC'S. ASRAR CONTINUES TO BE CONVINCED THAT NOTHING MAJOR IS MOVING ACROSS THE BORDER.
-
2. ASRAR SAID THAT SOME ICRC PEOPLE AND SOME FRENCH DOCTORS HAD CROSSED INTO RWANDA AT KATUNA IN PICK-UPS AND JEEPS, BUT THAT THEY HAD OBVIOUSLY BEEN GOING IN FOR REFUGEE/MEDICAL REASONS. HE SAID THAT A FUEL TRUCK HAD CROSSED THE BORDER APRIL 20, AND ONE HAD GONE IN APRIL 18 OR 19, BUT THAT THESE CROSSINGS WERE NOT UNUSUAL.
3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE IN TOUCH WITH ASRAR WITH RESPECT TO THE SITUATION AT THE BORDER.

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4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
BT
#3227
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3227
TOR: 940422083628 M1009359
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.22)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA7133 1121548-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 221547Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 221547Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 3153
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 4890
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 8373
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1230
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 9317
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1377
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 4018
SUBJ: DETAILS ON ARUSHA TALKS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 107133
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PHUM BY RW TZ
SUBJECT: DETAILS ON ARUSHA TALKS

1. POST UNDOUBTEDLY KNOWS THAT THE RWANDA TALKS ARE EXPECTED TO BE HELD IN ARUSHA BEGINNING APRIL 23. IN AN APRIL 19 TELCON WITH AF/E DESK OFFICER, AMBASSADOR DEVOS CONFIRMED THE ARUSHA VENUE AND SAID THAT TALKS WILL MOST LIKELY BE AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTER. INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WILL BE HELD AT THE MERU HOTEL. RESERVATIONS FOR LT. COL. TONY MARLEY AND AMB. DAVID RAWSON HAVE BEEN MADE AT THE MERU HOTEL.

2. AMB. DEVOS SAID THAT THERE IS NO ASSURANCE ABOUT EXACTLY WHEN THE TALKS WILL START. HE SUGGESTED THAT AMB. RAWSON GO TO ARUSHA NOW. HOWEVER, AMB. RAWSON PLANS TO SEE HOW THE TALKS DEVELOP OVER THE APRIL 23/24 WEEKEND BEFORE DECIDING ON TRAVEL TO ARUSHA.

3. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

CHRISTOPHER
BT
#7133
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7133
TOR: 940422120126 M1009829
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2(2.25)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O R 230506Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 230506Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 4910
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 3166
INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 8381
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 9328
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1416
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC 2981
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4083
RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 7732
SUBJ: DEPARTMENT CONDEMNS RWANDAN THREATS AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 108057
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM PREL ASEC OFDP RW
SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT CONDEMNS RWANDAN THREATS AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. DEPARTMENT CONVOKED RWANDAN AMBASSADOR UWIMANA APRIL 22 TO EXPRESS DEPARTMENT'S OUTRAGE OVER THREATS MADE IN WASHINGTON APRIL 21 TO HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA. UWIMANA PROMISED TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THE THREAT HAD BEEN MADE BY A RWANDAN EMBASSY STAFF MEMBER OR DEPENDENT. END SUMMARY.

3. RWANDAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA, IN WASHINGTON FOR MEETINGS ARRANGED BY AFRICA WATCH WITH DEPARTMENT (HA AND AF), NSC AND SENATORS KENNEDY AND SIMON, WAS THREATENED AFTERNON OF APRIL 21 AS SHE LEFT A BRIEFING AT THE U.S. COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES OFFICE. ONE PERSON IN A GROUP OF RWANDANS WAITING OUTSIDE WHEN THE MEETING ENDED MADE A DIRECT THREAT AGAINST MS. MUJAWAMARIYA'S CHILDREN, WHO ARE IN HIDING IN RWANDA. THE GROUP INCLUDED RWANDAN EMBASSY STAFF AND SPOUSES, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE PERSON WHO MADE THE THREAT WAS AFFILIATED WITH THE EMBASSSY. WHEN SENATOR KENNEDY CALLED AMBASSADOR UWIMANA LATE AFTERNOON APRIL 21 TO EXPRESS HIS OUTRAGE OVER THE THREAT, THE SENATOR REPORTED THAT AMB. UWIMANA HIMSELF MADE FURTHER THREATENING

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STATEMENTS ABOUT MS. MUJAWAMARIYA'S CHILDREN. (COMMENT: SINCE NEITHER KENNEDY NOR UWIMANA SPEAKS THE OTHER'S LANGUAGE, THERE MAY HAVE BEEN A MISCOMMUNICATION. END COMMENT.)

4. DEPARTMENT CONVOKED RWANDAN AMBASSADOR ALOYS UWIMANA MORNING OF APRIL 22 TO EXPRESS OUTRAGE AT THE THREAT AGAINST MS. MUJAWAMARIYA. AF DAS PRUDENCE BUSHNELL TOLD AMBASSADOR UWIMANA THAT IF IT IS TRUE THAT THE THREAT WAS ISSUED BY SOMEONE FROM THE RWANDAN EMBASSY, THIS BEHAVIOR IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE. AMBASSADOR UWIMANA, VISIBLY UPSET AND ANGRY, TRIED TO DIVERT THE DISCUSSION OFF ON AN IRRELEVANT TANGENT, AND MADE REFERENCE TO MS. MUJAWAMARIYA'S COMPORTMENT AND RELATIONSHIP WITH HER EX-HUSBAND, WHOM HE ALLEGED WAS A MEMBER OF THE RWANDAN MILITARY. DAS BUSHNELL STERNLY REMINDED AMB. UWIMANA THAT THE ISSUE AT HAND WAS THE UNACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOR OF THOSE MAKING THREATS AGAINST MS. MUJAWAMARIYA HERE IN THE UNITED STATES.

5. DAS BUSHNELL SAID THAT MS. MUJAWAMARIYA HAD TOLD HER THAT THE PERSON WHO MADE THE THREAT WAS AFFILIATED WITH THE RWANDAN EMBASSY. DAS BUSHNELL WENT ON TO REITERATE THAT NO MATTER WHO UTTERED THE THREAT, THE IMPRESSION HELD BY THE DEPARTMENT AND BY SEVERAL KEY SENATORS WAS THAT THE THREAT CAME DIRECTLY FROM THE RWANDAN EMBASSY, AND THAT THIS TYPE OF BEHAVIOR GIVES SENATORS, THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE NSC A VERY BAD IMPRESSION OF RWANDA. SHE URGED THE AMBASSADOR TO INVESTIGATE WHO HAD ISSUED THE THREAT, AND TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY IF IT WAS AN EMBASSY DIPLOMAT OR DEPENDENT.

6. AMBASSADOR UWIMANA DENIED MAKING ANY THREAT HIMSELF IN THE CONVERSATION WITH SENATOR KENNEDY, AND SAID THAT HE HAD UNDERSTOOD THE SENATOR TO BE REFERRING TO THREATS TO THE CHILDREN IN RWANDA, NOT IN THE U.S. AMBASSADOR UWIMANA SAID THAT IF THE THREAT ISSUED AFTER THE REFUGEE MEETING APRIL 21 TURNED OUT TO HAVE BEEN MADY BY AN EMBASSY OFFICER OR DEPENDENT, HE WOULD TAKE RESPONSIBILITY AND WOULD APOLOGIZE. HE ALSO NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT MANY PRIVATE RWANDAN CITIZENS HAD ATTENDED THE REFUGEE BRIEFING AND THAT HE HAD NO AUTHORITY OVER THEM.

7. DAS BUSHNELL URGED THE AMBASSADOR AGAIN TO FIND OUT WHO HAD ISSUED THE THREAT, AND TO LET HER KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AMB. UWIMANA PROMISED TO CONTACT DAS BUSHNELL AS SOON AS HE OBTAINED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. THE MEETING ENDED CORDIALLY.

8. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

CHRISTOPHER
BT
#8057
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8057

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TOR: 940423011151 M1011306
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2,27)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHDRA2614 1181043-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 281043Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 281043Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4526
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0084
INFO: RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1031
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4737
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1001
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0255
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 3190
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0781
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4509
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0542
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1656
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1019
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0397
SUBJ: RWANDA NEGOTIATIONS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 002614
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, TZ, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDA NEGOTIATIONS
REF: A) STATE 109193, B) DAR ES SALAAM 2571, C) DAR ES SALAAM 2596, D) STATE 11391 (ALL NOTAL)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS FAR AS WE CAN ASCERTAIN, THERE ARE NO TALKS ON THE RWANDA PEACE PROCESS SCHEDULED FOR EITHER ARUSHA OR DAR ES SALAAM THIS WEEKEND. THE "SEVEN DAYS" MENTIONED BY PM MALECELA WAS A GENERAL STATEMENT OF HOPEFUL INTENT THAT SOMETHING COULD BE COBBLED TOGETHER FOLLOWING THE DEBACLE LAST WEEKEND. HOWEVER, MALECELA'S THINKING ALOUD CAME PRIOR TO THE SURPRISE OF LEARNING ABOUT THE GOR DELEGATIONS MOVING ON TO ZAIRE AND SIGNING A SEPARATE CEASEFIRE PAPER UNDER MOBUTU'S AUSPICES.

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3. AS BEST AS WE CAN PIECE TOGETHER HERE, THE TANZANIANS APPARENTLY ARE HOPING THAT SOMEHOW THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR RWANDA WILL BE ABLE TO MELD THE RPF DECLARATION OF A CEASEFIRE WITH THE GOR DECLARATION AND COME UP WITH A COMPROMISE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. SHOULD A CEASEFIRE ACCORD BE AGREED, AND THE CEASEFIRE HOLD, THEN THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE FOR EACH SIDE TO UNDERTAKE TO END THE SENSELESS CIVILIAN

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MASSACRES. IF THAT WERE TO HAPPEN, THEN ALL THE PARTIES COULD TURN TO HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. THUS, WE ANTICIPATE A PROTRACTED PROCESS. A GOR DELEGATION IS PRESENTLY IN DAR AND IS SCHEDULED TO SEE PRESIDENT MWINYI THIS AFTERNOON. WE UNDERSTAND THE GOR DELEGATION IS HERE TO EXPLAIN HOW THEY WERE "HIJACKED" TO GBODOLITE BY MOBUTU. THE GOT AUTHORITIES ARE IN CONCERT WITH OUR LINE OF PRESSING ALL SIDES FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO REPEAT THEIR MESSAGE TO THE GOR AS WELL AS THE RPF. THE GOT IS ALSO TRYING TO ASCERTAIN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RE-EMERGENCY OF MOBUTU IN THE PROCESS.

4. COMMENT: THERE IS UNLIKELY TO BE ANOTHER ROUND IN ARUSHA OR DAR THIS WEEKEND. AMBASSADOR RAWSON SHOULD NOT PLAN TO DEPART WASHINGTON UNTIL WE CAN IDENTIFY WHEN THERE IS A GENUINE LIKELIHOOD THE ARUSHA PROCESS WILL RESUME IN EARNEST. IN THE INTERIM, PERHAPS EMBASSY KINSHASA CAN ELUCIDATE ON MOBUTU'S RE-ENTRY INTO THE RWANDA QUAGMIRE.

5. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. DE VOS

BT

#2614

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2614

TOR: 940428075857 M1018413

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.28)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 281349Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 281349Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3821
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7214
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 0363
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0420
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 6492
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0448
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2910
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0964
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7860
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1635
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 3739
SUBJ: MOBUTU AND THE RWANDA CRISIS: SHIFTING SANDS - IN PARIS?
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 11514
PRETORIA FOR A/S MOOSE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, RW, CG, US, FR
SUBJECT: MOBUTU AND THE RWANDA CRISIS: SHIFTING SANDS - IN PARIS?
REF: A) PARIS 11412 B) PERLOW-MCCULLEY TELECON, 4/21
C) KINSHASA 2174 (NOTAL)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DURING A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS IN RECENT DAYS WITH FRENCH AND RWANDAN INTERLOCUTORS CONCERNING THE CRISIS IN RWANDA (SEPTELS), THE ROLE OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU HAS BEEN A RECURRING THEME. IT APPEARS THAT MOBUTU'S PARTISANS IN PARIS ARE USING THE RWANDA CRISIS AS A MEANS OF FURTHERING THE POLITICAL REHABILITATION OF "LE MARECHAL." GOF AFRICANISTS (AND MOBUTU'S FRIENDS) ARE CONVINCED THAT THE PROBLEMS OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI MUST BE ADDRESSED ON A REGIONAL AND FRANCOPHONE BASIS, AND THAT THERE CAN NOT BE A DURABLE SOLUTION UNLESS MOBUTU IS MORE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROCESS THAN HE WAS DURING THE FIRST ARUSHA TALKS. EVEN SOME OF MOBUTU'S TRADITIONAL CRITICS ON THE AFRICA CIRCUIT ARE FINDING NICE THINGS TO SAY ABOUT HIS EFFORTS "TO END THE POLITICAL STALEMATE IN KINSHASA," AND THE STEPS TAKEN CONCERNING RWANDAN REFUGEES IN THE GOMA REGION. END SUMMARY.

3. ON APRIL 26-28 WE RAISED A NUMBER OF RWANDA RELATED ISSUES WITH MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES/FRANCE THE JEAN

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MARIE NDAGIJIMANA, RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO PARIS; CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA DIRECTOR AT THE QUAI AND DOMINIQUE PIN, ONE OF THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS ADVISORS AT THE ELYSEE. THE QUESTION OF A VISIT TO THE U.S. BY THE INTERIM FOREIGN MINISTER HAS BEEN REPORTED (REF A) AND OTHER SUBJECTS WILL BE SENT VIA SEPTELS. THIS MESSAGE WILL COVER ONLY DISCUSSIONS ON THE ROLE OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU.

REHABILITATING MOBUTU

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4. FOR A NUMBER OF WEEKS, WE HAVE HEARD RUMORS THAT MOBUTU'S SUPPORTERS IN OR AROUND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WERE GETTING A MORE SYMPATHETIC HEARING (REF B) AS A RESULT OF HIS EFFORTS TO END THE POLITICAL STALEMATE IN KINSHASA AND THE MALADROIT STUBBORNNESS OF TSHISIKEDI. DURING A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS AT THE QUAI, ELYSEE AND COOPERATION, INTERLOCUTORS WHO HAD BEEN TRADITIONALLY HOSTILE TO MOBUTU BEGAN TAKING A MORE MODERATE LINE, OFTEN POINTING WITH IRONY TO ZAIRE AS THE "ISLAND OF STABILITY" IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

5. WE ALSO ASKED BOIVINEAU AND PIN ABOUT RUMORS CIRCULATING AROUND PARIS THAT MOBUTU'S FRIENDS WERE USING HIS MEASURES CONCERNING SECURITY AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE IN THE GOMA REGION TO PRESS THE ARGUMENT THAT FRANCE SHOULD IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH "LE MARECHAL." BOIVINEAU ADMITTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN "BLOODY BATTLES" IN PARIS ON THIS ISSUE BUT NO DEFINITIVE RESULTS WERE REACHED. SHE ADDED THAT A NUMBER OF MOBUTU'S FRIENDS WERE ADVISING HIM TO PLAY A POSITIVE REGIONAL ROLE CONCERNING RWANDA.

INFIGHTING ON THE RIGHT

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6. WE ALSO ASKED BOIVINEAU AND PIN IF THE SECOND VISIT OF MICHEL AURILLAC (MINISTER OF COOPERATION UNDER CHIRAC, 1986-88) TO GDABOLITE (AT THE SAME TIME AS FORMER A/S COHEN, REF C), HAD BEEN TO ENCOURAGE MOBUTU. NOT ENTIRELY SURPRISINGLY, BOTH INTERLOCUTORS CLAIMED TO BE UNAWARE OF THE SECOND AURILLAC VISIT.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 11514

PRETORIA FOR A/S MOOSE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, RW, CG, US, FR

SUBJECT: MOBUTU AND THE RWANDA CRISIS: SHIFTING SANDS - IN PARIS?

(COMMENT: AS WE HAVE NOTED PREVIOUSLY, THERE ARE SEVERAL CENTERS OF POWER AMONG CENTER-RIGHT LEADERS COMPETING FOR INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. THUS, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT AURILLAC,

NOW A DEPUTY, WOULD XMAYJNMQHAS MADE SOME MENTIO N OF COHEN'S VISIT, AURILLAC'S PASSED UNNOTICED. END COMMENT.)

7. NDAGIJIMANA, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, STATED THAT HE CONSIDERED THE ROLE OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU TO BE EXTREMELY UNHELPFUL SINCE IT ESTABLISHED A PARALLEL NEGOTIATING VENUE OUTSIDE THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AND UN/OAU SPONSORSHIP (A POINT MADE LATER IN EQUALLY STRONG TERMS BY BOIVINEAU). NDAGIJIMANA STATED THAT HE HAS BEEN APPROACHED BY MOBUTU'S SUPPORTERS IN PARIS FOR

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DISCUSSIONS ON WHAT ROLE "LE GUIDE" COULD PLAY. BASED ON THESE DISCUSSIONS, HE BELIEVES THAT HAD BEEN THE PURPOSE OF THE RECENT AURILLAC VISIT.

MORE WARNING FLAGS

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8. THE APRIL 28 CONVERSATION WITH DOMINIQUE PIN (WHO TRADITIONALLY HAS BEEN ONE OF MOBUTU'S HARSHEST CRITICS, BASED ON HIS TOUR IN KINSHASA AS DCM), CONFIRMED THAT, AT A MINIMUM, GOF AFRICANISTS ARE OPEN TO TAKING A SECOND LOOK AT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH MOBUTU, BASED ON THE REGIONAL SITUATION. IN A SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH BOIVINEAU (WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE ON HER PART OF MY DISCUSSION WITH PIN), SHE MADE MANY OF THE SAME POINTS IN MORE MEASURED TERMS.

9. PIN STATED THAT ANY SOLUTION TO THE RWANDA/BURUNDI CRISIS MUST BE ADDRESSED ON A REGIONAL BASIS AND DESPITE ITS IMMENSE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS, THE "GREAT POWER" OF CENTRAL AFRICA IS ZAIRE, NOT TANZANIA. THUS, THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF EXCLUDING ZAIRE OR EVEN HAVING IT PLAY THE SAME MINOR OBSERVER ROLE IT DID DURING THE FIRST ARUSHA TALKS. PIN ADDED THAT IT IS NOT GOING TO BE POSSIBLE TO "ARRANGE A SETTLEMENT IN A FRANCOPHONE COUNTRY WHEN THE PROCESS IS DOMINATED BY NEIGHBORING ANGOLPHONES."

10. IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY ON WHAT DIPLOMATIC ROLE HE COULD ENVISAGE MOBUTU AND ZAIRE PLAYING IN POSSIBLE FUTURE TALKS ON RWANDA, PIN NOTED CAREFULLY THAT THE TALKS SHOULD AGAIN BE HOSTED BY THE TANZANIANS FOR REASONS OF CONTINUITY, AND THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD REMAIN VALID. HOWEVER, VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE ACCORD WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE RENEGOTIATED GIVEN THE RECENT EVENTS, AND WE SHOULD LEARN FROM OUR MISTAKES: "THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER CALLED FOR IN THE FIRST AGREEMENT WAS UNBALANCED IN FAVOR OF THE RPF, MAKING A NEW ROUND OF FIGHTING ALMOST INEVITABLE." MOBUTU (WHO COULD ALLOW ZAIRE TO BE USED BY HUTU EXTREMISTS) FOR ATTACKS IN RWANDA, "SHOULD BE ABLE TO PLAY THE SAME ROLE AS MUSEVENI" IN ANY FUTURE TALKS.

11. IN ADDITION TO STRESSING THAT THE QUAI FOUND COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE MOBUTU'S EFFORT TO CONVENE A SEPARATE PEACE PROCESS ON THE SAME DAY AS THE TALKS SCHEDULED AT ARUSHA, BOIVINEAU ADDED THAT THE QUAI DOES NOT ENVISAGE MOBUTU PLAYING THE ROLE OF MEDIATOR IN RWANDA, NOR EVEN A LEADING ROLE IN NEW TALKS AT ARUSHA -- BUT HE MUST BE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROCESS AND SUPPORT THE OUTCOME.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 11514

PRETORIA FOR A/S MOOSE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, RW, CG, US, FR

SUBJECT: MOBUTU AND THE RWANDA CRISIS: SHIFTING SANDS - IN PARIS?

HARRIMAN

BT

#1514

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
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SSN: 1514
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<^TOR>940428095618 M1018693
<^TOR>940428095312 M1018688

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.30)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA4753 1181603-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 281602Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 281602Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6743
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0471
INFO: RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 2632
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY 8994
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 7325
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 1517
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0031
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0098
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0947
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0440
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0566
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0064
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0580
SUBJ: RWANDA: BELGIAN SUPPORT FOR U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 04753
ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN: YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDA: BELGIAN SUPPORT FOR U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES
REF: STATE 111391
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. PER REFTEL, ON 4/28 DCM INFORMED RIK COOLSAET, POLITICAL-MILITARY AFFAIRS ADVISOR IN CABINET OF PRIME MINISTER CLAES, OF U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY FRAMEOWRK (AS LAID OUT IN PARA 3) AND REQUESTED THAT BELGIANS ALSO MAKE DEMARCHES CALLING FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE TO KEY RWANDAN ARMY AND MILITARY FIGURES AND TO RPF LEADERS. POLOFF HAD SIMILAR DISCUSSION WITH WILFRIED JAENEN, BELGIAN MFA DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARAN AFRICA SAME DAY (SEPTEL).
3. COOLSAET SAID THE GOVERNMENT WAS ALREADY THINKING ALONG THESE LINES AND WOULD BE DISCUSSING FURTHER TODAY IN THE MINISTRY HOW TO PROCEED. HE SAID THAT IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT AMY STEPS THE GOB TAKES WILL BE EVENHANDED.
4. HE SAID THAT THE MINISTRY HAD ALREADY CALLED IN THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS (LATE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 26) TO PROTEST THE ACTIONS OF THE RWANDAN MISSION TO THE UN WHICH HAD BEEN CIRCULATING DOCUMENTS ACCUSING THE BELGIANS OF VARIOUS NEFARIOUS ACTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE

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DOWNING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL AIRCRAFT AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. COOLSAET SAID THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR RESPONDED "DIPLOMATICALLY", SAYING THAT HE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF SUCH ALLEGED ACTIONS ON THE PART OF HIS UN COLLEAGUE BUT WOULD CONVEY BELGIAN CONCERNS TO KIGALI.

5. COOLSAET SAID ALSO THAT THE MFA, FOLLOWING TALKS WITH MEDECIN SANS FRONTIERES, HAD ASKED ITS UN DELEGATION TO TRY TO ASCERTAIN WHAT UNAMIR CAN ACTUALLY DO ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA. BELGIANS WOULD LIKE TO PUSH FORWARD THE IDEA OF "SECURITY ZONES" TO FACILITATE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. COOLSAET ACKNOWLEGED THE DELICACY OF THIS ISSUE FOR BELGIUM, CONSIDERING THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD IT RETURN ITS MILITARY CONTINGENT TO UNAMIR TO AID IN THE CREATION OF SUCH ZONES. BLINKEN

BT

#4753

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4753

TOR: 940428120856 M1019009

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX WADDELL

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2(2.32)
VL 10/20/2023

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 281709Z APR 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 281709Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3840
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7222
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 0371
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0427
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 6499
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0454
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2917
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0971
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1641
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 3745
SUBJ: RWANDA: DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS AT THE QUAI, THE
- ELYSEE, MSF/FRANCE AND WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR
RWANDAN ARMY IS TAKING ACTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT THE
FLIGHT OF REFUGEES TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING
POSITIONING TROOPS CLOSE TO INTERNATIONAL BORDERS AND
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 PARIS 11541
PRETORIA FOR A/S MOOSE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, RW, CG, US, FR
SUBJECT: RWANDA: DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS AT THE QUAI, THE
- ELYSEE, MSF/FRANCE AND WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR
RWANDAN ARMY IS TAKING ACTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT THE
FLIGHT OF REFUGEES TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING
POSITIONING TROOPS CLOSE TO INTERNATIONAL BORDERS AND
FIRING ON FLEEING REFUGEES. BASED ON REPORT FROM
REFUGEES AND MSF MEMBERS, THEY BELIEVE THAT THE ARMY IS
WORKING "HAND IN GLOVE" WITH THE MILITIAS AND THE
GENERAL POPULATION IN COORDINATING ATTACKS ON TUTSI
CIVILIANSJ
CHARGES OF ETHNIC "PURIFICATION"
---
15. THE MSF/F MEMBERS (IN TERMS NEARLY IDENTICAL TO
THOSE OF AMBASSADOR NDAGIJIMANA) CLAIMED THAT AN
"ETHNIC PURIFICATION" CAMPAIGN IS UNDERWAY IN ADDITION
TO THE LARGER-SCALE MASSACRES. THEY ADDED THAT THE
EVENTS SEEM TO BE COORDINATED RATHER THAN SPONTANEOUS.
THE MSF/TEAM ADDED THAT TO THE BEST OF ITS INFORMATION,
MASSACRES OF TUTSI CEASE WHEN THE RPF FORCES MOVE INTO
AN AREA. WHILE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT COULD BE EXPECTED,
THE RPF DOES NOT HAVE THE MANPOWER TO OCCUPY EVERY
VILLAGE -- BUT THE MASSACRES STOP ANYWAY. THE MSF/F

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TEAM BELIEVES THIS INDICATES THAT ONCE THE HUTU POPULATION IS OUT OF CONTACT WITH THE ARMY AND GOVERNMENT, THEY ARE NO LONGER ENCOURAGED TO KILL.

VISIT OF THE RWANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER

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16. CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, DIRECTOR OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS AT THE QUAI, AND DOMINIQUE PIN, AFRICAN AFFAIRS ADVISOR AT THE ELYSEE, BRIEFED US ON THE DISCUSSIONS HELD ON APRIL 27 AND 28 WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOREIGN MINISTER JEROME BICAMUMPAKA AND FOREIGN MINISTRY POLITICAL DIRECTOR, JEAN BOSCO BARAYAGWIZA (REF C). THE RWANDA DELEGATION MADE MANY OF THE SAME POINTS THAT SIMILAR DELEGATIONS HAVE MADE TO OTHER INTERLOCUTORS, STRESSING THAT THE RPF OFFENSIVE IS TO BLAME FOR THE ETHNIC ATROCITIES IN RWANDA. THE DELEGATION STATED THAT "NOW THAT THE MASSACRES HAVE STOPPED," THERE IS NO REASON NOT TO PROVIDE THE GOVERNMENT WITH ARMS TO ENABLE IT TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE RPF. THE REQUEST WAS TURNED DOWN FLAT.

17. THE FRENCH EXPRESSED DISMAY TO BICAMUMPAKA OVER THE ABSENCE OF HUTU MODERATES IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND URGED THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BE DONE TO BRING AN END TO THE ETHNIC STRIFE. THE FRENCH ALSO URGED THE RWANDANS TO SEND A SERIOUS DELEGATION TO ARUSHA WITH THE POWER TO NEGOTIATE.

HARRIMAN

BT

#1541

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1541

TOR: 940428140659 M1019272

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Rwanda/Internal Istability.... (2 pages)	05/02/1994	P1/b(1)
~~002. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Mobuto as Mediator.... (3 pages)~~	~~05/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~Halting Arms to Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~05/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
004. cable	[Refugees] (2 pages)	05/02/1994	P1/b(1)
005. cable	[External Relations] (5 pages)	05/03/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/03/1994	P1/b(1)
~~007. cable~~	~~Consultations on Rwanda/Burundi: A/S Moose meets French and Belgian Diplomats (4 pages)~~	~~05/03/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~Statement for Addis Leg (2 pages)~~	~~05/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	Rwanda... (3 pages)	05/05/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/05/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/05/1994	P1/b(1)
012. cable	[Rwanda] (2 pages)	05/05/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/02/1994 - 05/06/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh130

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~RPF Leans Toward National Conference (3 pages)~~	~~05/05/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
014. cable	[Refugees] (3 pages)	05/05/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/05/1994	P1/b(1)
~~016. cable~~	~~Public Statements on Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~05/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~017. cable~~	~~Request to... (1 page)~~	~~05/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
018. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	05/06/1994	P1/b(1)
~~019. cable~~	~~Coordinated Public Statements on Rwanda (1 page)~~	~~05/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~020. cable~~	~~No Direct... (2 pages)~~	~~05/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
021. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/06/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/02/1994 - 05/06/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch130

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.36)
NR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 021349Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
OSRI: RUEHKI
DTG: 021349Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6455
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1679
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0429
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0057
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0192
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0564
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0134
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0881
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0386
SUBJ: RWANDA: MOBUTU AS MEDIATOR
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KINSHASA 02435
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS RW, CG, UG, UN
SUBJECT: RWANDA: MOBUTU AS MEDIATOR
REF: PARIS 11514

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: WE MET MAY 2ND WITH THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN KINSHASA, ETIENNE SENGEGERA, TO GET HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE CURRENT RWANDAN SITUATION AND IN PARTICULAR THE ROLE THAT PRESIDENT MOBUTU IS PLAYING. SENGEGERA SAID THAT MOBUTU HAD BEEN ASKED TO REVIVE HIS ROLE AS MEDIATOR BY THE GOR AND BY THE RPF, BUT THAT THE RPF WAS NOW DENYING ANY APPROACH TO MOBUTU. SENGEGERA SAID THAT MOBUTU'S ROLE WOULD NOT NECESSARILY CONTRADICT THE OAU-SPONSORED EFFORT AND THAT UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOBOH HAD ASKED TO SEE MOBUTU. SENGEGERA INSISTED THAT THE RPF WAS GUILTY OF MASSIVE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENTS IN RWANDA AND THAT THE GOR WAS UNJUSTLY BLAMED. END SUMMARY.

3. SENGEGERA TOLD US ON MAY 2ND THAT MOBUTU WAS INVOLVED IN FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CRISIS, HAVING BEEN CALLED TO REACTIVATE HIS MEDIATION BY THE GOR. A DELEGATION OF THE GOR CAME TO GBADOLITE TO MEET MOBUTU ON APRIL 16TH TO EXPLAIN THEIR SIDE OF THE SITUATION. THE DELEGATION WAS COMPOSED OF DR CASIMIR BIZIMUNGU (MINISTER OF HEALTH), AMB. SENGEGERA, AND LTCOL EPHRAM SETAKO.

4. MOBUTU WAS ALSO CONTACTED BY THE RPF AND THEY SENT A DELEGATION TO GBADOLITE ON APRIL 19TH. THAT DELEGATION CONSISTED OF PASTOR BIZIMUNGU AND JEAN BOSCO BUTERA. IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS THEN, A DRAFT CEASE-FIRE DECLARATION WAS PREPARED. IT WAS TO BE SIGNED ON APRIL

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23RD AT GBADOLITE WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT, TO BE FOLLOWED BY NEGOTIATIONS. (8,!9457,-53)6, ALTHOUGH THE GOF SENT A DELEGATION TO GBADOLITE FOR THE SIGNING, THE RPF DID NOT. SENGEGERA SAID THAT THE RPF NOW CLAIMS NOT TO HAVE HAD CONTACT WITH MOBUTU NOR TO HAVE SEEN THE DRAFT CEASE-FIRE DECLARATION.

5. AMB. SENGEGERA SAID THE GOR DELEGATION LEFT ZAIRE ON APRIL 26TH FOR DAR VIA NAIROBI. WHILE PASSING THROUGH NAIROBI, THEY MET UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOBOH. BOBOH HAS ASKED TO SEE MOBUTU, AND MOBUTU HAS AGREED TO RECEIVE HIM, BUT THE MEETING HAS NOT YET TAKEN PLACE.

6. SENGEGERA SAID HE DID NOT THINK ZAIRE WOULD EXPECT TO SEND TROOPS INTO RWANDA, BOTH BECAUSE THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN ZAIRE WAS NOT APPROPRIATE, AND BECAUSE IT WOULD NOT BE CONSISTENT WITH MOBUTU'S ROLE AS MEDIATOR.

7. SENGEGERA CLAIMED TO SEE NO CONFLICT BETWEEN THE MOBUTU MEDIATION ATTEMPT AND THAT BEING CONDUCTED IN TANZANIA. THERE IS PRESUMABLY SOME COORDINATION (OR, AT LEAST, RECIPROCAL AWARENESS OF MOVES), BECAUSE PRESIDENTIAL SPECIAL COUNSELOR NGBANDA RECENTLY TOOK A LETTER FROM MOBUTU TO KAMPALA, NAIROBI AND DAR. ACCORDING TO THE FRENCH EMBASSY HERE, THE LETTER CALLED FOR A CEASEFIRE, NON-INTERFERENCE AND A REGIONAL SOLUTION.

8. SENGEGERA GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING A HARD-LINE HUTU. WHILE APPARENTLY TORN BY THE ANGUISH OF HIS COUNTRY, HE INSISTED THAT AT LEAST AS MUCH KILLING WAS TAKING PLACE IN RPF AREAS AND THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WAS UNJUSTIFIABLY BLAMED. HE INSISTED AGAIN THAT THE BELGIANS (OR AT LEAST SOME BELGIANS) WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SHOOTING DOWN OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PLANE.

9. CALLING AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO DELIVER THE DEMARCHE OBJECTING TO ANY ARMS TRANSFERS TO RWANDA (REPORTED SEPTEL), WE WERE TOLD THAT NEITHER THE FOREIGN MINISTRY NOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS INVOLVED IN MOBUTU'S MEETINGS OVER RWANDA IN GBADOLITE. THIS DIRECTLY CONTRADICTS SENGEGERA WHO SAID THAT FOREIGN MINISTER MPINGA WAS PRESENT WHEN HE WAS THERE WITH THE GOR DELEGATION. (THE MOST LIKELY EXPLANATION FOR THIS CONTRADICTION IS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IS NOT INVOLVED AND NOT INFORMED.)

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KINSHASA 02435

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS RW, CG, UG, UN

SUBJECT: RWANDA: MOBUTU AS MEDIATOR

10. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

YATES

BT

#2435

NNNN

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

SSN: 2435
<^SSN>2435

TOR: 940502095517 M1024220
<^TOR>940502095518 M1024221

DIST:

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SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.37)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 021551Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
OSRI: RUEHKI
DTG: 021551Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6458
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1615
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1681
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0431
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0059
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0566
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0136
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0388
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0883
SUBJ: HALTING ARMS TO RWANDA
REF STATE 112362

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KINSHASA 02437
E.O.: 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, RW, CG, UG
SUBJECT: HALTING ARMS TO RWANDA
REF STATE 112362
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT
2. WE HAVE CARRIED OUT REFTEL INSTRUCTIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESIDENCY, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND A MOBUTU INTIMATE. ALL CLAIM OUR DEMARCHE IS IN PERFECT CONSONANCE WITH ZAIRE'S OWN POLICY.
3. MOBUTU'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR NGBANDA WAS NOT AVAILABLE FRIDAY, SATURDAY OR MONDAY BECUASE HE WAS IN GBADOLITE AND PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR VUNDUAWE HAS BEEN OUT OF CIRCULATION BECAUSE OF HIS MOTHER'S DEATH. IN THEIR ABSENCE, CHARGE TOOK THE OCCASION OF AN APRIL 30 MEETING WITH JOSE ENDUNDU, DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF ROADS AND A FREQUENT VISITOR TO GBADOLITE, TO CONVEY SUBSTANCE OF DEMARCHE. ENDUNDU TOOK IT ON BOARD, COMMENTING ONLY THAT MOBUTU HAD BEEN CLOSE TO HABYARIMANA.
4. NGBANDA'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET, PROFESSOR EKAMBO, CALLED BACK MAY 2 TO SAY HIS BOSS WOULD NOT BE BACK BEFORE THE END OF THE DAY BUT THAT HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH HIM IF THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO PASS. WE SAID THERE WAS WND CHARGE MET WITH EKAMBO LATER IN THE DAY. AFTER LISTENING TO THE DEMARCH, EKAMBO SAID THAT NGBANDA'S TRIP ON MOBUTU'S BEHALF TO NAIROBI, DAR, AND KAMPALA HAD BEEN TO TRANSMIT THE MESSAGE THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO INTERVENTION FROM NEIGHBORING STATES -- NEITHER MEN NOR ARMS -- AND THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE FROM ANY OF THEIR TERRIROTIES TO FURTHER POISON THE ATMOSPHERE. EKAMBO THOUGHT HIS BOSS AND

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MOBUTU WOULD WELCOME THE FACT WE WERE MAKING THE SAME POINTS ESPECIALLY TO UGANDA. EKAMBO ALSO CONFIRMED MANY OF THE ELEMENTS OF MOBUTU'S ROLE AS REPORTED KINSHASA 2435 AND PREVIOUS MESSAGES. SPECIFICALLY THAT MOBUTU HAD MET WITH DELEGATIONS FROM BOTH THE RPF AND THE GOR IN AN ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE A CEASE FIRE. HE SAID THAT THE ZAIRIAN ROLE WAS TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS WHICH UNFORTUNATELY WAS BLOCKED RIGHT NOW.

5. ACTICG POLITICAL COUNSELOR CALLED ON AMBASSADOR LOLONGA DELA LOKONGA, DIRECTOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN AND ASIA BUREAU OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND OUR HIGHEST-LEVEL OFFICIAL INTERLOCUTOR IN THE BIRINDWA GOVERNMENT MAY 2. LOLONGA RECEIVED THE POINTS IN REFTEL WITH ATTENTION AND EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT MOBUTU WOULD NOT/NOT ALLOW THE TRANSFER OR ARMS TO ANY PARTY IN RWANDA AT THIS TIME. WE RESPONDED THAT WE HOPED THAT LOLONGA WAS CORRECT AND THAT THE REPORTS WHICH WE HAVE SEEN TO THE CONTRARY WERE WRONG. LOLONGA BEMOANED ZAIRE'S POOR RELATIONS WITH UGANDA, WITH WHICH OTHERWISE HE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED ZAIRE TO WORK CLOSELY TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN RWANDA. HE DENIED THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OR FOREIGN MINISTER HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE ABORTIVE CEASEFIRE WHICH MOBUTU HAD TRIED TO BROKER OUT OF GBADOLITE OVER THE APRIL 23 WEEKEND.

6. BUJUMBURA MINIMZE CONSIDERED. YATES

BT
#2437
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2437

TOR: 940502115723 M1024453

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.41)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 042237Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 042237Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0000
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0000
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0000
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
SUBJ: CONSULTATIONS ON RWANDA/BURUNDI: A/S MOOSE MEETS FRENCH AND BELGIAN DIPLOMATS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~L STATE 117944
ADDIS/DAR PLEASE PASS ALSO TO A/S SHATTUCK
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PGOV RW BY CG FR BE
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS ON RWANDA/BURUNDI: A/S MOOSE MEETS FRENCH AND BELGIAN DIPLOMATS
REF: (A) 94 STATE 111391, (B) 94 STATE 115014, (C) 94 PARIS 12197, (D) 94 BRUSSELS 04753

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: A/S GEORGE MOOSE AND DAS PRUDENCE BUSHNELL MET TUESDAY, MAY 3 WITH THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH DCM TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI. MOOSE REVIEWED U.S. INITIATIVES TO DATE, AND ASKED FOR FRENCH AND BELGIAN VIEWS ON THE CRISIS. THE BELGIANS INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO BE HELPFUL IN RWANDA, BUT ASKED THE U.S. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN EFFORTS TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND REACH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE FRENCH ENVOY EMPHASIZED THAT ANY UN OPERATION SHOULD FOCUS EXCLUSIVELY ON HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, AND EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT UNDER THE ARUSHA FRAMEWORK. THE FRENCH STRESSED THAT ALL RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING ZAIRE, MUST BE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS. ON BURUNDI, ALL AGREED ON THE NEED TO SUPPORT THE CURRENT RELATIVE CALM, AND ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ENCOURAGING THE ONGOING DIALOG BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN BUJUMBURA. MOOSE NOTED THAT THE

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DISCUSSIONS ON ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI WOULD CONTINUE AT THE TRILATERAL MEETING AT THE A/S LEVEL IN BRUSSELS ON MAY 13. END SUMMARY.

U.S. EFFORTS:

3. AT HIS MAY 3 MEETING WITH FRENCH AND BELGIAN DIPLOMATS A/S MOOSE SOUGHT A RESPONSE TO U.S. THOUGHTS ON THE REGIONAL CRISIS DISCUSSED IN LAST WEEK AT THE WORKING LEVEL (AND TRANSMITTED REFTELS), AND OUTLINED U.S. DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES TO HALT THE VIOLENCE AND BRING ABOUT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. MOOSE SAID THAT HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINYI'S EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE ARUSHA PROCESS, MENTIONED THE VARIOUS U.S. STATEMENTS ON RWANDA (INCLUDING TWO BY THE PRESIDENT), OUR SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO ENGAGE THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TRIP TO THE REGION BY HA ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK, RP DAS MCKINLEY, AND AMBASSADOR RAWSON. HE ALSO RAISED THE DISCUSSION AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE QUESTION OF HUMANITARIAN ENCLAVES ON BOTH SIDES OF RWANDA'S BORDERS, AND ASKED FOR FRENCH AND BELGIAN VIEWS AS TO HOW THE UN OR THE OAU MIGHT BEST RESPOND TO THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

4. DAS BUSHNELL EMPHASIZED THAT THE SITUATION WAS NOT GETTING BETTER. SHE SAID THAT THE RPF HAD RULED OUT INTERVENTION BY OAU TROOPS, WHICH WOULD, IN THEIR VIEW, LEGITIMIZE THE "ILLEGAL" GOR. BUSHNELL NOTED THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WERE DIM IF THE HARD-LINE POSITIONS ADOPTED BY BOTH SIDES CONTINUED. LATER IN THE MEETING SHE SUGGESTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS FACED IN RWANDA WITH TWO UNATTRACTIVE OPTIONS: DO NOTHING, OR PURSUE INITIATIVES WHICH HAVE RISKS.

OPTIONS FOR INTERVENTION:

5. THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR AGREED ON THE NEED TO STOP THE VIOLENCE, AND SAID THE GOB WAS PREPARED TO SUPPORT UN EFFORTS. BELGIUM, HOWEVER, COULD NOT ACT ALONE AND WOULD NOT ASSUME A LEADERSHIP ROLE, SINCE THE GOB IS NOT REGARDED AS A NEUTRAL BY THE WARRING PARTIES. THE GOB WAS INTERESTED IN THE NOTION OF HUMANITARIAN ENCLAVES, BUT EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN ABOUT THE LIKELY REACTION OF THE BURUNDI AUTHORITIES, AND QUESTIONED THE TYPE OF FORCE ENVISAGED FOR THE OPERATION. MOOSE REPLIED THAT THE TALKS AT THE UNSC WERE AT A VERY PRELIMINARY STAGE, AND THAT THE U.S. RECOGNIZED THAT A LARGE FORCE TO RE-ESTABLISH ORDER WAS "MORE THAN PROBLEMATIC." HE SAID THAT AFRICAN STATES HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO HELP, AND THAT SOME TYPE OF JOINT UN/OAU OPERATION MIGHT EMERGE FROM THE DISCUSSIONS. THE URGENT NEED AT PRESENT WAS TO PROTECT REFUGEES AND THOSE DISPLACED INTERNALLY BY THE VIOLENCE. THE RPF, HE NOTED, HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION.

6. THE FRENCH DCM SAID THAT THE GOF BELIEVED THE WEST SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO THE HUMANITARIAN SIDE OF THE

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RWANDA PROBLEM, AND THAT BROKERING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NEIGHBORING STATES, ESPECIALLY TANZANIA (ALTHOUGH HE EMPHASIZED THAT ZAIRE MUST PLAY A ROLE). THE GOF HAD NOT CONCLUDED INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS ON THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN RWANDA; AT A MINIMUM THE GOF WANTED A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE, AGREEMENT BY ALL THE PARTIES FOR SUCH A PRESENCE, AND A CLEAR IDEA OF THE UN/OAU MANDATE BEFORE MAKING A COMMITMENT.

BELGIUM QUESTIONS GOR LEGITIMACY...

7. DAS BUSHNELL RAISED THE RECENT VISIT TO PARIS BY THE INTERIM RWANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER, AND ASKED WHAT THE GOF HAD SAID TO HIM. THE FRENCH SAID THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN RECEIVED AT A POLICY LEVEL, CHARACTERIZED HIS STAY AS A "PRIVATE VISIT," AND NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF USING EVERY AVAILABLE CHANNEL TO SEND MESSAGES. THIS WAS APPARENTLY TOO MUCH FOR THE BELGIAN ENVOY, WHO INTERJECTED THAT THE INTERIM FM ONLY REPRESENTED A "FACTION," THAT THE GOB DID NOT RECOGNIZE HIM, THAT HE AND HIS "SO-CALLED GOVERNMENT" CONTINUED TO INSULT BELGIUM, "INCLUDING IN PARIS." MOOSE AGREED THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT SEEMED VERY FRAGMENTED, WITH POLES OF APPARENT AUTHORITY PRESENT IN PARIS, ARUSHA, AND GITARAMA. HE SAID THAT WE HAD NO CLEAR IDEA OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RWANDAN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE THREE LOCALES, AND PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, NO CLEAR IDEA OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CIVILIAN AUTHORITY AND THE RWANDAN MILITARY.

...AND ASKS U.S. TO TAKE THE LEAD

8. THE BELGIAN SUMMED UP THE GOB'S POSITION BY EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. APPROACH, AND ASKED THE U.S. TO ASSUME A LEADERSHIP ROLE AT THE UN AND ELSEWHERE. MOOSE NOTED THAT WE WERE SOMEWHAT CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS, AND THAT IN TERMS OF RESOURCES AND MATERIALS, OTHERS MUST BE THERE TO ASSUME THEIR FAIR SHARE. MOOSE SAID THAT IT WAS WORTHWHILE TO PURSUE INITIATIVES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE UNSC, AND CRUCIAL TO FORESTALL UNILATERAL ACTIONS. ANY OPERATION IN RWANDA REQUIRED THE BLESSING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

BURUNDI: DU CALME

9. ON BURUNDI, THE BELGIANS AGREED WITH THE U.S. POSITION ON THE NEED TO MAINTAIN CALM AND TO ENCOURAGE THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT TO EXERT ITS AUTHORITY. FOR BELGIUM, THE ROLE OF THE ARMY WAS THE CENTRAL PROBLEM, BUT THE GOB WAS "READY TO START THINKING ABOUT" HELPING THE BURUNDIANS WITH MILITARY REFORM, INCLUDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THE BELGIAN ENVOY THEN ASKED ABOUT THE GOF'S POSITION AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO HELP. THE FRENCH DCM RESPONDED THAT SINCE OCTOBER 1993, PARIS HAS SUPPORTED "MODERATE" ELEMENTS WITHIN THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION, AND BACKED THE EFFORTS OF AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH, THE UNSYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO BURUNDI.

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IN TERMS OF CONCRETE MEASURES, THE FRENCH DIPLOMAT SAID THAT THE GOF WAS CONTRIBUTING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPUBLICAN GUARD TO PROTECT CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES AND INSTITUTIONS (HE HASTENED TO ADD THAT THE MODEL FOR THIS WAS FRANCE'S RATHER THAN SADDAM'S REPUBLICAN GUARD). THE BELGIAN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SIZE OF THE PROPOSED GUARD, AND ITS RELATION TO THE BURUNDIAN ARMY, AND MOOSE ADDED THAT WE NEEDED A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROPOSAL.

10. MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE CONSENSUS IN WASHINGTON, PARIS, AND BRUSSELS ON THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT IN BURUNDI, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT GETTING INVOLVED IN THE ONGOING DIALOG BETWEEN THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY. MOOSE NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH'S ROLE IN BURUNDI: THE UNSYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE KNOWS THE SITUATION, AND IS TRUSTED BY BOTH SIDES. THE U.S. REMAINED CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR SPILLOVER FROM THE CARNAGE IN RWANDA, BUT WAS SENSITIVE TO THE IMPACT IN BURUNDI OF A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION. MOOSE WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI IN GREATER DETAIL AT THE TRILATERAL MEETING IN BRUSSELS ON MAY 13.

11. BUJUMBURA, MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
TALBOTT
BT
#7944
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7944
TOR: 940504185816 M1029380
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2,42)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA7983 1242326-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 042326Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 042326Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 4248
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 3355
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 8526
SUBJ: STATEMENT FOR ADDIS LEG

TEXT:

A/S SHATTUCK MAY WISH TO USE OR DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT DURING ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRESS WHILE IN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 117983
ADDIS PLS PASS TO A/S SHATTUCK AT OOB FROM AF/C
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL OPRC RW
SUBJECT: STATEMENT FOR ADDIS LEG

A/S SHATTUCK MAY WISH TO USE OR DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT DURING ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRESS WHILE IN ADDIS:

BEGIN TEXT OF PROPOSED STATEMENT

WE ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND REPORTS OF WIDESPREAD ATROCITIES IN RWANDA. I AM TRAVELING TO THE REGION TO DELIVER A SIMPLE MESSAGE: THE KILLINGS IN RWANDA MUST STOP, THE FIGHTING MUST STOP, AND THE PARTIES MUST BEGIN SERIOUS AND MEANINGFUL DIRECT TALKS.

WE HAVE MADE ADDIS ABABA THE FIRST STOP ON OUR TRIP SO THAT WE CAN CONSULT WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON THE CRISIS. I VERY MUCH LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM TO HEAR HIS THOUGHTS ON HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MIGHT BEST HELP RWANDA TO RETURN TO PEACE.

THE OAU, THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN ASSISTING THE TWO SIDES TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A PEACE ACCORD LAST AUGUST. AFRICAN LEADERS HAVE ONCE AGAIN BROUGHT THE PARTIES TO TALKS IN ARUSHA, AND THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THIS CRUCIAL EFFORT TO RE-ESTABLISH DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE WARRING PARTIES IN RWANDA.

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END STATEMENT
TALBOTT
BT
#7983
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7983

TOR: 940504193243 M1029454

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.47)
NL 10/25/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA8987 1251825-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 051824Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 051824Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 3371
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 8549
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 4284
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 5221
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0236
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 2359
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1401
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1818
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 4755
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 8302
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 2244
SUBJ: RPF LEANS TOWARD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 118987
ADDIS AND DAR FOR A/S SHATTUCK PARTY; YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PGOV PHUM RW
SUBJECT: RPF LEANS TOWARD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. RPF WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE ENDORSED A PROTECTION FORCE BUT NOT AN INTERPOSITION FORCE. HE SAID THERE WAS NOTHING TO TALK ABOUT AT ARUSHA AND SUGGESTED A NATIONAL CONFERENCE COULD SET UP THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. HE CALLED ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DEAL WITH THOSE KILLING RWANDAN CIVILIANS AS THEY DEALT WITH HITLER AND URGED ARREST, TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT FOR THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THEM. END SUMMARY.

PROTECTION NOT INTERPOSITION
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3. RPF WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, DR. CHARLES MURIGANDE, IN A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION 5/4 WITH AF/C, ENDORSED A FORCE TO STOP THE MASSACRES IN RWANDA BUT CATEGORICALLY REJECTED ONE THAT WOULD IMPOSE A CEASEFIRE AND ENCOURAGE THE RPF TO NEGOTIATE WITH "KILLERS." HE SAID THE RPF OPPOSES ANY FORCE THAT WOULD GIVE THOSE KILLING THE RWANDAN POPULATION A WAY OUT OR A FUTURE ROLE IN RWANDAN POLITICS.

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ACCOUNTABILITY FOR KILLERS

4. MURIGANDE SAID HE WANTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO HOLD THE PEOPLE KILLING THE RWANDAN POPULATION ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR ACTS. CITING RUDOLPH HESS ARRESTED IN LONDON DURING WORLD WAR II, HE SAID MEMBERS OF RWANDA'S INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ARRESTED, TRIED AND SENTENCED FOR THEIR DEEDS, NOT RECEIVED AS IF ON A PEACE MISSION, AN OBVIOUS ALLUSION TO INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CURRENTLY PUTTING THEIR CASE TO EUROPEAN LEADERS.

NOTHING TO NEGOTIATE

5. AF/C TOLD MURIGANDE THAT THE TWO SIDES WERE IN ARUSHA BUT NOT TALKING TO EACH OTHER. MURIGANDE SAID THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORD HAD RESOLVED ALL THE ISSUES AND THAT THERE WAS NOTHING LEFT TO NEGOTIATE. BESIDES, HE SAID, THE RPF CANNOT TALK TO PEOPLE WHO HAVE GONE ON RECORD AS BEING AGAINST THE PEACE PROCESS AND WHO HAVE KILLED RWANDAN CIVILIANS. HE SAID THEY SHOULD BE DEALT WITH AS THE WORLD DEALT WITH HITLER: FIGHT THEM UNTIL THEY ARE DEFEATED. HE CALLED ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RESPOND AS IT RESPONDED TO HITLER.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE?

6. AF/C SUGGESTED THE RPF WOULD HAVE TO FIND SOMEONE IN THE GOR IT COULD TALK TO IN ORDER TO SET UP A GOVERNMENT BOTH SIDES CONSIDERED LEGITIMATE. MURIGANDE DEMURRED, SUGGESTING THAT MIGHT NOT BE NECESSARY. IN RESPONSE TO A FURTHER QUERY, MURIGANDE ASSURED AF/C THE RPF HAD NO INTENTION OF PUTTING A GOVERNMENT INTO PLACE UNILATERALLY. INSTEAD, HE SAID, A NATIONAL CONFERENCE COULD BE TASKED TO IDENTIFY PEOPLE WHO COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT CALLED FOR IN THE ARUSHA ACCORD.

COMMENT

7. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER MURIGANDE'S MENTION OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE IS CURRENT RPF POLICY. HOWEVER, THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE HAS BEEN HOVERING IN THE BACKGROUND SINCE MULTI-PARTY POLITICS BEGAN IN 1991. THE FORMATION OF RWANDA'S FIRST COALITION GOVERNMENT IN 1992 AND THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS PUSHED THE IDEA INTO THE BACKGROUND. INDEED, AT THE END OF THE ARUSHA TALKS, SEVERAL DELEGATES FROM BOTH SIDES WERE SAYING THAT ARUSHA WAS, IN ESSENCE, RWANDA'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE. NEVERTHELESS, THE ARUSHA ACCORD INCLUDES THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE. THE RPF AND OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE ALWAYS SEEN THE CONFERENCE FORMAT AS A POSSIBLE FORUM FOR EXAMINING ABUSES OF PAST REGIMES.

8. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

CHRISTOPHER

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

BT
#8987
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 8987
TOR: 940505143200 M1031140
DIST:

PRT: SIT
SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ SUM SUM2 VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M.2 (2.50)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDSA3353 1261331-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 061331Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
OSRI: RUEHDS
DTG: 061331Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2212
INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 3155
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0121
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 3790
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1138
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 7389
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2537
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0050
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8814
RUEHDJ/AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI 2792
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0078
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0110
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL
RUSNDNB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 1772
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7744
SUBJ: PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ADDIS ABABA 003353
DAR ES SALAAM, BUJUMBURA, KAMPALA, GENEVA FOR A/S SHATTUCK
GENEVA ALSO FOR RMA
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, OARC, RW, ET
SUBJECT: PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON RWANDA
REF: STATE 119480

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DURING A PHONE CONVERSATION WITH ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SEYOUM MAY 6, AMBASSADOR, PER REFTEL, URGED THE TGE TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON RWANDA MAKING POINTS SIMILAR TO THOSE IN PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RADIO MESSAGE. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THE EFFECT THIS COULD HAVE WITHIN RWANDA AND ON THE VARIOUS PARTIES BY PUTTING THEM ON NOTICE THAT THE WORLD WAS WATCHING, AND COULD NOT ACCEPT WHAT WAS CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE.

3. SEYOUM AGREED, AND SAID THAT PRESIDENT MELES HAD SENT A LETTER TO TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINYI SEVERAL DAYS AGO, MAKING THE SAME POINTS AND ENCOURAGING HIM IN HIS NEGOTIATING EFFORTS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE SIMPLEST THING WOULD BE TO MAKE THE TEXT OF THAT LETTER PUBLIC. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT AS LONG AS IT MADE THE KEY POINTS IN A MANNER THAT THE RWANDAN PARTIES WOULD UNDERSTAND,

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HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE FINE. AMBASSADOR WILL ALSO MENTION THE ISSUE TO PRESIDENT MELES MAY 7 DURING A MEETING ON SOMALIA.

4. AMBASSADOR ALSO TALKED TO OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM, WHO HAS ALREADY GONE PUBLIC AT LEAST TWICE ON RWANDA, THE MOST RECENTLY BEING THE JOINT PRESS RELEASE YESTERDAY FOLLOWING A/S SHATTUCK'S VISIT. AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT NEVERTHELESS HE CONSIDER AN ADDITIONAL STATEMENT WELCOMING AND AGREEING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MESSAGE, SALIM SAID HE WOULD, PERHAPS DOING SOMETHING THIS WEEKEND IN SOUTH AFRICA, GIVEN ALL THE MEDIA THAT WILL BE PRESENT.

5. AMBASSADOR ALSO CONFIRMED WITH SALIM THAT HE HAD TALKED WITH BOUTROS GHALI MAY 5, IN ADDITION TO THE LETTER HE SENT. SALIM SAID HE HAD GONE OVER MUCH OF THE SAME GROUND AS IN THE LETTER, BUT THAT HE THOUGHT IT HAD BEEN A USEFUL CONVERSATION. HE HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO CONTACT SEVERAL AFRICAN LEADERS AS PROMISED ABOUT TROOPS, AND HOPED THAT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH BBG AND AFRICAN LEADERS ON THIS SUBJECT COULD TAKE PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA THIS WEEKEND.

6. SALIM SAID THAT HE HAD SO FAR BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL IN CONTACTING HCHR REP AYALA-LASSO. AMBASSADOR URGED HIM TO CONTINUE TO TRY TO DO SO, SINCE WE NOW UNDERSTOOD THAT HE WAS NOT GOING TO RWANDA UNTIL SUNDAY, AND HE COULD BENEFIT FROM SALIM'S VIEWS PRIOR TO THAT TRIP. SALIM SAID HE WOULD.

7. FOR A/S SHATTUCK. I TOLD SALIM THAT YOU MIGHT BE TRYING TO CALL HIM TO GIVE HIM A READ-OUT ON THE REST OF YOUR TRIP. SALIM WILL HOWEVER BE DEPARTING AROUND MID-DAY MAY 7 FOR SOUTH AFRICA. IF YOU DON'T GET IN TOUCH WITH HIM BEFORE THEN, LET ME KNOW AND I WILL BRIEF HIM ON THE RESULTS OF YOUR TRIP BASED ON THE REPORTING CABLES FOLLOWING HIS RETURN.

8. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BAAS

BT

#3353

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3353

TOR: 940506094119 M1033019

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.51)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHMOA2828 1261335-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 061335Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
OSRI: RUEHMO
DTG: 061335Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8691
INFO: ****
SUBJ: REQUEST TO RUSSIA FOR COORDINATED PUBLIC STATEMENT ON RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MOSCOW 012828
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, OPRC, PHUM, RW, RS
SUBJECT: REQUEST TO RUSSIA FOR COORDINATED PUBLIC STATEMENT ON RWANDA
REF: STATE 119480
AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL, ON MAY 6 POLOFF CONVEYED THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S APRIL 30 STATEMENT ON RWANDA WITH THE REQUEST THAT THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT CONSIDER ISSUING A STATEMENT OF SIMILAR CONTENT AT A SIMILAR LEVEL TO VLADIMIR PETUKHOV, AN OFFICIAL IN THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT OF THE RUSSIAN MFA. PETUKHOV PROMISED TO CONSIDER OUR REQUEST.
(COMMENT. AS MAY 6 IS THE EVE OF THE MAY 9 "VICTORY DAY" HOLIDAY WEEKEND -- ONE OF THE BIGGEST IN RUSSIA -- WE MAY NOT SEE ANY RUSSIAN STATEMENT UNTIL AFTER MAY 9. EMBASSY WILL FOLLOW UP WITH THE MFA AFTER THAT DATE. END COMMENT.)
MILES
BT
#2828
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2828
TOR: 940506094638 M1033028
DIST:
SIT: BEYRLE DESHAZER VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.53)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA5097 1261421-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 061421Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 061421Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6914
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 7337
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0102
SUBJ: COORDINATED PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON RWANDA
REF STATE 119480
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRUSSELS 05097
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, OPRC, PHUM, BE, RW
SUBJECT: COORDINATED PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON RWANDA
REF STATE 119480
1. POLOFF CONTACTED WIL JAENEN, BELGIAN MFA DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARA AFRICA, TO INQUIRE WHETHER BELGIUM WOULD ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF REFTEL. JAENEN SAID THE GOB WOULD NOT BE MAKING ANY UNILATERAL STATEMENTS NOW BUT HAD INSTRUCTED AMB. CASSIERS TO MENTION TO THE DEPARTMENT THE POSSIBILITY OF ISSUING A TRILATERAL STATEMENT AFTER THE MAY 13 MEETING IN BRUSSELS. JAENEN SAID HE EXPECTED THE MATTER WOULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER DURING A/S MOOSE'S VISIT TO BRUSSELS.
2. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
BLINKEN
BT
#5097
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5097
TOR: 940506102733 M1033125
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX WADDELL
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2,54)
NL 12/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCPA2447 1261516-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 061516Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
OSRI: RUEHCP
DTG: 061516Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4178
INFO: RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0200
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 3800
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0496
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0039
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0015
RUEHBS/USEC BRUSSELS
RUEHMG/USLO MOGADISHU 0013
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0008
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0155
RUEHNY/AMEMBASSY OSLO 2581
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0192
RUFHRK/AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK 7364
RUEHHE/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 1738
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0070
RUEHSM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 6060
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 0004
SUBJ: NO DIRECT DANISH INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA DESPITE SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PUBLIC STATEMENT
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ COPENHAGEN 002447
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OPRC, PHUM, XW, RW, BU, DA
SUBJECT: NO DIRECT DANISH INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA DESPITE SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PUBLIC STATEMENT
REFS: STATE 119480
SUMMARY
:::::::
1. (LOU) NOW THAT ITS EXPATRIATES ARE OUT OF THE COUNTRY, DENMARK HAS NO NATIONAL INTEREST IN RWANDA. NEVERTHELESS, DENMARK AGREES WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DENUNCIATION OF BRUTALITY AGAINST CIVILIANS IN RWANDA, AND IT WILL CONSIDER ISSUING A SIMILAR APPEAL TO BOTH THE RWANDAN ARMY AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. OTHERWISE, DENMARK'S EFFORTS WILL BE WITHIN AN EU AND/OR UN FRAMEWORK. END SUMMARY.
2. (U) POST PRESENTED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DENUNCIATION OF THE ONGOING MASS KILLINGS IN RWANDA AND HIS CALL FOR THE WARRING PARTIES TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE (REFTEL) TO MFA SOUTHERN AFRICA DEPARTMENT CHIEF TORBEN BRYLLE AND DEPUTY DEPARTMENT CHIEF FOR EAST AND WEST

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AFRICA BO ERIC WEBER.
NO DIRECT DANISH INTEREST IN RWANDA
::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::

3. (LOU) WEBER WELCOMED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DENUNCIATION OF THE MASS KILLINGS OF CIVILIANS AND HIS CALL FOR THE RWANDAN ARMY AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. HE SAID HE WOULD PASS THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO FOREIGN MINISTER NILES HELVEG PETERSEN AND DEVELOPMENT MINISTER HELLE DEGN AND PROBABLY RAISE IT DURING THE MAY 7-11 "CAIRO CONFLICT PREVENTION CONFERENCE." DENMARK, WEBER ADDED, WILL ISSUE A GENERAL CONDEMNATION OF THE CIVIL WAR BUT CANNOT LEGALLY ASSIST IN PROVIDING FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO AN OAU MILITARY OPERATION. FOR DENMARK TO CONSIDER ANY INVOLVEMENT, THERE MUST BE AN EU AND/OR UN PEACEKEEPING UMBRELLA.

4. (S) WEBER DID SAY THAT THE DANES WILL ENCOURAGE UGANDA TO BE HELPFUL. WHILE SUGGESTING THAT THE RPF HAS BASES IN UGANDA, WEBER TOOK ISSUE WITH RUMORED CHARGES THAT UGANDA HAS SUPPORTED THE TUTSI UPRISING. HE ASSERTED "PRESIDENT MUSEVENI IS TOO SMART TO DO THAT."

5. (S) NOW THAT ALL DANISH NATIONALS ARE OUT OF RWANDA, WEBER STRESSED THAT DENMARK HAS "NO DIRECT INTEREST IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI." THE DANES DO NOT HAVE NOR ENVISION A BILATERAL AID PROGRAM FOR EITHER COUNTRY, BUT HAVE FINANCIALLY ASSISTED RELIGIOUSLY-AFFILIATED NGOS OPERATING IN THE REGION, SPECIFICALLY LUTHERAN, BAPTIST, AND SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST ORGANIZATIONS. IN RESPONSE TO THE PRESENT CRISIS, DEVELOPMENT MINISTER DEGN APPROVED AN EMERGENCY GRANT OF 4 MILLION DKK (APP. USD 615,000) FOR RELIEF SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE DANISH LUTHERAN CHURCH'S NGO "EMERGENCY HELP."

6. MOGADISHU AND BUJUMBURA -- MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ELSON
BT
#2447
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2447

TOR: 940506112507 M1033258

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX WADDELL
□

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~May 13 Trilaterals on Zaire, Rwanda, and Burundi (2 pages)~~	~~05/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~A/S Shattuck Delegation Meets Burundi Leaders (4 pages)~~	~~05/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
003. cable	Rwanda Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/09/1994	P1/b(1)
~~004. cable~~	~~Background Briefer on Rwanda Crisis (6 pages)~~	~~05/10/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~005. cable~~	~~Discussion with... (2 pages)~~	~~05/10/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~006. cable~~	~~Burundian Chief of Staff Discusses... (3 pages)~~	~~05/10/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~007. cable~~	~~Ambassador Rawson's Discussion in Paris with the GOF and French NGO's on Rwanda, May 9-10 (5 pages)~~	~~05/10/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~008. cable~~	~~UN Human Rights Commission... (2 pages)~~	~~05/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~009. cable~~	~~Rwanda Crisis... (2 pages)~~	~~05/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~010. cable~~	~~Dealing with the French on Rwanda... (4 pages)~~	~~05/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~011. cable~~	~~[Comment on Rwanda] (2 pages)~~	~~05/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~012. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Corridors of Safety (2 pages)~~	~~05/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/09/1994 - 05/12/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch131

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	ICRC Requests USG Intervention... (4 pages)	05/11/1994	P1/b(1)
~~014. cable~~	~~RPF Rep on Humanitarian Intervention, Cease-Fire Talks (4 pages)~~	~~05/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~015. cable~~	~~Ambassador's Meeting with Rwandan Ambassador to Kenya (3 pages)~~	~~05/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
016. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/12/1994	P1/b(1)
~~017. cable~~	~~[UNSGR Views] (3 pages)~~	~~05/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
018. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	05/12/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/09/1994 - 05/12/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh131

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.56)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA5160 1291209-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 091209Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 091209Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6945
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7341
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0103
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0950
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0443
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0572
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK 0032
SUBJ: MAY 13 TRILATERALS ON ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI
TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ BRUSSELS 05160
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OTRA, BE, FR, CG, RW, BY
SUBJECT: MAY 13 TRILATERALS ON ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI
REF: A) STATE 120388 B) BRUSSELS 4914
C) DUBROW-MCCULLEY TELCONS 5/5/94
1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT. ACTION REQUESTS PARAS. 6 AND 7.
2. POST WELCOMES A/S MOOSE AND ZAIRE DESK OFFICER TERRY MCCULLEY TO BRUSSELS FOR THE MAY 13 TRILATERALS. CONTROL OFFICER FOR VISIT IS POLOFF JEANNETTE P. DUBROW. SHE CAN BE REACHED AT THE EMBASSY (513-3830, EXT. 2477) OR AT HOME (358-3218).
3. TWO SINGLE HOTEL ROOMS HAVE BEEN RESERVED AT THE HOTEL JOLLY SABLON, 24 RUE BODENBROECK, 1000 BRUSSELS, MAY 12-14. TELEPHONE: (32) (2) 512-8800. COST IS BF 4,650 WITH BREAKFAST. WE HAVE REQUESTED EARLY CHECK-INS.
4. AN EMBASSY CAR AND DRIVER WILL BE AT ZAVENTEM AIRPORT TO MEET A/S MOOSE AND TAKE HIM TO HOTEL. IF MR. MCCULLEY WISHES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE EMBASSY DRIVER AND HITCH A RIDE TO THE HOTEL, PLEASE WAIT IN THE ARRIVAL AREA OUTSIDE OF THE CUSTOMS/LUGGAGE CLAIM SECTION. OTHERWISE, PLEASE PROCEED BY TAXI TO HOTEL.
5. ON SATURDAY, MAY 14, EMBASSY CAR AND DRIVER WILL PICK UP AMB. MOOSE AND MR. MCCULLEY AT THE HOTEL AT 1015 HOURS FOR DROPOFF AT ZAVENTEM AIRPORT.
6. PER AMB. MOOSE'S REQUEST, MAY 12 HAS BEEN KEPT FREE. HOWEVER, IT IS NOW ALMOST CERTAIN FONMIN CLAES WILL BE IN GENEVA ON MAY 13 PARTICIPATING, AS MEMBER OF THE EU TROIKA, ON DISCUSSIONS ON BOSNIA. CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS IS PROPOSING A MEETING WITH AMB. MOOSE ON THE EVENING OF MAY 12. DEPENDING ON CLAES' SCHEDULE, IT MAY

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EITHER BE AN INFORMAL DINNER OR AN AFTER-DINNER MEETING (SOMETIME AFTER 8:30 PM).
ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE ADVISE IF A/S MOOSE AGREES TO A MEETING THE EVENING OF MAY 12.
7. PRESS OPPORTUNITY: IT WAS OUR UNDERSTANDING FOLLOWING AFTERNOON TELCON WITH MCCULLEY THAT AMB. MOOSE DID NOT/DID NOT WANT TO DO A GENERAL PRESS CONFERENCE. REFTEL A, HOWEVER, SAYS HE IS AMENABLE TO DOING A PRESS EVENT.
ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE CLARIFY ASAP.
BLINKEN
BT
#5160
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5160
TOR: 940509081352 M1036386
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.57)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA1594 1291233-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 091229Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 091229Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3572
INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1129
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 0228
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0622
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0511
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1621
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0531
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0757
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0999
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0999
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1068
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0407
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0754
SUBJ: A/S SHATTUCK DELEGATION MEETS BURUNDI
- LEADERS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I~~A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01594
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREL OTRA, BY
SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK DELEGATION MEETS BURUNDI
- LEADERS
REF: (A) BUJUMBURA 1593 (B) STATE 116910
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: GRB OFFICIALS WERE GREATLY IMPRESSED WITH THE ATTENTION SHOWN TO THEM BY A/S JOHN SHATTUCK, DAS MCKINLEY, AMB RAWSON AND SA JUDITH KAUFMAN. THOUGH THE SIX HOUR VISIT BEGAN BEHIND SCHEDULE, A/S SHATTUCK WAS RECEIVED BY INTERIM PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA, PRIME MINISTER KAYENKIKO AND DEFENSE MINISTER FYIROKO. THE BURUNDIANS EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION FOR BEING AMONG THOSE CONSULTED IN THE
SUBREGION ABOUT THE RWANDAN SITUATION AND HEAPED PROFOUND GRATITUDE ON THE USG FOR ITS CONTINUED SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE ON THEIR DEMOCRATIZATION EFFORTS AND DURING THE PROLONGED CRISIS. AS REPORTED REF (A), INTERIM PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA SAID HE SUGGESTED TO RPF MEMBER PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU THAT AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE WAS NEEDED TO MOUNT A CEASEFIRE AND HELP STOP MASSACRES IN RWANDA. END COMMENT.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW
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3. A/S JOHN SHATTUCK AND HIS DELEGATION MET PRIME MINISTER ANATOLE KANYENKIKO (UPRONIST, TUTSI) AT HIS OFFICE IN THE PRESIDENCY ON MAY 6. CHARGE ACCOMPANIED THE DELEGATION. A/S SHATTUCK EXPRESSED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S APPRECIATION FOR BURUNDI'S ASSISTANCE WITH THE EVACUATION OF AMERICANS AND OTHER FOREIGNERS FROM RWANDA LAST MONTH. HE ALSO CONVEYED USG CONCERNS ABOUT AND DESIRE TO ASSIST THE POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN THE SUBREGION. SHATTUCK COMMENDED THE PM AND BURUNDI LEADERS FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO KEEP THIS COUNTRY RELATIVELY CALM AND TO CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARDS IMPLANTING DEMOCRACY; HE PRAISED THE ADMINISTRATION FOR DOING SO IN THE FACE OF THE TRAGIC PROBLEMS IN RWANDA.

4. KANYENKIKO ASKED SHATTUCK TO CONVEY BURUNDI'S THANKS FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL VISIT AND FOR THE CONTINUING FLOW OF SUPPORTIVE MESSAGES FROM THE U.S. BURUNDIANS, HE SAID, GREATLY APPRECIATED THE HELP OF EMBASSY BUJUMBURA AND AMERICAN NGOS, THE NDI, WHO WORKED FOR BURUNDIAN DEMOCRACY. BURUNDI WILL CONTINUE TO NEED THE MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT OF PARTNERS LIKE THE U.S., HE SAID; AN INFORMED PUBLIC NEEDS TO PARTICIPATE AND MILITARY MUST UNDERSTAND ITS ROLE. THE COUNTRY FACES SEVERE DEMANDS FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF WITH THE RETURN OF BURUNDIANS AND INFLOW OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. KANYENKIKO SAID THE GRB IS MANAGING THE CALM BY VIRTUE OF THE NEW-FOUND COLLABORATION BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS, BUT THERE ARE STILL OLD SOCIAL SUSPICIONS WHICH OFFICIALS ARE MONITORING TO AVOID A REPEAT OF EVENTS AFFECTING RWANDA.

5. A/S SHATTUCK INFORMED THAT THE U.S. WAS LOOKING FOR A MEANS TO ADDRESS THE RWANDAN SITUATION: (1) TO STOP THE CIVILIAN KILLINGS, (2) ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE, AND (3) STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE AND THE SUBREGION FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND PROTECTION. HE HAD SPOKEN TO OTHERS IN THE AREA WHO HAD AGREED ON THESE OBJECTIVES. KANYENKIKO STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AND SUBSCRIBED TO THE FIRST TWO OF THESE OBJECTIVES; BUT, HE STRESSED THAT BURUNDIANS WOULD PREFER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES HUMANITARIAN INVOLVEMENT TO ANY POTENTIAL ROLE WHICH COULD CAUSE A COMBAT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01594

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREL OTRA, BY
SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK DELEGATION MEETS BURUNDI PRESENCE.

INTERIM PRESIDENT'S PERSPECTIVE
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6. FOLLOWING CUSTOMARY PLEASANTRIES, A/S SHATTUCK CONVEYED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MESSAGE AND MADE VIRTUALLY THE SAME PRESENTATION TO INTERIM PRESIDENT SYLVESTRE NTIBANTUNGANYA (HUTU). IN WHAT SEEMED LIKE A REHEARSED MESSAGE FROM THE GRB CABINET,

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NTIBANTUNGANYA EXTOLLED THE USG, USAID AND AMERICAN NGOS FOR THEIR SUPPORT FOR BURUNDI DEMOCRACY AND HIS SPECIAL THANKS FOR THE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE ALREADY ACCORDED TO THE COUNTRY SINCE THE OCTOBER ONSET OF THE CRISIS. BEFORE GETTING TO RWANDA, THE INTERIM PRESIDENT TRACED AT LENGTH THE EVOLUTION OF THE CURRENT CRISIS AND ASKED FOR U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SUPPORT AS BURUNDI CONFRONTS ONCE AGAIN THE IMPORTANT TASK OF CHOOSING A NEW HEAD OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT. ON RWANDA, NTIBANTUNGANYA SPELLED OUT HIS VIEWS IN REACTION TO THE VISIT OF RPF MEMBER PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU. THE PRESIDENT ALLOWED MODESTLY THAT BURUNDI WOULD ASSIST ITS NORTHERN NEIGHBOR AS BEST IT COULD GIVEN ITS OWN CIRCUMSTANCES. (COMMENT: BESIDES EXHORTING RWANDA PROTAGONISTS TO ESTABLISH A CEASEFIRE AND RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, BURUNDI WILL LIKELY BE CONSTRAINED BY ITS PUBLIC PLEDGE OF NEUTRALITY IN THE SITUATION TO PARTICIPATE MORE OVERTLY THAN AN ARUSHA OBSERVER GIVEN REGIONAL SENTIMENTS. COMMENT.)

DEFENSE VIEW

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7. A/S SHATTUCK INFORMED DEFENSE MINISTER GEDEON FYIROKO THAT HE HAD COME AT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S REQUEST TO EXPRESS HIS PERSONAL APPRECIATION FOR ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY THE GRB AND BURUNDI MILITARY IN THE EVACUATION OF RWANDA. HE COMPLIMENTED THE MINISTER ON HIS AND BURUNDI LEADERS' EFFORTS TO KEEP PEACE AND CALM IN THIS COUNTRY. (FYI: ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF LTC BIKOMAGU WAS NOT AVAILABLE DUE TO A SCHEDULE CONFLICT. END FYI.) FYIROKO WAS IMPRESSED WITH THE PERSONAL VISIT AND EXPRESSED HIS PRIDE IN THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN THE HUMANITARIAN EFFORT TO EVACUATE FOREIGNERS FROM RWANDA. HE CALLED THE CURRENT SITUATION THERE A CATASTROPHE AND NOTED THAT SERIOUS PROBLEMS HAD BEEN CREATED BY THOSE FLEEING THE FIGHTING AND KILLING. DAS MCKINLEY INTERJECTED HE WAS HEADED TO NGARA, TANZANIA FOR A FIRST-HAND ASSESSMENT. BURUNDI HAD HAD ITS OWN PROBLEMS WITH KILLINGS HERE AND DID NOT WISH TO FALL VICTIM TO THE MALADY AFFECTING RWANDA, THE MOD SAID. THE GRB IS ATTEMPTING TO DISARM CIVILIANS IN BURUNDI AND TRYING TO IMPROVE THE RAPPORT BETWEEN CIVILIANS AND THE MILITARY; LIKE OTHER QUARTERS OF SOCIETY, THEY (MILITARY) WANT TO SEE A SMOOTH PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROCESS. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM USDEL KAUFMAN, FYIROKO SAID THE AAI-SPONSORED CIVILIAN/MILITARY CONFERENCE IN EARLY 1993 HAD BEEN VERY HELPFUL TO THE BURUNDI MILITARY.

8. COMMENT: IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE MEETINGS WITH BURUNDI LEADERS THAT THEY WERE PLEASED TO BE GIVEN ATTENTION BY THE HIGH-LEVEL SHATTUCK DELEGATION TRAVELLING IN THE REGION. EQUALLY, THEY CONTINUED TO MANIFEST PRIDE IN THE ROLE BURUNDIANS PLAYED IN THE EVACUATION OF AMERICANS FROM RWANDA. BURUNDI LEADERS ALSO CONTINUE TO STRESS THEIR DETERMINATION TO KEEP THE LID ON HERE IN FACE OF EVENTS IN RWANDA. THIS TASK IS NOT MADE EASY WITH CONTINUED

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PURSUIT OF CIVILIAN DISARMAMENT OUTSIDE OF
BUJUMBURA, IN SPITE OF GRB EFFORTS TO IMPROVE
CIVILIAN/MILITARY RELATIONS. END COMMENT.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 01594
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREL OTRA, BY
SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK DELEGATION MEETS BURUNDI
LANGE
BT
#1594
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 1594
<^SSN>1594
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 100043Z MAY 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 100043Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: ****
SUBJ: BACKGROUND BRIEFER ON RWANDA CRISIS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.5a)
VL 10/26/2023

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ STATE 122858
FOR AF A/S MOOSE, DELIVER OOB, FROM AF DAS BUSHNELL
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND BRIEFER ON RWANDA CRISIS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING IS OUR REVISED BRIEFER ON RWANDA, TO BE USED AS BACKGROUND FOR YOUR ORAL BRIEFING OF THE VICE PRESIDENT PRIOR TO THE PLANNED MEETING WITH UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI, OAU SYG SALIM SALIM, AND PRES. MWINYI. (THIS UPDATES THE BACKGROUND PIECE THAT IS IN YOUR BRIEFING BOOK, AND HAS BEEN CLEARED WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICES IN THE DEPARTMENT.) NSC-PREPARED TALKING POINTS ARE BEING SENT FYI VIA SEPTEL O-I, IN CASE YOU DO NOT HAVE A HARD-COPY WITH YOU.

BEGIN TEXT OF BACKGROUND PAPER

BACKGROUND ON RWANDA CRISIS

VIOLENCE ON TWO LEVELS

ON APRIL 6, RWANDAN PRESIDENT JUVENAL HABYARIMANA'S PLANE CRASHED OUTSIDE KIGALI UNDER SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES,

KILLING PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND PRESIDENT CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA OF BURUNDI. THE PLANE WAS PROBABLY SHOT DOWN, BUT THE ATTACKING PARTY IS NOT KNOWN. THIS EVENT SPARKED MASSIVE VIOLENCE ON TWO LEVELS:

FIRST, ELEMENTS OF THE HUTU-DOMINATED RWANDAN MILITARY, HARDLINE HUTU MILITIAS FROM HABYARIMANA'S MRND PARTY AND THE RIGHT-WING CDR PARTY, AND HUTU EXTREMIST GANGS BEGAN KILLING HUTU OPPOSITION POLITICIANS (INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMANA) AND TUTSI OPPOSITION

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LEADERS AND CIVILIANS. THE KILLINGS BEGAN IN KIGALI, BUT EVENTUALLY SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

SECOND, FIGHTING QUICKLY BROKE OUT BETWEEN RWANDAN GOVERNMENV FORCES AND THE TUTSI-DOMINATED REBEL RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF), EFFECTIVELY RESUMING THE CIVIL WAR THAT BEGAN IN OCTOBER 1990 AND WAS TO HAVE ENDED ON AUGUST 4, 1993, WITH THE SIGNING OF THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD. THE RPF HAS ADVANCED STEADILY AND NOW CONTROLS MUCH OF KIGALI AND MUCH OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN PORTIONS OF THE COUNTRY. THE NEWLY CREATED INTERIM GOVERNMENT, MADE UP RIMARILY OF HUTU HARDLINERS, HAS FLED TO GITARAMA, SOUTHWEST OF KIGALI.

STATUS OF CEASE-FIRE TALKS

WITH U.S. ENCOURAGEMENT, THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH SERVED AS HOST AND FACILITATOR OF THE ARUSHA PEACE TALKS, HAS ATTEMPTED TO BRING THE PARTIES BACK TOGETHER TO NEGOTIATE A CEASE-FIRE AND RELAUNCH THE PEACE PROCESS. ON MAY 3, THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF SENT DELEGATIONS TO ATTEND TALKS IN ARUSHA, BUT THE TALKS BROKE DOWN TWO DAYS LATER WHEN THE RPF REFUSED TO SIGN A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT BECAUSE A SIMILAR DOCUMENT WAS TO BE SIGNED BY THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, WHOSE LEGITIMACY THE RPF DOES NOT ACCEPT. THE RPFUWANTS INSTEAD TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE RWANDAN MILITARY COMMAND.

THERE HAVE BEEN SUBSEQUENT REPORTS THAT THE RPF TACITLY AGREED TO A CEASE-FIRE, BUT SIMPLY REFUSED TO SIGN THE DOCUMENT PREPARED AT ARUSHA. RPF REPRESENTATIVES MAY ALSO HAVE SIGNED A MOBUTU-SPONSORED CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT IN ZAIRE, TWO WEEKS AFTER THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SIGNED A SIMILAR DOCUMENT. HOWEVER, THE STATUS OF THESE AGREEMENTS REMAINS UNCLEAR. WITH THE RECESSING OF THE ARUSHA TALKS, THE EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE A CEASE-FIRE HAS MOVED TO KIGALI, WHERE UN COMMANDER DALLAIRE IS TRYING TO BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER AT THE MILITARY COMMAND LEVEL.

THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

THE VIOLENCE HAS LEFT AT LEAST 100,00 DEAD (PROBABLY MORE), DISPLACED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS INTERNALLY, AND FORCED OVER 300,000 RWANDANS TO FLEE TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

THE INTERNAL PROBLEM. AS MANY AS ONE MILLION PERSONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY MAY HAVE BEEN DISPLACED BY THE CONFLICT. FROM WHAT WE UNDERSTAND, THE MOST THREATENED POPULATIONS ARE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES, FROM KIGALI TO THE BURUNDI ORDER. THERE ARE SMALL ENCLAVES OF THREATENED GROUPS GATHERED (TRAPPED) IN PLACES OF REFUGE IN KIGALI AND OTHER AREAS OF RWANDA, ABOVE ALL BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES IN THE SOUTH AND WEST. THESE PEOPLE HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE IN STADIUMS, HOTELS, CHURCHES, AND OTHER DISCRETE LOCATIONS AND CANNOT LEAVE PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF ROAD BLOCKS AND MARAUDING GANGS OF IRREGULAR (HUTU) MILITIA. HUMANITARIAN

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ASSISTANCE CANNOT BE DELIVERED TO THESE GROUPS WITHOUT FACING THE THREAT OF THUGS AND UNCONTROLLED MILITIA. ICRC'S CURRENT TARGET GROUPS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED OR PERSONS IN NEED IS AS FOLLOWS:

KIGALI	25,000
NORTH/NORTHEAST	170,000 (EXPECTED TO TOP 200,000)
SOUTHEAST	200,000
WEST (GITARAMA)	100,000
SOUTH (BUTARE)	NO ESTIMATES AVAILABLE

REFUGEES. CURRENT ESTIMATES AND LOCATIONS OF REFUGEES ARE:

TANZANIA (NGARA, KARAGWE)	250,000
BURUNDI (NORTH)	50,000
ZAIRE (GOMA, BUKAVU)	8,500
GANDA (SOUTHWEST)	5,500

THESE REFUGEES DO NOT FACE ANY IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THEIR SECURITY. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE REPORTS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TRAPPED ON THE RWANDA SIDE OF THE BORDER IN LATE

APRIL, IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER SUCH MASS GROUPINGS STILL EXIST.

THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS. SPECIFIC NEEDS HAVE YET TO BE QUANTIFIED. FOOD, MEDICINES, BLANKETS, AND KITCHEN UTENSILS ARE ALREADY BEING DELIVERED. ICRC REPORTS IT HAS DELIVERED 45 TONS OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO HEALTH FACILITIES WITHIN RWANDA AS WELL AS SUPPLYING SURGICAL TEAMS AND FIELD HOSPITAL FACILITIES. ICRC IS FEEDING 25,000 PEOPLE IN "SAFE HAVENS" IN KIGALI AND CONTINUES TO DISTRIBUTE FOOD TO 60,000 PERSONS IN THE NORTHERN RWANDA. IT HAS ALSO PROVIDED A FIRST FOOD DISTRIBUTION TO 220,000 REFUGEES IN NGARA, TANZANIA. THE UN DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS ISSUED A FLASH APPEAL FOR

DOLLARS 11.5 MILLION TO COVER ORGANIZATIONAL AND START-UP COSTS FOR THE UN AND NGO'S WHICH ANTICIPATE BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE RELIEF EFFORT. ICRC PLANS TO ISSUE AN EMERGENCY APPEAL FOR RWANDA FOR ROUGHLY DOLLARS 43 MILLION AND NEEDS IMMEDIATE CASH CONTRIBUTIONS. UNHCR HAS INDICATED A NEED FOR DOLLARS 38.8 MILLION AND HAS BEGUN AIRLIFTS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO TANZANIA. DISTRIBUTION POSES MAJOR PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF POOR ROADS AND A SHORTAGE OF VEHICLES.

INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION FORCE

GOVERNMENT/RPF VIEWS. RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE BEEN IN RETREAT, AND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD SUPPORT

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ALMOST ANY FORM OF INTERVENTION. THE RPF OPPOSES ANY INTERPOSITIONAL FORCE OR PEACEMAKING OPERATION DESIGNED TO IMPOSE A CEASE-FIRE IN THE CONVENTIONAL WAR. THEY HAVE ALSO SUGGESTED THEY WOULD OPPOSE CREATION OF LARGE PROTECTED AREAS WHERE HUTU EXTREMIST MILITIA AND THUGS MIGHT FLEE TO AVOID RPF RETRIBUTION. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE SAID THEY WOULD SUPPORT AN INTERVENTION DESIGNED TO DELIVER HUMANITARIAN AID AND PROTECT CIVILIANS THREATENED BY THE THUGGERY.

DALLAIRE PROPOSAL. UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE HAS INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT HE WOULD LIKE A FORCE OF 5,000 TO 8,000 TROOPS, WITH A MANDATE TO USE FORCE AS NECESSARY TO ASSURE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND TO PROTECT PERSONS IN THREATENED ENCLAVES. (UN HEADQUARTERS SUGGESTED IN ONE CONVERSATION THAT AN EQUAL NUMBER OF SUPPORT TROOPS WOULD ALSO BE REQUIRED, BUT THIS DOES NOT APPEAR TO PART OF DALLAIRE'S PROPOSAL.) THE FORCE WOULD BE EXPECTED TO BREAK THROUGH ROADBLOCKS MANNED BY HOODLUMS

AND DISARM ROVING GANGS, WHO ARE OFTEN UNTRAINED YOUTHS ARMED ONLY WITH MACHETES. THE FORCE WOULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN TRYING TO STOP OR SOMEHOW PROTECT THE GENERAL POPULATION FROM THE CONVENTIONAL WAR BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND RPF FORCES, WHICH IS CAUSING FAR FEWER CASUALTIES THAN THE MARAUDING GANGS AND MILITIAS.

INITIAL PLANS PROVIDE FOR THE FORCE TO BE STAGED OUT OF KIGALI. FIGHTING CONTINUES IN KIGALI AND THE AIRPORT REMAINS UNSECURE, MAKING MOVEMENT OF TROOPS AND SUPPLIES BY AIR DIFFICULT. DALLAIRE BELIEVES THIS MISSION CAN BE DONE UNDER CHAPTER VI AUTHORITY, ALTHOUGH SOME ANALYSTS SEE THIS AS A CHAPTER VII OPERATION. HE HAS REQUESTED 150 M-LL3 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS TO PROTECT HIS TROOPS. THE TOTAL COST FOR SUCH A FORCE IS ESTIMATED AT DOLLARS 150-200 MILLION PER YEAR.

N CONTINGENCY PLANNING. THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ASKED SYG BOUTROS-BOUTROS GHALI TO PROVIDE CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID FOR RWANDA. THE COUNCIL AGREED TO HOLD OFF ON DISCUSSIONS OF ANY DRAFT RESOLUTIONS OF A POSSIBLE EXPANDED UN PRESENCE UNTIL THE SYG SENDS HIS RESPONSE, WHICH IS NOT EXFECTED BEFORE THE END OF THIS WEEK. BOUTROS GHALI HAS CALLED FOR AN AFRICAN FORCE. NIGERIA HAS OFFERED A BATTALION, TWO OTHER (UNIDENTIFIED) AFRICAN BATTALIONS ARE SAID TO BE AVAILABLE, AND DALLAIRE BELIEVES AUSTRALIA MAY BE WILLING TO PROVIDE AT LEAST 1,000 TROOPS TO UNAMIR.

POSITION OF THE OAU/REGIONAL POWERS. THE OAU WAS DISAPPOINTED WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL'S DECISION TO WITHDRAW THE BULK OF THE UNAMIR FORCES IN THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE CRISIS. OAU SYG SALIM SALIM SUPPORTS AN EXPANDED INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN RWANDA, BUT PREFERS THE OPERATION TO BE UN-LED, WITH THE OAU MERELY HELPING TO IDENTIFY AFRICAN TROOP CONTRIBUTORS IN HIS TRIP TO THE REGION, HA A/S SHATTUCK FOUND GENERAL SUPPORT FOR AN ENHANCED UNAMIR PRESENCE TO MONITOR ANY CEASE-FIRE AND

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PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. THE NAM AND NEW ZEALAND HAVE BOTH CIRCULATED DRAFT RESOLUTIONS THAT CALL FOR A CHAPTER VII UN OPERATION. THE NAM DRAFT WOULD GIVE THE FORCE THE MANDATE TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER IN RWANDA AND ESTABLISH A SECURE ENVIRONMENT FOR RELIEF EFFORTS. THE NEW ZEALAND DRAFT WOULD HAVE THE FORCE PROTECT RELIEF OPERATIONS AND CREATE WEAPONS-FREE ZONES IN WHICH THE UN WOULD PROTECT CIVILIANS.

THE BURUNDI FACTOR. THE BURUNDI INTERIM PRESIDENT SUPPORTS GREATER UN ACTION IN RWANDA. HOWEVER, ANY OPERATION IN RWANDA WHICH WOULD REQUIRE DEPLOYMENT THROUGH BUJUMBURA OR INTO NORTHERN BURUNDI COULD MEET WITH STRONG RESISTANCE FROM THE BURUNDI MILITARY, MIGHT DRAW BURUNDI INTO THE CONFLICT, AND COULD DESTABILIZE BURUNDI.

THE U.S. RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS

HUMANITARIAN. THE U.S. IS EXAMINING SEVERAL OPTIONS TO ADDRESS THE HUMANITARIAN DISASTER, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR A MILITARY OPERATION TO ESTABLISH SECURE ZONES NEAR THE BORDERS IN RWANDA FOR THE PROTECTION OF PERSONS AT RISK AND FOR THE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF UNDER THIS OPTION, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WOULD BE STORED IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND TRANSPORTED INTO THE SECURE ZONES. THE FORCES WOULD BE DEPLOYED OUTSIDE THE IMMEDIATE WAR ZONE, MAKING OPERATIONS AND LOGISTICS LESS DIFFICULT. THE MISSION WOULD DEFEND THE ZONES' PERIMETERS AGAINST INCURSIONS AND, WITHIN THE ZONES, ENFORCE SECURITY, DISARM CIVILIANS AND ESCORT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE SHIPMENTS.

INITIAL INFORMATION WOULD SUGGEST CREATING ZONES NEAR THE SOUTHERN BORDER, SINCE THE MOST THREATENED POPULATIONS SEEM TO BE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES, FROM KIGALI TO THE BURUNDI BORDER. THE PROTECTED ZONES CREATED WOULD NOT ENCOMPASS ENCLAVES OF THREATENED PERSONS IN KIGALI OR OTHER AREAS IN THE INTERIOR. THE SIZE OF THE FORCE COULD RANGE FROM 5,000 (FOR ONE TO TWO ZONES) TO 15,000 (FOR TWO TO FOUR ZONES). THAT WOULD TRANSLATE INTO A MINIMUM ANNUAL EXPENSE OF DOLLARS 150-450 MILLION DEPENDING ON THE NUMBER AND SIZE OF THE ZONES.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED APPROXIMATELY DOLLARS 28 MILLION IN FOOD, RELIEF ITEMS, AND EARMARKED FUNDS TO ORGANIZATIONS ASSISTING BURUNDI REFUGEES AND PERSONS DISPLACED FOLLOWING LAST OCTOBER'S COUP ATTEMPT AND SUBSEQUENT WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE. IN RESPONSE TO THE RWANDA CRISIS, THE ADMINISTRATION AFPROVED DOLLARS 15 MILLION IN ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR NEW RELIEF EFFORTS IN THE AREA AND HAS SET ASIDE AN ADDITIONAL DOLLARS 13 MILLION IN FOOD COMMODITIES FOR THAT PURPOSE. DOD HAS APPROVED AN AIRLIFT OF UNHCR RELIEF SUPPLIES TO TANZANIA, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN MAY 11.

DIPLOMATIC. THE U.S. HAS USED DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE IN AN

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EFFORT TO STOP THE KILLINGS, PUT A CEASE-FIRE IN LACE, AND BRING THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. WE HAVE SPOKEN DIRECTLY TO RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, THE RWANDAN MILITARY, AND THE RPF, IN WASHINGTON, VIA DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS IN OTHER LOCATIONS, AND BY TELEPHONE TO RWANDA AND HAVE REINFORCED THESE PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH IGH-LEVEL PUBLIC APPEALS AND STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

WE HAVE WORKED TO MOBILIZE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HA ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA DAVID RAWSON, AND REFUGEE PROGRAMS DAS BRUNSON MCKINLEY TRAVELED TO THE REGION THE FIRST WEEK IN MAY AND FOUND BROAD SUPPORT FOR AGGRESSIVE MULTILATERAL ACTION TO HELP RWANDA. WE ENCOURAGED THE EFFORTS OF THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT, AS FACILITATOR OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS, TO RECONVENE PEACE TALKS AND SENT AN OBSERVER TO THE MAY 3 TALKS.

THE U.S. ENCOURAGED THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, OTHER REGIONAL STATES, AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO JOIN US IN URGING THE RWANDANS TO AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE AND RESUME TALKS. WE PUSHED FOR APPROVAL OF A STRONG SECURITY COUNCIL STATEMENT, ISSUED APRIL 30, WHICH DEMANDS THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RPF TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS AND CALLS ON ALL STATES TO CEASE SHIPMENTS OF ARMS TO RWANDA. IN THIS REGARD, WE ARE PURSUING A FORMAL ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE ALSO ENCOURAGED INCREASED INVOLVEMENT BY THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER, WHO NOW PLANS TO TRAVEL TO RWANDA. THE CANADIANS HAVE SINCE CALLED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO ADDRESS THE RWANDA CRISIS.

END TEXT OF BACKGROUND PAPER
TALBOTT
BT
#2858
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2858
TOR: 940509205820 M1037759
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 101339Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 101339Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4503
INFO: ****
SUBJ: DISCUSSION WITH GEN. DALLAIRE ON A
- CEASE-FIRE IN RWANDA, MAY 8

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.60)
VZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PARIS 12943
DEPARTMENT FOR HA A/S SHATTUCK AND AF/C FROM RAWSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, FR, RW
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH GEN. DALLAIRE ON A
- CEASE-FIRE IN RWANDA, MAY 8
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. GENERAL DALLAIRE RETURNED MY CALL TO HIM SUNDAY, MAY 8 AROUND 10 PM. HE HAD RECEIVED FROM HIS AIDE A SUMMARY OF YOUR CALL THE DAY BEFORE BUT WAS NOT SURE OF THE CONTEXT OR THE TIMING OF THE CONTACTS YOU HAD DESCRIBED.
3. I REVIEWED FOR THE GENERAL THE BACKGROUND OF OUR DEMARCHE TO RPF SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE RWANDAN MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION, NOTING THE CONSENSUS AMONG REGIONAL LEADERS THAT AN APPROPRIATE FOLLOW UP TO THE ARUSHA DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE CEASE-FIRE TALKS AT THE FIELD COMMANDER LEVEL. I TOLD DALLAIRE THAT WE HAD RECEIVED FORMAL ASSURANCE FROM BOTH RPF AND THE GOR THAT THEY AGREED WITH SUCH AN APPROACH.
4. DALLAIRE SAID THAT FIELD COMMANDERS FELT OUT OF SYNC WITH THEIR POLITICAL AUTHORITIES. KAGAME COMPLAINED THAT PEOPLE WERE RUSHING AROUND SIGNING COMMITMENTS FOR A CEASE-FIRE WITHOUT EVER CLUING HIM INTO WHAT THOSE DOCUMENTS SAID. DALLAIRE HAD HIMSELF NO RECORD OF THE GBADOLITE DOCUMENTS OR THE "UNSIGNED" AGREEMENT FROM ARUSHA. HE HAD, NONETHELESS, PROPOSED TO BOTH SIDES THAT HIS STAFF WORK OUT OPERATIONAL MODALITIES FOR A CEASE-FIRE IN A DOCUMENT AND PRESENT THAT TO BOTH SIDES TO SEE IF ITS PROVISIONS WERE PRACTICAL. AFTER RESPECTIVE STAFFS HAD REVIEWED OR AMENDED THE DOCUMENT, HE WOULD TRY TO CONVENE FIELD COMMANDERS TOGETHER TO REVIEW AND ACCEPT THE DOCUMENT. USING THIS APPROACH, HE MIGHT HAVE AGREEMENT ON CEASE-FIRE MODALITIES BY THE END OF THE WEEK.

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5. DALLAIRE SAID THE COMMANDERS WOULD NEED APPROVAL FROM POLITICAL AUTHORITIES TO GO ALONG WITH THIS APPROACH. I TOLD DALLAIRE THAT POLITICAL AUTHORITIES ON BOTH SIDES HAD ASSURED US THEY FAVORED CEASE-FIRE TALKS IN THE FIELD. IF POLITICAL OBJECTIONS WERE RAISED TO WHAT HE WAS TRYING TO DO, WE WOULD GET BACK TO THOSE AUTHORITIES AND PRESS HARD FOR ACCEPTANCE. FROM WHAT WE UNDERSTOOD FROM THE RESPONSE TO OUR DEMARCHES, HE HAD A GREEN LIGHT TO PRESS FORWARD SWIFTLY IN WORKING OUT CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS.

6. DALLAIRE CONCLUDED OUR CONVERSATION WITH A PLEA FOR SUPPORT ON ENHANCING HIS FORCES. "IF WE DON'T GET TROOPS HERE WITH SOME BETTER EQUIPMENT, THERE IS LITTLE I CAN DO TO TURN THIS SITUATION AROUND," HE ARGUED. I TOLD DALLAIRE THAT WE FAVORED AN ENHANCED INTERNATIONAL FORCE BUT QUESTION ABOUT ITS PURPOSE, SIZE AND MANDATE WERE STILL BEING DISCUSSED.

7. DALLAIRE SAID, WITHOUT ELABORATING, THAT IT HAD BEEN A TOUGH DAY. HE SEEMED, NONETHELESS, IN GOOD SPIRITS, JOKING AND UPBEAT ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF WORKING WITH STAFFS ON BOTH SIDES TO SET UP CEASE-FIRE MODALITIES.

HARRIMAN

BT

#2943

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2943

TOR: 940510101507 M1038795

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SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.61)
VR 10/20/2023

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 101413Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC
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RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC//INR/AF-C// 3603
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2-OC/ECJ2-JIC
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//INTEL//
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2//
RUEHYD/USDAO YAOUNDE CM
SUBJ: BURUNDIAN CHIEF OF STAFF DISCUSSES
- MILITARY SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI
- TROOP DISPOSITION ALONG NORTHERN BORDER
TEXT:
~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 01621
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDIAN CHIEF OF STAFF DISCUSSES
- MILITARY SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI
- TROOP DISPOSITION ALONG NORTHERN BORDER
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE ARMY AND GENDARME CHIEFS OF STAFF GAVE RO THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE MILITARY SITUATION IN RWANDA. THEY ALSO PROVIDED INFORMATION ON BURUNDIAN TROOP DISPOSITIONS ALONG THEIR BORDER WITH RWANDA. END SUMMARY.
3. ON 9 MAY 94 RO MET WITH THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF AND THE NEXT DAY WITH THE GENDARME CHIEF OF STAFF TO DISCUSS AMONG OTHER TOPICS, THE MILITARY SITUATION IN RWANDA AND THE DISPOSITION OF BURUNDIAN MILITARY UNITS ALONG THE BORDER WITH RWANDA.
4. NOT SURPRISINGLY BOTH HAD NEARLY THE SAME INFORMATION ABOUT THE MILITARY SITUATION IN RWANDA. THEY SAID THAT CAMP GAKO (ABOUT 35 KM SOUTHWEST OF KIGALI) HAD BEEN TAKEN BY THE RPF AND THAT RUHENGERI (ABOUT 70 KM NORTHEAST OF KIGALI) WAS ENCIRCLED BY THE RPF BUT THAT RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES STILL HAD POCKETS OF RESISTENCE IN THE CITY. CONCERNING KIGALI, THE GENDARME CHIEF OF STAFF MENTIONED THAT AT 2200 HOURS 9 MAY HE WAS NOTIFIED BY A FRIEND THAT THE RPF WAS BOMBARDING THE RWANDAN ARMY CONTROLLED AREAS OF THE CITY WITH ARTILLERY AND THAT THE ENTIRE CITY MAY SOON FALL UNDER THEIR CONTROL.

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5. BOTH WERE OF THE OPINION THAT ONCE THE RPF SECURED AN AXIS THAT RUNS FROM RUHENGERI TO KIGALI TO CAMP GAKO THEY WILL "PROBABLY" BE SATISFIED AND NOT PRESS FURTHER WEST TO THE ZAIRIAN BORDER. HOWEVER, SHOULD MASSACRES BY RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES CONTINUE IN THE AREAS THEY OCCUPY THE RPF WOULD BE OBLIGED TO CONTINUE THE OFFENSIVE UNTIL THEY CONTROL THE ENTIRE CCUNTRY.
6. THE CHIEFS OF STAFF DID NOT SEEM PARTICULARLY WORRIED ABOUT RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES, PALIPEHUTU. INTERHAMWE OR THE MILITARY WING OF THE CDR (IMPUZAMGAMBI) INFILTRATING INTO BURUNDI. THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF SAID HE HAS SUFFICIENT FORCES IN THE NORTH TO HANDLE ANY PROBLEM THAT MIGHT ARISE. HE OUTLINED THE DISPOSITION OF HIS UNITS IN THE NORTH AS FOLLOWS:
--CIBITOKE - 1 BATTALION (BN)
--KAYANZA - 1 BN PLUS "HALF OF THE LLTH ARMORED RECON BN"
--NGOZI - 1 BN
--KIRUNDO - 1 BN PLUS "SOME UNITS FROM THE LST PARA BN"
--MYINGA - 1 BN
7. (RO COMMENT: RO HAD THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF REPEAT THE ABOVE INFORMATION ON TROOP DISPOSITIONS TO ENSURE IT WAS ACCURATELY RECORDED. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NGOZI WHERE EITHER THE 4TH OR 6TH INFANTRY BN RESIDE, THE OTHER "BNS" LISTED ARE ACTUALLY MILITARY CAMPS WHICH REPORTEDLY HAVE 300 TO 500 PERSONNEL FROM VARIOUS SERVICES.)
8. THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF STATED THAT THE ABOVE LISTED UNITS ARE PERMANENTLY STATIONED IN THE NORTH WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ELEMENTS OF THE LLTH ARMORED RECON BN AND LST PARACHUTE BATTALION WHICH WERE SENT TO THE NORTH "SEVERAL MONTHS AGO". (RO COMMENT: RO BELIEVES THAT DUE TO THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE 21 OCT 93 COUP ATTEMPT THE LLTH ARMORED RECON BN AND THE LST PARACHUTE BATTALION WERE, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY, BANISHED FROM THEIR HOME BASE IN BUJUMBURA.) THE GENDARME CHIEF OF STAFF STATED THAT HE HAS NO REINFORCING GENDARME UNITS IN THE NORTH, ONLY THOSE UNITS THAT ARE PERMANENTLY BASED THERE.
9. COMMENTS: RO'S IMPRESSION IS THAT THE TUTSI
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 01621
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDIAN CHIEF OF STAFF DISCUSSES
OFFICER CORPS IN BURUNDI IS WELL INFORMED ABOUT THE MILITARY SITUATION IN RWANDA AND THAT THEY ALSO PROBABLY HAVE A GOOD IDEA OF THE RPF'S MILITARY INTENTIONS IN RWANDA. THEREFORE, THE CHIEFS OF STAFF BELIEF THAT THE RPF WILL NOT PUSH BEYOND THE RUHENGERI-KIGALI-CAMP GAKO AXIS, UNLESS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY, IS PROBABLY CORRECT.
10. RO WAS SOMEWHAT SURPRISED BY THE LACK OF CONCERN SHOWN BY THE CHIEFS OF STAFF FOR THE POSSIBLE INFILTRATION OF "ANTI-TUTSI" MILITARY FORCES FROM RWANDA. BOTH INSTEAD WERE MUCH MORE

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PREOCCUPIED WITH THEIR OWN RECENT MILITARY EFFORTS
TO DISARM THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN BUJUMBURA AND
THE SURROUNDING HILLS.
LANGE
BT
#1621
NNNN

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

SSN: 1621
<^SSN>1621

TOR: 940510131907 M1039261
<^TOR>940510131918 M1039267

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHFRA2973 1301630-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 101629Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 101629Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4529
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 7304
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 6525
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0445
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 1678
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 6565
RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 7963
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 1012
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 2943
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0490
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1011
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 3959
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS WITH
- THE GOF AND FRENCH NGO'S ON RWANDA, MAY 9-10

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.62)
VL 10/23/2023

TEXT:
~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 12973
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, EAID, RW, BY, FR
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS WITH
- THE GOF AND FRENCH NGO'S ON RWANDA, MAY 9-10
REF: A) PARIS 12299 B) PARIS 12197 C) PARIS 12915
D) STATE 119480 E) PERLOW-BUSHNELL TELECON, 4-9
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY
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2. AMBASSADOR RAWSON MET WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS FROM THE QUAI AND THE ELYSEE ON MAY 9-10 TO BRIEF ON THE VISIT OF A/S SHATTUCK TO RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS AND TO GENEVA AND TO ENCOURAGE THE FRENCH TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ROLE IN ATTEMPTING TO STOP THE MASSACRES AND FIGHTING IN RWANDA. WHILE THE FRENCH FULLY SHARE OUR OBJECTIVE OF BRINGING AN END TO THE MASSACRES AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, WE RECEIVED NO INDICATION THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO ISSUE FURTHER PUBLIC STATEMENTS OR TO APPLY PRESSURE ON RWANDAN MILITARY LEADERS. THE GOF WILL REVIEW ITS STRATEGY ONCE AMBASSADOR MARLAUD HAS COMPLETED HIS REGIONAL DISCUSSIONS BUT THE OUTLINES OF GOF THINKING ARE CLEAR (REFS A AND B): EMPHASIZE A REGIONAL STRATEGY -- INCLUDING A SIGNIFICANT ROLE FOR MOBUTU -- IN HOPES OF FURTHERING A LONG TERM SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.
3. RAWSON ALSO MET WITH OFFICIALS FROM THE MINISTRY OF

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS, MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES/FRANCE (MSF/F) AND AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. EXCHANGES ON A POSSIBLE SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION ON RWANDA HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN REF (C). END SUMMARY.

4. DURING HIS MAY 9-10 STOP IN PARIS, AMBASSADOR RAWSON MET WITH THE ACTING DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS AT THE QUAI, YANNICK GERARD, AND CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, OFFICE DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, AS WELL AS DOMINIQUE PIN, ELYSEE ADVISOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS. HE BRIEFED THE FRENCH ON THE MAIN POINTS OF HA A/S SHATTUCK'S DISCUSSIONS WITH RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS, TALKS WITH OAU SYG SALIM SALIM AND IN GENEVA WITH THE ICRC AND UN ORGANIZATIONS.

RESULTS OF THE SHATTUCK MISSION

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5. RAWSON NOTED THAT SHATTUCK'S DISCUSSIONS WITH REGIONAL LEADERS, WERE NOT AS DISCOURAGING AS THEY INITIALLY SEEMED SINCE IT IS CLEAR THAT BOTH SIDES IN THE RWANDA CONFLICT HAVE AGREED TO THE IDEA OF A CEASE-FIRE. THE MAIN STUMBLING BLOCK IS THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE RPF TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT, HE STATED. THIS MEANS THAT ARRANGEMENTS MUST BE MADE BY FIELD COMMANDERS, BASED ON PRINCIPLES AGREED TO BY THE RESPECTIVE LEADERSHIPS. THE BURDEN OF CARRYING THIS OUT WILL FALL ON UNAMIR COMMANDER GEN. DELLAIRE, WHO BELIEVES THAT HE CAN HAVE A WORKING-LEVEL DOCUMENT READY SHORTLY.

6. RAWSON NOTED THAT CONSENSUS SEEMS TO EXIST AMONG REGIONAL LEADERS ON THREE MAIN POINTS:

-- THE KILLINGS MUST STOP. THEY ARE AN AFFRONT TO ALL AFRICANS. MOVING TO A CEASE-FIRE MAY HELP THIS HAPPEN. (MUSEVENI REAFFIRMED HIS WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE PRESSURE ON THE RPF TO AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE.)

-- THIS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY A REGIONAL "SUMMIT," AN IDEA CONTAINED IN THE SEPARATE DOCUMENTS PRODUCED AT GBADOLITE. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE SUMMIT WOULD BE TO OUTLINE MODALITIES FOR A DURABLE AGREEMENT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 PARIS 12973

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, EAID, RW, BY, FR

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS WITH - THE GOF AND FRENCH NGO'S ON RWANDA, MAY 9-10

TO END THE FIGHTING.

-- A CEASE-FIRE WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE FOR HUMANITARIAN PROTECTION AND THE INITIATIVE OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT.

A REGIONAL SOLUTION?

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7. THE FRENCH EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR SUCH AN APPROACH AND CAREFULLY UNDERLINED THAT, WHILE TANZANIA SHOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE SINCE IT IS THE MOST "DISINTERESTED" OF THE REGIONAL STATES, ALL RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS -- INCLUDING ZAIRE -- MUST PARTICIPATE FULLY SINCE EACH OF THEM IS CAPABLE OF SABOTAGING ANY SETTLEMENT, OR OF INTERNATIONALIZING THE CONFLICT. BOIVINEAU EXPRESSED PARTICULAR CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF THE RPF TAKING CONTROL OF THE BORDER AREA CONTIGUOUS TO BURUNDI, AND RECEIVING SUPPORT FROM

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THE BURUNDIAN ARMY.
8. THE FRENCH, AFTER CAREFULLY REAFFIRMING THE NEED FOR A STRONG AFRICAN PRESENCE IN ANY INTERNATIONAL FORCE, UNDERLINED THEIR FAMILIAR HESITATIONS ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE OAU TO MANAGE A PKO OF THE SIZE AND COMPLEXITY THAT WILL BE REQUIRED IN RWANDA. RAWSON NOTED THAT OAU SYG SALIM SALIM STRESSED HIS WILLINGNESS TO IDENTIFY AFRICAN TROOPS FOR AN ENLARGED PKO. HOWEVER, HE ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT THE OAU, WITH ITS LIMITED RESOURCES AND EXPERIENCE, CAN NOT BE ASKED TO TAKE OVER IN MID-STREAM A FAILED UN OPERATION. THE OAU, SALIM ASSURED SHATTUCK, WILL WORK WITHIN A UN CONTEXT.
TOWARD UNAMIR II?
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9. THE FRENCH ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE OBJECTIVES OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN RWANDA AND ASKED IF THE USG KNEW WHAT WE EXPECTED THE PKO TO ACCOMPLISH. MARK PLUM, HA ADVISOR TO THE MINISTER OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, NOTED THAT THE NGO COMMUNITY IS DIVIDED, WITH SOME (LIKE MSF/F) FAVORING PROTECTION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND OF A SPECIFIC NUMBER OF SITES, (SUCH AS FEEDING CENTERS AND HOSPITALS) WHILE OTHER NGOS WISHED TO SEE UN PROTECTION OF CONVOYS AND HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS THROUGHOUT RWANDA. PLUM, RECALLING EXPERIENCES IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA, NOTED THAT THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO SUPPORT WITHIN THE GOF FOR THE LATTER OPTION. RAWSON ADDED THAT GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE CONFLICT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO OFFER PROTECTION TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION WITHOUT PUTTING A SQUAD OF SOLDIERS IN EACH VILLAGE -- AN OBVIOUS IMPOSSIBILITY.
10. RAWSON NOTED THAT WHILE SOME ELEMENTS OF THE RPF HAVE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL FORCE, IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US WHETHER THEY SPEAK FOR THE ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE AND THE SAME PROBLEM EXISTS ON THE GOR SIDE. OTHER ELEMENTS IN THE RPF CAN ACCEPT A UN HUMANITARIAN FORCE BUT ARE ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO UNSYG BOUTROS GHALI'S PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERPOSITION FORCE SINCE THE DE FACTO OUTCOME WOULD BE TO STABILIZE THE HUTU DOMINATED MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT. RAWSON CONTINUED THAT WHILE THERE IS CONSENSUS IN NEIGHBORING CAPITALS FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL FORCE, THE GOB AND ARMY ARE AMBIGUOUS IN THEIR SUPPORT.
~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 PARIS 12973
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, EAID, RW, BY, FR
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS WITH - THE GOF AND FRENCH NGO'S ON RWANDA, MAY 9-10 ARMS FLOWS AND MILITARY STATUS
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11. WE REITERATED OUR CONCERNS OVER THE FLOW OF ARMS FROM UGANDA (TO THE RPF) AND FROM ZAIRE (TO THE RWANDAN ARMY; FAR). RAWSON NOTED THAT MUSEVENI CONTINUES TO DENY THAT ANY RESUPPLY IS BEING CARRIED OUT FROM UGANDA. PIN NOTED THAT FRENCH INTELLIGENCE BELIEVES THAT THE FAR IS JUST ABOUT OUT OF MUNITIONS, SOMETHING THAT SHOULD PRESS THE GOR TOWARD A COMPROMISE.

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BOIVINEAU LATER ADDED THAT THE GOF WOULD SUPPORT A UN CALL FOR AN ARMS EMBARGO. RAWSON NOTED THAT THE TANZANIANS SEEMED CONCERNED ABOUT THE RELATIVE WEAKNESS OF FAR TROOPS AND SEEM TO BE CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF RESUPPLY IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE RPF FROM GAINING A DOMINANT MILITARY POSITION AND THEN REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE.

12. RAWSON NOTED THAT, WHILE THE SITUATION IN THE FIELD REMAINS UNCLEAR, IT SEEMS THAT THE RPF OFFENSIVE IS SLOWING DOWN AND HAVING DIFFICULTY TAKING THE MORE HEAVILY FORTIFIED AREAS IN AND AROUND KIGALI. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, WE ARE FAR FROM CERTAIN WHETHER THIS SLOWING IS DELIBERATE ON THE PART OF THE RPF. IT COULD BE A TACTIC TO ALLOW THE RPF TO REBUILD STOCKS OR TO ALLOW THE FAR TIME TO FLEE. DOMINIQUE PIN NOTED THAT THE FAR HAS FOUGHT BETTER THAN ANYONE COULD HAVE PREDICTED -- SOMETHING THAT OUGHT TO GIVE PAUSE TO THE RPF IF THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN TAKE OVER THE COUNTRY WITHOUT PROVOKING AN ARMED RESISTANCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND EVEN MORE MASSACRES.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DIPLOMACY

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13. DRAWING ON GUIDANCE IN REFS (D) AND (E) CONCERNING ADDITIONAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS, WE ASKED BOTH THE ELYSEE AND THE QUAI ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE GOF MAKING ADDITIONAL PUBLIC DECLARATIONS CONCERNING THE NEED FOR AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE MASSACRES AND A CEASE-FIRE. WE ALSO ASKED IF THE GOF WOULD USE ITS MILITARY-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS TO URGE THAT FIGHTING STOP IMMEDIATELY. IN RESPONSE, WE WERE GIVEN A VARIETY OF EXPLANATIONS WHY THE GOF HAS DONE AS MUCH AS IT CAN:

-- THE GOF TRADITIONALLY DOES NOT RELY ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TO THE EXTENT THAT THE USG DOES (ESPECIALLY WHEN DEALING WITH FRANCOPHONE AFRICA STATES) AND IN THIS CASE, IT IS NOT EVIDENT THAT PAST PUBLIC STATEMENTS (INCLUDING THOSE OF FRANCE) HAVE HAD ANY IMPACT WHATSOEVER.

-- THE GOF HAS ALREADY TOLD THE GOR FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THE MASSACRES MUST STOP IMMEDIATELY. HOWEVER, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ARMY (NOT TO MENTION THE MILITIAS) IS NOT CLEAR. AMBASSASOR MARLAUD IS REPEATING THE MESSAGE DURING EACH MEETING WITH GOR REPRESENTATIVES.

-- THE GOF WILL CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS ONCE AMBASSADOR MARLAUD HAS COMPLETED HIS MISSION AND REPORTS TO THE GOF.

-- THE GOF HAS HAD VERY LITTLE CONTACT WITH RWANDA'S MILITARY LEADERS SINCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH FORCES FOLLOWING THE EVACUATION, AND THE ABILITY OF THE GOF TO INFLUENCE THE HUTU-LED ARMY SHOULD NOT BE OVERESTIMATED.

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 PARIS 12973

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, EAID, RW, BY, FR

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS WITH - THE GOF AND FRENCH NGO'S ON RWANDA, MAY 9-10

COMMENT

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14. WHILE OUR SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR ADDITIONAL GOF

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STATEMENTS AND PRESSURE ON THE RWANDAN MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT WERE NOT TURNED DOWN, THEY WERE ANSWERED BY PROLONGED SILENCE AS THE QUAI OFFICIALS FROM THREE DIFFERENT BUREAUS (IO, AFRICA, HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS) CAREFULLY INSPECTED THEIR SHOE TOPS. WE SUGGEST THAT A/S MOOSE RAISE THE ISSUE AGAIN WITH DE LA SABLIERE DURING THE MAY 13 MEETING IN BRUSSELS, SINCE THE FRENCH ARE AWARE THAT WE WILL WANT TO ISSUE A STATEMENT AT THE END OF THE TRILATERAL MEETING. WE WILL PROVIDE AN ANALYSIS OF FRENCH POLICY RE RWANDA VIA SEPTEL, PRIOR TO THE BRUSSELS MEETING.

15. AMBASSADOR RAWSON CLEARED THIS MESSAGE PRIOR TO DEPARTURE.

16. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

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#2973

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 2973
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2011-0262-M-2 (2.63)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: O 110628Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
OSRI: RUEHKO
DTG: 110628Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0192
ZEN//INFO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1416
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1230
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0106
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0933
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0287
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0077
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0113
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0018
INFO: ****
SUBJ: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: CALL FOR
- SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ TOKYO 06302
DEPT: PLS PASS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: AORC, PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW, JA
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: CALL FOR
- SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
REF: STATE 122881
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. WE CARRIED OUT REFTEL DEMARCHE ON MAY 11 ON MOFA HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFUGEES DIVISION DEPUTY DIRECTOR MISAWA. MISAWA WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE ISSUE, HAVING BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE GOJ GENEVA MISSION CONCERNING RWANDA.
3. MISAWA SAID THAT JAPAN IS INCLINED TO SUPPORT THE CALL FOR A SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA AND HE SAW NO REASON NOT TO SUPPORT THE MEASURE. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT HIS OFFICE WOULD HAVE TO RUN THE MATTER BUREAUCRATICALLY THROUGH THE MOFA DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE 2ND AFRICA DIVISION, WHICH HAS GEOGRAPHIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR RWANDA.
4. MISAWA SAID THAT HE EXPECTED A DECISION TO BE MADE BEFORE THIS WEEKEND AND WOULD TRY TO INFORM US ONCE IT IS MADE. HE SAID THAT THE GOJ GENEVA MISSION WOULD ALSO BE IN CONTACT ON THIS ISSUE WITH ITS DIPLOMATIC COUNTERPARTS IN GENEVA.
MONDALE##
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#6302

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6302
TOR: 940511023746 M1040358
DIST:
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2011-0262-M-2 (2.4)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDRA2922 1311016-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 111016Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 111016Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0277
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4672
INFO: RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 6035
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0689
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1091
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 6646
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4551
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4771
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 1229
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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8717
RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 0269
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE 4502
SUBJ: RWANDA CRISIS: POSSIBLE REGIONAL SUMMIT
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 002922
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, TZ, CG
SUBJECT: RWANDA CRISIS: POSSIBLE REGIONAL SUMMIT
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ACCORDING TO THE ZAIREAN AMBASSADOR TO TANZANIA, THERE WILL PROBABLY BE A REGIONAL SUMMIT THIS WEEKEND AT GOMA, ZAIRE, TO COORDINATE ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE RWANDA CRISIS. THE ZAIREAN AMBASSADOR CLAIMED PRESIDENTS MOBUTU, MWINYI AND MUSEVENI WOULD PARTICIPATE. THE PURPOSE, HE STATED, WOULD BE TO TRY TO MELD THE VARIOUS INITIATIVES ON RWANDA, AND TO STRENGTHEN MWINYI'S ROLE AS FACILITATOR. THE LEADERS, CURRENTLY IN PRETORIA FOR THE MANDELA INAUGURATION, ARE TO CONFIRM THE DETAILS THERE.
3. TANZANIAN MFA OFFICIALS ARE SKEPTICAL OF THE PURPOSE OF THE SUMMIT, AND WONDER IF IT WILL INDEED OCCUR. THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THE NEED FOR COORDINATION AMONG "THE MEDIATOR" (MOBUTU), "THE FACILITATOR" (MWINYI) AND "THE ASSITANT" (MUSEVENI), BUT SEE MOBUTU'S ATTEMPTING TO SEIZE THE LEADERSHIP ROLE ONCE AGAIN.
4. COMMENT: AS TANZANIAN PRIME MINISTER MALECELA UNDERSCORED RECENTLY, WHATEVER UNWANTED BAGGAGE MOBUTU

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MIGHT BRING, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO INCLUDE HIM IN THE RWANDA PEACE PROCESS OR ELSE HE WILL BECOME "A SPOILER FOR SURE." THE TANZANIANS ALSO BELIEVE THAT MUSEVENI COULD BRING EVEN GREATER PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE RPF TO BE MORE COOPERATIVE. GOT OFFICIALS CLOSE TO THE ARUSHA TALKS CLAIMED THE RPF INITIALLY HAD AGREED TO SIGN THE CEASE-FIRE DOCUMENT, BUT BACKED AWAY AFTER TALKING WITH THE UGANDAN PRESIDENT.
5. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED DE VOS
BT
#2922
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2922

TOR: 940511063214 M1040672

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 111153Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4609
INFO: RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 0406
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK IMMEDIATE 0521
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7313
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0449
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6529
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 2947
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 1016
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1023
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1687
SUBJ: DEALING WITH THE FRENCH ON RWANDA: SHARED - OBJECTIVES, DIFFERENT LOGIC

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262.M-2 (7.65)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 13062
WINDHOEK AND BRUSSELS FOR A/S MOOSE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, RW, FR
SUBJECT: DEALING WITH THE FRENCH ON RWANDA: SHARED - OBJECTIVES, DIFFERENT LOGIC
REF: PARIS 12973 AND PREVIOUS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN PREPARATION FOR THE MAY 13 TALKS ON CENTRAL AFRICA IN BRUSSELS, WE WOULD LIKE TO PULL TOGETHER IN ONE MESSAGE THE CRITICAL ELEMENTS OF OUR REPORTING AND ANALYSIS ON FRENCH INVOLVEMENT IN THE RWANDA CRISIS. THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND GOF THINKING HAS BEEN A SEARCH FOR EQUILIBRIUM IN AN INHERENTLY UNSTABLE REGION WHERE FRENCH INFLUENCE AND INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE. IN THE GOF VIEW, THE RPF DRIVE FOR POWER SINCE 1990 IS AT THE HEART OF THE CRISIS. THUS, FROM THE FRENCH PERSPECTIVE IT IS THE RPF'S RESPONSIBILITY TO BREAK THE CHAIN OF TRAGIC STEPS. FURTHERMORE, THE GOF GENUINELY SEES THIS AS A "FRANCOPHONE" ISSUE WHERE THE INTERESTS OF ITS REGIONAL FRIENDS -- INCLUDING MOBUTU -- MUST NOT BE IGNORED. END SUMMARY.
PERSONAL TIES
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3. FRANCE HAD A LONG AND TANGLED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HABYARIMANA GOVERNMENT. HABYARIMANA REPORTEDLY SUPPORTED PRESIDENT MITTERRAND'S DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE AT LA BAULE, INCLUDING IN DIFFICULT CLOSED-DOOR SESSIONS, THUS CEMENTING A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

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THE TWO MEN. THERE ARE STRONG, CREDIBLE RUMORS THAT FORMER ELYSEE COUNSELOR AND SON OF THE PRESIDENT JEAN-CHRISTOPHE MITTERRAND, WAS INVOLVED (OR AT LEAST AUTHORIZED) PRIVATE ARMS SALES TO RWANDA AS WELL AS PERSONAL BUSINESS DEALS. THE ARMS DEALS, CARRIED OUT REPORTEDLY RESULTED IN A HUGE SURPLUS OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION IN THE HANDS OF HUTU MILITIAS.

THE BASIS OF FRENCH THINKING ON RWANDA

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4. IN THE FRENCH VIEW, THE RPF OFFENSIVE IS "UNREASONABLE" SINCE THE TUTSIS ARE NOT AN ETHNIC OR POLITICAL MAJORITY IN RWANDA. THE RPF COULD NEVER HOPE TO GOVERN RWANDA, EVEN IT IT MANAGED TO DEFEAT THE HUTU-CONTROLLED ARMY. THUS, THE RPF INVASION STARTING IN 1990 MADE THE CURRENT ETHNIC STRIFE ALMOST INEVITABLE IN THE FRENCH VIEW. HABYARIMANA'S DEATH AND THE RESULTING RPF OFFENSIVE WAS THE PROXIMATE CAUSE.

5. FRANCES'S OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE SINCE THE START OF THE 1990 RPF ATTACKS IN 1990 HAS BEEN TO STABILIZE THE REGION. THE GOF MILITARY INTERVENTION TO IN 1992-93 WAS NOT/NOT INTENDED ENSURE A CONTINUED HUTU SUPREMACY BUT RATHER TO TO SHORE-UP A WEAKENED HABYARIMANA LONG-ENOUGH TO PERMIT HIM TO NEGOTIATE A POWER-SHARING AGREEMENT WITH THE RPF.

6. THE FRENCH MILITARY INTERVENTION EVENTUALLY CAME TO BE SEEN AS AN MAJOR DIPLOMATIC MISTAKE SINCE IT LEFT FRENCH FORCES DANGEROUSLY EXPOSED IN THE MIDDLE OF A CIVIL WAR. FRANCE MILITARY FORCE COULD NOT BE USED TO BRING BRING THE REBELS TO THE TABLE WITHOUT ATTACKING RPF BASES IN UGANDA, AN UNTHINKABLE OPTION. YET, IF THE SITUATION DETERIORATED INTO AN ETHNIC WAR, PARIS STOOD TO GET MUCH OF THE BLAME. THIS EXPERIENCE HAS MADE THE GOF VERY WARY OF AGAIN PLACING TROOPS IN RWANDA, EVEN UNDER A UN FLAG.

ARUSHA

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 13062

WINDHOEK AND BRUSSELS FOR A/S MOOSE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, RW, FR

SUBJECT: DEALING WITH THE FRENCH ON RWANDA: SHARED - OBJECTIVES, DIFFERENT LOGIC

7. DESPITE STRONG DOUBTS ABOUT THE BALANCE OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY POWER GIVEN TO THE RPF IN THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, THE GOF CONSIDERED AN AGREEMENT ESSENTIAL NOT ONLY FOR RWANDA'S AND REGIONAL STABILITY BUT ALSO AS A BASIS FOR EXTRICATING GOF FORCES. IN HINDSIGHT, THE GOF BELIEVES THAT THE "EXCESSIVE" REPRESENTATION GIVEN TO THE RPF MADE A REACTION AMONG HUTU HARDLINERS "INEVITABLE." IN ANY NEW NEGOTIATIONS, HHE GOF WILL PROBABLY LEAN TOWARD A MORE "BALANCED" OUTCOME.

RIVALRIES

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8. THE COMMON WISDOM CONCERNING A FRANCO-BELGIAN RIVALRY FOR POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE FORMER BELGIAN COLONIES SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A MAJOR ELEMENT IN FRENCH THINKING CONCERNING RWANDA. FROM A GOF

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PERSPECTIVE, THE RIVALRY QUESTION HAS LONG SINCE BEEN RESOLVED IN PARIS' FAVOR, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE GREATER AID RESOURCES THE GOF BRINGS TO THE TABLE. SINCE FRENCH ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE SLIGHT AND UNLIKELY TO GROW SIGNIFICANTLY, THERE IS NO ECONOMIC RIVALRY EITHER.

MUSEVENI, MOBUTU AND FRANCOPHONE CONSIDERATIONS

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9. GOF AFRICANISTS HAVE NEVER BOTHERED TO CONCEAL THEIR DISLIKE OR DISTRUST OF MUSEVENI AND CONTINUE TO SEE HIM AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF "ANGLO-SAXON INTERESTS," EVEN IF THE GOF WOULD BE HARD PRESSED TO STATE WHAT THOSE MIGHT BE. THE FRENCH ANTIPATHY IS FED IN PART, WE BELIEVE, BY THE GOF'S INABILITY TO INFLUENCE MUSEVENI -- UNLIKE HIS MORE DEFERENTIAL FRANCOPHONE COUNTERPARTS.

10. FRENCH AFRICANISTS CONTINUE TO SEE RWANDA AS A "FRANCOPHONE" PROBLEM THAT SHOULD NOT BE RESOLVED (ENTIRELY) BY ANGLOPHONES -- AN IMPORTANT FAULT IN THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. MOBUTU'S PARISIAN FRIENDS (AND SOME OF HIS FORMER ENEMIES WHO ARE REELING FROM EVENTS IN RWANDA) HAVE SEIZED ON THIS SITUATION TO ARGUE THAT ZAIRE REPRESENTS A (RELATIVE) ISLAND OF STABILITY AND THE GOF SHOULD HELP REINTEGRATE "LE GUIDE" THROUGH A REGIONAL POLICY ON RWANDA (AS STARTED IN MAURITIUS AT THE FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT.) AT A MINIMUM, MOBUTU'S SUPPORTERS ARE ARGUING THAT HE MUST PLAY A ROLE EQUAL TO MUSEVENI'S -- OR NO DURABLE SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE SINCE MOBUTU CAN AID HUTU EXTREMISTS.

WHAT DO THE FRENCH WANT -- AND WHAT WILL THEY DO?

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11. THE FRENCH ARE NOW MIRED IN A POLICY FRAMEWORK THAT HAS LITTLE RELEVANCE TO CURRENT CONDITIONS. THE DEATH OF HABYARIMANA HAS BROKEN THE OLD PERSONAL LINK AND FRANCE WILL NOT WISH TO BE SEEN AS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT GIVEN ITS COMPOSITION AND ASSOCIATION WITH THE ATROCITIES. THE GOF WILL TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE RPF IS AS GUILTY AS THE HUTUS OF COMMITTING ATROCITIES. FOR REASONS OF COHERENCE AND CONSISTENCY, THE RPF WILL REMAIN "THE ENEMY," THUS REDUCING THE USEFUL MEDIATING ROLE FRANCE COULD OTHERWISE PLAY. GIVEN THE GOF LOGIC AND PAST EVENTS, THEY WILL REMAIN TACITLY (IF RELUCTANTLY) TIED TO THE HUTUS AS THE DOMINANT POLITICAL FORCE IN RWANDA.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 13062

WINDHOEK AND BRUSSELS FOR A/S MOOSE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, RW, FR

SUBJECT: DEALING WITH THE FRENCH ON RWANDA: SHARED - OBJECTIVES, DIFFERENT LOGIC

12. IN THE ABSENCE OF A MEDIA CAMPAIGN OR PARLIAMENTARY PRODDING, THERE IS LITTLE PRESSURE ON THE GOF TO ACT, EXCEPT TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. OVERALL FRENCH OBJECTIVES IN RWANDA ARE, IN FACT, CLOSE TO OURS: STOP THE MASSACRES; ARRANGE A CEASE-FIRE; CONVENE A REGIONAL CONFERENCE THAT WILL PERMIT HUMANITARIAN AID TO BEGIN. EXPRESSING LOATHING FOR THE MASSACRES. THEY

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WILL CONTINUE TO BLAME MUSEVENI -- NO MATTER WHAT HE DOES -- FOR THE RPF'S ACTIONS AND THUS, INDIRECTLY, FOR THE MASSACRES.

13. THE FRENCH SUPPORT, IN PRINCIPLE, A NEW UN FORCE IN RWANDA BUT DO NOT AGREE WITH THE UNSYG'S IDEA OF AN INTERPOSITION FORCE UNTIL THERE IS AN EFFECTIVE CEASE-FIRE. IN THE ABSENC OF A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT, THE GOF IS OPEN TO ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF CARRYING OUT EMERGENCY AID IN RWANDA. AT A MINIMUM, THEY WOULD INSIST ON AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE HUMANITARIAN MEASURES.

14. THE GOF WOULD SUPPORT A UN ARMS EMBARGO SINCE OFFICIAL AID HAS STOPPED. THE REAL IMPACT FOR FRANCE WOULD BE SLIGHT IS SLIGHT AND IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT PREVENT FRENCH PRIVATE SALES FROM CONTINUING, WITH A WINK FROM THE GOF. THE GOF WILL SUPPORT A UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA BUT MOVE CAUTIOUSLY. THE FRENCH WILL LIKELY INSIST THAT THE FOCUS OF INVESTIGATIONS BE ON "INDIVIDUALS" IN ORDER TO SPARE HUTU ORGANIZATIONS AND GOR INSTITUTIONS FROM A CLOSE SCRUTINY. IN FRENCH THINKING, SHOULD HUTU INSTITUTIONS COME UNDER INTERNATIONAL "ATTACK", IT COULD OVERTURN PROGRESS MADE ON REESTABLISHING STABILITY.

15. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

BT

#3062

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 3062
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<^TOR>940511080305 M1040872

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS VAX

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
OSRI: RUFHGI
DTG: 111238Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BANGUI
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INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0016
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0300
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0308
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0455
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0126
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0176
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8048
SUBJ: FRENCH MILITARY COMMENT ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BANGUI 001768
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH MILITARY COMMENT ON RWANDA
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. THREE FRENCH MILITARY OFFICERS FAMILIAR WITH THE RWANDAN CRISIS OFFERED UNSOLICITED COMMENTS ON THEIR VIEW OF THE SITUATION AT A RECENT RECEPTION. THEY ESPOUSED A NUMBER OF CONSPIRACY THEORIES THAT IMPLICATED BELGIAN TROOPS, MERCENARIES, AND THE UGANDAN REGULAR ARMY IN THE COMBAT. WHILE THEY DID NOT CLAIM TO BE MOUTHING THE OFFICIAL FRENCH PARTY LINE, THEIR COMMENTS INDICATE A STRONG PRO-RWANDAN GOVERNMENT SENTIMENT AMONG THE FRENCH MILITARY HERE. END SUMMARY.
3. COMMANDANT CHRISTIAN REFALO, SENIOR FRENCH ADVISER TO CARG PRESIDENTIAL SECURITY AND FORMER MILITARY ADVISER TO THE LATE PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, AND TWO FRENCH MILITARY GARRISON (EFAO) OFFICERS -- COMMANDANTS ROY AND MANAUTE -- WHO ASSISTED WITH THE FRENCH EVACUATION FROM KIGALI, COMMENTED AT LENGTH ON THEIR VIEWS OF THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF THE ONGOING CONFLICT IN RWANDA. THEY STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT THE RPF SHOT DOWN HABYARIMANA'S AIRCRAFT WITH AN SA-7 GRAIL. ONE SAID THAT A C-160 TRANSALL PILOT HAD REPORTED AN SA-7 LAUNCH AT HIS AIRCRAFT DURING THE EVACUATION; HE HAD SUPPOSEDLY DEDUCED FROM ITS TRAJECTORY AND SPEED THAT THE MISSILE WAS A GRAIL THAT FAILED TO LOCK ON. THEY CLAIMED THAT ONLY THE RPF POSSESSED SUCH WEAPONS.
4. THEIR COMMENTS ON THE CONFLICT WERE HEAVILY

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DOSED WITH CONSPIRACY THEORY, INCLUDING AN ACCUSATION THAT BELGIANS FORCES HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE SHOOTDOWN OF THE AIRCRAFT. THEY CLAIMED THAT "WHITE" MERCENARIES -- ANGO-SAXONS? -- AND FIVE BATTALIONS OF UGANDAN REGULAR ARMY TROOPS WERE PRESENTLY ENGAGED ON THE BATTLEFIELD. ROY CLAIMED THAT INTELLIGENCE REPORTS INDICATED THAT RELATIVELY FEW CIVILIANS HAD BEEN MASSACRED OUTSIDE OF KIGALI. THEY SAID THAT MOBUTU WAS RESUPPLYING THE RWANDAN ARMY FORCES WITH MUNITIONS AND PREDICTED THAT THE FIGHTING WOULD SPREAD TO BOTH ZAIRE AND BURUNDI.

5. COMMENT. WHILE NONE OF THE THREE CLAIMED TO BE SPEAKING IN AN OFFICIAL CAPACITY, THEIR COMMENTS -- SOME OF WHICH APPEAR TO RUN COUNTER TO INFORMATION FROM OTHER SOURCES -- WERE REVEALING. THE FRENCH MILITARY GARRISON IN BANGUI HAS BEEN CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE RWANDAN NATIONAL ARMY FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS, AND THEIR SYMPATHIES CLEARLY LIE ON THAT SIDE.

6. KINSHASA AND BURNDI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

GRIBBIN

BT

#1768

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1768

TOR: 940511175432 M1042168

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3795
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0080
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RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 1788
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1147
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8823
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 7398
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 4806
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 3159
SUBJ: RWANDA: CORRIDORS OF SAFETY
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ADDIS ABABA 003507
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, ET
SUBJECT: RWANDA: CORRIDORS OF SAFETY
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT AS YET SEEN ANY REPORTING ON THE MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT GORE, OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM, UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS, AND TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINYI IN SOUTH AFRICA, SALIM PHONED THE AMBASSADOR ON MAY 11 TO SAY THAT THERE HAD BEEN GENERAL AGREEMENT ON ESTABLISHING "CORRIDORS OF SAFETY" AS PART OF THE UN OPERATION IN RWANDA. ACCORDING TO SALIM, THE U.S. HAD AGREED TO PROVIDE CONCRETE IDEAS FOR SUCH "CORRIDORS OF SAFETY." SALIM SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE THESE IDEAS ASAP.
3. ACTION REQUEST. WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT PROVIDING ANY SUCH IDEAS THAT WE COULD PASS TO SALIM.
4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
BAAS
BT
#3507
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3507
TOR: 940511095741 M1041085
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (267)
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DTG: 120035Z MAY 94
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RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000
SUBJ: RPF REP ON HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION, CEASE-FIRE TALKS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.6A)
NL 10/20/2023

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 125883
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PHUM MOPS RW
SUBJECT: RPF REP ON HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION, CEASE-FIRE TALKS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AF/C OFFICE DIRECTOR RENDER CONVOKED WASHINGTON RPF REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES MURIGANDE ON MAY 6 TO DISCUSS THE STATUS OF CEASE-FIRE NEGOTIATIONS AND RPF VIEWS ON POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION. ALSO IN ATTENDANCE WAS AF/C RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON (NOTETAKER).

RPF POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
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3. MURIGANDE SAID HE THOUGHT THE RPF WOULD SUPPORT UN INTERVENTION ON A "HUMANITARIAN BASIS", FOR INSTANCE, TO TRAVEL TO AND PROTECT ENCLAVES OF THREATENED CIVILIANS. HE DID NOT THINK THE RPF WOULD HAVE ANY PROBLEM WITH A FORCE THAT HAD THE MANDATE TO DISARM CIVILIAN MILITIAS OR THUGS OR TO MOVE POPULATIONS TO SAFE AREAS BEHIND THE LINES OF ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. HE SAID THE RPF WOULD ALLOW RELIEF TO BE TRANSPORTED THROUGH ITS TERRITORY AND EVEN INTO GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF REACHING EVERYONE WHO NEEDS IT. WHEN ASKED WHAT SORT OF RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

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THE RPF WOULD THINK WAS APPROPRIATE FOR SUCH AN OPERATION, HE SAID HE WAS NOT SURE. WE ASKED HIM TO CHECK WITH HIS LEADERSHIP AND GET BACK TO US.

4. RENDER BROACHED THE IDEA OF CREATING SECURE AREAS ALONG THE BORDER. MURIGANDE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE RPF. HE SAID THAT HE CONSIDERED ALL AREAS UNDER RPF CONTROL TO BE SECURE, AND ADDED THAT THE RPF WOULD WELCOME HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN THEIR TERRITORY TO PROVE THAT THEY ARE NOT KILLING CIVILIANS.

CEASE-FIRE/ARUSHA TALKS/ACCOUNTABILITY

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5. WE REITERATED OUR CALL FOR AN END TO THE KILLINGS, AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE, AND A RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS. RENDER STRESSED THAT RWANDA WILL FORFEIT INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT IF THE TWO SIDES DON'T PURSUSE THESE CRUCIAL GOALS.

6. MURIGANDE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENTS THAT WERE REPORTED IN THE PRESS FOLLOWING THE BREAK-OFF OF THE ARUSHA TALKS THE FIRST WEEK IN MAY. HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY RPF MEETING IN GBADOLITE THAT WEEK. HE REITERATED THE RPF POSITION THAT THE TWO FIGHTING FORCES MUST SIT DOWN AND AGREE ON MODALITIES FOR A CEASE-FIRE. HE SAID HE THOUGHT KIGALI WAS A GOOD PLACE FOR SUCH TALKS BECAUSE THAT'S WHERE THE FIGHTING IS AND BECAUSE IT'S EASIER THAN TRYING TO GET DELEGATIONS TO TANZANIA.

7. WHEN ASKED WHAT WENT WRONG AT ARUSHA, MURIGANDE SLIPPED AND SAID "NOTHING WENT WRONG". HE QUICKLY RECOVERED AND SAID THAT THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE ASSEMBLED PARTIES WERE TRYING TO FORCE THE RPF TO RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH THE RPF COULD NOT DO. MURIGANDE SEEMED UPSET WITH THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH HE CLAIMED HAD TRIED TO TRICK THE RPF INTO SIGNING A CEASE-FIRE DOCUMENT WITHOUT TELLING THEM THAT THE GOR WOULD BE SIGNING SUCH A DOCUMENT AS WELL. SINCE THIS IN THE RPF'S VIEW SUGGESTED RECOGNITION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THE RPF COULD NOT ALLOW THAT TO HAPPEN. RENDER REPLIED THAT THE PROCESS WILL NOT GET ANYWHERE IF THE TWO SIDES KEEP PLACING CONDITIONS ON THE DISCUSSIONS AND SAID THE TWO SIDES SHOULD DROP THEIR CONDITIONS AND GET ON WITH IT. MURIGANDE RESPONDED THAT THE RPF IS NOT JUST PLAYING POLITICS HERE; HE SAID, "WE ARE PLAYING WITH OUR LIVES; THERE IS A DELIBERATE EFFORT TO FINISH US (THE TUTSIS) OFF."

8. DESKOFF AISTON POINTED OUT THAT THE FACT THE RPF MAY SPEAK TO SOMEONE (THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT) TO REACH A COMMON GOAL (PEACE) DOES NOT MEAN THE RPF RECOGNIZES OR ENDORSES THE ACTIONS OF THE OTHER PARTY. MURIGANDE REPLIED THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE JUST LIKE NAZIS AND SHOULD BE TREATED THAT WAY. THEY SHOULD NOT BE TALKED TO; THEY SHOULD BE THROWN IN JAIL.

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9. THE RPF IS ADAMANT ON AVOIDING ANY APPEARANCE OF LEGITIMIZING THE GOVERNMENT; MURIGANDE SAID THE RPF CANNOT ALLOW THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO BE PUT IN A POSITION THAT WOULD ALLOW IT TO STAY IN POWER AND CONTINUE TO MISUSE THAT POWER. HE SAID THAT THOSE WHO PLAYED A ROLE IN THE MASSACRES MUST BE EXCLUDED FROM THE PROCESS AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD HELP ESTABLISH RESPONSIBILITY; THESE PEOPLE MUST BE PUNISHED AND NOT GIVEN ASYLUM IN ANOTHER COUNTRY. RENDER ASSURED MURIGANDE THAT STEPS ARE UNDERWAY TO MOVE TOWARD AN INVESTIGATION AND NOTED THE EXISTENCE OF THE UNHCR. RESPONDING TO A QUERY FROM RENDER, MURIGANDE SAID ANY RPF MEMBER FOUND RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES (INCLUDING SUMMARY EXECUTION) SHOULD BE PUNISHED AS WELL.

10. WHEN ASKED HOW WE CAN STOP THE KILLINGS AND GET BACK TO ARUSHA TALKS, MURIGANDE REPLIED THAT THE KILLING WAS ABOUT TO STOP ON ITS OWN BECAUSE "THEY" (THE HUTU THUGS/MILITIA) WERE RUNNING OUT OF PEOPLE (TUTSIS) TO KILL. WE NOTED THAT OUR INFORMATION INDICATED THAT THERE WERE MANY MANY PEOPLE STILL ALIVE AND NOTED THAT THERE WERE UPWARDS OF ONE MILLION TUTSIS IN RWANDA WHEN THIS ALL BEGAN.

REGIONAL ISSUES

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11. MURIGANDE ADMITTED THAT THE RPF HAD SENT A DELEGATION TO SEE MOBUTU TWO WEEKS EARLIER TO ASK HIM TO STAY OUT OF THE WAR. HE SAID THE RPF HAS BEEN ASKING ALL NEIGHBORS TO STAY OUT OF THE WAR AND ASSUMES THAT SIMILAR TRIPS WERE MADE TO UGANDA, BURUNDI, AND TANZANIA. HE SAID HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY LINKS BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE BURUNDI MILITARY, BUT ASSERTED THAT IF THE BURUNDI ARMY REALLY CONSIDERED ITSELF ONLY AN ARMY TO PROTECT TUTSIS, AS MANY CLAIM, THEY WOULD HAVE INTERVENED IN RWANDA BY NOW TO STOP THE KILLING IN SOUTHERN RWANDA.

BOOH BOOH A NO-GO

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12. MURIGANDE REITERATED THE RPF OBJECTION TO UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOOH BOOH, WHOM THEY CONSIDER TO BE PRO-GOVERNMENT. AS AN EXAMPLE, HE CLAIMED THAT BOOH BOOH COBBLED TOGETHER THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOR APPROVAL BY THE RWANDAN MILITARY. IN DOING SO, HE IGNORED THE MECHANISMS PROVIDED FOR IN ARUSHA FOR FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT GIVING SPECIFICS, HE ALSO CITED BOOH BOOH'S "FLIRTING" WITH HARDLINERS.

CHRISTOPHER
BT
#5883
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

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SSN: 5883
TOR: 940511204421 M1042402
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SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1402
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 2012
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0380
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0618
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0832
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO KENYA
TEXT:

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2(2.7a)
VL 1/20/2023

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ NAIROBI 08439
EXDIS
E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, SU
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO KENYA
REF: A) GENEVA 4440; B) STATE 122687; C) NAIROBI 8184
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR MET WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO KENYA CYPRIEN HABIMANA MAY 10 AND FORCEFULLY DELIVERED THE REF B POINTS TO HIM FOR HIS GOVERNMENT. HABIMANA CLAIMED THAT NO GENOCIDE HAS BEEN OR IS TAKING PLACE, AS THERE IS KILLING "ON BOTH SIDES," AND ASKED FOR US OR OTHER WESTERN TROOPS' INTERVENTION INSIDE RWANDA UNDER THE UN OR OTHERWISE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WHEN ASKED WHICH GOR PERSON HAD SUFFICIENT INFLUENCE ON THE VARIOUS FACTIONS TO BE A USEFUL INTERLOCUTOR IN RESOLVING THE SITUATION, HABIMANA GAVE TWO NAMES WE COULD USE AND STRONGLY CAUTIONED AGAINST/AGAINST CONTACT WITH CABINET DIRECTOR COLONEL BAGOSORA (NOTE REF A)--WHOM HABIMANA CHARACTERIZED AS A NORTHERNER FULL OF HATE FOR THE RPF. END SUMMARY.
3. AMBASSADOR MET WITH AMB. HABIMANA AT HIS REQUEST ON MAY 10. DCM AND POLOFF SAT IN. HABIMANA STARTED BY ASKING WHAT THE USG'S GOALS WERE. AMBASSADOR MADE PRESENTATION (REF B) THAT WE SEEK: A) TO STOP THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS, B) AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE; C) GOR AGREEMENT TO AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE KILLINGS SO AS TO PREVENT THEM FROM BECOMING THE ROOT CAUSE OF ANOTHER CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, AND FOR THE UN TO TAKE UP THE INVESTIGATION; D) TO MAKE AVAILABLE HUMANITARIAN

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ASSISTANCE TO THOSE IN NEED; AND E) FOR THE GOR TO ISSUE A CLEAR STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE MASS MURDERERS, TO RESUME THE ARUSHA TALKS AND TO PROTECT DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN RWANDA. AMBASSADOR CONTINUED THAT A/S SHATTUCK WAS MAKING THESE SAME POINTS IN HIS MISSION, AND THAT A USG OFFICIAL HAD VISITED THE CAMPS IN TANZANIA.

4. HABIMANA'S RESPONSE CENTERED AROUND HIS REQUEST FOR OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND HIS ANALYSIS THAT MANY LIVES WILL BE NEEDLESSLY LOST IF THAT INTERVENTION WAITS FOR AN INVESTIGATION TO DECIDE WHO IS AT FAULT. HE CLAIMED THAT THERE WAS NO GENOCIDE, AS "BOTH SIDES" ARE INVOLVED IN KILLING. HE WELCOMED A UN-SPONSORED INVESTIGATION, SAYING IT WOULD HAVE A GOOD SIDE-EFFECT OF PRESSURING BOTH SIDES TO STOP KILLING, BUT REITERATED THE NEED TO INTERVENE FIRST WITHOUT WAITING FOR RESULTS FROM ANY INVESTIGATION. EPIDEMICS CAUSED BY DISEASE FROM THE DEAD BODIES HAVE STARTED, AND WERE ANOTHER REASON TO INTERVENE WITHOUT DELAY.

5. HIS PREFERENCE WOULD BE THAT THE INTERVENING FORCE BE US OR WESTERN TROOPS. PUTTING TOGETHER A FORCE FROM NEIGHBORING AFRICAN COUNTRIES WOULD TAKE TOO LONG, AND NOT PROVE NEUTRAL ENOUGH TO GET RESPECT FROM ALL SIDES. SENDING TROOPS UNDER THE UN WOULD BE USEFUL IF DONE QUICKLY, BUT SENDING THEM UNDER UNAMIR'S PRESENT MANDATE WOULD NOT GIVE THEM LATITUDE TO IMPOSE PEACE--HE SAID THAT WAS THE MAIN PROBLEM WITH UNAMIR UNTIL NOW.

6. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE RADIO STATION RTLM INCITING MORE KILLING, HABIMANA REPLIED IT IS PRIVATE AND HE COULD NOT MONITOR IT FROM HERE AS IT IS FM. HABIMANA SAID HE IS ONLY IN INTERMITTANT CONTACT WITH THE GOR.

7. DCM TOLD HABIMANA WE ARE NOT RECEIVING GOR ENVOYS IN WASHINGTON BECAUSE THEY WERE SO IDENTIFIED WITH THE MASS MURDERERS, NOTED THAT THE RPF WAS NOT NEGOTIATING WITH GOR REPRESENTATIVES, AND ASKED WHO IN THE GOR SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED WITH. AFTER DECRYING THE RPF'S UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH GOR-NOMINATED COMMISSIONERS AND THE RPF'S "OWN DIRTY HANDS," HABIMANA SAID THE MLN AND MDR ARE THE STRONGEST FACTIONS NOW AND WE COULD TALK WITH MLN CHAIRMAN MATTHEW NGIRUMPATSE FROM KIGALI, AN EX-AMBASSADOR TO UGANDA WHO ALSO HAD INFLUENCE WITH THE MILITARY. GOR CHIEF OF STAFF MG BIZIMUNGU ALSO STILL HAD THE RESPECT OF MANY PEOPLE. BUT HABIMANA WARNED US AGAINST DEALING WITH COL. BAGOSORA, SAYING HE WAS FILLED WITH HATRED FOR THE RPF BECAUSE HE WAS FROM THE NORTH.

8. HABIMANA SAID HE BELIEVED THE GOR WAS READY TO STOP FIGHTING IF THE RPF DID, AND SUGGESTED A SCENARIO. THE USG SHOULD PUSH HARD FOR A CEASEFIRE, AS BALANCED PRESSURE ON BOTH SIDES. THE USG SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE GOR. THE USG SHOULD PUT PRESSURE ON THE ARMS SOURCES OF THE RPF, AND ARRANGE FOR AN OUTSIDE FORCE TO INTERVENE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ONCE AGAIN HE MADE A PITCH FOR US FORCES, AS A SUPERPOWER

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WHOSE WILL WOULD BE RESPECTED.
9. BIOGRAPHIC NOTE: HABIMANA IS A HUTU FROM THE EAST NEAR KIGALI. HE IS MARRIED TO A TUTSI AND DOES NOT KNOW WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN, AS THEIR VILLAGE WAS QUICKLY OCCUPIED BY THE RPF. WE PROMISED WE WOULD PASS TO HIM ANY NEWS WE LEARNED ABOUT HIS FAMILY.
10. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. BRAZEAL##
BT
#8439
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8439

TOR: 940512085659 M1043230

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.72)
nr 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA1654 1321631-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 121627Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 121627Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3621
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0635
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0759
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 0209
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1008
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1143
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1013
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0536
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1074
SUBJ: WOULD BURUNDI HELP ON INTERNATIONAL
- EFFORT ON RWANDA: UNSGSR VIEWS
TEXT:
~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 01654
STATE FOR AF AND AF/C
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PARM, UN, OAU, BY
SUBJECT: WOULD BURUNDI HELP ON INTERNATIONAL
- EFFORT ON RWANDA: UNSGSR VIEWS
REF: FLATEN/LANGE TELECON 5/10/94
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON EVENING OF MAY 11, CHARGE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE INFORMALLY WITH UNSGSR ABDULLAH QUESTION REGARDING THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE GRB WOULD AGREE TO THE STAGING AND TRANSIT THROUGH BURUNDI OF A UN-SPONSORED INTERNATIONAL FORCE FOR RWANDA TO PROTECT INNOCENTS AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF WORKERS AND TO MONITOR A CEASEFIRE BETWEEN THE ADVERSARIES. ABDULLAH, LIKE CHARGE, BELIEVES THAT GRB AGREEMENT FOR THIS EFFORT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN, BUT CHANCES WOULD BE IMPROVED WITH A MUTUALLY AGREED CEASEFIRE BETWEEN COMBATANTS. IF THE RPF WOULD OPPOSE AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE, THE BURUNDI MILITARY COULD PRESENT OBSTACLES FOR INVOLVEMENT BY THIS COUNTRY.
3. ON THE OTHER HAND, ABDULLAH FEELS APPROVAL MAY BE NEGOTIABLE WITH BURUNDI LEADERS IF THERE IS FULL SUPPORT FROM THE UNSC, RESIDENT EMBASSIES OF PERMANENT MEMBERS U.S. AND FRANCE, AS WELL AS OTHERS. STRONG COMMITMENTS OF CONTINUED DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT BY THE U.S. AND FRANCE WOULD BE CRITICAL TO DEALING WITH BURUNDIANS, ESPECIALLY THE MILITARY. RWANDAN PRINCIPALS WOULD HAVE HAD TO AGREE MUTUALLY

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BOTH TO THE CEASEFIRE AND TO THE PRESENCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE. AN OAU FORCE, HE OPINED, EVEN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UN WOULD INCREASE THE DEGREE OF DIFFICULTY GIVEN PAST REACTIONS TO THE OAU IN CERTAIN TUTSI QUARTERS.

4. ABDULLAH ALSO POINTED OUT THAT EVERY CONSIDERATION WOULD HAVE TO BE GIVEN TO BURUNDI'S OWN FRAGILE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION. WE MUST BE AWARE THAT WE WOULD BE DEALING WITH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND ONE THAT IS ABOUT TO UNDERGO CHANGE WITH THE SELECTION OF A NEW CHIEF OF STATE. AT PRESENT, THE PROCESS OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS UP IN THE AIR; LITTLE COMMENT FROM EITHER OPPOSITION TUTSIS OR FRODEBU HUTUS HAS BEEN STATED PUBLICLY. IMPORTANT DIVISIONS ARE APPARENT IN BOTH RULING PARTY (FRODEBU) AND WITHIN OPPOSITION UPRONA.

5. AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH THOUGHT HE WOULD HAVE A BETTER FEEL BY THE WEEKEND ABOUT BURUNDI'S POTENTIAL INVOLVEMENT IN THIS HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. IN PRINCIPLE, AT THIS POINT HE IS INCLINED TO THINK IT IS DOABLE GIVEN THE CONDITIONS/CONSIDERATIONS ABOVE. WITH ETHNIC SENSITIVITIES HERE, HE WOULD STRONGLY URGE THAT ANY SUCH OPERATION BE CONDUCTED DISCRETLY AND WITH DISPATCH AS WAS THE U.S. (OPERATION DISTANT RUNNER) EVACUATION FROM RWANDA. HE RAISED ADDITIONAL PRACTICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE REAR BASE OF THIS OPERATION; IF IN BURUNDI, A HUGE BASE COULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN THAT EXTREMIST TUTSIS WOULD WANT TO FOCUS ON THE THREAT OR VIOLATION OF BURUNDI'S NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. THIS MIGHT BE ASSUAGED, HOWEVER, BY ECONOMIC BENEFITS WHICH COULD ACCRUE IN COMPENSATION FOR SUCH A PRESENCE.

6. WHILE AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH BELIEVES BURUNDI AGREEMENT TO PREPOSITIONING AND STAGING FOR A UN-SPONSORED FORCE WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT, HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT SUCH AN EXERCISE WOULD HAVE A BENEFICIAL AFFECT, AS A BYPRODUCT, ON INTERNAL CONDITIONS IN BURUNDI. BURUNDI'S WITTING INVOLVEMENT COULD OPERATE TO TAMP DOWN SMOLDERING PASSIONS WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE SEEK UNTOWARDS OUTLETS.

7. COMMENT: ABDULLAH IS CORRECT IN POINTING OUT THE FRAGILE NATURE OF POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN BURUNDI. THE GRB QUICKLY STATED ITS "STRICT NEUTRALITY" REGARDING THE RWANDAN SITUATION. WHILE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 01654

STATE FOR AF AND AF/C
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PARM, UN, OAU, BY
SUBJECT: WOULD BURUNDI HELP ON INTERNATIONAL

INTERIM PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA HAS DEVELOPED A CERTAIN WORKING RAPPORT WITH BURUNDI MILITARY LEADERS, THEY ARE BY NO MEANS IN HIS POCKET. CHARGE RECALLS THAT THE MILITARY MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL CRISIS COMMITTEE WERE THE MOST HESITANT ON THE DECISION TO PERMIT U.S. FORCES TO LAND HERE TO ASSIST THE EVACUATION FROM RWANDA OUT OF CONCERN

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THAT FOREIGNERS MIGHT SOMEHOW BECOME INVOLVED IN
COMBAT WITH ADVERSARIES (READ RPF). THE TUTSI
COMMUNITY HAS PRESSED A CASE ABOUT OCTOBER MASSACRES
IN BURUNDI; SOME WOULD NO DOUBT BE PLEASED IF THE
RPF IS LEFT TO DEAL WITH THE PERPETRATORS OF TUTSI
MASSACRES IN RWANDA. TO GAIN THE COLLECTIVE ASCENT
OF BURUNDIANS, A STRONG APPEAL TO THEIR SENSE OF
HUMANITARIAN OBLIGATION AND RESPONSIBILITY WOULD
HAVE TO SUCCEED, PARTICULARLY ON THE TUTSI SIDE.
END COMMENT.
LANGE
BT
#1654
NNNN

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

SSN: 1654
<^SSN>1654

TOR: 940512123808 M1043565
<^TOR>940512123804 M1043563

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
□

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~A Kigali FSN's Circuitious Route to Safety (2 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~Rwanda-Uganda... (1 page)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~003. cable~~	~~UN Human Rights Commission... [Incomplete Message] (2 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~004. cable~~	~~UN Human Rights Commission... (7 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~005. cable~~	~~Demarche on... (3 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~006. cable~~	~~GOR Warned It is Accountable for the Fate of Civilians Behind Its Lines (2 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~007. cable~~	~~[Call for Special UNHRC Session on Rwanda] (2 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~008. cable~~	~~UN Human Rights Commission... (1 page)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	05/13/1994	P1/b(1)
~~010. cable~~	~~Demarche to... (2 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~011. cable~~	~~May 13 Trilateral Discussions in Brussels on Rwanda: Summary of Discussions (4 pages)~~	~~05/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
012. cable	[Situation in Rwanda] (3 pages)	05/13/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/13/1994 - 05/16/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh132

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	05/13/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	Burundi... (4 pages)	05/13/1994	P1/b(1)
~~015. cable~~	~~Demarche to... (2 pages)~~	~~05/15/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~016. cable~~	~~Rawanda Peacekeeping... (2 pages)~~	~~06/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~017. cable~~	~~Trilateral Meeting on Zaire (5 pages)~~	~~05/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~018. cable~~	~~UN Human Rights Commission to Convene Special Session on Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~05/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~019. cable~~	~~Demarche to... (2 pages)~~	~~05/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~020. cable~~	~~Lesotho Supports Special UNHRC Session on Rwanda (1 page)~~	~~05/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~021. cable~~	~~"Cairo Consultation on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution" Adjourns May 11... (3 pages)~~	~~05/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~022. cable~~	~~International Jurist Comments on Human Rights Inquiry in Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~05/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~023. cable~~	~~Zaire and Rwanda... (2 pages)~~	~~05/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
024. cable	Security Developments... (4 pages)	05/16/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/13/1994 - 05/16/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch132

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2(2,74)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHJBA1660 1330900-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 130859Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 130859Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3626
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0637
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0761
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY 0253
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1010
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0516
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1146
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1016
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0413
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0539
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1653
RUEHNM/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY 0248
RUEHOU/AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU PRIORITY 0233
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1076
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0214
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0762
RUEIAYD/ATO AFRICA PRIORITY
RUSNTCC/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1009
SUBJ: A KIGALI FSN'S CIRCUITIOUS ROUTE TO SAFETY
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BUJUMBURA 01660
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, PINR, ASEC, BY
SUBJECT: A KIGALI FSN'S CIRCUITIOUS ROUTE TO SAFETY
1. ON MAY 9, RSO SPOKE WITH JACQUES KAYIGEMA, A RWANDAN TUTSI WHO WAS FORMERLY EMPLOYED BY USIS KIGALI'S ENGLISH TEACHING CENTER. KAYIGEMA STOPPED BY THE EMBASSY ENROUTE TO ENTEBBE, UGANDA TO LOOK FOR MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY. (MANY TUTSIS FROM RWANDA AND BURUNDI HAVE GONE TO UGANDA DURING THE RECENT ETHNIC PROBLEMS.) HE DISCUSSED SOME OF HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCES FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA.
2. ON APRIL 5, HE WAS IN KIBUYE, A TOWN LOCATED ON THE COAST OF LAKE KIVU MIDWAY BETWEEN GISENYI AND

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CYANGUGU, VISITING HIS FAMILY. ON APRIL 7, THE DAY FOLLOWING THE PLANE CRASH, HE SAID THAT HUTUS STARTED TO KILL TUTSIS NEAR HIS VILLAGE. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE BOURGMAISTRE OF KIBUYE, MR. ABEL, WAS NOT INVOLVED WITH THE KILLINGS; HOWEVER MR. NZARORA, THE VICE-BOURGMAISTRE -- A MEMBER OF THE CDR -- WAS COMPLICIT IN THE KILLINGS. ACCORDING TO KAYIGEMA EX-RWANDAN SOLDIERS POSSESSING GUNS AND GRENADES ASSISTED THE YOUNG HUTUS. WHEN ASKED HOW HE KNEW THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE EX-SOLDIERS HE STAED THAT HE HAD SEEN THEM BEFORE WHEN THEY HAD BEEN IN ACTIVE SERVICE. TO THECREDIT OF RWANDA'S GENDARMARIE, HE SAID, THOSE GENDARMES FROM THE SOUTHERN RWANDA DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE KILLINGS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE.

3. KAYIGEMA SAID THAT IN THE DAYS THAT FOLLOWED HE WITNESSED MANY RWANDAN TUTSIS COMING ASHORE ON THE ISLAND OF IJWI, ZAIRIAN TERRITORY WITH SERIOUS MACHETE WOUNDS. HE AND HIS FAMILY LEFT FOR BUKAVU ON THE 19TH OF APRIL VIA BOAT. WHEN HE ARRIVED IN BUKAVU HE WAS SHOCKED TO OBSERVE PEOPLE BEING SHOT IN COLD BLOOD AS THEY ATTEMPTED TO CROSS THE FRONTIER TOWN OF CYANGUGU INTO ZAIRE BY RWANDAN TROOPS. HE ALSO CLAIMS THAT SOME ZAIRIAN TROOPS FIRED AT THE REFUGEES AS THEY TRIED TO CROSS THE BRIDGE OVER THE RUZIZI OR SWIM TO SAFETY. KAYIGEMA DID NOT STAY LONG AT THE FRONTIER AT CYANGUGU AND HAD NO IDEA HOW MANY PEOPLE MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED.

4. HE SAID THAT SOME RWANDANS HAD BEEN ABLE TO COME ACROSS THEFRONTIER BY PAYING BRIBES OF 10,000 RWANDAN FRANCSN - THE EQUIVALENT OF APPROXIMATELY 70 U.S. DOLLARS. KAYIGEMA CAME TO BUJUMBURA SEVERAL DAYS AGO AFTER RECROSSING TEH RUZIZI RIVER FROM ZAIRE INTO CIBITOKE PROVINCE AGAIN BY CANOE.

5. HE SAID THAT HE FELT COMPELLED TO LET SOMEONE AT THE EMBASSY KNOW WHAT HE HAD SEEN BEFOREHE LEFT FOR UGANDA. HE AND HIS FAMILY PLAN TO LOOK FOR EMPLOYMENT IN KAMPALA.

LANGE

BT

#1660

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1660

TOR: 940513050555 M1044892

DIST:

PRT: SIT

SIT: BEERS DESHAZER SCHWARTZ SUM SUM2 VAX

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.75)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 130904Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 130904Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1952
INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0304
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0177
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5850
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0737
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0348
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1811
SUBJ: RWANDA-UGANDA: NO RPF BASES IN UGANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 003850
PARIS FOR PERLOW, AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON,
AF/C FOR RENDER AND FENDRICK
E.O. 12356: OADR: DECL
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RWANDA-UGANDA: NO RPF BASES IN UGANDA
REF: (A) PARIS 13062 (B) KAMPALA 3063
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. WE READ WITH SOME INTEREST PARIS 13062 WHICH
DEALS WITH FRENCH THINKING ON THE RWANDA CRISIS.
WHILE THERE ARE A NUMBER OF POINTS OVER WHICH WE
MIGHT REASONABLY DEBATE, WE WOULD LIKE TO CORRECT ONE
FACTUAL ERROR. AS FAR AS WE ARE AWARE, THERE ARE
NO/NO RPF BASES IN UGANDA. UNOMUR HAS NOT FOUND ANY,
NOR HAVE U.S. OR BRITISH MILITARY OFFICERS WHO HAVE
TRAVELLED ALONG/FLOWN OVER THE UGANDA SIDE OF THE
BORDER OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE FACT THAT THE
FRENCH BELIEVE THERE ARE RPF BASES IN UGANDA IS
ANOTHER OF THE MYTHS (REFTEL B) THAT CLOUD FRENCH
THINKING ON RWANDA AND THE TRAGEDY THAT IS STILL
BEING PLAYED OUT IN THAT COUNTRY. CARSON
BT
#3850
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3850
TOR: 940513051839 M1044924
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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2011-0262-M-2 (276)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA4478 1330926-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 130922Z MAY 94 ZDK CCY
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 130922Z MAY 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9304
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 5313
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 3207
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1934
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0540
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 1672
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0192
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 2014
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1548
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0297
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0041
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0147
RUEHZJ/HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE PRIORTY
SUBJ: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RECOMENDATIONS ON RWANDA BY THE TIME OF THE SPECIAL SESSION, WE SHOULD EXPECT SOME UNHRC MEMBERS TO TRY TO USE THE SESSION TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE SECURTIY COUNCIL.

TEXT:

********** INCOMPLETE MESSAGE **********

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 GENEVA 04478
C O R R E C T E D COPY(ADDEE ADDED)
USUN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RECOMENDATIONS ON RWANDA BY THE TIME OF THE SPECIAL SESSION, WE SHOULD EXPECT SOME UNHRC MEMBERS TO TRY TO USE THE SESSION TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE SECURTIY COUNCIL.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS
---
18. UNHRC CHAIRMAN PLATHE HAS ASKED THT WE PROVIDE HIM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH ANY RECOMMENDATIONS WE HAVE FOR A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR. OUR LIST NEED NOT BE LIMITED TO AFRICANS, ALTHOUGH THERE WOULD BE ADVANTAGES TO HAVING AN AFRICAN RAPPORTEUR. A POLITICAL-LEVEL INDIVIDUAL IN THE MOLD OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS MAZOWIECKI AND VAN DER STOEL WOULD LEND MORE PUBLICITY AND CREDIBILITY TO THE MANDATE. IF PALTHE IS TO NAME A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, IT

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WOULD BE BEST FOR HIM TO DO SO BEFORE THE SPECIAL SESSION ADJOURNS, AS WAS DONE IN THE CASE OF YUGOSLAVIA. A DELAY WOULD RISK CREATING AN IMAGE OF COMMISSION IMPOTENCE OR DRIFT. NAMING A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK, HOWEVER, WILL REQUIRE FAST AND CAREFUL GROUNDWORK TO ENSURE GOOD CANDIDATES ARE AVAILABLE AND WILLING TO SERVE.

19. THE SPECIAL SESSION WOULD CARRY MORE PUNCH IF ATTENDED BY SENIOR AFRICAN STATESMAN SUCH AS OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM. IN VIEW OF OUR CLOSE CONTACTS WITH SALIM ON RWANDA, WE HOPE THE U.S. WILL URGE HIM TO ATTEND. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT ATTENDACE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE A POSITIVE IMPACT; WE HOPE THEY CAN BE URGED TO PARTICIPATE. ON THE DOWNSIDE, SENIOR AFRICAN ATTENDANCE WOULD MAKE THE SESSION LESS PREDICTABLE AND HARDER TO CONTROL.

COMMENT

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19. THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND HERE IN REGARD TO A SPECIAL SESSION IS STILL IN A STATE OF CONSIDERABLE FLUX. MUCH OF THE DIRECTION OF THE SESSION IS LKELY TO BE GUIDED BY THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF HCHR AYALA LASSO, WHO HAS NOT YET RETURNED FROM HIS TRIP TO THE REGION. WE WILL SEEK HIS VIEWS UPON HIS RETURN TO GENEVA. WE SHOULD, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, SKETCH OUT OUR GENERAL GOALS FOR THE SESSION, INCLUDING ESPECIALLY THE ELEMENTS WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE INCLUDED IN A RESOLUTION. THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD ALSO BEGIN TO DRRAFT OUR SPEECH FOR THE SESSION -- WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE U.S. WILL BE ABLE TO DELIVER ONLY ONE INTERVENTION. TACTICALLY, THE U.S. DELEGATION SHOULD HAVE SUBSTANTIAL FLEXIBILITY TO DEAL WITH UNEXPECTED AND CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR THE MOMENT, WE WOULD DO BEST TO PURSUE OUR OBJECTIVES IN AN ACTIVE BUT LOW-KEY MANNER WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA, KEEPING THE CANADIANS IN THE LEAD.

SPIEGEL

BT

#4478

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SECT: SECTION: 05 OF 05

SSN: 4478

TOR: 940527155909 M1070743

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA4478 1330922-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 130922Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 130922Z MAY 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9300
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 5309
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 3203
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1930
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0536
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 1668
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0188
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 2010
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1544
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0293
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0037
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0143
SUBJ: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 05 GENEVA 04478
USUN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
REF: GENEVA 4387
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY
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2. THERE APPEARS TO BE BROAD SUPPORT FOR THE CANADIAN CALL FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (UNHRC) ON RWANDA; MOST WEOG, EAST EUROPEAN, LATIN AMERICAN, AND AFRICAN DELEGATIONS PLAN TO SUBMIT LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER. THE SESSION MAY BEGIN AS EARLY AS MAY 19. MANY STATES WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO HAVE AN AFRICAN STATE CALL THE SPECIAL SESSION. THERE IS AN ERRONEOUS PERCEPTION AMONG SOME DELEGATIONS THAT THE U.S. IS BEHIND THE CALL FOR A SPECIAL SESSION; THIS COULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVES. TACTICALLY, WE SHOULD KEEP THE CANADIANS AND SUPPORTIVE AFRICANS OUT FRONT.
3. WE HAVE HAD A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS ON THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THE SESSION. SUBJECT TO ANY FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (HCHR) ON HIS RETURN TO GENEVA, WE BELIEVE WE

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SHOULD WORK TOWARDS A RESOLUTION THAT:

-- CONDEMNS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS;
-- SUPPORTS THE HCHR'S EFFORTS;
-- APPOINTS A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR OR A TEAM OF EXISTING THEMATIC RAPPORTEURS TO VISIT AND TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN RWANDA, AND TO REPORT BACK PROMPTLY;
-- HOLDS INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR CRIMES;
-- CALLS FOR A HUMAN RIGHTS ELEMENT TO BE INCLUDED IN ANY UN OPERATION IN RWANDA;
-- URGES PROTECTION FOR PEOPLE STILL EXPOSED TO POSSIBLE VIOLENCE; AND
-- AUTHORIZES A PROGRAM OF HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY SERVICES ONCE THE SITUATION IN RWANDA HAS STABILIZED.

4. WE SHOULD ALSO WORK FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA, ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR THE HCHR TO UNDERTAKE THIS UNILATERALLY, WITHOUT SEEKING THE UNHRC'S SPECIFIC AUTHORIZATION. TO THE EXTENT THE SPECIAL SESSION IS ABLE TO FOCUS ALSO ON BURUNDI, WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD AUTHORIZE ADVISORY SERVICES AND PREVENTIVE MEASURES. WE CAN EXPECT POINTS OF CONTROVERSY WITH SOME AFRICAN DELEGATIONS, WHICH ARE LIKELY TO CALL FOR ACTIONS MORE APPROPRIATE FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAN THE COMMISSION. END SUMMARY.

STATUS REPORT

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5. AS OF MID-MORNING MAY 13, THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER HAD RECEIVED LETTERS FROM THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION ENDORSING THE CANADIAN CALL FOR A SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA. THE AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES, IN ORDER OF RECEIPT, ARE FROM CANADA, THE U.S., LESOTHO, MAURITIUS, THE U.S., AUSTRALIA, KOREA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR, NIGERIA, PERU, TOGO, BULGARIA, AND CYPRUS.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 GENEVA 04478

USUN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RECOMMENDATIONS

6. MANY OTHER UNHRC MEMBERS ALSO INTEND TO SUPPORT THE CANADIAN INITIATIVE. THE EUROPEAN UNION MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WILL SUBMIT THEIR AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES THE AFTERNOON OF MAY 13. THE EUROPEANS DELIBERATELY DELAYED IN ORDER TO AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SESSION IS A PURELY WESTERN INITIATIVE; THEY HOPED SEVERAL AFRICANS WOULD RESPOND BEFORE THEY DID. THE PERUVIAN MISSION, COORDINATOR OF THE LATIN GROUP, TELLS US THAT ALL LATIN UNHRC MEMBERS EXCEPT CUBA, MEXICO AND BARBADOS PLAN TO SUBMIT SUPPORTIVE LETTERS BEFORE THE DEADLINE. (BARBADOS IS NOT REPRESENTED IN GENEVA. THE GOB CAN, HOWEVER, SUBMIT ITS RESPONSE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER BY FAX: 41-22-917- 0214.) THE NIGERIAN MISSION IS ATTEMPTING TO GALVANIZE AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION. AT A MEETING OF MOST BLACK AFRICAN UNHRC MEMBERS AT THE NIGERIAN MISSION MAY 11, ONLY SUDAN EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO A SPECIAL SESSION. THE EAST EUROPEANS WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN ARE ALSO SUPPORTIVE.

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7. IN A CONVERSATION LATE MAY 11, THE CANADIAN CHARGE EXPRESSED STRONG CONFIDENCE THAT THE SESSION WOULD BE APPROVED BY A HEALTHY MARGIN. HE OFFERED HIS THANKS FOR THE U.S. ROLE IN HELPING TO GATHER SUPPORT FOR THE SESSION.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR A SESSION

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8. UNDER THE RULES ADOPTED IN 1993 FOR CONVENING SPECIAL SESSIONS, THE SESSION SHOULD CONVENE BETWEEN FOUR AND SIX UN WORKING DAYS AFTER THE DEADLINE FOR RECEIPT OF RESPONSES. IN THIS CASE, THEREFORE, THE SESSION WOULD BEGIN MAY 20, 24 OR 25. UNHRC CHAIRMAN PETER PALTHE TOLD US HE PREFERS HOLDING THE MEETING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AT HIS REQUEST, THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER IS EXPLORING WHETHER THE SESSION CAN CONVENE MAY 19 IF THE REQUIRED 27 AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES ARE RECEIVED BY MAY 13. COMMISSION SECRETARY JOHN PACE TOLD US THE CENTER HAS MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO CONVENE THE SPECIAL SESSION EITHER ON MAY 19-20 OR MAY 24-25. AS AN ALTERNATIVE, THE CENTER IS ALSO PREPARED TO STAFF A ONE-DAY MEETING MAY 20 THAT COULD LAST INTO THE EVENING.

9. MOST MISSIONS WITH WHICH WE HAVE SPOKEN EXPECT TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE SPECIAL SESSION BY THEIR LOCAL AMBASSADORS. A FEW EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ANTICIPATE REPRESENTATIVES FROM CAPITALS. IN VIEW OF U.S. INTEREST IN AND LEADERSHIP ON THE RWANDA ISSUE, WE URGE ATTENDANCE BY A SENIOR U.S. REPRESENTATIVE. ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK WOULD HAVE SPECIAL CREDIBILITY IN THE WAKE OF HIS VISIT TO THE REGION. U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNHRC GERALDINE FERRARO COULD ALSO MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION.

ATMOSPHERICS

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10. PRELIMINARY PREPARATIONS FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN IN A GENERALLY POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE. MANY WESTERN DELEGATIONS WOULD HAVE PREFERRED FOR AN AFRICAN STATE TO HAVE CALLED THE SPECIAL SESSION. AN AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVE TOLD US THE AFRICANS WERE IMMEDIATELY SUPPORTIVE OF AYALA LASSO'S PROPOSAL FOR THE SESSION, BUT WERE RELUCTANT TO CALL FORMALLY FOR ONE FOR FEAR WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD BE OPPOSED. THE NIGERIANS TELL US THEY HAD BEEN PLANNING TO MAKE THE CALL ON MAY 13, BUT WERE PRE-EMPTED BY THE CANADIANS. STILL, THE NIGERIANS ARE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING THE CANADIAN CALL. AT OUR REQUEST, THE SENEGALESE ARE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 GENEVA 04478

USUN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS Q RECOMMENDATIONS

ALSO CANVASSING FOR SUPPORT. MAURITIUS WAS THE FIRST GENEVA-BASED AFRICAN MISSION TO SUBMIT A POSITIVE RESPONSE. THE CANADIANS ARE ACTIVE IN BOTH GENEVA AND IN CAPITALS. THE ASIAN RESPONSE SO FAR HAS BEEN MUTED.

11. ON A SLIGHTLY MORE SOUR NOTE, WE HAVE HEARD RUMBLINGS THAT SOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PERCEIVE

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MISTAKENLY THAT AYALA LASSO CALLED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE COMMISSION AS A RESULT OF U.S. PRESSURE. WE HAVE, OF COURSE, DENIED SUCH ALLEGATIONS. STILL, GIVEN OUR ENERGETIC SUPPORT FOR THE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND OUR PROMPT AND ACTIVE LOBBYING EFFORTS IN CAPITALS IN SUPPORT OF THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL, IT WILL BE HARD TO DISPEL THE PERCEPTION. INDEED, MANY GOVERNMENTS FIRST HEARD OF THE PROPOSED SPECIAL SESSION WHEN AMERICAN AMBASSADORS APPROACHED THEM IN CAPITALS. THE MISPERCEPTION COULD CAUSE US PROBLEMS. IN THE HIGHLY POLITICAL AND OFTEN FRACTIOUS ENVIRONMENT OF THE UNHRC, ANY U.S. INITIATIVE ON A COUNTRY SITUATION TENDS TO GENERATE CONTROVERSY AND A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF AUTOMATIC OPPOSITION. TACTICALLY, WE WOULD DO WELL TO KEEP THE CANADIANS (WHO ARE EXTREMELY CAPABLE IN THE UNHRC CONTEXT) AND FRIENDLY AFRICANS OUT IN FRONT. THIS WOULD NOT PREVENT US FROM MAINTAINING AN ACTIVE POSTURE AND BEING A FULL AND INFLUENTIAL PARTICIPANT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO A RESOLUTION.

12. THERE MAY BE SOME CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE MECHANICS OF A RESOLUTION. THE CANADIANS HOPE TO KEEP CONTROL OF THE DRAFTING PROCESS. NIGERIA, HOWEVER, HAS ARGUED THAT THE AFRICANS SHOULD INITIATE THE RESOLUTION. WE HAVE URGED THE CANADIANS AND NIGERIANS TO WORK TOGETHER AND TO SEEK OTHER CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNERS, INCLUDING OURSELVES. WE HAVE ARGUED THAT THE SESSION SHOULD PRODUCE A SINGLE RESOLUTION, PREFERABLY ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS.

ELEMENTS OF A RESOLUTION

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13. WE BELIEVE THE U.S. SHOULD WORK TOWARD A RESOLUTION THAT INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING KEY ELEMENTS:

-- CONDEMNATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS;
-- SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE HCHR;
-- APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR OR A TEAM OF EXISTING THEMATIC RAPPORTEURS OR MECHANISMS (EXECUTIONS, DISAPPPEARANCES, TORTURE, ETC.) TO VISIT AND INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN RWANDA. (IN PRIVATECONVERSATIONS, BOTH AMNESTY INTERNATIONL AND HRC CHAIRMAN PALTHE HAVE EXPRESSE A PREFERENCE FOR A TEAM RATHER THAN A APPORTEUR. OUR INITIAL INCLINATION IS FOR A RAPPORTEUR, WHICH IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED A STRONGER SANCTION AND WHICH WOULD HELP ENSURE CONTINUING ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEM.) THE HRC SHOULD SET A SHORT TIME LIMIT FOR THE RAPPORTEUR OR INVESTIGATORY MECHANISM TO REPORT BACK TO MEMBERS.
-- A REQUEST THAT THE SYG OR THE HCHR CONVEY THE RESULTING REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL;
-- HOLDING INDIVIDUALS ACCOUNTABLE FOR CRIMES THEY HAVE COMMITTED;
-- A CALL FOR A HUMAN RIGHTS ELEMENT TO BE INCLUDED IN ANY FORTHCOMING UN OPERATION IN RWANDA; (THIS WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO AVOID THE KIND OF UNFORTUNATE DISCONNECT WE HAVE SEEN IN

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USUN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RECOMMENDATIONS
YUGOSLAVIA BETWEEN THE ICFY POLITICAL PROCESS
AND THE UNHRC SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.)
-- URGING PROTECTION FOR PEOPLE STILL EXPOSED TO
POSSIBLE VIOLENCE; AND
-- AUTHORIZATION FOR A PROGRAM OF HUMAN RIGHTS
ADVISORY SERVICES ONCE THE SITUATION IN RWANDA
HAS STABILIZED.

14. WE ALSO STRONGLY SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA, BOTH TO REPORT ON THE SITUATION AND FOR THEIR PROTECTIVE/PREVENTIVE IMPACT. WE CONSIDER IT ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO HAVE A CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS PRESENCE IN RWANDA BETWEEN SESSIONS OF THE COMMISSION AND VISITS BY SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS. WE WOULD PREFER, HOWEVER, FOR THE HIGH COMMISSIONER TO DECIDE TO SEND MONITORS WITHOUT SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE UNHRC. THE DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT WE WORKED -- UNSUCCESSFULLY -- IN THE UNGA TO INCLUDE IN THE HCHR'S MANDATE THE AUTHORITY TO SEND MONITORS. NOW THAT THE HCHR HAS ENDORSED THE CONCEPT OF MONITORS FOR RWANDA, IT WOULD SET AN EXTREMELY POSITIVE PRECEDENT FOR HIM TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY TO PUT THEM IN PLACE. WE PROPOSE TO EXPLORE WITH AYALA LASSO HIS VIEWS ON THIS AND TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER HE IS PREPARED TO PROCEED INDEPENDENTLY. IF NOT, THEN WE WOULD WORK TO WIN COMMISSION AUTHORIZATION FOR MONITORS.

15. (AN IMPORTANT FOLLOW-UP ISSUE ON MONITORS WILL BE THE QUESTION OF FUNDING. WE HAVE SEEN IN THE CASE OF IRAQ HOW UNHRC AUTHORITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS DOES NOT NECESSARILY TRANSLATE INTO ACTION ON THE GROUND. WE SHOULD CONSIDER WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE ANOTHER VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, AS WE DID FOR THE YUGOSLAVIA PROGRAM. IF SO, WE WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH THE DEPARTMENT A NUMBER OF CONSIDERATIONS TO ENSURE THE MOST EFFECTIVE MODALITIES AND USES OF SUCH A CONTRIBUTION.)

16. AS REPORTED REFTEL, THE CANADIAN LETTER REQUESTING A SPECIAL SESSION LEAVES OPEN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER BURUNDI, AS WELL AS RWANDA, CAN BE CONSIDERED. THIS MAY BE A SENSITIVE ISSUE; AFRICANS AND OTHERS MAY BE WARY OF A SPECIAL SESSION CALLED ESSENTIALLY TO DEAL WITH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN ONE COUNTRY SPILLING OVER INTO ANOTHER. WE WILL PURSUE THIS ISSUE DISCREETLY. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE COMMISSION TO CALL FOR ADVISORY SERVICES AND PREVENTIVE MEASURES FOR BURUNDI. IF AYALA LASSO MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS ON BURUNDI, AS WE BELIEVE HE MAY, IT WILL BE EASIER TO INCLUDE BURUNDI IN THE RESOLUTION.

PITFALLS

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17. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO FACE DIFFICULT ISSUES LIKELY TO BE RAISED BY OTHER DELEGATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, WHETHER THE MASSACRES IN RWANDA CAN BE LABLED AS GENOCIDE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE PROMPT GUIDANCE ON THIS

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POINT. SOME AFRICANS ARE INFORMALLY FLOATING SUCH IDEAS FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION AS A CALL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, RELIEF CORRIDORS, AND FINANCIAL CONRIBUTIONS. OTHERS -- MAINLY WESTERN, ALTHOUGH WE ARE CERTAIN THE ASIANS WILL SHARE THE SENTIMENT -- HAVE CAUTIONED AGAINST THE COMMISSION INVOLVING ITSELF IN ISSUES THAT ARE IN THE PURVIEW OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. ALL SEEM TO AGREE, SO FAR, THAT ANY ACTION BY THE UNHRC SHOULD COMPLEMENT SECURITY COUNCIL DECISIONS. THE STATUS OF SECURITY COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS ON RWANDA WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE UNHRC. IF THE UNSC HAS NOT TAKEN STRONG ACTION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 GENEVA 04478

USUN PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: RECOMMENDATIONS ON RWANDA BY THE TIME OF THE SPECIAL SESSION, WE SHOULD EXPECT SOME UNHRC MEMBERS TO TRY TO USE THE SESSION TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE SECURTIY COUNCIL.

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COMMENT

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GOALS FOR THE SESSION, INCLUDING ESPECIALLY THE ELEMENTS WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE INCLUDED IN A RESOLUTION. THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD ALSO BEGIN TO DRRAFT OUR SPEECH FOR THE SESSION -- WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE U.S. WILL BE ABLE TO DELIVER ONLY ONE INTERVENTION. TACTICALLY, THE U.S. DELEGATION SHOULD HAVE SUBSTANTIAL FLEXIBILITY TO DEAL WITH UNEXPECTED AND CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR THE MOMENT, WE WOULD DO BEST TO PURSUE OUR OBJECTIVES IN AN ACTIVE BUT LOW-KEY MANNER WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA, KEEPING THE CANADIANS IN THE LEAD.
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 05
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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA3875 1331011-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 131011Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 131011Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0309
INFO: RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 1814
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 0423
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0260
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 0086
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 0127
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4082
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0530
RUEHDJ/AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI 0053
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0138
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2490
SUBJ: DEMARCHE ON SUDAN, ENCOURAGEMENT ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 003875
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW,
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, SU, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE ON SUDAN, ENCOURAGEMENT ON RWANDA
REF: (A) STATE 125937 (B) KAMPALA 3579
(C) KAMPALA 3639
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY
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2. UGANDA'S DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER BELIEVES MUSEVENI WILL LEAN ON THE SUDANESE AND THE SPLA TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY AT THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS IN NAIROBI. HOWEVER, THE DEPUTY MINISTER IS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THE NAIROBI TALKS, LARGELY BECAUSE OF SUDAN'S RECENT BATTLEFIELD SUCCESSES. ON RWANDA, THE UGANDANS WILL HELP PUSH FOR A SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION ON THE CRISIS IN THAT COUNTRY. END SUMMARY.
3. I MET WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AGARD DIDI ON MAY 12 TO DISCUSS THE IGADD INITIATIVE ON THE SUDAN AND ALSO TO TALK ABOUT RWANDA. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH DIDI BECAUSE PRESIDENT MUSEVENI HAS JUST RETURNED FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND I MAY NOT GET AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK WITH HIM BEFORE HE DEPARTS FOR NAIROBI. DIDI, WHO HAS BEEN MUSEVENI'S POINT MAN ON SUDAN AND RWANDA, PLANS TO

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ACCOMPANY MUSEVENI TO NAIROBI AND REMAIN ON FOR THE DURATION OF THE SUDAN TALKS.

SUDAN DEMARCHE

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4. I BRIEFED DIDI ON MY EARLIER DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ABOUT A POSSIBLE UNSC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON THE SUDAN (REFTEL B) AND THEN MADE THE POINTS CONTAINED IN REFTEL A. (I ALSO LEFT WITH DIDI A COPY OF THE POINTS IN REFTEL A TO SHARE WITH MUSEVENI.) IN MAKING THE POINTS, I STRESSED THE NEED FOR MUSEVENI AND DIDI TO TRY TO CONVINCE THE SPLA AND THE GOS TO BE SERIOUS AND FORTHCOMING AT THE NAIROBI TALKS. I NOTED THE CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN MUSEVENI AND GARANG AND HOPED DIDI COULD APPEAL TO MUSEVENI TO DRAW ON THAT RELATIONSHIP TO ACHIEVE SOME PROGRESS.

UGANDA'S DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NOT OPTIMISTIC

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5. DIDI SAID THAT HE WOULD BE TRAVELLING ON MAY 13 OR 14 TO NAIROBI WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI. MOI WOULD BE HOSTING A MEETING THIS WEEKEND THAT WOULD INCLUDE THE PRESIDENTS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS OF UGANDA, ERITREA AND ETHIOPIA. DIDI SAID HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING MEETINGS ON THE SUDAN. HE THOUGHT THE MAY 16 MEETING WITH THE SUDANESE WAS GOING TO BE A FLOP AND THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT GENERAL BASHIR WOULD NOT SHOW UP FOR THE CURRENT ROUND OF PEACE TALKS. THE SUDANESE, ACCORDING TO DIDI, BELIEVE THE WAR IN THE SOUTH IS WINABLE AND THAT THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR SERIOUS POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. MOREOVER, THE SUDANESE MAY QUESTION THE RESOLVE AND STAYING POWER OF THE FOUR IGADD STATES. DIDI CAUTIONED THAT KENYA MAY NOT BE PREPARED TO GET TOUGH WITH BASHIR.

6. DIDI SAID HE WOULD CONVEY OUR POINTS TO MUSEVENI. HE WAS FAIRLY CONFIDENT MUSEVENI WOULD CONTINUE TO ENDORSE THE UNSC STATEMENT ON SUDAN AND THAT HE WOULD ENCOURAGE THE GOS AND THE SPLA TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. EXPRESSING A VIEW FREQUENTLY ARTICULATED BY MUSEVENI, DIDI SAID THE USG AND OTHER UNSC MEMBERS WOULD HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO TAKE STERNER MEASURES AGAINST THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT. THE IGADD INITIATIVE ON A UNSC STATEMENT WAS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP. THE IGADD PARTNERS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO HANG TOGETHER AND TO SHORE UP ONE ANOTHER.

NO READOUT ON MUSEVENI - BASHIR ENCOUNTER

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 003875

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW,
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, SU, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE ON SUDAN, ENCOURAGEMENT ON RWANDA
REF: (A) STATE 125937 (B) KAMPALA 3579
(C) KAMPALA 3639

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1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
7. I ASKED DIDI WHETHER HE HAD RECEIVED A DEBRIEF ON THE MUSEVENI - BASHIR MEETING IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE SAID NO, BUT SURMISED BASHIR WAS ENGAGING IN HIS USUAL EFFORTS TO DIVIDE THE IGADD LEADERS AND TO DELAY ANY UNIFIED ACTION AGAINST THE KHARTOUM REGIME.

RWANDA

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8. I INFORMED DIDI THAT CANADA HAD FORMALLY REQUESTED THE UNHRC TO CALL A SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA -- AN IDEA THAT HA A/S JOHN SHATTUCK HAD RAISED WITH MUSEVENI. I GAVE DIDI A LIST OF THE AFRICAN MEMBERS ON THE UNHRC, TOLD HIM ABOUT THE MAY 16 DEADLINE FOR UNHRC MEMBERS TO ACT, AND URGED UGANDA TO ENCOURAGE AFRICAN MEMBERS TO JOIN IN THE CALL FOR ACTION. DIDI, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE SHATTUCK - MUSEVENI MEETING (REFTEL C), SAID HE WOULD GET THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO MAKE SOME SUPPORTIVE CALLS. HE ALSO SAID HE WOULD HAVE A MESSAGE SENT TO THE OAU SYG IN ADDIS EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION AND ASKING THE OAU TO PUSH AFRICAN UNHRC MEMBER STATES TO ACT SWIFTLY.

COMMENT

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9. MUSEVENI'S SCHEDULE IS TIGHT AND I CHOSE TO DELIVER OUR DEMARCHE TO DIDI -- THE ONLY OTHER PERSON IN THE GOU WHO KNOWS AS MUCH ABOUT SUDAN AND RWANDA AS MUSEVENI. ALTHOUGH DIDI CANNOT MAKE THINGS HAPPEN, HE DOES HAVE THE ACCESS AND THE CONFIDENCE OF MUSEVENI. OUR MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED. IF I CAN GET TO MUSEVENI,.I'LL RELAY OUR VIEWS DIRECTLY. END COMMENT. CARSON

BT

#3875

NNNN

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

SSN: 3875
<^SSN>3875

TOR: 940513062742 M1045038
<^TOR>940513062641 M1045037

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.79)
hr 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHDSA3586 1331039-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 131039Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
OSRI: RUEHDS
DTG: 131039Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2324
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0081
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 7399
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0126
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1150
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 4810
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2471
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0054
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 3162
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1711
RUEHSW/AMEMBASSY BERN 0209
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8827
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2004
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3797
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2600
SUBJ: GOR WARNED IT IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE FATE
- OF CIVILIANS BEHIND ITS LINES
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ADDIS ABABA 003586
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, RW, ET
SUBJECT: GOR WARNED IT IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE FATE
- OF CIVILIANS BEHIND ITS LINES
REF: STATE 127183
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AMBASSADOR MET WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR MUGEMA MAY 13 AND MADE POINTS IN PARA 7 REFTEL IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS. AMBASSADOR UNDERLINED THAT A GOVERNMENT'S FIRST RESPONSIBILITY WAS TO PROTECT ITS CITIZENS, NO MATTER WHAT THEIR ETHNIC OR POLITICAL CONNECTION, THAT WE CONTINUED TO PUSH FOR A CEASE-FIRE, END TO THE KILLINGS AND A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM, BUT THAT PEOPLE KILLED NOW WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO BENEFIT FROM THE POLITICAL SOLUTION THAT MUST SURELY COME SOONER OR LATER. HE URGED MUGEMA TO CONTACT GOR AUTHORITIES WITHIN RWANDA TO PASS THIS MESSAGE ALONG WITHOUT DILUTION.
-
3. MUGEMA SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE MESSAGE AND, IN FACT, AGREED WITH IT. HE SAID HE WAS IN REGULAR CONTACT WITH GOR OFFICIALS IN RWANDA BY PHONE, AND ALSO SAW MINISTERS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY WHO WERE PASSING THROUGH

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ADDIS ABABA. HE PROMISED TO DELIVER THE USG MESSAGE TO THEM. IN RETURN, HE SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE USG PASS A SIMILAR MESSAGE TO THE RPF, PARTICULARLY ABOUT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND RETURN TO,THE ARUSHA PROCESS. AMBASSADOR ASSURED HIM THAT WE HAD BEEN DOING SO AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO, BUT THAT INTERNATIONAL OBSERVORS SUCH AS THE RED CROSS BELIEVED THAT THE WORST MASSACRES WERE CURRENTLY OCCURRING BEHIND GOR LINES, AND THESE NEEDED TO STOP. BUT CLEARLY WE AGREED THAT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE WAS IMPORTANT TOO.

4. IN LIGHT OF INSTRUCTION PARA 9 FOR CAIRO TO BRIEF THE GOE (PRESUMABLY IN THEIR ROLE AS OAU PRESIDENT), AMBASSADOR ALSO BRIEFED OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM BY PHONE ON OUR EFFORTS. HE WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE, SAID HE THOUGHT THIS WAS AN EXCELLENT INITIATIVE, AND URGED US TO "BE TOUGH." HE ALSO ASKED TO BE KEPT INFORMED OF THE REACTIONS OF THE RWANDAN AMBASSADORS, WHICH WE WILL DO BASED ON THE REPORTING WE RECEIVE.

5. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BAAS

BT

#3586

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3586

TOR: 940513064502 M1045077

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2,80)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHROA7735 1331141-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 131141Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ROME
OSRI: RUEHRO
DTG: 131141Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ROME
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5648
INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 1890
RUEHZJ/HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 6241
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 1751
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0470
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0091
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0702
SUBJ: ITALY SUPPORTS CALL FOR SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ROME 007735
STATE FOR HA
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AORC, PHUM, UHHRC-1, RW, IT
SUBJECT: ITALY SUPPORTS CALL FOR SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION ON RWANDA
REF: STATE 122881

1. ON MAY 10 WE CONTACTED GIOVANNELLA ROSSI, HUMAN RIGHTS COUNSELOR IN MFA UN AFFAIRS OFFICE TO INFORM HER OF US SUPPORT FOR CANADIAN CALL FOR SPECIAL SESSION OF UNHRC ON RWANDA PER REFTEL. ROSSI WAS NOT AWARE SUCH A CALL HAD BEEN MADE ON THAT DATE BUT AGREED TO SEEK POSITIVE ITALIAN REPLY BY THE DEADLINE. WE FOLLOWED UP ON MAY 13 AND LEARNED THAT INSTRUCTION WAS SENT TO ITALIAN MISSION IN GENEVA TO GIVE A POSITIVE REPLY BY MAY 16. ROSSI WAS NOT SURE IF REPLY HAD ACTUALLY BEEN DELIVERED IN GENEVA ON MAY 12 (A HOLIDAY THERE), BUT, IF NOT, WAS SURE IT WOULD BE DONE BY MAY 13 AT LATEST.

2. US MISSION GENEVA MAY WISH TO FOLLOW UP TO ENSURE THIS WAS DONE.

BARTHOLOMEW
BT
#7735
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7735
TOR: 940513075052 M1045182
DIST:

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SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2 of 2)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLGA1832 1331427-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 131427Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
OSRI: RUEHLG
DTG: 131427Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3105
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 1410
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 0749
SUBJ: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION:
CANADIAN CALL FOR SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LILONGWE 001832
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AORC, PHUM, RW, UNHRC-1, MI
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION:
CANADIAN CALL FOR SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
REF: LILONGWE 01769
FURTHER REFTEL, DCM CONTACTED UNDER SECRETARY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS GEORGE MKONDIWA ON MAY 13 TO INQUIRE AS TO MALAWI'S DECISION REGARDING A SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION ON RWANDA. MKONDIWA SAID THAT THE MINISTRY HAD FORWARDED A POSITION PAPER RECOMMENDING IN FAVOR OF A SPECIAL SESSION, BUT THAT IT HAD NOT YET RECEIVED A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE FROM HIGHER AUTHORITIES. HE THOUGHT MALAWI WOULD ULTIMATELY SUPPORT CANADA'S REQUEST FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION.
PISTOR
BT
#1832
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 1832
TOR: 940513104931 M1045449
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.83)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA5354 1331448-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 131448Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 131448Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7036
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0033
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 2684
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 9478
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0573
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0444
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0488
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0951
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 7349
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0067
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 1531
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY 8999
RUEHSW/AMEMBASSY BERN PRIORITY 6069
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0977
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO GOR CHARGE IN BRUSSELS ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR FATE OF CIVILIANS BEHIND ITS LINES
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 05354
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO GOR CHARGE IN BRUSSELS ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR FATE OF CIVILIANS BEHIND ITS LINES
REF: STATE 127183

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO BURUNDI FRANCOIS NGARUKIYINTWALI IS OUT OF COUNTRY UNTIL 5/21 IN SWAZILAND. CHARGE ETIENNE KABUTO NTAWURUHUNGA WAS UNABLE TO COME TO EMBASSY 5/21 BECAUSE HE WAS WAITING FOR SOMEONE AT HIS CHANCERY. INSTEAD POLCOUNS CALLED ON KABUTO AT HIS MISSION 5/13 TO STRESS THAT USG HELD GGERNMENT OF RWANDA AND ITS CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FATE OF CIVILIANS BEHIND ITS LINES. POLCOUNS URGED IN STRONGEST TERMS THAT RWANDAN GOVERNMENT MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS CALLING FOR AN END TO MASSACRES AND THAT MILITARY OFFICERS BRING RENEGADE UNITS AND MILITIAS UNDER THEIR CONTROL. SHE PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST PROTECT THE LIVES OF THOSE GATHERED IN THE MILLES COLLINES HOTEL, IN THE CYANGUGU STADIUM, AND IN OTHER PLACES OF REFUGE.

3. CHARGE KABUTO AGREED THAT SITUATION IN KIGALI AND ELSEWHERE IN RWANDA WAS PERILOUS, AND THAT THE FASTER THE KILLINGS ENDED, ON BOTH SIDES, THE BETTER IT WOULD BE FOR

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A COUNTRY WHICH HAD BEEN TORN APART. HE EXPRESSED HIS OWN PERSONAL GRIEF THAT SO MANY HAD DIED, "AND FOR NOTHING." KABUTO SAID HE AND HIS WIFE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH EITHER SET OF PARENTS, WHO ARE BEHIND DIFFERENT LINES, OR WITH HIS BROTHER AND FAMILY IN KIGALI.

4. KABUTO SAID HE WOULD PASS THE USG MESSAGE TO KIGALI AND GITARAMA IF HE COULD REACH EITHER. HE WAS UNWILLING (AND OBVIOUSLY UNINSTRUCTED) TO GIVE POLCOUNS ANY TELEPHONE NUMBERS HE HAD BEEN USING. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO REACH EITHER KIGALI OR GITARAMA SINCE 5/12, AND THAT LINES WERE ONLY INTERMITTENTLY AVAILABLE.

5. AS FOR THE FUTURE, KABUTO ADDED PERSONALLY THAT HE SAW NO WAY AHEAD EXCEPT NEGOTIATIONS, BUT HE DID NOT KNOW WHEN THESE COULD BEGIN.

BLINKEN

BT

#5354

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5354

TOR: 940513105811 M1045467

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (7.84)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA5359 1331631-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 131630Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 131630Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7040
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 0034
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0104
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE 0978
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0952
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0445
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0574
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7350
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0068
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0489
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 9480
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0666
SUBJ: MAY 13 TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS ON
- RWANDA: SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BRUSSELS 05359
E.O: 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PHUM, PGOV, EAID, PREF, FR, RW, CG, BY, BE
SUBJECT: MAY 13 TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS ON
- RWANDA: SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES ON THE MORNING OF MAY 13, FOLLOWED BY A TRILATERAL SESSION WITH HIS FRENCH AND BELGIAN COUNTERPARTS FOR DISCUSSIONS ON THE CRISIS IN RWANDA, AS WELL AS EVENTS IN BURUNDI AND ZAIRE. LATER IN THE DAY, THE TRILATERAL REPRESENTATIVES MET WITH MSGR. MONSWENGO, WHO HAD JUST ARRIVED FROM THE AFRICAN BISHOPS SYNOD IN ROME. THIS CABLE WILL SUMMARIZE THE MAIN CONCLUSIONS OF THE RWANDA DISCUSSIONS. THE FULL EXCHANGES WILL BE REPORTED VIA SEPTELS. END SUMMARY.

3. A/S MOOSE HELD A WORKING BREAKFAST ON ON MAY 13 IN BRUSSELS WITH BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES FOLLOWED BY A FULL TRILATERAL MEETING WITH HIS BELGIAN ANDFRENCH COUNTERPARTS. THE FRENCH GROUP WAS HEADED BY JEAN-MARC ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE, QUAI DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS; HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS OFFICER FROM THE QUAI'S IO BUREAU AND THE FRENCH EMBASSY'S AFRICA WATCHER. THE BELGIAN SIDE WAS HEADED BY LODE WILLEMS, CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND WIL JANEN, DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS AT THE MFA; THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MFA JOINED THE BELGIAN DELEGATION FOR THE

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WORKING LUNCHEON.
ASSESSMENT OF THE MILITARY SITUATION
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4. DESPITE ITS WILLINGNESS TO SIGN A CEASE-FIRE, THE RPF IS IN FACT PROBABLY NOT PREPARED TO HALT ITS OFFENSIVE UNTIL KIGALI IS TAKEN. THE FRENCH AND THE U.S. BELIEVE THAT THE RPF HAS REACHED (OR WILL SHORTLY) THE LIMITS OF ITS MILITARY CAPABILITIES AS IT GETS INTO HOSTILE AREAS FURTHER FROM ITS BASES IN UGANDA AND NORTHERN RWANDA. THE FRENCH EXPRESSED ALARM OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF SUPPORT FROM THE BURUNDI ARMY FOR THE RPF, SHOULD THE LATTER TAKE CONTROL OF THE BORDER AREA. MOOSE AGREED BUT NOTED THAT THE BURUNDIAN ARMY CAN PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE RPF ANYTIME IT WISHES TO DO SO, WHETHER OR NOT THE RPF TAKES CONTROL OF THE BORDER AREA. HE ARGUED THAT DESTABILIZATION OF BURUNDI IS A MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IF FIGHTING CONTINUES.
STOPPING THE ARMS FLOWS
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5. UGANDAN AND RPF FORCES ARE PREVENTING UNAMOR FORCES FROM CARRYING OUT ITS MONITORING ROLE IN THE KIGITMMBA AREA ALONG THE UGANDAN BORDER, THUS SHIELDING SCRUTINY OF GOU RESUPPLY OF THE RPF. DE LA SABLIERE SUGGESTED THE TRILATERAL PARTNERS MAKE CLEAR TO THE GOU AND THE RPF THAT WE ARE AWARE OF THIS COMPLICITY AND URGE THEM TO STOP. THE THREE AGREED THAT PRESSURE SHOULD ALSO BE BROUGHT ON ALL NEIGHBORING STATES TO STOP THE FLOW OF ARMS TO THE COMBATTANTS.
UNSC RESOLUTION
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6. MOOSE NOTED THAT SEVERAL OF THE COUNTRIES THAT HAVE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO A UN OPERATION HAVE MADE CLEAR THEY WILL DO SO ONLY UNDER CHAPTER VI, AFTER A GENUINE CEASE-FIRE IS IN EFFECT, NOT AS A CHAPTER VII PEACE-MAKING EFFORT. FRANCE AND BELGIUM REAFFIRMED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT AN ARMS EMBARGO AND AGREED THAT APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE BE INCLUDED IN THE UNSC RESOLUTION. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THE RESOLUTION SHOULD INCLUDE A REQUEST FOR THE UNSYG TO MAKE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BRUSSELS 05359
E.O: 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PGOV, EAID, PREF, FR, RW, CG, BY, BE
SUBJECT: MAY 13 TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS ON
- RWANDA: SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS ON CARRYING OUT AN INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. DE LA SABLIERE STRESSED THE RESOLUTION SHOULD ALSO CALL FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA.
7. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE EXECUTIONS CARRIED OUT BY THE RPF HAD BEEN CLOSELY TARGETTED, DE LA SABLIERE ARGUED THAT THE INVESTIGATION SHOULD LOOK AS CLOSELY AT THE DEATHS IN RPF HELD AREAS AS THE ETHNIC MASSACRES CARRIED OUT BY HUTU MILITIAS AND POPULATION. MOOSE AGREED THAT SUMMARY EXECUTIONS IN RPF HELD AREAS SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED.
ENDING THE FIGHTING AND STOPPING THE MASSACRES
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8. THE THREE PARTNERS AGREED THAT PRIORITY MUST BE GIVEN TO HALTING THE ETHNIC KILLINGS, BRINGING ABOUT A

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CEASE-FIRE AND GETTING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS UNDERWAY. MOOSE ARGUED THAT THE U.S. PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION OF "SAFE ZONES" ALONG THE RWANDAN BORDER AREAS UNDER UN CONTROL COULD HELP REASSURE THE RPF THAT THE TUTSI POPULATION IN GOR-CONTROLLED AREAS IS BEING PROTECTED, THUS MAKING IT EASIER FOR THE RPF AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE. SUCH AREAS COULD BE EXPANDED TO CITIES LIKE BUTARE ADN CYANGUGU, WHERE CONCENTRATIONS OF DISPLACED TUTSIS REPORTEDLY EXIST, MOOSE EXPLAINED. HE ADDED THAT UNSYG BOUTROS GHALI (AFTER HEARING THE DETAILS IN PRETORIA) SEEMED PREPARED TO SUPPORT THIS COMCEPT PROVIDED IT DID NOT PRECLUDE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A WIDER CEASE-FIRE.

9. THE FRENCH ACKNOWLEDGED MOOSE'S ARGUMENT AS WELL AS THE NEED FOR EFFORTS IN ALL THREE AREAS TO PROCEED IN PARALLEL. DE LA SABLIERE ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EXECUTION OF SUCH A POLICY, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING THE STABILITY OF BURUNDI. MOOSE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOB WOULD BE CAREFULLY AND FULLY CONSULTED BEFORE SUCH A PLAN WAS PUT INTO ACTION.

10. DE LA SABLIERE STRESED THAT THE TRILATERAL PARTNERS SHOULD NOT TAKE A LEADING PUBLIC ROLE ON RWANDA BUT RATHER SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO A REGIONAL STRATEGY, INCLUDING A SUMMIT BY PRESIDENTS OF THE FOUR SURROUNDING COUNTRIES. HE STATED THAT HE MEETINGS AT PRETORIA ON THE MARGINS OF THE MANDELA SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES HAD RESOLVED MOST OF THE ISSUES CONCERNING SUCH A MEETING. THE U.S. AND BELGIUM AGREED ON THE NEED TO INVOLVE THE NEIGHBORING STATES BUT EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT ANY CONTINUING ROLE FOR ZAIRE THAT WOULD DIMINISH OR CONFUSE THE MEDIATION EFFORT UNDEWAY BY TANZANIA. THE FRENCH ACCEPTED THIS POINT NOTING THEIR OWN VIEW THAT TANZANIA SHOULD RETAIN THE LEAD. FOR THAT REASON, DE LA SABLIERE ARGUED AGAINST TANZANIA"S PARTICIPATION IN A RWANDA PKO.

CIVILIAN POPULATION TRAPPED IN KIGALI

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11. MOOSE CALLED ATTENTION TO THE APPROXIMATELY 14,000 CIVILIANS BEING UNABLE TO LEAVE THE MILLE COLLINES HOTEL, THE STADIUM AND THE HOSPITAL AND INDICATIONS WE HAVE RECEIVED THAT THE RWANDAN ARMY IS PERHAPS PREPARING AN ATTACK. MOOSE RECOUNTED OUR EFFORTS TO DISSUADE THE FAR FROM SUCH A STEP AND ASKED IF THE GOF COULD INTERVENE. AFTER RECOUNTING EARLIER UNSUCCESSFUL GOF EFFORTS TO ASSURE THE SAFETY OF THESE TRAPPED CIVILIANS, DE LA SABLIERE AGREED TO MAKE ANOTHER TRY IMMEDIATELY. WILLEMS ALSO AGREED TO SEE IF BELGIUM COULD BE OF ASSISTANCE.

INFORMATION GATHERING: THE RWANDAN ARMY AND GOVERNMENT

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12. THE PARTICIPANTS AGREED THAT DESPITE THE EVIDENT DIFFICULTIES, AN EFFORT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ESTABLISHING A

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BRUSSELS 05359

E.O: 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PGOV, EAID, PREF, FR, RW, CG, BY, BE

SUBJECT: MAY 13 TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS ON

- RWANDA: SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

BETTER BASE OF INFORMATION ON THE STATE OF THE RWANDAN ARMY. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THE THREE CAPITALS SHOULD POOL INFORMATION ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND, IF POSSIBLE, ADDITIONAL DATA SHOULD BE

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GATHERED.
DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS
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13. MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT THE UNHRC ASLO CONSIDER THE DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN AN EFFORT REDUCE VIOLATIONS AND NOTED THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THEM, EVEN IF IT WAS NOT CLEAR TO US THAT THEY WOULD BE PERMITTED TO CARRY OUT THEIR DUTIES AS WIDELY AS WE WOULD LIKE.
BLINKEN
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
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SSN: 5359
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TOR: 940513124358 M1045729
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PREC: PRIORITY
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 151401Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
OSRI: RUEHEG
DTG: 151401Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 2123
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1558
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0274
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0071
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT ON PROTECTION OF RWANDAN CIVILIANS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ CAIRO 007674
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, RW, EG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT ON PROTECTION OF RWANDAN CIVILIANS
REF: A) STATE 127183 B) WIENER/AF/C 5/13 TELCON
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTPRE TEXT.
2. AS REPORTED REFTELCON, WE CONTACTED RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT RUZINDANA EMMANUEL MAY 13 TO URGE IN STRONGEST TERMS THAT THE GOR TAKE STEPS TO PROTECT CIVILIANS BEHIND ITS LINES (REFTEL A). THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR SAID HE WOULD CONVEY OUR DEMARCHE TO HIS GOVERNMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, THE AMBASSADOR CALLED UPON THE USG TO MAKE A SIMILAR DEMARCHE TO THE RPF AND THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA, WHICH HE SAID WAS SUPPORTING THE RPF.
3. THE RWANDAN EMBASSY FOLLOWED UP LATER MAY 13 WITH A FAXED DIPLOMATIC NOTE "DEMANDING THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH UGANDA AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT TO GET THEM TO UNDERTAKE SIMILAR HUMANITARIAN AND POLITICAL ACTIONS." THE NOTE GOES ON TO SAY THAT UGANDA IS "PROVIDING THE R.P.F. MASSIVE MATERIAL AND HUMAN SUPPORT FOR THE MASSACRE OF CIVIL POPULATIONS IN RWANDA" IN RPF CONTROLLED ZONES. FURTHERMORE, UGANDA IS ACCUSED "AT THE MOMENT" OF SENDING "BULLDOZERS FOR THE BURIAL OF THOUSANDS OF BODIES...BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS" LIKE THE RED CROSS.

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4. COMMENT: THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THE RWANDAN MISSION HERE HAS TAKEN A HARDLINE STANCE ON THE CONFLICT. AT ZIMBABWE NATIONAL DAY FESTIVITIES APRIL 17, THE RWANDAN POLCOUNS BUTTONHOLED POLOFF TO CLAIM THAT WHILE THE LATE PRESIDENT HAD BETRAYED THE HUTU CAUSE BY COMPROMISING WITH THE TUTSIS AT ARUSHA, IT HAD BEEN THE BELGIANS, NOT DISAFFECTED HUTUS, WHO HAD SHOT DOWN THE PRESIDENTIAL PLANE. IN A SIMILAR VEIN, HE CLAIMED THAT THE RPF WAS FINANCED AND SUPPORTED BY UGANDA, AND WAS EVEN COMMANDED BY FORMER OFFICERS OF THE UGANDAN MILITARY. THUS, THE UNCOOPERATIVE RESPONSE TO OUR DEMARCHE DID NOT COME AS A COMPLETE SURPRISE. HULL.
BT
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7674

TOR: 940515101301 M1047772

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RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0006
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0231
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0047
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RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 3199
RUEHPM/AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY 5436
RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 4194
RUHQHQB/USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//FPA/J5//
RUEHBN/AMCONSUL MELBOURNE 7293
RUEHDN/AMCONSUL SYDNEY 8022
ZEN/AMCONSUL BRISBANE
ZEN/AMCONSUL PERTH
SUBJ: RWANDA PEACEKEEPING -- AUSTRALIA VERY
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.89)
VR 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ CANBERRA 02654
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, AS
SUBJECT: RWANDA PEACEKEEPING -- AUSTRALIA VERY
. SYMPATHETIC TO UN REQUEST FOR TROOPS
REF: CANBERRA 2592 (NOTAL)
1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AUSTRALIA IS "VERY SYMPATHETIC" TO A RECENT UN REQUEST FOR PEACEKEEPING FORCES TO SERVE IN RWANDA, ACCORDING TO DAVID STUART, DIRECTOR FOR UN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE, ON MAY 16. THIS NEW STANCE FOLLOWS INTENSIFIED UN DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK AND RECEIPT BY THE GOA OF A FORMAL REQUEST FOR SUCH FORCES. STUART CONFIRMED THAT THE GOA IS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING THE REQUEST, WHICH BROKE IN THE MEDIA OVER THE WEEKEND, AND PROJECTED IT WILL TAKE ANOTHER FEW DAYS TO WORK OUT A REPLY.
3. HE TOLD US THE UN HAS ASKED AUSTRALIA TO PROVIDE: (A) 150 COMMUNICATORS; AND (B) A SQUADRON OF FIELD ENGINEERS OR 20 MOVEMENT CONTROLLERS. (ANOTHER ACCOUNT IN A USUALLY AUTHORITATIVE NEWSPAPER DESCRIBED THE REQUEST AS "UP TO 400 TROOPS" MADE UP OF A COMMO GROUP OF 150, A FIELD ENGINEERING GROUP OF 220, AND A MOVEMENT CONTROL UNIT OF 20.) STUART ADDED ANOTHER

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OPTION THAT IS ALSO BEING CONSIDERED -- A GROUP OF MILITARY MEDICS IN LIEU OF PART OF THE UN REQUEST.
4. STUART SAID THAT GOA DECISIONS WILL TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE FOLLOWING KEY FACTORS: (A) THE ASSURANCE OF APPROPRIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUPPLY, WITH HEAVY STRESS ON US RPT US WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE SUPPORT; (B) THE NATURE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MANDATE (E.G., AIMS, DURATION, TACTICS, STRATEGY); AND (C) OVERALL FORCE COMPOSITION.
5. FOREIGN MINISTER GARETH EVANS IS ON RECORD THAT A "REASONABLE" UN REQUEST WOULD BE REVIEWED "VERY SYMPATHETICALLY INDEED." AT DINNER WITH THE AMBASSADOR LAST WEEK, SEN. EVANS SAID HE BELIEVED UN ACTION NEEDED TO BE TAKEN BUT SHOWED AWARENESS OF THE MANY PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES AND THE NEED TO BE CLEAR ON MEANS AND GOALS. OVER THE WEEKEND, OPPOSITION LEADER JOHN HEWSON PLEDGED SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE FOR A PEACEKEEPING DEPLOYMENT. CITING THE LOGISTICAL CHALLENGE POSED BY LANDLOCKED RWANDA, THE GOA'S DEFENSE SPOKESMAN, BRIG. ADRIAN D'HAGE, CALLED THE RWANDA MISSION "MORE DIFFICULT ...THAN EITHER SOMALIA OR CAMBODIA...." PERKINS
BT
#2654
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2654

TOR: 940515222325 M1047948

DIST:

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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0501
SUBJ: TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 BRUSSELS 05379
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/NE AND AF/C; ROME FOR VATICAN
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, BE, CG, FR
SUBJECT: TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. BACKGROUND: AF ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE MET MAY 13 WITH JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE AND LODE WILLEMS, HIS FRENCH AND BELGIAN COUNTERPARTS, FOR TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON RWANDA, BURUNDI, AND ZAIRE. THE RWANDA/BURUNDI DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN REPORTED SEPTELS. THIS MESSAGE CONCLUDES THE TROIKA OF CABLES WITH A REPORT ON THE ZAIRE SECTION OF THE MEETING.
3. SUMMARY: THE THREE AGREED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HCR-PT, ZAIRE'S TRANSITION PARLIAMENT, AND THE PROMULGATION ON APRIL 9 OF THE TRANSITION CONSTITUTION WERE POSITIVE STEPS, BUT THAT THE IMPASSE ON THE CHOICE OF PRIME MINISTER RISKED DERAILING THE PROCESS. THEY REITERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO'S CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT, BUT RECOGNIZED THAT BOTH THE PRELATE AND THE HOLY SEE PREFERRED A LESS ACTIVE ROLE IN THE POLITICAL DELIBERATIONS IN KINSHASA. THE THREE ALSO SOUGHT A RENEWED ENGAGEMENT BY LAKHDAR BRAHIMI, THE UNSYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO ZAIRE. FOLLOWING THE FORMAL TRILATERALS, MOOSE, DE LA SABLIERE, AND WILLEMS MET WITH MONSENGWO, WHO CONFIRMED HIS INTENTION TO CONCENTRATE ON HIS EPISCOPAL DUTIES. THE ARCHBISHOP AGREED, HOWEVER, TO ACT AS A "COUNSELOR" -- PROVIDED THE THREE PRESSURE THE POLITICAL CLASS TO BE SERIOUS, AND PROVIDED BRAHIMI

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RE-ENGAGE. THE THREE DECIDED TO MAKE A DEMARCHE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO BOUTROS-GHALI AND BRAHIMI IN ORDER TO REVIVE THE UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE'S MISSION TO ZAIRE, TO INCLUDE A NEW MANDATE TO WORK WITH THE OPPOSITION ON A CONSENSUS CANDIDATE FOR PM AND THE COMPOSITION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY

BELGIUM AND ZAIRE'S TRANSITION: HALF FULL

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4. BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS OPENED THE ZAIRE PORTION OF THE TRILATERALS WITH A REVIEW OF PROGRESS (AND LACK THEREOF) IN ZAIRE'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY. WILLEMS ACKNOWLEDGED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE HCR-PT, ZAIRE'S TRANSITION PARLIAMENT, AND NOTED THE PROMULGATION OF THE TRANSITION CONSTITUTIONAL ACT. RESOLUTION OF THE INTRACTABLE ISSUE OF THE PRIME MINISTER, AND THE FORMATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT, REMAINED ELUSIVE. WILLEMS SAID THAT ZAIRE NEEDS A GOVERNMENT. THE GOB REGRETTED THE DIVISIONS WITHIN THE OPPOSITION, AND WILLEMS STATED FRANKLY THAT THE BELGIAN PARLIAMENT WANTED ACTION. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO (IF HE WAS WILLING) AND UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE LAKHDAR BRAHIMI COULD WORK TOGETHER TO END THE IMPASSE. WILLEMS ALSO URGED THE THREE TO MAKE A "FINAL EFFORT" TO UNBLOCK THE SITUATION. HE PAINTED A BLEAK PICTURE OF ENDLESS PALAVERS AND EXTRAPARLIAMENTARY ACTION BY THE OPPOSITION SHOULD A SOLUTION NOT BE FOUND.

THE U.S. VIEW

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5. A/S MOOSE AGREED IN GENERAL WITH WILLEMS' OUTLINE OF THE SITUATION IN ZAIRE, AND NOTED THE RISK OF A RE-CREATION OF PARALLEL INSTITUTIONS SHOULD THE HARD-LINE OPPOSITION REMAIN A NON-PARTICIPANT IN THE HCR-PT. HE SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN ZAIRE SEEMED TANTALIZINGLY CLOSE TO RESOLUTION, BUT WAS IN REALITY QUITE FAR AWAY. MOOSE RAISED THE ADDED PROBLEM OF THE UN'S LACK OF ENGAGEMENT IN ZAIRE: IN A MEETING IN SOUTH AFRICA, BRAHIMI HAD TOLD US THAT HE WAS NOT EAGER TO RETURN TO ZAIRE "WITHOUT GOOD REASON," AND HAD DECIDED TO POSTPONE HIS DEPARTURE FROM SOUTH AFRICA BY AT LEAST TWO WEEKS.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 BRUSSELS 05379

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/NE AND AF/C; ROME FOR VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, BE, CG, FR

SUBJECT: TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE

6. MOOSE SAID THAT THE DISARRAY AMONG THE OPPOSITION AND THE INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS OF TSHISEKEDI TO FORGE A COMPROMISE WERE THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS AT THE MOMENT, AND THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF SOMEONE COULD HELP. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO NAMIBIA, MOOSE RELATED THAT SAM NUJOMA HAD RELAYED THROUGH A CLOSE ADVISOR HIS OFFER TO BE HELPFUL IN ZAIRE. MOOSE BELIEVED NUJOMA TO BE SERIOUS, AND NOTED THAT THE NAMIBIAN PRESIDENT HAD SPENT TIME IN EXILE IN ZAIRE, AND KNEW BOTH MOBUTU AND THE OPPOSITION.

FRANCE AND ZAIRE'S TRANSITION: HALF EMPTY

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7. DE LA SABLIERE SUGGESTED THAT THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY IN ZAIRE WAS LONG, "PERHAPS TOO LONG." HE SAID THAT "THEORETICALLY, WE ARE NEAR THE END" BUT SECONDED HIS

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COUNTERPARTS' VIEW THAT THE PROBLEM REMAINED THE ISSUE OF THE PRIME MINISTER. THE FRENCH EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI COULD BE REPEATED ON A DISASTROUSLY LARGER SCALE IN ZAIRE, AND NOTED THE URGENCY OF FINDING A SOLUTION. DE LA SABLIERE STATED BLUNTLY THAT "TSHISEKEDI HAD NOT SUCCEEDED" IN REGAINING THE PRIME MINISTRY, AND THAT "IT WAS NOW TIME FOR ANOTHER" CANDIDATE TO EMERGE. HE ADDED THAT TSHISEKEDI COULD STAND FOR THE PRESIDENCY, BUT THAT THE OPPOSITION LEADER MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT HE COULD NOT BE THE LONG-AWAITED "CONSENSUS" CHOICE FOR PM. THE FRENCH HOPED THE BELGIANS WOULD DELIVER THE MESSAGE, SINCE "HE LISTENS TO YOU." (NOTE: WILLEMS DEMURRED, AND IN AN ASIDE, READ A LONG CABLE FROM HIS AMBASSADOR REPORTING ON HIS RECENT MEETING WITH TSHISEKEDI, IN WHICH THE UDPS SUPREMO REFUSED ANY CONCESSIONS TO MOBUTU, THE EXCOMMUNICATED OPPOSITION, BRAHIMI, AND THE FPC. END NOTE). DE LA SABLIERE CONCLUDED BY REITERATING THAT THE CONTINUING IMPASSE IN KINSHASA WAS "TOO RISKY FOR THE REGION."

RECONCILING THE OPPOSITION

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8. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT IN SPITE OF THE BLEAK PROSPECTS, THE THREE NEEDED TO ENCOURAGE THE PROCESS OF COMPROMISE AND RECONCILIATION AMONG THE OPPOSITION. WILLEMS SUGGESTED THAT THE BELGIAN MODEL OF AN "INFORMATEUR" TO JAWBONE THE OPPOSITION AND COBBLE TOGETHER A COALITION GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE FOLLOWED. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED TO THE NOTION OF FINDING A CONSENSUS CANDIDATE, BUT ASKED THE THREE TO EXCLUDE TSHISEKEDI FROM THE EQUATION, "AT LEAST AMONG OURSELVES." MOOSE STATED FIRMLY THAT THE U.S. COULD NOT AGREE TO PRIMA FACIE EXCLUSION OF ANY OPPOSITION FIGURE. THE IDEAL WOULD BE TO FIND A CONSENSUS CANDIDATE, BUT EXCLUSION OF ANY CANDIDATE WAS NOT AN OPTION. MOOSE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE CONCEPT OF AN "INFORMATEUR," BUT REPEATED THAT BRAHIMI SEEMED LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT RE-ENGAGING AND THAT MONSENGWO WAS CLEARLY RELUCTANT TO RESUME HIS ACTIVE ROLE.

9. WILLEMS NOTED THAT IT WAS UNFORTUNATE BRAHIMI'S DUTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA HAD FORESTALLED A CONTINUED ROLE IN ZAIRE. HE SUGGESTED THAT AN ACTIVE UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE COULD BE A "GUARANTOR OF ORTHODOXY" TO ASSURE THAT ALL SIDES PLAY BY THE RULES, AND RAISED THE IDEA OF PUSHING BOUTROS-GHALI TO MAKE BRAHIMI RE-ENGAGE IN ZAIRE. DE LA SABLIERE AND MOOSE AGREED THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, BRAHIMI'S MANDATE COULD BE ENLARGED TO INCLUDE BROKERING A CONSENSUS PRIME MINISTER FROM THE RANKS OF THE OPPOSITION. THE THREE AGREED THAT NEITHER FRANCE, BELGIUM OR THE U.S. COULD PLAY THIS ROLE, AND THAT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 BRUSSELS 05379

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/NE AND AF/C; ROME FOR VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, BE, CG, FR

SUBJECT: TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE

IF MONSENGWO COULD NOT BE PERSUADED TO RESUME HIS MEDIATION EFFORTS, WE SHOULD SPEAK DIRECTLY TO BOUTROS-GHALI.

MONSENGWO: "I WILL BE A COUNSELOR NOT A PROTAGONIST"

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10. FOLLOWING THE TRILATERAL SESSION, THE THREE MET PRIVATELY WITH ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO. WILLEMS AND MOOSE REVIEWED THE TRILATERAL DELIBERATIONS FOR ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO, AND ASKED FOR THE PRELATE'S VIEW ON BOTH RECENT EVENTS IN KINSHASA AND HIS ROLE ONCE HE RETURNED TO ZAIRE. MONSENGWO REPLIED THAT THE ZAIRIAN PEOPLE WANTED A STATE OF LAW, THAT THE TRANSITION CONSTITUTIONAL ACT HAD BEEN ADOPTED AND ACCEPTED BY ALL, AND THAT THE RULES OF THE GAME WERE NOW DEFINED. ALL OF THE POLITICAL PLAYERS MUST NOW SUBMIT TO THE LAW, AND MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE TRANSITION CONSTITUTION WAS ABOVE PARTISAN POLITICAL INTERESTS. HE ADDED THAT THE CONSTITUTION REQUIRED CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE OPPOSITION TO SELECT A CONSENSUS PRIME MINISTER, AND THAT THESE CONSULTATIONS HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE. MONSENGWO CHIDED THE OPPOSITION FOR ITS DISARRAY, AND CONDEMNED THE SERIES OF "EXCOMMUNICATIONS" AND EXCLUSIONS WHICH HAD DIMINISHED THE POWER OF THE HOLY UNION WITHIN THE HCR-PT.

11. IN MONSENGWO'S VIEW, CONSULTATIONS MUST BEGIN ANEW, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF CONCLUDING A "GOVERNMENTAL PACT," TO INCLUDE THE PRESUMPTIVE PM AND THE COMPOSTION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THE ARCHBISHOP RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF A MEDIATOR IN THIS PROCESS, BUT DECLINED THE ROLE. HE SAID THAT BRAHIMI, "NOW THAT HE IS FREE," SHOULD UNDERTAKE THIS RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE THREE "MUST ENSURE" THAT HE COMES TO ZAIRE. FOR HIS PART, THE ARCHBISHOP PLANNED TO RETURN TO ZAIRE ON MAY 18, BUT SAID HE WOULD DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM POLITICS. TO THE POLITICAL CLASS HIS MESSAGE WILL BE: "THE RULES OF THE GAME ARE THERE. PLAY THEM." MONSENGWO SAID THAT HIS MESSAGE TO MOBUTU WOULD BE "TELL YOUR PEOPLE, INCLUDING THOSE IN YOUR PAY WHO PROFESS TO BE IN THE OPPOSITION, TO STOP BLOCKING THE TRANSITION." IF TSHISEKEDI WANTS TO BE PRIME MINISTER, ACCORDING TO MONSENGWO, "HE MUST GET ALONG." "HIS CURRENT BEHAVIOR SUGGESTS THAT HE DOES NOT WANT TO BE PRIME MINISTER."

12. DE LA SABLIERE ASKED IF THE ARCHBISHOP WAS PREPARED TO WORK WITH BRAHIMI. MONSENGWO AGREED, "BUT ONLY IF THE TROIKA TELLS THE POLITICAL CLASS TO GET SERIOUS." THE ARCHBISHOP CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT IT WAS ABNORMAL THAT THE POLITICIANS SHOULD CONTINUE TO BLOCK THE TRANSITION, WHEN ALL THAT WAS REQUIRED WAS A "MINIMUM OF GOOD WILL." HE CALLED THEM ALL "LITTLE DICTATORS," AND ASKED "WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRACY IS THIS?"

13. MOOSE NOTED THAT THE IDEA OF A MEDIATOR TRACKED WITH WHAT THE THREE HAD DISCUSSED. HE ADDED THAT WE COULD WEIGH IN AT THE UN TO CALL FOR RENEWED ENGAGEMENT BY BRAHIMI, BUT THAT THE UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD REQUIRE AN INTERLOCUTOR. MOOSE RECOGNIZED MONSENGWO'S CRITICAL ROLE TO DATE IN ZAIRE'S TRANSITION, AND URGED HIM TO LEND HIS CREDIBILITY TO THE PROCESS. MONSENGWO REPLIED THAT HE WOULD BE "MORE A COUNSELOR THAN A PROTAGONIST." DE LA SABLIERE CALLED FOR A PARTNERSHIP, AND SAID THAT MONSENGWO'S AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN SOME CAPACITY WOULD STRENGTHEN THE THREE'S ARGUMENTS AT THE UN. MONSENGWO DID NOT RULE OUT SOME FORM OF ENGAGEMENT IN THE PROCESS, BUT INSISTED THAT HE WOULD ONLY BE A COUNSELOR TO

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DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/NE AND AF/C; ROME FOR VATICAN
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, BE, CG, FR
SUBJECT: TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE
THE UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND THE PARTIES. HE FINISHED BY SAYING "I AM NO LONGER A CONSTITUTIONAL MEDIATOR."
AGREEMENT FOR A DEMARCHE AT THE UN
---
14. FOLLOWING THE MEETING WITH MONSENGWO, THE THREE DECIDED TO DRAFT COMMON LANGUAGE FOR A JOINT DEMARCHE AT THE UN TO BOUTROS-GHALI AND BRAHIMI. THE THREE AGREED TO CALL UPON THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO RENEW THE MANDATE OF HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, BUT WITH A MORE ACTIVIST COMPONENT: THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE ASKED TO MEDIATE, PUSH THE OPPOSITION TO BOTH FIND A CONSENSUS CANDIDATE FOR PRIME MINISTER AND AGREE ON THE COMPOSITION OF A BROAD-BASED INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THE U.S. AGREED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN DRAFTING THE TALKING POINTS, AND THE THREE DECIDED TO LEAVE TO MONSENGWO AND BRAHIMI THE DEFINITION OF THEIR "PARTNERSHIP."
LUANDA AND BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
BLINKEN
BT
#5379
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 5379
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TOR: 940516033144 M1048124
<^TOR>940516033146 M1048125
<^TOR>940516033247 M1048126
<^TOR>940516033253 M1048129

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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2011-0262-M-2 (7.91)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA4528 1361004-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 161003Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 161003Z MAY 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9359
INFO: RUEHZJ/HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1941
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0197
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 2019
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1559
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0302
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0042
SUBJ: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO CONVENE
SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 04528
USUN PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO CONVENE
SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
REF: (A) STATE 128805, (B) GENEVA 4478
1. THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER HAS RECEIVED THE 27 AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES NEEDED TO CONVENE A UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA, AS REQUESTED BY CANADA. THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER IS CURRENTLY PLANNING FOR A TWO-DAY MEETIN ON MAY 24-25, ALTHOUGH THESE DATES HAVE NOT YET BEEN CONFIRMED.
2. THE 27 COMMISSION MEMBERS WHICH HAD SUBMITTED AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS FRIDAY AFTERNON, MAY 13, WERE: LESOTHO, MAURITANIA, MAURITIUS, NIGERIA, TOGO, CYPRUS, IRAN, KOREA, MALAYSIA, PAKISTAN, SRI LANKA, BULGARIA, ROMANIA, COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR, PERU, URUGUAY, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, FINLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, THE NETHERLANDS, THE U.K., AND THE U.S.A. WE ANHICIPATE THAT MORE AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES WILL ARRIVE AT THE CENTER TODAY, MAY 16, BEFORE THE 6:00PM DEADLINE.
3. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AYALA LASSO RETURNED TO GENEVA FROM AFRICA OVER THE WEEKEND AND DEPARTED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY FOR VIENNA. HE WILL NOT RETURN TO GENEVA UNTIL MAY 18. WE WERE UNABLE TO MAKE CONTACT WITH AYALA LASSO DURING HIS STOP-OVER IN GENEVA IBUT ARE SEEKING AN APPOINTMENT WITH HIM AS SOON AS HE RETURNS. WE WILL BE CONSULTING WITH AYALA'S STAFF, THE

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CANADIANS, AND OTHERS IN THE COURSE OF THE DAY MAY 16,
AND WILL REPORT FURTHER.
SPIEGEL
BT
#4528
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4528
TOR: 940516060621 M1048361
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA3922 1361307-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 161307Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 161307Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0333
INFO: RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0532
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0106
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0738
RUEHSW/AMEMBASSY BERN 0016
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 2719
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0178
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5851
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2492
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1399
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1953
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0262
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0827
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1827
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO GOR AMBASSADOR IN UGANDA
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (7.92)
RL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 003922
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON
AF/C FOR AMB RENDER AND FENDRICK
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO GOR AMBASSADOR IN UGANDA
REF: STATE 127183
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR, CLAVER KANYARUSHOKI, ON MAY 13 TO MAKE THE POINTS CONTAINED IN REFTEL. KANYARUSHOKI LISTENED INDIFFERENTLY TO THE POINTS AND THEN RESPONDED THAT HE HAD NO WAY OF COMMUNICATING EASILY OR QUICKLY TO THE GOR'S MILITARY COMMANDERS OR PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR PRESSED HIM TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT POSSIBLE TO PASS OUR SERIOUS CONCERNS ALONG TO THE AUTHORITIES IN RWANDA, HE SAID HE WOULD TRY TO REACH HIS COUNTRY'S MILITARY LEADERS VIA THE RWANDAN EMBASSIES IN EITHER PARIS OR BRUSSELS.
3. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO ENCOURAGED KANYARUSHOKI TO PERSONALLY SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE VIOLENCE IN HIS COUNTRY. GIVEN KANYARUSHOKI'S PARTICIPATION IN THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS AND HIS PROMINENCE IN AN EARLIER HABYARIMANA GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI, HIS VIEWS MIGHT HAVE SOME IMPACT ON THE CURRENT RWANDAN GOVERNMENT

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AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP. THE AMBASSADOR CLOSED BY STRESSING THAT THE USG AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD HOLD GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTINUING MASSACRES OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN SHELTERED LOCATIONS.
4. COMMENT: KANYARUSHOKI IS AN INTELLIGENT MAN. BUT WHEN IT COMES TO RWANDAN ISSUES, RACE AND ETHNICITY COMPLETELY BLUR HIS SENSE OF REASON AND ETHICS. KANYARUSHOKI HOLDS THE RPF RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF HABYARIMANA AND FOR THE TRAGEDY THAT HAS UNFOLDED IN HIS COUNTRY. SINCE THE APRIL 6 CRASH, HE HAS EXHIBITED LITTLE INTEREST AND EVEN LESS REMORSE FOR THE THOUSANDS OF TUTSIS AND MODERATE HUTUS KILLED OVER THE PAST FOUR WEEKS. KANYARUSHOKI'S RATHER CALLOUS ATTITUDE IS A SAD REFLECTION OF THE TRAGEDY IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. CARSON
BT
#3922
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3922

TOR: 940516092357 M1048671

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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2011-0262-M-2 (2.93)
VL 10/20/2013

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHRUA0979 1361317-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 161317Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY MASERU
OSRI: RUEHRU
DTG: 161317Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY MASERU
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4434
INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0633
RUEHZJ/HUMAN RIGHTS COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: LESOTHO SUPPORTS SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ MASERU 00979
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW, LT
SUBJECT: LESOTHO SUPPORTS SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION ON RWANDA
REF: (A) STATE 121055, (B) STATE 122881
1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. PREVENTED FROM CONTACTING MFA OFFICIALS BY THE CURRENT POLICE MUTINY AND RESULTING INSECURITY IN LESOTHO, CHARGE FINALLY REVIEWED THE RWANDA SITUATION WITH MFA PRINCIPAL SECRETARY MONOKO, MAY 16. MONOKO CONFIRMED THAT THE GOL WOULD SUPPORT THE SPECIAL UNHRC SESSION.
3. CHARGE SEPARATELY LEARNED FROM CANADIAN MISSION OFFICER IN PRETORIA (LOBBYING ON THIS ISSUE AS WELL) THAT LESOTHO UN MISSION IN NEW YORK HAD SIGNALLED GOL SUPPORT FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION, MAY 13.
HOFMANN
BT
#0979
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0979
TOR: 940516092351 M1048670
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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2011-0262-M-2 (2.94)
TL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHEGA7745 1361438-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 161438Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
OSRI: RUEHEG
DTG: 161438Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0062
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 5909
RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: "CAIRO CONSULATION ON CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION" ADJOURNS MAY 11 DEVELOPMENT OF "INCLUSIVE" SYSTEMS WHICH WOULD PERMIT PARTICIPATION BY ALL GROUPS. THE CHORUS OF CONDEMNATION WAS JOINED BY DELEGATES FROM A VARIETY

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 CAIRO 007745
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OAU, EG
SUBJECT: "CAIRO CONSULATION ON CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION" ADJOURNS MAY 11 DEVELOPMENT OF "INCLUSIVE" SYSTEMS WHICH WOULD PERMIT PARTICIPATION BY ALL GROUPS. THE CHORUS OF CONDEMNATION WAS JOINED BY DELEGATES FROM A VARIETY OF COUNTRIES OVER THE COURSE OF THE CONFERENCE, AND AT NO POINT DID ANY DELEGATE CHALLENGE THE LOGIC OF THESE ASSERTIONS. IN ADDITION TO COMMENTS CRITICAL OF CURRENT REGIMES, NGO AND OTHER RESOURCE REPS STRONGLY PROMOTED THE INCLUSION OF NGO'S IN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS AND IN THE BUILDING OF CIVIL/CIVIC SOCIETY.
A PEACE OPERATIONS DOCTRINE
---
9. ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE SESSION, A PANEL WAS APPOINTED BY THE CHAIR OF THE CONSULTATION TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF A "PEACE OPERATIONS DOCTRINE" FOR AFRICA. THE PANEL DEVELOPED A FIVE PAGE REPORT, WHICH RECOMMENDED THE CREATION OF A "DOCTRINE WORKING GROUP" DIVIDED INTO FUNCTIONAL SUBGROUPS. THE DOCTRINE WORKING GROUP WOULD CONSIST OF EXPERTS SELECTED BY THE PANEL, IN COORDINATION WITH THE IPA. THE WORKING GROUP WOULD BE CONVENED BY SEPTEMBER 1994 WITH THE AIM OF DEVELOPING A SUITABLE, COORDINATED DRAFT OF A PEACE OPERATIONS DOCTRINE FOR AFRICA BY MAY 1995 (PRESUMABLY IN TIME FOR CONSIDERATION/ADOPTION BY THE OAU SUMMIT IN JUNE 1995). A COPY OF THE PANEL'S REPORT HAS BEEN FAXED TO AF/RA.
10. THERE WAS LIVELY DISCUSSION OF THE PROPOSAL FOR

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A PEACE OPERATIONS DOCTRINE, MARKED BY AN APPARENTLY UNANIMOUS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY WAS NO LONGER THE SACRED COW THAT IT ONCE WAS. THE EXAMPLES OF SOMALIA AND RWANDA WERE FREQUENTLY CITED AS PROOF THAT IN THE CASE OF A COLLAPSED STATE, THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY IS LARGELY IRRELEVANT.

11. SOME DELEGATES EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE LARGELY SELF-ANNOINTED PANEL WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY REPRESENTATIVE TO PRODUCE AN AUTHORITATIVE DRAFT. IT INCLUDED, FOR EXAMPLE, NO FRANCOPHONE MEMBERS AND NO MEMBER-STATE MILITARY REPS. WHILE THERE WAS SOME DEBATE AS TO THE WORKING DEFINITION OF THE TERM "DOCTRINE," THE GROUP APPEARED TO AGREE ON THE UTILITY OF ENGAGING IN THE PROCESS AS WELL AS ON THE USEFULNESS OF THE DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD ULTIMATELY BE PRODUCED.

CALL FOR ACTION ON RWANDA

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12. THE CHAIR OF THE CAIRO CONSULTATION, IPA PRESIDENT OLARA OTUNNU, CIRCULATED A DRAFT OF A LETTER HE INTENDED TO SEND TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, THE OAU SECGEN, THE UNSC PRESIDENT, AND THE UN SECGEN. THE LETTER CALLS FOR DEPLOYMENT OF A MULTI-LATERAL, LARGELY AFRICAN FORCE IN RWANDA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UN. THE MANDATE OF THE FORCE WOULD BE BOTH HUMANITARIAN AND "PEACE-MAKING."

13. THE MESSAGE WAS ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED AS A MESSAGE FROM THE "CAIRO CONSULTATION" EXPRESSING THE "SENSE OF THE HOUSE." HOWEVER, SEVERAL DELEGATES SAID THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO SUCH A STATEMENT WITHOUT APPROVAL FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS, SO IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE CHAIR WOULD ISSUE THE STATEMENT IN HIS NAME ONLY. A COPY OF THE DRAFT LETTER WAS FAXED TO USUN, AF/RA, AF/C AND IO/PHO.

GENERAL SENSE: TIME TO FLESH IT OUT

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14. THERE EMERGED FROM THE MEETINGS A GENERAL SENSE THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO FLESH OUT THE SPECIFICS OF THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED NEARLY A YEAR AGO BUT WHICH REMAINS LARGELY A CONCEPTUAL COMMITMENT. USG DELEGATE FISHER MADE THIS POINT IN AN INTERVENTION WHICH APPEARED TO BE WELL-RECEIVED AND WAS DEVELOPED FURTHER BY OTHER DELEGATES. IN PARTICULAR, FISHER'S SUGGESTIONS THAT THE OAU POLL MEMBER STATES FOR SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS ON TROOPS OR LOGISTICAL SUPPORT SEEMED POPULAR.

15. FISHER ALSO ADDRESSED THE NEED TO FURTHER DEFINE THE ROLE AND SCOPE OF SUB-REGIONAL GROUPS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION. HIS SUGGESTION THAT THE MECHANISM REPORT DIRECTLY TO THE OAU SECGEN PROMPTED CALLS FOR THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE ENTIRE SECRETARIAT AND THE ELIMINATION OF "DEAD WOOD".

16. A PAPER PRESENTED BY FORMER A/S HANK COHEN (NOW

BT

#7745

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

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SSN: 7745
TOR: 940516104424 M1048844
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA5416 1361537-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 161537Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 161537Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7077
INFO: ****
SUBJ: INTERNATIONAL JURIST COMMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY IN RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRUSSELS 05416
DEPARTMENT FOR HA ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK
ALSO FOR AF AND AF/C FROM DAVID RAWSON
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RW
SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL JURIST COMMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY IN RWANDA

1. ON MAY 12, I MET AT THE HAGUE WITH JUSTICE RAYMOND RANJEVA, ONE OF TWO AFRICAN JURISTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL COURT, TO EXPLORE INFORMALLY THE NOTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN RWANDA. RANJEVA NOTED THE CONCEPTUAL, OPERATIONAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES OF SUCH AN ENDEAVOR. THE QUESTION OF GENOCIDE, HE REMARKED, HAD SPECIFIC LEGAL RAMIFICATIONS THAT COULD WELL CONSTRAIN THE INQUIRY'S SCOPE. RANJEVA ALSO BELIEVED IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO GET COOPERATION FROM BELLIGERENTS IF THE INTENT OF THE INQUIRY WERE POINTED TOWARD CONDEMNATION OF LEADERSHIP OF EITHER SIDE. YET, HE REMARKED, INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTABILITY WAS NECESSARY IF CULPABILITY WERE NOT TO BE GENERALIZED AND GROUPS CONDEMNED PER SE.

2. OPERATIONALLY, RANJEVA POINTED TO THE DIFFICULTY OF ORGANIZING AND ADMINISTRATING SUCH AN INQUIRY WITHIN A BELLIGERENT SITUATION. HE NOTED THE TROUBLE WHICH THE YUGOSLAV WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL HAD IN GETTING ITSELF SET UP. POLITICALLY, IT WAS IMPORTANT, HE THOUGHT, CAREFULLY TO REFINE THE INTENT AND FOCUS OF A HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY TOWARD RAISING THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF RWANDANS THEMSELVES TO WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THEIR COUNTRY. A HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY COULD EASILY BECOME AN INSTRUMENT FOR VENGANCE, RATHER THAN A MEANS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

3. DESPITE HIS CAVEATS ABOUT A HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY, RANJEVA AGREED TO ITS IMPORTANCE, IF PROPERLY ORGANIZED AND FOCUSED, IN THE RWANDAN CONTEXT. WHEN ASKED WHO MIGHT HEAD UP SUCH AN ENDEAVOR, HE SAID IT SHOULD BE A MATURE PERSON WHO HAD NOTHING TO GAIN PERSONALLY OR POLITICALLY

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BY SUCH A DELICATE, HIGH-PROFILE TASK. HIS FIRST CHOICE TO CHAIR THE INQUIRY WOULD BE FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT AND MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, SENEGAL'S KEBA MBAYE. OTHER AFRICAN JURISTS RANJEVA MENTIONED INCLUDED AHMED MAHIOU-ALGERIAN MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION, VICTOR RAMANTRA-FORMER PROCUREUR GENERAL OF MADAGASCAR, RENEE DENY-SIGNI-HUMAN RIGHTS SPECIALIST FROM COTE D'IVOIRE, GERARD KAMANDA-A JURIST FROM ZAIRE, CHIEF AJIBOLA-FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL OF NIGERIA, AND JOE WAIROBA-A TANZANIAN JURIST.

4. I HOPE THE ABOVE MAY BE USEFUL IN YOUR PLANNING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. REGARDS.

BLINKEN

BT

#5416

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5416

TOR: 940516114435 M1048985

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX

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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 161829Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
OSRI: RUEHKI
DTG: 161829Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6622
INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0067
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0209
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1716
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0446
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0502
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0603
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0904
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1650
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: ZAIRE AND RWANDA: FRENCH TALK TO MOBUTU
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KINSHASA 02753
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, CG, TZ, UG
SUBJECT: ZAIRE AND RWANDA: FRENCH TALK TO MOBUTU
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE FRENCH CHARGE HAS GIVEN US A REPORT ON THE MAY 14 VISIT OF AMB. JEAN-MICHEL MARLAUD TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU AT GBADOLITE. WE ARE TOLD THAT MOBUTU SUPPORTED THE PROPOSAL OF AN EXPANDED UN FORCE TO BE SENT TO RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, A FORCE TO BE UNDER RULES OF ENGAGEMENT WHICH WOULD PERMIT THEM NOT ONLY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, BUT ALSO DEFEND THE CIVILIANS OR WOUNDED THEY WERE THERE TO PROTECT.
3. MOBUTU CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD INVITED PRESIDENTS MUSEVENI AND MWINYI TO A SUMMIT MEETING, BUT HAD NOT YET HAD A RESPONSE TO HIS INVITATION -- PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT MANDELA HAD OTHERWISE OCCUPIED THEIR ATTENTION. IF NO RESPONSE WAS RECEIVED BY MAY 16, MOBUTU WOULD CONTACT THEM AGAIN AND ASK IF THEY BELIEVED SUCH A MEETING USEFUL AS A MEANS OF ESTABLISHING A CEASEFIRE.
4. MOBUTU ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD TWICE MET WITH DELEGATIONS FROM THE RWANDA INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF. THE LATTER HAD SIGNED A CEASEFIRE DOCUMENT, BUT ONLY AS THE RESULT OF CONSIDERABLE FORCEFUL ENCOURAGEMENT, AND IT HAD NOT BEEN OBSERVED.
5. AMBASSADOR MARLAUD TOLD MOBUTU THAT THE GOF CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT TANZANIA SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN SEEKING A SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CRISIS. MOBUTU DID NOT OBJECT

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TO THIS, BUT NOR DID HE SECOND THE VIEW.
6. THE CHARGE SAID THAT THEY DID NOT RAISE WITH MOBUTU THE QUESTION OF RUMORED SUPPORT FOR THE FORCES OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FROM ZAIRE. HOWEVER, THEY HAD DISCUSSED MILITARY SUPPLIES WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR SENGEGERA WHO HAD ADMITTED THAT HIS SIDE WAS ALSO RECEIVING OUTSIDE SUPPORT -- WITHOUT IDENTIFYING WHENCE SUCH SUPPORT CAME.
7. COMMENT: THIS REPORT OF THE MARLAUD VISIT DOES NOT TELL US MUCH ABOUT MOBUTU'S EFFORTS THAT WE DID NOT KNOW BEFORE. HOWEVER, THERE IS NOTHING HERE WHICH RUNS COUNTER TO THE TANZANIAN EFFORT, AND IT IS REASSURING TO HEAR THAT THE FRENCH, WHILE CONVINCED THAT MOBUTU MUST BE ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CRISIS, HAVE NEVERTHELESS TOLD HIM THAT IT IS TANZANIA THAT HAS THE BALL.
SCOTT
BT
#2753
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2753

TOR: 940516143948 M1049355

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~Those at Nigeria's helm are making mistakes.... (3 pages)~~	~~05/17/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~Special Session on Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~05/17/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
003. cable	[Troops in Rwanda] (3 pages)	05/17/1994	P1/b(1)
~~004. cable~~	~~Request to Solicit Views of OAU on Emergency Session on Rwanda of UN Human Rights Commission (2 pages)~~	~~05/17/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
005. cable	Zaire-Rwanda... (2 pages)	05/17/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	05/17/1994	P1/b(1)
007. cable	[Rwandan Patriotic Front] (3 pages)	05/17/1994	P1/b(1)
008. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	05/18/1994	P1/b(1)
~~009. cable~~	~~Nigerian Head of State Reaffirms... (5 pages)~~	~~05/18/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
010. cable	[Refugees] (3 pages)	05/18/1994	P1/b(1)
~~011. cable~~	~~Building a Case Against French Policy in Rwanda: "Liberation" on the Offensive (4 pages)~~	~~05/18/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~012. cable~~	~~Arms Embargo on Rwanda/Civilian Evacuation (4 pages)~~	~~05/19/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/17/1994 - 05/21/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh133

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Burundi-Rawanda... (3 pages)	05/19/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	[Rwanda Crisis] (2 pages)	05/19/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	DGWS Analit: Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	05/19/1994	P1/b(1), P3/b(3) VZ
016. cable	[Rwanda/Relations] (2 pages)	05/19/1994	P1/b(1)
017. cable	Rwanda /Internal Instability... (3 pages)	05/19/1994	P1/b(1)
018. cable	Rwanda /Internal Instability... (2 pages)	05/19/1994	P1/b(1)
~~019. cable~~	~~Possible Candidates for UN Human Rights Commission Special Rapporteur for Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~05/19/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~020. cable~~	~~Rwanda Civilian Evacuation (2 pages)~~	~~05/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~021. cable~~	~~Zaire and the Arms Embargo on Rwanda/Civilian Evacuation (3 pages)~~	~~05/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
022. cable	[Peacekeeping Force] (2 pages)	05/21/1994	P1/b(1)
~~023. cable~~	~~Speech to be Delivered at UNHRC Special Session on Rwanda (4 pages)~~	~~05/21/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/17/1994 - 05/21/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh133

RESTRICTION CODES

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.98)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA0159 1370050-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O R 170049Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 170049Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: RUEHTH/AMEMBASSY ATHENS 0000
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0000
RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0000
RUTAKD/AMCONSUL KADUNA 0000
SUBJ: THOSE AT NIGERIA'S HELM ARE MAKING MISTAKES,
- FORMER PRESIDENT TELLS THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 130159
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY; PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, SNAR, PHUM, NI, US, SF RW
SUBJECT: THOSE AT NIGERIA'S HELM ARE MAKING MISTAKES,
- FORMER PRESIDENT TELLS THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE TOLD THE DEPUTY SECRETARY MAY 6 THAT THOSE RUNNING NIGERIA WERE MAKING MISTAKES. THE COUNTRY'S 90 YEAR-OLD FIRST PRESIDENT BEGAN WITH A PLEA FOR USG PATIENCE WITH NIGERIA'S SLOW PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY, BUT, AFTER HEARING U.S. VIEWS, BEGAN TO CRITICIZE MILITARY RULE. HE ADMITTED NIGERIA SHOULD BE DOING MORE TO STOP THE FLOW OF NARCOTICS BUT CALLED DEMAND IN THE U.S. THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM. HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT RWANDA'S FUTURE BUT CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC ON SOUTH AFRICA . END SUMMARY.

3. DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE, NIGERIA'S PRESIDENT FROM 1963 TO 1966, CALLED ON THE DEPUTY SECRETARY MAY 6 IN HIS OFFICE. AZIKIWE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY F.I. ODOGWU, AMBASSADOR KAZAURE AND TWO EMBASSY OFFICERS. JOINING THE DEPUTY SECRETARY WERE AF ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE INM PDAS ARCOS AND D STAFFER WITHERS. NIGERIA DESKOFF ANDREWS TOOK NOTES AZIKIWE HAD COME TO THE U.S. TO RECEIVE A HONORARY

DOCTORATE FROM LINCOLN UNIVERSITY AND OPEN A CAMPAIGN FOR A CHAIR NAMED IN HIS HONOR. FOLLOWING PLEASANTRIES, AZIKIWE LAUNCHED IN TO A DESCRIPTION OF "EFFORTS BEING MADE TO GET

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HTHE NIGERIAN MILITARY BACK INTO THE BARRACKS." WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING U.S. SANCTIONS HAD BEEN APPROPRIATE EARLIER, HE SOUGHT "RECONSIDERATION" OF THE SANCTIONS AND PATIENCE WITH THE REGIME, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE PROPOSED NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.

4. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY REPLIED THE U.S. HAD BEEN EXCESSIVELY PATIENT. NOTING THAT THE U.S. SHARES NIGERIANS' IMPATIENCE AND FRUSTRATION WITH THE COUNTRY'S LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC IDEALS "ZIK" EMBODIES, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY ASKED A/S MOOSE TO ELABORATE U.S. VIEWS. MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT TNE USG, IN SPITE OF SKEPTICISM, DECIDED TO GIVE THE ABACHA REGIME THE BENEFIT OF CONSIDERABLE DOUBT ABOUT ITS INTENTIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS A GROWING GAP BETWEEN ITS RHETORIC AND ITS FERFORMANCE ON DEMOCRATIZATION. THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD TO ABIDE A GREAT DEAL, BUT THEY ARE GROWING DANGEROUSLY FRUSTRATED. "SOME OF (NIGERIA'S) NEIGHBORS FEEL ACUTELY THAT THINGS ARE NOT ON THE RIGHT COURSE." CONCRETE STEPS TOWARD CIVILIAN CONTROL ARE NEEDED NOW, MOOSE CONCLUDED.

5. RATHER SUDDENLY SHIFTING AWAY FROM WHAT SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN A PREPARED SCRIPT, ZIK SAID HE WOULD DELIVER TO ABACHA THE MESSAGE THAT NIGERIA'S FRIENDS "LIKE US AND WANT TO HELP US BUT THAT WE MUST INTENSIFY EFFORTS TO SHOW OUR FRIENDS THAT WE RECOGNIZE OUR MISTAKES." PERHAFS THE PROVISION OF THE 1979 CONSTITUTION THAT MAKES IT AN OFFENSE FOR THE MILITARY TO TAKE POWER SHOULD BE ENFORCED. "WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO PERSUADE THOSE AT THE HELM THAT WE ARE MAKING MISTAKES," NIGERIA'S FIRST PRESIDENT SAID.

6. ZIK REMARKED THAT A NEW CONSTITUTION SEEMED SUFERFLUOUS. IF THE TALK ABOUT A NEW CONSTITUTION WERE SET ASIDE, AND A DECISION WERE MADE TO PUT THE 1979 CONSTITUTION BACK INTO FORCE, WITH THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE (NCC) ABLE TO AMEND IT, MIGHT THE U.S. SEE ITS WAY CLEAR TO END SANCTIONS AND RESUME MILITARY TRAINING? THE PRESENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAS TRIED, ZIK CONTINUED, BUT ITS BEST HAS NOT BEEN GOOD ENOUGH. ZIK WAS STRONGLY CRITICAL OF THE BABANGIDA-IMPOSED TWO-PARTY SYSTEM, SAYING THAT THE PLURALISM OF NIGERIAN SOCIETY NEEDED TO BE ALLOWED POLITICAL EXPRESSION.

7. MOOSE SAID THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR FRIENDS ABROAD NEEDED TO SEE CIVILIANS IN POSITIONS OF POWER IF THEY WERE

TO BE REASSURED.

8. REMARKING ON ZIK'S ELOQUENT SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY THEN RAISED OUR COCERN ABOUT NIGERIAN DRUG TRAFFICKING RINGS AND ASKED ZIK TO BRING HIS ELOQUENCE TO BEAR IN HELPING STOP THIS INTERNATIONAL SCOURGE. ZIK DMITTED THAT DRUG TRAFFICKING WAS HURTING NIGERIA'S REPUTATION AND THAT THE GON NEEDED TO DO MORE. HE PARTIALLY ADDRESSED AMBASSADOR KAZAURE AND INTONED THAT MORE MUST BE DONE TO WORK WITH THE U.S. ON THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, HE BLAMED DEMAND FOR LURING NIGERIANS INTO THE LUCRATIVE TRADE. WOULD RESTORING THE DEATH PENALTY FOR

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DRUG TRAFFICKING HELP? HE WONDERED. IT MIGHT, BUT IT WOULD CAUSE AN OUTCRY. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD COMMITTED THE U.S. TO ADDRESSING BOTH SUPPLY AND DEMAND IN COMBATTING THE DRUG TRADE. "OUR GOVERNMENT STANDS READY TO HELP YOU IN ANY WAY IT CAN TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM, AND AMBASSADORS MOOSE AND ARCOS ARE AVAILABLE TO COOPERATE WITH THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT ON THIS ISSUE," HE CONCLUDED.

9. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY ASKED FOR HIS THOUGHTS ON RWANDA AND SOUTH AFRICA. ZIK COMFLIMENTED THE U.S. AND U.N. MEMBER STATES FOR PERSEVERENCE IN SUPPORT OF ENDING APARTHEID. HE LAUDED MANDELA'S PATIENCE BUT OFFERED HIGHEST PRAISE TO DE KLERK, COMFARING HIM TO LINCOLN FOR HAVING EFFECTED GREAT SOCIAL CHANGE AT CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL RISK IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD HIS COUNTRY'S FUTURE. HE CRITICIZED RWANDA'S TRIBAL LEADERS FOR HAVING FORGOTTEN THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMANITY IN THEIR INSATIABLE LUST FOR POWER. HE WONDERED WHETHER THE BELGIANS MIGHT HAVE ERRED IN GRANTING RWANDA INDEPENDENCE AND URGED "ALL PEACE-LOVING AND DEMOCRACY-LOVING STATES" TO ACT NOW TO END THE SLAUGHTER. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE U.S. WAS PROVIDING USD 15 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND WAS READY TO PROVIDING LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO A REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING EFFORT.

10. PROBABLY WORRIED THAT ZIK HAD NOT DELIVERED THE RIGHT MESSAGE AND UNWILLING TO PASS UP AN OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE DEPUTY SECRETARY, AMBASSADOR KAZAURE LAUNCHED INTO A SEVEN-MINUTE MONOLOGUE CONTAINING HIS STANDARD APOLOGIA FOR CONTINUED MILITARY RULE, HIS USUAL REQUEST THAT SANCTIONS BE DROPPED AND HIS NOW-FAMILIAR DECERTIFICATION DISCOURSE. THE DEFUTY SECRETARY SEIZED A BRIEF PAUSE TO THANK KAZAURE AND END THE MEETING. AFTERWARD, THE DEPARTMENT POSTED A PRESS STATEMENT SUMMARIZING POINTS THE DEPUTY SECRETARY HAD MADE WITH ZIK. TALBOTT
BT
#0159
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0159
TOR: 940516205826 M1049981
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (2.99)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHKLA3647 1370937-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 170935Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
OSRI: RUEHKL
DTG: 170935Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4304
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0156
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0216
SUBJ: SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KUALA LUMPUR 03647
DEPARTMENT PASS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW, MY
SUBJECT: SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA
REF: A. STATE 04478 B. GENEVA 4478
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DURING A MAY 17 CALL, MFA UNDER SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS PARAM TOLD US THAT MALAYSIA INDEED HAD SUPPORTED THE CALL FOR A UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA. HE NOTED THAT WHILE THE GOM WAS UNCERTAIN HOW THE UNHRC COULD HELP IN RWANDA IN CONCRETE TERMS, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE UNHRC SPEAK OUT. HE ASKED WHAT U.S. OBJECTIVES WERE. AFTER NOTING THAT THIS WAS PRIMARILY A CANADIAN/AFRICAN-LED EFFORT, POLCOUNS STATED THAT THE U.S. WAS STILL DEVELOPING ITS VIEWS ON WHAT THE UNHRC COULD EFFECTIVELY CONTRIBUTE. NONETHELESS, AMONG OTHER MATTERS TO BE CONSIDERED, THOUGHT MIGHT BE GIVEN TO HOW HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS CAN BE INTEGRATED INTO ANY UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN RWANDA AND HOW INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES CAN BE MADE ACCOUNTABLE.
3. PARAM REPLIED THAT THE GOM HAD BEEN GIVING THOUGHT TO THESE QUESTIONS AS WELL AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IN CONSULTING WITH THE U.S. ON THIS. SENSITIZED BY THE BOSNIAN EXPERIENCE, HE SAID MALAYSIAN LEADERS HAVE BEEN TROUBLED BY THE APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS INHERENT IN NEGOTIATING PEACE AGREEMENTS AMONG WARRING GROUPS WHILE ALSO PUNISHING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO MESH THE TWO AND ACCOUNTABILITY IS OFTEN TRADED AWAY TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE. IN THE SAME VEIN, THE MFA IS ALSO STUDYING THE ISSUE OF GENOCIDE AND HOW TO ADDRESS THE MATTER. DRAWING NATURALLY FROM AN AWARENESS HEIGHTENED BY MALAYSIA'S OWN MULTI-ETHNICITY, PARAM SAID THAT THE GOM IS GREATLY CONCERNED BY THE QUESTION OF ONE RACE OR ETHNIC GROUP

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MOVING AGAINST ANOTHER. MENTIONING CAMBODIA, BOSNIA AND RWANDA, PARAM SAID THE GOM IS CONCERNED THAT THE WORLD COMMUNITY COME TO GRIPS WITH THIS ISSUE.

4. COMMENT: THE GOM CLEARLY ALSO IS TROUBLED BY THE PROBLEM OF RECONCILING PEACEKEEPING, WHICH OFTEN REQUIRES THAT DEALS BE CUT, AND ACCOUNTABILITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CRIMES. HOWEVER, IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SIDE OF THE ACCOUNT IS BEGINNING TO EDGE-UP JUST A BIT MORE PROMINENTLY. WE SHOULD STAY IN TOUCH WITH THE MALAYSIANS ON THIS IN BOTH GENEVA AND KUALA LUMPUR.

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WOLF

BT

#3647

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3647

TOR: 940517054355 M1050515

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER SUET VAX

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDSA3664 1371432-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 171432Z MAY 94 ZDK
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
OSRI: RUEHDS
DTG: 171432Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2361
INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 7403
RUEHJL/AMEMBASSY BANJUL 0152
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1153
SUBJ: REQUEST TO SOLICIT VIEWS OF OAU ON EMERGENCY SESSION ON RWANDA OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (3,01)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ADDIS ABABA 003664
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, OAU, UNHCR, RW, ET
SUBJECT: REQUEST TO SOLICIT VIEWS OF OAU ON EMERGENCY SESSION ON RWANDA OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
REF: STATE 130151 (NOTAL)

1. AMBASSADOR MET WITH OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM MAY 17 (AFTER COORDINATING WITH CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, WHO WAS HAPPY TO HAVE US TAKE THE LEAD -- HE HAS BEEN INFORMED OF THE RESULTS) TO RAISE ISSUES IN REFTEL. SALIM SAID THAT OAU WELCOMED THE EMERGENCY SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, BUT THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ATTEND, GIVEN THAT MAY 24 WAS AFRICA DAY, AND THERE WOULD BE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF EVENTS IN ADDIS ABABA THAT HE NEEDED TO ATTEND. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT PERHAPS THE BEST CELEBRATION OF AFRICA DAY WOULD BE FOR SALIM TO ATTEND A MEETING ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN RWANDA AND THEREBY CALL ATTENTION TO THIS PROBLEM. SALIM AGREED, BUT SAID HE COULDN'T GET AWAY. AT AMBASSADOR'S URGING, HE AGREED TO SEND A SPECIAL ENVOY IF THE OAU WAS INVITED, RATHER THAN JUST HAVE THE SESSION COVERED BY THE OAU'S AMBASSADOR IN GENEVA.

2. CONCERNING THE OTHER ISSUES IN REFTEL, SALIM WELCOMED THE NAMING OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AS WELL AS THE DEPLOYMENT OF A UN-SPONSORED HUMAN RIGHTS MONITOR, TO INVESTIGATE AND DOCUMENT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT IT WAS UNCLEAR TO HIM WHETHER THESE INDIVIDUALS WOULD BE ABLE AT PRESENT TO FUNCTION IN RWANDA, BUT IN ANY EVENT, THIS WAS A LONG-TERM PROBLEM THAT NEEDED TO BE ADDRESSED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE OAU WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE; THEIR HUMANITARIAN UNIT (ENCOMPASSING HUMAN RIGHTS) WAS NEW, AND PROBABLY COULD NOT BE OF MUCH ASSISTANCE, BUT THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION UNIT HAD WORKED ON RWANDA AND WOULD

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PROVIDE ANY APPROPRIATE INFORMATION TO THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.

3. REGARDING POSSIBLE AFRICAN CANDIDATES FOR SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, SALIM SAID HE PERSONALLY DID NOT CARE IF IT WAS AN AFRICAN, AS LONG AS THE PERSON WAS COMMITTED AND OBJECTIVE AND ABLE TO DO THE JOB. THERE WERE HOWEVER SOME EXCELLENT AFRICAN CANDIDATES, PARTICULARLY AT THE AFRICAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN AND PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, BASED IN BANJUL. HIS TOP CHOICE WOULD BE THE TUNISIAN REPRESENTATIVE THERE (A PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, WHO OBVIOUSLY HAS FRENCH) ALTHOUGH THE FACT THAT TUNISIAN OFFICERS WERE PART OF UNAMIR COULD BE A PROBLEM. SECOND CHOICES WOULD BE EITHER THE REPRESENTATIVES OF GHANA OR NIGERIA, ALTHOUGH FRENCH MIGHT BE A PROBLEM. ANOTHER EXCELLENT CHOICE WOULD BE CAPE VERDE'S REPRESENTATIVE (A WOMAN) WHO HAS EXCELLENT FRENCH.

4. COMMENT. AS SALIM INFORMED A/S SHATTUCK, THE OAU GENERALLY, AND SALIM SPECIFICALLY, ARE VERY COMMITTED TO AN INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN RWANDA. THEY FIND THE SITUATION AN EMBARRASSMENT TO AFRICA AND THE WORLD GENERALLY. WE CAN COUNT ON THEIR SUPPORT TO ANY AND ALL EFFORTS OF THE UNHRC.

BAAS

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3664

TOR: 940517181938 M1051920

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2(3,06)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHOSA5763 1381526-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 181525Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
OSRI: RUEHOS
DTG: 181525Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0265
INFO: RUTAKD/AMCONSUL KADUNA 8322
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8323
RUEHMV/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 1446
SUBJ: NIGERIAN HEAD OF STATE REAFFIRMS COMMITMENT
-- TO LIBERIA, SOMALIA, AND RWANDA; UPSET ABOUT
-- PERCEIVED U.S. SLIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LAGOS 05763
DEPT FOR AF/W, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, MOPS, PINR, PHUM, ECON, SNAR,
-- UN, NI, LI, SO, RW
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN HEAD OF STATE REAFFIRMS COMMITMENT
-- TO LIBERIA, SOMALIA, AND RWANDA; UPSET ABOUT
-- PERCEIVED U.S. SLIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: IN A PRIVATE ONE AND A HALF HOUR DISCUSSION WITH ME MAY 17, NIGERIAN HEAD OF STATE, GENERAL SANI ABACHA, REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO ECOMOG, SOMALIA, AND RWANDA, DESPITE OBJECTIONS WITHIN HIS GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY. I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE MEETING TO CORRECT ABACHA'S PERCEPTION, PROBABLY RESULTING FROM AN OVERZEALOUS LOBBYING FIRM, OF BEING SNUBBED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE UPCOMING CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, NARCOTICS, AND THE ECONOMY. SEPTEL COVERS EARLIER MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KINGIBE. END SUMMARY.

ABACHA RELUCTANT TO SEE ME

3. STILL SMARTING FROM A MISPERCEIVED SLIGHT IN PRETORIA, ABACHA HAD BEEN NONE TO ANXIOUS TO MEET WITH ME. HE WAS IN NO MOOD, THE FOREIGN MINISTER TOLD ME, FOR ANOTHER NAGGING LECTURE FROM THE AMERICANS OR THE EUROPEANS. (FYI: GREEK AMBASSADOR TOLD ME MAY 18 THAT AS EU REPRESENTATIVE HE HAD REQUESTED A MEETING WITH ABACHA BUT WAS REBUFFED. END FYI.) HE FINALLY AGREED TO SEE ME YESTERDAY AT 2300 HOURS. KNOWING ABACHA'S PREFERENCE TO HAVE SERIOUS TETE-A-TETE SESSION LATE AT NIGHT, I FELT THAT IN SPITE OF HIS EARLIER PIQUE, A PRODUCTIVE SESSION WAS IN THE OFFING. I WAS NOT DISAPPOINTED.

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THE MIX-UP IN PRETORIA
4. A BRIEF WORD IS IN ORDER HERE ABOUT THE PRETORIA MIX-UP. OVEREAGER AND OVERPROMISING LOBBYISTS HAD LED THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO BELIEVE THAT A MEETING HAD BEEN ARRANGED BETWEEN ABACHA AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE. OUR OWN NOTIFICATION OF THE MEETING WITH COMMERCE SECRETARY BROWN HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM WASHINGTON TOO LATE TO CONVEY TO KINGIBE BEFORE HE LEFT FOR SOUTH AFRICA. I LEFT A MESSAGE ON HIS ANSWERING MACHINE THAT A MEETING HAD BEEN ARRANGED FOR ABACHA WITH A MEMBER OF THE CABINET AND THAT DETAILS WOULD BE PROVIDED. THE CLEAR MESSAGE TO THE MINISTER GIVEN TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT THE MEETING WAS WITH SECRETARY BROWN APPARENTLY NEVER GOT ACCURATELY TRANSLATED.
5. THINKING THAT THE MEETING I MENTIONED WAS THE ONE WHICH THE LOBBYISTS PROMISED, THE SUSPICIOUS NIGERIANS THOUGHT THAT A LAST MINUTE CHANGE HAD BEEN MADE IN ORDER TO CHASTISE THEM. THEY THOUGHT THE COMMERCE SECRETARY WAS BEING OFFERED AS A LAST MINUTE SOP SO ABACHA TURNED DOWN THE MEETING AND SENT KINGIBE IN HIS PLACE. KINGIBE TOLD ME THAT IF THERE HAD NOT BEEN THE CONFUSION AND IF THEY HAD UNDERSTOOD FROM THE BEGINNING THAT THE MEETING WAS WITH BROWN, THEY WOULD HAVE ACCEPTED HAPPILY. ALTHOUGH, HE ADDED, "IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATE FOR THE HEAD OF STATE TO GO TO THE EMBASSY TO CALL ON THE SECRETARY. IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN THE SECRETARY WHO CAME TO ABACHA." KINGIBE EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE TO ME THAT SECRETARY BROWN, NOT KNOWING OF THE MIX-UP. AGREED TO GO AHEAD AND MEET WITH HIM INSTEAD OF ABACHA.
WARM RECEPTION
6. ABACHA WAS IN ANOTHER MEETING WHEN I ARRIVED AT THE PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCE AND DID NOT GET TO SEE ME UNTIL A LITTLE AFTER 2330 HOURS. HE WAS, AS HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN OUR MEETINGS, WARM AND AFFABLE. HE BEGAN BY LIGHTHEARTEDLY APOLOGIZING FOR MAKING MY FIRST SIX MONTHS HERE SO STRESSFUL WITH ALL THE CHANGES AND UNCERTAINTIES THAT HAD BEEN A FEATURE OF NIGERIAN LIFE SINCE MY ARRIVAL. I ASSURED HIM THAT I WAS THRIVING IN THE CHARGED NIGERIAN ATMOSPHERE.
LIBERIA
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LAGOS 05763
DEPT FOR AF/W, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, MOPS, PINR, PHUM, ECON, SNAR,
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7. I PRESENTED THE DEMARCHE ON LIBERIA AND THE LPC, FOLLOWING CLOSELY THE TALKING POINTS THAT HAD BEEN PROVIDED. ABACHA HAD EARLIER TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT HE COULD NOT IMAGINE WHAT I COULD BE COMING TO DEMARCHE HIM ON CONCERNING LIBERIA. HE HAD THE IMPRESSION FROM HIS DISCUSSION WITH GORDON-SOMMERS AND ECOMOG COMMANDER INIENGER THAT THERE WERE NO PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE UN AND ECOMOG ON THE GROUND.

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8. I RELAYED TO ABACHA OUR SERIOUS CONCERNS ABOUT THE INCREASING AGGRESSION OF THE LIBERIA PEACE COUNCIL. AS IN OUR PREVIOUS MEETING, HE DESCRIBED THE LPC AS VULTURES. HE THEN WENT INTO A COMPARISON OF THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA WITH THAT IN CHAD IN THE LATE 1970'S WHEN HE LED A MISSION THERE TO BROKER PEACE. THERE WILL ALWAYS BE FORCES ATTEMPTING TO CAPITALIZE AT THE LEAST OPPORTUNITY IN WARS SUCH AS THIS, HE SAID.

9. ABACHA EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND CHAGRIN THAT ANYONE COULD THINK THAT NIGERIANS WOULD BE SUPPORTING THE LPC. HE SEES THEM AS DESTRUCTIVE TO THE PEACE PROCESS. HE DISMISSED REPORTS THAT NIGERIANS WERE SIDING WITH THE LPC AGAINST THE NPFL AS "TAYLOR PROPAGANDA." WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT WE HAD REPORTS OF ECOMOG COMPLICITY FROM FAR MORE CREDIBLE SOURCES THAN TAYLOR, HE SAID HE WOULD TALK TO BOTH INIENGER AND GORDON-SOMMERS ABOUT IT. ABACHA WANTED IT UNDERSTOOD, HOWEVER, THAT NIGERIA REALIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF ASSURING TAYLOR THAT THEY ARE NOT HOSTILE TO HIM AND WANT HIS GOODWILL IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE PEACE PROCESS. HE IS DISMAYED THAT THINGS SEEM TO BE UNRAVELLING. DISARMAMENT IS NOT GOING AS HE HAD HOPED IT WOULD. IT IS NOW NECESSARY TO OFFER ASSURANCES TO THE COMBATANTS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

10. ABACHA SUGGESTED THAT A JOINT MILITARY COMMAND BE ESTABLISHED WITH ALL PARTIES REPRESENTED. HE SAID THAT THE PARTIES OBVIOUSLY FELT VULNERABLE IF THEY TURNED IN THEIR WEAPONS WITHOUT ASSURANCES FROM THE OTHERS. HE PROPOSED THAT THE JOINT COMMAND COULD BE COMPOSED SIXTY PERCENT WITH CURRENT COMBATANTS WHO TURN IN THEIR WEAPONS AND FORTY PERCENT NEW RECRUITS. HE APPARENTLY PLANS TO PUSH THIS IDEA WITH GORDON-SOMMERS.

SOMALIA

11. EMPHASIZING THAT NIGERIA DID NOT GO INTO SOMALIA FOR THE OAU OR THE UN BUT "BECAUSE GEORGE BUSH ASKED ME TO SUPPORT THE AMERICANS," ABACHA CONFIRMED THAT ALL HIS SERVICE CHIEFS WERE RECOMMENDING WITHDRAWAL, ESPECIALLY NOW GIVEN THE PARLOUS STATE OF U.S.-NIGERIAN RELATIONS. HE ASSURED ME, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS NOT READY TO PULL OUT SINCE THE SITUATION WAS FAR FROM RESOLVED. HE WAS NOT SPECIFIC ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER HE WOULD SUPPORT UNOSOM'S EXTENSION FOR A LESSER PERIOD THAN THE USUAL SIX MONTHS. IT SEEMS THAT THE NIGERIANS HAVE NOT YET FIRMED UP A POSITION ON THIS.

RWANDA

12. ON RWANDA ABACHA REMINDED ME THAT NIGERIA WAS ALREADY COMMITTED, EVEN IF ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF TROOPS WERE ON THE GROUND. HE SAID THAT HIS ADVISORS WERE DISCUSSING FUTURE STEPS AND THAT THE PRIMARY QUESTION NOW WAS FORCE LEVELS. I EMPHASIZED THAT NIGERIA WAS TO BE APPLAUDED FOR ITS PEACEKEEPING ROLE OVER THE YEARS AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

OTHER ISSUES

13. TURNING TO THE UPCOMING CONSTITUTIONAL

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CONFERENCE AND THE RETURN OF DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, ABACHA REMAINED ADAMANT ABOUT NOT PROVIDING A TIMETABLE PAST JANUARY 17, 1995. ADDING THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD DEAL WITH A NUMBER OF ISSUES AND THAT THE CONSTITUTION WAS "ONLY A PART OF IT," HE SAID THAT HE WANTED TO SEE THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DID NOT WANT TO PRECLUDE ANY OPTIONS. HE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LAGOS 05763

DEPT FOR AF/W, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, MOPS, PINR, PHUM, ECON, SNAR,
-- UN, NI, LI, SO, RW
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-- TO LIBERIA, SOMALIA, AND RWANDA; UPSET ABOUT
-- PERCEIVED U.S. SLIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA

REAFFIRMED THE JUNE 27 STARTING DATE AND THAT HE STILL BELIEVED THE CONFERENCE SHOULD TAKE NO MORE THAN FOUR MONTHS. WHEN I PRESSED HIM, HE STILL WOULD NOT GIVE A DATE CERTAIN BUT LEFT ME WITH THE SAME IMPRESSION I HAD FROM KINGIBE THAT THE MILITARY WOULD LEAVE BEFORE THE END OF 1995.

14. ABACHA ALSO REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO FULL COOPERATION ON NARCOTICS MATTERS. "TELL US WHAT YOU WANT US TO DO," HE SAID. "WE WILL DO IT." HE DID, HOWEVER, REITERATE THE NIGERIAN POSITION THAT NARCOTICS WAS PRIMARILY A U.S. PROBLEM, NOT NIGERIAN. YET THE U.S. HAD NOT SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO EXPEND THE KIND OF RESOURCES FIGHTING IT IN NIGERIA AS IT WAS EXPENDING IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

15. AS FOR THE ECONOMY, ABACHA REMAINS A TRUE BELIEVER IN THE GOVERNMENT'S CURRENT POLICIES. HE CLAIMED THAT IMPLEMENTATION WAS THE ONLY PROBLEM AND THAT WAS THE RESULT OF "SOME IN THE CENTRAL BANK WHO ARE COLLUDING WITH OTHERS." HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS NOT INFLEXIBLE AND THAT HE WOULD PERIODICALLY REVIEW AND REVISE THE POLICIES AS APPROPRIATE. (COMMENT: THE PROBLEM HERE IS WHAT INDICES THE GOVERNMENT WILL USE TO CONCLUDE IT IS NOT WORKING. ALL CURRENT INDICES SHOW THAT THE BUDGET IS FAILING BUT THEY ARE IGNORED OR RATIONALIZED. END COMMENT.)

16. IN CLOSING, I WOULD ALSO NOTE THAT I CONSCIOUSLY AVOIDED ANY MENTION OF THE WORLD CUP. THE NIGERIANS REMAIN ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF NOT BEING GIVEN VISAS TO ATTEND THE MATCHES IN THE U.S. THIS ISSUE IS LIKELY TO BECOME EXPLOSIVE IF THE "SUPER EAGLES" ADVANCE TO THE QUARTERFINALS OR HIGHER. NATIONALISTIC PRIDE MAY LEAD MANY WHO SUPPORT OUR SANCTIONS TO URGE THEM BEING EASED SO THAT NIGERIA, LIKE OTHER NATIONS, CAN BE REPRESENTED BY HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. THIS IS ESPECIALLY LIKELY TO BE TRUE IF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IS UNDERWAY AND IS GENERALLY VIEWED TO BE USEFUL.

CARRINGTON
BT
#5763
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 5763
<^SSN>5763
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TOR: 940518112839 M1053369
<^TOR>940518113045 M1053374
<^TOR>940518113148 M1053376

DIST:

SIT: BRANSCUM DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M.2 (3.08)
RL 10/2/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHFRA3749 1381633-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 181633Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 181633Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4929
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 7352
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0455
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 1027
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2959
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6540
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 6578
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1847
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 4283
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0510
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1032
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1711
SUBJ: BUILDING A CASE AGAINST FRENCH POLICY IN
- RWANDA: "LIBERATION" ON THE OFFENSIVE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 13749
DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR HA A/S SHATTUCK
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, RW, BY, FR
SUBJECT: BUILDING A CASE AGAINST FRENCH POLICY IN
- RWANDA: "LIBERATION" ON THE OFFENSIVE
REF: PARIS 13634
1. PARAGRAPHS CLASSIFIED AS MARKED.
SUMMARY AND COMMENT
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2. (C) THE MAY 18 EDITION OF "LIBERATION" RAN A LENGTHY, ACIDLY CRITICAL ARTICLE ON FRENCH POLICY IN RWANDA. THE AUTHOR CLEARLY HAD ACCESS TO DOCUMENTS FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND LEAKS FROM AT LEAST ONE SOURCE THOROUGHLY FAMILIAR WITH FRENCH ACTIVITY SINCE THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. THIS ARTICLE REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN MEDIA COVERAGE AFTER ACCOLADES TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE EVACUATION OF FRENCH NATIONALS FROM RWANDA. IT FOLLOWS ON THE WELL PUBLICIZED ATTACK BY MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES ON MONDAY (REFTEL).
3. (C) ALTHOUGH MUCH OF THE MATERIAL COVERED IN THE ARTICLE (ARMS SALES, MILITARY ADVISORS, AN UNSUCCESSFUL MILITARY INTERVENTION IN 1993-94, IGNORING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, FRICTION WITH BELGIUM, MOBUTU'S ROLE), HAS BEEN COMMON KNOWLEDGE AMONG GOF AFRICANISTS AND OUTSIDE SPECIALISTS, IT HAS NOT BEEN WIDELY KNOWN AMONG THE

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GENERAL PUBLIC. WHILE THESE SORTS OF EXPOSES CREATE SHORT-TERM SCANDALS IN FRANCE, THEY RARELY CAN FORCE A REEXAMINATION OF GOF POLICY SINCE THERE IS NO SERIOUS POLICY DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT NOR A WELL-ORGANIZED AFRICAN AFFAIRS LOBBY. THAT SAID, WE SHOULD NOTE THAT DURING A ROUND OF CALLS ON VARIOUS RWANDA ISSUES, THE FIRST TOPIC RAISED BY OUR INTERLOCTORS AT THE QUAI AND DEFENSE WAS THE "LIBERATION" ARTICLE -- WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT IT CUT VERY CLOSE TO THE BONE. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

A LEAKED MEMO

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4. (U) "LIBERATION" ON MAY 18 RAN 5 PAGES ON EVENTS IN RWANDA; THE KEY ARTICLE WAS ENTITLED "FRANCE: TRAPPED BY ITS ACCORDS." THE AUTHOR QUOTES FROM A FOREIGN MINISTRY MEMO DATED APRIL 29 STATING "SOME MEDIA (SOURCES) AND ASSOCIATIONS (IN FRANCE) ARE CASTING BLAME ON FRANCE FOR ITS ROLE IN RWANDA.... IF YOU ARE ASKED TO COMMENT, YOU SHOULD RESPOND IN THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE: FRANCE, SINCE THE START OF THE CRISIS, HAS MADE AN EFFORT TO AVOID DESTABILIZATION OF (RWANDA). OUR GOAL HAS BEEN TO PREVENT A MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND TO PRESS FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION."

A HIDDEN AGENDA?

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5. (U) "LIBERATION" CONCLUDES THAT DESPITE THE NEUTRAL SOUNDING PHRASES IN THE QUAI DOCUMENT, THE GOF POLICY HAS BEEN TO SUPPORT THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT AND TO PREVENT THE RPF FROM ACHIEVING A MILITARY VICTORY. A BELGIAN DIPLOMAT (REPORTEDLY REFLECTING COMMONLY HELD VIEWS IN BRUSSELS) IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "FRANCE HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED HABYARIMANA AND FURNISHED HIM ARMS AND MILITARY EXPERTS, (BUT) TODAY (FRANCE) WANTS TO PLAY THE ROLE OF MODERATOR.... AND IS TRYING TO GET THE RPF TO THE SCAFFOLD." THE AUTHOR ADDS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM HOLDS PARIS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RWANDAN CRISIS.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 13749

DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR HA A/S SHATTUCK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, RW, BY, FR

SUBJECT: BUILDING A CASE AGAINST FRENCH POLICY IN - RWANDA: "LIBERATION" ON THE OFFENSIVE

THE BLACK BOX

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6. (U) THE ARTICLE CONTINUES WITH A QUOTE FROM RPF MEMBER JACQUES BIHOZAGARA IN BRUSSELS ASKING FOR THE GOF TO MAKE PUBLIC THE RESULTS OF THE EXAMINATION IN PARIS OF THE "BLACK BOX" FROM PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S PLANE. (NOTE: THE GOF HAS CONSISTENTLY DENIED TO US THAT IT HAS CARRIED OUT ANY FORENSIC OR OTHER EXAMINATION OF THE DOWNED PLANE. BIHOZAGARA DOES NOT OFFER ANY SUPPORTING COMMENT FOR THIS REQUEST. WE WILL FOLLOW-UP WITH OUR CONTACTS. END NOTE.)

KEEPING YOUR WORD

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7. (U) IN RESPONSE TO ALLEGATIONS THAT FRENCH MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE GOR IS CONTINUING, A FOREIGN

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MINISTRY SOURCE IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "IF WE FAILED TO KEEP OUR WORD (CONCERNING THE 1975 FRANCO-RWANDAN DEFENSE TREATY), OUR CREDIBILITY VIS-A-VIS OTHER AFRICAN STATES WOULD BE SERIOUSLY HARMED AND WE MIGHT SEE THESE STATES TURN TOWARD OTHER SOLUTIONS." DEFENSE MINISTRY PERSONNEL ARE QUOTED AS RESPONDING THAT AID GIVEN BY FRANCE TO THE GOR WAS INTENDED TO "PREVENT RWANDA FROM FALLING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF UGANDA, OF WHICH THE RPF IS A SATELLITE." (COMMENT: THE WORDING OF THE ARTICLE IS AMBIGUOUS ABOUT WHETHER MILITARY AID IS STILL BEING GIVEN OR HAS ENDED. END COMMENT.)

A FRENCH BANK AND EGYPTIAN ARMS

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8. (U) THE ARTICLE THEN REVIEWS GOF AID TO RWANDA, INCLUDING THE WELL-REPORTED DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF FRENCH PERSONNEL IN COMBAT SITUATIONS IN 1992 AGAINST THE RPF. IT ALSO REFERS TO AN "AFRICA WATCH" REPORT FROM EARLIER THIS YEAR WHICH CRITICIZED "CREDIT LYONNAIS" BANK (WHICH IS PARTIALLY OWNED BY THE GOF AND UNDER TUTELAGE OF THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE), FOR PROVIDING USD 6 MILLION TO ENABLE THE GOR TO PURCHASE ARMS IN EGYPT IN 1992. THE AUTHOR DERIDES THE "FRANCOPHONE" BASIS OF GOF POLICY, NOTING THAT PERHAPS 10 PERCENT OF THE RWANDAN POPULATION SPEAKS FRENCH. FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE IS ALSO CRITICIZED FOR WAITING UNTIL MAY 16 BEFORE OPENLY MAKING A CRITICAL REFERENCE TO THE GENOCIDE CARRIED OUT IN GOR-HELD AREAS.

FRENCH INFLUENCE WITH THE GOR

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9. (U) THE AUTHOR NOTES THAT ELYSEE COUNSELOR BRUNO DELAYE SUCCESSFULLY INTERVENED TWO WEEKS AGO WITH THE RWANDA MILITARY LEADERS TO PREVENT A MASSACRE OF TUTSI POPULATION TRAPPED AT THE MILLE COLLINES HOTEL. A QUAI SOURCE (WHO IS PERSONALLY DISGUSTED BY FRENCH POLICY AND THE TRADITION OF NOT SPEAKING OUT), IS QUOTED SAYING THAT "WHILE IT MAY HAVE BEEN A ONE-TIME EFFORT, IT SHOWS THE DEGREE TO WHICH FRANCE STILL HAS INFLUENCE WITH THE RWANDA MILITARY."

MOBUTU, FRONT AND CENTER

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10. (U) THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES THAT THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN WORKING CLOSELY WITH ZAIRIAN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 13749

DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR HA A/S SHATTUCK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, RW, BY, FR

SUBJECT: BUILDING A CASE AGAINST FRENCH POLICY IN - RWANDA: "LIBERATION" ON THE OFFENSIVE

PRESIDENT MOBUTU (VIA UNOFFICIAL EMISSARY MICHEL AURILLAC), TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN MEDIATING THE CONFLICT. THE ARTICLE NOTES THAT "THE SMALL CITY OF GOMA IN EASTERN ZAIRE HAS NEVER KNOWN SUCH ACTIVITY, INCLUDING A RECENT DELIVERY OF 40 TONS OF AMMUNITION WHICH CAME FROM BULGARIA AND WAS UNLOADED ON MAY FIRST AND SECOND BY RWANDA ARMY TROOPS, WITH THE COMPLICITY OF ZAIRIAN ARMY OFFICIALS -- DESPITE THE OPPOSITION OF CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES FROM KIVU WHO FEAR AN EXTENSION OF THE CONFLICT INTO ZAIRE."

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
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SSN: 3749
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TOR: 940518155113 M1053691
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (3,09)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA3592 1390537-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 190202Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 190202Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHSD/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1559-60 IMMEDIATE
ZEN/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 9674-75
INFO: ZEN/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 3605-06
ZEN/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAA PRIORITY 8737-38
ZEN/AMEMBASSYUSUN NEW YORK 9026-27
ZEN/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2403-04
ZEN/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 4554-55
ZEN/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 5678-79
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0000
ZEN/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 2396-97
ZEN/AMEMBASSY PARIS 5642-43
ZEN/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0739-40
SUBJ: ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA/CIILIAN EVACUATION
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 133592
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA/CIILIAN EVACUATION
REF: A) STATE 131555 B) STATE 128382 C) CAIRO 7766
D) BRUSSELS 5369 E) STATE 112362 F) KAMPALA 3528
G) KINSHASA 2437
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY/ACTION REQUEST. IN A MAY 18 TELCON WITH RPF COMMANDER KAGAME, A/S MOOSE OUTLINED OUR PROPOSAL TO HAVE THE THREATENED RWANDAN CIVILIANS EVACUATED BY UNAMIR WITHIN 72 HOURS, AS AGREED TO BY THE RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER ON MAY 17 (REF A). KAGAME AGREED TO WORK WITH UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE TO FACILITATE THE EVACUATION BUT WAS NON-COMMITTAL ON AGREEING TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO: (1) INFORM HOST GOVERNMENTS OF THESE EVACUATION EFFORTS, (2) HAVE HOST GOVERNMENTS PUT PRESSURE ON RPF AND GOR CONTACTS TO COOPERATE WITH THE EVACUATION AND T AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE AND RESUMPTION OF TALKS, AND (3) CALL ON HOST GOVERNMENTS TO ABIDE BY THE UN ARMS EMBARGO, APPROVED MAY 17. END SUMMARY.

RPF AGREES TO COOPERATE IN EVACUATION
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3. AS REPORTED REF (A), FOLLOWING THE MAY 17 DEMARCHE ON

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RWANDAN AMBASSADOR UWIMANA BY THE ACTING SECRETARY, THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA, JEAN KAMBANDA, AGREED TO ALLOW UNAMIR TO EVACUATE, WITHIN 72 HOURS, ALL PERSONS TRAPPED IN PLACES OF REFUGE IN GOR-CONTRLLED ZONES. ON MAY 18, RPF COMMANDER KAGAME TELEPHONED A/S MOOSE AT A/S MOOSE'S REQUEST SO THAT A/S MOOSE COULD INFORM HIM OF OUR EVACUATION PROPOSAL. A/S MOOSE REQUESTED FULL RPF COOPERATION WITN THE PLANNED EVACUATIONS. KAGAME ASSURED A/S MOOSE THAT THE RPF WOULD WORK WITH UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE AND COOPERATE IN THE EVACUATIONS.

NO FIRM COMMITMENT ON CEASE-FIRE

4. A/S MOOSE TOLD KAGAME THAT WE WANT A CEASE-FIRE TO FACILITATE THE EVACUATION AND WARNED KAGAME THAT THE CONTINUING PRESSURE OF THE RPF TROOS MOVING SOUTH COULD FUEL FURTHER MASSACRES AND RISKS DETABILIZING BURUNDI. HE ADDED THAT WE WERE HEARING INCREASING REPORTS OF RPF ATROCITIES AND NOTED THAT, AS THE RPF CONTINUED TO TAKE MORE TERRITORY, THE RISK OF A BREAKDOWN IN DISCIPLINE ONLY INCREASED. KAGAME REPLIED THAT HE AD ALREADY TOLD DALLAIRE THAT THE RPF WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT THE RPF COULD NOT JUST SIT ON ITS HANDS AND LET THE KILLINGS GO ON BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES; THEY HAD TO MOVE SOUTH TO RESCUE THREATENED CIVILIANS.

5. A/S MOOSE SAID WE WERE MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO HELP THE THREATENED ENCLAVES BUT THE RPF'S ADVANCE SOUTHWARD AND CONTINUED FIGHTING ONLY MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO SEND IN INTERNATIONAL MONITORS TO PROTECT TNE CIVILIAN ENCLAVES; IF THE RPF WOULD AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE, WE WOULD DO EVERYTHING WE COULD TO HELP THE THREATENED CIVILIAN GROUPS. IT WAS AGREED THAT KAGAME WOULD GET BACK IN TOUCH WITH A/S MOOSE IN THE NEXT 24 HOURS TO SEE WHERE WE STOOD ON THE EVACUATION EFFORT AND CEASE-FIRE.

ACTION REQUESTS

6. POSTS ARE INSTRUCTED TO APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENT AT HIGHEST LEVELS TO:

- OUTLINE OUR EFFORTS TO ARRANGE FOR EVACUATION OF THREATENED CIVILIAN GROUPS IN RWANDA;

- URGE THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS CONVOKE/CONTACT RPF AND GOR LEADERS TO PERMIT THE EVACUATION OF CIVILIANS, IMPLEMENT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE, AND RETURN TO THE ARUSHA PROCESS; AND

- EXPRESS THE USG'S STRONG DESIRE TO SEE THE UN ARMS EMBARGO RESPECTED AND FULLY ENFORCED.

IN MAKING THIS DEMARCHE, POST MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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-- WE ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE FACT THAT THOUSANDS OF RWANDAN CIVILIANS REMAIN TRAPPED IN STADIUMS, HOSPITALS, HOTELS, AND OTHER SAFE-HAVENS IN ZONES CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THESE INNOCENT CIVILIANS REMAIN IN SERIOUS PERIL AND ARE LIVING IN DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS.

,- IN AN ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE A SAFE EVACUATION OF THESE GROUPS, WE, AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG, HAVE URGED BOTH THE GOR AND RPF TO ALLOW UNAMIR TO EVACUATE THREATENED CIVILIANS WITHIN 72 HOURS.

-- THE GOR ACCEPTED THE EVACUATION PROPOSAL AND THE RF HAS AGREED TO COOPERATE FULLY, AS WELL.

-- WE URGE YOU TO ASK YOUR CONTACTS IN THE GOR AND RPF TO ABIDE BY THEIR COMMITMENTS TO ALLOW FOR AND FACILITATE THE SAFE EVACUATION OF THESE CIVILIAN GROUPS.

-- WE HAVE CONTINUED TO URGE THAT BOTH SIDES AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND HAVE EXPLAINED THAT THE CONTINUED FIGHTING ONLY MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT TO BRING AID AND PROTECTION TO THREATENED CIVILIAN PPULATIONS. WE URGE YOU TO CONTINUE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE TWO SIDES TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE.

-- WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ARUSHA PROCESS IS THE BEST HOPE FOR RESOLVING THE CONFLICT. WE ASK YOU TO PUSH THE PARTIES TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTITING TABLE, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ARUSHA.

-- AS YOU KNOW, THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON MAY 17 APPROVED RESOLUTION 918 IMPOSING AN ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA.

-- ARMS SUPLIES TO RWANDA WILL ONLY PROLONG THE CONFLICT, AND THE U.S. WANTS TO SEE THE ARMS EMBARGO RESPECTED AND FULLY ENFORCED.

-- WE HAVE BEEN DISTURBED BY REPORTS OF ARMS SHIPMENT FROM YOUR COUNTRY'S TERRITORY INTO RWANDA.
,- WHILE WE KNOW WE HAVE RAISED THIS ISSUE BEFORE AND YOU HAVE ASSURED US THAT NO SUCH SHIPMENTS HAVE OCCURRED, WE CONTINUE TO HEAR SUCH REPORTS, MANY OF WHICH APPEAR TO BE CREDIBLE.
-- WE URGE YOU TO PREVENT ANY, REPEAT, ANY ARMS SHIPMENTS TO ANY PARTY IN RWANDA.
-- THE U.N. EMBARGO HAS THE FORCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. YOU SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH NOW VIOLATES THIS UN EMBARGO WILL BE SUJECT TO SANCTIONS.
7. INFO ADDRESSEES ARE ENCOURAGED TO SHARE APPROPRIATE POINTS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS.
8. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
TARNOFF
BT
#3592
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3592

TOR: 940519014223 M1054692

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DIST:

PRT: SIT
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
015. cable	DGWS Analit: Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	05/19/1994	P1/b(1), P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/17/1994 - 05/21/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh133

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Per E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (3.12)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: OTTSZYUW RUEKJCS7908 1392350-SSSS--RHEHWSR.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS
LINE3: O 192000Z MAY 94
LINE4:
OSRI: (b)(3)
DTG: 192000Z MAY 94
ORIG:
TO: (b)(3)
INFO: ****
SUBJ: DGWS ANALIT: RWANDA (U)
TEXT:

[10 U.S.C. 424]

~~S E C R E T~~ AUS/CAN/FR/GE/IT/UK/ EYES ONLY E.O. 13526 3.3(b)(1)
~~PASS TO DGWS~~
(b)(3)
SUBJ: DGWS ANALIT: RWANDA (U) [10 U.S.C. 424]
(b)(3)

SUBJECT: KIGALI THREAT ASSESSMENT (U)

1. KEY POINTS.

A. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. THE CURRENT THREAT TO AIRCRAFT IN THE KIGALI AREA IS HIGH. THE THREAT CAN RESULT FROM DIRECT ATTACK OR SPILLOVER FROM SMALL ARMS, ARTILLERY, AND MORTAR FIRE BETWEEN THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) AND THE RWANDAN ARMED FORCES (FAR) AROUND THE AIRPORT. BOTH SIDES ARE KNOWN TO POSSESS MAN-PORTABLE AIR DEFENSE SYSTEMS.

B. ~~(S)~~ THERE HAVE BEEN FIVE RECENT INSTANCES OF ATTACKS OR THREATS TO AIRCRAFT AND UN PERSONNEL AT THE AIRPORT.

(1) 6 APRIL: RWANDAN PRESIDENTIAL AIRCRAFT REPORTEDLY SHOT DOWN BY MAN-PORTABLE ADA MISSILE AT THE AIRPORT.

(2) - 15 APRIL: GOVERNMENT TROOPS BLOCKED THE RUNWAY WITH VEHICLES; THEREBY CONTROLLING ACCESS TO THE AIRPORT.

(3) 3 MAY: TWO UNAMIR SOLDIERS INJURED AT THE AIRFIELD BY INDIRECT FIRE.

(4) 5 MAY: A C130 AIRCRAFT IN UN SERVICE RECEIVED SUPERFICIAL DAMAGE FROM SMALL ARMS FIRE. SEVERAL MORTAR ROUNDS IMPACTED ON THE RUNWAY.

(5) 19 MAY: TWELVE MORTAR ROUNDS HAVE IMPACTED NEAR THE UNAMIR POSITIONS AT THE AIRPORT.

C. ~~(S)~~ CURRENT AIRPORT SITUATION. THE FAR PARACOMMANDO BATTALION (1,000) AND UNAMIR GHANAIAN MECHANIZED INFANTRY (200) JOINTLY OCCUPY THE AIRPORT. ONE TO TWO UN RELIEF FLIGHTS ARE FLOWN TO KIGALI DAILY. TYPICALLY, FIGHTING OCCURS IN THE MORNING AND THE EFFECT OF BANANA WINE ON THE SOLDIERS LEADS TO AFTERNOON LULLS IN THE FIGHTING WHEN PLANES LAND. PERIODS OF INTENSE FIGHTING HAVE SHUT THE AIRPORT. MORTAR FIRE ON 5 MAY HIT THE RUNWAY, BUT APPARENTLY CAUSED LITTLE DAMAGE.

D. ~~(S)~~ MILITARY SITUATION AROUND THE AIRPORT. THE GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE INTERSPERSED THEIR POSITIONS WITH THE

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UNAMIR TROOPS, THUS MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR THE RPF TO ELIMINATE FAR UNITS AND SEIZE THE AIRPORT.

(1) ~~(S)~~ RPF IN KIGALI.

(A) TOTAL FORCES: 4,000 - 5,000 (HIGHLY TRAINED AND DISCIPLINED).

(B) EQUIPMENT: HEAVY WEAPONS AND MAN PORTABLE ANTI-ARMOR WEAPONS.

(C) LOCATION: HIGH GROUND NORTH AND WEST OF AIRPORT, POSITIONS EAST OF THE AIRPORT NEAR KANOMBE BARRACKS.

(2) ~~(S)~~ FAR IN KIGALI.

(A) TOTAL FORCES: 2000 - 2500 (LESS DISCIPLINED AND POORER QUALITY THAN RPF). THE PARACOMMANDO BATTALION IS PERHAPS THE BEST UNIT IN THE FAR.

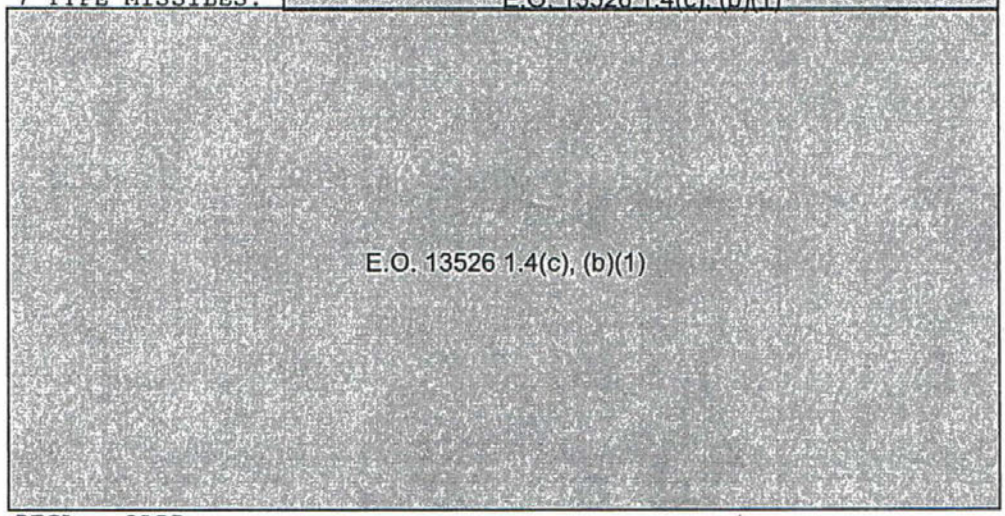
(B) EQUIPMENT: HEAVY WEAPONS, AML TYPE ARMORED CARS, MAN PORTABLE ANTI-ARMOR WEAPONS.

(C) LOCATION: AIRPORT, KANOMBE BARRACKS AND CENTRAL KIGALI.

~~(3) (S) THREAT AIR DEFENSE WEAPONS.~~

(A) BOTH SIDES HAVE ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS RANGING FROM 14.5MM TO 37MM. THE FAR HAS DEPLOYED AAA GUNS AROUND THE AIRFIELD AND IN CENTRAL KIGALI. THE RPF MAY HAVE AAA GUNS IN KIGALI, AS WELL, BUT HAS USED THEM IN THE GROUND MODE.

(B) BOTH SIDES POSSESS AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY OF SA-7 TYPE MISSILES. E.O. 13526 1.4(c), (b)(1)



DECL: OADR
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7908
TOR: 940519200640 M1056762
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA4241 1392328-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 192328Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 192328Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE 5951
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RUEHJL/AMEMBASSY BANJUL IMMEDIATE 5859
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE IMMEDIATE 9491
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE 2014
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 3120
RUEHOU/AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU IMMEDIATE 6056
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE IMMEDIATE 2407
INFO: ****
SUBJ: POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR RWANDA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2(3,16)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 134241
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PINR PHUM RW
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR RWANDA

1. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST FOR AFRICAN ADDRESSEES. SEE PARAGRAPH 3.

2. THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THE FOLLOWING ARE PROMINENT AFRICAN JURISTS WHO COULD SERVE EFFECTIVELY AS UNHRC SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR FOR RWANDA:

-- KEBA MBAYE (SENEGAL) - FORMER ICJ VICE PRESIDENT, MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND FORMER SENAGALESE SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT. JUSTICE MBAYE IS NOW RETIRED AND SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR THIS SPECIAL JOB.

-- RAYMOND SOCK (GAMBIA) - DIRECTOR OF THE AFRICAN CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN BANJUL. MR. SOCK, IN RUNNING THIS PRIVATE CENTER HAS CONTACT WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES ACROSS THE CONTINENT. HE SPEAKS LIMITED FRENCH.

-- SAMUEL K.B. ASANTE (GHANA) - PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. CHAIRED GHANA'S DRAFT CONSTITUTION. SINCE DR. ASANTE IS RUNNING FOR THE ICJ, HE MIGHT SEE THIS ASSIGNMENT AS TOO POLITICALLY SENSITIVE, OR, ALTERNATIVELY, VIEW THE OPPORTUNITY AS A PLATFORM FOR HIS

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CAMPAIGN.

-- VICTOR RAMANTRA (MADAGASCAR) - FORMER CHIEF STATE PROSECUTOR OF MADAGASCAR AND NOW RETIRED, DR. RAMANTRA IS AN ACCOMPLISHED JURIST AND PRESUMABLY AVAILABLE FOR DUTY.

-- PASCAL GUYAMA (CONGO) - A JURIST FAVORABLY KNOWN BY FSO'S AND CURRENTLY ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU.

-- ISMAEL A. DIALLO (BURKINA FASO) - ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT OF BURKINA FASO.

-- BERNARD MUNA (CAMEROON) - HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE CAMEROON BAR ASSOCIATION

ALL BUT RAMANTRA WERE PROPOSED AS CANDIDATES FOR THE UN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON SOMALIA.

3. FOR AF ADDRESSEES: POSTS WHERE THESE JURISTS RESIDE SHOULD SUBMIT ANY COMMENTS ON THE SUITABILITY OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION, TO GENEVA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. RESPONSES SHOULD INFO THE DEPARTMENT SLUGGED FOR IO/DHS, DRL/MLA AF/C AND AF/RA. THE SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WILL BE HELD IN GENEVA MAY 24-25, AND IF, AS EXPECTED, THE COMMISSION CALLS FOR THE NAMING OF A RAPPORTEUR, THE APPOINTMENT COULD BE MADE AS SOON AS THE END OF THE SESSION.

CHRISTOPHER
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4241
TOR: 940519193314 M1056708
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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2011-0262-M-2 (3,17)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE3: O 201539Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 201539Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3681
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0655
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1036
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0424
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 1166
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1683
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0775
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1029
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0773
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1089
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0529
SUBJ: RWANDA CIVILIAN EVACUATION
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BUJUMBURA 01750
E.O. 12356: DECL: ODAR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MOPS, BY
SUBJECT: RWANDA CIVILIAN EVACUATION
REF: STATE 133592
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. CHARGE CALLED ON INTERIM PRESIDENT SYLVESTRE NTIBANTUNGANYA AT 1500 THIS AFTERNOON TO SHARE POINTS IN REFTEL CONCERNING USG INITIATIVE TO EFFECT THE EVACUATION OF THREATENED RWANDAN CIVILIANS, TO PRESS FOR A CEASEFIRE AND RESUMPTION OF TALKS UNDER THE ARUSHA PROCESS. CHARGE ALSO COVERED ISSUE OF ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA.
3. NTIBANTUNGANYA REACTED FAVORABLY TO U.S. REQUEST FOR A BURUNDI EFFORT WITH THE TWO RWANDAN PRINCIPALS. HE SAID HE WOULD MEET WITH THE FORMIN LATER THIS AFTERNOON AND WOULD EXPLORE HOW BURUNDI COULD BEST MAKE THE CONTACTS. HE ADMITTED READILY THAT COMMUNICATIONS WERE A PROBLEM -- BUT THEY WILL MAKE THE EFFORT. THE INTERIM PRESIDENT SAID HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND AT THIS POINT WHAT WAS DRIVING THE TWO BELLIGERENTS TO CONTINUE THE FIGHTING; HE LAMENTED THE PROFOUND SICKNESS OF HATE WHICH ALSO HAD TOUCHED HIS OWN PEOPLE. HE THOUGHT THAT THE RECALCITRANCE OF THE FPR REGARDING THE EVACUATION COULD BE DUE TO TACTICAL MANEUVERING PRIOR TO ARRIVAL OF A REINFORCED UNAMIR. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE THINKS THE GOR IS ACTING PURELY OUT OF SUSPICION AND MISTRUST OF THE FPR; HE BELIEVES WITH PRESSURE

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THE GOR SHOULD COOPERATE.
4. NTIBANTUNGANYA SAID THAT HE WOULD INFORM CHARGE OF THE RESULTS OF BURUNDI'S EFFORTS TO CONTROL BOTH RWANDAN SIDES. EMBASSY WILL KEEP DEPARTMENT ADVISED AS DEVELOPMENTS OCCUR.
LANGE
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#1750
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1750

TOR: 940520114238 M1058284

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-2 (3.18)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201629Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
OSRI: RUEHKI
DTG: 201629Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6680
INFO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0213
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0448
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0068
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0402
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1728
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0078
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0505
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1661
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0144
SUBJ: ZAIRE AND THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA/CIVILIAN EVACUATION

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KINSHASA 02961
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MOPS, CG, RW,
SUBJECT: ZAIRE AND THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA/CIVILIAN EVACUATION
REF: STATE 133592
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: WE MADE THE DEMARCHE AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL CONCERNING THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA AND CIVILIAN EVACUATION TO BOTH THE CHEF DE CABINET OF MOBUTU'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR AND TO THE HEAD OF THE AFRICA BUREAU AT MFA. WE WERE TOLD THAT MOBUTU WAS WORKING AS THE "MEDIATOR" TO BRING THE THREE HEADS OF STATE (ZAIRE, TANZANIA AND UGANDA) TOGETHER AND TO PROMOTE A CEASE FIRE. WE WERE ALSO TOLD THAT ZAIRE WAS NOT SUPPLYING ARMS TO RWANDA; WHATEVER THE TRUTH OF THIS LAST STATEMENT, OUR DEMARCHE HAS PUT THE GOZ ON ALERT TO OUR CONCERN AND TO THE FACT THAT THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SUCH ARMS ARE, IN FACT, BEING TRANSFERRED. END SUMMARY.
3. UPON THE RECEIPT OF REFTEL WITH ITS INSTRUCTIONS TO DEMARCHE THE GOZ TO SUPPORT THE EVACUATION EFFORTS FROM RWANDA, TO PRESSURE BOTH PARTIES TO THE RWANDAN CONFLICT, AND TO OBSERVE THE ARMS EMBARGO, WE RENEWED OUR REQUEST TO BE RECEIVED BY PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S SPECIAL COUNSELOR, N'GBANDA NZAMBO-KO-ATUMBA. UNFORTUNATELY, ON MAY 20 WE WERE TOLD THAT HE HAD AGAIN LEFT FOR GBADOLITE, SO WE ASKED TO SEE N'GBANDA'S CHEF DE CABINET, PROF. EKAMBO. CHARGE WAS RECEIVED BY EKAMBO ON AFTERNOON OF THE 20TH.

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4. WE TOLD EKAMBO THAT WE HAD ORIGINALLY ASKED FOR A MEETING IN ORDER TO COMPARE NOTES ON THE RWANDAN SITUATION AND THE GOZ ROLE IN THE EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE. WE THEN DISCUSSED THE POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL, AND PROVIDED A NOTE VERBALE SETTING THEM OUT IN WRITING.
5. EKAMBO ASSURED US THAT MOBUTU, AS "MEDIATOR," WAS FULLY ENGAGED IN THE EFFORT TO SEEK A SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY. THE EARLIER CEASE-FIRE DOCUMENT THAT HAD BEEN SIGNED AT MOBUTU'S INSTIGATION (BUT NOT OBSERVED) HAD CONTAINED THREE POINTS: THE CEASE-FIRE ITSELF, THE PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING OF THE CHIEFS OF STATE OF ZAIRE, TANZANIA AND UGANDA, AND THE PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING OF THE TWO CONTENDING RWANDAN PARTIES. MOBUTU WAS PROCEEDING WITH POINT TWO AND HAD INVITED PRESIDENTS MUSAVENI AND MWINYI TO MEET HIM -- AT A PLACE AND TIME OF THEIR SELECTION. UGANDA HAD YET TO REPLY, BUT THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF TANZANIA WAS IN GBADOLITE AS WE SPOKE, PRESUMABLY WITH THE RESPONSE FIXING THE MEETING. (EKAMBO SAID THAT BURUNDI HAD NOT BEEN INCLUDED BECAUSE THEY HAD ONLY AN TEMPORARY CHIEF OF STATE, AND GIVEN THE SENSITIVITY OF BURUNDI TO THE RWANDAN SITUATION, MOBUTU HAD THOUGHT IT BEST NOT TO INVOLVE THEM AT THIS POINT.)
6. WE UNDERLINED OUR CONCERN AT REPORTS OF ARMS GOING FROM ZAIRE TO RWANDA. EKAMBO SAID THAT WE SHOULD BE ASSURED THAT THERE WERE NO GOZ ARMS BEING SHIPPED TO RWANDA. THE GOZ HAD NO ARMS TO SPARE. HE REPEATED PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S CONCERN TO CONTRIBUTE TO A SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. EKAMBO DID NOT EXPLICITLY INDICATE THAT MOBUTU FULLY ACCEPTED A TANZANIAN LEAD, BUT HE DID NOT CONTEST OUR POINT THAT THE ARUSHA PROCESS IS THE BEST HOPE FOR RESOLVING THE CONFLICT.
7. MFA: WE MADE A PARALLEL DEMARCHE, LEAVING A COPY OF THE NOTE WITH AMB. MUTOMBO TSHITAMBWE, HEAD OF THE AFRICA BUREAU AT THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
8. COMMENT: THERE ARE A NUMBER OF INDICATIONS THAT ARMS ARE INDEED GOING FROM ZAIRE TO THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT FORCES, WE DO NOT TAKE EKAMBO'S DENIAL AT FULL VALUE. HOWEVER, OUR DEMARCHE WILL SERVE AS A WARNING THAT ZAIRE IS BEING WATCHED IN THIS REGARD AND WILL BE EXPECTED TO ADHERE TO THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH THE UNSC DECISION IMPOSES.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KINSHASA 02961
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MOPS, CG, RW,
SUBJECT: ZAIRE AND THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA/CIVILIAN
9. AS THE DEPARTMENT WILL APPRECIATE, MFA IS NOT THE CENTRAL POINT IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE RWANDAN ISSUE. THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH, FROM ALL INDICATIONS, MOBUTU IS HANDLING HIMSELF, AND HIS INSISTENCE ON DOING IT ALL FROM GBADOLITE (800 MILES FROM KINSHASA) ADDS TO THE DIFFICULTY. SCOTT
BT
#2961
NNNN

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

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SSN: 2961
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TOR: 940520124409 M1058451
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA6235 1410034-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 210032Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 210032Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000
SUBJ: SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED AT UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0242-M-2 (3,20)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 136235
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED AT UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA

1. DELEGATION IS AUTHORIZED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA ON 24-25 MAY.

BEGIN TEXT:

MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS SADLY IRONIC THAT TODAY, AFRICA DAY, WE HAVE BEEN BROUGHT HERE BY A HORROR. THE SYSTEMATIC SLAUGHTER IN RWANDA TAXES THE IMAGINATION. SINCE APRIL 6, OVER 200,000 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN HUNTED DOWN AND KILLED IN A FRENZY OF POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED ETHNIC VIOLENCE. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS MORE HAVE BEEN FORCED TO FLEE TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST BRING SOLACE TO THE SUFFERING POPULATION OF RWANDA. TO THIS END, MY DELEGATION FULLY SUPPORTS AND IS ADVOCATING AN EXPANDED UNAMIR PRESENCE, WHICH WOULD PROTECT PLACES OF REFUGE AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN DIRE DANGER AS WELL AS PROVIDE

SECURITY FOR HUMANITARIAN AID TO RWANDA'S SICK AND HUNGRY. SUCH AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE MIGHT CURB, BY ITS WITNESS, THE HUMAN RIGHTS EXCESSES WE SEE BEING COMMITTED IN THIS VIOLENT CONFLICT. THE FORCE COMPONENT OF THIS INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE COULD PROVIDE THE SECURITY SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS SEVERAL IMMEDIATE TASKS: TO STOP THE KILLING, ACHIEVE A CEASE-FIRE, PROVIDE

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HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, FACILITATE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND ASSIST IN INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ATROCITIES. BUT THE WORLD COMMUNITY MUST ALSO CONSIDER STEPS THAT WILL PERMIT LONG-TERM RECONCILIATION, AND REPAIR THE DAMAGE THAT THIS CARNAGE HAS DONE TO THE MORAL AND LEGAL FABRIC OF OUR WORLD.

TIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT STRONGLY SUPPORTED HIGH COMMISSIONER AYALA LASSO'S RECOMMENDATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA'S CALL FOR THIS SPECIAL SESSION, AND WHY WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH ALL OF YOU TO DO WHAT WE MUST AT THIS CRUCIAL MOMENT. WE COMMEND THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HIS COURAGEOUS VISIT TO RWANDA EARLIER THIS MONTH.

AS THE FIRST STEPS ARE TAKEN TOWARDS THE RESTORATION OF ORDER AND PEACE IN RWANDA, WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE ORIGINS OF THIS CARNAGE AND THE IDENTITIES OF ITS PERPETRATORS. WE MUST RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO SEE THE SLAUGHTER IN RWANDA AS A CONFLICT WITH ROOTS BURIED SO DEEP IN HISTORY THAT THEY CANNOT BE REACHED BY DIPLOMACY AND STATECRAFT TODAY.

TO BE SURE THERE ARE ETHNIC DIMENSIONS TO THIS CONFLICT. YET IF YOU VISIT THE REFUGEE CAMPS WHERE RWANDANS HAVE FOUND REFUGE BY THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, YOU WILL SEE HUTUS AND TUTSIS LIVING SIDE BY SIDE, VICTIMS OF THE SAME TRAGEDY. THIS IS, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS A POLITICAL CONFLICT, INFLAMED BY POLITICAL ACTORS WHO ARE EXPLOITING UNDERLYING ETHNIC TENSIONS FOR POLITICAL ENDS. IT WAS PEOFLE SEEKING POWER WHO TOOK TO THE AIRWAVES AND CALLED FOR VIOLENCE AND SENT KILLING GANGS INTO VILLAGES. THE PEOPLE OF RWANDA MUST BE ALLOWED TO RECONSTRUCT THEIR LIVES AND SOCIETY, TO FORGIVE IF THEY CAN, CERTAINLY TO RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO EACH OTHER. BUT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS CATASTROPHE MUST BE IDENTIFIED AND HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS. INDEED, ONLY IF THEY ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE WILL THE RWANDAN PEOPLE BE ABLE TO RESTORE SOCIAL HARMONY IN THEIR COUNTRY.

IN ADDITION TO THE VITAL TASK OF PROTECTING THOSE STILL EXPOSED TO VIOLENCE, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST INVESTIGATE AND ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE ATROCITIES, THESE MASSIVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BECAUSE THE SLAUGHTER IN RWANDA IS, ABOVE ALL, A HUMAN RIGHTS CATASTROPHE. IT IS THE ULTIMATE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL AMBITION UNRESTRAINED BY LAW OR PROCESS, OF ETHNIC TENSION AND RIVALRY EXPLOITED FOR CYNICAL AND MURDEROUS ENDS, AND A DIRECT AND POWERFUL CHALLENGE TO THE MOST BASIC, FNDAMENTAL STANDARDS OF HUMANKIND. IF WE FAIL TO ACT, IT WILL SET A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR EVERY REGION OF THE WORLD WHERE ETHNICALLY DIVERSE PEOPLES TRY TO COEXIST.

WE NOTE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, GENERAL DALLAIRE AND HIS STAFF AND FORCES, THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOOH-BOOH HAVE ALREADY MADE

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SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ADDRESS THIS MULTIFACETED DISASTER. WE MUST ALSO COMMEND THE EFFORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS IN PROTECTING CIILIANS AND DISPLACED PERSONS INSIDE RWANDA.

THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO DO OUR PART. WE ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN US IN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WITH BOTH SIDES AND IN SUPPORT OF THE EFFORTS BY GOVERNMENTS OF THE REGION TO RESURRECT THE ARUSHA PROCESS. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE UN RESOLUTION PLACING AN ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA AS WELL AS AUTHORIZING EXPANSION OF UNAMIR TO FACILITATE BRINGING HUMANITARIAN AID AND PROTECTION TO THREATENED CIVILIAN POPULATIONS. SINCE THE TRAGIC CRASH THAT TOOK THE LIVES OF PRESIDENTS HABYARIMANA AND NTARYAMIRA, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED NEARLY DOLLARS 50 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO THE SUBREGION, ALONG WITH REPEATED U.S. AIRLIFTS OF AID SUPPLIES. WE CALL ON ALL GOVERNMENTS TO CONSIDER WHAT THEY CAN DO IN SUPPORT OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS.

IN ADDITION TO POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN ACTION, HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS AND PROGRAMS MUST BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ANY AND EVERY UN ACTION TAKEN ON RWANDA, BECAUSE ONLY BY A RESOLUTE FOCUS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS DIMENSION OF THIS HORROR, OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS AND DIGNITY OF EVERY RWANDAN MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD WILL THE PARTIES, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BE ABLE TO FORGE A WORKABLE END TO THE FIGHTING THAT WILL CARRY OVER INTO THE FUTURE. HIGH COMMISSIONER AYALA LASSO'S ROLE AS COORDINATOR OF HUMAN

RIGHTS ISSUES THROUGHOUT THE UN SYSTEM IS OF COURSE VITAL IN THIS REGARD.

SPECIFICALLY, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, WHO, WITH THE AID OF THE UN'S THEMATIC RAPPORTEURS, WILL INVESTIGATE THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN RWANDA, AND REPORT FINDINGS BACK TO THE COMMISSION WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE COMMISSION TO AUTHORIZE ADVISORY SERVICES FOR RWANDA AS SOON AS THE SITUATION PERMITS.

WE ALSO CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE DISPATCH OF A TEAM OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS OPERATING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UN. NOT ONLY WILL THE MONITORS GATHER INFORMATION ON THE GROUND; THEIR VERY PRESENCE WILL FACILITATE THE NEGOTIATIONS, INASMUCH AS PARTIES WILL MORE WILLINGLY LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE UNDER INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY.

GATHERING INFORMATION IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP. OUR GOAL MUST BE INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR ROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IN RWANDA AND ELSEWHERE, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AS WE SIT HERE TODAY, OVER A QUARTER OF A MILLION REFUGEES FROM RWANDA ARE HUDDLED IN TANZANIA ALONE. CORPSES STILL FLOAT DAILY DOWN THE KAGERA RIVER.

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WE MUST SEIZE THIS MOMENT TO REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO THE UNIVERSALITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS, TO THE RENUNCIATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND ETHNIC HATRED. WE MUST FIX RESPONSIBILITY ON THOSE WHO HAVE DIRECTED THESE ACTS OF VIOLENCE. IN SO DOING WE CAN TRANSFORM REVENGE INTO JUSTICE, AFFIRM THE RULE OF LAW, AND BRING THIS HORRIBLE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE TO A MERCIFUL CLOSE.

END TEXT

2. NOTE: THIS TEXT, PENDING APPROVAL FROM THE SECRETARY, MAY BE AMENDED TO INCLUDE REFERENCES TO ACTS OF GENOCIDE. PLEASE CONSULT WITH DEPARTMENT BEFORE DELIVERING SPEECH. ENDNOTE.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#6235
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6235
TOR: 940520204038 M1059555
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Burundi... (2 pages)	05/23/94	P1/b(1)
~~002. cable~~	~~A/S Moose's Conversation with Ghana's P.V. Obeng (3 pages)~~	~~05/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~A/S Moose's Conversation with Ghana's P.V. Obeng [Correcetd Copy] (3 pages)~~	~~05/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~004. cable~~	~~Prime Minister Discusses Rwanda and Other Issues (3 pages)~~	~~05/4/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~005. cable~~	~~Bundeswehr Role in Rwanda... (2 pages)~~	~~05/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~006. cable~~	~~Human Rights Commission Rwanda Special Session Day One Ends with No Surprises, Resolutuion Drafting Surprisingly Smooth (4 pages)~~	~~05/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~007. cable~~	~~"Shifting Sands"... (4 pages)~~	~~05/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~008. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Reviewing the Options (3 pages)~~	~~05/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	[The Rwandan Question] (3 pages)	05/24/94	P1/b(1)
~~010. cable~~	~~Moose Urges the RPF to Agree to Cease Fire (3 pages)~~	~~05/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~011. cable~~	~~Burundi HR League on Rwanda... (2 pages)~~	~~05/25/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~012. cable~~	~~Demarche... (4 pages)~~	~~05/26/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[05/23/1994 - 05/31/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch134

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Human Rights Commission Special Session Adopts Resolution on Rwanda (6 pages)	05/26/94	P1/b(1) VZ
014. cable	Rwanda Summit: Who's on First (1 page)	05/27/94	P1/b(1)
015. cable	[Arms Embargo on Rwanda] (4 pages)	05/27/94	P1/b(1)
016. cable	[Rwanda Summit] (1 page)	05/27/94	P1/b(1)
017. cable	A/S Moose's May 27 Bilateral Meeting with Belgian MFA Officials (5 pages)	05/27/94	P1/b(1)
018. cable	The Abacha Regime After Six Months... (12 pages)	05/31/94	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3,22)
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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHCAA7695 1440129-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P R 240124Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 240124Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY 0000
INFO: RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 0000
RUEHMV/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
SUBJ: : A/S MOOSE'S CONVERSATION ITH GHNA'S P. V. OBENG
TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ STATE 137695
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EINV, EAID, KDEM, MOPS GH, LI, RW
SUBJECT:: A/S MOOSE'S CONVERSATION ITH GHNA'S P. V. OBENG

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN A CORDIAL MEETING MAY 17, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR P. V. OBENG AND A/S MOOSE AGREED THAT U.S.-GHANA RELATIONS HAVE GROWN STEADILY WARMER AND THAT THE KEY TO GHANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS THE PRIVATE SECTOR. WHILE CONCEDING PRESIDENT RAWLINGS' CRITICAL INFLUENCE ON THE INESTMENT CLIMATE, OBENG WAS DEFENIVE ABOUT RAWLINGS' ROCKY RELATIONS WITH THE BUSINESS CMMUNITY AND RAWLINGS' VIEWS OF FIRST WORLD VS. THIRD WORLD PROBLEMS. REFERRING TO RAWLINGS' AND FOREIGN MINISTER ASAMOAH'S SEECHES TO THE MARCH AAI CONFERENCE, MR. MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT GOG LEADERS ARE NEEDLESSLY CONCERNED WITH OLD QUARRELS; THE USG, IN CONTRAST, IS LOOKING AHEAD, NOT TO THE PAST. ON GHANAIAN POLITICS, A/S MOOSE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF RESTARTING DIALOGUE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION; OBENG AGREED. OBENG SAID THE GOG HAS BROUGHT THE NORTHERN CONFLICT UNDER CONTROL AND IS ADDRESSING ITS UNDERLYING CAUSES. ON AFRICAN CONFLICTS, HE SAID THE GOG HAS WEIGHED IN WITH NIGERIA ON ECOMOG'S PROPER STANCE TOWARDS THE LPC,

AND THAT GHANA WILL SEND ADDITIONAL SOLDIERS FOR THE 5,500-TROOP UN FORCE FOR RWANDA. END SUMMARY.

3. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR . V. (PAUL VICTOR) OBENG, THE FORMER PNDC GOVERNMENT'S COORDINATING SECRETARY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF SECRETARIES (APPROXIMATELY A PRIME MINISTER), ARRIVED IN WASHINGTON MAY 16 FOR A WORLD BANK SEMINAR. MAY 17 HE CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, SINCE BOTH SHARE AN INTEREST IN CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE BEGUN DURING MR. MOOSE'S FEBRUARY AND MARCH

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VISITS TO ACCRA. CHARGE APENTENG AND DESK OFFICER THOMAS (NOTETAKER) PARTICIPATED.

4. MR. MOOSE COMMENTED THAT PRESIDENT RAWLINGS' EXCELLENT CONTACTS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS HAD CONTINUED IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHERE HE CHATTED WITH VICE PRESIDENT GORE. NANA RAWLINGS HAD AN EVEN LONGER TALK WITH MRS. GORE, WHICH WAS USPICIOUS FOR HER PLANNED AUTUMN VISIT TO THE U.S. (STATE 126883). OBENG SAID THAT WARMTH AND RAPFROCHEMENT WERE OBVIOUS IN RAWLINGS' TWO RECENT MEETINGS WITH MR. MOOSE. THE EASE WITH WHICH PRESIDENT RAWLIGS NOW DEALS WITH U.S. FFICIALS DEMONSTRATES THAT THE BULK OF PREVIOUS YEARS' SUSPICION HAS BEEN WIPED OUT. U.S.-GHANAIAN COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING HAVE IMFROVED STEDILY FOR THE PAST ' EVERAL YEARS. OBENG SINGLED OUT UAID AND MISSION DIRECTOR JOSEPH GOODWIN FOR PARTICULAR PRAISE.

5. MR. MOOSE NOTED THAT HE HAD APPRECIATED HIS FEBRUARY AND MARCH MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT RAWLINGS AND OTHER SENIOR GOG OFFICIALS. HOWEVER, HE HAD BEEN STRUCK AT TIMES BY THE GOG'S HANGUPS ABOUT THE PAST. SOME U.S. PARTICIPANTS AT THE AAI CONFERENCE AD BEEN TAKEN ABACK BY THE PRESIDENT'S AND FOREIGN MINISTER'S SFEECHES (ACCRA 02681 AND 02690), WHICH THEY SAW AS HARKENING BACK TO A BYGONE ERA. ALTHOUGH GOG OFFICIALS SOMETIMES ALLUDED TO LINGERING U.S. ATTITUDES FROM THE COLD WAR, MR. MOOSE FELT IT WAS THE GOG, NOT THE USG, THAT WAS DWELLING IN THE PAST; HE LOOKED TO THE FUTURE AND ENCOURAGED THE GOG TO DO LIKEWISE.

6. OBENG RESPONDED AT LENGTH, TOUCHING ON HOW PRESIDENT RAWLINGS ALWAYS FEELS MISUNDERSTOOD, HOW HE IS PERCEIVED AS ANTI-PRIVATE-ENTERPRISE, AND HOW GHANA'S OPPOSITION WRAPS ITSELF IN THE MANTLE OF TRUE FRIEND OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT RAWLINGS BELIEVES THAT THE U.S., THE ONLY EMAINING SUPERPOWER, CAN SEE THE TRUTH AND CHANGE THE WORLD FOR THE BETTER. HE ALSO WANTS AFRICAN AMERICANS TO BE ADVOCATES FOR AFRICA. THEREFORE, AT THE AAI CONFERENCE

HE HAD SPOKEN FOR THE UNDERDOGS. HE WAS SAYING, "LET US BE EQUAL PARTNERS AND NOT CONCUBINES," AN ALLUSION TO FRANCE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS AFRICAN FORMER COLONIES.

7. MR. MOOSE OBSERVED THAT GHANA'S LEADERS ARE INDEED HEARD AND UNDERSTOOD WHEN THEY SPEAK. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD MET RECENTLY WITH REPRESENTATIVE MAXINE WATERS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO ARE CONCERNED THAT GHANA GET FULL U.S. SUPPORT FOR ITS EXEMPLARY ECONOMIC RECORD. THE ADMINISTRATION AGREES THAT GHANA IS A SUCCESS STORY IN THE MAKING, BUT NOW WHAT MATTERS MOST--AND HERE OBENG CHIMED IN WITH THE SAME WORDS AS MOOSE--IS THE PRIVATE SECTOR. BUSINESS PEOPLE ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO THE SIGNALS PRESIDENT RAWLINGS SENDS IN HIS SPEECHES.

8. SIMILARLY, IT IS AN ENORMOUS PLUS FOR GHANA THAT PRESIDENT RAWLINGS IS NOT CORRUPT. CONGRESSWOMAN WATERS IS SENSITIVE TO THE CRITICAL NEED TO DEVELOP SAFEGUARDS

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AGAINST CORRUPTION IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES, BUT THERE IS ALSO CONCERN THAT THE REGULATORY MECHANISM--THE NEWLY-APPROVED SERIOUS FRAUD OFFICE--NOT ITSELF LEAD TO ABUSE. THERE NEEDS TO BE SOME BUFFER BETWEEN IT AND THE EXECUTIVE POWER. OBENG REPLIED THAT WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF USAID XPERTS, THE SERIOUS FRAUD OFFICE BILL WAS EXTENSIVELY MODIFIED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THESE CONCERNS. HE HOPED MOOSE WOULD ENCOURAGE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO CONTINUE VISITING GHANA AND DEEPEN THE RELATIONSHIP.

9. OBENG SPOKE ENTHUSIASTICALLY OF A CAPACITY BUILDING PROGRAM IN SUPPORT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AS WELL AS PARLIAMENT, "TO MAKE THEM A RESPONSIBLE BODY." MR. MOOSE REPLIED THAT GHANA'S PARLIAMENT IS DOING BETTER THAN MOST AT BEING CONSTRUCTIVE. IN KEEPING WITH THE NEED FOR CHECKS AND BALANCES, THEY HAD DONE GOOD WORK ON THE INVESTMENT CODE, ND THEY WERE DETERMINED TO INVOLVE THE OPPOSITION EVEN THOUGH THE OPPOSITION HAD CHOSEN TO STAY AWAY. IT WAS IMPORTANT, EVEN IN THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT, FOR THE GOG TO PURSUE DIALOGUE WITH THE OPPOSITION. AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON I.D. CARDS FOR THE 1996 ELECTIOS; HE HOPED THAT WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO MORE GOG-OPPOSITION COOPERATION.

10. TO MR. MOOSE'S QUESTION ABOUT THE SITATION IN NORTHERN GHANA, OBENG REPLIED THAT IT HAS CALMED DOW
EMENDOL OO J
EVEL AND STARTED A POLITICAL DIALOGUE. WITH RELATIVE

PEACE ACHIEVED, IT WAS NOW POSSIBLE TO ADDRESS THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE FEBRUARY DISTURBANCES. THE CHURCHES, LOCAL ELDERS, PVO'S AND THE GOG WERE ALL INVOLVED.

11. AS THE MEETING DREW TO A CLOSE. OBENG AND MR. MOOSE MENTIONED OTHER AFRICAN ISSUES BRIEFLY. ON LIBERIA, THE GOG "TOOK YOUR ADVICE" (STATE 124134) AND TALKED TO NIGERIA ABOUT NOT SUPPORTING THE LPC. MR. MOOSE MENTIONED THAT, PARTLY IN RECOGNITION OF GHAN'S ROLE IN LIBERIA, WE HAVE IN THE WORKS A GRANT OF USD 1 MILLION IN ESF. ON RWANDA, OBENG CONFIRMED THAT THE GOG HAS DECIDED TO SEND MORE TROOPS AS PART OF THE 5,500 JUST CALLED FOR BY THE
N. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#7695
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7695

TOR: 940523214005 M1062113

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHCAA7695 1502306-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P R 240124Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 240124Z MAY 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 5990-91 PRIORITY
INFO: RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 3024-25
RUEHMV/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 9718-19
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9272-73
SUBJ: : A/S MOOSE'S CONVERSATION WITH GHANA'S P. V. OBENG
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 137695
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EINV, EAID, KDEM, MOPS GH, LI, RW
SUBJECT:: A/S MOOSE'S CONVERSATION WITH GHANA'S P. V. OBENG
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN A CORDIAL MEETING MAY 17, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR P. V. OBENG AND A/S MOOSE AGREED THAT U.S.-GHANA RELATIONS HAVE GROWN STEADILY WARMER AND THAT THE KEY TO GHANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS THE PRIVATE SECTOR. WHILE CONCEDING PRESIDENT RAWLINGS' CRITICAL INFLUENCE ON THE INVESTMENT CLIMATE, OBENG WAS DEFENIVE ABOUT RAWLINGS' ROCKY RELATIONS WITH THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND RAWLINGS' VIEWS OF FIRST WORLD VS. THIRD WORLD PROBLEMS. REFERRING TO RAWLINGS' AND FOREIGN MINISTER ASAMOAH'S SPEECHES TO THE MARCH AAI CONFERENCE, MR. MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT GOG LEADERS ARE NEEDLESSLY CONCERNED WITH OLD QUARRELS; THE USG, IN CONTRAST, IS LOOKING AHEAD, NOT TO THE PAST. ON GHANAIAN POLITICS, A/S MOOSE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF RESTARTING DIALOGUE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION; OBENG AGREED. OBENG SAID THE GOG HAS BROUGHT THE NORTHERN CONFLICT UNDER CONTROL AND IS ADDRESSING ITS UNDERLYING CAUSES. ON AFRICAN CONFLICTS, HE SAID THE GOG HAS WEIGHED IN WITH NIGERIA ON ECOMOG'S PROPER STANCE TOWARDS THE LPC, AND THAT GHANA WILL SEND ADDITIONAL SOLDIERS FOR THE 5,500-TROOP UN FORCE FOR RWANDA. END SUMMARY.
3. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR P. V. (PAUL VICTOR) OBENG, THE FORMER PNDC GOVERNMENT'S COORDINATING SECRETARY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF SECRETARIES (APPROXIMATELY A PRIME MINISTER), ARRIVED IN WASHINGTON MAY 16 FOR A WORLD BANK SEMINAR. MAY 17 HE CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, SINCE BOTH SHARE AN INTEREST IN CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE BEGUN DURING MR. MOOSE'S FEBRUARY AND MARCH VISITS TO ACCRA. CHARGE APENTENG AND DESK OFFICER THOMAS (NOTETAKER) PARTICIPATED.
4. MR. MOOSE COMMENTED THAT PRESIDENT RAWLINGS' EXCELLENT

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CONTACTS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS HAD CONTINUED IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHERE HE CHATTED WITH VICE PRESIDENT GORE. NANA RAWLINGS HAD AN EVEN LONGER TALK WITH MRS. GORE, WHICH WAS AUSPICIOUS FOR HER PLANNED AUTUMN VISIT TO THE U.S. (STATE 126883). OBENG SAID THAT WARMTH AND RAPPROCHEMENT WERE OBVIOUS IN RAWLINGS' TWO RECENT MEETINGS WITH MR. MOOSE. THE EASE WITH WHICH PRESIDENT RAWLIGS NOW DEALS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS DEMONSTRATES THAT THE BULK OF PREVIOUS YEARS' SUSPICION HAS BEEN WIPED OUT. U.S.-GHANAIAN COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING HAVE IMPROVED STEADILY FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. OBENG SINGLED OUT USAID AND MISSION DIRECTOR JOSEPH GOODWIN FOR PARTICULAR PRAISE.

5. MR. MOOSE NOTED THAT HE HAD APPRECIATED HIS FEBRUARY AND MARCH MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT RAWLINGS AND OTHER SENIOR GOG OFFICIALS. HOWEVER, HE HAD BEEN STRUCK AT TIMES BY THE GOG'S HANGUPS ABOUT THE PAST. SOME U.S. PARTICIPANTS AT THE AAI CONFERENCE HAD BEEN TAKEN ABACK BY THE PRESIDENT'S AND FOREIGN MINISTER'S SPEECHES (ACCRA 02681 AND 02690), WHICH THEY SAW AS HARKENING BACK TO A BYGONE ERA. ALTHOUGH GOG OFFICIALS SOMETIMES ALLUDED TO LINGERING U.S. ATTITUDES FROM THE COLD WAR, MR. MOOSE FELT IT WAS THE GOG, NOT THE USG, THAT WAS DWELLING IN THE PAST; HE LOOKED TO THE FUTURE AND ENCOURAGED THE GOG TO DO LIKEWISE.

6. OBENG RESPONDED AT LENGTH, TOUCHING ON HOW PRESIDENT RAWLINGS ALWAYS FEELS MISUNDERSTOOD, HOW HE IS PERCEIVED AS ANTI-PRIVATE-ENTERPRISE, AND HOW GHANA'S OPPOSITION WRAPS ITSELF IN THE MANTLE OF TRUE FRIEND OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT RAWLINGS BELIEVES THAT THE U.S., THE ONLY REMAINING SUPERPOWER, CAN SEE THE TRUTH AND CHANGE THE WORLD FOR THE BETTER. HE ALSO WANTS AFRICAN AMERICANS TO BE ADVOCATES FOR AFRICA. THEREFORE, AT THE AAI CONFERENCE HE HAD SPOKEN FOR THE UNDERDOGS. HE WAS SAYING, "LET US BE EQUAL PARTNERS AND NOT CONCUBINES," AN ALLUSION TO FRANCE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS AFRICAN FORMER COLONIES.

7. MR. MOOSE OBSERVED THAT GHANA'S LEADERS ARE INDEED HEARD AND UNDERSTOOD WHEN THEY SPEAK. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD MET RECENTLY WITH REPRESENTATIVE MAXINE WATERS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO ARE CONCERNED THAT GHANA GET FULL U.S. SUPPORT FOR ITS EXEMPLARY ECONOMIC RECORD. THE ADMINISTRATION AGREES THAT GHANA IS A SUCCESS STORY IN THE MAKING, BUT NOW WHAT MATTERS MOST--AND HERE OBENG CHIMED IN WITH THE SAME WORDS AS MOOSE--IS THE PRIVATE SECTOR. BUSINESS PEOPLE ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO THE SIGNALS PRESIDENT RAWLINGS SENDS IN HIS SPEECHES.

8. SIMILARLY, IT IS AN ENORMOUS PLUS FOR GHANA THAT PRESIDENT RAWLINGS IS NOT CORRUPT. CONGRESSWOMAN WATERS IS SENSITIVE TO THE CRITICAL NEED TO DEVELOP SAFEGUARDS AGAINST CORRUPTION IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES, BUT THERE IS ALSO CONCERN THAT THE REGULATORY MECHANISM--THE NEWLY-APPROVED SERIOUS FRAUD OFFICE--NOT ITSELF LEAD TO ABUSE. THERE NEEDS TO BE SOME BUFFER BETWEEN IT AND THE EXECUTIVE POWER. OBENG REPLIED THAT WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF USAID EXPERTS, THE SERIOUS FRAUD OFFICE BILL WAS EXTENSIVELY MODIFIED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THESE CONCERNS. HE HOPED MOOSE WOULD ENCOURAGE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO CONTINUE VISITING GHANA AND DEEPEN THE RELATIONSHIP.

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9. OBENG SPOKE ENTHUSIASTICALLY OF A CAPACITY BUILDING PROGRAM IN SUPPORT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AS WELL AS PARLIAMENT, "TO MAKE THEM A RESPONSIBLE BODY." MR. MOOSE REPLIED THAT GHANA'S PARLIAMENT IS DOING BETTER THAN MOST AT BEING CONSTRUCTIVE. IN KEEPING WITH THE NEED FOR CHECKS AND BALANCES, THEY HAD DONE GOOD WORK ON THE INVESTMENT CODE, ND THEY WERE DETERMINED TO INVOLVE THE OPPOSITION EVEN THOUGH THE OPPOSITION HAD CHOSEN TO STAY AWAY. IT WAS IMPORTANT, EVEN IN THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT, FOR THE GOG TO PURSUE DIALOGUE WITH THE OPPOSITION. AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON I.D. CARDS FOR THE 1996 ELECTIONS; HE HOPED THAT WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO MORE GOG-OPPOSITION COOPERATION.

10. TO MR. MOOSE'S QUESTION ABOUT THE SITATION IN NORTHERN GHANA, OBENG REPLIED THAT IT HAS CALMED DOWN TREMENDOUSLY. THE GOG HAD DEPLOYED TROOPS TO THE VILLAGE LEVEL AND STARTED A POLITICAL DIALOGUE. WITH RELATIVE PEACE ACHIEVED, IT WAS NOW POSSIBLE TO ADDRESS THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE FEBRUARY DISTURBANCES. THE CHURCHES, LOCAL ELDERS, PVO'S AND THE GOG WERE ALL INVOLVED.

11. AS THE MEETING DREW TO A CLOSE. OBENG AND MR. MOOSE MENTIONED OTHER AFRICAN ISSUES BRIEFLY. ON LIBERIA, THE GOG "TOOK YOUR ADVICE" (STATE 124134) AND TALKED TO NIGERIA ABOUT NOT SUPPORTING THE LPC. MR. MOOSE MENTIONED THAT, PARTLY IN RECOGNITION OF GHANA'S ROLE IN LIBERIA, WE HAVE IN THE WORKS A GRANT OF USD 1 MILLION IN ESF. ON RWANDA, OBENG CONFIRMED THAT THE GOG HAS DECIDED TO SEND MORE TROOPS AS PART OF THE 5,500 JUST CALLED FOR BY THE UN. CHRISTOPHER

BT
#7695
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7695

TOR: 940530191511 M1072894

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.24)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHDRA3246 1440911-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 240911Z MAY 94 ZDK
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OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 240911Z MAY 94
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4815
INFO: RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0703
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4591
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1161
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 1230
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0114
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 6046
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0435
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 6660
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0114
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE 4520
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1713
SUBJ: PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES RWANDA AND OTHER ISSUES
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 003246
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, RW, TZ
SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES RWANDA AND OTHER ISSUES
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY

PRIME MINISTER MALECELA BLAMED ZAIRE'S MOBUTU FOR THE RECENT FAILURE TO CONVENE A REGIONAL SUMMIT ON RWANDA. FOR NOW, THE GOT IS BIDING ITS TIME AWAITING DEVELOPMENTS AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES. THE PM STATED U.S.-TANZANIAN RELATIONS "ARE THE BEST EVER." HE APPEALED TO WASHINGTON TO LEAD GREATER GLOBAL EFFORTS TO PROVIDE DEBT RELIEF TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

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3. RWANDA

DURING MY FAREWELL CALL ON PRIME MINISTER MALECELA AT HIS HOUSE LAST EVENING, HE FOCUSSED ON THE PRESSING ISSUE OF THE MOMENT, THE RWANDA CRISIS. HE NOTED THAT THE LATEST ATTEMPT TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER AT ARUSHA HAD BEEN ABORTED BY ZAIRE'S MOBUTU. THE ZAIREAN PRESIDENT APPARENTLY HAD LAMBASTED IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JOSEPH RWEGASIRA WHEN

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THE LATTER HAD VISITED GBADOLITE TO URGE MOBUTU TO ATTEND THE PROPOSED ARUSHA SUMMIT. MOBUTU WENT INTO A RAGE, ACCORDING TO MAQECELA, AND CLAIMED, AS MEDIATOR, HE WAS IN CHARGE OF THE RWANDA PEACE PROCESS. HE REFUSED TO GO ANYWHERE OTHER THAN TO A SUMMIT AT GOMA WHICH HE, HIMSELF, CONVENED. THE PROBLEM, UNDERSCORED MALECELA, WAS THAT THE OTHER KEY PLAYER, UGANDA'S MUSEVENI, WOULD NOT GO TO ZAIRE BECAUSE OF A LONGSTANDING EMNITY WITH MOBUTU. KENYA'S MOI ALSO HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT RETURNING THE LIMELIGHT TO MOBUTU. PRIME MINISTER MALECELA SAID TANZANIA WAS READY TO GO ANYWHERE IF IT WOULD PROMOTE PEACE, BUT NOW MORE TIME WOULD BE REQUIRED TO SORT OUT HOW TO BRING THE "OUTSIDE PLAYERS" INTO A COMMON FOLD. HE ALSO HOPED AGAINST HOPE THAT THE UN EFFORTS WOULD BRING ABOUT A SEMBLANCE OF A CEASE-FIRE IN RWANDA, WITHOUT WHICH THE MASSACRES WOULD CONTINUE. HE WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE OF U.S. EFFORTS, AND PRAISED A/S SHATTUCK'S RECENT SWING IN THE REGION AS AN INITIATIVE DEMONSTRATING AMERICA'S CONCERN. WHEN I MENTIONED REPORTS OF SOME LOCAL TANZANIANS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF RWANDAN REFUGEES, HE BRISTLED THAT SUCH CHARGES WERE UNDOUBTEDLY FROM PEOPLE UNFRIENDLY TO TANZANIA. ON THE CONTRARY, HE ARGUED THE TANZANIAN AUTHORITIES FORBADE THE REFUGEES FROM SELLING THEIR BELONGINGS SUCH AS CARS, CATTLE, ETC., BUT ACKNOWLEDGED FINALLY THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME LOCAL ABUSES.

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4. U.S. RELATIONS

MALECELA STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT U.S.-TANZANIA RELATIONS WERE THE BEST THEY HAVE EVER BEEN. "THERE ARE NO ISSUES BETWEEN US," HE EMPHASIZED. HE REMINISCED FONDLY ABOUT HIS OWN TRAVELS IN THE U.S., AND PRAISED ESPECIALLY USAID'S TRAINING OF THOUSANDS OF TANZANIANS. I RAISED THE SUBJECT OF MOVING FASTER ON THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAM AND SUSTAINED MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY. HE ALSO WAS LAVISH IN HIS COMMENTS ON MY ACCOMPLISHMENTS WHILE IN TANZANIA, AND ASSURED ME THAT THE DOOR WOULD ALWAYS BE WIDE OPEN WHENEVER I RETURNED. HIS REMARKS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY AN INTRICATE MAKONDE CARVING PRESENTED TO ME "ON BEHALF OF A GRATEFUL TANZANIAN NATION."

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5. DEBT RELIEF

THE PRIME MINISTER APPEALED TO ME TO "CARRY THE MESSAGE TO WASHINGTON" TO ENHANCE AFRICA'S DEBT OURDEN. I INFORMED HIM VIRTUALLY ALL TANZANIA'S DEBT TO THE USG (EXCEPT EXPORT-IMPORT BANK) HAD BEEN FORGIVEN. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE FACT, BUT WANTED TO ENCOURAGE THE U.S. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PURSUADIING OTHER COUNTRIES AND IFI'S TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING ON DEBT RELIEF. I ASSURED

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, RW, TZ
SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES RWANDA AND OTHER ISSUES

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HIM U.S. OFFICIALS WERE VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE PROBLEM, AND WERE ACTIVELY EXPLORING WAYS TO AMELIORATE AFRICA'S DEBT BURDEN.

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6. COMMENT

IT IS EVIDENT FROM MALECELA'S REMARKS ON RWANDA THAT ADDITIONAL SPADEWORK IS STILL TO BE DONE PRIOR TO CONVENING A REGIONAL SUMMIT ON RWANDA. THE GOT TRIED SEVERAL TIMES TO REVIVE THE ARUSHA PROCESS, BUT TRADITIONAL AFRICAN LEADERSHIP RIVALRIES AND EVENTS ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA HAVE FRUSTRATED THESE TANZANIAN EFFORTS. NOW THERE WOULD NOT APPEAR TO BE ANY IMMEDIATE INITIATIVES EMANATING FROM DAR, BUT THE GOT WILL CERTAINLY BE ALERT TO ANY OPPORTUNITIES TO BREAK THE CONTINUING STALEMATE.

7. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. DE VOS

BT

#3246

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 3246

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TOR: 940524054314 M1062492

<^TOR>940524052956 M1062479

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHOLA2262 1441441-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 241440Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BONN
OSRI: RUEHOL
DTG: 241440Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BONN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4769
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEHXP/ALL NATO POSTS COLLECTIVE
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 3442
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0187
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 2768
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0886
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0297
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE
RHFQAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE
SUBJ: BUNDESWEHR ROLE IN RWANDA - TRANSPORTATION AND LITTLE ELSE

DECLASSIFIED PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.25)
VR 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BONN 12262
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, MOPS, PREL, RW, GM
SUBJECT: BUNDESWEHR ROLE IN RWANDA - TRANSPORTATION AND LITTLE ELSE
REF: BONN 9522 (NOTAL)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE SPOKE WITH MFA AFRICA DESK OFFICER PUPPE AND MOD OFFICER RANKE FOLLOWING A FLURRY OF PRESS REPORTS THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WANTED TO SEND BUNDESWEHR MEDICAL PERSONNEL TO RWANDA, WHILE THE DEFENSE MINISTRY WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED. BOTH SAID THE PRESS REPORTS WERE INACCURATE AND PUPPE FIRMLY DENIED THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAD EVER CONSIDERED SUCH A PROPOSAL.

3. PUPPE SAID FOREIGN MINISTER KINKEL HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR GERMAN TRANSPORTS FLYING MEDICAL PERSONNEL OR SUPPLIES INTO RWANDA, WHEN THERE WAS A U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MANDATE FOR THE CONDUCT OF SUCH MISSIONS AND AGREEMENT ON A MULTINATIONAL EFFORT. THE PRESS HAD INACCURATELY REPORTED THAT KINKEL WANTED BUNDESWEHR MEDICAL PERSONNEL FLOWN IN, WHICH WAS MORE THAN THE MOD SUPPORTED. RANKE CONFIRMED THERE WERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO MINISTRIES ON WHAT THE FRG COULD CONTRIBUTE TO A U.N. EFFORT IN RWANDA BUT FLATLY STATED THAT THE MFA HAD NOT FLOATED THE IDEA OF SENDING FRG MEDICAL PERSONNEL.

4. BOTH CONFIRMED THE CABINET IS STILL CONSIDERING THE ISSUE OF AN APPROPRIATE FRG CONTRIBUTION. PUPPE ADDED THAT

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THE MOD IS OBVIOUSLY VERY RELUCTANT TO GET INVOLVED IN RWANDA, AND THE CABINET WILL LIKELY POSTPONE A DECISION 1) TO SEE HOW THE SITUATION DEVELOPS IN RWANDA, AND 2) TO AWAIT THE ANTICIPATED DECISION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT ON THE ISSUE OF OUT-OF-AREA MISSIONS FOR THE BUNDESWEHR (REFTEL).
KURSCH
BT
#2262
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2262
TOR: 940524104522 M1062966
DIST:
SIT: BLEICKEN BLEICKENN DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.26)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 241802Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 241802Z MAY 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9599
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 7947
RUEHZJ/HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 5347
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0227
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1966
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 2048
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1588
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0331
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RWANDA SPECIAL SESSION
- DAY ONE ENDS WITH NO SURPRISES, RESOLUTION
- DRAFTING SURPRISINGLY SMOOTH
SUMMARY

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 04732
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RWANDA SPECIAL SESSION
- DAY ONE ENDS WITH NO SURPRISES, RESOLUTION
- DRAFTING SURPRISINGLY SMOOTH
SUMMARY
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1. DAY ONE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA WENT OFF WITHOUT ANY MAJOR SURPRISES. NUMEROUS COUNTRIES AND NGO'S WERE INSCRIBED TO SPEAK; NOBODY HAD ANYTHING STARTLING TO SAY. A THREE-HOUR DRAFTING SESSION IN THE AFTERNOON INDICATED NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS; WE ANTICIPATE THE TEXT WHICH WILL EMERGE WEDNESDAY MORNING WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE COMMISSION MEMBERS. IT WILL CALL FOR APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, WHO WILL BE TASKED WITH PREPARING A REPORT IN SHORT ORDER. THE RAPPORTEUR WILL RECEIVE THE COOPERATION OF THEMATIC RAPPORTEURS AND OTHER SPECIAL MECHANISMS OF THE COMMISSION. WE ANTICIPATE THE RESOLUTION WILL ASK THE SYG TO MAKE THE REPORT AVAILABLE TO THE UNSC AND UNGA, AND WILL PROVIDE FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN RWANDA. THE RESOLUTION WILL ALSO EXPRESS THE COMMISSION'S BELIEF THAT ACTS OF GENOCIDE MAY HAVE OCCURED IN RWANDA, AND WILL INCLUDE REPORTING ON SUCH ACTS IN THE MANDATE OF THE RAPPORTEUR. OPPOSITION TO THE CANADIAN/NIGERIAN/

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CAMEROONIAN DRAFT WAS SUPRISINGLY MILD. WE ANTICIPATE THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL BE ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS BY THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS WEDNESDAY EVENING. END SUMMARY.

SPEECHES, ETC.

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2. THE INTERVENTIONS BY MEMBER STATES AND OBSERVERS WERE FOR THE MOST PART UNREMARKABLE. BOWING TO THE WISH OF CHAIRMAN PALTHE AND THE BUREAU TO KEEP THE DEBATE SHORT, MOST STATEMENTS WERE LESS THAN FIVE MINUTES LONG, TEN AT MOST. THE UNITED STATES (HEAD OF DELEGATION FERRARO) SPOKE NINTH (JUST AFTER NOON) FOLLOWING THE CHAIRMAN, ASYG FALL, CANADA, HCHR AYALA LASSO, THE OAU AMBASSADOR, ZAMBIA FOR THE AFRICAN GROUP, FRANCE (VICE MINISTER MICHAUD-CHEVRY), AND FINLAND FOR THE NORDICS. TEN MORE COUNTRIES SPOKE BEFORE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OGATA ENDED THE MORNING SESSION WITH A TYPICALLY ELOQUENT DESCRIPTUION OF THE SITUATION FACING REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED. RWANDA'S MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE SPOKE FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT RIGHT AFTER THE LUNCH-BREAK; HIS HARD-HITTING REMARKS WERE STRONGLY CRITICAL OF THE RPF AND PRESIDENT MUSEVENI AND FORCED BELGIUMN TO SEEK A RIGHT OF REPLY. (WE WILL WORK WITH CHAIRMAN PALTHE TO ENSURE THAT AN RPF REPRESENTATIVE GETS THE CHANCE TO SPEAK WEDNESDAY MORNING.) THE AFTERNOON SAW 31 COUNTRIES AND 13 NGO'S INSCRIBED TO SPEAK; CHAIRMAN PALTHE DECIDED TO EXTEND THE SESSION UNTIL 19:00 TO GET AS MANY AS POSSIBLE OUT OF THE WAY ON THE FIRST DAY.

DRAFTING SESSION

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3. AN OPEN-ENDED DRAFTING SESSION, OPEN TO ALL MEMBER AND OBSERVER STATES, MET FOR THREE HOURS IN THE AFTERNOON, GIVING OVER 20 DELEGATIONS THE CHANCE TO OFFER COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PREPARED BY CAMEROON, NIGERIA, AND CANADA. THE BIGGEST SURPRISE WAS THAT THERE WERE NO SURPRISES -- NO DELEGATION CHALLENGED THE THRUST OF THE TEXT, ALTHOUGH MANY HAD COMMENTS HERE OR THERE. MOST TYPICAL WAS NERVOUSNESS ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TREADING ON THE TOES OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT IT APPEARED CAREFUL DRAFTING COULD OVERCOME THOSE HESITATIONS BY CHINA, CUBA, MEXICO, ETC. INDIA AND ONE OR TWO OTHERS WERE RELUCTANT TO ASK THE SYG TO MAKE THE RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT "AVAILABLE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL," BUT OTHERS SUPPORTED THE IDEA AND EVEN SUGGESTED DOING THE SAME FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. ALL APPEARED TO ACCEPT THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD CREATE A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR; FEW RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SPEED OR TIMING OF HIS REPORT. ADVISORY SERVICES WERE ALSO SUPPORTED, PROVIDED THAT RWANDA REQUESTS THEM. (WE KNOW THE CENTER HAS DRAWN UP A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF SERVICES WHICH IT WILL PROPOSE, PROBABLY DURING WEDNESDAY'S SESSION.) THE MOST POINTED COMMENTS AGAIN CAME FROM THE IRANIAN DELEGATE, WHO SUGGESTED THE COMMISSION INCLUDE LANGUAGE CRITICAL OF THE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 04732

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RWANDA SPECIAL SESSION SECURITY COUNCIL'S DECISION TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF UNAMIR

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FORCES IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE APRIL 6 EVENTS; NOBODY PAID HIM MUCH HEED.

4. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, WESTERN DELEGATIONS WERE GENERALLY UNOPPOSED IN SUGGESTING IMPROVEMENTS. IN PARTICULAR, PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE WAS OFFERED (A LA UNSC RES. 918) NOTING THE DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE AND "BELIEVING THAT ACTS OF GENOCIDE HAVE OCCURRED IN RWANDA," AND OPERATIVE LANGUAGE WHICH CALLS ON THE RAPPORTEUR "TO COMPILE SYSTEMATICALLY INFORMATION ON POSSIBLE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ACTS WHICH MAY CONSTITUTE BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, INCLUDING ACTS OF GENOCIDE IN RWANDA, AND TO MAKE THIS INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE SYG." IN ADDITION TO THE LATTER PHRASING, NETHERLANDS OFFERED LANGUAGE ON PREVENTING INCITEMENTS TO VIOLENCE AND RACIAL HATRED BY BOTH GOR AND RPF, AND ON HUMANITARIAN ACCESS TO PERSONS BEING DETAINED. FINLAND SUGGESTED LANGUAGE IN THE PREAMBLE ON INCLUDING "A HUMAN RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE" IN ALL UN ACTIVITIES AND OF A HUMAN RIGHTS COMPONENT IN THE POLITICAL PEACE PROCESS; CANADA SECONDED THE MOTION AND SUGGESTED PUTTING SOMETHING SIMILAR IN THE OPERATIVE SECTIONS, AN IDEA THE U.S. DELEGATION SUPPORTED. THE SESSION ENDED WITH A STRONG STATEMENT BY THE NIGERIAN DCM STRESSING THAT THE COMMISSION CANNOT IGNORE SECURITY ISSUES IN RWANDA, JUST AS THE SECURITY COUNCIL COULD NOT IGNORE HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. HE ALSO POINTED OUT AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR THE DRAFT TEXT AND THE NEED FOR THE COMMISSION TO SEND A CLEAR SIGNAL, TO THE PARTIES IN RWANDA, AND STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE IDEAS OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND A TEAM OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS.

NEXT STEPS

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5. THE THREE CHAIRMEN OF THE DRAFTING SESSION WILL WORK LATE TUESDAY TO INCORPORATE AS MANY ELEMENTS AS POSSIBLE FROM THE DRAFTING SESSION INTO THE FINAL TEXT, WHICH THEY EXPECT WILL BE READY AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS WEDNESDAY. THE COMMISSION HAS WAIVED THE 24-HOUR RULE AND SHOULD BE PREPARED TO "TAKE ACTION" ON THE DRAFT TEXT WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. WE BELIEVE THAT THE TEXT WHICH EMERGES WILL BE ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS, ALTHOUGH ONE OR TWO DELEGATIONS MAY MAKE FLOOR SPEECHES RAISING FOR THE RECORD IN PLENARY THE SAME POINTS THEY MADE IN THE DRAFTING SESSION.

6. MISSION HAS DISCUSSED POSSIBLE RAPPORTEURS WITH ONE OR TWO OTHER DELEGATIONS. CONSENSUS IS THAT THE RAPPORTEUR SHOULD BE AN AFRICAN, BUT FEW NAMES HAVE BEEN OFFERED BY THE OTHER REGIONAL GROUPS. CANADA IS BACKING AHMADOU ALMAMI TOURE OF MALI IN DISCUSSIONS WITH CHAIRMAN PALTHE (A NAME WE HAVE ALSO GIVEN HIM, ALONG WITH RAYMOND SOCK). WE WILL TRY TO SOUND HIM OUT DURING THE MORNING.

7. RESOURCES WILL OF COURSE BE A PROBLEM OVER TIME, BUT NO ONE HAS RAISED THE SUBJECT YET. WE EXPECT THE CENTER EWILL ABSORB THE COST AND THEN USE THIS UNFORSEEN MANDATE AS A MEANS TO PRESSURE THE SECRTARIAT FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS. THERE WILL DOUBTLESS ALSO BE A CALL FOR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS, ESPECIALLY FOR THE ADVISORY SERVICES PROGRAM.

8. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SPIEGEL

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RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 7971
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6547
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0430
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 1038
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 4753
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1735
SUBJ: "SHIFTING SANDS" IN PARIS ON ZAIRE, PART II:
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,27)
VL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 14304
ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, BE, FR, CG
SUBJECT: "SHIFTING SANDS" IN PARIS ON ZAIRE, PART II:
REF: A) BRUSSELS 5477 B) PARIS 13761 C) KINSHASA 2975
- D) PARIS 11514 E) STATE 136097
- F) PERLOW-MCCULLEY TELECON, 5-24
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST; SEE PARAGRAPH 9.
SUMMARY:
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3. ON MAY 24 WE REVIEWED WITH THE CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, THE QUAI DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, THE STATE OF PLAY CONCERNING: THE TRILATERAL DEMARCHE TO UNSYG BOUTROS GHALI ("DEAD" ACCORDING TO HER); THE DELAYED AND RELUCTANT TRIP TO ZAIRE BY LAKHDAR BRAHIMI; MSGR'S INCREASING DISENGAGEMENT; AND THE PROPOSAL FOR PARALLEL DEMARCHES TO MOBUTU, TSHISEKEDI AND THE OPPOSITION. WE ALSO NOTED THE RELUCTANCE OF GOF AMBASSADOR DEPAIGNE IN KINSHASA TO CARRY OUT THE PARALLEL DEMARCHES AND ASKED IF THIS REPRESENTED A CHANGE IN QUAI POLICY.
4. BOIVINEAU WAS CAREFUL TO NOTE THAT THE GOF AMBASSADOR HAD NOT/NOT SPOKEN ON INSTRUCTIONS BUT THAT HIS POSITION REFLECTED "THE LOGIC OF FRENCH THINKING." DEPAIGNE HAS SUGGESTED INSTEAD SEPARATE BUT IDENTICAL STATEMENTS BY THE TRILATERAL SPOKESPERSONS WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF FOLLOW-UP DEMARCHES. WE POINTED OUT SOME OF THE PITFALLS IN SUCH AN APPROACH BUT BOIVINEAU

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ASKED FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON DEPAIGNE'S PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

5. WE SPOKE WITH CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA ON MAY 24 CONCERNING THE MAY 13 TRILATERAL AGREEMENT IN BRUSSELS (REF A), ON THE NEED FOR DEMARCHES TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND PRIME MINISTER TSHISEKEDI ON ALLOWING THE TRANSITION PROCESS TO PROCEED (REF B). WE ALSO REVIEWED THE RECENT ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK AND ZAIRE ON NEXT STEPS, PARTICULARLY THE SEEMING RELUCTANCE OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR DEPAIGNE IN KINSHASA (REF C) TO PARTICIPATE IN A PARALLEL DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU.

6. BOIVINEAU AT FIRST REITERATED THE POINTS MADE TO US WHEN THE QUAI ASKED FOR THE WORDING IN THE DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU TO BE SOFTENED (REF B), I.E., THE QUAI BELIEVES THAT THE BLAME FOR THE CURRENT STALEMATE BELONGS ENTIRELY WITH PRIME MINISTER TSHISEKEDI. SHE WENT ON TO NOTE THAT DEPAIGNE'S RELUCTANCE TO MAKE PARALLEL DEMARCHES (REF C) "FOLLOWED THE LOGIC" OF THE FRENCH POSITION BUT HAD NOT BEEN BASED ON SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE QUAI.

NO REASON TO MAKE DEMARCHES

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7. BOIVINEAU THEN NOTED THAT: GIVEN BRAHIMI'S DELAYED ARRIVAL AND RELUCTANCE TO TAKE A FORCEFUL ROLE; BOUTROS GHALI'S REJECTION OF OUR TRILATERAL DEMARCHE (REF E); AND MONSENGWO'S INCREASING DISENGAGEMENT, THE QUAI SAW LITTLE PRACTICAL REASON TO PROCEED WITH THE PARALLEL DEMARCHES. SHE ARGUED THAT THE PARALLEL DEMARCHES WERE TO BE MADE IN SUPPORT OF FORCEFUL ACTION BY MONSENGWO AND/OR BRAHIMI, AS DISCUSSED AT BRUSSELS. IF CARRIED OUT ALONE, SHE CLAIMED, THEY WOULD HAVE A NEGLIGIBLE IMPACT.

SEPARATE STATEMENTS USING U.S. DRAFT LANGUAGE?

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 14304

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, BE, FR, CG

SUBJECT: "SHIFTING SANDS" IN PARIS ON ZAIRE, PART II:

8. DEPAIGNE HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE TRILATERAL PARTNERS ISSUE A JOINT STATEMENT BY OUR RESPECTIVE SPOKESPERSONS THAT WOULD USE MUCH OF THE LANGUAGE INCLUDED IN THE U.S. DRAFT DOCUMENTS. SUCH A STATEMENT COULD THEN, IF APPROPRIATE, BE FOLLOWED UP BY INDIVIDUAL DEMARCHES TO MOBUTU, TSHISEKEDI AND THE OPPOSITION. WE NOTED TO BOIVINEAU THAT A SINGLE STATEMENT WOULD NEED TO BE "BALANCED" AND PROBABLY COULD NOT REFLECT THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE CURRENT SITUATION -- SOMETHING WHICH WOULD SURELY BE EXPLOITED BY MOBUTU AND HIS SUPPORTERS. WE ALSO NOTED THAT ACCORDING TO THE LATEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE FROM WASHINGTON (REF F), IT REMAINS OUR INTENTION TO CARRY OUT THE DEMARCHES AS AGREED IN BRUSSELS. WE ASKED IF DEPAIGNE'S IDEA OF SEPARATE BUT IDENTICAL STATEMENTS NOW REPRESENTED A QUAI PROPOSAL TO REPLACE THE DEMARCHES AGREED AT BRUSSELS.

NOT YET POLICY

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9. BOIVINEAU RESPONDED THAT A STATEMENT WOULD NEED THE APPROVAL OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND INTERMINISTERIAL COORDINATION, WHICH HAS NOT YET TAKEN PLACE. HOWEVER, SHE STRESSED, THE QUAI HAS NOT INSTRUCTED DEPAIGNE TO MAKE THE PARALLEL DEMARCHES AND IS NOT LIKELY TO DO SO IN VIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. SHE ASKED THAT WE CONVEY TO WASHINGTON THE PROPOSAL FOR SEPARATE BUT IDENTICAL STATEMENTS, INCORPORATING MUCH OF THE LANGUAGE DRAFTED BY THE U.S. FOR THE DEMARCHES. PLEASE ADVISE.

VISIT OF MAHA MOBUTU

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10. BOIVINEAU TOLD US LATER IN THE DAY THAT ANOTHER REQUEST HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY THE QUAI FOR MAMA MOBUTU AND ENTOURAGE TO ENTER FRANCE TO SPEND TIME WITH THE PRESIDENT'S ILL SON. THE REQUEST WILL BE APPROVED SHORTLY ON HUMANITARIAN GROUND, SHE STATED.

COMMENT

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11. IN ALL OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH GOF AFRICANISTS TODAY ON RWANDA, ANGOLA AND ZAIRE (SEPTELS), THE SUBJECT OF HOW TO DEAL WITH MOBUTU WAS AT CENTER STAGE. THE LONG-RUNNING DEBATE WITHIN THE FRENCH CENTER-RIGHT ON WHETHER TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH "LE MARECHAL" SHIFTED MARKEDLY AT THE OCTOBER 1993 FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT AND THE ISSUE WAS ALL BUT SETTLED WITH THE DEATH OF HABYARIMANA. OUR FRENCH CONTACTS, INCLUDING LONGSTANDING MOBUTU ANTAGONISTS, BELIEVE THAT FOUR YEAR OLD WESTERN ISOLATION OF MOBUTU ENDED THE (RELATIVE) MODERATING INFLUENCE WE HELD OVER HIM.

12. LEFT TO HIS OWN DEVICES (AND UNABLE TO PLUNDER ZAIRE) MOBUTU IS SPREADING DISORDER IN AN EFFORT TO KEEP HIMSELF AFLOAT. BUT BY FACILITATING UNITA'S ARMS TRADE AND DIAMOND SMUGGLING MOBUTU IS HELPING FINANCE THE ANGOLAN WAR AND THE DESTRUCTION OF ANGOLA. BY FACILITATING TRANSIT (IF NOT THE SALE) OF MATERIEL TO THE RWANDAN ARMY, HE IS HELPING FACILITATE THE MASSACRES. THE GOF, INCLUDING MOBUTU'S ANTAGONISTS, HAVE REACHED A CONSENSUS THAT "LE GUIDE" CANNOT BE GOTTEN RID OF ("INCONTOURNABLE") AND THEREFORE MUST BE REINTEGRATED INTO A REGIONAL POLICY. IF THE WEST CAN ARRANGE SOMETHING THAT LOOKS LIKE DEMOCRACY IN ZAIRE,

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 14304

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, BE, FR, CG

SUBJECT: "SHIFTING SANDS" IN PARIS ON ZAIRE, PART II: SO MUCH THE BETTER, THE BELIEVE. IF NOT, ITS ABSENCE WILL BE A SMALL PRICE TO PAY TO RESTORE SOME MEASURE OF STABILITY TO THIS VAST REGION.

13. LUANDA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

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RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0525
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1083
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1738
SUBJ: RWANDA: REVIEWING THE OPTIONS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 14305
DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR P, IO AND HA A/S SHATTUCK
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, RW, BY, FR
SUBJECT: RWANDA: REVIEWING THE OPTIONS
REF: A) DAR ES SALAAM 3024 B) PARIS 13792
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: WE SPOKE ON MAY 24 WITH SENIOR GOF AFRICANISTS AT THE QUAI AND DEFENSE MINISTRY CONCERNING THE NEXT STEPS IN RWANDA FOLLOWING THE COLLAPSE OF TALKS IN ARUSHA AND THE CAPTURE OF THE KIGALI AIRPORT BY THE RPF. THE QUAI STATED THAT THE MATTER WILL BE DISCUSSED THIS WEEK IN A RESTRICTED CABINET SESSION AND WILL BE RAISED WHEN UNDER SECRETARY TARNOFF VISITS LATER IN THE WEEK. AT THE TOP OF THE QUAI'S THINKING: EVACUATION OF TRAPPED CIVILIANS FROM RWANDA AND ANOTHER DEMARCHE TO MUSEVENI (IN AUSTRIA OR A NORDIC CAPITAL) TO PRESS HIM TO GET THE RPF TO STOP ITS OFFENSIVE BEFORE A "SECOND GENOCIDE" TAKES PLACE. END SUMMARY.
3. ON MAY 24 WE SPOKE SEPARATELY WITH COL. MICHEL RIGOT, AFRICAN AFFAIRS ADVISOR TO DEFENSE MINISTER LEOTARD; THE QUAI AFRICAN BUREAU DIRECTOR DE LA SABLIERE AND CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, CONCERNING NEXT STEPS IN RWANDA. DE LA SABLIERE, AFTER NOTING THE COLLAPSE OF THE PROPOSED TALKS IN ARUSHA, THE CONTINUED RPF OFFENSIVE, AND THE RETICENCE OF MANY STATES TO PROVIDE

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TROOPS FOR AN EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCE (IN THE ABSENCE OF A CEASE FIRE), SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TO CONSIDER A CHAPTER VII EFFORT IN RWANDA IN ORDER TO PREVENT A HUTU "FINAL SOLUTION." HE NOTED THAT WOULD BE ONE OF THE OPTIONS GIVEN TO A RESTRICTED CABINET MEETING THIS WEEK.

KIGALI AIRPORT

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4. RIGOT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY AND OPINED THAT THE RPF WILL NEED NOT ONLY TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT BUT ALSO SEVERAL KILOMETERS OF THE SURROUNDING AREAS IN ORDER TO PREVENT ATTACKS ON AIRCRAFT BY HUTU ARMY UNITS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE RPF MIGHT BE PREPARED TO AUTHORIZE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FLIGHTS TO LAND "IF ONLY FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS REASONS." HE SUGGESTED THAT IF THE RPF DEMONSTRATES FULL CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT, THE UN AND DONORS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MOVE QUICKLY.

THE RPF OFFENSIVE

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5. ALL THREE INTERLOCUTORS STRESSED THAT THE GOF IS DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE RPF WILL NOT/NOT STOP ITS OFFENSIVE AT KIGALI, BUT RATHER WILL ATTEMPT TO MOVE INTO SOUTHERN RWANDA AREAS DOMINATED BY HUTU MODERATES. IN THE FRENCH VIEW, SUCH AN AREA COULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A RPF-HUTU MODERATE COALITION GOVERNMENT. BOIVINEAU IN PARTICULAR STRESSED THAT THE GOF DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE ADHESION OF "SEVERAL HUTU PERSONALITIES" TO AN RPF-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT IS POLITICALLY TENABLE -- SUCH "QUISLINGS" AND THEIR FAMILIES WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY TARGETED FOR ATTACKS BY HUTU EXTREMISTS. IN ADDITION, SHE PREDICTED, NORTHERN HUTUS AND MILITIAS WOULD QUICKLY ORGANIZE A TERRORIST RESISTANCE MOVEMENT -- MAKING THE COUNTRY UNGOVERNABLE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

EVACUATION OF CIVILIANS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 14305

DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR P, IO AND HA A/S SHATTUCK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, RW, BY, FR

SUBJECT: RWANDA: REVIEWING THE OPTIONS

6. IN THE ABSENCE OF A CEASE-FIRE, BOIVINEAU NOTED THAT THE SUGGESTION OF EX-MINISTER OF HEALTH KOUCHNER CONCERNING THE EVACUATION OF TRAPPED CIVILIAN POPULATIONS FROM KIGALI AND OTHER AREAS HAD BECOME MORE ATTRACTIVE TO THE GOF. DE LA SABLIERE NOTED THAT DURING THE VISIT LAST WEEK TO THE REGION BY JUNIOR HEALTH MINISTER DOUSET-BLAZY, THE QUESTION HAD BEEN EXPLORED WITH UNAMIR COMMANDER GEN. DALLAIRE. THE GOF BELIEVES THAT DALLAIRE HAS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WOULD NEED TO BE DONE IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH SUCH A DANGEROUS AND COMPLICATED TASK. DE LA SABLIERE STRESSED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF A CEASE-FIRE, SUCH AN OPERATION COULD BE CONDUCTED ONLY/ONLY IF BOTH SIDES AGREED.

7. WHEN WE RAISED THIS SUGGESTION WITH RIGOT, HE WAS VERY PESSIMISTIC THAT THE UN COULD ASSEMBLE AND

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TRANSPORT ENOUGH MANPOWER AND ARMORED VEHICLES TO CARRY OUT SUCH AN OPERATION SAFELY AND WITHIN THE TIME NECESSARY. HE NOTED, AS AN EXAMPLE, THAT FRANCE HAS PROVIDED 450 OF ITS 1,000 APC'S TO UNPROFOR -- AND THE GOF IS HAVING DIFFICULTY MAINTAINING THOSE VEHICLES DUE TO HEAVY USE AND AGE. IT IS UNTHINKABLE, HE CAUTIONED, THAT FRANCE WOULD STRIP ITS APC FORCE ANY FURTHER, EVEN FOR A RELATIVELY SHORT OPERATION. HE ALSO REITERATED THAT GIVEN THE ANIMOSITY BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE RPF -- AND THE GOF'S OTHER PEACEKEEPING COMMITMENTS -- THERE IS ALMOST NO POSSIBILITY THAT FRENCH FORCES WOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH AN OPERATION.

MUSEVENI REDUX

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8. AFTER THE STANDARD GOF VIEW OF PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S ROLE IN PERMITTING THE RPF OFFENSIVE TO CONTINUE, BOIVINEAU NOTED THAT THE QUAI HOPES TO MAKE ANOTHER URGENT DEMARCHE TO HIM THIS WEEK, PROBABLY IN AUSTRIA OR ONE OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES THAT HE IS SCHEDULED TO VISIT. THE GOF WILL ASK FOR ASSURANCE THAT NO MILITARY MATERIEL, SUPPLIES OR FUEL REACH THE RPF FROM UGANDA.

9. IN EXCHANGING VIEWS ON WHAT HAD CAUSED THE FAILURE OF THE PROPOSED MAY 24 TALKS IN ARUSHA, BOIVINEAU NOTED THAT THE QUAI HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN ANY MORE SOLID DETAILS THAN WERE CONTAINED IN REF (A). HOWEVER, SHE ADDED THAT THE QUAI'S INITIAL IMPRESSION (BASED ON RUMORS CIRCULATING ON THE RWANDA CIRCUIT) WAS THAT THE FAILURE HAD RESULTED FROM DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MOBUTU AND MUSEVENI ON THEIR RESPECTIVE ROLES IN THE TALKS.

TARNOFF VISIT

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10. WE ASKED IF THE QUAI INTENDED TO RAISE RWANDA DURING THE VISIT LATER THIS WEEK OF UNDER SECRETARY TARNOFF TO PARIS. AFTER CHECKING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL DUFOURCQ'S STAFF, WE WERE ASSURED THAT RWANDA HAS BEEN PLACED NEAR THE TOP OF THE LIST FOR HIS MAY 27 MEETING WITH TARNOFF.

HARRIMAN

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000
SUBJ: MOOSE URGES THE RPF TO AGREE TO CEASE FIRE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.3b)
NL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 138779
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS PINR PINS PREL PHUM RW BY
SUBJECT: MOOSE URGES THE RPF TO AGREE TO CEASE FIRE

1. SUMMARY. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS MOOSE DISCUSSED WITH THE RPF VICE CHAIRMAN, PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, U.S. DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES TO END THE KILLINGS AND BROKER A CEASE FIRE. IN ARGUING FOR A CEASE FIRE, MOOSE TOLD THE RPF THAT THEIR MILITARY PUSH TO THE SOUTH COULD PRECIPITATE FURTHER VIOLENCE BY BOTH RGF AND RPF FORCES AND MIGHT DESTABILIZE BURUNDI. MOOSE URGED THE RPF TO MEET WITH THE UN DIRECTOR OF PEACEKEEPING TO DISCUSS THEIR CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS FOR AN EXPANDED UN FORCE. END SUMMARY.

2. ON THURSDAY, MAY 19, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGE MOOSE MET WITH PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE RPF, GERALD GAHIMA, DIRECTOR OF CABINET FOR THE RPF MINISTER-DESIGNATE OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS, AND CHARLES MURIGANDE, RPF WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE. ALSO PRESENT AT THE MEETING WERE AMBASSADOR ARLENE RENDER, DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND LAURA LANE AS NOTETAKER.

3. MOOSE TALKED TO THE RPF DELEGATION ABOUT AF'S RECENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO END THE MASSACRES AND BROKER A CEASE FIRE. MOOSE SAID THAT IN ADDITION TO URGING THE UN

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TO ACT AS QUICKLY AS IT CAN TO TRY TO EXTEND PROTECTION TO CIVILIANS TRAPPED BEHIND RGF LINES, ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TALBOTT HAD CONVOKED RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. UWIMANA AND URGED FULL GOR COOPERATION IN THE UN ASSISTED EVACUATION OF CIVILIANS. AT AF'S SUBSEQUENT URGING, UWIMANA CALLED RWANDA'S UN DELEGATE TO RECONFIRM THAT THE GOR FULLY SUPPORTED THE US PROPOSED PLAN.

4. A/S MOOSE ALSO TALKED TO THE RPF DELEGATION ABOUT HIS CALL TO RPF FORCE COMMANDER PAUL KAGAME. MOOSE SAID THAT HE HAD URGED KAGAME TO REESTABLISH A DIALOGUE WITH THE UN FORCE COMMANDER GENERAL DALLAIRE IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE MODALITIES FOR EVACUATION OF CIVILIANS TRAPPED IN KIGALI AND BEHIND RGF LINES. MAZIMHAKA AGREED WITH MOOSE ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING OPEN LINES OF COMMUNICATION WITH UNAMIR.

5. IN DISCUSSIONS OF A CEASE FIRE, THE RPF EMPHATICALLY STATED THAT THE KILLINGS MUST STOP BEFORE THEY WILL AGREE TO A CEASE FIRE. MOOSE REPLIED THAT CONTINUED MILITARY PRESSURE WOULDN'T NECESSARILY STOP THE KILLINGS AND MAY INSTEAD PRECIPITATE GREATER VIOLENCE. ECHOING HIS PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS WITH GENERAL KAGAME, MOOSE SAID THAT THERE WERE ALREADY SIGNS OF PANIC ON THE GOR SIDE. THIS FEAR COULD TRANSLATE INTO FURTHER WANTON VIOLENCE AGAINST INNOCENT CIVILIANS. MOOSE ALSO HIGHLIGHTED THE POSSIBLE DESTABILIZING IMPACT RPF ADVANCES COULD HAVE ON BURUNDI. LASTLY, MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT A COLLAPSE IN ORDER AND DISCIPLINE AMONG RPF TROOPS STRETCED TO THEIR LIMITS WITH THE CAMPAIGN TO THE SOUTH COULD RESULT IN MORE REPORTED RPF ATROCITIES.

6. IN DEFENSE OF THEIR CURRENT MILITARY STRATEGY TO PACIFY THE SOUTH, THE RPF SAID THAT THEIR PEOPLE WERE BLAMING THEM FOR THE GENOCIDE FOR NOT HAVING TAKEN MILITARY CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY IN FEBRUARY 1993 WITH THEIR LAST OFFENSIVE BEFORE SIGNING THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. THE RPF SAID THAT THEY HAD EVIDENCE THAT PLANS AND PREPARATIONS WERE BEING MADE EVEN BEFORE THEIR FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE TO IMPLEMENT THE CURRENT "FINAL SOLUTION". YET, THE RPF CLAIMED THAT THEY IGNORED THE EVIDENCE AND THEIR OWN ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION, BELIEVING INSTEAD THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD PREVENT ANY PLANS OF GENOCIDE FROM BEING IMPLEMENTED.

7. THE RPF DELEGATION SAID THAT IT DID NOT AGREE WITH THE US'S CURRENT ANALYSIS THAT IF THEY STOPPED ADVANCING, THE MASSACRES WOULD STOP. INSTEAD, THEY BELIEVE THE GOR IS TRYING TO BLACKMAIL THEM BY BARGAINING WITH THE LIVES OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS TO STOP RPF MILITARY ADVANCES.

8. THE RPF SUPPORTED THE UN RESOLUTION TO DEPLOY A HUMANITARIAN FORCE IN THE SOUTH TO PROTECT CIVILIANS TRAPPED BEHIND RGF LINES. MAZIMHAKA SAID THAT IF RPF TROOPS WERE TO LINK UP WITH UN FORCES IN THE SOUTH, THE RPF WOULD AGREE TO AN AUTOMATIC CEASE FIRE. BUT UNTIL ALL CIVILIANS WERE SAFE, THE RPF WOULD CONTINUE ITS MILITARY ADVANCES.

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9. MOOSE REPLIED THAT HE WAS SENSITIVE TO THEIR ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION. HE SAID THOUGH THAT EVENTS HAD CHANGED AND THERE WAS NOW A POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL MOTIVATION TO STOP THE MASSACRES AND BRING THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO JUSTICE. BUT CRUCIAL TO ALLOWING FOR EVACUATION OF TRAPPED CIVILIANS AND DEPLOYMENT OF UN FORCES IN THE SOUTH WAS A CEASE FIRE.

10. ALTHOUGH THE RPF DISAGREED ON THE ROLE A CEASE FIRE COULD PLAY IN ENDING THE MASSACRES, THE DELEGATION AGREED, AT MOOSE'S SUGGESTION, TO MEET WITH THE UN DIRECTOR OF PEACEKEEPING TO DISCUSS THE RPF VIEWS OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN EXPANDED UN FORCE IN THE SOUTH. THE RPF ALSO SAID THAT THEY WOULD GIVE THEIR FULL COOPERATION TO ANY UN ASSISTED EVACUATION PLAN FOR TRAPPED CIVILIANS AND WOULD RELAY THE MESSAGE OF THEIR FULL SUPPORT TO THE UN.

CHRISTOPHER
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 8779
TOR: 940524190340 M1063959
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 251440Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 251440Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3718
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0672
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0778
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1102
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1042
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1711
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1052
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1183
SUBJ: BURUNDI HR LEAGUE ON RWANDAN
- JEAN BAPTISTE MUBUMBYI

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3,31)
RZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ BUJUMBURA 001805
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDI HR LEAGUE ON RWANDAN
- JEAN BAPTISTE MUBUMBYI
REF: BUJUMBURA 1333
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. EMBASSY RECEIVED LETTER MAY 20 FROM THARCISSE NSAVYIMANA, PRESIDENT OF LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE ITEKA, WHICH ASKED FOR CONSIDERATION OF U.S. PROTECTION/ASYLUM ON BEHALF OF JEAN BAPTISTE MUBUMBYI, SAID TO BE A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE RWANDAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. MUBUMBYI, HIS WIFE AND THREE CHILDREN ESCAPED FROM RWANDA IN MID-APRIL AND WERE REGISTERED BY GRB IMMIGRATION AT A REFUGEE CAMP IN KANYARU. MUBUMBYI HAS NOT/NOT APPROACHED EMBASSY DIRECTLY. ACCORDING TO NSAVYIMANA A SIMILAR LETTER WAS SENT TO CANADIAN MISSION AND SOME EUROPEANS. THE LETTER STATED THAT MUBUMBYI DOES NOT FEEL THAT THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI AFFORDS HIM SECURITY GIVEN ETHNIC SENSITIVITIES HERE.
3. CHARGE ALSO SPOKE WITH EUGENE NINDORERA, ITEKA FOUNDING PRESIDENT AND LONG-TERM MEMBER. NINDORERA SAID ITEKA IS NOT FAMILIAR WITH MUBUMBYI'S BONA FIDES AND HAS CONTACTED ALPHONSE NKUBITO -- NOW IN SWITZERLAND FROM BELGIUM (REFTEL) -- FOR HIS ASSESSMENT. THEY ARE STILL AWAITING INFORMATION AND WOULD GET BACK TO US.
4. UNHCR RES REP PITTERMAN HAD NOT BEEN CONTACTED BY ITEKA ABOUT MUBUMBYI, SO CHARGE FILLED HIM IN ON AVAILABLE INFORMATION. PITTERMAN PROMISED TO FOLLOW

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UP ON THE CASE IMMEDIATELY.
5. COMMENT: IN A SENSE, EMBASSY FINDS IT CURIOUS THAT THE ITEKA PRESIDENT DID NOT MAKE A MORE DIRECT APPROACH ON THIS MATTER. WE ARE WORKING WITH HCR AND HR LEAGUE CONTACTS TO DETERMINE PARTICULARS. WE WONDER, HOWEVER, IF RWANDA HR LEAGUE MEMBER MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA MIGHT BE CONTACTED BY DEPARTMENT FOR HER VIEWS ON THE MUBUMBYI CASE. END COMMENT.
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1805

TOR: 940525104723 M1065347

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 261431Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
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RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0539
RUEAYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0207
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1413
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0749
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2508
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1887
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0277
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5876
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0368
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0187
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ON RWANDA
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-mt3(3.32)
VL 10/20/2023

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 004247
AF/E FOR AMB. SHINN AND C. WILSON
AF/C FOR AMB. RENDER AND AMB. RAWSON
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINS, PGOV, PHUM, RW, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ON RWANDA
REF: STATE 133592
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI CONTINUES TO DENY THAT HE IS SUPPLYING THE RPF WITH ARMS, MUNITIONS, HEAVY WEAPONS AND UGANDAN SOLDIERS. HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT SOME ARMS AND MUNITIONS COULD BE FLOWING ACROSS THE UGANDAN BORDER, BUT REJECTS THE ASSERTION THAT HE HAS OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED AN RPF RESUPPLY EFFORT. MUSEVENI SAID HE SUPPORTS ALL ASPECTS OF UNSCR 918 ON RWANDA AND WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN PROBLEM. I TOLD MUSEVENI THAT THERE IS A GROWING BODY OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE THAT UGANDA IS RESUPPLYING THE RPF AND MUSEVENI MUST DO EVERYTHING HE CAN TO STOP THE FLOW OF ARMS INTO RWANDA FROM HIS COUNTRY. MUSEVENI TOOK MY MESSAGE, BUT DID NOT EXPRESS ANY INTEREST IN ADOPTING ANY OF MY SUGGESTIONS THAT WOULD STRENGTHEN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. END SUMMARY.
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3. AFTER WAITING FOR NEARLY TWO HOURS, I MET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI FROM 10:00 - 11:00 P.M. ON MAY 24.

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MUSEVENI APOLOGIZED FOR THE LATE HOUR. HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN UPCOUNTRY FOR THE PAST FOUR DAYS AND HAD JUST RETURNED TO TOWN. HE HAD RECEIVED WORD THAT I WANTED TO SEE HIM AND HE WANTED TO SQUEEZE A MEETING IN BEFORE HE DEPARTED THE FOLLOWING MORNING (MAY 25) FOR HIS SCANDINAVIAN TRIP.

4. I BRIEFED MUSEVENI ON THE CONTENTS OF UNSCR 918 ON RWANDA AND MADE THE POINTS IN REFTEL, STRESSING THE NEED FOR UGANDA TO PRESS THE RPF TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE AND TO PERMIT THE EVACUATION OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS TRAPPED IN THE WAR ZONES. I SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION THE PROVISION IN UNSCR 918 CALLING ON ALL STATES TO IMMEDIATELY IMPLEMENT AN ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA. IN THIS REGARD I TOLD MUSEVENI THAT WE HAD RECEIVED CREDIBLE REPORTS FROM A VARIETY OF SOURCES THAT UGANDA WAS ENGAGED IN RESUPPLYING THE RPF. THE DEPARTMENT WAS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THESE REPORTS; THE ARMS FLOW ACROSS THE BORDER MUST STOP.

5. IN HIS CUSTOMARY FASHION, MUSEVENI AFFIRMED HIS SUPPORT FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN RWANDA, BUT DENIED HE WAS ENGAGED IN RESUPPLYING THE RPF. REHASHING THE HISTORY OF HOW HE RECEIVED CLANDESTINE ARMS IN HIS STRUGGLE AGAINST MILTON OBOTE, MUSEVENI SAID HE DLD NOT RULE OUT THE FACT THAT THE RPF WAS RECEIVING ARMS VIA UGANDAN TERRITORY. HOWEVER, HE WAS NOT AUTHORIZING OR CONTROLLING THEIR SHIPMENTS.

6. HE THEN ASKED ME WHAT CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE EXISTED. I TOLD MUSEVENI WE HAD HEARD THAT:

-- SOME UGANDAN TROOPS WERE INSIDE RWANDA;

-- NRA SOLDIERS AND POSSIBLY LONG-ESTABLISHED TUTSI REFUGEE/BUSINESSMEN IN KAMPALA WERE SENDING MATERIALS TO THE BORDER TO BE WALKED ACROSS; AND

-- NRA UNITS IN THE SOUTH, POSSIBLY IN MBARARA AND MASAKA, MAY BE TRANSPORTING LIGHT ARTILLERY AND MUNITIONS ACROSS THE BORDER.

I ALSO NOTED THAT ALONG THE NORTHWESTERN RWANDA/UGANDA BORDER NEAR ZAIRE AND THE NORTHEASTERN RWANDA/UGANDA BORDER NEAR TANZANIA AND THE KAGERA NATIONAL PARK, THERE WERE SUSPICIOUS INDICATIONS OF ACTIVITY ON THE UGANDA SIDE OF THE BORDER.

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7. MUSEVENI DISMISSED MOST OF THESE ASSERTIONS. HE SAID "I HAVE NO TROOPS IN RWANDA. NONE OF MY MEN ARE FIGHTING THERE." HE ASKED RHETORICALLY HOW HE COULD EXPLAIN THE DEATH OR CAPTURE OF ANY OF HIS MEN IN RWANDA. THE FAMILIES AND PUBLIC WOULD BE OUTRAGED. HE SAID "I HAVE FIVE OR SIX INTEL OFFICERS WHO TRAVEL IN AND OUT OF RWANDA." THAT'S IT. THESE MEN ESCORT FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, VISITORS AND ACADEMICS TRAVELLING FROM UGANDA. THEY ALSO REPORT ON THE FIGHTING.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 004247

AF/E FOR AMB. SHINN AND C. WILSON
AF/C FOR AMB. RENDER AND AMB. RAWSON
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINS, PGOV, PHUM, RW, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ON RWANDA

8. RETURNING TO THE ISSUE OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS,

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MUSEVENI SAID THE RPF DID NOT REALLY HAVE ANY HEAVY WEAPONS. THEY HAD TAKEN SOME MORTARS AND STALIN ORGANS WHEN THEY DESERTED IN OCTOBER 1990, BUT THEY LACKED HEAVY FIRE POWER. HE CLAIMED THAT IF THE RPF HAD HAD MAJOR ARTILLERY PIECES THEY COULD HAVE TAKEN THE KGNOMBE MILITARY GARRISON SOONER. HAVING CAPTURED KGNOMBE, MUSEVENI SAID HE KNEW THEY HAD CAPTURED 35 135MM ARTILLERY/ANTIAIRCRAFT FIELD PIECES. MORE FIREPOWER WOULD PRODUCE A FASTER RPF VICTORY, BUT THE RPF IS LACKING IN WEAPONRY AND FORCES, MUSEVENI PROCLAIMED.

9. MUSEVENI ALSO SAID UNOMUR WAS GUARDING HIS BORDERS, ESPECIALLY THE MAJOR ROADS. HE ASKED WHAT THEY WERE SAYING. I SAID TWO PROBLEM AREAS HAD ARISEN AT THE EXTREMES OF THE RWANDA/UGANDA BORDER. MUSEVENI JUMPED IN AND VOLUNTEERED HIS VERSION OF THE PROBLEM NEAR MIRAMA HILLS. HE SAID THE GOR FORCES WERE ON THE OTHER SIDE, NOT THE RPF. WHEN THE RPF DROVE THE GOR FORCES OUT, THE UNOMUR FORCES WANTED TO MONITOR UP TO MIRAMA HILLS. AT FIRST HIS FORCES SAID NO, BUT WHEN THE ISSUE WAS BROUGHT TO HIM, HE SAID LET THE UNOMUR FORCES GO WHERE THEY WANT. UNOMUR IS NOW IN CHARGE. ON THE WEST CORNER, HE ENCOURAGED AN EXTENSION OF UNOMUR'S MANDATE TO INCLUDE THE ZAIRE/RWANDA SIDE. HE ALSO TOOK A SWIPE AT MOBUTU, SAYING "LE GUIDE" WAS ALLOWING "TONS" OF WEAPONS TO FLOW INTO GOMA FOR THE GOR. I TOLD HIM OUR EMBASSY IN KINSHASA WAS MAKING A DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU ON THIS ISSUE.

10. I SUGGESTED TO MUSEVENI THAT HE NEEDED TO DEMONSTRATE HIS BONAFIDES ON THE ARMS ISSUE. HE COULD DO THIS BY:

-- INVESTIGATING WHETHER SOME OF THE NRA SOLDIERS ARE ENGAGED IN ILLEGAL ARMS TRANSFERS;

-

-- ANNOUNCING PUBLICLY THAT HE WILL NOT TOLERATE CROSS BORDER ARMS SHIPMENTS AND THAT ANYONE DISCOVERED ENGAGING IN THESE ACTIVITIES WILL BE PROSECUTED;

-- ISSUING AN OFFICIAL ORDER TO ALL MILITARY COMMANDERS ANNOUNCING THE UNSCR ON RWANDA AND PROHIBITING ALL ARMS FLOWS TO THE RPF;

-- CALLING ON THE UNSC TO STRENGTHEN/AUGMENT UNOMUR'S ACTIVITIES ON THE RWANDA SIDE OF THE BORDER; AND

--ISSUING ORDERS TO HIS SOLDIERS ON THE BORDERS NOT TO INTERFERE IN ANY WAY WITH UNOMUR FORCES.

I SUGGESTED THESE ORDERS SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC VIA A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT AND THEN ISSUED TO ALL MILITARY COMMANDERS.

11. MUSEVENI WAS COOL TO MY IDEAS, SAYING "I AGREE WITH EVERYTHING YOU SAY, BUT WHY SHOULD I KEEP DOING WHAT I HAVE ALREADY SAID AND DONE?" HE SAID IT WAS ILLEGAL TO TRADE OR SMUGGLE ARMS ACROSS THE BORDER, SO WHY WAS IT NECESSARY TO REITERATE CURRENT LAW? MUSEVENI ASKED FOR PROOF OF HIS ALLEGED WRONG DOING OR THAT OF HIS SOLDIERS. IF I HAD SOME OF THIS CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE, HE WOULD INVESTIGATE AND PROSECUTE. AFTER ANOTHER ROUND OF EXCHANGES, MUSEVENI SAID HE HAD OTHER APPOINTMENTS THAT EVENING. WE CLOSED WITH MY REITERATIONS THAT PERCEPTION TAKES ON THE

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APPEARANCE OF FACT IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY OTHER CONTRARY INFORMATION. I TOLD MUSEVENI HE HAD TO ACT TO STOP THE ARMS FLOW.
12. COMMENT: I DELIVERED THE MESSAGE AND MUSEVENI PROCLAIMED (AGAIN) HIS INNOCENCE. SURPRISINGLY, HE DID NOT, AS HE SOMETIMES DOES, ACCEPT ANY OF MY GAMBITS TO DEMONSTRATE HIS REAL SUPPORT FOR A TOUGH ARMS EMBARGO ENFORCEMENT. END COMMENT. CARSON
BT
#4247
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4247
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TOR: 940526105229 M1067509
<^TOR>940526105331 M1067510

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA4818 1461610-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 261610Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 261610Z MAY 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9687
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 7995
INFO: RUEHZJ/HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 5353
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0242
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1992
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 2062
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1603
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0336
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL SESSION ADOPTS
- RESOLUTION ON RWANDA
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3.33)
VR 10/20/2023

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 04 GENEVA 04818
USUN PLEASE PASS TO AMB-DES GERALDINE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL SESSION ADOPTS
- RESOLUTION ON RWANDA
REF: GENEVA 4732
SUMMARY
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1. THE THIRD SPECIAL SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WEDNESDAY ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS A RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. THE RESOLUTION, ABLY NEGOTIATED AND DEFENDED BY CAMEROON AND NIGERIA WITH CANADIAN SUPPORT, INCLUDES MANY ELEMENTS SOUGHT BY THE U.S. DELEGATION, INCLUDING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO GENOCIDE IN BOTH PREAMBULAR AND OPERATIVE SESIONS, APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR TASKED WITH REPORTING WITHIN FOUR WEEKS, AND SUPPORT FOR THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (HCHR). THE TEXT WAS TABLED WITH 70 COSPONSORS, INCLUDING A LARGE MAJORITY OF COMMISSION MEMBERS. THOSE FEW STATES WHO OBJECTED TO CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE TEXT, ESPECIALLY REFERENCES TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WERE NOT PREPARED TO BREAK CONSENSUS AND CHALLENGE THE AFRICAN SPONSORS. THE RESOLUTION SETS PRECEDENTS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, INCLUDING THE COMMISION'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN THE BROAD AND SOLID MANDATE ASCRIBED TO THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AND IN THE TASKS ASKED OF THE HCHR. THE COMMISSION CHAIRMAN NAMED RENE DEGNI SEGUI, DEAN OF THE LAW FACULTY IN

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ABIDJAN, AS THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR. MISSION EXTENDS ITS THANKS TO HEAD OF DELEGATION GERALDINE FERRARO AND AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA DAVID RAWSON FOR ATTENDING THIS BRIEF SESSION; THEIR PRESENCE CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO ACHIEVEMENT OF U.S. OBJECTIVES. END SUMMARY.

RESOLUTION, ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS

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2. THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION ADOPTED WITHOUT A VOTE LATE WEDNESDAY THE RESOLUTION ON RWANDA WHICH HAD BEEN DRAFTED BY CAMEROON, NIGERIA, AND CANADA. IN ADDITION TO PREDICTABLE COMMENTS ABOUT REFUGEES, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, THE ARUSHA PEACE PROCESS, AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIONS REGARDING UNAMIR, THE SIX-PAGE RESOLUTION (FULL TEXT FAXED TO DEPARTMENT AND USUN) CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING RWANDA-SPECIFIC ELEMENTS.

3. THE COMMISSION:

- NOTING THAT "A SITUATION OF ETHNIC AND POLITCAL ARMED CONFLICT, SYSTEMATIC SLAUGHTER AND MASSACRES CONTINUES TO EXIST IN RWANDA;"
- "BELIEVING THAT GENOCIDAL ACTS MAY HAVE OCCURRED IN RWANDA;"
- EXPRESSING GRAVE CONCERN "AT THE FAILURE TO DATE OF THE RWANDAN AUTHORITIES TO CONDEMN THE ONGOING MASSACRES IN THE COUNTRY;"
- COMMENDING "THE INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HIS TIMELY VISIT;"
- "RECOGNIZING THAT EFFECTIVE ACTION TO PREVENT FURTHER VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE A CENTRAL AND INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF THE OVERALL UN RESPONSE... (AND THAT) A STRONG HUMAN RIGHTS COMPONENT WILL BE INDISPENSABLE TO THE POLITICAL PEACE PROCESS;"
- "CONDEMNS...ALL BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND ALL VIOLATIONS AND ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS," THE KILLING OF UNAMIR AND HUMANITARIAN PERSONNEL AND OF THE PRIME MINISTER, MEMBERS OF HER CABINET AND GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE "WANTON KILLINGS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS."
- COMMENDS THE HCHR ON HIS RECENT MISSION, WELCOMES HIS REPORT, AND ENDORSES ITS CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS;
- CALLS ON THE GOR TO CONDEMN AND PUT AN END TO VIOLATIONS "BY ALL PERSONS WITHIN ITS JURISDICTION OR UNDER ITS CONTROL" AND TO ENSURE THAT ALL HUMAN RIGHTS ARE FULLY RESPECTED;
- CALLS ON THE RPF TO PREVENT PERSONS UNDER ITS COMMAND FROM COMMITTING HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES;
- CALLS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL PERSONS "REGARDLESS OF THEIR NATIONAL OR ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS OR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 04 GENEVA 04818

USUN PLEASE PASS TO AMB-DES GERALDINE FERRARO

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL SESSION ADOPTS

LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND;"

- AFFIRMS THAT ALL PERSONS WHO COMMIT OR AUTHORIZE VIOLATIONS ARE INDIVIDUALLY RESPONSIBLE AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL EXERT EVERY EFFORT TO BRING THEM TO JUSTICE, "WHILE AFFIRMING THAT THE PRIMARY

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RESPONSIBILITY FOR BRINGING PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE RESTS WITH NATIONAL JUDICIAL SYSTEMS:"

- PROVIDES FOR A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR (WITH THE ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION OF OTHER COMMISSION RAPPORTEURS AND MECHANISMS) TO INVESTIGATE AT FIRST-HAND AND RECEIVE INFORMATION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN RWANDA, "INCLUDING ON ROOT CAUSES AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE RECENT ATROCITIES;"
- ASKS THAT HE PROVIDE A PRELIMINARY REPORT WITHIN FOUR WEEKS AND THAT THE UNSYG MAKE HIS REPORT AVAILABLE TO THE ECOSOC, UNGA AND SECURITY COUNCIL;
- ASKS THAT HE GATHER AND COMPILE SYSTEMATICALLY "INFORMATION ON POSSIBLE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACTS WHICH MAY CONSTITUTE BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, INCLUDING ACTS OF GENOCIDE IN RWANDA, AND TO MAKE THIS INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL;"
- ASKS THE HCHR TO PROVIDE A TEAM OF "HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD OFFICERS" TO HELP THE RAPPORTEUR, "ACTING IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH UNAMIR AND OTHER UN AGENCIES AND PROGRAMS" IN RWANDA; AND
- ASKS THE HCHR "TO ENSURE THAT FUTURE EFFORTS OF THE UN AIMED AT CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE-BUILDING IN RWANDA ARE ACCOPMANIED BY A STRONG HUMAN RIGHTS COMPONENT AND THAT THIS PROCESS IS EFFECTIVELY SUPPORTED BY A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF HUMAN RIGHTS ASSISTANCE."

4. THE RESOLUTION WAS PRESENTED TO THE COMMISSION FOR CONSIDERATION BY CAMEROON'S DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE, WHO NOTED THAT SOME 70 COUNTRIES HAD CO-SPONSORED THE TEXT (INCLUDING AT LEAST 37 MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION). HE ADDED THAT THIS WAS A TEXT PREPARED PRIMARILY BY AND PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN GROUP, BUT THAT IT HAD BROAD SUPPORT FROM ALL REGIONS. PRIOR TO ADOPTION, THE RWANDAN OBSERVER OBJECTED TO THE ASSERTION THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT MADE ANY EFFORT TO QUELL THE VIOLENCE, SAYING THAT HE HAD SHOWN THE AFRICAN GROUP GOR STATEMENTS TO THIS EFFECT IN LOCAL LANGUAGES. THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED WITHOUT A VOTE.

OPPOSITION POSITIONS

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5. WHILE NO DELEGATION WAS PREPARED TO BREAK CONSENSUS OR CHALLENGE THE AFRICAN LEADERSHIP ON THE RESOLUTION, A NUMBER MADE CLEAR THEIR OPPOSITION TO CERTAIN ELEMENTS. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, CHINA, MEXICO, INDIA AND OTHERS WERE RELUCTANT DURING DRAFTING SESSIONS TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE ESTABLISHING ANY LINK BETWEEN THE COMMISSION AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL. INDIA EVEN WENT SO FAR AS TO ASSERT THAT NO PRECEDENT WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE COMMISSION'S PREVIOUS DECISIONS TO ASK THE SYG TO "MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL" THE REPORTS ON YUGOSLAVIA, AND THE IDEA SHOULD NOT BE REPEAED IN THIS INSTANCE. INDIA AND OTHERS ALSO SOUGHT EXPLICIT LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD ENSURE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS WOULD NOT BE THRUST INTO A COUNTRY AGAINST ITS WISHES. (COMMENT: AS CAN BE SEEN, THE FINAL TEXT DID NOT TAKE THESE DESIRES INTO ACCOUNT.)

6. CUBA MADE AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE BEFORE ADOPTION, NOTING THEY FACED A DILEMMA BECAUSE OF THE SCALE OF VIOLATIONS WHICH COULD NOT BE IGNORED. TO ACCEPT THE

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RESOLUTION WOULD IMPLY ACCEPTING LINKS TO OTHER UN ORGANS, WHICH CUBA DOES NOT APPROVE; TO REJECT THE RESOLUTION WOULD ONLY GIVE AID AND COMFORT TO THE OFFENDERS. IF THERE HAD BEEN A VOTE, CUBA WOULD HAVE VOTED AGAINST A NUMBER OF PARAGRAPHS; SINCE THERE WASN'T, IT WOULD JOIN CONSENSUS. MALAYSIA WELCOMED THE ELEMENTS ON HUMANITARIAN AID AND THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT REGRETTED THAT "THE TEXT SEEMS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL" AND FELT THE COMMISSION "SHOULDN'T BE A DISTANT ECHO OF THE COUNCIL, WHICH HAS NOT ALWAYS ACTED WITH CREDIT IN CONFLICT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 04 GENEVA 04818
USUN PLEASE PASS TO AMB-DES GERALDINE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL SESSION ADOPTS RESOLUTION." MAYLASIA WANTED TO ASSERT ITS VIEW THAT THIS SPECIAL SESSION AND RESOLUTION WERE NOT/NOT "PRECEDENT-SETTING OR STANDARD-SETTING" IN NATURE.

7. IRAN WAS EVEN MORE POINTED, REGRETTING IN ITS E.O.V. (AS IT HAD DURING THE DRAFTING SESSIONS) THAT THE RESOLUTION WELCOMED "A BELATED ACTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT FAILED TO ADDRESS ANOTHER SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION WHICH RESULTED IN A REDUCTION OF FORCES AND CONSEQUENT LOSS OF LIFE." SYRIA VOICED ITS OPPOSITION TO THE IMPLIED LINKS WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE PROPOSAL TO SEND A SEND A GROUP OF FUNCTIONARIES TO ACT AS "CONTROLLEURS" OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WITHOUT SEEKING AGREEMENT FROM THE PARTIES. SRI LANKA ALSO HAD A FEW CONCERNS ABOUT "SHORTCOMINGS" IN THE TEXT, QUESTIONING IN PARTICULAR WHETHER THE RAPPORTEUR SHOULD BE GIVEN THE MANDATE TO INVESTIGATE "ROOT CAUSES" OF THE CONFLICT.

BUDGET IMPLICATIONS AND THE RAPPORTEUR

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8. THE SECRETARIAT ANNOUNCED ESTIMATED BUDGETARY IMPLICATIONS OF USD 1,050,000 FOR THE SEVEN MONTHS REMAINING IN 1994, PLUS USD 240,000 FOR THE FIRST TWO MONTHS OF 1995, I.E., UNTIL THE NEXT REGULAR SESSION OF THE COMMISSION. THE SECRETARIAT NOTED THAT "BECAUSE THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR HAS TO REPORT WITHIN 4 WEEKS, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL ASK THE ACABQ FOR AUTHORITY TO ENTER INTO EXPENSES TO COVER THIS MANDATE. THESE UNFORESEEN EXPENSES WILL BE MADE PENDING APPROPRIATION OF ADDITIONAL FUNDS BY THE UNGA LATER IN THE YEAR." NO BREAKOUT WAS GIVEN (NOR IS ONE YET AVAILABLE) OF WHAT PORTION OF THESE EXPENSES WOULD BE FOR THE RAPPORTEUR, WHAT FOR THE OTHER RAPPORTEURS AND MECHANISMS, AND WHAT FOR THE FIELD OFFICERS.

9. JUST BEFORE GAVELLING THE SESSION TO A CLOSE, CHAIRMAN PETER PALTHE ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD DECIDED TO APPOINT RENE DEGNI SEGUI, DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF LAW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ABIDJAN, TO BE THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR. PALTHE NOTED THAT DEGNI SEGUI HAD SERVED ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION WHICH VISITED RWANDA IN 1993, AND ADDED THAT HE WAS CERTAIN THE NEW RAPPORTEUR WAS AVAILABLE AND WOULD BE ABLE TO COMPLETE HIS INITIAL REPORT IN THE TIME REQUIRED. ACCORDING TO AN INCOMPLETE C.V. AVAILABLE TO THE MISSION,

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DEGNI SEGUI WAS BORN IN 1947 IN COTE D'IVOIRE, EDUCATED AT GRENOBLE, AIX-EN-PROVENCE AND THE SORBONNE, AND HAS WRITTEN A NUMBER OF PIECES ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT. (COMMENT: THE FRENCH DELEGATION SPEAKS VERY HIGHLY OF DEGNI SEGUI, WHOM THEY HAD BEEN PUSHING TO BE THE COMMISSION'S INDEPENDENT EXPERT ON CHAD. SEPTEL WILL REPORT ON THE BY-PLAY LEADING TO THIS CHOICE OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR.)

PRECEDENTS

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10. DESPITE THE PROTESTS OF CUBA, INDIA OR OTHERS WHO DO NOT WISH IT, THE RESOLUTION CLEARLY SETS PRECEDENTS OR PUSHES OUT THE BOUNDARIES OF ACTION BY THE COMMISSION AND THE HIGH COMMISSIONER. THE RESOLUTION SUGGESTS NEW PATHS FOR ADDRESSING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS, AND FOR USING THE EXPERTISE OF THE UN'S HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS, IN SITUATIONS WHERE THERE HAS BEEN BOTH A BREAKDOWN OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE RESOLUTION FORESEES REINFORCEMENT AND EXPANSION OF THE COMMISSION'S MECHANISMS TO GIVE AN ONGOING ASSESSMENT OF HR SITUATIONS, OFFERING A POTENTIALLY USEFUL SOURCE OF INFORMATION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND TO OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE UN SYSTEM.

11. THERE IS ALSO AN EXPANSION OF THE ROLE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND OF THE COMMISSION'S RELATIONSHIP TO HIM. THE HCHR BOOSTED HIS CREDIBILITY WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITY (BOTH OFFICIAL AND NGO) BY VISITING RWANDA AND CALLING FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION, AND BY THE NATURE OF HIS RECOMMENDATIONS. THE COMMISSION WELCOMED THAT INITIATIVE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 04 OF 04 GENEVA 04818

USUN PLEASE PASS TO AMB-DES GERALDINE FERRARO

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SPECIAL SESSION ADOPTS AND ENDORSED THE RECOMMENDATIONS, AND THEN ESTABLISHED A LINK WITH THE RAPPORTEUR WHEN IT ASKED HIM TO PROVIDE FIELD OFFICERS TO HELP WORK WITH BOTH THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND UNAMIR. HE IS ALSO TASKED SPECIFICALLY WITH ENSURING THAT CONFLICT-RESOLUTION AND PEACE-BUILDING EFFORTS HAVE A STRONG HUMAN RIGHTS COMPONENT, THEREBY REINFORCING HIS AUTHORITY AS COORDINATOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES THROUGHOUT THE UN SYSTEM. TO REBUT CRITICISMS FROM CUBA AND OTHERS, THIS IS NOT DUPLICATION OF EFFORTS BY THE COMMISSION AND OTHER UN MECHANISMS, IT IS COORDINATION -- USING RESOURCES AND EXPERTISE TO THEIR BEST ADVANTAGE.

COMMENT

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12. WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN A CONTENTIOUS SESSION PROVED TO BE REMARKABLY EASY. GREAT CREDIT GOES TO THE DEPUTY CAMEROONIAN REPRESENTATIVE, WHO WAS AN EFFECTIVE CHAIRMAN OF THE OPEN-ENDED DRAFTING SESSIONS, AND HIS NIGERIAN COLLEAGUES, WHO PROVIDED FIRM SUPPORT FOR REASONABLE POSITIONS IN THE FACE OF HARD-LINE CHALLENGES FROM BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE AFRICAN GROUP. CANADA SHARES THE CREDIT, FOR CALLING THE SESSION AND ACTING AS CO-CHAIR OF THE DRAFTING SESSIONS. THE AFRICAN GROUP IN GENERAL DISTINGUISHED ITSELF BY EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP ON THIS

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AFRICAN ISSUE, A NOTABLE DEPARTURE FROM EARLIER RELUCTANCE
OR INABILIY TO GRASP THE NETTLES OF THEIR OWN REGION.
13. U.S. OBJECTIVES WERE LARGELY MET, IF NOT EXCEEDED
THE RESOLUTIO INCLUDES OUR LANGUAGE ON GENOCIE, OUR
PREFERENCES FOR THE MANDATE OF THE RAPPOTEUR, HIS ABILITY
TO DRAW ON OTHER COMMISSON RAPPORTEURS, THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, AND FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE
SYSTEM-WIDE ROLE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER. MISSION
EXTENDS ITS APPRECIATION TO HEAD OF DELEGATION FERRARO AND
AMBASSADOR RAWSON FOR THEIR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION, WHICH
WAS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVES.
SPIEGEL
BT
#4818
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 4818
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TOR: 940526121551 M1067692
<^TOR>940526121656 M1067695
<^TOR>940526121715 M1067702
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER SCHWARTZ VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDRA3384 1471317-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 271317Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 271317Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4874
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 8739
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 1716
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY 4528
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0117
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY 6665
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0439
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1187
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE PRIORITY 6057
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY 0117
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY 0710
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 4600
SUBJ: RWANDA SUMMIT: WHO'S ON FIRST
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 003384
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, TZ, RW, KE
SUBJECT: RWANDA SUMMIT: WHO'S ON FIRST
REF: STATE 142114
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE TANZANIANS HAVE ALSO HEARD ABOUT MOI'S SUDDEN OFFER TO HOST A RWANDA SUMMIT. FORMIN RWEGASIRA EXPRESSED INITIAL BEMUSEMENT AT MOI'S INITIATIVE (EVERYONE WANTS IN ON THE ACT, HE SAID), AND THEN CONCERN THAT MOI'S EFFORT MIGHT UNNECESSARILY COMPLICATE MATTERS FURTHER. WHY WOULD MOBUTU, WHO IS INSTRUMENTAL TO THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME, GO TO NAIROBI WHEN HE WOULD NOT GO TO ARUSHA, THE FORMIN ADDED RHETORICALLY.
3. AT THE SAME TIME, RWEGASIRA PLEDGED THAT THE GOT WOULD GO ANYWHERE IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE. DE VOS
BT
#3384
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3384
TOR: 940527091825 M1069665
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3.34)
VR 10/20/2023

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3.35)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA4283 1471319-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 271319Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 271319Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
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INFO: RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0190
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2511
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0280
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1416
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5879
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0541
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1972
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0752
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4107
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0371
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1892
SUBJ: MUSEVENI WARNED AGAIN ABOUT BREAKING ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 004283
PARIS FOR PERLOW
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
AF/C FOR AMB. RENDER AND AMB. RAWSON
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RW, UG
SUBJECT: MUSEVENI WARNED AGAIN ABOUT BREAKING ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA
REF: (A) SHINN-CARSON TELECON OF 5/26/94
(B) KAMPALA 4247

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: MUSEVENI HAS BEEN TOLD THAT THE WEIGHT OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE CLEARLY INDICATES THAT ARMS ARE FLOWING FROM UGANDA TO RWANDA AND THAT HE MUST MAKE A CONCERTED EFFORT TO STOP THE ARMS FLOW AND ABIDE BY UNSCR 918. HE WAS ALSO TOLD THAT FAILURE TO ACT WILL SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE ASPECTS OF HIS FORTHCOMING WASHINGTON VISIT. OBVIOUSLY WOUNDED, MUSEVENI PLEADED INNOCENT AGAIN AND SAID HE WAS BEING JUDGED UNFAIRLY. HE ASKED FOR PROOF AND NAMES OF THOSE INVOLVED IN SUPPLYING THE RPF. I SAID I WAS NOT AT LIBERTY TO PROVIDE HIM DETAILS. DESPITE BEING HURT BY MY ALLEGATIONS, HE PROMISED TO CONTACT THE RPF TO PLEAD FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND TO WRITE TO THE UNSYG TO UNDERSCORE HIS COMMITMENT TO UNSCR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

918, INCLUDING THE ARMS EMBARGO. ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, HE REFUSED TO ISSUE A PUBLIC DECLARATION OR GENERAL COMMAND TO HIS ARMY SAYING THAT HE WOULD CRACK DOWN ON ANYONE CAUGHT SENDING ARMS ACROSS THE BORDER. END SUMMARY.

3. I HAD A LONG TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ON MAY 26. HE TOLD ME HE HAD JUST CONCLUDED HIS MEETING AND PRESS CONFERENCE WITH THE AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR IN VIENNA.

4. BASED ON NEW INSTRUCTIONS, I DID NOT SPARE MY WORDS WITH MUSEVENI. I TOLD HIM THAT SINCE WE HAD LAST TALKED LATE TUESDAY EVENING (REFTEL B), I HAD RECEIVED ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON. I TOLD HIM WASHINGTON WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONTINUING CARNAGE IN RWANDA; THAT WE WERE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING UNSCR 918, ESPECIALLY THE ARMS EMBARGO; THAT ARMS AND MUNITIONS WERE FLOWING FROM UGANDA TO RWANDA; AND, THAT THESE WEAPONS WERE CONTRIBUTING TO THE BLOODLETTING. THE ARMS FLOW MUST STOP AND HE MUST BE SEEN TO BE MAKING A CLEAR AND CONCERTED EFFORT TO DO THIS. IF HE DID NOT, ONE OF THE FIRST CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE HIS INABILITY TO SEE THE PRESIDENT DURING HIS MID-JUNE TRIP TO WASHINGTON.

5. SPUTTERING ON THE OTHER END OF THE LINE, AN OBVIOUSLY SHAKEN MUSEVENI CRIED FOUL. PLEADING HIS INNOCENCE, HE SAID HE WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VIOLENCE. THE ETHNIC STRIFE AND BLOODLETTING HAD HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS SPANNING FOUR DECADES. THE WEST DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE RWANDAN PROBLEM, AND HE WAS NOT BEING PRESENTED FAIRLY.

6. CHANGING DIRECTION, MUSEVENI ASKED FOR PROOF OF WHO WAS SHIPPING ARMS TO THE RPF. "WHAT IS THIS CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE? WHO ARE THE GUILTY PEOPLE?" I TOLD HIM WE HAD GONE OVER SOME ASPECTS OF THIS TWO NIGHTS BEFORE AND THAT I WAS NOT AT LIBERTY TO SAY MORE. I SAID I WOULD ASK WASHINGTON HOW FAR WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO PINPOINT THE CULPRITS IN HIS SYSTEM, BUT I COULD NOT GO FURTHER NOW. HE SAID HE WANTED TO KNOW HOW THE ARMS WERE MOVING SOUTH. I TOLD HIM, AS I HAVE BEFORE, THAT PERCEPTION CAN TAKE ON THE APPEARANCE OF FACT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES AND IN THE ABSENCE OF COUNTERVAILING PROOF. THE RPF WAS RECEIVING ARMS AND MUNITIONS AND UGANDA APPEARED TO BE THE MOST LIKELY SOURCE.

7. DESPITE WHAT HE CALLED WRONGFUL ALLEGATIONS, MUSEVENI SAID HE WOULD CONTINUE TO HELP BRING ABOUT PEACE IN RWANDA. HE SAID HE WAS WRITING A LETTER TO UNSYG BUTROS-GHALI PLEDGING HIS/UGANDA'S SUPPORT FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE FULL UNAMIR FORCE AND THE COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 918, INCLUDING THE ARMS EMBARGO. HE SAID HE HAD PERSONALLY CONVINCED PRESIDENT MELES TO COMMIT TROOPS TO THE UNAMIR II. MUSEVENI PROMISED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEXT REGIONAL

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 004283

PARIS FOR PERLOW
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
AF/C FOR AMB. RENDER AND AMB. RAWSON
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RW, UG
SUBJECT: MUSEVENI WARNED AGAIN ABOUT BREAKING ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA
SUMMIT ON RWANDA IN NAIROBI. HE ALSO PROMISED TO CALL RPF COMMANDER PAUL KAGAME FROM EUROPE TO PUSH HIM TO IMPLEMENT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. HE ASKED IF WE HAD A NUMBER WHERE HE COULD CONTACT KAGAME.
8. I SUGGESTED THAT MUSEVENI COULD DO MORE. HE COULD ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT SAYING HE WOULD CRACK DOWN ON ILLEGAL WEAPONS TRANSFERS AND ISSUE AN ORDER TO THE MILITARY SAYING THE TRANSFER OF WEAPONS TO THE RPF MUST STOP AND VIOLATORS WILL BE PUNISHED. HE COULD ALSO ENCOURAGE THE STATIONING OF MORE UN FORCES ON BOTH SIDES OF HIS BORDER. MUSEVENI DODGED, SAYING HE WAS BEING UNFAIRLY TREATED ND THAT HE WOULD WRITE THE UNSYG OUTLINING HIS SUPPORT FOR UNAMIR. I CONCLUDED THE CONVERSATION BY ENCOURAGING HIM TO TAKE ACTION AND PROMISING TO TRY TO OBTAIN A SATELLITE TELEPHONE NUMBER FOR KAGAME. MUSEVENI SAID HE WOULD CALL ME TO GIVE A READOUT ON HIS CONVERSATION WITH KAGAME. (NOTE: WE HAVE OBTAINED KAGAME'S NUMBER AND HAVE ALREADY PASSED IT TO MUSEVENI.)
9. COMMENT: HAVING TRACKED MUSEVENI DOWN IN VIENNA, HE WAS (BASED ON THE TONE OF HIS VOICE) WOUNDED BY MY ALLEGATIONS AND WARNINGS. WHETHER HE IS PREPARED TO DO ANYTHING SERIOUS TO CURB THE ARMS SUPPLIES GOING TO RWANDA OR TO REALLY SQUEEZE THE RPF REMAINS TO BE SEEN. WE WILL REMAIN ALERT TO ANYTHING WE SEE OR HEAR IN KAMPALA.
10. THOUGHTS ON SOME NEXT STEPS:
-- UNLESS AF/E DEEMS IT UNWISE, I PLAN TO DRAFT A LETTER TO MUSEVENI UNDERSCORING MANY OF THE POINTS I'VE MADE TO HIM DIRECTLY. THE LETTER CAN BE PASSED TO HIM VIA OUR EMBASSY (OR THE UGANDAN EMBASSY) IN DENMARK LATE NEXT WEEK. THE LETTER WOULD SERVE TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON WITHOUT RATCHETING UP THE PROCESS.
-- AF/E MAY WISH TO RECOMMEND THAT A/S MOOSE WEIGH-IN WITH MUSEVENI VIA A DIRECT CALL ON MAY 31 OR JUNE 1, OR PERHAPS SHORTLY AFTER MUSEVENI RETURNS TO KAMPALA ON JUNE 4.
-- I ALSO RECOMMEND THAT SOME CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO AMB. DAVID RAWSON RETURNING TO THE AREA ON OR BEFORE THE JUNE 6 NAIROBI MEETING FOR A ROUND OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, INCLUDING A STOP IN KAMPALA. RAWSON IS ALWAYS WELCOME HERE AND HE CAN HELP REINFORCE MY MESSAGES TO MUSEVENI AND OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE RPF REPS HERE OR ACROSS THE BORDER. PLEASE ADVISE. END COMMENT. CARSON
BT
#4283
NNNN

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

SSN: 4283
<^SSN>4283

TOR: 940527094148 M1069701

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<^TOR>940527094151 M1069703

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX

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Cable

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHNRA9490 1471419-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 271418Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
OSRI: RUEHNR
DTG: 271418Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
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RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 1061
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 2207
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0441
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0716
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 1347
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 0263
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0445
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE 1051
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2479
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 1514
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0926
SUBJ: MOI DOES WANT TO HOST RWANDA SUMMIT
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NAIROBI 09490
DEPT FOR AF/E AND AF/C, PARIS FOR PERLOW, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, TZ, RW, KE
SUBJECT: MOI DOES WANT TO HOST RWANDA SUMMIT
REF: STATE 142114 (NOTAL)
1. KENYAN RADIO ANNOUNCED ON ITS 4:00 P.M. NEWCAST MAY 27 THAT PRESIDENT MOI WAS CALLING FOR A MEETING ON RWANDA, TO INCLUDE ALL NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. KENYA MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HEAD OF AFRICA DIVISION KAHENDE CONFIRMED TO POLCOUNS THAT "FEELERS HAVE GONE OUT" TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES TO GET THEIR REACTION. ACCORDING TO KAHENDE, THE IDEA IS FOR PRESIDENT MOI TO HOST NEIGHBORING PRESIDENTS IN NAIROBI EARLY NEXT MONTH.
2. KAHENDE THEN ASKED WHAT THE UNITED STATES WAS GOING TO DO TO HELP KENYA DEFRAY THE EXPENSES OF "ALL THESE REGIONAL CONFERENCES" AND ONCE AGAIN MADE A PITCH FOR FUNDING FOR THE IGADD TALKS.
SOUTHWICK
BT
#9490
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 9490
TOR: 940527110301 M1069899
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,36)
NL 10/20/2023

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.37)
RL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA5879 1471452-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 271450Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 271450Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7377
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0602
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0120
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0460
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 7379
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0510
SUBJ: A/S MOOSE'S MAY 27 BILATERAL MEETING WITH BELGIAN MFA OFFICIALS

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 BRUSSELS 05879
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, PREF, BE, CG, RW, BY, UN
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE'S MAY 27 BILATERAL MEETING WITH BELGIAN MFA OFFICIALS
1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY

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2. A/S MOOSE AND GOB OFFICIALS AGREED THAT THE LANGUAGE OF THE DEMARCHES TO MOBUTU AND TSHISEKEDI SHOULD BE CHANGED TO REFLECT OUR DESIRE THAT BRAHIMI BE RECEIVED BY BOTH SIDES AND THAT THE DEMARCHES SHOULD BE DELIVERED IN PARALLEL. BOTH SIDES ALSO AGREED THAT THE SYG WOULD BE APPROACHED BY LADY CHALKER AND PERHAPS THE PRESIDENT TO URGE DISPATCH OF BRAHIMI TO ZAIRE. MONSENGWO SUPPORTS A BRAHIMI MISSION AND THE GOB BELIEVES THE UN SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO PUT THE POLITICAL FINISHING TOUCHES TO WHAT HAS BEEN A TRILATERAL EFFORT IN ZAIRE. BELGIUM CONTINUES TO HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT MOBUTU'S ROLE IN MEDIATING THE RWANDA CRISIS AND PREFERS A TANZANIA-LED EFFORT.
3. FONMIN CLAES IS LIKELY TO SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY ZONES IN RWANDA DURING PARLIAMENTARY INTERPELLATIONS. THE GOB IS WILLING TO SEND AMB. SWINNEN TO SPEAK TO BURUNDIAN OFFICIALS TO ASK FOR SUPPORT FOR SUCH ZONES. CONCRETE UN PROPOSALS WILL BE NEEDED, HOWEVER, TO ALLAY BURUNDIAN FEARS. BURUNDI REMAINS CALM BUT IS HIGHLY UNSTABLE. THE USG BELIEVES THE COUNTRY COULD DESTABILIZE IF FIGHTING IN RWANDA CONTINUES UNCHECKED.
4. BOTH SIDES AGREED UGANDA'S ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE RPF IS UNCLEAR. AN APPROACH TO MUSEVENI SHOULD BE MATCHED BY

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AN APPROACH TO MOBUTU, AS WEAPONS ARE ALSO TRANSITING THROUGH ZAIRE. A/S MOOSE SUGGESTED WE DISCUSS FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARMS EMBARGO WITH THE FRENCH. END SUMMARY.

5. A/S MOOSE HELD A BILATERAL MEETING WITH MFA BELGIAN CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS AND MFA DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARAN AFRICA, WILFRIED JAENEN. THE USG SIDE WAS REPRESENTED BY A/S MOOSE, AMB. BLINKEN, AF/RA OFFICER ED BROWN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT ROGER ERVIN, AND EMBASSY BRUSSELS POLOFF JEANNETTE P. DUBROW.

ZAIRE: DEMARCHES NEEDED BUT LANGUAGE MUST BE STRENGTHENED TO INCLUDE REFERENCES TO BRAHIMI MISSION

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6. A/S MOOSE BEGAN THE DISCUSSION BY CONFIRMING THAT QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS DE LA SABLIERE HAD AGREED THERE MIGHT BE SOME MERIT IN GOING FORWARD WITH THE TRILATERAL DEMARCHES. A/S MOOSE SAID THERE WAS SOME VALIDITY TO FRENCH CONCERN ABOUT THE USEFULNESS OF DEMARCHING THE SYG (AND BY EXTENSION MOBUTU AND TSHISEKEDI), GIVEN THE UNANTICIPATED NEGATIVE RESPONSE FROM BOUTROS GHALI. A/S MOOSE PROPOSED THE TRILATERAL REVERSE THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS, I.E., CHANGE THE LANGUAGE OF THE DEMARCHES TO MOBUTU AND TSHISEKEDI TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE WELCOMING THE BRAHIMI MISSION. THE TRILATERAL COULD THEN APPROACH THE UNSYG. THE DEMARCHES SHOULD BE DELIVERED IN PARALLEL.

7. WILLEMS CONCURRED WITH THIS TACTIC. HE REPORTED THAT THE BELGIAN EMBASSY IN KINSHASA HAD MET WITH MONSENGWO WHO FAVORED A BRAHIMI MISSION. THE PRELATE HAD NOTED THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT HAD BEEN ADOPTED SEVEN WEEKS AGO. IT WAS TIME TO PROCEED TO THE INSTALLATION OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC. ALTHOUGH IT HAD BEEN OBVIOUS FOR SOME TIME BRAHIMI WAS NOT PARTICULARLY KEEN TO REENGAGE HIMSELF IN A ZAIRE MEDIATION EFFORT, WILLEMS JUDGED IT WAS TIME FOR THE UN TO STEP IN AND PUT THE "FINISHING TOUCHES" TO WHAT HAS BEEN A VIGOROUS TRILATERAL EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE ZAIRIAN CRISIS. WILLEMS SAID HE FAVORED INSTRUCTING THE UN

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MISSION ALONG THESE LINES, ESPECIALLY AS MONSENGWO APPEARED RELUCTANT TO BE MORE THAN AN ADVISOR.

8. SOME MOVEMENT IN THE PROCESS WAS EVIDENT, WILLEMS ADDED. THE BELGIAN EMBASSY HAD HEARD FROM RELIABLE (BUT UNSPECIFIED SOURCES) THAT MOBUTU'S CHIEF OF STAFF VUNDUAWE BELIEVED THE FPC WAS ALSO IN DISARRAY. VUNDUAWE WAS REPORTEDLY WILLING TO PUSH FOR A SPEEDY APPROVAL OF TSHISEKEDI, RATHER THAN SEE KENGO WA DONDO ASCEND TO THE PRIMATURE. KENGO, ACCORDING TO BELGIAN SOURCES, IS SEEN AS A REAL TRAITOR BY MOBUTU ADHERENTS. IF DEMARCHES WERE MADE, THEY SHOULD BE DONE RAPIDLY, ESPECIALLY AS THE COMMITTEE OF 33 IS LOOKING AT THE CANDIDATES. THE TRILATERAL COULD BE PRESENTED WITH A "FAIT ACCOMPLI" IF IT DID NOT MOVE QUICKLY. FURTHERMORE, MOMBOKO IS KNOWN TO

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HAVE HIS OWN CANDIDATES IN MIND.
9. A/S MOOSE AGREED WITH THE NEED FOR SPEED. LADY CHALKER WOULD BE MEETING WITH BOUTROS GHALI ON THE 27TH AND WOULD RAISE THE ISSUE WITH THE SYG. DEPENDING ON THE PRESIDENTIAL AGENDA, PRESIDENT CLINTON MIGHT ALSO BE DISCUSSING THE MATTER WITH THE UNSYG. IT WAS POSSIBLE BOUTROS GHALI WOULD RESPOND QUICKLY.
10. AS A FINAL POINT ON ZAIRE, WIL JAENEN SAID THE TWELVE EU PARTNERS HAD AGREED TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING EXISTING SANCTIONS AGAINST ZAIRE, INCLUDING THE CONTROVERSIAL VISA POLICY. EVEN THE FRENCH HAD GONE ALONG WITH THIS BUT HAD ASKED FOR SOME SOME FLEXIBILITY FOR VISA REQUESTS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS.

RWANDA: MOBUTU'S ROLE NOT NECESSARILY POSITIVE; UN'S EFFORTS HAVE BEEN SLOW TO GET STARTED

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11. WILLEMS ONCE AGAIN RAISED BELGIAN OBJECTIONS TO LETTING MOBUTU ASSUME A LEADING ROLE IN THE MEDIATION EFFORTS IN RWANDA. NEITHER FRANCE NOR BELGIUM NOW PLAYED AN EXTENDED ROLE ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA, HE SAID. THE GOB WAS DOUBTFUL ABOUT THE SIGNALS THE FRENCH WERE SENDING TO MOBUTU ON THE SUBJECT OF A REGIONAL CONFERENCE. IF A REGIONAL SUMMIT WERE CONVENED, BELGIUM COULD NOT SEE MOBUTU AS CHAIR. A GOOD FOLLOW-UP TO RIZA'S MISSION IN RWANDA WOULD BE IF THE TALKS SLATED TO BEGIN ON MAY 30 IN KIGALI PRODUCED A CEASEFIRE, WHICH IN TURN LED TO A REGIONAL MEETING, CHAIRED BY TANZANIA.
12. A/S MOOSE SAID THE USG WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THAT MOBUTU STILL RETAINS INFLUENCE IN THE REGION. WE WERE NOT CERTAIN HE WOULD USE THIS INFLUENCE CONSTRUCTIVELY, HOWEVER. WE ASSUMED THE KIGALI MAY 30 MEETINGS WOULD BE HELD AT THE MILITARY COMMANDER LEVEL BUT WE HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING WHAT SPECIAL ENVOY RIZA WOULD BRING BACK. OUR MAIN FOCUS HAD BEEN TO PROD THE UN INTO DEVELOPING A MEANINGFUL OPERATIONS CONCEPT.
13. A/S MOOSE EXPLAINED THE USG HAD SENT A TEAM TO THE UN TO HELP THEM DEVELOP OPERATIONAL INFORMATION. HE SAID WE REMAIN CONVINCEDED OF THE URGENCY TO MOUNT SOME KIND OF EFFORT TO ASSIST ENDANGERED GROUPS IN THE SOUTH OF RWANDA. THIS WAS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE OF THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS RAGING THERE AND BECAUSE THE RPF WAS ABSOLUTELY OPPOSED TO DISCUSSING A CEASEFIRE UNTIL THESE SECURITY ISSUES WERE ADDRESSED.
14. WILLEMS SAID FONMIN CLAES WOULD BE ANSWERING PARLIAMENTARY INTERPELLATIONS ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECURITY ZONES. THE MINISTER WOULD PROBABLY PRONOUNCE HIMSELF IN FAVOR OF ESTABLISHING TWO SECURITY ZONES. WILLEMS ASKED WHAT THE BURUNDI GOVERNMENT THOUGHT OF THE IDEA. TO A/S MOOSE'S REPLY THAT WE HAD NOTHING CONCRETE

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TO OFFER TO THE BURUNDIANS BECAUSE OF NO UN DECISION ON THE MATTER, WILLEMS PROPOSED USING AMB. SWINNEN, WHO IS

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NOW TOURING THE REGION, TO TALK TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BURUNDI ABOUT THE PROPOSAL. HE AGREED SWINNEN WOULD ALSO NEED TO HAVE SPECIFIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE UN'S INTENTIONS BEFORE HE COULD TALK TO BURUNDI OFFICIALS.

15. A/S MOOSE SAID THE USG WAS WILLING TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE AND WOULD BE MAKING RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS. WE WERE NOW EXAMINING REQUESTS FOR APCS BUT WERE NOT CERTAIN THAT DELIVERY OF THE EQUIPMENT WOULD MEET THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION. WILLEMS NOTED THE GOB WAS NOW LIMITED TO STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. THE GOVERNMENT WAS ONLY NOW RECEIVING THE BILLS FOR THE EVACUATIONS OUT OF RWANDA. THE BF 1 BILLION ESTIMATE FOR THE OPERATION EQUALED THE GOB'S ENTIRE PKO BUDGET. HOWEVER, IF A REQUEST CAME FOR ASSISTANCE, BELGIUM WOULD TRY TO PARTICIPATE SOMEHOW, EVEN IF IT WERE NOT SEEN AS A NEUTRAL PARTY BY SOME.

BURUNDI IS A KEY TO THE RWANDA SOLUTION BUT IT TOO, IS UNSTABLE

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16. AT WILLEMS AND JAENEN'S REQUEST, A/S MOOSE EVALUATED THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI. THE USG BELIEVED BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY WANT A SOLUTION TO THE RWANDA CRISIS. BOTH SIDES ARE EXTREMELY NERVOUS ABOUT THE MASSIVE INFLUX OF REFUGEES. IF THE GOR AND THE RPF REACH SOME SORT OF AGREEMENT AND THERE IS A CEASEFIRE, THE CONCERNS OF THE BURUNDI MILITARY MAY BE ASSUAGED. UNFORTUNATELY, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF THE RWANDAN CRISIS IS HARDER TO MANAGE. SOME BURUNDIANS BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENCE OF UN TROOPS IN BURUNDI WOULD BE A LICENSE FOR HUTU EXTREMISTS TO GO AFTER THE TUTSIS. OUR OPINION IS THAT IF THE CURRENT TRENDS IN RWANDA CONTINUE UNCHECKED, BURUNDI WILL EVENTUALLY DESTABILIZE.

UGANDAN ROLE NOT TOTALLY CLEAR BUT ARMS EMBARGO SHOULD TARGET BOTH UGANDA AND ZAIRE

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17. WILLEMS AND A/S MOOSE AGREED MUSEVENI'S ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE RPF IS NOT COMPLETELY CLEAR. THE USG, A/S MOOSE EXPLAINED, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO CORROBORATE ALL REPORTS ABOUT MOVEMENTS OF TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT. WE DO BELIEVE THERE IS SOME MOVEMENT OF PERSONNEL AND HAVE DISCUSSED THIS WITH THE BRITISH.

18. WILLEMS SAID THE GOB BELIEVES UGANDA MUST BE SUPPORTING THE RPF IN SOME FASHION. IT WOULD NOT CONCEIVABLE THAT THE RPF COULD SUSTAIN SUCH A LEVEL OF MILITARY EFFORT WITHOUT REPROVISIONING. UNOMUR ON THE RWANDA/UGANDA BORDER, IN WILLEMS' OPINION, PROVIDES A FIGLEAF TO THE RPF. WILLEMS SAID AMB. SWINNEN WOULD BE MEETING WITH MUSEVENI TO EXPRESS CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE RPF. MOBUTU MUST ALSO BE TOLD THAT WE ARE AWARE OF MOVEMENTS OF ARMS THROUGH GOMA INTO RWANDA, WILLEMS SAID. AN ARMS EMBARGO MUST BE ENFORCED AND IT MUST COVER TRAFFIC THROUGH BOTH UGANDA AND ZAIRE. BELGIAN INTELLIGENCE HAS RECENTLY RECEIVED REPORTS OF A 40-TON SHIPMENT OF BULGARIAN WEAPONS.

19. A/S MOOSE AGREED WITH THIS EVALUATION AND SUGGESTED WE SPEAK TO THE FRENCH ABOUT THE ARMS EMBARGO. THERE IS A

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NEED TO BE BALANCED WHEN DISCUSSING ARMS SHIPMENTS AND THE FRENCH SHOULD BE INCLUDED.

20. A/S MOOSE CLEARED THIS CABLE BEFORE DEPARTING BRUSSELS.

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21. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BLINKEN

BT

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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER VAX WADDELL

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Cable

PREC: PRIORITY
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LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHOSA6144 1511248-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 311247Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
OSRI: RUEHOS
DTG: 311247Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0385
INFO: RUTAKD/AMCONSUL KADUNA 8398
RUEHNM/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 5150
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 7477
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SUBJ: THE ABACHA REGIME AFTER SIX MONTHS--OPPOSITION
-- MOUNTS AS SUPPORT WANES
TEXT:

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PER E.O. 13526
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DEPT FOR AF/W, ALSO PASS AMB CARRINGTON
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
DEA FOR A,DA,OFE,AO
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REFS: A) LAGOS 5922, B) LAGOS 2722
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY. CYNICISM EVIDENT AT ABACHA'S THREE MONTH POINT (REF B) IS NOW ALMOST OVERWHELMING AND GROWING OPPOSITION COULD PARALYZE THE REGIME IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. WHILE ABACHA FINALLY UNVEILED A "TRANSITION PROGRAM" CENTERED ON A "NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE" SCHEDULED TO START IN ABUJA JUNE 27, THE REGIME IMPOSED SEVERAL RESTRICTIONS ON THE CONFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS SO FAR HAVE BEEN HAPHAZARD. THE BOYCOTT OF THE MAY 23 DELEGATES ELECTION CONFIRMS THAT MOST NIGERIANS EITHER OPPOSE OR DISMISS THE CONFERENCE AND, BY IMPLICATION, THE REGIME.
3. UNDERLYING THIS PERILOUS STATE OF AFFAIRS IS THE REGIME'S ALMOST TOTAL LACK OF PERFORMANCE IN ALL AREAS. ALTHOUGH ALL INDICATORS CONFIRM THAT HIS ECONOMIC POLICES ARE A DISASTER, ABACHA CONTINUES TO STICK BY THEM. AS A RESULT, ALL SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY ARE IN DECLINE. THE REGIME REPLACED THE HEAD OF THE NIGERIAN DRUG

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ADMINISTRATION LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY (NDLEA) AND INITIATED A PURGE OF CORRUPT OFFICERS. THIS MAJOR REORGANIZATION HAS ALSO HALTED COUNTERNARCOTICS ACTIVITY AND THERE IS NO INDICATION WHEN IT WILL RESUME. ABACHA REACTED DEFENSIVELY TO NIGERIA'S DECERTIFICATION, BLAMING U.S. DRUG CONSUMPTION FOR THE PROBLEM. THE REGIME'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN SPOTTY AND COULD GROW WORSE, AS A NUMBER OF REGIME OPPONENTS HAVE BEEN DETAINED IN RECENT DAYS AND MORE REPRESSION APPEARS LIKELY. DESPITE PRC ANNOUNCEMENTS OF A MAJOR OVERHAUL OF THE POLICE, LITTLE HAS BEEN DONE AND THE CRIME SITUATION REMAINS AS BAD AS EVER. THOUGH IMPROVEMENTS IN SECURITY COULD LEAD TO A RESUMPTION OF DIRECT FLIGHTS TO THE U.S. FROM MURTALA MUHAMMED INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, REPORTS OF FRAUD AND OTHER IRREGULARITIES CONTINUE. NIGERIAN BUSINESS SCAMS TARGETING AMERICANS AND OTHER FOREIGNERS HAVE GROWN IN NUMBER IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS. A RECENT CASE IN WHICH A SOUTH DAKOTA CHURCH WAS DEFRAUDED OF 90,000 USD WAS MENTIONED WIDELY IN THE U.S. PRESS, AND A "60 MINUTES" NEWS CREW RECENTLY COMPLETED WHAT WILL LIKELY BE A DEVASTATING PIECE ON THE 419 PHENOMENON.

4. DISTRACTED BY PRESSING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, NIGERIA HAS LITTLE TIME FOR FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES. IT HOPES TO GARNER MUCH NEEDED INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE BY PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE UN, BUT DRAMATIC EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDERSCORED NIGERIA'S POOR PERFORMANCE IN AFRICA AND THE ONGOING BAKASSI DISPUTE SOURS RELATIONS WITH CAMEROON. THE MILITARY BEARS THE BRUNT OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES. PARTICIPATING IN MAJOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA AND LIBERIA, IT IS LIKELY TO BE COMMITTED TO RWANDA SOON. THE QUALITY OF THE TROOPS REMAINING IN NIGERIA IS NOT GOOD. ALTHOUGH NOT COMBAT READY, THEY COULD CONTAIN CIVIL UNREST, PROVIDED THEY HAD THE WILL. END SUMMARY.

THE POLITICAL PROCESS

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5. ABACHA HAS STATED REPEATEDLY THAT HE INTENDS TO RELINQUISH OFFICE AND HAND OVER POWER TO A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED CIVILIAN SUCCESSOR. IN HIS MAY 17 MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR, FOREIGN MINISTER KINGIBE CLAIMED THAT ABACHA IS INTENT ON A GRACEFUL EXIT "THAT WILL OUTSHINE OBASANJO'S". THE VEHICLE THAT ABACHA HAS CHOSEN FOR THIS TRANSITION IS THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, SCHEDULED TO START IN ABUJA, JUNE 27. DESPITE ABACHA'S ASSURANCES, THERE IS GROWING SKEPTICISM BOTH AMONG

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E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: KPRP, PGOV, PREL, ECON, EPET, PHUM, PINR, PINS,
-- CASC, SNAR, ASEC, MARR, NI
SUBJECT: THE ABACHA REGIME AFTER SIX MONTHS--OPPOSITION
-- MOUNTS AS SUPPORT WANES

NIGERIANS AND FOREIGN OBSERVERS REGARDING HIS SINCERITY.

6. IN AN ATTEMPT TO CALM THESE FEARS THE PRC ISSUED A TIMETABLE APRIL 22 STIPULATING THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL START JUNE 27 AND LAST NO LONGER THAN SIX MONTHS. THE

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PROCESS IS TO CULMINATE IN A JANUARY 17, 1995 DECREE LEGALIZING POLITICAL PARTIES AND ACTIVITY. ABACHA AND THE PRC CONTINUE TO INSIST THE CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD ON TIME AND EXAMINE A WIDE SPECTRUM OF ISSUES. GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN LESS THAN REASSURING, HOWEVER, AS THEY HAVE STATED OR IMPLIED THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT DETERMINE WHEN ABACHA IS TO STEP DOWN. SEVERAL GOVERNMENT INSIDERS HAVE INSISTED TO US THAT ABACHA INTENDS TO RELEASE AN ELECTION SCHEDULE AFTER THE CONFERENCE AND HAND OVER BEFORE THE END OF 1995.

7. THESE ASSURANCES HAVE NOT PLACATED THE GROWING NUMBER OF REGIME OPPONENTS. THEY INSIST ABACHA HAS NO LEGITIMATQ CQHAT HE IS AN ENEMY OF DEMOCRACY AND HIS PROGRAM IS PLAGUED BY PROBLEMS AND INCONSISTENCIES. THE MAY 23 DELEGATE ELECTION, IN WHICH AS FEW AS ONE PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE MAY HAVE PARTICIPATED, REFLECTED APATHY AND CYNICISM AS MUCH AS ORGANZED ANTI-ABACHA OPPOSITION AND GAVE A SHOT IN THE ARM TO THE OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. EVEN BEFORE THE FAILED POLL THERE WERE GROWING SIGNS THAT ALL WAS NOT WELL. THE FORMS TO REGISTER PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES WERE NOT DELIVERED ON TIME, DELAYING THE ENTIRE PROCESS AND HOUSING FOR THE DELEGATES IN ABUJA HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED ON SCHEDULE.

8. ABACHA HAS MADE A NUMBER OF MOVES WHICH HAVE FED INCREASING DISENCHANTMENT. DESPITE REPEATED OBJECTIONS, THE PRC HAS INSISTED THAT IT NOMINATE 96 OF THE 369 DELEGATES SLATED TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE AND IN LATE MARCH STATED IT WOULD RETAIN VETO POWER OVER CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS. ALTHOUGH THE PRC RELEASED A TRANSITION SCHEDULE, IT DID NOT EXTEND PAST JANUARY 17, 1995 AND DID NOT SPECIFY WHEN THE MILITARY WILL FINALLY EXIT. AFTER FIRST ASSURING NASCENT POLITICAL PARTIES IT WOULD LIFT THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY FOR THE DURATION OF THE DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS, THE GOVERNMENT ON APRIL 27 BANNED ALL POLITICAL GROUPINGS.

9. AS DISENCHANTMENT GROWS, THE POLITICAL SITUATION HAS GROWN MORE POLAGIZED. THE MIDDLE GROUND IS ALL BUT TOTALLY ERODED, WITH NIGERIANS WHO CARE ABOUT THE POLITICAL PROCESS INCREASINGLY DIVIDED BETWEEN THOSE WILLING TO LET ABACHA STAY ON AND CONTINUE HIS TRANSITION PROGRAM AND THOSE DEMANDING HIS QUICK DEPARTURE. MANY IN THE ELITE WHO FORMERLY WERE WILLING TO SIT ON THE FENCE OR GIVE THE PRC THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT ARE JOINING THE OPPOSITION, WHICH IS COALESCING AROUND THE DEMAND THAT ABACHA RECOGNIZE THE JUNE 12 ELECTION AND STEP DOWN. THIS TREND CULMINATED IN THE MAY 15 FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COALITION (NADECO), A GROUP OF YORUBA AND IBO ELITES, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AND RETIRED MILITARY OFFICERS.

10. ON MAY 15 NADECO PRESENTED ABACHA WITH AN ULTIMATUM DEMANDING THAT HE HAND OVER POWER TO M.K.O. ABIOLA, THE VICTOR IN THE ABORTED JUNE 12, 1993 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THAT ABIOLA HOLD A "SOVEREIGN NATIONAL CONFERENCE". NADECO ALSO WORKED CLOSELY WITH A NUMBER OF OPPOSITION AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS TO SPONSOR THE MAY 23 ELECTION BOYCOTT. ALTHOUGH PRO-DEMOCRACY ELEMENTS REMAIN DIVIDED ON MANY ISSUES, THEY HAVE BEGUN TO WORK MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER IN RECENT DAYS AS THEY SENSE THAT ABACHA IS

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VULNERABLE. NADECO AND ITS ALLIES ARE CURRENTLY FORMULATING A CAMPAIGN OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND STRIKES THAT IS GAINING SUPPORT.

11. IT APPEARS NADECO IS IN THE PROCESS OF PATCHING TOGETHER A "PARALLEL GOVERNMENT" WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE

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HEADED BY ABIOLA AND WHICH WILL OPENLY CHALLENGE ABACHA'S HOLD ON POWER. FEW EXPECT ABACHA TO GIVE IN TO THIS INCREASING PRESSURE. MOST EXPECT HIM TO HARDEN HIS STANCE IN THE FACE OF BURGEONING OPPOSITION. THIS HAS ALREADY BECOME EVIDENT. SINCE MAY 23 SECURITY FORCES HAVE ARRESTED A NUMBER OF PRO-DEMOCRACY ACTIVISTS, INCLUDING SEVERAL PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS. WE EXPECT MORE ARRESTS IN THE WEEKS AHEAD AS THE CONFRONTATION ESCALATES.

12. ALTHOUGH THE PRC TOOK STEPS TO INITIATE A TRANSITION PROCESS, IT FAILED TO CONVINCE MOST NIGERIANS THEY ARE GENUINE DEMOCRATS AND THAT THEIR PROGRAM IS FOR REAL. THIS INABILITY TO ESTABLISH TRUST COULD SEVERELY HANDICAP IF NOT DESTROY THE ABACHA TRANSITION PROCESS AND RENDER MEANINGLESS ABACHA'S DREAMS OF A GRACEFUL EXIT. STRIDENT RHETORIC IS INCREASING AND MANY NIGERIANS ARE SAYING THAT THE END OF THE CURRENT MILITARY GOVERNMENT IS COMING SOON AND THAT IT COULD BE DRAMATIC AND POSSIBLY ACCOMPANIED BY VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED.

ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE
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13. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, THE REGIME'S PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN DISMAL. AFTER INSTITUTING DRACONIAN NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES ALONG WITH THE 1994 BUDGET IN JANUARY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS DOGGEDLY STUCK TO THEM IN THE FACE OF THE MOST SEVERE BUSINESS CONTRACTION IN RECENT YEARS. WHILE THE MAIN PROBLEMS WHICH LEAD TO THE CONTRACTION -- DIMINISHED TRADE WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AFTER THE CFA DEVALUATION, LOW FIRST QUARTER OIL PRICES, AND AN EXTREMELY STRINGENT MONETARY POLICY -- ARE NOT ALL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S MAKING, THE EFFECT OF THE REGIME'S POLICIES HAS BEEN TO MAKE THE WORST OF A BAD SITUATION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT REASONABLY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO ENCOURAGE NON-OIL EXPORTS WHEN OIL PRICES TUMBLED. INSTEAD, COMPREHENSIVE NEW CURRENCY CONTROLS FORCED SOME EXPORTERS OUT OF BUSINESS, AND OTHERS BEGAN SMUGGLING THEIR GOODS OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO AVOID SURRENDERING HARD CURRENCY EXPORT PROFITS.

14. EVEN THE PETROLEUM SECTOR, USUALLY SHELTERED FROM NIGERIA'S DOMESTIC STORMS, IS SUFFERING UNDER THE REGIME'S POLICIES. THE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OIL COMPANY (NNPC) TO PAY ITS SHARE OF JOINT VENTURE COSTS HAS FORCED FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES TO CURTAIL EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OPERATIONS -- A DEVELOPMENT WHICH COULD HAVE DIRE LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES FOR FUTURE OIL PRODUCTION

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LEVELS. OIL SERVICE COMPANIES, ALREADY STRUGGLING WITH INCREASED VIOLENCE IN THE OIL PATCH, HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY HARD HIT. MANY COMPANIES ARE DRAWING DOWN STAFF AND EQUIPMENT. SOME ARE PULLING OUT OF NIGERIA COMPLETELY.

15. IN THE DOWNSTREAM MARKET, THERE ARE PROBLEMS AS WELL. INCREASING SEVERE AND FREQUENT FUEL SHORTAGES PLAGUE LAGOS AND THE SOUTHWEST. FUEL IS ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND AT THE OFFICIAL PRICE IN MOST OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN A RECENT IMPROVEMENT IN KADUNA. PETROLEUM MINISTER ETIEBET ANNOUNCED IN APRIL THAT SHORTAGES WOULD LAST UNTIL JULY, WHEN REPAIRS ON DOMESTIC REFINERIES SHOULD BE COMPLETE. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT HAS ATTEMPTED TO LAY THE BLAME FOR SHORTAGES AT THE FEET OF MARKETING COMPANIES, BOTH INDUSTRY AND THE PUBLIC BLAME THE REGIME -- BOTH FOR FAILING TO FORESEE THE SHORTAGE AND FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH FUEL SMUGGLING, WHICH HAS DIMINISHED FUEL SUPPLIES.

COUNTERNARCOTICS PERFORMANCE

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16. IN EARLY APRIL PRESIDENT CLINTON FAILED TO CERTIFY

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NIGERIA'S COUNTERNARCOTICS PERFORMANCE,CITING THE LACK OF CONCRETE STEPS TO CURB DRUG TRAFFICKING. ALTHOUGH THE "DECERTIFICATION" WAS LARGELY THE RESULT OF THE BABANGIDA REGIME'S INACTION, THE PRC'S REACTION HAS NOT BEEN HEARTENING. AFFIRMING THAT DRUGS "ARE A U.S. PROBLEM", ABACHA ACCUSED THE USG OF DISCRIMINATING AGAINST NIGERIA AND ALL BUT REFUSED TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR NIGERIA'S REPUTATION AS A MAJOR HEROIN TRAFFICKING COUNTRY. IN SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS ABACHA AND OTHER PRC MEMBERS, OVERLOOKING THE NDLEA'S REFUSAL TO USE AID ALREADY PROVIDED, CLAIMED NIGERIA WOULD HAVE TROUBLE MAKING INROADS AGAINST THE DRUG BARONS UNLESS THE U.S. PROVIDED THE NDLEA WITH SIGNIFICANT ADDITIONAL RESOURCES.

17. ON APRIL 25 THE PRC REMOVED BAPPA JAMA'ARE, THE INEFFECTIVE NDLEA DIRECTOR, REPLACING HIM WITH BRIGADIER GENERAL MUSA BAMAIYE, FORMERLY HEAD OF THE TASK FORCE INVESTIGATING THE NDLEA. BAMAIYE ALMOST IMMEDIATELY EMBARKED ON A LARGESCALE CLEAN UP OF THE AGENCY, FIRING 200 OF THE MOST CORRUPT OF THE NDLEA'S 2300 PERSONNEL. HE ALSO REINSTATED TWO HIGH NDLEA OFFICIALS THE DEA FELT WERE WRONGLY RELIEVED IN EARLIER REFORM EFFORTS. DEA VIEWED THIS AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, IN THAT BOTH MEN ARE ASSESSED TO BE HONEST, DEDICATED AND EFXECTIVE AND HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE EMBASSY IN THE PAST.

18. DESPITE THE IMPROVEMENT IN DEA/NDLEA RELATIONS OVER THE LAST THREE MONTHS, THESE REFORM EFFORTS HAVE BROUGHT COUNTERNARCOTICS ACTIVITY TO A VIRTUAL STANDSTILL. THE

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NDLZA'S SEIZURE RATE IS DOWN, AND THERE ARE FEW CONVICTIONS. BAMAIYE CLAIMS THAT COUNTERNARCOTICS ACTIVITY MAY NOT PICK UP AGAIN FOR SOME TIME, AS CORRUPT INTERESTS ARE WELL-ENTRENCHED AT THE NDLEA AND MAY TAKE QUITE A WHILE TO ERADICATE. FOLLOWING A RECENT INVESTIGATION INTO THE NDLEA OFFICE IN KANO, BAMAIYE RELIEVED EVERY AGENT IN THE CITY ON MAY 18 AFTER DETERMINING THEY WERE COMPROMISED BY THE TRAFFICKERS. HE FEELS SIMILAR ACTION MAY BE REQUIRED IN MAIDUGARI AND PORT HARCOURT.

19. THE NEW DIRECTOR HAS ALSO FOUND THAT EVEN IF DRUG ARRESTS WERE TO PICK UP, THE CASES WOULD LIKELY BOG DOWN IN THE COURTS, WITH THOSE ARRESTED RELEASED BY CORRUPT JUDGES. HE IS PRESSING FOR MORE SPECIAL DRUG TRIBUNALS IN LAGOS, KANO AND PORT HARCOURT, ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO INDICATION WHEN THESE COULD BE ACTIVATED.

20. BAMAIYE IS HIMSELF A PROBLEM, AS HE IS NOT THE BEST CANDIDATE TO HEAD THE NDLEA. CHARGED WITH ERADICATING CORRUPTION FROM THE AGENCY, HE IS HIMSELF SUSPECTED OF LARGESCALE CORRUPTION DURING HIS MILITARY CAREER. HE ALSO HAS NO COUNTERNARCOTICS EXPERIENCE OR TRAINING AND MUST BE EDUCATED. HE WAS NOT THE DEA'S CHOICE TO HEAD THE AGENCY AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DOUBT WHETHER HE WILL BE UP TO THE CHALLENGE.

21. DEA LAGOS IS TRYING TO MAKE THE BEST OF THE SITUATION, WORKING CLOSELY WITH NDLEA OFFICIALS KNOWN TO BE HONEST AND EFFECTIVE AND PROVIDING THEM WITH TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT ON A TEMPORARY BASIS TO AID INVESTIGATIONS. UNLESS THESE INVESTIGATIONS RECEIVE CONSISTENT SUPPORT FROM BAMAIYE, HOWEVER, THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE FRUITLESS. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER THE REQUIRED SUPPORT WILL BE FORTHCOMING.

HUMAN RIGHTS

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22. THE PRC HAS NOT CROSSED OVER INTO THE RANKS OF THE TRULY REPRESSIVE MILITARY REGIMES, BUT ITS HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD IS FAR FROM SPOTLESS. IT HAS NOT ENGAGED IN SYSTEMATIC DETENTIONS AND HARASSMENT OF OPPONENTS, BUT JOURNALISTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS REMAIN OBJECTS OF

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PRC IRE, DESPITE REPEATED PRC PROMISES NOT TO INTIMIDATE OR HARASS JOURNALISTS. ALTHOUGH THE CD DEFIED THE BAN ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND ATTEMPTED TO STAGE A GENERAL STRIKE MAY 9, ITS LEADERS WERE NOT HARASSED OR ARRESTED, REFLECTING A CONSCIOUS DECISION ON THE PART OF THE PRC, CONVINCED THE STRIKE WOULD NOT SUCCEED, TO ALLOW THE CD FREE REIGN. IN THAT INSTANCE, THE PRC READING PROVED CORRECT AND THE STRIKE NEVER GELLED.

23. THE REGIME MAY NOT BE SO LUCKY IN THE FUTURE. WITH OPPOSITION INCREASING AND MORE GROUPS PLANNING PROTEST

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ACTIONS, THE PRC APPEARS READY TO CHANGE COURSE AND ADOPT A MORE REPRESSIVE STRATEGY. DURING THE WEEKEND OF MAY 23, WHEN IT APPEARED THAT ELECTION BOYCOTT AGITATION WAS GAINING STRENGTH, THE GOVERNMENT DETAINED A NUMBER OF OPPONENTS, MANY OF WHOM ARE REPORTEDLY STILL IN CUSTODY. PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED SO FAR INCLUDE, FORMER HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MEMBER TOKUNBO AFIKUYOMI, FORMER SENATOR BOLA TINUBU, HUMAN RIGHTS LEADER GANI FAWEHINMI AND OGONI LEADER KEN SARO WIWA. WE SUSPECT THAT SURVEILLANCE OF GOVERNMENT OPPONENTS HAS BEEN INCREASED AND FURTHER DETENTIONS ARE LIKELY IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD. CD LEADER BEKO RANSOME KUTI CLAIMED RECENTLY THAT HE AND MOST OTHER PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS EXPECT TO BE PICKED UP SHORTLY AND HAVE "TRUMPED-UP" CASES FILED AGAINST THEM. ALTHOUGH THE PRESS HAS BEEN RELATIVELY FREE TO CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT, THIS COULD CHANGE AS WELL. INTERIOR MINISTER ALEX IBRU, WHO IS ALSO THE OWNER AND PUBLISHER OF "THE GUARDIAN", NIGERIA'S MOST WELL RESPECTED DAILY, HAS TOLD THE PAO THAT THE GOVERNMENT PRESENTED HIM AN ULTIMATUM TO DROP ANTI-GOVERNMENT PRESS COVERAGE FROM HIS PAPER OR FACE BEING EXPELLED FROM THE CABINET. WE DO NOT KNOW IF IBRU WILL COMPLY BUT HIS NEPHEW OSKAR, COMPLAINING ABOUT GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO POLCOUNS MAY 27, CONFIDED THAT HIS UNCLE WAS "NOT THE SAME PERSON HE WAS SIX MONTHS AGO."

24. A PARTIAL LISTING OF DOCUMENTED CASES OF DETENTIONS AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS FOLLOWS:

MARCH 9 - THREE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, INCLUDING FEMI FALANA ARE DETAINED.

MARCH 13 - HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST DETAINED

MARCH 14 - JOURNALIST DETAINED

MARCH 17 - SECURITY FORCES BREAK UP CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY RALLY. EIGHT ARE DETAINED.

MARCH 30 - SECURITY FORCES BREAK UP LAGOS CD MEETING. JOURNALISTS AND PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING FREDERICK FASEHUN, ARE DETAINED.

APRIL 1 - THREE "NEWSWATCH" OFFICIALS ARE CHARGED WITH SEDITION

APRIL 5 - FAKE EDITION OF "TELL" MAGAZINE IS ATTRIBUTED TO THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE (SSS).

APRIL 7 - THE EDITOR OF "NEWSWATCH" IS ARRESTED

APRIL 13 - FEMI FALANA DETAINED AND RELEASED.

APRIL 14 - ARTHUR NZERIBE DETAINED AND QUESTIONED

APRIL 28 - SSS BREAKS UP POLITICAL MEETINGS IN ONDO AND KADUNA.

MAY 16 - SECURITY FORCES DISRUPT HIGH POWERED

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-- MOUNTS AS SUPPORT WANES
- SEMINAR IN PORT HARCOURT.
SECURITY OF AMERICANS IN NIGERIA
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25. THE PRC ANNOUNCED WHEN IT CAME TO POWER THAT IT WOULD REFORM A NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS DEEMED TO BE IN SERIOUS TROUBLE. AMONG THESE WAS THE POLICE FORCE, WHICH MOST ACKNOWLEDGE IS IN SHAMBLES. AS PART OF THE EFFORT, THERE HAS BEEN A PURGE OF THE POLICE FORCE WHICH IS NOW LARGELY COMPLETE AND THERE HAVE BEEN SOME DELIVERIES OF NEW EQUIPMENT. THIS IS FAR FROM THE MAJOR OVERHAUL THAT THE PRC PROMISED, HOWEVER, AND THERE REMAINS WIDESPREAD SKEPTICISM WITHIN THE RANKS THAT THEY WILL SEE REAL IMPROVEMENTS IN PAY, CONDITIONS AND EQUIPMENT.

26. THE REFORM EFFORTS OF THE PAST THREE MONTHS HAVE YET TO MAKE AN IMPACT ON CRIME, WHICH HAS RETURNED TO PRE-COUP LEVELS. THE INITIAL DOWNTURN IN STREET CRIME IN LAGOS THAT FOLLOWED THE NOVEMBER CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT HAS ENDED AND CRIME HAS NOW RETURNED TO ITS PREVIOUS LEVELS. THERE HAVE BEEN WIDESPREAD ATTACKS ON EXPATRIATES AND DIPLOMATS, WITH ARMED VEHICLE HIJACKINGS BEING THE MOST COMMON CRIME.

27. VIOLENCE IS CONTINUING IN THE OIL PATCH, WHERE IT IS HAVING A SERIOUS IMPACT ON OIL COMPANY OPERATIONS. CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN LOCALS AND OIL COMPANIES HAVE HALTED OPERATIONS IN SEVERAL AREAS. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN NO REDUCTION IN THE HIGH LEVEL OF CRIMINAL VIOLENCE IN PORT HARCOURT, WARRI AND OTHER AREAS IN THE OIL PATCH WHERE AMERICAN OIL COMPANY PERSONNEL RESIDE. IN WARRI AN AMERICAN WAS RECENTLY KILLED AND ANOTHER SERIOUSLY INJURED IN A CARJACKING INCIDENT.

28. AFTER THE USG SUSPENDED DIRECT FLIGHTS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND THE U.S. DUE TO INADEQUATE SECURITY MEASURES AT MURTALA MUHAMMED INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN LAGOS, THE NIGERIAN AIRPORT AUTHORITY HAS OVERHAULED SECURITY OPERATIONS. FAA OFFICIALS INSPECTED THE AIRPORT FROM 11-22 APRIL AND EARLY INDICATIONS SHOW A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN AIRPORT SECURITY PROCEDURES. NONETHELESS, REPORTS OF CORRUPTION BY IMMIGRATION AND OTHER AIRPORT OFFICIALS CONTINUE AT THE SAME LEVEL AS BEFORE. A U.S. CHARTER PLANE AND ITS 22 MEMBER AMERICAN CITIZEN CREW WERE RECENTLY DELAYED FOR HOURS BY AIRPORT OFFICIALS BEFORE BEING ALLOWED TO REFUEL AND DEPART.

29. NIGERIAN BUSINESS SCAMS TARGETING AMERICANS AND OTHER FOREIGNERS HAVE GROWN DRAMATICALLY IN NUMBER IN RECENT MONTHS, BOTH IN TERMS OF INQUIRIES HERE AND IN THE U.S. CONCERNING FRAUDULENT OFFERS AND AMERICANS SEEKING EMBASSY RESCUE SERVICES AFTER HAVING COME HERE TO "FINALIZE" DEALS. ACCORDING TO REPORTS, NIGERIAN IMMIGRATION OFFICERS AT THE AIRPORT ARE AS INVOLVED AS EVER IN PASSING OFTEN-UNVISAED VICTIMS TO THEIR "HOSTS." THOUGH NOTHING SPECIFIC IS KNOWN ON INCREASED ACTUAL VIOLENCE, RECENT VICTIMS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN MORE EFFECTIVELY TERRIFIED BY CRIMINALS THAN IN EARLIER CASES. THE MOST RECENT VICTIM TO COME TO THE CONSULAR SECTION'S ATTENTION ESCAPED HIS "HOSTS" BY THROWING HIMSELF FROM A FAST-MOVING CAR ON A CROWDED EXPRESSWAY AND GAINING ASSISTANCE FROM PASSING MOTORISTS.

30. INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ATTENTION TO THE NIGERIAN SCAM

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PHENOMENON IS ALSO INCREASING. TIME MAGAZINE HAD A FIVE-COLUMN ACCOUNT IN ITS APRIL 18 INTERNATIONAL EDITION ON EUROPEAN VICTIMS. A MAY 22 ASSOCIATED PRESS SERVICE ON THE USD 90,000 LOSS OF A SOUTH DAKOTA CHURCH WAS PICKED UP BY DAILIES ACROSS THE U.S., INCLUDING USA TODAY. A CBS 60 MINUTES NEWS CREW HEADED BY MIKE WALLACE RECENTLY COMPLETED WHAT PROMISES TO BE A DEVASTATING INSIDE LOOK AT SCAMS, FOCUSING ON OFFICIAL COMPLICITY AND CORRUPTION IN GENERAL, NOW SLOTTED FOR AIRING AS EARLY AS SEPTEMBER.

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(NOTE: STRICTLY PROTECT AS THIS IS CBS PROPRIETARY INFORMATION).

FOREIGN POLICY

31. ALTHOUGH BURDENED BY A DETERIORATING ECONOMY AND POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY, ABACHA IS DETERMINED THAT NIGERIA PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN REGIONAL, AFRICAN AND WORLD AFFAIRS. STUNG BY THE RECENT SUCCESSFUL ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND PREDICTIONS THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL BECOME THE DOMINANT POWER IN AFRICA, NIGERIA IS DETERMINED TO ACQUIRE AND MAINTAIN A POSITION OF PRESTIGE ON THE WORLD STAGE. IT VIEWS THE UNITED NATIONS AS ITS PRINCIPAL FORUM AND TRIES TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN UN AFFAIRS. WHILE OTHER NATIONS HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO COMMIT TROOPS TO PEACEKEEPING IN THE MIDST OF THE CARNAGE IN RWANDA, NIGERIA HAS BEEN QUICK TO ASSERT ITS WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE.

32. NIGERIA'S DISPUTE WITH CAMEROON OVER THE BAKASSI PENINSULA HAS BEEN A SETBACK IN ITS CAMPAIGN TO CULTIVATE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. IT HAS DOWNPLAYED THE CONFRONTATION IN RECENT WEEKS, HOWEVER, AND NOW APPEARS WILLING TO LET IT REMAIN ON THE BACK BURNER. THERE IS NOTHING TO INDICATE THAT NIGERIA IS EAGER FOR HOSTILITIES AND FRANCE BAITING OVER BAKASSI HAS ALL BUT DISAPPEARED AND IS UNLIKELY TO BE REVIVED, UNLESS REKINDLED BY A NEW MAJOR INCIDENT.

33. THE PRC IS STUNG BY INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM OF ITS PERFORMANCE ON DEMOCRACY, ECONOMIC POLICIES, HUMAN RIGHTS, COUNTERNARCOTICS AND CRIME, BUT APPEARS INCAPABLE OF PRODUCING QUICK RESULTS IN ANY OF THESE AREAS. UNABLE TO PLACATE INTERNATIONAL CRITICS, IT SPORADICALLY RESPONDS WITH DEFENSIVE ANTI-WESTERN RHETORIC IN TANDEM WITH REPEATED ASSERTIONS THAT IT IS WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO EASE SORE SPOTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ALTHOUGH SANCTIONS AND CRITICISM HAVE HURT, ABACHA SEEMS DETERMINED TO STAY THE COURSE AND NOT APPEAR TO BE CAVING IN TO FOREIGN PRESSURE.

PERFORMANCE OF THE MILITARY

34. ALTHOUGH THE NIGERIAN MILITARY IS ALREADY HEAVILY

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COMMITTED TO LIBERIA AND SOMALIA, THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT REMAINS GRATIFIED BY THE KUDOS NIGERIAN PEACEKEEPERS HAVE EARNED. NIGERIAN PERFORMANCE IN SOMALIA HAS BEEN WELL-REGARDED BY MOST OBSERVERS. DURING THE HEIGHT OF U.N. OPERATIONS, NIGERIANS STRESSED THEIR AFRICAN IDENTITY TO CULTIVATE BETTER RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOMALIS THAN DID THE CANADIAN AND EUROPEAN TROOPS. ABACHA IS OPEN TO DEPLOYING NIGERIAN TROOPS TO RWANDA, ALTHOUGH SUCH A COMMITMENT WOULD NOT BE WILDLY POPULAR WITH THE TROOPS. THE SIZE OF THE DEPLOYMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN DETERMINED, BUT ABACHA IS SAID TO BE THINKING OF A BATTALION. THESE WOULD JOIN THE 20 NIGERIANS ALREADY THERE.

35. NIGERIAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT WITH THE LIBERIAN PEACE COUNCIL (LPC) IS A SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE EMBARRASSMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY DENIED KNOWLEDGE OF IT. REGIME DENIALS CONTRADICT THE FACTS, HOWEVER. EVEN BEFORE THE U.S. AND THE UN PROTESTED NIGERIAN ACTIVITIES, THE ECOMOG FORCE COMMANDER IN LIBERIA, GENERAL INIENGER, WAS CALLED TO ABUJA TO CONFER WITH ABACHA ON THE ISSUE. WORD AMONG THE TROOPS HAS IT THAT ABACHA HAS BEEN FULLY BRIEFED ON NIGERIAN SUPPORT FOR THE KRAHN FACTION AND HAS TOLD INIENGER TO KEEP IT WITHIN BOUNDS BEFORE IT BECAME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. TWO BATTALIONS HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN FROM THE NIGERIAN FORCE IN LIBERIA AND ARE UNLIKELY TO BE REPLACED. THIS LEAVES APPROXIMATELY 8,000 TROOPS IN LIBERIA, A BURDEN THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO SEE

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REDUCED.

36. WITH ABACHA AND DIYA EMBROILED IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, THE DAY TO DAY ADMINISTRATION OF THE MILITARY HAS PASSED TO GENERAL M.G. KUPOLATI, CHIEF OF TRAINING AND OPERATIONS AT DEFENSE HEADQUARTERS. THE NIGERIAN ARMED FORCES ARE CLEARLY OVERSTRETCHED. WITH MANY OF THEIR BEST FORCES SERVING AS PEACEKEEPERS OR AS ADVISORS ABROAD, THE UNITS REMAINING IN COUNTRY ARE NOT COMBAT READY. THEY COULD, HOWEVER, CONTAIN ALL BUT THE MOST SERIOUS OUTBREAKS OF CIVIL UNREST.

37. THE MILITARY ALSO REMAINS BOGGED DOWN ON THE BAKASSI PENINSULA AND WILL NOT BE ABLE TO REDUCE COMMITMENTS THERE ANYTIME SOON. AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE, THERE ARE 1,000 TROOPS POSTED THERE, CURRENTLY SITTING IN A SWAMPY AREA AT THE HEIGHT OF THE RAINY SEASON. ALTHOUGH WE CAN EXPECT OCCASIONAL SKIRMISHES BETWEEN CAMEROONIAN AND NIGERIAN FORCES, THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF LARGESCALE CONFLICT.

38. DESPITE BEING OVERCOMMITTED, THERE ARE FEW SIGNS OF SERIOUS DISCONTENT WITHIN THE MILITARY. THIS SITUATION COULD CHANGE QUICKLY, HOWEVER, IF THE JUNE 12 AGITATION HEATS UP AND ROUSES PASSIONS. ABACHA HAS USED A NUMBER OF TACTICS TO CONTAIN MILITARY DISSENT. HE HAS "SETTLED" (BRIBED) SOME OFFICERS, WHILE CONSTANTLY TRANSFERRING

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OTHERS. CONSTANT ROTATIONS PREVENT OFFICERS FROM STAYING AT ONE PLACE LONG ENOUGH TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT POWER BASE. THESE MEASURES APPEAR TO PRECLUDE THE RISK OF AN IMMEDIATE COUP.

39. IF ABACHA'S POLITICAL SITUATION CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE, HOWEVER, THERE ARE MILITARY ELEMENTS WHICH COULD BE TEMPTED TO TRY TO DUMP HIM, EITHER UNILATERALLY OR IN SUPPORT OF ANTI-ABACHA PROTESTORS. THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY TRUE IF CIVIL UNREST BECAME WIDESPREAD AND TROOPS WERE ORDERED INTO THE STREETS TO CONTAIN PROTESTS AND MAINTAIN ABACHA IN POWER.

CONCLUSION/COMMENT

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40. WHEN ABACHA AND THE PRC CAME TO POWER MANY NIGERIANS EXPRESSED GUARDED OPTIMISM THAT WITH LUCK THE NEW REGIME COULD GUIDE THE COUNTRY OUT OF ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MESS. THIS WAS BALANCED BY PERVASIVE CYNICISM THAT THIS REGIME, LIKE SO MANY BEFORE IT, WOULD FALL VICTIM TO COMPLACENCY, INEFFICIENCY AND RAMPANT CORRUPTION. AFTER SIX MONTHS IN OFFICE, OPTIMISM HAS ALL BUT DISAPPEARED, WHILE CYNICISM HAS GROWN RIFE. THE PRC'S INABILITY TO PRODUCE RESULTS UNDERLIES THIS TREND.

41. SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE FAMOUS PATIENCE OF THE NIGERIAN MASSES HAS NOT YET REACHED ITS LIMIT. THIS GROUP WOULD ARGUE THAT ABACHA STILL CONTROLS THE PURSESTRINGS AND CAN USE NATIONAL RESOURCES TO PURCHASE THE SUPPORT OF MUCH OF THE POLITICAL ELITE AND MOST OF THE MILITARY. HE CAN ALSO GUIDE THE "TRANSITION PROCESS" TO PLACATE THOSE WHO STILL HOPE HE WILL HAND OVER POWER TO ELECTED CIVILIANS THROUGH A PEACEFUL ORGANIZED PROCESS. ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, WITH THE MASSES UNWILLING OR INCAPABLE OF SUPPORTING RESISTANCE AND CIVIL UNREST AND THE ELITES AND MILITARY WILLING TO BE BOUGHT, ABACHA CAN REMAIN IN POWER FOR ANOTHER TWO YEARS, IF NOT LONGER.

42. ACCORDING TO THE OTHER, AND MORE COMMON VIEWPOINT, ABACHA'S TIME IS RUNNING OUT, AND HE MUST SHOW QUICK RESULTS OR FACE INCREASING AFFRONTS TO HIS AUTHORITY. THIS GROUP ARGUES THAT WITH THE ECONOMY IN FREE FALL AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN REAL DANGER OF STALLING, WIDESPREAD DISCONTENT WOULD NOT REQUIRE MUCH STIMULATION TO BREAK OUT IN PROTESTS, GENERAL STRIKES AND COUP ATTEMPTS. ALTHOUGH REPRESSION HAS BEEN KEPT WITHIN

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LIMITS, THE PRC IS NOT COMMITTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND COULD UNLEASH SYSTEMATIC ABUSE IF IT DETERMINES ITS OPPONENTS ARE BECOMING THREATENING.

43. ABACHA'S GROWING LIST OF OPPONENTS WILL TRY TO ESCALATE THE CONFRONTATION BY STAGING STRIKES, MARCHES AND OTHER PROVOCATIONS. THE ANTI-ABACHA CAMP HOPES THE GOVERNMENT WILL RISE TO THE BAIT AND BEGIN ARRESTS AND

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REPRESSION, CREATING MARTYRS AND INCREASING POPULAR SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT OPPONENTS. ACTIVISTS HOPE THAT EVENTUALLY THE PRC WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO TRY TO CRUSH GROWING OPPOSITION OR STEP DOWN. MOST REGIME OPPONENTS BELIEVE THAT FACED WITH SUCH A CHOICE THE MILITARY WOULD RATHER DISPOSE OF ABACHA AND DEAL, THAN CONFRONT THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE ON THE STREETS.

44. THE PRC WILL TRY TO DEFUSE THE OPPOSITION BY CLASSIC DIVIDE AND RULE TACTICS, ENLISTING THE ELITES AND THE MILITARY INTO ITS TRANSITION PROGRAM, HOPING THEY CAN BRING ALONG THE MASSES. THE UPCOMING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THIS EFFORT. IF IT FAILS TO TAKE PLACE OR FAILS TO CONVINCE MOST NIGERIANS THAT IT IS A CONCRETE STEP TOWARDS A RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE, MORE AND MORE ABACHA SUPPORTERS WILL START TO JUMP SHIP AND JOIN THE OPPOSITION AND ABACHA COULD BE FACING THE END GAME. NAGY##

BT

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 09
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Assessment by... (3 pages)	06/01/94	P1/b(1)
~~002. cable~~	~~Presidential Delegation Meets President Isaias (5 pages)~~	~~06/02/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~Scene Setting for Presidential Succession (4 pages)~~	~~06/02/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~004. cable~~	~~Arms and Le Guide... (2 pages)~~	~~06/02/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~005. cable~~	~~[Enclave Strategy] (2 pages)~~	~~06/02/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~006. cable~~	~~Zaire: Regional Issues... (5 pages)~~	~~06/02/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~007. cable~~	~~[Demarche] (2 pages)~~	~~06/02/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~008. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Request for UN Troop Contributions (2 pages)~~	~~06/03/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~009. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Joint Demarches to... (3 pages)~~	~~06/03/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~010. cable~~	~~South Africa: South Africa to Provide Humanitarian Aid for Rwanda (3 pages)~~	~~06/03/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~011. cable~~	~~Namibian Contribution to Rwanda Peacekeeping (2 pages)~~	~~06/03/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~012. cable~~	~~Increasing Irish Interest in Rwanda Comment (1 page)~~	~~06/03/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[06/01/1994 - 06/09/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh135

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/03/94	P1/b(1)
~~014. cable~~	~~Belgian Deputy Foreign Minister Discusses Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire with AF Acting A/S Brynn (4 pages)~~	~~06/04/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~015. cable~~	~~Request for UN to Ask Egypt to Provide APC Training for Ghanaian Reinforcements to UNAMIR (2 pages)~~	~~06/04/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~016. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Ambassador Briefs... (2 pages)~~	~~06/06/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
017. cable	Burundi... (3 pages)	06/06/94	P1/b(1)
~~018. cable~~	~~[Playing Politics] (6 pages)~~	~~06/06/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~019. cable~~	~~Senegal PKO to Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~06/06/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
020. cable	[Foreign Affairs] (3 pages)	06/06/94	P1/b(1)
~~021. cable~~	~~Zaire... (2 pages)~~	~~06/07/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~022. cable~~	~~Response on Arms for UNITA/Rwanda (1 page)~~	~~06/07/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~023. cable~~	~~President Diouf's Visit to the US (3 pages)~~	~~06/08/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~024. cable~~	~~Zambia... (2 pages)~~	~~06/09/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

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Clinton Presidential Records
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OA/Box Number: 505000

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2006-0192-F
eh135

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~025. cable~~	~~May 27 U.S./EU Troika Consultations on Africa: A Proposal for More Frequent Exchanges (8 pages)~~	~~06/09/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~026. cable~~	~~Uganda Not Supporting RPF Museveni Tells Danes (4 pages)~~	~~06/09/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~027. cable~~	~~Museveni's Constructive Statement on Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~06/09/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[06/01/1994 - 06/09/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh135

RESTRICTION CODES

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Cable

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2011-0262-M-3 (3.40)
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 ASMARA 01605
DEPT. PLEASE ALSO PASS USAID
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, OTRA (ATWOOD, J. BRIAN), PREL, ER
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION MEETS PRESIDENT ISAIAS
REF: ASMARA 1590

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

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1. THE PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION ON CRISIS PREVENTION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, LED BY AID ADMINISTRATOR J. BRIAN ATWOOD, MET WITH ERITREAN PRESIDENT ISAIAS AFEWERKI ON MAY 28. THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR USG ASSISTANCE IN MEETING THE EMERGENCY FOOD NEEDS OF ERITREA, AND EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS TO THE FOOD SECURITY PROBLEM LEST THE DONORS INADVERTENTLY CREATE A PSYCHOLOGY OF FOOD DEPENDENCE IN THE HORN. INVESTMENT IN INFRASTRUCTURE, ESPECIALLY MORE EFFECTIVE SYSTEMS TO CAPTURE AND UTILIZE SCARCE RAINFALL, WERE BADLY NEEDED. ISAIAS LISTED ERITREA'S DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES AS AGRICULTURE, HEALTH, AND EDUCATION.
2. THE PRESIDENT DESCRIBED THE CURRENT SECOND PHASE OF THE DEMOBILIZATION PROGRAM, THE LESSONS LEARNED SO FAR, AND THE NEED FOR RETRAINING,

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ESPECIALLY FOR THE LONG TERM FIGHTERS. ISAIAS OUTLINED ERITREA'S PLANS FOR ESTABLISHING A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE. A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IS THE GOAL, BUT THERE ARE PROFOUND CONCERNS ABOUT HOW TO AVERT HAVING ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES DESTABILIZE THE SYSTEM. THE PRESIDENT WELCOMED THE WORK OF INTERNATIONAL NGOS BUT WANTED THEM TO WORK CLOSELY WITH GOVERNMENT AND NOT DISCOURAGE THE EMERGENCE OF INDIGENOUS COUNTERPARTS. END SUMMARY

PARTICIPANTS

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3. MEETING PARTICIPANTS ON THE AMERICAN SIDE INCLUDED:
CONGRESSMAN TONY HALL
AMB. DAVID SHINN, AF/E DIRECTOR
AMB. ROBERT HOUDEK, ERITREA
COL. MAC DESHAZER, NSC, DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS
GARY BOMBARDIER, DAA, AFRICA BUREAU
NAN NORTON, DIRECTOR OFDA
DR. GEORGE JONES, AID COORDINATOR ASMARA
MR. TERRY PEEL, HAC STAFF
GAYLE SMITH, USAID ADVISOR
PHIL JOHNSTON, CARE
SPECIAL ASSISTANT JENNIFER WINDSOR WAS THE NOTE-TAKER.
ON THE ERITREAN SIDE, PRESIDENT ISAIAS WAS JOINED BY FOREIGN MINISTER PETROS SOLOMON AND MFA AMERICAS DIRECTOR KIDANE WOLDEYESUS.

FOOD SECURITY

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4. THE DISCUSSION WAS OPEN AND FRANK. THE PRESIDENT WELCOMED THE DELEGATION TO THE COUNTRY, AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE VISIT WILL HELP TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN ERITREA AND THE USG IN THE FUTURE. ATWOOD EXPLAINED THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TRIP WAS TO LOOK AT THE PROBLEM OF FOOD SECURITY IN THE REGION, AND TO IDENTIFY A SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM STRATEGY TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEM. HE COMMENDED THE GOE FOR THE EFFORTS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE TO PREPARE FOR THE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES, AND TO DEVELOP IRRIGATION SYSTEMS TO TRY TO PREVENT THE WORST EFFECTS OF DROUGHT IN THE FUTURE. WHILE THE USG INTENDS TO CONTINUE SHORT-TERM RELIEF EFFORTS, ATWOOD ENCOURAGED THE PRESIDENT TO WORK WITH THE

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US TO FIND A LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO THE FOOD SECURITY PROBLEM. A LONG-TERM SOLUTION SEEMED TO CALL FOR SOME FORM OF REGIONAL COOPERATION, AND ATWOOD ASKED THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE PROSPECT FOR SUCH COOPERATION, INCLUDING THE IGADD PROCESS.

5. WITH RARD TO ISSUES OF FOOD SECURITY, THE

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PRESIDENT STATED THAT WHILE THE GOE IS APPRECIATIVE OF THE FOOD AID THAT HAS BEEN PROVIDED, THE WORRY IS THAT THE ERITREAN PEOPLE HAVE BECOME DEPENDENT, AND WILL NOT BE MOTIVATED TO PRODUCE THEIR OWN FOOD. CONSTANT PROVISION OF FOOD AID DESTROYS THE WORK ETHIC AND LEADS TO A PSYCHOLOGY OF DEPENDENCE. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM REP. HALL AS TO WHY NO ONE HAD MENTIONED FOOD SECURITY AS A CRITICAL PROBLEM, THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINED THAT THERE WAS ENOUGH FOOD AID TO MEET CURRENT NEEDS. THE PROBLEM IS INADEQUATE FOOD PRODUCTION, AND THE CRISIS THAT WOULD DEVELOP IF FOOD AID WERE CUT OFF. THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT THE LONGER-TERM PROBLEM CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS FOR EFFICIENT LAND AND WATER USE. EFFECTIVE INFRASTRUCTURE SYSTEMS -- INCLUDING IRRIGATION -- NEED TO BE BUILT TO UTILIZE EFFECTIVELY THE RAINS THAT DO COME TO THE REGION.

APPEAL FOR GREATER ASSISTANCE

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6. THE PRESIDENT THEN TURNED TO THE NEED FOR MORE ASSISTANCE. HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY REPORTS OF THE CHANGES IN ATTITUDE AND ORGANIZATION OF USAID. PAST RELATIONS WITH USAID AND OTHER DONORS HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTING. THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT THE DONOR RESPONSE HAS BEEN INADEQUATE. WHILE ALL DONORS ARE TO BLAME, THE USG, AS THE SOLE REMAINING SUPERPOWER, MUST SHOULDER MORE RESPONSIBILITY THAN OTHERS. HOWEVER, ONE POSITIVE SIDE OF THE LACK OF DONOR RESOURCES IS THAT IT HAS FORCED THE ERITREAN PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES. NEVERTHELESS, PROPER ASSISTANCE WOULD HELP TO MAKE THEIR CURRENT EFFORTS MORE EFFECTIVE. THE MDBS HAVE BEGUN SOME PROGRAMS, BUT THE GOE IS WARY OF RELYING TOO MUCH ON LOANS AND BUILDING UP DEBT. PRIORITY AREAS OF NEED ARE IN THE AGRICULTURAL, HEALTH AND EDUCATION SECTORS. ISAIAS EMPHASIZED THAT HE WANTS TO INCREASE THE MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION, NOT RELY ON INCREASED DONOR FOOD.

DEMOBILIZATION

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7. THE PRESIDENT DISCUSSED CURRENT GOE EFFORTS TO DEMOBILIZE SOLDIERS. THE GOE HAS HAD TO BORROW APPROXIMATELY 43 MILLION US DOLLARS FROM THE GOE CENTRAL BANK TO COVER THE COSTS OF DEMOBILIZATION. WITH THE FIRST TRANCHE, FUNDS WERE GIVEN TO THE SOLDIERS AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS REINTEGRATION. AN ADDITIONAL 17,000 SOLDIERS NEED TO BE DEMOBILIZED. HOWEVER, PROGRAMS NEED TO BE DEVELOPED TO RETRAIN SOLDIERS AND MAKE THEM PRODUCTIVE MEMBERS OF SOCIETY. MANY OF THE SOLDIERS DO NOT WANT TO UARM OR FISH, AND ARE RELUCTANT TO RETURN TO RURAL AREAS.

ESTABLISHING A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

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8. ATWOOD ASKED ABOUT THE GOE'S PROPOSED TIME-LINE OF MOVING TOWARDS DEMOCRACY, ESPECIALLY THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CIVIL SOCIETY AND MULTIPARTYISM. THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THAT A CONSTITUTION WAS THE FIRST STEP, AND THAT THE RULE OF LAW MUST BE ESTABLISHED FIRST. ERITREAN SOCIETY IS STILL FRAGILE. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE ISE OF
ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES. THE EMERGENCE OF FIFTY O SIXTY POLITICAL PARTIES BASED ON TRIBAL IDENTITIES WOULD RUN THE RISK OF ENCOURAGING CIVIL STRIFE. FUNDAMENTALIST ELEMENTS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY UNDER THE GUISE OF PUSHING FOR DEMOCRACY. THE GOE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 ASMARA 01605
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, OTRA (ATWOOD, J.BRIAN), PREL, ER
BELIEVES THAT THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY TAKES TIME; MATURE POLITICAL PARTIES DO NOT DEVELOP OVERNIGHT. THE CONSTITUTION WILL BE RATIFIED IN TWO YEARS, AND THEN AN ELECTION WILL BE HELD.

THE ROLE OF NGOS

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9. THE ISSUE OF GOE ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL NGOS WAS RAISED BY PHIL JOHNSTON OF CARE. THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT HE APPRECIATED TO REACH PEOPLE IN NEED. HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE NGOS SOMETIMES SUBSTITUTE FOR INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATIONS THAT EITHER ALREADY EXIST OR SHOULD BE CREATED. INTERNATIONAL NGOS SHOULD WORK IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE GOE, AND THERE IS A NEED FOR COORDINATING MECHANISMS. HE SAID THAT NGOS SHOULD NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR THE GOVERNMENT; RATHER NGOS SHOULD WORK WITH GOVERNMENT ON A JOINT BASIS.

RWANDA AND SUDAN

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10. THE PRESIDENT COMMENTED ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN BOTH SUDAN AND RWANDA (SEPTEL). THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH SITUATIONS LIKE RWANDA AFTER THEY HAVE ALREADY EXPLODED. THE CRISIS MIGHT HAVE BEEN PREVENTED IF TIMELY ACTIONS HAD BEEN TAKEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

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Cable

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2011-0262-M-3 (3.41)
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DTG: 021502Z JUN 94
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RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1051
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RUEIAYD/ATO AFRICA PRIORITY
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RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0230
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1069
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY 0269
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0567
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1749
SUBJ: SCENE SETTING FOR PRESIDENTIAL
- SUCCESSION

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 001908
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, KDEM, BY
SUBJECT: SCENE SETTING FOR PRESIDENTIAL
- SUCCESSION
REF: BUJUMBURA 1859
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO DECIDED TO HOLD HIS MAY 31 MEETING ON SUCCESSION WITHOUT THE SERVICES OF THE MILITARY AND JUDICIAL OFFICIALS. WITH A NEW INTERLOCUTOR PRESIDING FOR UPRONA AND THE OPPOSITION, THE GATHERING WAS KEPT ON THE POLITICAL PLANE. UPRONA'S NEW PRESIDENT PRESENTED OPPOSITION DEMANDS FOR A LIST OF PRECONDITIONS FRODEBU SHOULD SATISFY BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN ON

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REINSTITUTING THE PRESIDENCY. IN HIS READOUT OF PROCEEDINGS, UN SPECIAL ENVOY CHARACTERIZED THE OVERALL AMBIENCE AS CORDIAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE. HOWEVER, HE POINTS OUT THAT SOME OF THE OPPOSITION PRECONDITIONS POSE DIFFICULTY FOR THE DISCUSSIONS. TALKS WERE SCHEDULED TO RESUME AFTERNOON JUNE 1. END SUMMARY.

3. ACCORDING TO A READOUT BY UNSGSR ABDULLAH, THE SESSION CHAIRED BY PM KANYENKIKO ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION MAY 31 WAS LARGELY AN ICE-BREAKER FOR THE GRB/FRODEBU AND UPRONA'S NEW HARDLINE. THE MEETING WAS A GATHERING OF PURELY POLITICAL FORCES, SINCE THE PM DID NOT CONSIDER THE MILITARY, PROCURER GENERAL AND COURT OFFICIALS WARRANTED AT THIS OPENING STAGE.

IN HIS OPENING REMARKS (A COPY WAS PROVIDED) KANYENKIKO EXPLAINED THAT GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE NOT POSSIBLE AT THIS POINT. BECAUSE CAMPAIGNING WOULD SERIOUSLY RISK UNDERMINING AN ALREADY FRAGILE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE RELATIVE CALM PREVAILING. HE POINTED OUT ALSO THAT WITH A WEAK ECONOMY AND LIMITED FINANCIAL RESOURCES, BURUNDI COULD NOT AFFORD THE COST OF SUCH ELECTIONS AND HE DOUBTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS INCLINED TO UNDERWRITE THEM. THE GRB'S ALTERNATIVE IN THAT CASE, HE SAID, IS TO PURSUE THE SUCCESSION ISSUE THROUGH CONSULTATIONS WITH POLITICAL, MORAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC PARTICIPANTS WITH THE AIM OF ATTAINING THE BROADEST POSSIBLE CONSENSUS WITHIN THE LIMITS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LEGALITY. ACCORDING TO KANYENKIKO, THE KIGOBE ACCORD (JANUARY/FEBRUARY CONSENSUS) AND THE ATTENDANT CAHIER DES CHARGES (POLITICAL PROGRAM) WHICH WAS THE BASIS FOR NTARYAMIRA'S PRESIDENCY WOULD SERVE AS THE BASIS OF THE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

4. ACCORDING TO ABDULLAH, UPRONA'S MUKASI PRESIDED FOR THE WHOLE OF THE OPPOSITION; HIS INTERVENTIONS SUFFICED FOR EXTREME OPPOSITIONISTS INKENZO AND ABASA AS WELL. ESSENTIALLY, MUKASI EXPLAINED THAT WHAT IT LOOKED FOR TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON A PRESIDENT IS A DEMONSTRATION OF FRODEBU GOOD FAITH. HE THEN PRESENTED A LIST OF TWELVE PRECONDITIONS TO BE MET CONTAINED IN AN OPPOSITION COLLECTIVE MEMORANDUM ON SUCCESSION. THESE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

-- EVALUATE AND ESTABLISH A RIGOROUS SCHEDULE FOR DISARMAMENT OF CIVILIANS.

-- SUSPEND LOCAL AND PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS IMPLICATED IN THE "GENOCIDE" OF OCTOBER 1993 AND OF ARMING CIVILIANS.

-- RECALL BURUNDI'S AMBASSADORS WHO ARE ACTING ONLY AS SPOKESMEN FOR FRODEBU (OR HUTUS) AND WHO DO NOT WORK ON BEHALF OF BURUNDI.

-- DISTRIBUTE EXECUTIVE POSITIONS IN THE SURETE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 001908

DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

YAOUNDE FOR DAOE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, KDEM, BY
SUBJECT: SCENE SETTING FOR PRESIDENTIAL
- SUCCESSION
(NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE) AND AIRPORT AND FRONTIER
POLICE (PAFE) BETWEEN FRODEBU AND OPPOSITION PARTIES.
-- DETERMINE THE PROVIN
CES AND COMMUNES WHOSE
ADMINISTRATION WILL BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF
OFFICIALS DRAWN FROM FRODEBU AND THE OPPOSITION.
-- FORMALLY REDISTRIBUTE, ON A 50/50 BASIS BETWEEN
FRODEBU AND THE OPPOSITION, DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR
POSTS.
-- OFFICIALLY DENOUNCE THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE
DAR ES SALAAM REGIONAL SUMMIT HELD IN EARLY APRIL.
-- RENOUNCE PLANS TO ESTABLISH A PRESIDENTIAL GUARD
-- AN INSTITUTION SEEMINGLY BASED ON THE RWANDA
MODEL.
-- PROVIDE OPPOSITION PARTIES WITH REGULAR AND
EQUAL ACCESS TO RADIO AND TELEVISION.
-- IMPLEMENT AN OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE TO STOP AND
PREVENT CORRUPTION.
-- GRB SHOULD INTERVENE TO SEE THAT DISPLACED
PERSONS RETURN TO THEIR PERMANENT RESIDENCES BEFORE
CAMP FACILITIES ARE OVERWHELMED AND SECURITY IS
THREATENED.
-- INSTITUTE A COMMITTEE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY TO
OVERSEE IMPLEMENTATION AND FOLLOW-UP OF ALL ABOVE
DEMANDS.
5. IN HIS READOUT, ABDULLAH THOUGHT THAT FIVE OF
THE OPPOSITION'S PRECONDITIONS MIGHT BE SATISFIED
FULLY OR PARTIALLY BY FRODEBU. WESTERN COMS AGREED,
IF THESE DEMANDS WERE AS THEY APPEARED ON FACE.
-- DISARMING OF CIVILIANS; IMPLEMENTATION BEGUN AND
SURVEILLANCE MAINTAINED TO HALT NEW ARMS INFLOWS.
-- SHARING OF SURETE AND PAFE POSITIONS: FRODEBU
SHOULD BE ABLE TO PARTIALLY FULFILL WITH POSSIBLE
DEPUTY APPOINTMENTS.
-- MEDIA ACCESS: THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE
FRODEBU CAN ACCEDE, BUT THEY WILL LIKELY OFFER A
PROPORTIONAL APPROACH DEPENDING ON PARTY SIZE.
-- COMMITTEE TO PREVENT CORRUPTION: SHOULD BE
ACCEPTED ON BASIS OF PRINCIPLE.
-- OVERALL FOLLOW-UP COMMITTEE: SHOULD BE ACCEPTED
IF AGREEMENT IS ATTAINABLE ON LIST OF PRECONDITIONS.
6. THE OPPOSITION'S DEMAND FOR THE SUSPENSION OF
OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN "GENOCIDE" OR ARMING
CIVILIANS, STRUCK ABDULLAH AND WESTERNERS AS THE
MOST DIFFICULT TO BE DISCUSSED. ALL RECOGNIZED THAT
THERE IS NO MENTION OF THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF
PUTSCHISTS OR ASSASSINS OF PRESIDENT NDADAYE AND
OTHER OFFICIALS. WITH BOTH SIDES IN DISCUSSIONS
INCLINED TO POINT ACCUSING FINGERS AT THE OTHER,
SUCH NEGOTIATIONS COULD HAVE SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS.
SUCH AN ISSUE, CHARGE SUGGESTED, WOULD BEST BE
HANDLED AFTER A GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE AND IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE REQUESTED INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY OR

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WITH INVOLVEMENT OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER.
7. ON THE MARGIN OF THE PM'S MEETING, UNSGSR SAID
HE SPOKE TO MUKASI CONCERNING THE IMPRESSION GIVEN
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 001908
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, KDEM, BY
SUBJECT: SCENE SETTING FOR PRESIDENTIAL
- SUCCESSION
THAT THE PRECONDITIONS WERE A TAKE-IT OR LEAVE-IT
PROPOSITION. ABDULLAH OPINED THAT MUKASI IS LESS
ADEPT IN HIS LEADERSHIP ROLE AT THIS POINT THAN WAS
THE SUBTLE MAYUGI BEFORE HIM. ABDULLAH SAID HE
SOUGHT TO HAVE MUKASI KEEP THE CONSULTATIONS OPEN
AND FLUID AT THIS STAGE. THE UNSGSR ADMITTED TO A
CONCERN OF HIS IN GENERAL ABOUT THE ASCENDANCY OF
OPPOSITION HARDLINERS AT THIS TIME, PARTICULARLY AS
THE FPR IS SEEN TO MAKE HEADWAY IN RWANDAN. THE
THOUGHT, WHICH ALSO STRUCK WESTERNERS, THAT FPR
PERCEIVED SUCCESS COULD EMBOLDEN SOME BURUNDI TUTSIS.
8. COMMENT: DISCUSSIONS ON SUCCESSION HAVE ONLY
BEGUN; IN THIS SECOND INSTANCE IN SIX MONTHS
SPOKESMEN ON BOTH SIDES OF THE TABLE HAVE CHANGED.
GIVEN THAT SITUATION, AS WELL AS OPPOSITION MISTRUST
AND QUESTION OF FRODEBU BONA FIDES, THIS EXERCISE
MAY REQUIRE TIME TO BEAR FRUIT. WHILE KANYENKIKO IS
LAYING OUT THE GRB'S FORMALIZED APPROACH, FRODEBU'S
OWN POLITICAL AGENDA HAS TO BE PRESENTED, OR ITS
REACTION TO THE OPPOSITION'S OPENING GAMBIT. THEN,
WILL WE HAVE A BETTER FEEL FOR THE REAL TENOR AND
COMPLEXITY OF THESE DISCUSSIONS. END COMMENT.
LANGE
BT
#1908
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 1908
<^SSN>1908
<^SSN>1908

TOR: 940602110624 M1078353
<^TOR>940602110626 M1078355
<^TOR>940602110730 M1078358

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.42)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA6828 1531640-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 021638Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 021638Z JUN 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 6607
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 3839
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 8949
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1777
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 9904
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 4808
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1174
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2917
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9716
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 2540
SUBJ: ARMS AND LE GUIDE: TOUGH TALK TO MOBUTU ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 146828
PARIS FOR HOWARD PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PARM MOPS RW CG FR
SUBJECT: ARMS AND LE GUIDE: TOUGH TALK TO MOBUTU ON RWANDA
REF: (A) 94 STATE 133592, (B) 94 KAMPALA 4160, (C) 94 KAMPALA 4247, (D) 94 KAMPALA 4283, (E) 94 KINSHASA 2672, (F) 94 KINSHASA 2437, (G) 94 KINSHASA 2961

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST, SEE PARA 5.

3. DEPARTMENT REMAINS CONCERNED ABOUT ARMS TRAFFICKING FROM ZAIRE AND UGANDA TO THE BELLIGERENTS IN RWANDA. WE BELIEVE THAT THE UGANDAN AND ZAIRIAN AUTHORITIES -- WITH EITHER THE ACTIVE OR TACIT SUPPORT OF SENIOR OFFICIALS -- CONTINUE TO PERMIT ARMS AND MATERIEL TO REACH THE RPF AND THE RWANDAN MILITARY. EMBASSIES KINSHASA AND KAMPALA HAVE MADE FORMAL DEMARCHES TO THE GOZ AND THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT ON THE TRAFFICKING OF ARMS; ADDITIONALLY, AMBASSADOR CARSON HAS REGISTERED U.. CONCERNS IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS ON AT LEAST THREE SEPARATE OCCASIONS TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI AND HAS ALSO DEMARCHED THE UGANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER. EMBASSY KINSHASA HAS MADE SIMILAR DEMARCHES TO THE GOZ, ALTHOUGH NOT DIRECTLY TO MOBUTU (SINCE HE RESIDES MORE OR LESS PERMANENTLY IN GBADOLITE).

4. DESPITE DENIALS FROM THE GOZ, REPORTING FROM A

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VARIETY OF CHANNELS HAS CONFIRMED THE TRANSPORT OF ADDITIONAL ZAIRIAN TROOPS AND MATERIEL TO GOMA. SIMILAR REPORTS SUGGEST THAT SENIOR ZAIRIAN OFFICIALS, INCLUDING DEFENSE DEPARTMENT SYG GENERAL MONZILI, CIVIL GUARD COMMANDER GENERAL BARAMOTO, AND DSP CHIEF GENERAL NZIMBI, ARE EITHER TACITLY PERMITTING OR ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN SELLING (OR PERMITTING THE TRANSIT OF) ARMS ACROSS THE BORDER. REF E, RELAYS A REG LNEHHAT MOBUTU ENCOURAGED THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO SEEK ARMS FROM THE EGYPTIANS. THROUGHOUT THE RWANDAN CRISIS, THE FRENCH HAVE ASKED THE USG TO PERSUADE THE UGANDANS TO STOP THE FLOW OF ARMS TO THE RPF. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT THE GOF SHOULD EXERT SIMILAR PRESSURE ON MOBUTU TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS AWARE OF THE ARMS RESUPPLY OF THE RWANDAN MILITARY FROM ZAIRIAN SOIL IN VIOLATION OF UNSCR 918, AND TO UNDERLINE OUR STRONG OBJECTIONS TO AN EFFORT WHICH CAN ONLY PROLONG THE CARNAGE IN RWANDA.

5. ACTION REQUESTS: DEPARTMENT ASKS THAT YOU:

--BRIEF THE GOF AT THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL ON U.S. EFFORTS TO DATE TO STAUNCH THE ARMS FLOW FROM BOTH UGANDA AND ZAIRE;

--REITERATE THAT WE HAVE MADE FIRM AND REPEATED DEMARCHES TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN AND DISAPPROVAL OVER THE FLOW OF ARMS TO THE RPF, AND TO INSIST THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO BE RESPECTED;

--URGE THAT THE GOF WEIGH IN WITH AN UNEQUIVOCAL MESSAGE TO MOBUTU TO PUT A STOP TO THE ARMS TRAFFICKING FROM ZAIRIAN TERRITORY.

6. THE UPCOMING TRILATERAL DEMARCHE IN GBADOLITE MIGHT BE AN APPROPRIATE OCCASION FOR THE GOF TO MAKE THIS POINT TO MOBUTU, BUT SHOULD THE FRENCH AGREE, THE MANNER AND METHOD OF DELIVERY WOULD QUITE OBVIOUSLY BE UP TO THEM.

TARNOFF
BT
#6828
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6828
TOR: 940602124342 M1078579
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHFRA5154 1531741-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 021740Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5738
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 7430
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0486
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 1079
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2995
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0559
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6582
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 6614
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1894
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 4378
RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 7996
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1103
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1771
SUBJ: RWANDA: FRENCH DOUBTS ON AN ENCLAVE STRATEGY;
- BURUNDI PRESENCE AT REGIONAL SUMMIT
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3,43)
VL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PARIS 15154
DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR IO AND HA A/S SHATTUCK
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, RW, BY, CG, FR
SUBJECT: RWANDA: FRENCH DOUBTS ON AN ENCLAVE STRATEGY;
- BURUNDI PRESENCE AT REGIONAL SUMMIT
REF: PARIS 15107
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON JUNE 1 AND 2 WE HELD A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE QUAI, THE ELYSEE AS WELL AS WITH NON-OFFICIAL PARTIES CONCERNING RWANDA AND ZAIRE; THESE LATTER EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN REF (A). CONCERNING RWANDA-SPECIFIC ISSUES, THE QUAI DIRECTOR OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, EXPLAINED IN GREATER DETAIL SOME POINTS TOUCHED-ON BRIEFLY DURING THE DUFOURCQ-TARNOFF DISCUSSIONS LAST WEEK. SHE STRESSED THAT THE IDEAS DISCUSSED BELOW ARE, FOR THE MOMENT, A DISTILLATION OF THINKING WITHIN THE GOF RATHER THAN OFFICIAL POSITIONS.
3. BOIVINEAU NOTED THAT WHILE FRANCE HAS NOT OPENLY OBJECTED TO THE STRATEGY OF UNAMIR ESTABLISHING PROTECTED "ENCLAVES" ALONG THE RWANDA BORDER, THERE ARE STRONG DOUBTS THAT THIS IS THE BEST STRATEGY. SHE ARGUED THAT IF SUCH ENCLAVES ARE ESTABLISHED, THEY WILL LIKELY CAUSE LARGE-SCALE POPULATION MOVEMENTS BY INDIVIDUALS HOPEING TO FIND SAFETY. SUCH MOVEMENTS

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COULD LEAD TO ADDITIONAL MASSACRES BY HUTU MILITIAS AND ARMY UNITS. NOR, SHE ADDED, WOULD SUCH A STRATEGY PROTECT THREATENED POPULATIONS IN KIGALI OR OTHER URBAN AREAS. SHE STATED THAT THE GOF PREFERENCE IS TO START IN KIGALI AND ALLOW UNAMIR TO DEVELOP ITS OWN STRATEGY BASED ON ITS OUTSTANDING WORK AND EXPERIENCE.

4. WE REMINDED BOIVINEAU THAT THE ENCLAVES WERE INTENDED TO BE A FIRST STEP AND, AS A/S MOOSE HAD MADE CLEAR DURING THE MAY 13 TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS, THEY COULD BE EXPANDED QUICKLY, AS CONDITIONS PERMIT. BOIVINEAU ACKNOWLEDGED THIS POINT BUT REJOINED THAT SINCE THE RPF HAS SINCE GAINED CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT OF KIGALI AND MUCH OF THE CITY -- AND PROMISED TO COOPERATE WITH UN RESCUE OPERATIONS -- THERE SEEMS LITTLE REASON TO DELAY A UNAMIR RETURN TO KIGALI. SHE NOTED, ON A PERSONAL BASIS, THAT THE U.S. APPROACH -- WHETHER INTENDED OR NOT -- GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF FAVORING THE RPF. WE STRESSED AGAIN THE NEED TO STOP THE FIGHTING AND MASSACRES IN RWANDA IS OUR OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE -- WE DO NOT FAVOR EITHER SIDE IN THIS TRAGEDY. WE AGREED TO TRANSMIT GOF CONCERNS TO WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK.

DEALING WITH BURUNDI

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5. BOIVINEAU AGAIN CALLED ATTENTION TO THE ABSENCE OF BURUNDI FROM THE PROPOSED JUNE 6 REGIONAL SUMMIT IN NAIROBI. SHE STATED THAT THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN BUJUMBURA HAS RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH THE GOB TO ENSURE THAT IT IS NOT AN OVERSIGHT. THE INITIAL IMPRESSION OF THE FRENCH EMBASSY IS THAT THE GOB PREFERS TO REMAIN ABSENT GIVEN ITS FRAGILE POLITICAL SITUATION; HOWEVER, NO FINAL DECISION HAS BEEN TAKEN ON WHETHER TO ATTEND. BOIVINEAU ADDED THAT THE QUAI ALSO HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GOB IS EQUALLY SKITTISH ABOUT THE USE OF BURUNDIAN TERRITORY FOR UN HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS. ALTHOUGH THE QUAI VIEW IS NOT YET FINAL, THE SENTIMENT IS NOT TO PRESS THE GOB ON ALLOWING SUCH OPERATIONS IN BURUNDI NOW THAT THE KIGALI AIRPORT IS IN RPF HANDS.

HARRIMAN

BT

#5154

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5154

TOR: 940602134538 M1078728

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.44)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 021642Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
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RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 1075
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7423
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0482
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0555
RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 7992
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0453
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 4794
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 7490
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1767
SUBJ: ZAIRE: REGIONAL ISSUES; THE ARMS EMBARGO
- FOR RWANDA; DEMARCHES; AND MESSENGERS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 15107
ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE
SUBJECT: ZAIRE: REGIONAL ISSUES; THE ARMS EMBARGO
- FOR RWANDA; DEMARCHES; AND MESSENGERS
REF: A) PARIS 14682 B) STATE 138766
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST; SEE PARAGRAPH 9.
3. SUMMARY: MOKOLO WA MPOMBO (MOBUTU'S "MR. FIXIT" IN PARIS) ASSURED US THAT HIS BOSS IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROPOSED JUNE 6 REGIONAL SUMMIT TO BE HOSTED AND CHAIRED BY KENYA -- PROVIDED THAT OTHER REGIONAL LEADERS ARE ALSO PRESENT. HE ALSO MADE AN UNINSPIRED DEFENSE CONCERNING THE TRANSIT OF ARMS VIA ZAIRE TO RWANDA, CLAIMING THAT MOBUTU IS NOT ALWAYS AWARE OF WHAT IS DONE IN HIS NAME. WE REPLIED THAT IF IT WAS EVER TRUE, SUCH AN ARGUMENT NO LONGER HOLDS WATER AND MOBUTU SHOULD BE PREPARED TO REAFFIRM THAT ZAIRE IS RESPECTING THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S ARMS EMBARGO -- ESPECIALLY IF HE IS TRYING TO REBUILD RESPECTABILITY VIA REGIONAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY.
4. WE HELD SEVERAL DISCUSSIONS ABOUT ZAIRE AND RWANDA ON JUNE 1 AND 2 WITH CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA; MICHEL LAMBINET, A LONG-TIME MOBUTU BAGMAN AND JOURNALIST; MOKOLO WA MPOMBO, MOBUTU'S "MR. FIXIT" IN PARIS AND GEORGES SERRE, AFRICAN AFFAIRS ADVISOR AT THE QUAI. SEVERAL RWANDA-SPECIFIC MATTERS WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL.

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THE REGIONAL SUMMIT: MOBUTU

5. MOKOLO NOTED THAT AFTER HIS CONVERSATION WITH BOIVINEAU (REF A), HE TELEPHONED GABDOLITE AND SPOKE WITH MOBUTU DIRECTLY ON THE INVITATION OF THE KENYANS FOR A REGIONAL SUMMIT. MOBUTU RESPONDED THAT HE IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE DIRECTLY IN A SUMMIT ON JUNE 6 IN KENYA, CHAIRED BY THE GOK, PROVIDED THAT THE OTHER REGIONAL LEADERS WILL ALSO BE PRESENT. MOKOLO ADDED THAT MOBUTU REMAINS READY TO HOST A SUMMIT IN ZAIRE, IF IT WOULD BE HELPFUL. MOKOLO ALSO REITERATED WHAT THE QUAI AND ELYSEE HAVE BEEN STRESSING: MOBUTU DOES NOT NEED TO PLAY THE CENTRAL ROLE AT NAIROBI BUT HE MUST BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PEACE PROCESS.

THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR RWANDA

6. WE REVIEWED FOR THE ELYSEE, THE QUAI AND MOKOLO THE REPEATED EFFORTS MADE BY AMBASSADOR CARSON TO PRESS PRESIDENT MUSEVENI TO ASSURE THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR RWANDA IS NOT BROKEN FROM UGANDAN TERRITORY AND TO USE HIS INFLUENCE TO GET THE RPF TO END ITS OFFENSIVE. BOIVINEAU NOTED THAT THE GOF HAS MADE SIMILAR APPROACHES IN KAMPALA BUT "FRENCH INFLUENCE IS MINIMAL", AND LOOKS TO THE USG AND HMG TO CONVINCE MUSEVENI TO RESPECT THE UNSC RESOLUTION. SERRE UNDERLINED THE FRENCH BELIEF THAT MUSEVENI IS STALLING IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE RPF TO WREST CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE RWANDA ARMY.

7. BOIVINEAU NOTED THAT DURING HER CONVERSATION WITH MOKOLO (REF A), SHE STRESSED THE NEED FOR MOBUTU TO ENSURE THAT ARMS DID NOT TRANSIT ZAIRE FOR THE RWANDA ARMY AND HUTU MILITIAS. WE MADE THE SAME POINTS TO MOKOLO ON JUNE 2 AND ARGUED THAT PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S CLAIM TO PLAY A MEDIATING ROLE IN THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY COULD BE TAKEN MORE SERIOUSLY IF ZAIRE WAS NOT SO CLEARLY IMPLICATED IN THE SUPPLY OF ARMS BEING USED BY THE ARMY AND HUTU EXTREMISTS TO PERPETRATE MASSACRES.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 PARIS 15107

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE

SUBJECT: ZAIRE: REGIONAL ISSUES; THE ARMS EMBARGO - FOR RWANDA; DEMARCHES; AND MESSENGERS

8. MOKOLO MADE HIS STANDARD, ALL-PURPOSE DEFENSE OF MOBUTU CLAIMING THAT DESPITE THE COMMON WISDOM, "LE GUIDE" IS NOT WELL-INFORMED ABOUT EVERYTHING THAT SUPPOSEDLY HAPPENS IN HIS NAME AND, TO SOME EXTENT, MOBUTU IS BADLY SERVED BY THE HARDLINERS IN HIS ENTOURAGE. WE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NATIONAL LEADERS CAN EASILY BECOME ISOLATED BY STAFF MEMBERS WHO SCREEN INFORMATION. HOWEVER, THAT IS A DIFFICULT ARGUMENT TO SWALLOW GIVEN THE PRESENCE OF MOBUTU'S PERSONAL SECURITY FORCE IN GOMA. WE ADDED THAT THE EXCUSE NO LONGER EXISTS SINCE WE AND THE FRENCH HAVE POINTED OUT THE PROBLEM AND THAT MOBUTU SHOULD TAKE STEPS TO STOP FUTURE ARMS TRANSIT. WE SUGGESTED THAT MOBUTU COULD MAKE A PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO THAT END, PERHAPS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NAIROBI SUMMIT. MOKOLO STATED HE WOULD

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PASS THE MESSAGE TO MOBUTU. HE ADDED THAT SUCH A STRATEGY MIGHT WORK IF IT WAS INCORPORATED IN A REGIONAL STATEMENT, INCLUDING UGANDA.

ACTION REQUEST

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9. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER A DEMARCHE TO KENYA AND TANZANIA, SUGGESTING THAT THEY PRESSURE MUSEVENI AND MOBUTU TO END TRANSIT OF ARMS FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. WASHINGTON MIGHT ALSO WISH TO MAKE A DEMARCHE IN PARIS, URGING THE GOF TO APPLY MAXIMUM POLITICAL PRESSURE ON MOBUTU. PLEASE ADVISE.

FRANCE AND MOBUTU

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10. WE ASKED LAMBINET AND MOKOLO SEPARATELY WHAT ROLE THEY BELIEVED THE GOF HAD IN MIND FOR MOBUTU, ADDING (ON A PERSONAL BASIS) THAT WHILE A LOT OF FRENCH AFRICANISTS IN OR NEAR THE GOF KEEP TALKING ABOUT THE NEED TO "REHABILITATE" MOBUTU FOR REASONS OF REGIONAL SECURITY, OUR SOURCES ARE OFTEN VAGUE AND CONTRADICTORY. THE ANSWERS DIFFERED MARKEDLY ESPECIALLY ON FRANCE'S LONG-TERM INTERESTS IN THE REGION.

OPTION A: LAMBINET

LAMBINET SUGGESTED THAT THE GOF NO LONGER GENUINELY CARES ABOUT THE EVENTS IN RWANDA SINCE THE SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED SO BADLY AND FUNDAMENTAL FRENCH POLITICAL INTERESTS ARE NO LONGER ENGAGED (EXCEPT ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES). SINCE THE SITUATION HAS BEEN SO DAMAGING TO FRENCH INFLUENCE, THERE WILL NOT BE ANY SERIOUS POLITICAL RETURN BY THE GOF TO RWANDA, ESPECIALLY UNDER A RPF-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT. THE REAL INTEREST OF MOBUTU'S FRIENDS IN PARIS, THEREFORE, IS TO USE THE REGIONAL SITUATION TO ENHANCE "LE MARECHAL'S" STANDING AT HOME VIS-A-VIS THE OPPOSITION.

OPTION B: MOKOLO

MOKOLO ARGUED ALONG "FRANCOPHONE" LINES STATING THAT GIVEN THE COLLAPSE OF THE GOR AND THE FAR, THE RPF IS NOT GOING TO HAVE A SERIOUS INTERLOCUTOR WITH WHOM IT WILL BE ABLE OR PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE. THUS, THE RPF WILL BE TEMPTED TO IMPOSE A MILITARY SOLUTION AND CAMOUFLOUGE IT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SOME HUTU MODERATES. THIS CANNOT WORK AND WILL PROVOKE A HUTU RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 PARIS 15107

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE

SUBJECT: ZAIRE: REGIONAL ISSUES; THE ARMS EMBARGO

- FOR RWANDA; DEMARCHES; AND MESSENGERS

THE NORTH. THUS, THE GOF IS SUPPORTING MOBUTU AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO MUSEVENI AND THE RPF, IN ORDER TO KEEP THEM FROM PLUNGING THE REGION INTO A NEW CYCLE OF VIOLENCE DUE TO A POLITICAL MISCALCULATION BASED ON MILITARY SUCCESS. IT IS A ROLE FRANCE CAN NOT PLAY DUE TO ITS PREVIOUS SUPPORT FOR THE GOR.

DEMARCHE TO BOUTROS GHALI

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11. BOIVINEAU STATED THAT, GIVEN BOUTROS GHALI'S "EXTREME SENSITIVITY" ABOUT AFRICAN ISSUES, THERE IS NO ENTHUSIASM IN THE QUAI FOR A FORMAL DEMARCHE BY MERIMEE ALONE OR IN A TRILATERAL FORMAT ON REACTIVATING THE MISSION TO ZAIRE. HOWEVER, THE FINAL DECISION ON MODALITIES WILL BE LEFT TO MERIMEE. THE "SUGGESTION" PASSED TO MERIMEE WAS THAT HE USE AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION OR A DEMARCHE ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT TO "MENTION" TO BOUTROS THAT OUR INITIAL INFORMATION WAS INCORRECT AND MOBUTU IS PREPARED TO MEET WITH SGSR BRAHIMI.

DEMARCHES IN KINSHASA

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12. THE QUAI IS GREATLY PLEASED WITH THE TOUGHENED TALKING POINTS FOR TSHSIKEDI AND HAS INSTRUCTED THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN KINSHASA TO PROCEED WITH THE TRILATERAL DEMARCHE. THE QUAI HAS A STRONG PREFERENCE FOR MAKING THE DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU PERSONALLY IN GADBOLITE (IF NECESSARY) IN ORDER TO AVOID THE "FILTRATION" PROCESS BY MOBUTU'S STAFF MEMBERS IN KINSHASA AND TO ASSURE THAT THE TRILATERAL TEAM CAN GET IN TO SEE TSHSIKEDI.

YOU SHOULDN'T TALK TO PEOPLE LIKE THAT!

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13. WE RAISED THE VISIT OF ROBERT BOURGI TO THE DEPARTMENT (REF B) WITH MICHEL LAMBINET TO LEARN HIS PERSPECTIVE ON WHY BOURGI HAD BEEN DISPATCHED AND BY WHOM. IN PERHAPS ONE OF THE ALL TIME GREAT EXAMPLES OF A POT CALLING A KETTLE BLACK, LAMBINET (WHO HAD NO INFORMATION ON THE VISIT) LAUNCHED INTO A TIRADE RECOUNTING MANY OF THE STORIES CIRCULATING AROUND PARIS ON BOURGI'S LESS SAVORY ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THAT HE IS ATTEMPTING TO PUT TOGETHER A DIAMOND MARKETING NETWORK ON HIS OWN BEHALF WITH THE "MAITRE D'HOTEL" OF MOBUTU'S HOUSEHOLD; THAT BOURGI'S WILLINGNESS TO FINANCE THE "CLUB 89" (I.E. THE RPR'S DISCUSSION GROUP ON AFRICA) IS SIMPLY TO GIVE A LUSTRE OF RESPECTABILTY TO HIS BUSINESS DEALS; AND THAT HE IS USING THE NAME OF FORMER COOPERATION MINISTER AURILLAC TO OPEN DOORS THAT WOULD OTHERWISE REMAIN CLOSED TO HIM. LAMBINET URGED THAT THE DEPARTMENT WEIGH CAREFULLY ANY INFORMATION PASSED BY BOURGI, ESPECIALLY UNTIL IT IS CLEAR WHO BOURGI REPRESENTS.

14. COMMENT: THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME IN RECENT MONTHS THAT WE HAVE FOUND LAMBINET SURPRISED BY VARIOUS ZAIRE-RELATED ITEMS WE RAISED. WHILE HE UNQUESTIONABLY IS STILL ON THE "BIG MAN'S" PAYROLL, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT MOBUTU IS SPREADING THE WORK AROUND -- PERHAPS EXPLAINING LAMBINET'S APOPLEXY CONCERNING BOURGI'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON. THAT SAID, WE WOULD BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT LEAPING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT CHIRAC WOULD SEND BOURGI TO THE U.S. WHEN BETTER KNOWN MESSENGERS ARE READILY AVAILABLE SUCH AS FERNAND WIBAUX (WHO IS WELL

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 PARIS 15107

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE

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SUBJECT: ZAIRE: REGIONAL ISSUES; THE ARMS EMBARGO
- FOR RWANDA; DEMARCHES; AND MESSENGERS
KNOWN TO A/S MOOSE) AND FORMER MINISTER AURILLAC. END
COMMENT.
HARRIMAN
BT
#5107
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
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<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-3(3,45)
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DTG: 022259Z JUN 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
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RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 9915
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 6664
INFO: ****
SUBJ: ZAIRE DEMARCHE: MOBUTU THROWS A SPANNER IN THE WORKS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 147347
KINSHASA FOR CHARGE; PARIS FOR PERLOW; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PGOV CG FR BE
SUBJECT: ZAIRE DEMARCHE: MOBUTU THROWS A SPANNER IN THE WORKS
REF: (A) SCOTT/FENDRICK TELCON 6/2/94

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. WE UNDERSTAND FROM REFTELCON THAT MOBUTU WILL NOT ACCEPT THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR'S PARTICIPATION IN THE JOINT TROIKA DEMARCHE. MOBUTU APPARENTLY CLAIMED THAT GOB "MISTREATMENT" OF THE ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS WAS THE REASON FOR THE ACTION. THE BELGIAN EMBASSY HERE HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH MFA CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS, WHO COULD NOT PROFFER A PROXIMATE CAUSE FOR MOBUTU'S DECISION TO EXCLUDE THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR. WILLEMS DID RELAY THAT FM CLAES HAD SPOKEN IN PARLIAMENT LAST WEEK ABOUT BELGIAN SKEPTICISM RE MOBUTU'S ROLE IN SETTLING THE CRISIS IN RWANDA, BUT THIS SEEMS SLENDER JUSTIFICATION FOR REFUSING TO MEET WITH THE BELGIAN ENVOY. WILLEMS FURTHER TOLD US (AGAIN VIA THE BELGIAN EMBASSY) THAT GOB POLICY FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS HAS BEEN NOT/NOT TO RECEIVE THE ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR AT THE PRIME MINISTER OR FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL. THE ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN RECEIVED, HOWEVER, BY LODE WILLEMS AND MFA AFRICA DIRECTOR WIL JAENEN.

3. AT ANY RATE, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, DEPARTMENT DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT YOU AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR SHOULD TRAVEL TO GBADOLITE WITHOUT THE BELGIAN TO MAKE THE DEMARCHE. SUCH AN ACTION WOULD GIVE RISE TO SPECULATION THAT THE BELGIANS HAD BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE TROIKA, AND WOULD ALSO DEMONSTRATE TO MOBUTU THAT THE WESTERN THREE CAN BE PRESSURED BY EXTORTIONATE TACTICS.

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3. THE MESSAGE TO MOBUTU MUST STILL BE DELIVERED, HOWEVER, AND GIVEN THE JOINT TROIKA MEETING FRIDAY IN KINSHASA WITH TSHISEKEDI, A DECISION MUST BE MADE ON THE MANNER ASAP. WE HAVE ASKED HOWARD PERLOW IN PARIS TO SEEK THE FRENCH VIEWS ON MOBUTU'S LATEST MOVE, AND TO SEE IF PARIS WOULD BE WILLING TO EXERT QUIET PRESSURE ON "LE GUIDE" TO RELENT AND SEE THE TROIKA A TROIS. YOU SHOULD ALSO RAISE THIS WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND ASK HIM TO WEIGH IN WITH HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY IN SUPPORT OF THIS IDEA. (DEPARTMENT IS AWARE THAT THE FRENCH, GIVEN THEIR RECENT HISTORY OF TEPID SUPPORT FOR ANY DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU, MAY BE UNWILLING TO ADMIT AN INFLUENCE OVER MOBUTU).

4. IF THE FRENCH ARE UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO INFLUENCE MOBUTU TO SEE THE THREE TOGETHER, DEPARTMENT PROPOSES THAT YOU DELIVER THE MESSAGE TO MOBUTU VIA PRESIDENTIAL CHIEF OF STAFF VUNDUAWE. THE MEETING WITH VUNDUAWE SHOULD NOT/NOT BE SUBSTANTIVE, AND IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT THE THREE ARE USING THE KINSHASA OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY ONLY AS A CONDUIT TO PASS A MESSAGE TO MOBUTU. YOU SHOULD LEAVE THE NON-PAPERS FOR VUNDUAWE TO TRANSMIT TO MOBUTU. YOU MIGHT ALSO LEAVE A COVER LETTER FROM EACH ENVOY, EXPRESSING REGRET THAT PRESIDENT MOBUTU WOULD NOT MEET WITH ALL THREE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TROIKA, AND CALLING HIS ATTENTION TONHE ATTACHED TALKING POINTS. DEPARTMENT LEAVES THE DETAILS OF THIS TO YOU AND YOUR FRENCH AND BELGIAN COLLEAGUES. IF YOU HAVE OTHER PROPOSALS, DEPARTMENT WELCOMES YOUR INPUT, BUT EMPHASIZES THAT TIMING IS IMPORTANT: WE CANNOT PERMIT TOO MUCH TIME TO ELAPSE BETWEEN THE TSHISEKEDI MEETING AND DELIVERY OF THE MESSAGE TO MOBUTU OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE. WE UNDERSTAND FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BELGIAN EMBASSY HERE THAT THE GOB SUPPORTS THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE "VUNDUAWE OPTION" OUTLINED ABOVE.

TARNOFF

BT

#7347

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7347

TOR: 940602190407 M1079306

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M-3 (3,46)
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INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 4813
SUBJ: : RWANDA: REQUEST FOR UN TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 144263
FOLLOWING SECSTATE 144263 DTD 31MAY93 SENT ACTION
USUN NEW YORK ADDIS ABAB BAMAKO NAIROBI TUNIS
INFORMATION ACCRA DAKAR HARARE REPEATED FOR YOUR
ACTION/INFORMATION 03JUN94
QUOTE:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 144263
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, FINS, FREL, FHUM, MOPS, PGOV, RW UNSC
SUBJECT:: RWANDA: REQUEST FOR UN TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. DURING THEIR MEETING MAY 27 IN THE WHITE HOUSE, PRESIDENT CLINTON AND BOUTROS-GHALI DISCUSSED THE ONGOING CRISIS IN RWANDA BOUTROS-GHALI INDICATED THAT SEVERAL COUNTRIES WERE CONSIDERING CONTRIBUTING TROOPS AND OTHER PERSONNEL TO THE EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCE AS CALLED FOR IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 918 . PRESIDENT CLINTON AND BOUTROS-GHALI AGREED IT WOULD BE HELFFUL FOR THE UNITED STATES TO URGE THESE COUNTRIES TO DO SO. THE TALKING POINTS PROVIDED IN PARA 3 BELOW ARE FOR USE BY USUN AND ACTION ADDRESSES TO MAKE A SIMULTANEOUS DEMARCHE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO RELEVANT UN FERM REPS IN NEW YORK AND TO GOVERNMENTS IN CAPITALS TO URGE THEM TO PROVIDE UALIFIED FERSONNEL TO UNAMIR AS SOON AS FOSSIBLE WITH AS MUCH OF THEIR OWN EQUIPMENT AS POSSIBLE. END SUMMAR
3. BEGIN TALKING POINTS.

-- PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE REMA1N

EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ON-GOING TRAGEDY IN RWANDA THIS IS A PROBLEM THAT DEMANDS IMMEDIATE INTERNATIONAL ACTION, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH GOVERNMENTS LIKE YOURS TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN ALLEVIATING THE SUFFERING IN RWANDA.

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-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE ACTIONS OUTLINED IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 918 APPROVED ON MAY 17 REPRESENT A CRITICAL STEP IN THAT DIRECTION. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WAS PLEASED TO VOTE FOR THAT RESOLUTION AND WANTS TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARD ITS IMPLEMENATION AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

-- WE UNDERSTAND THAT ETHIOPIA, GHANA, SENEGAL AND ZIMBABWE HAVE ALREADY INDICATED TO THE UN THEIR PLANS TO MAKE TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS TO AN EXPANDED UNAMIR. THESE COMMITMENTS, HOWEVER WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT TO SUPPLY THE 5,500 TROOPS ENVISIONED IN UNSCR 918

-- UN SECRETARY-GENERA BOUTROS-GHALI HAS INDICATED TO US THAT YOUR COUNTRY MAY BE ABLE TO MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION OF THIS INTERNATIONAL EFFORT FARTICULARLY BY SUPPLYING MILITARY PERSONNEL WE WOULD STRONGLY URGE THAT YOU SERIOUSLY CONSIDER HIS REQUEST TO YOU.

-- WE WOULD FURTHER URGE THAT YOU CONSIDER PROVIDING PERSONNEL OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY WITH YOUR OWN COUNTRY S BEST EQUIPMENT IF YOU REQUIRE SUPPORT FOR EQUIPMENT OR TRANSPORT NEEDS, YOU SHOULD INFORM THE UN SECRETARIAT OF YOUR REQUIREMENTS.

END TALKING POINTS.

4. FOR ADDIS ABABA YOU ARE NOT REQUESTED TO MAKE A DEMARCHE TO THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT URGINGNIT TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS SINCE IT HAS ALREADY INDICATED TO THE UN ITS PLAN TO DO SO. HOWEVER' YOU SHOULD BRIEF OAU SYG SALIM SALIM THAT WE ARE MAKING THIS REQUEST TO OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES ON BEHAF OF THE UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI. WE WOULD HOPE THAT SALIM SALIM COULD FOLLOW-UP ON OUR REQUEST BY INFORMING THESE COUNTRIES THAT HE IS SUPPORTIVE OF THE UN'S AND OUR EFFORTS. CHRISTOPHER
UNQUOTE: TARNOFF
BT
#4263
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4263

TOR: 940602215742 M1079486

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000
SUBJ: RWANDA: JOINT DEMARCHES TO BURUNDI AND UGANDA IN SUPPORT OF UN PEACEKEEPING DEPLOYMENT IN RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 147720
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, MARR, PGOV, UNSC, BY, RW, UG

SUBJECT: RWANDA: JOINT DEMARCHES TO BURUNDI AND UGANDA IN SUPPORT OF UN PEACEKEEPING DEPLOYMENT IN RWANDA

REF: A) STATE 144262 B) USUN 2316 C) KAMPALA 4460

1. ~~-CONFIDENTIAL-~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. USUN NEW YORK HAS APPROACHED THE UN SECRETARIAT AND UN MISSIONS OF INTERESTED MEMBER STATES (PER REF A) TO SUGGEST JOINT DEMARCHES TO BURUNDI AND UGANDAN AUTHORITIES REQUESTING USE OF THEIR TERRITORY IN SUPPORT OF AN EXPANDED PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN RWANDA. AS A RESULT OF THOSE APPROACHES (REF B). USUN PLANS MAKING A PARALLEL DEMARCHE TO THE BURUNDI AND UGANDA PERM REPS O JUNE 3 JOINTLY WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF MEMBERS OF THE RWANDAN OBSERVER GROUP (I.E., BELGIUM. FRANCE. GERMANY. AND THE OAU). EMBASSIES ARE ALSO INSTRUCTED TO APPROACH UN OFFICES AND MISSIONS OF THE RWANDAN OBSERVER GROUP IN BUJUMBURA AND KAMPALA TO MAKE FOLLOW-UP DEMARCHES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO BURUNDI AND UGANDAN OFFICIALS IN THE CAPITALS. TALKING POINTS ARE PROVIDED IN PARA 5 BELOW FOR

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USE BY USUN AND EMBASSIES. END SUMMARY.

3. FOR BUJUMBURA. AS REPORTED IN REF B, UN SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT SRSG OULD ABDALLAH WOULD BE THE LOGICAL PERSON TO MAKE THE UN DEMARCHE TO THE BURUNDI GOVERNMENT, BUT THEY DID NOT HAVE A STRONG OPINION ON WHETHER OR NOT HE SHOULD MAKE THAT DEMARCHE SEPARATELY OR JOINTLY WITH INTERESTED EMBASSIES. POST SHOULD APPROACH ABDALLAH AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO SEEK HIS VIEWS ON THE MOST APPROPRIATE APPROACH.

4. FOR KAMPALA. FOR THE DEMARCHE TO UGANDAN OFFICIALS. THE UN HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE UNOMUR ACTING COMMANDER COULD GO UP TO KAMPALA FROM KABALE TO REPRESENT THE UN. USUN HAS SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT WANT TO MAKE THE DEMARCHE JOINTLY WITH OTHERS SINCE HE DOES NOT HAVE THE STATURE OF SRSG OULD ABDALLAH. POST SHOULD DISCUSS MOST SUITABLE APPROACH WITH HIM. WE WILL ALSO LEAVE IT TO POSTS' DISCRETION WHETHER AMBASSADOR CARSON SHOULD (PER REF C) MAKE THE DEMARCHE TELEPHONICALLY TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI WHO IS NOW TRAVELLING IN EUROPE.

5. BEGIN TALKING POINTS.

-- AS YOU KNOW, ON MAY 17, THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED EXPANSION OF UNAMIR TO UP TO 5,500 TROOPS WITH A HUMANITARIAN MANDATE TO FACILITATE RELIEF EFFORTS AND HELP PROTECT THREATENED CIVILIAN POPULATIONS.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF THE EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCE IS CRUCIAL TO ADDRESSING THE HUMANITARIAN DISASTER AND HELPING CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCIVE TO RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS.

-- BY HELPING TO BRING AID AND PROTECTION TO DISPLACED PERSONS AND THREATENED CIVILIAN ENCLAVES' UNAMIR SHOULD HELP STEM THE OUTFLOW OF REFUGEES AND DETER FURTHER ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS, THEREBY IMPROVING CHANCES FOR A DURABLE CEASEFIRE AND RESUMPTION OF MEANINGFUL PEACE TALKS.

-- BY HELPING STEM REFUGEE OUTFLOWS AND PROMOTING A STABILIZATION OF THE SITUATION, UNAMIR CAN PLAY A KEY ROLE IN CONTAINING THE CRISIS AND HELPING PRESERVE STABILITY IN THE REGION.

-- HEAVY FIGHTING IN THE KIGALI AREA MAKES KIGALI AN UNSUITABLE LOGISTICAL BASE FOR THE EXPANDED UNAMIR OPERATION. THE KIGALI AIRPORT REMAINS INSECURE, AS

EVIDENCED BY THE REPEATED CANCELLATION OF UN RELIEF FLIGHTS.

-- FOR THIS REASON, THE UN MUST CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE LOGISTICAL BASES OUTSIDE RWANDA. THE AIRPORT IN YOUR CAPITAL HAS THE CAPABILITY TO ACCOMMODATE LARGE TRANSPORT PLANES, AND YOUR COUNTRY HAS A GOOD NETWORK OF ROADS INTO RWANDA.

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-- WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE UN HAS ASKED TO USE YOUR TERRITORY AS A LOGISTICAL BASE FOR THE EXPANDED UNAMIR OPERATION.

-- WE URGE YOU TO AGREE TO THE UN REQUEST.

-- A CROSS-BORDER OPERATION FROM YOUR TERRITORY WILL HELP RESOLVE THE LOGISTICAL PROBLEM AND WOULD ALLOW UNAMIR TO REACH THREATENSD POPULATIONS BEHIND THE BATTLE LINES WHILE MINIMIZING THE THREAT TO UNAMIR TROOPS.

-- THE OPERATION HAS A PURELY HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE. THE TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT WOULD NOT BE USED TO INTERVENE IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO WARRING PARTIES, AND UNAMIR WOULD OF COURSE REMAIN COMPLETELY NEUTRAL.

-- BOTH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF HAVE ACCEPTED THE PLAN TO EXPAND UNAMIR AND HAVE SAID THEY WILL COOPERATE WITH THE UN IN THIS HUMANITARIAN DEPLOYMENT.

END TALKING POINTS. TARNOFF
BT
#7720
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7720

TOR: 940603023118 M1079782

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0806
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RUEHMB/AMEMBASSY MBABANE 1901
RUEHRU/AMEMBASSY MASERU 1675
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 3324
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RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1271
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0029
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0010
ORUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0100
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK 2183
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0205
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0824
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 1335
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 0737
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA: SOUTH AFRICA TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN AID FOR RWANDA.
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PRETORIA 007723
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: SF, XW, PREL, PGOV
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: SOUTH AFRICA TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN AID FOR RWANDA.
REF: STATE 119480; PRETORIA 07006
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE JUNE 2 EDITIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS REPORTED A JUNE 1 DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY CABINET TO PROVIDE RWANDA WITH PURELY HUMANITARIAN AID. SENDING PEACE-KEEPING TROOPS WAS NOT AN OPTION. THE NEWSPAPERS QUOTED A SPOKESMAN FOR PRESIDENT MANDELA AS SAYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD RESPONDED TO URGENT APPEALS FROM THE U.N. "OUT OF DEEP CONCERN ABOUT CONTINUING CARNAGE IN RWANDA" AND WOULD CONSULT WITH U.N. OFFICIALS REGARDING THE

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SPECIFIC ROLE SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT PLAY IN
NTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO END THE CONFLICT.
PROVIDING PERSONNEL FOR A FIELD HOSPITAL (A
SUGGESTION REPORTEDLY FIRST MADE BY U.N. SECRETARY-
GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI) IS APPARENTLY ONE POSSIBILITY
UNDER DISCUSSION.
3. PRESSED FOR MORE DETAILED INFORMATION, DFA
RWANDA DESK OFFICER WILLIAM VAN DER VYVER TOLD US ON
JUNE 2 HE COULD NOT "LET THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG"
BECAUSE DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL FOR AFRICA DEREK
AURET AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR WEST, CENTRAL AND EAST
AFRICA JAN MARX WERE STILL DISCUSSING WITH UNHCR
OFFICIALS THE PRECISE FORM OF SOUTH AFRICA'S
PARTICIPATION IN THE RWANDA EFFORT. VAN DER VYVER
SAID THAT, BESIDES THE FIELD-HOSPITAL POSSIBILITY,
THERE WERE SIMPLER ALTERNATIVES SUCH AS PROVISION OF
BLANKETS AND STAPLE FOODS. IN HIS OPINION, THE
FIELD-HOSPITAL IDEA WOULD NOT IN FACT BE VIABLE.
ASSUMING THAT A FIELD HOSPITAL WOULD NECESSARILY
MEAN A MILITARY FACILITY STAFFED BY MILITARY
PERSONNEL, HE SAID: "IF WE ARE GOING TO SEND A
FIELD HOSPITAL, WE MIGHT AS WELL SEND TROOPS." AND
THAT, HE ADDED, WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION; THE SOUTH
AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENSE FORCE IS PREOCCUPIED WITH
ITS OWN TRANSFORMATION AND IS NOT READY FOR HIGH-
VISIBILITY MISSIONS OF THIS KIND. VAN DER VYVER
CONCLUDED THAT, IN ANY CASE, THE IDEA OF A FULLY-
STAFFED HOSPITAL WOULD ENTAIL SERIOUS LANGUAGE
PROBLEMS: SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL ARE NOT
LIKELY TO TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK EITHER FRENCH OR THE
LOCAL RWANDAN LANGUAGE, THE TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
OF THE COUNTRY.
4. COMMENT: THIS REPRESENTS THE ADVICE THAT SENIOR
OFFICIALS ARE LIKELY TO RECEIVE FROM, THE DEPARTMEMT
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND, WE SUSPECT, THE MILITARY.
HOWEVER, SENIOR LEADERS HAVE NOT YET MADE A FINAL
DECISION ON SOUTH AFRICAN ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA.
MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
LYMAN
BT
#7723
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7723

TOR: 940603051302 M1079993

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M-3 (3.49)
VR 10/20/2023

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHWDA1373 1541533-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 031533Z JUN 94
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OSRI: RUEHWD
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8998
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0196
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0208
RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: NAMIBIAN CONTRIBUTION TO RWANDA PEACEKEEPING
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ WINDHOEK 001373
E.O. 12356, DECL: OADR
TAGS, MARR, PINS, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, UNSC, RW, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIAN CONTRIBUTION TO RWANDA PEACEKEEPING
RBFS: (A) STATE 144263, (B) ADDIS ABABA 4114
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. POLOFF CONVEYED REF A DEMARCHE TO MFA ACTING PERMANENT SECRETARY TANGENI ERKANA ON JUNE 3. ERKANA STATED THAT THE NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT (GON) HAS PLEDGED 500,000 NAMBIAN DOLLARS (150,000 USD, VICE 500,000 USD AS REPORTED IN REF B) THROUGH THE OAU TO BE USED FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES.
3. ERKANA, SYMPATHETIC TO OUR SUGGESTION THAT THE GON CONSIDER CONTRIBUTING TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT TO UNAMIR, ALSO REPORTED THAT AS OF COB JUNE 3, THE GON HAS NOT MADE A DETERMINATION TO DO SO. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH A DECISION MIGHT BE MADE AS A RESULT OF PRESIDENT NUJOMA'S DISCUSSIONS WITH FELLOW AFRICAN LEADERS AT THE ONGOING "GLOBAL COALITION FOR AFRICA" (GCA) SUMMIT IN HARARE AND UPCOMING OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. HE PROMISED TO ADVISE US PROMPTLY OF ANY SUCH DECISION.
4. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH SENIOR DEFENSE MINISTRY OFFICIALS, DATT LEARNED THAT THE NAMIBIAN DEFENSE FORCE (NDF) IS WILLING IN PRINCIPLE TO TAKE PART IN UNAMIR, IF THE GON AUTHORIZES ITS DEPLOYMENT. TO DATE, HOWEVER, IT HAS NOT RECEIVED INFORMATION ON ITS EXPECTED MISSION OR SPECIFICS ON THE NUMBER OR TYPE OF TROOPS/EQUIPMENT DESIRED. IN ORDER TO PARTICIPATE, THE NDF WOULD NEED SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING FOR EQUIPMENT, CONSUMABLES, ETC., AS WELL AS ADVICE ON DISTANT DEPLOYMENT, AND AIRLIFT AND OTHER LOGISTICAL SUPPORT.
MCCALLIE
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 1373
TOR: 940603114747 M1080686
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INFO: RUEHSW/AMEMBASSY BERN 0411
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0086
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0006
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0031
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0016
RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHGV/USMISPON GENEVA 1619
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0227
SUBJ: INCREASING IRISH INTEREST IN RWANDA
COMMENT
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 003094
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: EAID, PREL, PHUM, UN, EI, RW, SZ
SUBJECT: INCREASING IRISH INTEREST IN RWANDA
COMMENT
7. ~~(C)~~ RWANDA HAS ALSO BEEN THE SUBJECT OF SEVERAL HEARINGS BY THE NEW PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS. PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT TO DO MORE IS STEADILY BUILDING. TO HIS CREDIT, FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING HAS RESISTED INVITATIONS TO BLAME THE U.S. FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S FAILURE TO STOP CARNAGE IN RWANDA. IN RESPONSE TO A JOURNALIST'S RECENT QUESTION ABOUT WHY THE U.S. HAD REFUSED TO SEND TROOPS INTO THAT COUNTRY, SPRING REPLIED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WAS JUST AS CONCERNED ABOUT THE WELFARE OF ITS SOLDIERS AS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WAS ABOUT THE IRISH MILITARY. SPRING'S EVEN-HANDEDNESS, HOWEVER, DID NOT IMPRESS "THE IRISH TIMES," WHICH EDITORIALIZED ON JUNE 2 THAT THE "INACTION" OF THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL HAD "CRIPPLED" THE UN'S RESPONSE TO THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY. SMITH
BT
#3094
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3094
TOR: 940603113757 M1080671
DIST:
SIT: BLEICKEN BLEICKENN DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX
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INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0000
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0000
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0000
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0000
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0000
SUBJ: BELGIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES RWANDA, BURUNDI AND ZAIRE WITH AF ACTING A/S BRYNN

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 149032
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, BY, BE, SA, CG
SUBJECT: BELGIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES RWANDA, BURUNDI AND ZAIRE WITH AF ACTING A/S BRYNN

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN A MAY 27 MEETING WITH AF ACTING A/S ED BRYNN, FRANS ROELANTS, BELGIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER, EXPRESSED HIS GOVERNMENT'S SHOCK OVER THE CONTINUED VIOLENCE IN RWANDA AND SOUGHT U.S. VIEWS ON HOW TO END THE KILLING. ROELANTS ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT THROUGH BURUNDI AND CONFIRMED THAT THE RPF IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE RWANDAN ARMY, BUT NOT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. BRYNN INFORMED ROELANTS THAT VISITING SOUTH AFRICAN FIRST DEPUTY EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT THABO MBEKI HAD TOLD VICE PRESIDENT GORE THAT HE WOULD URGE HIS GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER PROVIDING 50 APC'S TO UNAMIR. END SUMMARY.

3. FRANS ROELANTS, DEPUTY TO BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES, CALLED ON ACTING AF A/S EDWARD BRYNN MAY 27. AF/C DEPUTY DIRECTOR REED FENDRICK ALSO ATTENDED, AS DID AF/C AND EUR/NE DESK OFFICERS AND BELGIAN EMBASSY AFRICA

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WATCHER BERTRAND DE CROMBRUGGHE. BRYNN ARRIVED PART WAY THROUGH THE MEETING, HAVING BEEN DELAYED AT A WHITE HOUSE MEETING. ROELANTS OPENED THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC WERE SHOCKED BY THE VIOLENCE IN RWANDA, AND BY THE SPEED WITH WHICH THE COUNTRY HAD FALLEN INTO CHAOS. HE NOTED THAT UNTIL APRIL, BELGIUM HAD CONSIDERED RWANDA TO BE ONE OF THE MORE STABLE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, AND A PLACE WHERE REAL DEVELOPMENT WAS STARTING TO TAKE HOLD. ALTHOUGH THE GOB RECOGNIZED THAT ETHNIC TENSION WAS ALWAYS PRESENT IN RWANDA, NOBODY REALIZED HOW QUICKLY AN EXPLOSION COULD OCCUR.

4. ROELANTS OBSERVED THAT THE BIGGEST DIFFICULTY IN RWANDA NOW IS TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO GET THE KILLING TO STOP. HE SAID THAT BELGIUM SUPPORTED THE PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SAFE ZONES ALONG RWANDA'S BORDERS AS DISCUSSED IN THE MAY 13 TRILATERALS IN BRUSSELS, AND ASKED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY PROGRESS ON THIS AT THE UN. FENDRICK REPORTED ON THE MEETING HELD MAY 26 WITH KOFI ANNAN AT THE UN, AND SAID THAT THE UN NOW AGREES WITH THE U.S. ASSESSMENT THAT THE SITUATION AT KIGALI AIRPORT IS TOO DANGEROUS FOR TROOPS TO LAND THERE. FENDRICK EXPLAINED THAT WE ARE SUGGESTING THAT THE UN ASK THE GOVERNMENTS OF BURUNDI AND UGANDA FOR THEIR AGREEMENT TO ALLOW TROOPS (BURUNDI) AND EQUIPMENT (UGANDA) TO BE DEPLOYED/TRANSPORTED THROUGH THEIR TERRITORY INTO RWANDA.

5. ROELANTS AND FENDRICK DISCUSSED CONCERNS ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT THE GOVERNMENT OF BURUNDI WOULD AGREE TO HAVING UNAMIR TROOPS DEPLOY THROUGH BURUNDI. FENDRICK SAID THAT UP UNTIL NOW, PARTS OF THE GRB HAVE INDICATED THAT IT WOULD NOT ALLOW TROOPS TO STAGE FROM BURUNDI UNTIL A CEASEFIRE WAS IN PLACE, BUT THAT THE U.S. HOPED THAT IF THE UN DIRECTLY REQUESTS BURUNDI'S COOPERATION, THE GRB WILL AGREE TO DEPLOYMENT THROUGH BURUNDI. ROELANTS RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE BUJUMBURA AIRPORT COULD HANDLE A LARGE UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT, AND FENDRICK SAID THAT WE HAD OFFERED TO PROVIDE LOGISTICS SUPPORT TO THE GRB FOR AN UPCOMING SERIES OF 83 HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FLIGHTS NOW SCHEDULED TO LAND AT BUJUMBURA STARTING JUNE 1.

6. FENDRICK INFORMED ROELANTS OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS GHALI AND PRESIDENT CLINTON CONCERNING U.S. DEMARCHES TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO REINFORCE THE SYG'S CALL FOR TROOPS FOR UNAMIR, AND SAID THAT WE WILL COORDINATE THIS APPROACH WITH THE OAU. ROELANTS REPORTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH THE RPF, AND SAID THAT THE RPF HAS STATED ITS

WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE, BUT NOT WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. ROELANTS SAID THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE RPF WANTS TO PUNISH THE KILLERS IN THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT LATER ON THE RPF WOULD AGREE TO NEGOTIATE WITH HUTU LEADERS NOT INVOLVED IN GENOCIDE. FENDRICK TOLD ROELANTS THAT THE RPF HAS REVISED ITS POSITION AND HAS TOLD THE UN IT WILL NOW ACCEPT THE PLANNED DEPLOYMENT OF UP TO 5,500 UNAMIR TROOPS.

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7. IN RESPONSE TO ROELANT'S QUESTION ABOUT THE STATUS OF A POSSIBLE REGIONAL SUMMIT ON RWANDA, FENDRICK SAID THAT AT THIS POINT THE SUMMIT HAS NOT BEEN RESCHEDULED. MOBUTU HAS OFFERED TO HOST A SUMMIT IN GOMA, BUT THE UGANDANS AND KENYANS DO NOT WANT TO GO TO GOMA. FENDRICK ALSO TOLD ROELANTS THERE ARE REPORTS THAT KENYA HAS OFFERED TO HOLD THE SUMMIT IN NAIROBI. (NOTE: NAIROBI 9763 INDICATES THE SUMMIT HAS BEEN CANCELLED.) ROELANTS SAID THAT BELGIUM KNEW THAT MOBUTU WAS DELIVERING ARMS TO RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES, AND THAT HE WAS USING THE RWANDAN CRISIS AS A MEANS OF BOLSTERING HIS OWN TARNISHED INTERNATIONAL IMAGE. ECHOING THE U.S. POSITION, ROELANTS SAID BELGIUM WOULD NOT FAVOR A RWANDA SUMMIT BEING HELD IN ZAIRE, BUT WOULD NOT ACTIVELY OPPOSE IT. ROELANTS ALSO URGED THAT THEU.. PESSURE MOBUTU TO FULLY RESPECT THE ARMS EMBAR ON RWANDA. FENDRICK SAID THAT WE HAD ALREADY DELIVERED STRONG DEMARCHES TO BOTH MOBUTU AND MUSEVENI ON THE ARMS EMBARGO.

8. THE DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO ZAIRE, AND ROELANTS WAS PLEASED TO LEARN THAT THE FRENCH HAVE ONCE AGAIN AGREED TO DO PARALLEL DEMARCHES TO MOBUTU, AS DISCUSSED AT THE MAY 13 TRILATERALS. THE FRENCH ALSO AGREED TO DISCUSS THE ELEMENTS OF A JOINT STATEMENT FOLLOWING THE DEMARCHES. ROELANTS SAID THAT THE DEMARCHES AND STATEMENT WERE NECESSARY, AND ADDED THAT BELGIAN PUBLIC OPINION IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO PROVIDING ANY ASSISTANCE TO MOBUTU'S CORRUPT REGIME.

9. ACTING A/S BRYNN JOINED THE MEETING JUST AS THE DISCUSSION TURNED TO BURUNDI. ROELANTS AGREED THAT THE U.S. PLAN OF SENDING FREQUENT HIGH-LEVEL VISITORS TO BURUNDI TO BOLSTER THE GOVERNMENT'S CONFIDENCE WAS A GOOD ONE, AND NOTED THAT BELGIAN AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA SWINNEN WAS CURRENTLY IN THE REGION AND WOULD VISIT BURUNDI. IN RESPONSE TO BRYNN'S QUESTION ON WHETHER BELGIUM WOULD RESPOND FAVORABLY TO A REQUEST FOR RENEWED MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR BURUNDI, ROELANTS SAID THAT BELGIUM WOULD AGREE TO ASSIST IF ALL CIVIL AND MILITARY ELEMENTS IN THE

URUNDI GOVERNMENT WERE IN ACCORD ABOUT SUCH ASSISTANCE.

11. BRYNN APOLOGIZED FOR HIS LATE ARRIVAL, EXPLAINING THAT VP GORE'S MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN FIRST DEPUTY EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT THABO MBEKI HAD LASTED MUCH LONGER THAN EXPECTED. BRYNN SAID THAT WHEN THE SUBJECT OF RWANDA CAME UP IN THAT MEETING, THABO MBEKI TOLD VP GORE THAT HE WOULD URGE HIS GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER PROVIDING 50 APC'S TO UNAMIR, AND THAT THE ISSUE WOULD BE ADDRESSED IN PRETORIA AT MID-WEEK.

12. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. TARNOFF
BT
#9032
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9032

TOR: 940603223220 M1081934

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RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 6107
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RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASH 8839
RUSNNOA/UNCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: REQUEST FOR UN TO ASK EGYPT TO PROVIDE APC TRAINING FOR GHANAIAN REINFORCEMENTS TO UNAMIR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,53)
VZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 149780
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PARM, PREL, MOPS, MASS, RW, GH, EG
SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR UN TO ASK EGYPT TO PROVIDE APC TRAINING FOR GHANAIAN REINFORCEMENTS TO UNAMIR
REF: USUN NEW YORK 2268
1. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST.
2. ~~CQ~~ MISSION IS REQUESTED TO APPROACH APPROPRIATE UN OFFICIALS AND SUGGEST THAT THE UNITED NATIONS ASK EGYPT TO PROVIDE OPERATIONAL AND MAINTENANCE TRAINING ON 50 TRACKED VEHICLES TO GHANAIAN FORCES PRIOR TO THE LATTER'S DEPLOYMENT TO UNAMIR IN RWANDA. OF THE 50 VEHICLES, 46 WILL BE M113A2 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS, ONE WILL BE A M113A2 AMBULANCE, AND THREE WILL BE M578 RECOVERY VEHICLES. THE FEASIBILITY OF MODIFYING TWO M113'S WITH DOZER BLADES IS BEING EXAMINED. IF NOT DOABLE, TWO ADDITIONAL M113'S WILL BE ADDED TO THE TOTAL.
3. ~~CQ~~ THE POSSIBILITY OF TRAINING GHANAIANS IN EGYPT WAS FIRST RAISED ON THE MARGINS OF MAY 26 DISCUSSIONS ON RWANDA WITH UN OFFICIALS QREFTELQ, TRAINING IN EGYPT WOULD BE PREFERABLE DUE TO ITS RELATIVE PROXIMITY TO RWANDA; EGYPT'S EXPERIENCE OPERATING AND MAINTAINING SIMILAR TRACKED VEHICLES, AND EGYPT'S STATUS AS A LEADING MEMBER OF THE OAU. OTHER ALTERNATIVE TRAINING SITES HAVE SUBSTANTIAL DRAWBACKS: TRAINING IN THE U.S. WOULD BE MORE COSTLY AND WOULD SET A WORRISOME PRECEDENT QIF WE TRAIN THE GHANAIANS WE COULD OPEN OURSELVES TO TRAINING REQUESTS FROM OTHER TROOP CONTRIBUTORSQ; TRAINING IN SOMALIA PRESENTS PRACTICAL, SECURITY AND OPERATIONAL DIFFICULTIES; AND TRAINING AT A U.S. BASE IN GERMANY AGAIN RAISES THE TRAINING PRECENDENT PROBLEM, AS WELL AS RUNS INTO GERMAN LEGAL PROBLEMS WITH RESPECT TO NON-NATO TRAINING. WE ANTICIPATE THAT EGYPT MAY BE RELUCTANT TO PROVIDE THE

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REQUIRED TRAINING WITHOUT ASSURANCES FROM THE UN OF PROMPT REIMBURSEMENT. SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ARE PROVIDED IN PARAGRAPH 4.
4. UQ BEGIN SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS:
-- AT THE MAY 26 MEETING ON RWANDA BETWEEN A U.S. INTERAGENCY TEAM AND UN OFFICIALS, WE DISCUSSED OPTIONS FOR PROVIDING OPERATIONAL AND MAINTENANCE TRAINING ON 50 TRACKED VEHICLES FOR GHANAIAN TROOPS SERVING WITH UNAMIR.
-- AS YOU KNOW, WE ESTIMATE IT COULD TAKE SEVERAL WEEKS TO IDENTIFY, REFURBISH AND SHIP THE TRACKED VEHICLES TO RWANDA.
-- WHILE WE WILL EXPEDITE THE DELIVERY SCHEDULE, THE FACT REMAINS THAT THERE WILL BE A SIGNIFICANT DELAY IN DEPLOYMENT OF THE TRACKED VEHICLES TO UNAMIR.
-- IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE THE EFFECT THIS DELAY HAS ON UNAMIR'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES, IT IS VITAL THAT THE GHANAIAN TROOPS RECEIVE THE REQUISITE OPERATIONAL AND MAINTENANCE TRAINING NOW SO THAT THEY CAN USE THE TRACKED VEHICLES AS SOON AS THEY ARRIVE IN RWANDA.
-- OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT OPERATIONAL TRAINING WILL TAKE 7-10 DAYS, AND MAINTENANCE TRAINING WILL TAKE 25-30 DAYS.
-- WE SUGGEST THAT THE UNITED NATIONS CONTACT THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT AND REQUEST THAT THE LATTER PROVIDE THIS TRAINING TO THE GHANAIAN TROOPS.
-- EGYPT IS THE PREFERABLE TRAINING VENUE BECAUSE OF ITS RELATIVE PROXIMITY TO BOTH GHANA AND RWANDA AND ITS EXPERIENCE IN OPERATING AND MAINTAINING THESE TYPES OF TRACKED VEHICLES.
-- IN ADDITION, EGYPT IS ONE OF THE LARGEST MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, AND ITS PARTICIPATION WOULD DEMONSTRATE AFRICAN NATIONS TAKING THE LEAD IN THE EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THE RWANDA CRISIS.
-- WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE A FOLLOW-UP DEMARCHE TO EGYPT IN SUPPORT OF A UN REQUEST, IF YOU THINK THAT THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL.
END SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS.
TARNOFF
BT
#9780
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 9780
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INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0293
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1956
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0202
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4130
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1985
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5902
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0388
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0759
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 2739
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2536
RUEAYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0212
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0331
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1430
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0551
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
SUBJ: RWANDA: AMBASSADOR BRIEFS UGANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON UN DEMARCHE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~ L KAMPALA 004491
AF/C FOR AMB. RENDER AND AMB. RAWSON
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON
PARIS FOR PERLOW
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PHUM, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RWANDA: AMBASSADOR BRIEFS UGANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON UN DEMARCHE
REF: STATE 147720
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DURING MY JUNE 4 LUNCH WITH UGANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER PAUL SSEMOGERERE, I ALERTED HIM TO THE DEMARCHE THAT WAS BEING MADE IN NEW YORK BY THE UN TO THE PERMANENT REPS OF BURUNDI AND UGANDA TO PERMIT THEIR COUNTRIES TO BE TRANSSHIPMENT POINTS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT DESTINED FOR UNAMIR FORCES IN RWANDA. I STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF UGANDA ACTING PROMPTLY AND AFFIRMATIVELY ON THE REQUEST, NOTING THAT I WOULD POSSIBLY BE JOINING THE LOCAL UNAMIR REP AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON JUNE 6 OR 7 IN MAKING A FORMAL DEMARCHE ON THIS ISSUE.

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3. I ALSO URGED SSEMOGERERE TO BRIEF PRESIDENT MUSEVENI (WHO RETURNED TO KAMPALA LATE JUNE 4) ON THE REQUEST AND TO PREP HIM TO GIVE A QUICK, POSITIVE RESPONSE. I WARNED SSEMOGERERE THAT ANY STALLING OR DAWDLING ON THE UN DEMARCHE WOULD BE MISINTERPRETED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND WOULD DELAY THE DEPLOYMENT OF A MUCH-NEEDED HUMANITARIAN RELIEF MISSION. SSEMOGERERE TOOK THE MESSAGE AND SAID HE WOULD PUSH OUR POINTS WITH MUSEVENI. CARSON
BT
#4491
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4491

TOR: 940606094500 M1083590

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M-3 (3.56)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE3: O 061349Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 061349Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5832
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 1081
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7448
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0488
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0563
RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 7997
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0448
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0799
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0457
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 4809
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 7494
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1780
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 4218
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO THE GOF ON MOBUTU'S ROLE IN
- RWANDA AND ANGOLA: PLAYING POLITICS
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 15412
ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO THE GOF ON MOBUTU'S ROLE IN
- RWANDA AND ANGOLA: PLAYING POLITICS
REF: A) STATE 146828 B) STATE 146750
C) 93 PARIS 32235 D) PARIS 14660 E) PARIS 15017
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY AND COMMENT
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2. DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS, AS ZAIRE'S ECONOMY AND POLITICAL SYSTEM HAVE DISINTEGRATED, WE HAVE TRIED TO MAKE SENSE OF THE VARIED AND OFTEN CONFLICTING STRANDS OF FRENCH POLICY, ESPECIALLY ONCE THE COHABITATION GOVERNMENT ALLOWED SO MANY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS A VOICE. THE EFFORT ESPECIALLY IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS, HAS BEEN ILLUMINATING IF ONLY TO MAKE CLEAR THE REMARKABLE VARIETY OF LOOSE CANNONS ROLLING AROUND PARIS WHEN IT COMES TO ZAIRE POLICY. THE START OF THE RWANDA CRISIS AND THE SOMETIMES CONFUSING SHIFTS ON "REHABILITATING" MOBUTU HAS MADE THE WEAKNESSES OF GOF AFRICAN POLICY MACHINERY MORE EVIDENT THAN EVER. PARIS HAS NO VISION ON HOW TO PUT THE PIECES TOGETHER AGAIN IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND FEARS THAT DESCENT INTO LAWLESSNESS IS SPREADING BEYOND ZAIRE'S BORDERS. THE

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STRUCTURAL WEAKNESSES IN GOF AFRICA POLICY ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE RESOLVED UNTIL AFTER THE 1995 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

3. IN RESPONSE TO THE SPECIFIC ISSUES OF ARMS SHIPMENTS TO ANGOLA AND RWANDA, (REFS A AND B), WE MADE DEMARCHES ON JUNE 3 TO SENIOR STAFFERS AT THE ELYSEE AND MINISTRY OF COOPERATION. WHILE OUR INTERLOCUTORS MADE SYMPATHETIC NOISES, THEY DECLINED TO MAKE ANY COMMITMENT TO PRESSURE MOBUTU ("WE'LL DO WHAT WE CAN"), CLAIMING THAT INFLUENCE HAS PASSED TO CHIRAC AND HIS AFRICA CELL (I.E. WIBAUX, FOCCART AND AURILLAC). DUE TO THE SIMULTANEOUS VISITS TO PARIS OF PRESIDENTS BONGO AND BIYA, WE WERE NOT ABLE TO MEET WITH QUAI STAFF OR WIBAUX ON JUNE 3. HOWEVER, ON JUNE 6, THE QUAI ALSO INDICATED -- FOR DIFFERENT REASONS -- THAT A SPECIAL DEMARCHE ON ARMS SHIPMENTS WOULD NOT BE LIKELY. WE HOPE TO SEE WIBAUX LATER ON JUNE 6. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

UNFOUNDED OPTIMISM

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4. THE RELATIVE OPTIMISM WHICH PREVAILED IN PARIS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE 1990 RIOTS AND THE CREATION OF THE HCT THAT MOBUTU COULD BE MADE TO REIGN BUT NO LONGER RULE HAS GRADUALLY FADED. THROUGH THE SPRING OF 1993, THE QUAI AND ELYSEE TOOK POSITIONS CLOSE TO OURS, ALTHOUGH THEYWERE ALWAYS CONCERNED TO AVOID EMBARASSING A FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN CHIEF OF STATE (EVEN FOR A COUNTRY "HORS CHAMP" LIKE ZAIRE). GIVEN TRADITIONAL FRENCH FEARS ABOUT MOBUTU'S ABILITY TO DESTABILIZE THE ENTIRE REGION, THE GOF DECIDED ON A MIDDLE COURSE: FRANCE WOULD ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH A "TRILATERAL" EFFORT TO BRING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE TO ZAIRE'S POLITICAL SYSTEM BUT ENSURE THAT THE BELGIANS AND THE U.S. STAYED OUT IN FRONT (ESPECIALLY IN MEDIA TERMS) AND THUS WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO TAKE THE BLAME IF THE SITUATION DETERIORATED.

CHANGING COURSE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 PARIS 15412

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE

SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO THE GOF ON MOBUTU'S ROLE IN

- RWANDA AND ANGOLA: PLAYING POLITICS

5. AS THE BALLADUR GOVERNMENT WAS SETTLING IN, THE GOF AT THE DIRECTION OF JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE, HEAD OF THE QUAI'S AFRICA BUREAU, JOINED WASHINGTON AND BRUSSELS IN DENYING MOBUTU AND HIS ENTOURAGE VISAS. THAT DECISION WAS VIEWED BY MOBUTU'S SUPPORTERS (AND EVEN SOME OF HIS ENEMIES IN PARIS) AS A DEROGATION OF TRADITIONAL FRENCH POLICY IN AFRICA SINCE IT: CUTOFF DIRECT DIALOGUE, ELIMINATED THE USE OF "STATE VISITS" AS A POLICY TOOL, AND "HUMILIATED" A CHIEF OF STATE. IT ALSO LED MOBUTU'S SUPPORTERS TO PRESS FOR DE LA SABLIERE TO BE REPLACED BECAUSE OF HIS "UNBALANCED" POLICY.

6. IN PRACTICAL TERMS MOBUTU'S "EXCLUSION" OPENED THE DOOR FOR A "PARALLEL" DIALOGUE (WITH CHIRAC, ALTHOUGH

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THERE WERE OTHER POSSIBILITIES, SUCH AS PASQUA OR TOUBON) AND ALL THE FIGURES ON THE EDGE OF THE FRENCH AFRICA ESTABLISHMENT. IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT CHIRAC'S DIALOGUE WITH MOBUTU IS "PRIVATE" AND THE QUAI IS NEITHER CONSULTED NOR DEBRIEFED ON THE VARIOUS VISITS BY WIBAUX, AURILLAC OR OTHERS. THE RESTORATION OF A "BALANCED" FRENCH POLICY BEGAN WITH "LE GUIDES'S" APPEARANCE AT THE OCTOBER 1993 FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT.

INSIDE AND OUT

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7. THESE INTERNAL FACTORS DID NOT DEVELOP IN ISOLATION. THE RETURN OF THE GAULLISTS MEANT A STRENGTHING OF THE TRADITIONAL MISTRUST OF U.S. POLICY IN AFRICA. THUS, THE IDEA OF ALLOWING FRENCH POLICY IN ZAIRE TO BE "HOSTAGE" TO THE BELGIANS OR WASHINGTON WAS VERY HARD TO SWALLOW. AT THE SAME TIME, MOBUTU (OR MAMA MOBUTU) ASSIDUOUSLY WORKED THE PARIS CIRCUIT, TRYING TO CONVINCE EVERYONE THAT THIS LEOPARD IS READY TO CHANGE HIS SPOTS ENOUGH TO ALLOW A DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION TO TAKE PLACE. MOBUTU CONTINUES TO SPREAD GIFTS AROUND PARIS -- INCLUDING TO ELYSEE STAFF.

8. THERE IS A WIDESPREAD ASSUMPTION (TAKEN AS GOSPEL AMONG KNOWLEDGABLE JOURNALISTS AND OBSERVERS) THAT ONE OF CHIRAC'S PRIME MOTIVATIONS IN HIS DIALOGUE WITH MOBUTU (THROUGH HIS CLOSE AIDES) IS TO ASSURE FINANCIAL HELP FOR THE 1995 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. OTHER FACTORS THAT HAVE HELPED SWAY THE GOF TOWARDS A MORE "MODERATE" POSITION HAVE BEEN: THE INABILITY OF TSHISEKEDI TO GOVERN EFFECTIVELY; HOPES FOR FAVORED ECONOMIC TREATMENT WHEN ZAIRE'S ECONOMY IS RIGHTED; AND THE UNENDING REGIONAL CRISES, WHICH MOBUTU IS HELPING FAN (SEE BELOW).

RESTRAINING ELEMENTS

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9. DURING THE 1990-93 PERIOD, ANY TENDENCY TO "SLIDE" TOWARD A DE FACTO PRO-MOBUTU POLICY WAS BALANCED BY TWO THINGS:

-- MOBUTU'S REPUTATION IS SO ODIOUS THAT NO FRENCH LEADER COULD BE PUBLICLY ASSOCIATED WITH "LE GUIDE" WITHOUT RISKING SEVERE MEDIA AND POLITICAL CRITICISM. THUS, THE FRENCH VISA EXCLUSION STANDS AND TRILATERAL COOPERATION CONTINUES.

-- THE PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMATS AT THE QUAI (WITH

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 PARIS 15412

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE

SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO THE GOF ON MOBUTU'S ROLE IN

- RWANDA AND ANGOLA: PLAYING POLITICS

SUPPORT FROM THE MATIGNON) DO NOT/NOT WANT FRANCE TO BE SEEN IN KINSHASA OR ELSEWHERE AS THE PRIMARY SUPPORTER OF MOBUTU -- IF ONLY OUT OF FEAR THAT A MOBUTU-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT WOULD TURN TO PARIS FOR THE MASSIVE AMOUNTS OF AID NEEDED FOR ELECTIONS AND REHABILITATING THE ECONOMY.

NEW REALITIES: DRUGS, MONEY LAUNDERING, ARMS

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10. ALTHOUGH THE GOF HAS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED FEAR

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OVER THE GROWTH OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY IN ZAIRE (REF C), DOMINIQUE PIN SPELLED OUT IN DETAIL GOF CONCERNS ON JUNE 3. PIN STRESSED THAT ZAIRE WILL BECOME A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL CRIME CENTER UNLESS THE WEST CAN FIND A WAY TO START BRINGING THE SITUATION UNDER CONTROL -- AND THAT WILL ENTAIL WORKING WITH MOBUTU. THIS SITUATION, PIN ARGUED, IS ALL THE MORE REASON TO REACH A POLITICAL AGREEMENT NOW WITH MOBUTU. ACCORDING TO FRENCH CRIMINAL ANALYSIS, AN INTERNATIONAL "MAFIA" (OFTEN LEBANESE IN ORIGIN) OF DRUG DEALERS, MONEY LAUNDERERS, SMUGGLERS AND ARMS DEALERS IS SETTING UP SHOP IN ZAIRE SOMETIMES WITH A PAYOFF TO MOBUTU OR IN SEPARATE DEALS WITH HIS GENERALS.

11. THERE IS ALSO A HOME-GROWN VARIETY OF THIEVES HELPING SPREAD DISORDER THROUGH THE REGION SUCH AS MADAME ZUNGI (SP?) WHO HAS LEASED A C-130 FOR ARMS SHIPMENTS AND PRIME MINISTER BIRIWIDYA, WHO MADE A "COLOSSAL FORTUNE" ON THE ISSUANCE OF THE 5 MILLION ZAIRE NOTE AND EVEN PERSONALLY RENTED A 707 TO TRANSPORT THEM TO KATANGA, WHERE THEY WERE PARTIALLY ACCEPTED. PIN OPINED THAT, WHILE THE ZAIRIAN CRIMINAL CLASS HAS A "LONG AND HONORABLE HISTORY" UNDER MOBUTU, THE GOF IS CONCERNED THAT THE LACK OF DOMESTIC OPTIONS WILL "FORCE" IT TO BECOME PARTNERS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL OPERATORS.

NEW REALITIES II: ARMS, RWANDA AND FRENCH POLITICS

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12. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE REPORTED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS ON THE PROFOUND IMPACT OF THE RWANDA TRAGEDY ON FRENCH THINKING ABOUT "REHABILITATING" MOBUTU IN AN EFFORT TO REESTABLISH REGIONAL PEACE, IT IS WORTH REPEATING THAT THE GOF CONSIDERS THIS A LEGITIMATE OBJECTIVE AND WILL GRADUALLY TRY TO MOVE THE TRILATERAL PROCESS IN THIS DIRECTION. THE COMMON WISDOM IN PARIS IS THAT MOBUTU IS "INCONTOURNABLE", AND THAT WE MUST WORK WITH HIM TO ADDRESS THE REGIONAL PROBLEMS. THIS INCLUDES RAPIDLY FINDING SOME ACCEPTABLE MEANS OF PUTTING IN PLACE A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT.

13. IN RESPONSE TO OUR DEMARCHE ON STOPPING THE FLOW OF ARMS TO RWANDA, BOTH PIN AND JEAN-MARC SIMON (REPORTEDLY AN INTELLIGENCE OFFICER WHO DEALS WITH POLITICAL OPERATIONS FOR COOPERATION MINISTER ROUSSIN), AGREED TO CONSIDER OUR REQUEST FOR FRENCH POLITICAL PRESSURE ON MOBUTU TO ENSURE THAT THE UNSC ARMS EMBARGO TO RWANDA IS RESPECTED. HOWEVER, SIMON STATED EXPLICITLY THAT ROUSSIN HAS NO REAL INFLUENCE ANY LONGER ON MOBUTU SINCE ALL FRENCH AID HAS LONG SINCE STOPPED AND CHIRAC (NOT BALLADUR) IS COURTING "LE MARECHAL."

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 PARIS 15412

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE

SUBVJECT: DEMARCHE TO THE GOF ON MOBUTU'S ROLE IN - RWANDA AND ANGOLA: PLAYING POLITICS

14. BOTH PIN AND SIMON ARGUED THAT EVEN IF MOBUTU PUBLICLY COMMITTED HIMSELF TO RESPECTING THE EMBARGO, IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER HE WOULD KEEP HIS WORD SINCE

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HE NEEDS REVENUES. PIN ADDED THAT IF THERE IS ANY HOPE FOR ASSURING THAT THE ARMS FLOW FROM ZAIRE STOPS, IT WILL BE AS PART OF A REGIONAL AGREEMENT, INCLUDING UGANDA. THAT SAID, BOTH FRENCH INTERLOCUTORS WERE DOUBTFUL THAT MOBUTU'S GENERALS AND THE FREELANCERS WOULD RELINQUISH THE ARMS TRAFFIC. SIMON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT FRENCH NATIONALS AND PRIVATE FRENCH FIRMS ARE INVOLVED IN THE RWANDA ARMS TRADE (AS WELL AS IN ANGOLA) THROUGH DUMMY FIRMS.

15. PIN ALSO NOTED THAT, WHILE THE GOF FULLY AGREES THAT CONSIDERABLE QUANTITIES OF ARMS ARE BEING BROUGHT INTO ZAIRE, THE FINAL DESTINATION IS LESS CLEAR. HE CLAIMED THAT THE LONG-RESIDENT TUTSI BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN ZAIRE HAS BEEN PURCHASING ARMS ABROAD FOR DELIVERY TO THE RPF. HE ALSO CLAIMED THAT MOBUTU'S GENERALS (HE CITED BARAMOTO AND NIMBIZI ARE PURCHASING SIGNIFICANT QUANTITIES TO CREATE PRIVATE MILITIAS IN ORDER TO CONTINUE PILLAGING AND PERHAPS PREPARE FOR A POST-MOBUTU POWER STRUGGLE.

DEMARCHE TO THE QUAI ON ARMS TRAFFIC

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16. ON JUNE 6 E SPOKE WITH CATHERINE BOIVINEAU CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF PARALLEL DEMARCHES TO MOBUTU ON ARMS TRAFFIC TO RWANDA AND ANGOLA. SHE NOTED THAT DURING HIS SWING THROUGH THE REGION, AMBASSADOR MARLAUD HAD MADE THIS POINT TO MOBUTU AND THE GOF FOLLOWED UP RECENTLY WITH MOKOLO IN PARIS (REF E). THUS, THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF THE QUAI AUTHORIZING A SPECIAL DEMARCHE, SHE STATED. HOWEVER, BOIVINEAU INDICATED THAT IF/IF DE LA SABLIERE HEADS THE FRENCH DELEGATION TO THE OAU SUMMIT, HE COULD REINFORCE THE EARLIER DEMARCHES WHEN HE SEES MOBUTU. COMMENT: WE GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ODDS FOR SUCH A DEMARCHE WOULD BE GREATLY INCREASED IF A/S MOOSE GAVE SOME ENCOURAGEMENT TO DE LA SABLIERE. A/S MOOSE MAY WISH TO TELEPHONE DE LA SABLIERE, WHO WILL TRAVEL TO GUINEA LATER THIS WEEK. END COMMENT.

ANGOLA

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17. WE BRIEFED SIMON AND PIN IN GENERAL TERMS ABOUT THE DEMARCHE WE TO BE MADE TO THE GOZ CONCERNING THE ARMS TRADE TO ANGOLA (REF B) AND URGED THAT FRANCE CONSIDER MAKING A PARALLEL EFFORT IN GDABOLITE. BOTH PIN AND SIMON ESSENTIALLY REPEATED WHAT THEY HAD EARLIER STATED CONCERNING MOBUTU'S NEED FOR MONEY, FREELANCE OPERATIONS AND THE NEED FOR AN OVERALL AGREEMENT. BOTH INTERLOCUTORS AGREED TO CONSIDER OUR REQUEST BUT NEITHER MADE A SPECIFIC COMMITMENT TO PRESS THE ISSUE WITHIN THE GOF AFRICAN ESTABLISHMENT.

HARRIMAN

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
OSRI: RUEHDK
DTG: 061706Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2324
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RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//DSAA-OPS-MEA//
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:DSAA/RSA//
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SA/ECJ5//
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SAA//
SUBJ: SENEGAL PKO TO RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAKAR 004839
STATE FOR AF, AF/RA, PM/DRSA
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, MASS, KMFO, PREL, SG
SUBJECT: SENEGAL PKO TO RWANDA
1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DURING A 6 JUNE MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR JOHNSON, SENEGALESE ARMED FORCES CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL KEITA REITERATED PRESIDENT DIOUF'S OFFER TO PROVIDE AN 850 MEMBER CONTINGENT TO THE PROPOSED RWANDA PKO. THIS OFFER WAS MADE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE PERRY DURING PRESIDENT DIOUF'S RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON, DC, ON 23 MAY.
3. GENERAL KEITA STATED THAT THE SENEGALESE MILITARY IS CONDUCTING FORMAL COORDINATION VIA THE UNITED NATIONS DPKO. THIS WEEK, HIS CHIEF OF OPERATIONS, COL FAYE, WILL ATTEND A DPKO MEETING ON 8 JUNE IN NEW YORK WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF COORDINATING THE LOGISTICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, AND OPERATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE MISSION.
3. AS NOTED IN THE MEETING WITH SECDEF PERRY ON 23 MAY, SENEGAL IS IN THE PROCESS OF DRAWING UP A FORMAL LIST OF REQUIRED SUPPORT AND/OR EQUIPMENT. GENERAL KEITA CONFIRMED THAT SENEGAL HAS ALSO APPROACHED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FOR POSSIBLE MATERIEL ASSISTANCE. CHIEF OF STAFF KEITA CAREFULLY EXPLAINED THAT SENEGAL WOULD COORDINATE ANY SUCH REQUESTS WITH THE UN, WHICH WOULD SERVE AS THE PRIMARY POINT OF CONTACT.
4. THE AMBASSADOR APPLAUDED SENEGAL'S INITIATIVE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PKO, AND CONCURRED WITH GENERAL KEITA'S APPROACH TO COORDINATE THE NECESSARY LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND OPERATIONAL GUIDANCE DIRECTLY

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WITH THE UNITED NATIONS.
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SSN: 4839
TOR: 940606131837 M1084077
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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DTG: 070757Z JUN 94
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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0950
SUBJ: ZAIRE AND ARMS FOR NEIGHBORS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KINSHASA 03272
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, CG, AO, RW
SUBJECT: ZAIRE AND ARMS FOR NEIGHBORS
REF: STATE 146750

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY ADCM, MADE A SECOND TREK UP THE HILL JUNE 6 TO SEE PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S CHIEF OF STAFF FELIX VUNDUAWE TE PEMAKO ON THE PRIMARY SUBJECT OF ARMS FOR UNITA. WE FELT IT USEFUL TO MAKE THE SECOND DEMARCHE THE SAME DAY BECAUSE VUNDUAWE HAD INDICATED HE PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO GBADOLITE JUNE 7 TO SEE THE PRESIDENT.

3. CHARGE PRESENTED A NON-PAPER IN FRENCH BASED ON TALKING POINTS IN REFTEL. VUNDUAWE OFFERED NO SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE BUT PROMISED TO LOOK INTO THE MATTER.

4. CHARGE THEN REMINDED VUNDUAWE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD ALSO MADE REPRESENTATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF ARMS FOR RWANDA. NOW, UNFORTUNATELY, THE BELGIAN PRESS HAD REPORTED THE ARREST OF SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS IN BRUSSELS WHO, ACCORDING TO THE PRESS ACCOUNTS, WERE ALLEGED TO BE INVOLVED IN ARMS PURCHASES FOR THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, ONE OF THESE WAS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN RESIDENT IN KINSHASA WHO HAD PROVIDED CONTRACTUAL SERVICES TO THE U.S. EMBASSY. A ZAIRIAN GENERAL HAD BEEN MENTIONED IN THIS CONNECTION AS WELL. CHARGE DESCRIBED THESE REPORTS AS DISCONCERTING, REMINDED VUNDUAWE OF THE MANDATORY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION REGARDING ARMS TO RWANDA, AND URGED HIM TO LOOK INTO THIS MATTER AS

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WELL. VUNDUAWE PROMISED TO DO SO.
BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
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#3272
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3272

TOR: 940607035012 M1085258

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-3 (3.60)
VL 10/20/2023

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
OSRI: RUEHKI
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RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0224
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1715
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0456
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RUEHLI/AMEMBASSY LISBON 0034
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0234
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0951
SUBJ: RESPONSE ON ARMS FOR UNITA/RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KINSHASA 03276
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, CG, AO, RW
SUBJECT: RESPONSE ON ARMS FOR UNITA/RWANDA
REF: KINSHASA 3272
1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. WITH REMARKABLE CELERITY, MOBUTU'S CHIEF OF STAFF PHONED THIS MORNING, JUST AFTER REFTEL WAS SENT. HE MADE TWO POINTS:
-- REGARDING ARMS TO ANGOLA, HE HAD SPOKEN TO THE PRESIDENT ABOUT THE DEMARCHE AND THE PRESIDENT HAD ASKED HIM TO PASS ALONG THE FOLLOWING: AT PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS INITIATIVE MOBUTU AND DOS SANTOS WILL MEET ON THE MARGINS OF THE OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. THIS QUESTION WILL BE WORKED OUT WHEN THEY MEET.
-- REGARDING POSSIBLE ZAIRIAN ASSOCIATION WITH THE RECENT ARRESTS IN BRUSSELS, VUNDUAWE SAID THERE WAS NO SUCH ZAIRIAN OFFICER AS HAD BEEN MENTIONED BY NAME IN THE BELGIAN PRESS.
BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
SCOTT
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3276
TOR: 940607081645 M1085598
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,61)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHDKA4910 1591545-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 081545Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
OSRI: RUEHDK
DTG: 081545Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2352
INFO: RUEHJL/AMEMBASSY BANJUL 0387
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0344
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO 0309
RUEHNK/AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT 0279
RUEHBQ/AMEMBASSY BISSAU 0110
SUBJ: PRESIDENT DIOUF'S VISIT TO THE US
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAKAR 004910
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, OVIP, SG
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT DIOUF'S VISIT TO THE US
REF: DAKAR 4112

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PRESIDENT DIOUF ASKED TO SEE ME LATE IN THE DAY ON TUESDAY, 7 JUNE. WE SPENT OVER AN HOUR IN A ONE-ON-ONE SESSION COVERING A VARIETY OF ISSUES. (SEPTELS)

3. THE PRESIDENT ESSENTIALLY WANTED TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR OUR EFFORTS TO HELP ARRANGE HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE US. IN PARTICULAR, HE CONVEYED HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE TIME AND ATTENTION ACCORDED BY BOTH PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE.

4. FROM THE SENEGALESE STANDPOINT, THE VISIT WAS A "GRAND SUCCESS." PRESIDENT DIOUF WAS IMPRESSED BY THE PREPARATION OF AND FAMILIARITY WITH ISSUES THAT HIS AMERICAN INTERLOCUTORS MANIFESTED. FROM HIS STANDPOINT, PRESIDENT DIOUF FELT THAT THE PERSONAL CHEMISTRY BETWEEN HIM AND PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD GOTTEN OFF TO A GOOD START.

5. IN THE COURSE OF OUR MEETING, WE REVIEWED A NUMBER OF TOPICS THAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON.

-- INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. I REMINDED HIM OF THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE AND PRESIDENT CLINTON. PRESIDENT DIOUF AGAIN SAID EMPHATICALLY THAT THE AFFAIR INVOLVING KEY POLITICAL LEADERS WOULD BE RESOLVED THIS MONTH, JULY AT THE LATEST. I SAID THAT WAS GOOD BECAUSE IT WAS STARTING TO GET VERY WARM IN REUBEUSS PRISON.

-- JEUNE AFRIQUE. THE DECISION TO FINE THE EDITOR

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OF "JEUNE AFRIQUE" AND IMPOSE A BAN OF ONE YEAR ON ALL SALES OF THE MAGAZINE WERE CONFUSING AT BEST AND RAISED A SPECTER OF CENSORSHIP AT WORST. DIOUF SAID JUSTICE HAD ERRED; HE AGREED THAT THE MAGISTRATE -- WHO HAS INDEPENDENT POWERS TO ADJUDICATE -- HAD "SCREWED UP" (MY TRANSLATION). HE AGREED THIS CASE NEEDED TO BE RESOLVED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. DIOUF SAID A BAN ON "JEUNE AFRIQUE" WOULD BE INTOLERABLE, AND CONTRARY TO WHAT HE STOOD FOR IN TERMS OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

-- PEACEKEEPING IN RWANDA. I INDICATED THAT WE WERE FOLLOWING UP WITH SENEGALESE CHIEF OF STAFF KEITA ON THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGE TO COMMIT A BATTALION OF GOS PEACEKEEPERS TO RWANDA. WE AGREED WITH SENEGAL THAT THE POINT OF COORDINATION SHOULD RESIDE WITHIN THE UN, THE CONCLUSION OF A CONVERSATION I HAD HELD WITH GENERAL KEITA THE PREVIOUS DAY (DAKAR 4839).

-- ENVIRONMENT. I GAVE HIM THE FOLLOW UP THANK YOU LETTER FROM VICE PRESIDENT GORE, AND EXPRESSED OUR WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH SENEGAL ON THE UN'S DESERTIFICATION CONVENTION. NOTE: I WILL BE CALLING ON ENVIRONMENT MINISTER BATHILY THURSDAY FOR THIS VERY REASON. END NOTE.

-- AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. I SHARED WITH HIM THE GENERAL CONTENTS OF STATE 150917 AND NOTED THAT WE WERE ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN FINANCE MINISTER SAKHO AND TREASURY UNDERSECRETARY SUMMERS. DIOUF AGREED WITH OUR OBSERVATIONS THAT CERTAIN COUNTRY EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS OF THE ADB NEEDED CLOSER ADULT SUPERVISON FROM THEIR CAPITALS. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD SUMMONED BOUBACAR NDIEYE, ADB'S PRESIDENT (AND A FELLOW SENEGALESE), TO DAKAR TO GET A FIRSTHAND IMPRESSION OF WHAT HAS GOING ON AT THE BANK.

-- OAU/UNGA. I WALKED THE PRESIDENT THROUGH OUR INTERESTS/CONCERNS AS OUTLINED IN STATE 150917 AND STATE 152175. DIOUF WILL ARRIVE IN TUNIS ON SUNDAY, THE 12TH, AND LEAVE THE FOLLOWING DAY.

6. COMMENT. THESE WASHINGTON MEETINGS WERE IMPORTANT TO DIOUF WHO HAS BEEN ASSIDUOUSLY SIGNALING HIS INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION. DIOUF SEEMED PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED BY THE "QUALITY TIME" HE RECEIVED FROM HIS AMERICAN HOSTS. HE COMENTED ESPECIALLY ON THE AMOUNT OF EFFORT EACH SEMED TO HAVE SPENT ON STUDYING THE KEY ISSUES IN UR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. END COMME
NT.

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4910

TOR: 940608120046 M1088593

DIST:

SIT: BRANSCUM DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLSA3451 1600940-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 090940Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
OSRI: RUEHLS
DTG: 090940Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9000
INFO: RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0011
SUBJ: ZAMBIA: OAU, ADB DEMARCHES
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.62)
VL 10/26/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LUSAKA 003451
DEPT ALSO FOR AF/FA
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OAU, EFIN, EAID, ZA
SUBJECT: ZAMBIA: OAU, ADB DEMARCHES
REFS: A) STATE 152175, B) STATE 150917
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SEE ACTION REQUEST ON LIBYA/PAN AM 103 IN PARAS 4 AND 5.
3. AMBASSADOR MADE DEMARCHE REQUESTED REF A TO VICE PRESIDENT LEVY MWANAWASA ON JUNE 8. MWANAWASA WILL LEAD THE GRZ DELEGATION TO THE TUNIS SUMMIT. RESPONDING TO THE AMBASSADOR'S PRESENTATION, MWANAWASA MADE THE FOLLOWING POINT:
-- RWANDA: THE GRZ CONCURS WITH THE U.S. POSITION AND IS "DEFINITELY PREPARED" TO SEND TROOPS TO RWANDA. HOWEVER, THE GRZ WILL NEED FINANCIAL AND EQUIPMENT SUPPORT IN ORDER TO DO SO (SEPTEL CONTAINS ADDITIONAL DETAILS ON MWANAWASA'S REMARKS).
-- OAU PEACEKEEPING: THE GRZ SUPPORTS THE OAU PEACEKEEPING MECHANISM.
-- DESERTIFICATION: THE GRZ SUPPORTS THE CURRENT AFRICAN POSITION, WHICH IS THAT IT IS PREFERABLE TO HAVE A SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA IN VIEW OF THE MAGNITUDE OF THE DESERTIFICATION PROBLEM FACING THE CONTINENT AND THE FEAR THAT AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS WILL NOT BE ADEQUATELY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL THAT AFRICA RECEIVE IRONCLAD ASSURANCES THAT IT WILL NOT BE MARGINALIZED; SHOULD SUCH ASSURANCES BE FORTHCOMING IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE AFRICAN POSITION IN FAVOR OF A SPECIAL FUND MIGHT CHANGE.
4. LIBYA/PAN AM 103: MWANAWASA SAID HE THOUGHT THIS ISSUE "WOULD NOT FEATURE" AT THE SUMMIT. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, MWANAWASA SOUGHT CLARIFICATION TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, SAYING THAT THE ISSUE COULD ARISE IN BILATERAL LIBYAN/ZAMBIAN DISCUSSIONS AND HE WANTED TO BE PREPARED TO RESPOND TO POINTS THE LIBYANS MAY RAISE.

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(AMBASSADOR PROVIDED PROVISIONAL RESPONSES, BUT UNDERTOOK TO SEEK AUTHORITATIVE GUIDANCE.)
A) BY WHAT LEGAL PRINCIPLE COULD THE SUSPECTS BE PROSECUTED IN THE U.S., AS CALLED FOR IN THE U.N. RESOLUTIONS?
B) WHY DOES THE U.S. OPPOSE ARBITRATION BY A NEUTRAL ENTITY, E.G., THE ICJ IN THE HAGUE?
5. MWANAWASA MAY DEPART ZAMBIA FOR TUNIS AS EARLY AS JUNE 10. IF DEPARTMENT IS UNABLE TO FORWARD AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO ABOVE QUESTIONS, SUGGEST REPLY BE TRANSMITTED TO TUNIS AND PASSED TO MWANAWASA.
6. PER REF B INSTRUCTION, AMBASSADOR ALSO PRESENTED ADB DEMARCHE AND NON-PAPER TO MWANAWASA. THE VICE PRESIDENT, WHO HAD NOT BEEN BRIEFED ON THIS ISSUE, SAID THE GRZ WOULD STUDY OUR POSITION.
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3451

TOR: 940609054455 M1090152

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHBSA6378 1601334-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC
LINE3: R 091332Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM USEU BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 091332Z JUN 94
ORIG: USEU BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO: RUEHXQ/ALLEU COLLECTIVE
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
RUEHMV/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
RUEHMG/USLO MOGADISHU
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
SUBJ: MAY 27 U.S./EU TROIKA CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: A PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.63)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 06 BRUSSELS 06378
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE AND EUR/RPE
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, EUN, AO, BY, CM, ER, LI, MZ, NI, RW, SO, SF, SU, CG
SUBJECT: MAY 27 U.S./EU TROIKA CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: A PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES
REF: (A) ATHENS 5840; (B) ATHENS 5624; (C) ATHENS 5102; (D) USEC BRUSSELS 4519

1. SUMMARY. ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE HELD CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EU TROIKA ON MAY 27 AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE U.S. AND EU MEET MORE REGULARLY TO DISCUSS AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND ASSISTANCE ISSUES AS WELL AS POLITICAL TOPICS COVERED IN THE TROIKA TALKS. REPRESENTING THE EU PRESIDENCY, PROCOPIOS MANTZOURANIS ENCOURAGED HIS BELGIAN, GERMAN AND COMMISSION COLLEAGUES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSION, MAKING FOR AN INFORMATIVE EXCHANGE WHERE U.S. AND EU VIEWS WERE LARGELY IN SYNC. COUNTRIES COVERED INCLUDED: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOUTHERN REGION, ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, RWANDA, BURUNDI, ZAIRE, NIGERIA, LIBERIA, SOMALIA, SUDAN AS WELL AS THE GENERAL TOPIC OF DEMOCRATIZATION. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ADDITION TO MANTZOURANIS FROM GREECE, THE EU DELEGATION INCLUDED HANS-JOACHIM DAERR (GERMANY), WIL JAENEN AND LEO WILLEMS (BELGIUM), COMMISSION EXTERNAL

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POLITICAL AFFAIRS (DG-IA) ACTING AFRICA UNIT HEAD STEFFEN STENBERG, EAST AFRICA DESK OFFICER GUNTAR MANTHEY AND STAFFER THOMAS FRELLESEN. AFRICA WATCHER ADRI VAN LOOPIK ATTENDED FROM THE COUNCIL SECRETARIAT. A/S MOOSE LED THE U.S. DELEGATION ACCOMPANIED BY AF ROGER ERVIN AND EDWARD BROWN AND USEU POLOFF PATRICIA HASLACH.

SOUTH AFRICA

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3. MANTZOURANIS SAID THAT THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA FACES A GAP BETWEEN ITS GOALS AND RESOURCES, DESPITE THE FACT THAT INTERNATIONAL AND EU SUPPORT HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE. THE EU GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL APPROVED APRIL 18 A FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA (REF D). HE ADDED THAT IT IS UP TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO DEFINE THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EU AND FOR THE COMMISSION TO DEVISE AUTONOMOUS IMPLEMENTING MEASURES.

4. A/S MOOSE COMMENTED ON PRESIDENT MANDELA'S "EXCEEDINGLY MODERATE" ECONOMIC PROGRAM, WHICH CORRESPONDS WITH WHAT MANDELA HAS TOLD THE U.S. PRIVATELY, ESPECIALLY EMPHASIS ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

5. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT THE U.S. AND EU NEED TO FIND WAYS TO USE PUBLIC FUNDS TO LEVERAGE PRIVATE SECTOR FUNDING, AND CITED THE EXAMPLE OF U.S. ENTERPRISE FUNDS WITH POLAND AND OTHER CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HE BRIEFED THE EU ON CURRENT THINKING REGARDING AN INTERNATIONAL EVENT TO ALLOW THE SAG TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES FOR TANGIBLE PROJECTS AND HELP BUILD PUBLIC CONFIDENCE. STENBERG ADDED THAT ATTENTION MUST BE FOCUSED ON STEMMING THE OUTWARD FLOW OF CAPITAL.

6. MANTZOURANIS ADDED THAT THE EU HAS NOTICED THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S MODERATE APPROACH TO DEVELOPING A POLICE FORCE TO COMBAT EXTREMISTS. A/S MOOSE CONCURRED THAT THE SECURITY ELEMENT WILL BE KEY IN THE FUTURE ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES -- NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION, TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES, ARMS MANUFACTURING AND EXPORTS, AND PEACEKEEPING. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT THE U.S. AND EU NEED TO ENGAGE SOUTH AFRICA IN A DIALOGUE ON ALL THESE ISSUES.

7. JANEAN ASKED IF THE U.S. WOULD "CONDITION AID" ON

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 06 BRUSSELS 06378

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE AND EUR/RPE

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, EUN, AO, BY, CM, ER, LI, MZ, NI, RW, SO, SF, SU, CG

SUBJECT: MAY 27 U.S./EU TROIKA CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: A PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES

THE CONTROL OF WEAPON PRODUCTION. HE ADDED THAT THE EU HAS NOT YET MADE THE LINK AND MAY WANT TO DO SO. A/S MOOSE SAID ALTHOUGH WE HAVE RAISED THE ISSUE WITH THE SAG, U.S. THINKING IS NOT THAT FAR ALONG. MANTZOURANIS SAID THAT THE EU HAS DISCUSSED THE ISSUE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NEW POLITICAL DIALOGUE. DAERR ADDED THAT WE NEED TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN INTERNAL ARMS EXPENDITURES AND ARMS EXPORT, WHICH IS DELICATE BECAUSE

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WE ALL EXPORT ARMS.
8. STENBERG SAID THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (IFIS) NEEDS TO BE INNOVATIVE AND CANNOT BE THE SAME AS THE RELATIONSHIP THE IFIS HAVE WITH OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. STENBERG ADDED THAT THE EU HAS EXPENDED CONSIDERABLE EFFORT TO GET THE ANC AND WORLD BANK TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS, WHICH SOUTH AFRICA NEEDS TO ACCESS THE BANK'S RESOURCES AND EXPERTISE IN SECTORAL POLICIES. STENBERG SAID THE EU WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THE GOS AND IFIS TO HELP DEFINE A NEW "MODEL" OF CONSULTATIONS.
9. A/S MOOSE CONCURRED WITH THE NEED FOR A "NEW" SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE IFIS. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE WORLD BANK SHARES THIS VIEW, STILL MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE TO FACILITATE THE DIALOGUE -- BEHIND THE SCENES WORK TO "HELP THE MARRIAGE TAKE PLACE."
10. DAERR ASKED ABOUT THE PROPOSED U.S. CONFERENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH WAS RAISED AT THE MAY 18 U-S./EU POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING IN WASHINGTON. A/S MOOSE RESPONDED THAT AFTER THE ELECTIONS PRESIDENT CLINTON PROPOSED A CONFERENCE BUT DID NOT SPECIFY WHAT FORM IT SHOULD TAKE. A/S MOOSE SAID THE U.S. BELIEVES IT SHOULD TAKE PLACE QUICKLY TO BUILD ON THE ELECTION MOMENTUM AND THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE A TYPICAL DONORS CONFERENCE.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REGION
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11. DAERR SAID THAT GERMANY WANTS TO ENCOURAGE EU/SOUTHERN AFRICA COOPERATION AND IS PLANNING AS A FIRST STEP A CONFERENCE IN BERLIN, WHICH WILL INCLUDE THE EU 12, PLUS THE 4 EFTA APPLICANTS, SADC AND SOUTH AFRICA. HE ADDED THAT THE EU ALSO PLANS TOOOFFER ORGANIZATION SUPPORT.
12. MANTZOURANIS ANNOUNCED THAT THE EU WOULD BE LIFTING ALL REMAINING RESTRICTIVE MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON MAY 27 (REF B).
13. A/S MOOSE BRIEFED THE EU ON THE U.S. INITIATIVE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH AIMS TO STIMULATE PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND REGIONAL COOPERATION. WHEN VP GORE WAS IN SOUTH AFRICA HE MET WITH SIX OF THE 10 SADC HEADS OF STATE TO SIGNAL THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT INTEND TO IGNORE THE REST OF THE SUB-REGION. A/S MOOSE SAID VP GORE WAS APPARENTLY DISAPPOINTED THAT MOST OF THE DISCUSSION CENTERED ON WHAT THE U.S WOULD DO FOR THE COUNTRIES INDIVIDUALLY, WHICH REINFORCES THE NEED FOR THE U.S. AND THE EU TO FACILITATE DISCREETLY REGIONAL COOPERATION.

ANGOLA
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14. MANTZOURANIS SAID THE EU WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE LUSAKA TALKS AND PLACED MOST OF THE BLAME ON "UNITA'S AMBIGUOUS POSITION." HE ADDED THAT THE EU BELIEVES THE GOA'S POWER SHARING OFFER WAS MORE THAN GENEROUS. DAERR SAID THAT IN MEETINGS WITH
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 06 BRUSSELS 06378
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE AND EUR/RPE
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

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TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, EUN, AO, BY, CM, ER, LI, MZ, NI, RW, SO, SF, SU, CG
SUBJECT: MAY 27 U.S./EU TROIKA CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: A PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES
THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT THE ANGOLAN VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS "ONE-SIDED" IN HIS REQUEST FOR ADDED EU PRESSURE AGAINST UNITA AND DID NOT INDICATE ANY WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE. DAERR SAID HE ALSO PUT THE BLAME ON THE U.S. FOR RAISING UNITA'S HOPES.
15. IN RESPONSE TO MANTZOURANIS'S QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ZAIRE CONNECTION, A/S MOOSE AGREED THAT THE U.S. AND EU NEED TO HELP FIND A WAY TO CUT OFF ZAIRIAN ARMS SUPPLIES TO UNITA.
16. A/S MOOSE SAID THE RESPONSE FROM THE GOA AND UNITA ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION HAS BEEN UNSATISFACTORY AND THE GOA HAD STILL NOT RESPONDED TO TWO LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON ON THE MEDIATION PROPOSAL. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT THE U.S. IS ALSO TROUBLED BY INCREASED MILITARY ACTIVITY ON BOTH SIDES. HE SAID THE U.S. WOULD LIKE A REINFORCEMENT OF THE MESSAGES THAT THE PATIENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS NOT "ELASTIC." A/S MOOSE SAID THE U.S. IS ALSO SEEKING A LIMITED RENEWAL OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AND WILL ASK THE UN TO SIGNAL THAT IT WILL RE-EXAMINE ITS COMMITMENT IN ANGOLA IF THE PARTIES DO NOT COOPERATE. THE NEXT STEP, A/S MOOSE CONTINUED, WOULD BE CONSIDERATION OF SANCTIONS.
17. A/S MOOSE CONFIRMED THAT THERE HAS BEEN INCREASED DIFFICULTY IN GETTING HUMANITARIAN SHIPMENTS INTO BOTH UNITA AND GOA STRONGHOLDS. HE ADDED THAT THE U.S. WAS CONCERNED ABOUT INCREASED ARMS EXPENDITURES WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY THE GOA IS ASKING FOR MORE AID. STENBERG SAID THE EU HAS COMMITTED "MASSIVE" AMOUNTS OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO ANGOLA.

MOZAMBIQUE

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18. MANTZOURANIS SAID THE EU WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT THE DELAY IN DEMOBILIZATION OF FORCES WILL HAVE ON THE OCTOBER 27-28 ELECTIONS. THE PORTUGUESE HAVE REQUESTED A NEW JOINT ACTION ON MOZAMBIQUE, AND THE EU IS CONSIDERING A TASK FORCE TO BETTER COORDINATE MEMBER STATE ACTIONS. COMMENT: THE JUNE 2-3 POCO (REF A) TURNED DOWN THE PORTUGUESE REQUEST TO LOOK AT WHAT COULD BE DONE FOR THE ELECTION. END COMENT. DAERR NOTED CHISSANO'S RESISTANCE TO NEGOTIATING CEILING NUMBERS FOR THE NEW MILITARY.
19. A/S MOOSE SAID ALTHOUGH THE U.S. WAS CONVINCED THAT BOTH PARTIES ARE COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLES AGREED TO OVER A YEAR AGO, THE U.S. IS NEVERTHELESS TROUBLED BY DELAYS IN IMPLEMENTING THE TIMETABLE, ESPECIALLY THE GOM REQUEST TO DELAY THE UNSC TROOP ASSEMBLY DEADLINE AND TO MOVE THE COMPLETION DATE FOR DEMOBILIZATION FROM JULY 15 TO AUGUST 15. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT THIS BECOMES CRITCAL AS WE APPROACH THE OCTOBER ELECTION DEADLINE BECAUSE THE INTEGRITY OF THE AGREEMENT IS BASED ON DEMOBILIZATION AND COMBINATION OF FORCES. THE U.S. WOULD LIKE THIS AMBIGUOUS SITUATION RESOLVED, A/S MOOSE

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CONTINUED, OR WE WILL HAVE ANOTHER ANGOLA ON OUR HANDS. IN ORDER NOT TO EXACERBATE PRESIDENT CHISSANO'S INTERNAL OPPOSITION, A/S MOOSE PROPOSED THAT THE U.S. AND EU CONVEY TO THE GOM THE DANGER OF NOT KEEPING DEADLINES. HE ADDED THAT THE USG IS CONSIDERING FUNDING ASSISTANCE TO HELP RENAMO TRANSFORM FROM A MILITARY FORCE TO A POLITICAL PARTY.

RWANDA/BURUNDI

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 06 BRUSSELS 06378

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE AND EUR/RPE

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, EUN, AO, BY, CM, ER, LI, MZ, NI, RW, SO, SF, SU, CG

SUBJECT: MAY 27 U.S./EU TROIKA CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: A PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES

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20. MANTZOURANIS EMPHASIZED THE EU'S USE OF THE TERM "GENOCIDE" IN THE EU'S MAY 16 DECLARATION ON RWANDA, IN WHICH THE EU APPEALED TO ALL PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT TO BRING AN END TO THE GENOCIDE NOW TAKING PLACE IN THE COUNTRY (REF C). HE SAID THE EU SUPPORTS THE UN SPECIAL REP VISIT, A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND NATIONAL TRIAL RATHER THAN INTERNATIONAL TRIAL, A REGIONAL DIALOGUE/CONFERENCE BASED ON THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, AN ARMS EMBARGO AND INCREASED HUMANITARIAN AID. MANTZOURANIS STRESSED THAT THE EU DOES NOT FAVOR A LEAD ROLE FOR ZAIRE PRESIDENT MOBUTU. HE ADDED THAT THE EU IS DISCUSSING AN ENHANCED ROLE FOR THE OAU, WHICH WILL REQUIRE FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

21. A/S MOOSE TOOK NOTE OF THE EU POSITION ON TRIALS AND ADDED THAT HE HOPED UN MONITORS WOULD BE DISPATCHED TO THE FIELD RAPIDLY. A/S MOOSE ASKED FOR EU SUPPORT FOR A CROSS-BORDER PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO PROTECT ENCLAVES LOCATED BEHIND THE LINES, AS OPPOSED TO OPERATING SOLELY OUT OF KIGALI, AS A WAY TO REINFORCE A CEASEFIRE AND "CONTAIN" THE SITUATION BEFORE IT SPREADS TO BURUNDI. A/S MOOSE SAID THE U.S. HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE RFP AND THE GOVERNMENT TO URGE A CEASEFIRE AND TO TELL THE PARTIES THAT THEY WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR ACTIVITIES IN AREAS THEY CONTROL.

ZAIRE

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22. JAENEN BRIEFED THE TROIKA ON AFRICA WORKING GROUP DISCUSSIONS MAY 26, WHEN THE EU AGREED TO CONTINUE RESTRICT VISAS AND PROVIDE ONLY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

23. A/S MOOSE BRIEFED THE TROIKA ON U.S, BELGIAN AND FRENCH TRILATERAL TALKS AND SAID THAT THE OPPOSITION HAS BECOME PART OF THE PROBLEM. HE OPINED THAT ABSENT SOME OUTSIDE STIMULUS IT WILL BE HARD TO MOVE BEYOND THE CURRENT POLITICAL IMPASSE. AS A RESULT, A/S MOOSE CONTINUED, THE U.S. RECOMMENDS THAT THE UNSYG'S SPECIAL REP, BRAHIMI, VISIT ZAIRE DESPITE INDICATIONS THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD WELCOME SUCH A VISIT. A/S MOOSE SAID THE U.S. AND EU NEED TO WARN BOTH SIDES ABOUT THE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR INACTION.

NIGERIA

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24. MANTZOURANIS REVIEWED RECENT EU ACTIONS ON NIGERIA INCLUDING THEIR DEMARCHE URGING THE GON TO MOVE ON A TIMETABLE FOR A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY. HE ADDED ALTHOUGH THE EU WELCOMES THE GON COMMITMENT TO CONVENE A NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, IT DOES NOT SUPPORT THE RESTRICTIVE MEASURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONFERENCE.

25. A/S MOOSE SAID HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT TRENDS IN NIGERIA: POOR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, AND NO PROGRESS ON DEMOCRACY AND NARCOTICS PREVENTION. A/S MOOSE AGREED THAT THE CONSITITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WILL NOT PASS "DEMOCRATIC MUSTER" AS LONG AS THE GON PUTS RESTRICTIONS ON THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES AND QUALIFICATIONS. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT NIGERIANS ARE LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THIS PROCESS AS EVIDENCED BY LOW VOTER TURNOUT TO ELECT PARTICIPANTS TO THE CONFERENCE.

26. MOOSE COMMENTED ON GROWING PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION,

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 06 BRUSSELS 06378

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE AND EUR/RPE

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, EUN, AO, BY, CM, ER, LI, MZ, NI, RW, SO, SF, SU, CG

SUBJECT: MAY 27 U.S./EU TROIKA CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: A PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES

CYNICISM AND GROWING OVERT OPPOSITION, WHICH WILL BE MET WITH OPPRESSION, VIOLENCE AND GROWING MILITARY OPPOSITION. MOOSE STRESSED THE NEED TO FIND A BETTER WAY TO COMMUNICATE TO THE GON THE RISKS THEY ARE CREATING FOR THEIR COUNTRY AND THE REGION. TO THAT END, THE U.S. HAS MADE A FEW EXCEPTIONS TO OUR VISA POLICY (NIGERIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE MEETINGS WITH WORLD BANK OFFICIALS).

27. A/S MOOSE SAID THE BAKASSI REGION CONFLICT HAS FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN ALL OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH GON OFFICIALS, AND WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY SOME OFFICIALS THAT THE GON WOULD NOT RULE OUT ANY MECHANISM FOR MEDIATION, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.

LIBERIA

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28. ALTHOUGH NOT ON THE AGENDA, A/S MOOSE UPDATED THE TROIKA ON THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA. HE SAID THE PEACE PROCESS IS FALTERING, AND TWO NEW EVENTS HAVE "THROWN A MONKEY WRENCH" INTO DISARMAMENT, WHICH COULD CAUSE THE COTONOU ACCORDS TO UNRAVEL: FRAGMENTATION OF ONE PARTY AND INCREASED INFIGHTING BETWEEN THEM AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE SO-CALLED LIBERIAN "PEACE" COUNCIL, WHICH IS MADE UP OF THE KRAHN ETHNIC GROUP. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT THE NIGERIAN ELEMENT HAS EXACERBATED THE SITUATION AND THERE IS FEAR THAT THE SITUATION, COULD SPILL OVER INTO SIERRA LEONE. HE ASKED FOR EU HELP IN CONTAINING THE "CANCER" IN WEST AFRICA.

SUDAN

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29. MANTZOURANIS SAID THE EU HAS OPTED FOR A "NEW DIALOGUE" WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN AND AWAITS A RESPONSE FROM THE GOS TO EU AMBASSADORS' MAY 19 DEMARCHE IN KHARTOUM ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE CIVIL WAR AND THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION. HE QUESTIONED U.S. PROOF OF DIRECT LINKS BETWEEN THE GOS AND TERRORIST GROUPS.

30. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT NO "SMOKING GUN" IS NEEDED. THE GOS NO LONGER DENIES ITS LINKS TO TERRORIST GROUP. HE ADDED THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT ABANDONED ITS DIALOGUE, AND RECENTLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR MELISSA WELLS TO TRY AND ENERGIZE THE LACKLUSTER NORTH/SOUTH RECONCILIATION TALKS AND TO SUPPORT THE IGADD INITIATIVE. IF THIS FAILS, THE NEXT STEP, A/S MOOSE CONTINUED, WOULD BE A PUSH FOR UN ACTION.

31. MANTZOURANIS SAID ALTHOUGH THE EU SUPPORTS THE IGADD INITIATIVE, MOST GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED IN THE DISCUSSIONS WERE NOT OPTIMISTIC.

32. STENBERG SAID THE EU IS INVOLVED IN A MAJOR EFFORT IN THE SOUTH. HE SAID THE EU IS CONCERNED THAT INTERNATIONAL DONORS ARE NOT BEING TAKEN SERIOUSLY AND ARE BEING MADE PART OF THE PROCESS. HE SAID HE HAD HEARD THAT THE U.S. WAS CONSIDERING A CHANGE IN ITS APPROACH TO AID IN ORDER TO PUT PRESSURE ON ALL THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE. A/S MOOSE SAID THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE SOUTH.

SOMALIA

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33. THE EU HAD NO RECENT INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA AS MOST EU MEMBER STATE TROOPS HAVE BEEN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 06 OF 06 BRUSSELS 06378

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE AND EUR/RPE

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, EUN, AO, BY, CM, ER, LI, MZ, NI, RW, SO, SF, SU, CG

SUBJECT: MAY 27 U.S./EU TROIKA CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: A PROPOSAL FOR MORE FREQUENT EXCHANGES

WITHDRAWN. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN "GLACIAL PROGRESS" BUT CERTAIN SIGNS, SUCH AS THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE "TECHNICALS," JUSTIFY A BRIEF EXTENSION OF THE UN MANDATE. AT THE SAME TIME, A/S MOOSE CONTINUED, WE NEED TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO ALL PARTIES THAT WE WILL LEAVE UNLESS THERE IS PROGRESS.

DEMOCRATIZATION

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34. MANTZOURANIS ASKED IF WE WERE PAYING THE PRICE FOR ENCOURAGING DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN AFRICA. A/S MOOSE SAID ELECTIONS ARE ONLY PART OF THE PROCESS AND WE ALSO NEED TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CIVIL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT SUPPORT THEM. WE NEED TO DEVOTE MORE RESOURCES TO INSTITUTION BUILDING. HE ADDED THAT GABON AND GUINEA ARE COUNTRIES WHERE ELECTIONS WERE HELD PREMATURELY, RESULTING IN WEAKENED RATHER THAN STRENGTHENED GOVERNMENTS.

35. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT THE U.S. AND EU NEED TO DISCUSS

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THE BROADER ISSUES -- POPULATION, ENVIRONMENT, HEALTH TRENDS, AND INSTITUTION BUILDING -- WITH A VIEW TO THE FUTURE. A/S MOOSE CALLED FOR A WAY TO ENLARGE U.S./EU DISCUSSIONS ON THE LONGER TERM PROBLEMS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT RATHER THAN JUST RESPONDING TO THE LATEST HUMANITARIAN CRISIS. HE RECOMMENDED THAT THE U.S. AND EU MEET MORE REGULARLY TO SHARE IDEAS AND EXPERIENCES AND WORK COLLECTIVELY TO SOLVE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.
36. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE BEFORE HE DEPARTED POST.
37. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED FOR LUANDA.
38. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED FOR MOGADISHU.
(DRAFTED:POL:PHASLACH; CLEARED:POL:MRIES; APPROVED:POLC:JGREENWALD) EIZENSTAT
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 06
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 06
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SSN: 6378
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
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DTG: 091514Z JUN 94
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RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 3823
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0043
RUEHNY/AMEMBASSY OSLO 2623
RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0203
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0020
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0012
RUEHSM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 6115
RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA 2240
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0074
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0162
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0515
SUBJ: UGANDA NOT SUPPORTING RPF MUSEVENI TELLS DANES
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 COPENHAGEN 003075
AF/C FOR AMBASSADORS RENDER AND RAWSON
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UNSC, RW, UG, DA
SUBJECT: UGANDA NOT SUPPORTING RPF MUSEVENI TELLS DANES
REF: (A) KAMPALA 4313 (B) KAMPALA 4306
(C) STATE 133592 (D) KAMPALA 4287
SUMMARY
:::::::
1. (C) DURING HIS JUNE 1-4 VISIT TO DENMARK, UGANDAN PRESIDENT YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI TOLD GOVERNMENT AND PRESS OFFICIALS ALIKE THAT UGANDA IS NOT SUPPORTING THE RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT, BUT IS IN FACT ENCOURAGING RPF LEANER PAUL KAGAME TO SEEK A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION. FOR THEIR PART, DANISH OFFICIALS HAVE SEEN NO EVIDENCE THAT UGANDA IS AIDING THE RPF.
2. (U) MUSEVENI HAD HARSH WORDS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS AND DESCRIBED ITS ACTIONS IN RWANDA AS SOMETHING OF A JOKE. NEVERTHELESS, HE VOWED UGANDA WOULD COPERATE IN ANY INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO SECURE PEACE IN RWANDA AND CALLED UPON THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL TO INVESTIGATE AND PROSECUTE MILITARY LEADERS WHO ORDERED INDISCRIMINATE GENOCIDAL KILLINGS OF CIVILIANS. END SUMMARY.
DANES SEE NO EVIDENCE OF DIRECT UGANDAN SUPPORT FOR RPF
::

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3. (U) UGANDAN PRESIDENT YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI LED A 9-MEMBER DELEGATION TO DENMARK JUNE 1-4 IN AN EFFORT TO SPUR DANISH INVESTMENT AND BUSINESS ACTIVITY IN UGANDA. AMONG THOSE IN MUSEVENI'S PARTY WERE AGRICULTURAL MINISTER VICTORIA SEKITOLEKO, TRADE MINISTER RICHARD KAIJUKA, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AGARD DIDI, AND MINISTRY OF FINANCE PERMANENT SECRETARY EMMANUEL TUMUSHME-MUTEBILE. MUSEVENI MET WITH DANISH PRIME MINISTER POUL NYRUP RASMUSSEN, FOREIGN MINISTER NIELS HELVEG PETERSEN, DEVELOPMENT MINISTER HELLE DEGN, THE PRESIDENT OF PARLIAMENT HENNING RASMUSSEN, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONFEDERATION OF DANISH INDUSTRIES.

4. ~~(C)~~ ACCORDING TO MFA UGANDA DESK OFFICER MOGENS PEDERSEN, BOTH NYRUP RASMUSSEN AND HELVEG PETERSEN QUESTIONED MUSEVENI ABOUT UGANDA'S LINKS TO THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF). MUSEVENI REPEATEDLY DENIED THAT UGANDA IS GIVING ANY MILITARY OR FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE RPF. ON THE CONTRARY, UGANDA IS ENCOURAGING RPF COMMANDER PAUL KAGAME TO SEEK A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR. MUSEVENI DID NOT DENY A SENSE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE RPF, ADMITTING THAT SOME OF ITS SOLDIERS HAD SUPPORTED HIM AND THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AGAINST OBOTE IN THE EARLY 1980S. "THERE IS NOTHING BEYOND MORAL SUPPORT," HE TOLD HIS HOSTS, "BESIDES WE DON'T HAVE ANY MONEY TO GIVE THE RPF." MUSEVENI ARGUED MOREOVER THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S SCRUTINY AND THE PRESENCE OF UNAMIR TROOPS ALONG HIS COUNTRY'S BORDER WITH RWANDA MADE SURREPTITIOUS MILITARY TRANSFERS TO THE RPF IMPOSSIBLE. MUSEVENI SUGGESTED THAT THE TUTSI DISAPORA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR FUNNELING MONEY AND WEAPONS TO THE RPF.

5. ~~(C)~~ FOR THEIR PART, THE DANES ACCEPT MUSEVENI'S DENIAL. PEDERSEN SAID DANISH OFFICIALS IN UGANDA (WHICH IS DENMARK'S SECOND LARGEST BILATERAL AID RECIPIENT) HAVE NOT SEEN EVIDENCE OF DIRECT GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO THE RPF. "WE CONTINUE TO MONITOR THE SITUATION, BUT WE DON'T BELIEVE THERE IS ANY DIRECT MILITARY OR ECONOMIC SUPPORT. MUSEVENI IS A CLEVER MAN. HE WOULD NOT RISK LOSING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT AND FOREIGN AID BY ARMING THE RPF," PEDERSEN ASSERTED.

6. ~~(C)~~ MUSEVENI BOASTED TO THE DANES THAT HAD UGANDA SUPPORTED THE REBELS, THE PRF WOULD ALREADY BE IN POWER. HE DID NOT SHY AWAY FROM DECLARING HIS SYMPATHY FOR THEIR CAUSE, SAYING THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR A SWEEPING REVOLUTION IN RWANDA TO CREATE A NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND RID THE COUNTRY OF ITS POST-COLONIAL RULERS WHO PLAY THE ETHNIC CARD TO STAY IN POWER. "OUR REVOLUTION IN UGANDA," HE CONTENDED, "IS AN EXAMPLE TO THE RPF."

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 COPENHAGEN 003075

AF/C FOR AMBASSADORS RENDER AND RAWSON
AF/E FOR CHRIS WILSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UNSC, RW, UG, DA
SUBJECT: UGANDA NOT SUPPORTING RPF MUSEVENI TELLS DANES DENUNCIATION OF UN; APPEAL TO WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
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7. (U) MUSEVENI WAS EXTREMELY CRITICAL OF THE UN'S BEHAVIOR IN RWANDA IN HIS FORMAL MEETINGS AND DURING A JUNE 3 PRESS CONFERENCE. HE DESCRIBED THE UN'S BEHAVIOR AS "SOMETHING OF A JOKE" AND WAS INCREDULOUS THAT THE UN NOW HOPES TO REENTER RWANDA AFTER THE WORST ATROCITIES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED. DESPITE HIS OPEN DENUNCIATION OF THE UN, MUSEVENI SAID UGANDA IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE IN ANY INTERNATIONAL EFFORT AIMED AT RESTORING PEACE AND DEMOCRATIC RULE IN RWANDA.

8. (S) MUSEVENI TOLD THE DANES THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WILL PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND IS PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE RPF NOT TO SEEK REVENGE BUT TO COOPERATE WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COURT AND THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. HE DEMANDED THAT THE UN NOT PROTECT THE CIVIL WAR'S "MASS MURDERERS" BUT ARREST, TRY, AND PUNISH THEM FOR CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY. SUCH ACTION IS NECESSARY, HE EXPLAINED, TO PRECLUDE ETHNIC REPRISALS IN THE FUTURE. HE ALSO ADVOCATED THAT THE UN DEPLOY PEACEKEEPING FORCES INTO "LIBERATED AREAS," I.E., UNDER RPF CONTROL.

MUSEVENI FORESEES POSSIBLE PARTITION OF SUDAN

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9. (S) MUSEVENI TOLD MFA OFFICIALS THAT HE MET WITH SUDAN'S PRESIDENT IN VIENNA AND WARNED THE ARAB LEADER THAT ISLAMIC EXPANSIONISM AND RUTHLESS GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSION OF THE SOUTH WERE UNACCEPTABLE. MUSEVENI DESCRIBED THE CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN AS A "VERY SERIOUS CONFLICT," WHICH CAN BE SOLVED IN ONE OF TWO WAYS: EITHER THE PARTITION OF THE COUNTRY INTO ITS ARAB MUSLIM NORTH AND ANIMIST AND CHRISTIAN AFRICAN SOUTH OR A FEDERAL RESTRUCTING OF THE COUNTRY.

AN APPEAL TO DANISH BUSINESS

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10. (U) MUSEVENI'S TRIP OSTENSIBLY WAS TO SEEK DANISH INVESTMENT AND BUSINESS ACTIVITY IN UGANDA AND PROMOTE JOINT VENTURES. AS UGANDAN EMBASSY COANSELOR SAMUEL F. MATTE-MUKASA EXPLAINED TO EMBOFF, "WE HAVE DONE ENOUGH BEGGING. WE NEED INVESTMENT." THE UGANDANS FORESEE PROFITS TO BE MADE IN THE COFFEE, COTTON, LUMBER/WOOD PRODUCTS, AND TOURISM SECTORS OF THEIR ECONOMY. MATTE-MUKASA STRESSED THAT UGANDA'S RELATIVE STABILITY, PLEASANT CLIMATE, NATURAL BEAUTY, ABUNDANT WATER RESOURCES, AND IMPROVING INFRASTRUCTURE MAKE IT A CHOICE LOCATION FOR INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES. THE MFA'S PEDERSEN WAS NOT NEARLY SO SANGUINE AND ARGUED THAT FUTURE DANISH INVESTMENT IN UGANDA WOULD BE VERY LIMITED THE RWANDA CIVIL WAR HAS ALREADY ADVERSELY AFFECTED UGANDA'S ECONOMY AS CONSUMERS ARE REFUSING TO PURCHASE FISH AND ELS TAKEN FROM LAKE VICTORIA. THE SIGHT OF DEAD BODIES AND REFUSE IN THE LAKE HAS HARMED AN ENTERPRISE (THE VICTORIA FRESH FOOD COMPANY) SUPPORTED BY THE DANISH DEVELOPMENT AGENCY, DANIDA. ACCORDING TO PEDERSEN, UGANDA STILL HAS A "TREMENDOUS NEED" FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. MATTSON

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

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<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 3075
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2011-0262-M-3 (3.65)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: O R 092032Z JUN 94
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DTG: 092032Z JUN 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
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RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 9068
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 4944
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0073
SUBJ: MUSEVENI'S CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT ON RWANDA

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 154770
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: MUSEVENI'S CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT ON RWANDA

REF: FBIS 0500JUN07/AB0706113194 DAKAR PANA

1. REF FBIS REPORT CONTAINS A PUBLIC STATEMENT ISSUED JUNE 6 BY PRESIDENT MUSEVENI, IN WHICH MUSEVENI URGES THE RPF TO ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE AND WORK TOWARDS POWER SHARING. ACCORDING TO THE STATEMENT, MUSEVENI SAID, "IF THE RPF INSISTS ON FIGHTING, I THINK THEY ARE MAKING A MISTAKE."

2. ACTION REQUEST: EMBASSY KAMPALA IS INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE'S APPRECIATION, ON BEHALF OF THE USG, FOR THIS CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT.

3. FYI: DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS THAT MUSEVENI DOES/DOES PLAN TO ATTEND NEXT WEEK'S OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. A/S MOOSE HOPES TO BE ABLE TO MEET WITH MUSEVENI AT THE SUMMT

4. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED TALBOTT
BT
#4770
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4770
TOR: 940609163703 M1091350
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~[Participation in UNAMIR] (2 pages)~~	~~06/10/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~OAU Ministerial Sitrep (4 pages)~~	~~06/10/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~003. cable~~	~~Demarches... (2 pages)~~	~~06/10/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~004. cable~~	~~June 13-15 OAU Summit... (4 pages)~~	~~06/10/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~005. cable~~	~~Refcoord Update Two -- Burundi (6 pages)~~	~~06/12/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~006. cable~~	~~[Rwanda Peacekeeping Force] (2 pages)~~	~~06/13/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~007. cable~~	~~Refugee Clergy Fair Game in Western Rwanda (1 page)~~	~~06/14/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
008. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	06/14/94	P1/b(1)
~~009. cable~~	~~RPF Invitation to Ambassador Rawson (2 pages)~~	~~06/15/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
010. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	06/15/94	P1/b(1)
~~011. cable~~	~~Violent Incidents in the Provinces II (2 pages)~~	~~06/15/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
012. cable	Zaire... (3 pages)	06/15/94	P1/b(1)
~~013. cable~~	~~Possible South African Mediation in Rwanda Conflict (2 pages)~~	~~06/16/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[06/10/1994 - 06/17/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh136

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/16/94	P1/b(1)
~~015. cable~~	~~A/S Moose's Discussions in Paris on the Lusaka Negotiations, June 16 (2 pages)~~	~~06/17/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~016. cable~~	~~A/S Moose Meeting with Tunisian Foreign Minister Ben Yahia: Rwanda Top Concern (5 pages)~~	~~06/17/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~017. cable~~	~~[Support on "Legality"] (4 pages)~~	~~06/17/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
018. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (4 pages)	06/17/94	P1/b(1)
019. cable	Political, Military, and Humanitarian Developments in Rwanda and Burundi (3 pages)	06/17/94	P1/b(1)
~~020. cable~~	~~Support for French Initiative on Rwanda (4 pages)~~	~~06/17/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(h)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,66)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHORA3809 1610903-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 100903Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE
OSRI: RUEHOR
DTG: 100903Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY GABORONE
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5145
INFO: RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0417
RUEHNM/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 0180
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0007
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0479
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 6713
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK 2184
RUEHRB/AMEMBASSY RABAT 0120
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0006
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0423
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4064
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0424
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0571
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0577
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0091
SUBJ: BOTSWANA UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE FURTHER IN UNAMIR
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ GABORONE 003809
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OAU, PREL, UNSC, MOPS, PGOV, PREF, MARR, RW, BC
SUBJECT: BOTSWANA UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE FURTHER IN UNAMIR
REF: (A) USUN 2366 (B) STATE 152175
1. ~~CONFIDEDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. REF A FLAGGED THE POSSIBILITY THAT BOTSWANA MIGHT OFFER TROOPS TO AN EXPANDED UNAMIR. DURING A JUNE 9 DEMARCHE ON OAU SUMMIT ISSUES (REF B), AMBASSADOR RAISED TALKING POINTS ON RWANDA WITH MINISTER OF PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS (AND ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER) MOMPATE MERAFHE. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NO FORMAL UNITED NATIONS REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL BOTSWANA TROOPS IN RWANDA, MERAFHE SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS RECEIVED INFORMAL OVERTURES TO EXPAND ITS PRESENT 10-PERSON CONTINGENT, WHICH CURRENTLY OPERATES IN THE BORDER AREA BETWEEN RWANDA AND UGANDA.
3. MERAFHE POINTED OUT THAT THE BOTSWANA DEFENSE FORCE (BDF) CURRENTLY HAS OVER 1,300 OF ITS APPROXIMATELY 7,000 TROOPS ENGAGED IN PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND RWANDA. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA (GOB) SUPPORTS THE EXPANSION OF UNAMIR, RESOURCE AND MANPOWER CONSTRAINTS PRECLUDE ITS FURTHER PARTICIPATION.
4. COMMENT: MERAFHE, THE FORMER COMMANDER OF THE BDF, IS A MAJOR SUPPORTER OF BOTSWANA'S PARTICIPATION IN UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS. IF THE BDF WERE A LARGER FORCE, MERAFHE WOULD IN ALL LIKELIHOOD AGREE TO A UN REQUEST, BUT THE

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REALITY IS THAT THE BDF DOES NOT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO ASSUME A GREATER SHARE OF THIS BURDEN. END COMMENT.
JETER
BT
#3809
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3809

TOR: 940610050704 M1092349

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M-3(3.67)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 101123Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY TUNIS
OSRI: RUEHTU
DTG: 101123Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY TUNIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6359
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1065
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0009
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 0004
RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0022
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1498
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0009
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0506
SUBJ: OAU MINISTERIAL SITREP
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 TUNIS 003921
DEPT FOR AF-MOOSE
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AORC, OAU, TS
SUBJECT: OAU MINISTERIAL SITREP
1. (U) INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) MINISTERIAL, MEETING IN TUNIS 6-10 JUNE, ESTABLISHED A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO MEET SEPARATELY WITH RWANDESE GOVERNMENT AND RPF REPRESENTATIVES. HUTU EXTREMIST JEAN BOSCO BARAYAGWIZA WAS A MEMBER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S DELEGATION. PAST OAU DECISIONS ON ARREARS WERE REAFFIRMED, LEADING 8 DEBTOR COUNTRIES TO PAY OVER US DOLLARS 3 MILLION. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

RWANDA

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2. ~~(S)~~ GROWING SYMPATHY FOR THE RPF: THE SCANDAL AT THIS YEAR'S MEETING WAS THE INCLUSION OF JEAN BOSCO BARAYAGWIZA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE HUTU EXTREMIST COALITION FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC (CDR), IN THE OFFICIAL DELEGATION OF THE PROVISIONAL RWANDESE GOVERNMENT. BARAYAGWIZA POSED AS THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. UNIVERSAL OUTRAGE WAS TINGED WITH EMBARASSMENT BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT BARAYAGWIZA HAD SERVED AS CHIEF OF CABINET TO FORMER OAU SECRETARY GENERAL IDE OUMAROU. THIS CHAGRIN WAS COMPOUNDED BY THE EXCLUSION OF THE RWANDAN PATIOTIC FRONT (RPF) FROM THE PLENARY. AN EXTRAORDINARY MOVE TO

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ALLOW THE RPF TO ADDRESS THE CONFERENCE MET WITH VOCIFEROUS OPPOSITION FROM, INTER ALIA, SUDAN AND ANGOLA. THEY ARGUED THAT REBEL MOVEMENTS DO NOT REPRESENT MEMBER STATES AND THUS CAN NOT BE REPRESENTED AS SUCH IN OAU FORUMS. THOSE OPPOSED TO RPF ATTENDANCE WERE ABLE TO PERSUADE HALF OF THE DELEGATIONS, FORCING THE PLENARY TO DEVISE A COMPROMISE.

3. (C) THE PROCESS: TO AVOID THE MINISTERIAL BEING CONSUMED OR GRIDLOCK BY RWANDA, A SPECIAL COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED TO MEET SEPERATELY WITH THE GOR AND THE RPF AND REPORT TO THE PLENARY ON 10 JUNE. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE WAS CHAIRED BY TUNISIA AND COMPOSED OF THE FOUR COUNTRIES ON THE OAU MINISTERIAL BUREAU (SIERRA LEONE, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, ZIMBABWE, AND ERITREA (RAPPORTEUR)) AS WELL AS RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS. TANZANIA SERVED AS FACILITATOR; ZAIRE AS MEDIATOR. ONE OBSERVER COMMENTED THAT THE UPSHOT IS THAT THE MINISTERIAL SUCCEEDED IN FINDING A WAY FOR THE RPF'S VIEWS TO BE OFFICIALLY, ALBEIT INDIRECTLY, CONVEYED TO THE CONFERENCE. THE COMMITTEE WAS TO RECONVENE 10 JUNE AT 1100.

ARREARS

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4. (C) GETTING TOUGH: WITH THE TWO YEAR GRACE PERIOD COMING TO A CLOSE, THE OAU IS FINDING ITS HARD LINE PAYING OFF. ACCORDING TO OAU FINANCE DIRECTOR CHRIS JOHNSON, THE MINISTERIAL DECREED THAT, AS OF JUNE 1995, STATES STILL IN ARREARS WILL NOT BE INVITED TO OR ACCORDED REPRESENTATION AT MINISTERIALS AND SUMMITS AND WILL BE BARRED FROM STANDING FOR CONTINENTAL COMMITTEES. MOREOVER, THEIR CITIZENS WILL BE OUSTED FROM POLITICAL AND PERMANENT POSITIONS AT THE OAU SECRETARIAT. A PROPOSAL THAT THE OAU CONSIDER WRITING OFF SOME OF THE DEBT WAS REJECTED. BOTSWANA THREW COLD WATER ON A PROPOSAL TO HOLD AN EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT MEETING LATER THIS YEAR TO DISCUSS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. OAU SYG SALIM AHMED SALIM SUPPORTED BOTSWANA'S INTERVENTION, REMINDING THE ASSEMBLAGE THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD COST AT LEAST 250,000 US DOLLARS, MONEY NEITHER THE OAU NOR MOST MEMBER STATES COULD AFFORD TO SPEND UNNECESSARILY.

5. (U) CASH OR CHECK? OAU PRESS CHIEF IBRAHIM DAGASH ANNOUNCED ON 9 JUNE THAT DURING THE FIRST FOUR DAYS OF THE MINISTERIAL EIGHT COUNTRIES HAD PAID THEIR DEBTS IN PART OR FULL. THEY WERE (IN US DOLLARS):

- COTE D'IVOIRE 500.000
- GHANA 1,
500,000
- GUINEA BISSAU 50,000
- MOZAMBIQUE 410,000

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 TUNIS 003921

DEPT FOR AF-MOOSE
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AORC, OAU, TS
SUBJECT: OAU MINISTERIAL SITREP

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-	SUDAN	200,000
-	UGANDA	110,000
-	ZAIRE	500,000
-	ZIMBABWE	64,000

ODDS AND ENDS

6. (U) TERMINATION OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE: THE FINAL MEETING OF THE OAU'S LIBERATION COMMITTEE WAS HELD 2-3 JUNE. HAVING SUCCESSFULLY RID THE CONTINENT OF COLONIAL AND MINORITY RULE, THE COMMITTEE WILL CEASE TO EXIST AS OF JULY 1994. A CLOSING CEREMONY WILL BE HELD IN DAR ES SALAAM. (NOTE: DEPTOFF'S QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WESTERN SAHARA WERE MET WITH LONG PAUSES AND MUMBLING.)
7. (S) BURUNDI: THE MINISTERIAL EXTENDED BY SIX MONTHS THE MANDATE OF THE 47-MAN FORCE FOR BURUNDI. THIS OCCURRED DESPITE OPPOSITION FROM THE GOB ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE FORCE MIGHT GENERATE FURTHER TENSION IF TO THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES. CHRIS JOHNSON OF THE OAU SECRETARIAT TOLD DEPTOFF THAT 36 MEMBERS OF THE CONTINGENT ARE ALREADY IN BUJUMBURA.
8. (S) ATMOSPHERICS: MANY ATTENDEES HAVE TOLD DEPTOFF THAT THESE PROCEEDINGS ARE THE MOST TRANSPARENT EVER. ON 9 JUNE, DEPTOFF ENTERED THE CONFERENCE HALL IN TIME TO HEAR THE GHANAIAN FOREIGN MINISTER RESPOND TO HIS TOGOLESE COUNTERPART. THE GHANAIAN FORMIN REMINDED HIS AUDIENCE THAT FOLLOWING RECENT ELECTIONS IN TOGO THE PARTY WHICH RECEIVED 5 SEATS WAS ASKED TO FORM A GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN THE PARTY THAT GARNERED 35 SEATS. HE CONCLUDED BY ASKING THE TOGOLESE FORMIN TO GET HIS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER BEFORE CASTING ASPERSIONS ELSEWHERE. (COMMENT: WHILE NOT TERRIBLY MEANINGFUL IN AND OF ITSELF, THE FACT THAT ONE AFRICAN COUNTRY CAN CRITICIZE AND ATTEMPT TO EMBARASS ANOTHER ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT IS INSUFFICIENTLY DEMOCRATIC IS REMARKABLE.)
9. (S) THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) HELD A SUB-REGIONAL MEETING EARLY 10 JUNE TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA. CHRIS BAKWESEGHA (STRICTLY PROTECT) TOLD POLECONOFF IN CONFIDENCE THAT MANY ECOWAS STATES WERE GROWING CONCERNED THAT ELEMENTS IN THE NIGERIAN MILITARY WERE USING THEIR POSITIONS TO IMPORT AND SELL ARMS TO LIBERIAN PURCHASERS.
10. (S) BIYA: A MEMBER OF THE CAMEROONIAN DELEGATION SAID THAT CAMEROON PRESIDENT PAUL BIYA WILL COME TO TUNIS FOR THE SUMMIT.
11. (U) MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
MCCARTHY
BT
#3921
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 3921
<^SSN>3921

TOR: 940610073609 M1092658
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SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 101136Z JUN 94 ZDK
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 101136Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 4988
INFO: ****
SUBJ: DEMARCHES IN ADVANCE OF THE OAU SUMMIT IN - TUNIS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (368)
NZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 003702
STATE FOR AF/RA, AF/E, AND NEA/IAI
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, OAU, IS, XA, TS, TZ
SUBJECT: DEMARCHES IN ADVANCE OF THE OAU SUMMIT IN - TUNIS
REF: A.) STATE 147227; B.) STATE 152175
1. (U) GOT OFFICIALS TRAVELLING TO TUNIS FOR THE OAU SUMMIT HAD ALREADY DEPARTED TANZANIA PRIOR TO RECEIPT OF REFTELS. PRESIDENT MWINYI HAS ALSO BEEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY FOR EXTENDED PERIODS; HE IS CURRENTLY IN CAPETOWN. THEREFORE, WE PRESENTED REQUESTED DEMARCHES ON THE MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTIONS, RWANDA, OAU PEACEKEEPING, THE DESERTIFICATION CONVENTION AND LIBYA/PAN AM 103 TO MUFUNGO MUJAYA, ACTING HEAD OF THE MFA'S MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA DEPARTMENT.
MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTIONS
2. ~~(C)~~ MUJAYA EXPRESSED HIS GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS AND PRAISED THAT WHICH HAS BEEN ACHIEVED THUS FAR. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD WRITTEN THE GOT POSITION PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT FOR TUNIS. MUJAYA DID NOT EXPECT NEGATIVE RESOLUTIONS TO EMERGE AT THE SUMMIT BUT EVEN IF THEY DID, PREDICTED THAT THEY WOULD NOT CARRY.
RWANDA, OAU PEACEKEEPING, DESERTIFICATION AND LIBYA/PAN AM 103
3. (LOU) MUJAYA HAD NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS ON THESE ISSUES, EXCEPT TO EXPRESS SATISFACTION THAT THE USG STILL BELIEVES THE ARUSHA ACCORD OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR A SOLUTION TO THE RWANDA CONFLICT. MUJAYA EXPLAINED THAT A LOCAL NEWSPAPER--HE DID NOT IDENTIFY THE PUBLICATION--HAD RECENTLY QUOTED A USG OFFICIAL AS SAYING THAT THE ARUSHA PROCESS WAS "DEAD." WE DENIED THE ACCURACY OF THE QUOTE.
BROWNING
BT
#3702

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3702
TOR: 940610090625 M1092836
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,6B)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: O 101506Z JUN 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
OSRI: RUEHYD
DTG: 101506Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
TO: RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS NIACT IMMEDIATE 0029
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1054
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE 0076
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0106
RUEHPC/AMEMBASSY LOME 3029
RUEHMA/AMEMBASSY MALABO 4880
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 6027
INFO: RUEHLC/AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE 8935
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 2425
RUTAND/AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA 0190
RUEHRB/AMEMBASSY RABAT 0899
SUBJ: GRC OFFICIALS ON ISSUES AT THE
-- JUNE 13-15 OAU SUMMIT; BIYA TO ATTEND,
-- SEEKS MEETING WITH SENEGAL'S DIOUF
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 YAOUNDE 005447
DEPT FOR AF/RA AND AF/C
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL OAU CM NI EK
SUBJECT: GRC OFFICIALS ON ISSUES AT THE
-- JUNE 13-15 OAU SUMMIT; BIYA TO ATTEND,
-- SEEKS MEETING WITH SENEGAL'S DIOUF
REF: A) STATE 152175; B) YAOUNDE 3133 (NOTAL);
C) YAOUNDE 4462 (NOTAL); D) FBIS LONDON LD0806143994
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT
2. REF A REQUESTED POST DEMARCHE THE GOVERNMENT OF CAMEROON (GRC) CONCERNING ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED AT THE UPCOMING OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS JUNE 13 - 15. ON JUNE 9, POLOFF LEFT REF A TALKING POINTS AND NONPAPER ON RWANDA, OAU PEACEKEEPING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION, THE DESERTIFICATION CONVENTION, AND LIBYA/PAN AM 103 WITH NKWELLE EKANEY, DIRECTOR OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS AT THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS (MINREX). EKANEY IS COORDINATING SUMMIT AFFAIRS IN YAOUNDE WHILE MINREX'S AFRICAN AFFAIRS SPECIALISTS ARE IN TUNIS. WE LEARNED JUNE 10 THAT PRESIDENT BIYA IS NOW SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN TUNIS THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 12 (SEE FINAL PARAGRAPH).
THE DEMARCHE
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3. EKANEY SAID THE GRC SHARED OUR CONCERNS ON RWANDA

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AND OAU PEACEKEEPING AND APPRECIATED USG STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT. THE GRC WILL BACK HIGH-PROFILE DISCUSSION OF RWANDA (EX-GRC FORMIN JACQUES-ROGER BOOH BOOH IS UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO RWANDA) AS WELL AS SUPPORT THE OAU PEACEKEEPING MECHANISM, AND URGE OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS TO DO LIKEWISE.

4. ON THE DESERTIFICATION CONVENTION AND LIBYA SANCTIONS, EKANEY WAS MORE CAGEY. HE PRAISED THE U.S. FOR "THE VERY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE YOU HAVE PLAYED IN CONVENTION DISCUSSIONS. WE ARE GRATEFUL." HOWEVER, WHILE HE UNDERSTANDS USG EMPHASIS ON REALISM REGARDING NEW FUNDS, HE THOUGHT THE U.S. WAS FOCUSING TOO NARROWLY ON THIS ISSUE, AND CONTENDED THAT A FUND TO WHICH AFRICAN AND "WESTERN" NATIONS CONTRIBUTED WAS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE CONVENTION. ACCORDING TO EKANEY, THE GRC WANTED THE FREEDOM FOR PROGRAMS TO BE TAILOR-MADE FOR COUNTRY-SPECIFIC NEEDS, AND GENERALLY FAVORED A "BOTTOM-UP" APPROACH TO THE CONVENTION. REMARKING THAT HE HAD ATTENDED THE JANUARY MINISTERIAL AT WHICH THE OAU OPPOSED U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST LIBYA FOR THE UTA AND PAN AM 103 BOMBINGS, EKANEY DEPLORED THE CURRENT STANDOFF BUT IMPLIED THAT THE GRC WOULD GO ALONG WITH OAU CONSENSUS ON THIS ISSUE.

BAKASSI ON MY MIND

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5. MORE THAN THESE ISSUES, HOWEVER, THE GRC IS FOCUSED ON CAMEROON'S DISPUTE WITH NIGERIA OVER THE BAKASSI PENINSULA, WHICH IT ANTICIPATES WILL BE ON THE AGENDA OF THE TUNIS SUMMIT. WHILE THE GRC IS AWARE THAT THE OAU WILL PROBABLY ONLY DISCUSS THE ISSUE AND RECOMMEND A "BROTHERLY" SOLUTION TO THE DISPUTE, EKANEY REPEATED THE CURRENT GRC POSITION THAT THE WHOLE OF CAMEROON'S 1700-KILOMETER BORDER WITH NIGERIA NEEDS TO BE DEFINITIVELY FIXED TO END ONCE AND FOR ALL DISAGREEMENTS OVER THE BOUNDARY. EKANEY OPINED THAT ONE POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THE SUMMIT MIGHT BE A RENEWED INITIATIVE BY TOGO TO MEDIATE THE DISPUTE; HE STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT CAMEROON WOULD REJECT ANY CALLS FOR A PURELY BILATERAL SETTLEMENT.

6. ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT PAUL BIYA'S ATTENDANCE AT THE SUMMIT IS STILL UNCONFIRMED, EKANEY CONSIDERED IT "LIKELY" THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD SHOW UP. ASKED IF THE PRESIDENT WOULD MEET WITH EGYPT'S HOSNI MUBARAK AND NIGERIA'S SANI ABACHA, EKANEY SAID SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE ALMOST INEVITABLE. HOWEVER, HE CAUTIONED THAT IF IT HAPPENED IT WOULD BE A CORDIAL

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 YAOUNDE 005447

DEPT FOR AF/RA AND AF/C

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL OAU CM NI EK

SUBJECT: GRC OFFICIALS ON ISSUES AT THE

-- JUNE 13-15 OAU SUMMIT; BIYA TO ATTEND,

-- SEEKS MEETING WITH SENEGAL'S DIOUF

"BROTHERLY GREETING", AND THAT BIYA WOULD NOT ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH ABACHA AS LONG AS NIGERIAN TROOPS WERE PRESENT ON THE BAKASSI.

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7. LAZARE MPOUEL BALA AND SOLOMON AZOH-MBI OF THE FOREIGN POLICY UNIT AT THE PRESIDENCY ECHOED EKANEY'S STATEMENTS ON THE BAKASSI AND THE GRC'S DESIRE TO HAVE THE ENTIRE BOUNDARY WITH NIGERIA DEFINITIVELY DEMARCATED. MPOUEL AND AZOH-MBI EXPECT BIYA TO GO TO TUNIS. UNLIKE EKANEY, THEY ASSERTED THAT HE WOULD CERTAINLY MEET WITH MUBARAK AND PERHAPS ABACHA, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE SKEPTICAL THAT ANYTHING SUBSTANTIVE WOULD COME OUT OF A MEETING.
8. CONTRADICTING PREVIOUS GRC STATEMENTS WELCOMING THE OFFICIAL USG STATEMENT ON THE BAKASSI (REF B) AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S LETTER (REF C), GRC INTERLOCUTORS EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE USG WAS NOT "DOING MORE" TO KEEP THE BAKASSI AT THE CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY COUNCIL CONCERNS. THEY URGED THE USG TO "BE ON THE SIDE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW," BUT DID NOT REQUEST ANY SPECIFIC U.S. ACTION. POLOFF REPLIED THAT THE USG'S POSITION OF STRICT NEUTRALITY CONFORMED WITH OUR SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE DISPUTE VIA BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL MEANS.

MALABO MACHINATIONS

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9. MPOUEL AND AZOH-MBI OFFERED AN INTERESTING PERSPECTIVE ON EQUATORIAL GUINEA PRESIDENT OBIANG'S RECENT INTERNATIONAL TRAVELS. OBIANG HAD PAID LIGHTNING "WORKING VISITS" TO YAOUNDE AND LIBREVILLE IN LATE MAY, AND HAS RECENTLY BEGUN A SIMILAR ONE TO MOROCCO (REF D). MPOUEL AND AZOH-MBI SAID THE VISITS MAY REPRESENT OBIANG'S EFFORTS TO COUNTER NIGERIAN PRESSURE ON HIS REGIME. ACCORDING TO THEM, NIGERIA HAS BEEN LEANING HARD ON E.G. RECENTLY, REFERRING TO UNSPECIFIED (AND UNCONFIRMED) "ECONOMIC BLACKMAIL" WHICH THEY SPECULATED COULD BE LINKED TO "POINT G" (THE SPOT IN THE GULF OF GUINEA WHERE THE MARITIME BORDERS OF CAMEROON, NIGERIA AND E.G. MEET) OR THE LARGE NUMBERS OF NIGERIANS ON BIOKO ISLAND. THIS PRESSURE MAY POSSIBLY BE AN EFFORT BY NIGERIA TO INFLUENCE REGIONAL STATES IN CASE A RESOLUTION ON THE BAKASSI COMES TO A VOTE IN TUNIS.

BIYA WILL GO TO TUNIS

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10. AT A LUNCH HOSTED BY THE PAPAL NUNCIO JUNE 10, CHARGE WAS INFORMED BY THE AMBASSADOR OF SENEGAL THAT PRESIDENT BIYA WILL LEAVE YAOUNDE FOR TUNIS IN THE AFTERNOON OF SUNDAY, JUNE 12. AMBASSADOR SALOUM KANDE SAID HE HAD BEEN SUMMONED TO THE PRESIDENCY THAT MORNING AND WAS ASKED TO ARRANGE A BILATERAL WITH DIOUF TO BE HELD IN TUNIS SUNDAY EVENING. HE ALSO LEARNED THAT GRC MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS FERDINAND-LEOPOLD OYONO HAD FLOWN DIRECTLY FROM BRUSSELS TO TUNIS IN THE LAST DAY OR TWO AND WOULD BE FOCUSING ENTIRELY ON GAINING SUPPORT FOR CAMEROON'S POSITION ON THE BAKASSI BORDER DISPUTE.

HUGHES

BT

#5447

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

SSN: 5447
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA2038 1631924-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH BYPASS AMADS (FOR NELLIE)
LINE3: O 121924Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 121924Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3868
INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 0269
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 1092
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0460
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 1219
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1133
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0586
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0705
RUEHMG/USLO MOGADISHU 0007
SUBJ: REFCOORD UPDATE TWO -- BURUNDI
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.70)
VL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 BUJUMBURA 002038
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDING TEXT)
STATE FOR RP/AAA; ADDRESSEE POSTS FOR REFOFFS; GENEVA
FOR RMA; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, EAID, KA, RW, BY, XA
SUBJECT: REFCOORD UPDATE TWO -- BURUNDI
1. SUMMARY: DART REFCOORD TRAVELED TO NGOZI AND KIRUNDO REGIONS NEAR THE FRONTIER WITH RWANDA. WITHIN A FEW MILES OF RWANDA, UNHCR IS MANAGING THREE DIFFERENT POPULATION EMERGENCIES. DISPLACED, PUSHED FROM THEIR HOMES BY THE EVENTS OF LAST OCTOBER, RETURNEES WHO ABANDONED REFUGEE CAMPS IN RWANDA, AND REFUGEES FLEEING THE HORROR IN RWANDA ARE ALL GROUPED TOGETHER IN THE TWO PROVINCES. DEALING WITH THIS DYNAMIC AND MOBILE POPULATION ARE A DOZEN NGO'S OPERATING UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF UNHCR. COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ORGANIZATIONS IS GOOD. THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT, CONSCIOUS OF ITS DIFFICULT SITUATION, ALSO COOPERATES CLOSELY WITH UNHCR. IN THE MIDST OF THIS CONFUSION OF PEOPLES, THERE HAVE BEEN ABUSES OF THE RIGHTS OF REFUGEES. REFUGEES HAVE BEEN RECRUITED INTO MILITARY SERVICE BY RPF. RETURNEES AND DISPLACED HAVE DISAPPEARED WITHIN BURUNDI. YET THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT REFUGEES ARE BEING TURNED AWAY OR FORCED TO RETURN TO THE HORROR. END SUMMARY.

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THE POPULATION -- QUI BONO?
3. IN THE VILLAGE OF RUHEHE THERE ARE THREE CAMPS. THE POPULATION OF EACH CAMP KEEP CLOSE WATCH ON ONE ANOTHER. ALL THREE SITES ARE SERVED BY THE SAME DISPENSARY. MINOR CONFLICT HAS ARISEN AS THE DISPLACED TAKE EXCEPTION TO THE PRESENCE OF SOME OF THE RETURNEES. THE MILITARY AND POLICE, DISCREET BUT UBIQUITOUS, TRY TO KEEP A LID ON EMOTIONS. ON A VISIT TO RUHEHE REFCOORD WATCHED AS THE RESPONSIBLE UNHCR FIELD OFFICER WALKED FROM CAMP TO CAMP, CHECKING TO ENSURE THAT THE NEEDS OF ALL PARTIES ARE TAKEN CARE OF. AT ONE FEEDING CENTER, WITHIN SIGHT OF REFUGEES, DISPLACED WERE RECEIVING RATIONS FROM LOCAL OFFICIALS IN A DISORGANIZED WAY. FOR THE CASUAL OBSERVER THE RATIONS SEEMED MORE GENEROUS THAN THOSE ROUTINELY OFFERED THE ENCAMPED REFUGEES.
2. DEFINITIONS THAT DRAW CLEAN LINES BETWEEN DISPLACED, RETURNEES AND REFUGEES IN BURUNDI ARE INAPPROPRIATE. THE TERRAIN LIMITS AREAS WHERE THESE TRANSIENTS CAN BE SETTLED. AS A RESULT OF THAT LIMITATION ALL TRANSIENTS ARE SETTLED WITHIN SIGHT OF ONE ANOTHER. THESE COMPETING GROUPS VIEW EACH OTHER WITH FEAR AND SUSPICION. THAT SAME SUSPICION EXTENDS TO THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IF RETURNEE ASSISTANCE IS LEFT TO HARD-PRESSED LOCAL AUTHORITIES, WHILE REFUGEES FROM RWANDA ENJOY THE RELATIVE LUXURY OF UNHCR/NGO ASSISTANCE WE WILL BE DRIVING ANOTHER WEDGE BETWEEN POTENTIALLY ANTAGONISTIC POPULATIONS.
3. WITH TIME, THE CONDITIONS IN ALL THE CAMPS HAVE IMPROVED. INITIALLY, CAMPS SUFFERED HIGH MORTALITY/MORBIDITY RATES BECAUSE OF THE SPARSITY OF RATIONS AND THE CLOSE CONDITIONS WITHIN THE CAMPS. DISEASE SPREAD RAPIDLY AND SANITATION WAS DIFFICULT. WITH THE ARRIVAL OF IMPROVED RATIONS AND A SOAP RATION THE DEATH RATES ARE BEGINNING TO STABILIZE. THE INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST HUNGER (AICF) HAVE UNDERTAKEN SUPPLEMENTAL FEEDINGS OF VULNERABLE GROUPS, AND VARIOUS DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS (MSF) GROUPS HAVE IMPROVED HEALTH CARE THROUGH HOME VISITS AND DIRECTED TREATMENT. UNHCR EXPECTS THE MORTALITY/MORBIDITY RATES TO DROP SIGNIFICANTLY BY THE NEXT REPORTING.

THE INFLUX--WHO WILL COME?
4. NO ONE AT UNHCR OR THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IS PREDICTING AN INFLUX FROM RWANDA. ALL PARTIES ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH SOLVING BURUNDI'S EXISTING POPULATION WORRIES. THAT SAID, IT IS CLEAR THAT EVERYONE FEARS A POSSIBLE INFLUX OF RWANDANS. NEITHER UN
HCR NOR THE
LOCAL AUTHORITIES COULD SUSTAIN OPERATIONS UNDER THE KIND OF ARRIVAL PRESSURE EXPERIENCED IN TANZANIA. UNHCR STAFFING IS LOW. THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF IS AUGMENTED BY UNITED NATIONS VOLUNTEERS WHO ACT EFFICIENTLY AS FIELD OFFICERS NOW. HOWEVER, SHOULD NUMBERS INCREASE DRASTICALLY, MORE EXPERIENCED AND SEASONED PERSONNEL WOULD BE NEEDED. THAT WOULD MEAN AN INCREASE IN OPERATING COSTS.
5. SHOULD RWANDANS SUDDENLY COME ACROSS THE BORDER IN

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NUMBERS, THEY WOULD ENTER THAT AREA OF BURUNDI HARDEST
HIT BY THIS COUNTRY'S OWN ETHNIC TENSIONS. THE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 BUJUMBURA 002038
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDING TEXT)
STATE FOR RP/AAA; ADDRESSEE POSTS FOR REFOFFS; GENEVA
FOR RMA; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, EAID, KA, RW, BY, XA
SUBJECT: REFCOORD UPDATE TWO -- BURUNDI
ETHNICITY OF THE NEWCOMERS WOULD PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE.
AS BURUNDI PREPARES TO CHOOSE A NEW PRESIDENT, THE
ARRIVAL OF THOUSANDS FROM ONE ETHNIC GROUP FROM RWANDA
COULD TRIGGER FEARS IN THE OTHER GROUP OF BEING
OVERWHELMED. THAT FEAR HAS LED TO VIOLENCE BEFORE.
6. THE RELIEF AND LOCAL INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE FRONTIER
REGIONS IS FRAGILE. IF A NEW BURUNDI GOVERNMENT FACED
T
E PROSPECT OF HOSTING LARGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES
EQUITABLE TREATMENT OF ALL CONCERNED WOULD BE NEAR
IMPOSSIBLE. SO MUCH PRESSURE ON SO YOUNG AND UNTRIED A
GOVERNMENT COULD LEAD TO COLLAPSE.

THE INTERNATIONALS -- WHO LEADS?

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7. OUTSIDE OF BUJUMBURA THE POPULATION RELIEF
COMMUNITY ENJOYS THE LEADERSHIP OF ENERGETIC UNHCR
FIELD OFFICERS AND SUB OFFICE DIRECTORS. IN THE TWO
REGIONS REFCOORD VISITED, HE FOUND COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE ORGANIZATIONS TO BE CLOSE AND EFFICIENT. REFCOORD
ATTENDED NUMEROUS COORDINATION MEETINGS DEALING WITH
SPECIFIC POPULATION ISSUES. WHETHER THE TOPIC WAS
REFUGEES, DISPLACED OR RETURNEES, UNHCR TOOK AN ACTIVE
INTEREST AND HELPED CREATE CONSENSUS FOR COOPERATIVE
ACTION. WHEN CONSIDERING HIS MANDATE, THE UNHCR
REPRESENTATIVE IN NGOZI SPOKE OFTEN OF ASSISTING
REFUGEE AFFECTED AREAS RATHER THAN SPECIFIC
POPULATIONS.
8. INTERLOCUTORS CLAIM THAT UNHCR BUJUMBURA PRESENTS A
LESS SUPPORTIVE PICTURE. PERSONNEL IN UNHCR AND OTHER
NGOS DECSCRIBED UNHCR COUNTRY HEADQUARTERS AS
DOCTRINAIRE IN HOLDING TIGHTLY TO THE REFUGEE MANDATE,
AND IN REFUSING TO ACCOMMODATE LOCAL REALITIES BY
COORDINATING ON THE FULL RANGE OF POPULATION ISSUES.
9. PERHAPS THE MOST ENCOURAGING THING ABOUT UNHCR
FIELD WORK IS THE CLOSE COOPERATION THE ORGANIZATION
ENJOYS WITH LOCAL OFFICIALS. IN BOTH PROVINCES VISITED
BY REFCOORD, PROVINCE GOVERNORS CALLED FREELY ON UNHCR
OFFICE DIRECTORS. THERE APPEARED TO BE FREQUENT CASUAL
CONTACT BETWEEN THE OFFICES. ALL UNHCR FIELD OFFICERS
KNOW THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS IN THEIR AREAS AND THEIR
IMPORTANT SUBORDINATES. THE SAME IS TRUE OF MILITARY
AND POLICE CONTACTS. FIELD OFFICERS HAVE GOOD ACCESS
TO LOCAL MILITARY COMMANDERS AND POLICE OFFICIALS.

THE LOCAL OFFICIALS--WHO LISTENS?

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10. NGOS IN NGOZI AND KIRUNDO UNIVERSALLY PRAISED THE
WORK OF THEIR LOCAL GOVERNORS. BOTH MEN UNDERSTAND THE

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IMPORTANCE OF STABILITY WITHIN THEIR TRANSIENT POPULATIONS AND ARE CAREFUL TO KEEP CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE WORK OF UNHCR AND OTHERS. THERE APPEAR TO BE TWO PRINCIPAL AGENDA POINTS FOR THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS. FIRST, PEOPLE WHO CAN GO HOME SHOULD BE MOVED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. TO THAT END, THE GOVERNORS OF THE REGIONS ARE MOVING DISPLACED AND RETURNEES TO THEIR HOME AREAS. THESE "TRANSFERS" TAKE PLACE WITH THE HELP AND SUPERVISION OF UNHCR FIELD OFFICERS. ON TWO OCCASIONS REFCOORD WAS PRESENT IN A CAMP WHEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A TRANSFER WAS MADE. THE RESULT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS APPLAUSE FROM THE RETURNEES. PEOPLE WISH TO GO HOME.

11. THE SECOND GOAL OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IS THE CREATION OF AN INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WILL WEAN LOCAL POPULATIONS FROM INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE. TO SUPPORT THE LOCAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM, THE GOVERNOR OF KIRUNDO IS RECEIVING THE ASSISTANCE OF THE MSF GROUP. HEALTH WORKERS ARE REENFORCING LOCAL CARE CENTERS SO THAT RETURNEES AND DISPLACED DO NOT TURN TO CAMP CARE PROVIDED FOR REFUGEES. UNHCR IS PLANNING TO HELP REBUILD THE PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE HEALTH SYSTEM THROUGH QUICK IMPACT PROJECTS (QIP) TO REPAIR DAMAGED BUILDINGS. THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF TH
E GOVERNORS,
SUPPORTED BY NGOS, IS TO CREATE A HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT WILL CREATE THE CONFIDENCE NEEDED THAT WILL ALLOW POPULATIONS TO LEAVE THE VARIOUS CAMPS.

12. THE MILITARY LEADERS ARE ALSO A PART OF THE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 BUJUMBURA 002038

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDING TEXT)

STATE FOR RP/AAA; ADDRESSEE POSTS FOR REFOFFS; GENEVA FOR RMA; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREF, EAID, KA, RW, BY, XA

SUBJECT: REFCOORD UPDATE TWO -- BURUNDI

COOPERATIVE LANDSCAPE. ALTHOUGH MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS OF FORCE APPEAR RARE, THE MILITARY AND POLICE ARE EVERYWHERE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. NO SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE OR MATERIAL CAN HAPPEN WITHOUT AT LEAST PASSIVE CONSENT OF THE FORCES OF LAW AND ORDER. NONE OF THE NOG'S WITH WHOM REFCOORD SPOKE HAD ANY EVIENCE OF INTERFERENCE BY THE SECURITY FORCES. RELIEF VEHICLES ARE ALLOWED TO PASS THROUGH ROADSIDE CHECKS UNHINDERED, AND REFCOORD WITNESSED MILITARY OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN COOPERATING FREELY WITH THE DEMANDS OF UNHCR FIELD OFFICERS.

13. FREQUENT VISITORS TO THE BORDERS WITH RWANDA ASSERT THAT REFUGEES, RETURNEES AND ORPHANS ARE ALLOWED TO PASS WITHOUT EVIDENT HARASSMENT OR UNNECESSARY DELAY. THE MILITARY, LARGELY TUTSI, HAS NOT SYSTEMATICALLY HARRIED HUTU REFUGEES FLEEING THE TUTSI LED RPF. UNHCR OFFICERS DESCRIBED THE BURUNDI ARMY AS PROFESSIONAL AND DISCIPLINED. MORE THAN ONE NGO EXPRESSED PLEASANT SURPRISE AT THE DEGREE OF COOPERATION THEY HAVE RECEIVED FROM ALL THE FORCES OF ORDER.

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PROTECTION -- WHO SUFFERS?

14. THE PRESENCE OF RWANDAN REFUGEES IN BURUNDI HAS RAISED A COMPLEX SERIES OF PROTECTION QUESTIONS. THE TUTSI REFUGEES WHO FLED THE GOVERNMENT INSPIRED HORROR ARE BEGINNING TO RETURN TO RPF CONTROLLED AREAS OF THE COUNTRY. MANY OF THE RETURNING TUTSI ARE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN RECRUITED TO THE RPF RANKS FOR MONEY OR LOYALTY TO THE CAUSE. THE RECRUITMENT TAKE PLACE IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN FULL VIEW OF THE RELIEF WORKERS.

15. HUTU RETURNEES TO BURUNDI, WHO FLED THEIR HOMES IN OCTOBER TO ESCAPE THE CONSEQUENCES OF ETHNIC FIGHTING, ARE BEING REMOVED FROM CAMPS, ACCORDING TO RELIEF WORKERS, AND POSSIBLY KILLED FOR CRIMES THEY MAY HAVE COMMITTED DURING CLASHES HERE. IN ONE RETUREE CAMP, A YOUNG WOMAN REPORTED THAT SHE AND HER CHILD WERE STONED AS THEY TRIED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOME TERRITORY. THE MOB TURNED ON HER BECAUSE OF MURDERS ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED BY HER FAMILY. THE SAME ISSUES HAVE ARISEN IN DISPLACED CAMPS. IN FACT, TRANSFERS OF A FEW CAMPS HAVE BEEN DELAYED BECAUSE THE LOCAL POPULATION REFUSE TO RETURN WITH "MURDERERS" AMONG THEM. THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAS WITHDRAWN THESE INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES LFROM THE NUMBER OF THOSE TO BE TRANSFERRED UNTIL ACTION CAN BE TAKEN TO DETERMINE THEIR GUILT OR INNOCENCE.

16. BETWEEN THE VARIOUS GROUPS, TENSIONS OVER LIMITED RESOURCES AND OLD ANTAGONISMS HAVE LED TO MINOR CONFLICTS. IN RUHEHE, REFUGEES INSIST THEY FEAR CROSSING TOWN TO REACH THE ONLY DISPENSARY. THE 150 METER WALK WOULD TAKE REFUGEES PAST DISPLACED AND RETURNEE POPULATIONS AND EXPOSE THEM TO ROCK THROWING CHILDREN, AND PERHAPS MORE DEADLY ADULTS. MUCH OF THIS CONCERN IS PERCEPTION DRIVEN FEAR. NO MAJOR CLASHES HAVE TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN THE GROUPS. BUT THE POPULATION'S FEAR IS BASED ON HARD LESSONS LEARNED IN BOTH RWANDA AND BURUNDI. CONFIDENCE BUILDING WILL BE A SLOW AND FITFUL PROCESS. A PRIEST WORKING IN ONE OF THE CAMPS TOLD A VISITING SENIOR UN OFFICIAL THAT THERE IS AN AMAZING AMOUNT OF HATE AND SUSPICION IN THE CAMPS. THE RELIGIOUS WORKER, DRAWING BROADLY ON CONFESSIONS OF PARISHIONERS SAID, "THEY DREAM OF REVENGE."

RECOMMENDATIONS

17. UNHCR SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO BREAK AWAY FROM A NARROW INTERPRETATION OF ITS MANDATE. ALL POPULATION ISSUES SHOULD BE COORDINATED WITH UNHCR AT THE COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE LEVEL. IMPLEMENTING PARTNERS SHOULD PURSUE ASSISTANCE TO DISPLACED, RETURNEES AND REFUGEES WITH UNHCR COORDINATION AND LEADERSHIP ON THE GROUND.

18. DONORS SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE QIP PROGRAM CONFORMS TO UNHCR DOCTRINE IN THAT IT "...IS USED AS AN INTEGRATED CIRCUIT APPROACH". CLUSTERS OF QIPS SHOULD BE APPLIED TO PRIORITY PROJECT AREAS ACCORDING TO A REHABILITATION STRATEGY AGREED ON BY BOTH DONORS AND AGENCIES. THIS WILL AVOID WASTING EFFORTS WITH UNRELATED AND HAPHAZARD QIPS.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 BUJUMBURA 002038
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)
STATE FOR RP/AAA; ADDRESSEE POSTS FOR REFOFFS; GENEVA
FOR RMA; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, EAID, KA, RW, BY, XA
SUBJECT: REFCOORD UPDATE TWO -- BURUNDI
19. DONORS SHOULD SUPPORT FULLY LOCAL PLANS FOR POPULATION RETURNS. THE RETURN OF DISPLACED AND RETURNEES TO THEIR HOMES WILL IMPROVE BURUNDI'S ABILITY TO DEAL WITH A POSSIBLE INFLUX OF REFUGEES.
20. DONOR ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE CHANNELED THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES, I.E., UNHCR, WFP AND UNICEF TO IMPLEMENTING ENTITIES. BILATERAL ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BURUNDI WOULD NOT REACH THE REGIONS IN TIME TO BE DECISIVE. THE BUJUMBURA GOVERNMENT HAS NEITHER THE INTEREST NOR FACILITIES TO PAY ATTENTION TO REGIONAL REHABILITATION. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IS APPROPRIATE AT THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT LEVEL, BUT EMERGENCY REHABILITATION IS NOT. LANGE
BT
#2038
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 2038
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<^TOR>940614052357 M1097992
<^TOR>940614023138 M1097756
<^TOR>940614023449 M1097763

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-3 (3,71)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 131137Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
OSRI: RUEHLS
DTG: 131137Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9023
INFO: RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4/ECJ5//
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0012
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 0071
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0131
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1243
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0300
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK 1326
RUEHSB/USDAO HARARE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//DSAA/ISA-ME/AFRICA//
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0095
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO 0062
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0014
RUEHOR/USODC GABORONE
SUBJ: ARMY COMMANDER ON ZAMBIAN CONTRIBUTION TO RWANDA PEACEKEEPING FORCE
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LUSAKA 003537
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, MOPS, PREL, ZA, OAU, UN, RW
SUBJECT: ARMY COMMANDER ON ZAMBIAN CONTRIBUTION TO RWANDA PEACEKEEPING FORCE
REFS: A) LUSAKA 3453; B) LUSAKA 3331
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DURING A JUNE 10 CALL BY POLOFF AND OUGOING AND INCOMING ODC GABORONE CHIEFS, ZAMBIA ARMY COMMANDER LTG NOBBY SIMBEYE SAID PRESIDENT CHILUBA HAD ORDERED THE ARMY TO DEPLOY A BATTALION TO RWANDA; THERE WAS NOW, SIMBEYE SAID, "NO TURNING BACK." (FYI: SIMBEYE IS IN TRACTION AT THE MAINA SOKO MILITARY HOSPITAL SUFFERING FROM A BAD BACK, WHICH HE INJURED DURING A RECENT VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA. HE WAS IN OBVIOUS PAIN THROUGHOUT OUR CONVERSATION.)
3. IN RESPONSE TO THE ORDER FROM "THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF," THE ARMY WAS PLANNING TO DEPLOY ITS COMMANDO BATTALION TO RWANDA, ACCORDING TO SIMBEYE. ECHOING VICE PRESIDENT MWANAWASA'S JUNE 8 CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR (REF A), HOWEVER, SIMBEYE SAID THE ARMY WOULD REQUIRE EQUIPMENT AND OTHER SUPPORT IN ORDER TO DEPLOY. SAYING THAT HE HAD HEARD "ON THE RADIO" THAT THE U.S., GERMANY, AND BELGIUM WOULD ASSIST AFRICAN TROOP CONTRIBUTORS, SIMBEYE SAID THE ZAMBIANS WOULD NEED

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ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS, TRUCKS, AND A COUPLE OF BOATS FOR RIVERINE OPERATIONS.

4. WE SAID WE WOULD PASS ALONG SIMBEYE'S REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE, BUT ADVISED HIM THAT SUCH REQUESTS SHOULD BE CHANNELED THROUGH THE U.N. SIMBEYE TOOK THE POINT AND ORDERED A SUBORDINATE TO DO SO.

5. ON JUNE 9, INFORMATION MINISTER AND CHIEF GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN KELI WALUBITA ANNOUNCED THAT THE GRZ WOULD SEND TROOPS TO RWANDA, FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT THE GRZ HAS DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE.

KUCHEL

BT

#3537

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3537

TOR: 940613074342 M1096084

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M-3 (3.72)
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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHJBA2073 1651416-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 141416Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 141416Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1800
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0472
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3897
INFO: ****
SUBJ: REFUGEE CLERGY FAIR GAME IN WESTERN RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BUJUMBURA 002073
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PHUM, PREL, RW, CG, BY
SUBJECT: REFUGEE CLERGY FAIR GAME IN WESTERN RWANDA
1. AMCIT JUDITH ALLARD WHO RECENTLY BROUGHT 17 NUNS OUT OF RWANDA, FEARS LOCAL CLERGY OF TUTSI ETHNICITY OR APPEARANCE ARE AT SERIOUS RISK IN THE CYANGUGU REGION OF WESTERN RWANDA CURRENTLY UNDER CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT TROOPS. SHE SAYS WHITE FATHERS IN CYANGUGU REPORTED WITNESSING THE MURDER OF THEIR STUDENTS BY LOCAL CIVILIANS. THOUGH ALLARD BROUGHT 17 NUNS OF BOTH ETHNICITIES ACROSS THE RWANDAN BORDER, OTHER INDIVIDUALS DECLINED TO APPROACH BORDER AUTHORITIES FEARING THEIR FEATURES WERE TOO OBVIOUSLY TUTSI. THESE NUNS TOLD ALLARD THEY HAD SEEN OTHER CLERGY KILLED FOR THIS REASON.
2. ALLARD REPORTED THE RWANDA/ZAIRE BORDER WAS NOT OFFICIALLY CLOSED AT CYANGUGU. ON THE RWANDA SIDE, THE PERSONAL CONTACTS OF AN EXPAT NUN ACCOMPANYING ALLARD FACILITATED ARRANGEMENTS. IN ZAIRE, THE BORDER OPENS WITH PAYOFFS TO "EVERYONE IN SIGHT." ALLARD DID REPORT THE ROAD TO BUKAVU BLOCKED ABOUT A THIRD OF THE WAY UP FROM BURUNDI, BUT THAT SHE ENCOUNTERED NO OBSTRUCTIONS ON THE ALTERNATE DIRT ROAD SHE TOOK THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS. LANGE
BT
#2073
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2073
TOR: 940614111559 M1098576
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3,74)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA4741 1660928-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 150928Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 150928Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0636
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0398
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RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5919
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0298
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0012
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2546
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0763
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4137
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0214
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1993
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0210
SUBJ: RPF INVITATION TO AMBASSADOR RAWSON
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 004741
NAIROBI/BUJUMBURA FOR AMB. DAVID RAWSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OTRA, PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RPF INVITATION TO AMBASSADOR RAWSON
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE; SEE PARA 5.
3. RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) CHAIRMAN ALEXIS KANYARENGWE CALLED ON AMBASSADOR CARSON JUNE 14 (CONVERSATION BEING REPORTED SEPTEL). AMB. CARSON TOLD KANYARENGWE THAT AMBASSADOR DAVID RAWSON AND A DELEGATION WOULD BE IN KAMPALA THIS WEEKEND AND ASKED IF THE RPF WOULD MEET WITH THEM.
4. KANYARENGWE EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO AMBASSADOR RAWSON TO VISIT HIM IN MULINDI, RWANDA. AMB. CARSON REPLIED THAT WE WOULD FORWARD THE INVITATION TO WASHINGTON. KANYARENGWE SAID THAT IF AMB. RAWSON IS NOT ABLE TO COME TO MULINDI, THAT THE RPF WOULD CERTAINLY SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO KAMPALA TO MEET HIM.
-
5. ACTION REQUESTED. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND THE DELEGATION WISH TO TRAVEL TO MULINDI (APPROXIMATELY AN HOUR'S DRIVE FROM KABALE, UGANDA), AND WHETHER STATE DEPARTMENT CLEARANCE WOULD BE GRANTED FOR THE DELEGATION TO TRAVEL TO RWANDA. IF THE DELEGATION DOES NOT TRAVEL

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TO MULINDI, SHOULD WE SET UP AN APPOINTMENT FOR THEM
TO MEET THE RPF IN KAMPALA?
6. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SHIPPY
BT
#4741
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4741

TOR: 940615054137 M1100124

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,76)
VL 10/23/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA2088 1661547-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 151547Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 151547Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3909
INFO: RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1078
RUSNNOG/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEIAYD/ATO AFRICA PRIORITY
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0811
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0255
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1151
RUEHOU/AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU PRIORITY 0268
RUEHNM/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY 0282
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1811
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0601
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0721
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY 0287
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1237
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1111
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1079
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0559
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0829
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0475
SUBJ: VIOLENT INCIDENTS IN THE PROVINCES II
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BUJUMBURA 002088
TUNIS FOR A/S MOOSE
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, USAID AND PC
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
NAIROBI FOR CO CO. "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, EAID, ASEC, BY
SUBJECT: VIOLENT INCIDENTS IN THE PROVINCES II
REF: A) BUJUMBURA 2061
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. IN THE PAST 24 HOURS, THERE HAVE BEEN FEW REPORTS OF FURTHER TROUBLE. NATIONAL RADIO AND TV HAVE NOT MENTIONED ANY NEW INCIDENTS. HOWEVER, SEVERAL CONTACTS HAVE REPORTED CONTINUING TROUBLE IN BUJUMBURA RURAL AND KAYANZA, AND A SOURCE WHO LIVES IN THE BUJUMBURA QUARTIER OF BWIZA SAYS THAT AT LEAST FOUR GRENADES WERE THROWN LAST NIGHT, AND SEVERAL THE NIGHT BEFORE. NONE DETONATED, ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE.

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3. IT SEEMS CLEAR NOW THAT THE GRENADE INCIDENT IN KAYANZA (REFTEL) THIS PAST WEEKEND WAS THE SPARK THAT SET CIVILIANS AGAINST THE MILITARY IN THAT TOWN. THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF 16 DEAD MAY BE LOW. THE TOWN IS STILL UNDER MILITARY OCCUPATION, MANY BUILDINGS HAVE BEEN BURNED OR DESTROYED, AND A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF INHABITANTS HAVE FLED TO THE SURROUNDING COUNTRYSIDE. THE MILITARY AND TUTSI CIVILIANS ARE SAID TO HAVE SUFFERED CASUALTIES AT THE HANDS OF HUTUS, ENRAGED AT THE DETENTION OF THE SUSPECTED GRENADE-THROWER. EVEN THE LOCAL PARLIAMENTARY REP (A FRODEBISTE) DEMANDED HIS RELEASE.
4. IN NYAMBUYE, BUJUMBURA RURAL, CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND ARMED ELEMENTS CONTINUE, ACCORDING TO JEAN-MARIE GASANA, A REPORTER WITH LA SEMAINE. HE SAID THIS MORNING THAT TUTSIS AND SOLDIERS WERE "DROPPING LIKE FLIES," PROBABLY AN OVERSTATEMENT. IN SPITE OF OFFICIAL URGING FOR THE DISPLACED FROM BUJUMBURA RURAL, WHO CAME TO BUJUMBURA TOWN THESE PAST FEW DAYS, TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES, MANY REMAIN IN TOWN. THE VAST MAJORITY OF THESE DISPLACED HAVE BEEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.
5. GASANA, A DENIZEN OF BWIZA QUARTIER IN BUJUMBURA, SAYS THAT THE TUTSI GROUP SOJEDEM, (SOCIETY OF YOUTH FOR THE DEFENSE OF MINORITIES?), ONE OF WHOSE MEMBERS THREW THE FRIDAY GRENADE, HAS CONTINUED THROWING GRENADES IN BWIZA. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE ALL FAILED TO DETONATE, BECAUSE THE SOJEDEM MILITANTS ARE NOT SKILLED AT USING GRENADES.
6. A RWANDAN TUTSI HIMSELF, GASANA SAYS THAT RWANDAN TUTSIS OF BUJUMBURA ARE BEING HEAVILY PRESSURED EITHER TO JOIN THE RPF IN RWANDA OR, FAILING THAT, TO SUBSIDIZE THEM. STRICT RECORDS ARE MAINTAINED, HE SAYS, OF WHO HAS CONTRIBUTED AND WHO HAS NOT.
7. SINCE LAST SUNDAY (JUNE 12), THE COMITE DE SUIVI (NATIONAL CRISIS COMMISSION) UNDER THE PM KANYENKIKO LEAD HAS STEPPED UP ITS PACIFICATION EFFORTS. LOCAL ZONE AND PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS WERE ENJOINED BY THEM IN A SPECIAL MEETING ON MONDAY TO PRESS PEACE EFFORTS FOR A RETURN OF CALM. A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE CURRENT IMPASSE IN POLITICAL TALKS ON SUCCESSION COULD RELIEVE TENSION. KANYENKIKO CALLED A MEETING OF ALL PARTIES AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETE CIVILE YESTERDAY (6/14) IN AN EFFORT TO UNTRACK THE PROCESS.
LANGE
BT
#2088
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2088

TOR: 940615115108 M1100670

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHSAA8478 1671527-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 161527Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
OSRI: RUEHSA
DTG: 161527Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4747
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0016
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1273
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 1404
RUEHOR/AMEMBASSY GABORONE 1250
RUEHMB/AMEMBASSY MBABANE 1963
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0111
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0419
RUEHRU/AMEMBASSY MASERU 1767
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0852
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0865
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK 2286
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1089
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0016
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 3495
RUEHDU/AMCONSUL DURBAN 2764
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 3125
SUBJ: POSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIATION IN RWANDAN CONFLICT

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.78)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PRETORIA 008478
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY; PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINS, MASS, RW, SF, UN
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIATION IN RWANDAN CONFLICT
REF: A) PRETORIA 8217 B) IIR 6 880 0195 94 (NOTAL)
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON JUNE 15, LOCAL PAPERS CARRIED A SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION STORY THAT PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA HAD BEEN ASKED BY BOTH SIDES OF THE RWANDAN CIVIL WAR TO MEDIATE TALKS TO END THE CONFLICT. THE APPROACHES WERE REPORTEDLY MADE DURING THE OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. THE NEWS STORY IS BASED ON STATEMENTS MADE IN TUNIS ON JUNE 14 BY PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN JOEL NETSHITENDZE. NETSHITENDZE TOLD REPORTERS THAT MANDELA IS PREPARED TO MEET WITH

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO WARRING PARTIES. POLOFF SPOKE WITH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DFA) DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA ROELF VAN VUUREN ON THE

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AFTERNOON OF JUNE 15. VAN VUUREN SAID THAT DFA HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF POSSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIATION. HE SPECULATED THAT MANDELA HAD AGREED TO BECOME INVOLVED "OFF THE CUFF." VAN VUUREN HOPES TO GET A READ-OUT ON THE INITIATIVE WHEN THE PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION RETURNS TO PRETORIA. HE AGREED TO KEEP US INFORMED.

3. JUNE 15 PAPERS ALSO CARRIED A RELATED STORY ON THE PREVIOUSLY MOOTED POSSIBLE PROVISION BY SOUTH AFRICA OF 50 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS TO THE UNITED NATIONS TASK FORCE IN RWANDA. REPORTEDLY, MANDELA TOLD A LUNCHEON AUDIENCE AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY IN TUNIS ON JUNE 14 THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN ASKED BY THE U.N. TO LEASE THE APC'S WITH DRIVERS TO THE TASK FORCE. MANDELA SAID THAT THERE WERE "PROBLEMS" WITH THIS REQUEST AND THE ISSUE WAS STILL BEING DISCUSSED. MEDIA REPORTS INDICATE THAT THE "PROBLEMS" RELATE TO THE DRIVERS. AS REPORTED REFTELS, NEITHER THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENSE FORCE (SANDF) NOR DFA FAVOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PERSONNEL FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AT THIS TIME.

4. COMMENT: DFA CLAIMS OF BEING TOTALLY UNINFORMED ABOUT A POTENTIALLY MAJOR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE ARE PLAUSIBLE. THE QUESTION OF THE 50 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS POSES DIFFICULTIES BOTH TO DFA AND TO THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. FOR EXAMPLE, MOVING THE APC'S FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO RWANDA WOULD BE A COSTLY VENTURE. IN FACT, IF SOUTH AFRICA DOES AGREE TO PROVIDE THE APC'S, SOME OF OUR SOUTH AFRICAN CONTACTS SPECULATE THAT WE WILL BE ASKED TO TRANSPORT THEM TO RWANDA. END COMMENT.

5. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. LYMAN

BT
#8478
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8478

TOR: 940616113643 M1103042

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHFRA6571 1680039-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 170038Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 170038Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6360
INFO: RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA IMMEDIATE 0459
RUEHRB/AMEMBASSY RABAT 3382
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 1095
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0810
RUEHLI/AMEMBASSY LISBON 0635
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8226
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0783
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0472
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK 0527
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1800
SUBJ: A/S MOOSE'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS ON THE
- LUSAKA NEGOTIATIONS, JUNE 16

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3180)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PARIS 16571
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, AO, FR
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS ON THE
- LUSAKA NEGOTIATIONS, JUNE 16
REF: PARIS 15437
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS AN ACTION REQUEST; SEE PARAGRAPH 5.
3. DURING HIS JUNE 16 STOP IN PARIS, A/S MOOSE BRIEFED SENIOR GOF AFRICANISTS FROM THE QUAI (INCLUDING FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE'S STAFF), THE ELYSEE AND THE MINISTRY OF COOPERATION DURING A WORKING BREAKFAST ON THE STATUS OF THE LUSAKA NEGOTIATIONS. MOOSE ALSO HELD A SEPARATE DISCUSSION ON ANGOLA LATER IN THE MORNING WITH FERNAND WIBAUX, AFRICAN AFFAIRS ADVISOR TO RPR LEADER CHIRAC. EXCHANGES ON RWANDA, ZAIRE (PARTICULARLY MOBUTU'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE ANGOLAN WAR) WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL.
4. MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT ALTHOUGH AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON VIRTUALLY ALL THE POINTS IN THE MEDIATION PACKAGE OF SGSR BEYE, THE GOVERNORSHIP OF HUAMBO REMAINS A KEY -- AND STILL UNDECIDED -- ISSUE FOR UNITA. MOOSE EXPRESSED SOME SKEPTICISM THAT THE GRA WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE A CONCESSION ON THE HUAMBO ISSUE. HE ADDED THAT WE ARE MAKING A CONCERTED PUSH TO WIN SAVIMBI'S AGREEMENT TO THE PACKAGE SINCE UNITA WILL HOLD THE POSITION OF VICE-GOVERNOR. BEYE BELIEVES THAT

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IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO STRIKE A COMPROMISE WHERE THE GRA NAMES THE GOVERNOR OF HUAMBO BUT AGREES, IN ADVANCE, TO APPOINT A NEUTRAL FIGURE, ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES.

5. MOOSE EXPLAINED SGSR BEYE HAS ASKED TO MEET WITH SAVIMBI IN HUAMBO IN AN EFFORT TO DISCUSS THE MEDIATION PACKAGE -- A REQUEST THAT HAS BEEN DENIED. MOOSE ASKED IF THE GOF WOULD CONTACT SAVIMBI QUICKLY TO STRESS THE THE NEED TO RECEIVE BEYE AND TO BRING THE LUSAKA NEGOTIATIONS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS AGREED TO DO SO. WIBAUX ALSO UNDERTOOK TO PASS THE SAME MESSAGE VIA THE UNITA REPRESENTATIVE IN PARIS.

6. AFTER REVIEWING THE MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA, MOOSE NOTED THAT DURING HIS MEETING WITH DOS SANTOS ON THE MARGINS OF THE OAU SUMMIT HE STRESSED TO THE ANGOLAN LEADER THAT IT IS UNACCEPTABLE FOR THE GRA TO SEEK HUMANITARIAN AID FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AT THE SAME TIME IT IS REARMING HEAVILY AND PURSUING THE WAR SEEMINGLY WITHOUT CONCERN FOR THE HUMAN MISERY CAUSED. MOOSE URGED DOS SANTOS TO SHOW MAXIMUM RESTRAINT AND TO REACH A FINAL AGREEMENT QUICKLY IN LUSAKA. DOS SANTOS ACKNOWLEDGED MOOSE'S ARGUMENT WITHOUT MAKING ANY COMMITMENT TO A SPECIFIC ACTION. IN RESPONSE, THE FRENCH EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT HARDLINERS AROUND DOS SANTOS ARE URGING HIM TO PROSECUTE THE WAR TO A FINAL VICTORY.

7. ACTION REQUEST: DE LA SABLIERE REITERATED HIS REQUEST (REFTEL) FOR MORE DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE AMOUNT OF FUNDS THAT MOBUTU IS RECEIVING FROM THE SMUGGLING OF ANGOLAN DIAMONDS AND ARMS SALES THROUGH ZAIRE. PLEASE ADVISE.

8. THIS MESSAGE WAS DRAFTED FOLLOWING THE DEPARTURE OF A/S MOOSE.

9. LUANDA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

BT

#6571

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6571

TOR: 940616204316 M1104287

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.81)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHTUA4094 1680811-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 170811Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY TUNIS
OSRI: RUEHTU
DTG: 170811Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY TUNIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6443
INFO: RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 0014
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0518
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0015
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0030
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0485
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1520
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1088
RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: A/S MOOSE MEETING WITH TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BEN YAHIA: RWANDA TOP CONCERN

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 TUNIS 004094
PARIS FOR PERLOW/ALLEGRONE
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY/JOHNSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OAU, TS
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE MEETING WITH TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BEN YAHIA: RWANDA TOP CONCERN
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. A/S MOOSE HAD A PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION ON AFRICAN ISSUES WITH TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BEN YAHIA ON JUNE 14, BEFORE THE SECOND SESSION OF THE OAU SUMMIT. BEN YAHIA OBSERVED THAT RWANDA HEADED THE LIST OF OAU PRIORITIES AND TUNISIA WOULD PROBABLY INCREASE ITS TROOP CONTINGENT THERE. ON BURUNDI, BEN YAHIA SAID THE OAU HAD REACHED AN AGREEMENT TO EXTEND ITS OBSERVER MISSION FOR THREE MONTHS, INCLUDING TUNISIAN TROOPS. ON LIBERIA, AT MOOSE'S REQUEST, TUNISIA WILL TRY TO BE HELPFUL. REGARDING LIBYA, BEN YAHIA IMPLIED THAT QADHAFI'S ABSENCE FROM THE SUMMIT HAD HELPED TO FACILITATE A "COMPROMISE" RESOLUTION ON LOCKERBIE. AS FOR WESTERN SAHARA, BEN YAHIA CALLED FOR DISCREET ACTION AND ASKED FOR U.S. HELP WITH MOROCCO. MOOSE RAISED THE IDEA OF AN OAU TRUST FUND FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND SAID THE U.S. WOULD TRANSFER $1.5 MILLION FOR THAT PURPOSE. BEN YAHIA INFORMED MOOSE THAT PRESIDENT BEN ALI WISHES TO ADDRESS THE UPCOMING UNGA IN HIS CAPACITY AS OAU CHAIRMAN AND WOULD APPRECIATE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON. MOOSE AND BEN YAHIA AGREED TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH OVER THE NEXT YEAR. SEE

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ACTION REQUEST PARA 18. END SUMMARY.
3. ON JUNE 18, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGE MOOSE MET TUNISIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HABIB BEN YAHIA SHORTLY BEFORE THE OAU SUMMIT SECOND SESSION FOR A HALF-HOUR DISCUSSION OF CURRENT AFRICAN ISSUES. AMBASSADOR ALSO PARTICIPATED. POLOFF AND MFA U.S. DESK OFFICER AZZOUZ WERE NOTETAKERS.

RWANDA LEADS THE AGENDA

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4. THE TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR U.S. INTEREST IN AFRICA AS A WHOLE AND AMERICA'S WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO ASSIST IN REGIONAL TROUBLE SPOTS. SPEAKING AS THE OAU HOST FOREIGN MINISTER, BEN YAHIA SAID HE COUNTS ON CONTINUED U.S. SUPPORT, ESPECIALLY IN THE RWANDA SITUATION. A/S MOOSE RESPONDED THAT HE WAS DISTURBED BY NEW REPORTS OF TENSIONS IN BURUNDI, FROM WHERE THE U.N. PLANS TO DEPLOY TROOPS TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN RWANDA. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT BURUNDI SEEMS WILLING TO ALLOW U.N. TROOPS TO USE ITS TERRITORY FOR THAT PURPOSE, PROVIDED UGANDA AND OTHER NEIGHBORING STATES DO THE SAME. IT IS ESSENTIAL, HE SAID, THAT HELP BE SENT TO RWANDA QUICKLY.
5. BEN YAHIA POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD RECENTLY APPEALED TO U.N. SECGEN BOUTROS GHALI FOR ADDITIONAL TROOPS FOR RWANDA. TUNISIA, HE SAID, WILL PROBABLY INCREASE ITS TROOP CONTINGENT IN THE U.N. FORCE, BUT THE QUESTION OF ARREARAGES FOR PAST PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS COMPLICATES MATTERS. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS ASKED CONGRESS FOR SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDS TO SUPPORT PEACEKEEPING. AMBASSADOR RECALLED THAT THE ARREARAGES ISSUE CAME UP DURING THE RECENT CODEL SIMON VISIT, AND SENATOR SIMON HAD PROMISED TO HELP.
6. ACCORDING TO BEN YAHIA, THE OAU IS ATTEMPTING TO SPUR TALKS IN RWANDA, BUT THE RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) HAS STEADFASTLY REFUSED. THE AFRICAN STATES, HE ASSERTED, PREFER A NEGOTIATED OUTCOME TO IMPOSING A SOLUTION THROUGH THE U.N. "BLUE HELMETS." BEN YAHIA STATED HIS BELIEF THAT A BASIS OF DISCUSSION EXISTS, BUT THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT DELEGATION INSISTS ON MAKING AN ISSUE OF UGANDA'S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT- EVEN TO THE POINT OF PRESSING FOR AN OAU CONDEMNATION. A/S MOOSE COMMENTED THAT PRESIDENT MUSEVENI UNDERSTANDS THE DELICACY OF THE SITUATION, AND THAT PRESSURE MUST BE EXERTED ON THE RPF, WHICH
WILL NOT ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE UNTIL THE U.N. CAN DEMONSTRATE ITS ABILITY TO PROTECT THEIR PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH.
7. BEN YAHIA ASSERTED THAT BELGIUM, THE FORMER

PARIS FOR PERLOW/ALLEGRONE
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY/JOHNSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OAU, TS

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SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE MEETING WITH TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BEN YAHIA: RWANDA TOP CONCERN

COLONIAL POWER, HAS SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD RWANDA. HE SAID HE HAS ALREADY APPROACHED THE BELGIANS ON ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA AND, WHILE RECEIVING NO PROMISES OF SENDING TROOPS, WAS ASSURED THAT BRUSSELS WOULD SEND MONEY AND EQUIPMENT. OAU SECGEN SALIM, HE SAID, HAD RECEIVED SIMILAR ASSURANCES. HOWEVER, NOTHING HAS ARRIVED IN RWANDA YET.

OTHER ISSUES

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9. BURUNDI: BEN YAHIA SAID THAT AN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED TO EXTEND THE OBSERVER MISSION IN BURUNDI, WHICH CONTAINS TUNISIAN TROOPS, FOR ANOTHER THREE MONTHS. THE MINISTER COMMENTED THAT AN INCREASE IN TROOP STRENGTH HAD BEEN CONSIDERED, BUT REJECTED BECAUSE OF THE STRAIN IT WOULD IMPOSE ON THE OAU BUDGET. HE ESTIMATED THE COST OF THE CURRENT MISSION TO BE IN THE RANGE OF USD 750,000 FOR THREE MONTHS. BEN YAHIA COMPLAINED ABOUT THE OBSERVERS' OUTDATED AND WORN EQUIPMENT, AND THE FAILURE OF THE BURUNDI GOVERNMENT TO ISSUE A DETAILED MANDATE FOR THE MISSION. "BURUNDI IS A TIME BOMB," HE SAID, "AND WE ARE TRYING TO FIND A QUICK REMEDY."

10. LIBERIA: A/S MOOSE CITED INTERNAL DIVISIONS AS A PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING LIBERIA. WE HAVE NOW REACHED A DECISIVE POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL DETERMINE SUCCESS OR FAILURE, HE SAID. THE DISRUPTIVE ARMS FLOW, PARTICULARLY FROM NIGERIA, MUST BE STANCHED IF THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BRING RESULTS. MOOSE CALLED ON TUNISIA TO USE ITS INFLUENCE IN THE OAU TO SUPPORT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND HELP OBTAIN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR LIBERIA. BEN YAHIA AGREED TO CONSIDER WAYS TUNISIA MIGHT BE HELPFUL.

11. ANGOLA/MOZAMBIQUE: THE TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CHARACTERIZED THE ANGOLAN SITUATION AS MORE HOPEFUL THAN AT LAST YEAR'S SUMMIT, BECAUSE THE CONFLICTING PARTIES MAY AT LAST REACH AGREEMENT TO BEGIN TALKING DURING THE SUMMIT. HE WAS ALSO UPBEAT ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE, ALTHOUGH HE WARNED THAT THE "ANGOLA SYNDROME" MUST BE BORNE IN MIND. BEN YAHIA ASSERTED THAT RENAMO RECEIVES CONSIDERABLE MONEY FROM ABROAD--ABOUT USD 18-20 MILLION--ACCORDING TO HIS SOURCES. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT RENAMO NEEDS FUNDS TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS, BUT AGREED THAT SUCH A SUM SEEMS EXCESSIVE.

12. LIBYA/LOCKERBIE: BEN YAHIA RECALLED THAT LIBYA WAS VERY ACTIVE ON THE LOCKERBIE ISSUE AT THENAM MEETING IN CAIRO AND THERE WAS CONCERN IN TUNISIAN QUARTERS THAT QADHAFI MIGHT REPEAT THE PERFORMANCE AT THE OAU SUMMIT. ACCORDING TO THE MINISTER, WHEN THE GOT WAS ALERTED THAT QADHAFI MIGHT TRY TO FLY INTO TUNIS FOR THE MEETING, THE TUNISIAN GOVERNMENT WAS VERY FIRM AND CLEAR IN INFORMING HIM THAT PERMISSION TO LAND WOULD BE DENIED. WHILE ADMITTING THAT THE DRAFT OAU RESOLUTION ON LOCKERBIE HAS PROBLEMS, BEN

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YAHIA CLAIMS THE DOCUMENT REPRESENTS A MARKED IMPROVEMENT OVER THE ORIGINAL DRAFT. ACCORDING TO BEN YAHIA, QADHAFI WANTED TO COME TO TUNIS TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR AN UNACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. THE GOT WAS PERSUADED THAT SOME MODEST CONCESSIONS TO QADHAFI ON LOCKERBIE WOULD KEEP HIM HOME. BEN YAHIA SAID THAT PRESIDENT BEN ALI WAS IN CONTACT WITH BOUTROS GHALI AND THE FRENCH TO DETERMINE IF A "LEGAL" COMPROMISE IS POSSIBLE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE U.N. RESOLUTIONS. HE MENTIONED A TRIAL OF THE SUSPECTS IN GIBRALTAR OR A CHANNEL ISLAND AS POSSIBILITIES THAT ARE UNDER DISCUSSION.

13. WESTERN SAHARA: BEN YAHIA STRESSED THAT THE WESTERN SAHARA PROBLEM MUST BE CONTAINED. HE POINTED OUT THAT ALTHOUGH POLISARIO REPRESENTATIVES WERE ADMITTED TO THE OAU CONFERENCE HALL, THEY WERE NOT RECEIVD BY TUNISIAN OFFICIALS, OR WAS THEIR FLAG AMONG THE AFRICAN FLAGS IN THE HALL AND AROUND TUNIS. IN THE MINISTER'S ESTIMATION, BOUTROS GHALI IS SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE CHANCES OF AN AGREEMENT BEING REACHED. HE ASSERTED THAT THE SAHRAOUIS DO NOT SEEM

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 TUNIS 004094

PARIS FOR PERLOW/ALLEGRONE
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY/JOHNSON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OAU, TS
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE MEETING WITH TUNISIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BEN YAHIA: RWANDA TOP CONCERN

TO WANT TO USE OPPORTUNITIES MADE AVAILABLE TO THEM

TO OPEN BACK CHANNELS FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH MOROCCO. BEN YAHIA URGED MORE DISCREET ACTION. HE STATED THAT BEN ALI PLANS TO TALK TO ALGERIAN PRESIDENT ZEROUAL, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. USE ITS INFLUENCE ON MOROCCO TO AVOID ESCALATION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA PROBLEM.

14. SOMALIA/EGYPT/ETHIOPIA: BEN YAHIA SAID HE HAS HEARD FROM BOTH THE KENYANS AND ERITREANS THAT THE IGADD DISCUSSIONS IN NAIROBI ARE BOGGING DOWN. WHILE REFUSING TO SEAT ANY SOMALI FACTION AT THE SUMMIT, THE MINISTER OFFERED TO ASSIST THE SOMALIS WITH THEIR NEGOTIATIONS. BEN YAHIA OBSERVED THAT EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA ARE AT ODDS ON THE SOMALIA ISSUE. EGYPT, HE ADDED, IS SENSITIVE ON ALL ISSUES TOUCHING UPON THE NILE. A/S MOOSE SAID HE SENSED THAT ETHIOPIA WOULD LIKE A SERIOUS DIALOGUE WITH CAIRO ON SUDAN AND SOMALIA, BUT THAT THE EGYPTIAN RESPONSE HAS BEEN TIMID.

15. FINANCIAL ISSUES: A/S MOOSE REGISTERED USG SUPPORT FOR THE OAU'S CONFLICT RESOLUTION EFFORTS. HE ADVISED BEN YAHIA THAT WE WILL SOON TRANSFER USD 1.5 MILLION FOR THAT PURPOSE AND AN ADDITIONAL USD 5 MILLION HAS BEEN REQUESTED FOR NXT YEAR. MOOSE RECOMMENDED THAT THE OAU PURSUE THE IDEA OF CREATING A TRUST FUND OR ENDOWMENT FOR THE FUNDS. BEN YAHIA AGREED THAT THE NOTION IS WORTH CONSIDERING. HE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF DONATIONS OF FOODSTUFFS INSTEAD OF CURRENCY TO SUPPORT CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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EFFORTS. A/S MOOSE BROUGHT UP THE CONFRONTATIONAL AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK MEETING IN NAIROBI LAST MAY. HE CAUTIONED THAT THE POWER OF CERTAIN BANK DIRECTORS, WHO LOOK OUT ONLY FOR THEIR PERSONAL INTERESTS, MUST BE CONTAINED, OR AFRICA WOULD RISK THE FAILURE OF YET ANOTHER REGIONAL INSTITUTION. BEN YAHIA NOTED THAT THE BANK ISSUE IS ON THE OAU AGENDA.
16. TUNISIA/UNITED STATES: BEN YAHIA WELCOMED THE IDEA OF A WHITE HOUSE SEMINAR ON AFRICA AT THE END OF JUNE AND ASKED IF TUNISIAN AMBASSADOR KHELIL IN WASHINGTON MIGHT BE INVITED. THE FOREIGN MINISTER REMINDED A/S MOOSE AND THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER IN TUNIS LAST DECEMBER, AND AGAIN MORE RECENTLY IN OSLO, ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF PRESIDENT BEN ALI DELIVERING A SPEECH AT THE UPCOMING UNGA IN HIS CAPACITY AS OAU CHAIRMAN. IF BEN ALI WERE TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES, THE MINISTER SAID, A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON WOULD BE REQUESTED.
17. AMBASSADOR SAID THE U.S. AND TUNISIA NEED A MECHANISM FOR EXCHANGING INFORMATION ON OAU ISSUES OVER THE NEXT YEAR. BEN YAHIA AND MOOSE AGREED. BEN YAHIA ALSO INVITED A/S MOOSE TO RETURN TO TUNISIA FOR CONSULTATIONS DURING THE COURSE OF BEN ALI'S OAU CHAIRMANSHIP.
18. ACTION REQUEST: WE EXPECT TUNISIA TO WORK HARD AT DOING A GOOD JOB IN THE OAU CHAIR AND TO BE RESPONSIVE TO U.S. VIEWS ON INDIVIDUAL ISSUES IF, REPEAT, IF, WE PROVIDE A CLEAR RATIONALE ON A REGULAR BASIS OF OUR POSITIONS AND OF THEIR EVOLUTION OVER TIME. WE ENCOURAGE WASHINGTON TO THINK OF A REGULAR SERIES OF CABLES, PERHAPS ON A MONTHLY BASIS, WHICH WOULD ALLOW US TO MAINTAIN AN INFORMED DIALOGUE WITH THE MFA AND TO INFLUENCE GOT ACTIONS AS OAU CHAIR.
19. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
MCCARTHY
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#4094
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0976
SUBJ: TSHISEKEDI EMISSARIES PLEAD FOR U.S.
- SUPPORT ON "LEGALITY"
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,82)
VR 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KINSHASA 03481
ROME FOR EMB VATICAN
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CG
SUBJECT: TSHISEKEDI EMISSARIES PLEAD FOR U.S.
- SUPPORT ON "LEGALITY"
1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: EMISSARIES OF RADICAL OPPOSITION LEADER ETIENNE TSHISEKEDI CALLED ON EMBASSY (AS WELL AS BELGIANS AND FRENCH) JUNE 16 TO RESPOND TO ZAIRE TRILATERAL DEMARCHE. THEY PLEADED FOR THE U.S. TO QUESTION THE LEGALITY OF KENGO'S ELECTION AS PRIME MINISTER, ARGUING THAT THIS WOULD CONVINCE ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO TO SEND THE QUESTION TO THE SUPREME COURT. THEY PLEDGED TO ABIDE BY ANY DECISION THE SUPREME COURT RENDERED. THEY ALSO CRITICIZED THE RECENT MOVEMENT OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO THE BORDER AREA WITH ZAIRE AND INDICATED THEY WERE TRYING TO MEND FENCES WITH THE FRENCH ON THE QUESTION OF THE ANNOUNCED BOYCOTT OF FRENCH BUSINESS INTERESTS. END SUMMARY.
3. ON JUNE 16, CHRISTIAN BADIBANGI (WHO NOW CALLS HIMSELF 'FOREIGN MINISTER' OF THE TSHISEKEDI GOVERNMENT AFTER THE DEFECTION OF PIERRE LUMBI TO KENGO'S UDI) AND MAITRE JEAN-JOSEPH MUKENDI WA MULUMBA (A MEMBER OF TSHISEKEDI'S INNER CIRCLE) CALLED ON ADCM (AND THE BELGIAN AND FRENCH EMBASSIES) IN RESPONSE TO THE TRILATERAL DEMARCHE TO TSHISEKEDI PRIOR TO THE ELECTION OF KENGO. REFERRING TO THE NON-PAPER THE THREE HAD LEFT WITH TSHISEKEDI, BADIBANGI REVIEWED THE "TRUE OPPOSITION" PERSPECTIVE ON THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO KENGO'S ELECTION BY THE HCR-PT. HIS MAIN THEME WAS THAT MAJOR STRIDES HAD BEEN MADE IN APRIL WHEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL TEXT FOR

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THE TRANSITION HAD BEEN AGREED BY ALL COMPONENTS OF THE POLITICAL CLASS AND MOBUTU HAD SIGNED IT. HOWEVER, THE TEXT HAD BEEN VIOLATED BY THE ELECTION OF KENGO AND IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE EXTERNAL ACTORS TO NOTE AND PROTEST THIS FACT, AS, HE SAID, ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO HAD DONE IN HIS STATEMENT WITH JOSEPH ILEO FROM BRUSSELS.

4. BADIBANGI SAID THAT IN THE MEETING WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR EARLIER IN THE DAY, THEY HAD EMPHASIZED THAT THE BOYCOTT ON FRENCH COMMERCIAL INTERESTS WAS NOT "REALLY" AGAINST FRANCE. FOR EXAMPLE, EVERYONE KNEW THAT THE MAJORITY SHAREHOLDER IN THE ELF DISTRIBUTION NETWORK IN ZAIRE WAS PRESIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR NGBANDA. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THIS IS A TACTICAL MOVE INTENDED TO BRING THE FRENCH ALONG ON THE QUESTION OF 'LEGALITY.' END COMMENT)

5. BADIBANGI THEN TURNED TO RWANDA, MAKING A MILD REMONSTRATION ABOUT THE MOVEMENT OF RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES INTO THE BORDER AREAS OF RWANDA ADJACENT TO ZAIRE. HE SAID THAT THESE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES HAD BEEN INFILTRATED INTO THE REGION (IN RWANDA) IN THE GUISE OF REFUGEES, AND THAT THEIR PRESENCE WITHIN 25 KM OF THE BORDER WAS A CLEAR VIOLATION OF (AN UNSPECIFIED) VIENNA CONVENTION.

6. MUKENDI THEN TOOK THE BATON AND RETURNED TO THE QUESTION OF LEGALITY. HE MADE A LONG AND IMPASSIONED INTERVENTION ALONG THE FOLLOWING (FAMILIAR) LINES:

-- PICKING UP ON BADIBANGI'S THEME THAT THE POLITICAL CLASS HAD AGREED IN APRIL ON THE BROAD OUTLINES OF THE TRANSITION, HE ARGUED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO HAVE A LITTLE MORE TIME TO REACH A "REAL" CONSENSUS.

-- PUTTING THE QUESTION OF THE INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLE 78 OF THE TRANSITION ACT TO THE SUPREME COURT WOULD PROVIDE ANOTHER WEEK OR TWO FOR THE POLITICAL CLASS TO SEEK CONSENSUS. (IN HIS VIEW IT WOULD ONLY TAKE A WEEK FOR THE SUPREME COURT TO RULE; WE DOUBT THIS.)

-- ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO NEEDED TO RETURN TO HIS ROLE OF "CONSTITUTIONAL MEDIATOR" AND, HE SAID, IS AN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KINSHASA 03481

ROME FOR EMB VATICAN
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CG
SUBJECT: TSHISEKEDI EMISSARIES PLEAD FOR U.S. ESSENTIAL ACTOR AS PRESIDENT OF THE HCR-PT: IT IS HE WHO MUST SEND THE QUESTION TO THE SUPREME COURT.

-- MONSENGWO HAS CALLED INTO QUESTION THE LEGALITY OF THE ELECTION OF KENGO. HIS VIEW SHOULD BE GIVEN GREAT WEIGHT BY THE ZAIRE TROIKA.

-- IN PARTICULAR, WHEN THE UNITED STATES COMMENTS ON THE ELECTION OF KENGO, IT SHOULD ENDORSE MONSENGWO'S VIEW THAT THE LEGALITY OF KENGO'S ELECTION WAS IN QUESTION AND SHOULD CALL FOR THE ISSUE TO BE PRESENTED TO THE SUPREME COURT.

-- "WE WILL ABIDE BY WHATEVER THE COURT DECIDES."

7. ADCM NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD NOT YET RESPONDED

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PUBLICLY ON THE QUESTION OF KENGO'S ELECTION AND THAT THEREFORE HE WAS NOT AT LIBERTY TO PROVIDE A CONSIDERED REACTION. WHEN WE HAD AN OFFICIAL REACTION FROM WASHINGTON, WE WOULD INFORM THEM. ON THE QUESTION OF LEGALITY, SPEAKING PERSONALLY AND PROMISING TO CONVEY THEIR VIEWS TO WASHINGTON, ADCM NOTED THAT IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT THE SUPREME COURT COULD MAKE SUCH A MOMENTOUS DECISION WITHIN A FEW DAYS AND THAT CALLING FOR SUCH A REVIEW SEEMED TO BE TACTICAL, DESIGNED TO CALL THE KENGO NOMINATION INTO QUESTION AND TO DELAY THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT, TACTICS WHICH SEEMED UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED IN PROMOTING CONSENSUS AMONG THE POLTICIAL CLASS.

8. THIS PROVOKED AN IMMEDIATELY HOSTILE REACTION FROM MUKENDI. THE CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES WAS AT STAKE, HE SAID, AS WELL AS THE "GOOD OFFICES" ROLE OF THE TROIKA. WHY, HE ASKED, HAD THE UNITED STATES SHIFTED FROM ITS POLICY OF APPLYING PRESSURE ON MOBUTU TO ONE OF APPLYING PRESSURE ON TSHISEKEDI? HOW COULD THE UNITED STATES ACCEPT A GOVERNMENT ELECTED COMPLETELY ILLEGALLY AND HEADED BY SOMEONE WITH NO POLITICAL BASE OTHER THAN MOBUTU AND WHO WOULD BE COMPLICIT WITH MOBUTU IN THE CONTINUED DENIAL TO ZAIRIANS OF THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND THE CONTINUED LOOTING OF THE COUNTRY? IT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT THE "REAL OPPOSITION" WOULD PARTICIPATE IN A KENGO-LED GOVERNMENT ELECTED ILLEGALLY. THE VARIOUS STRIKES HAD DEMONSTRATED WHICH ZAIRIAN POLITICIAN ENJOYED THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE. THE PEOPLE WERE CALM NOW BECAUSE THEY HAD NOT RECEIVED A SIGNAL FROM TSHISEKEDI BUT THEY WOULD NOT BE FOR LONG, AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD BEAR A LARGE SHARE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHAT WOULD COME IF "REAL CONSENSUS" WERE NOT REACHED.

9. SUBSEQUENTLY, FRIDAY'S OPPOSITION PRESS PUBLISHES A MANIFESTO OF THE UDPS REGARDING KENGO'S ELECTION. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE PRESENTATION MADE BY THE TWO TSHISEKEDI EMISSARIES, HAVING AS ITS MAIN ELEMENTS:

-- THE HCR-PT CANNOT MADE DECISIONS WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE RADICAL OPPOSITION.

-- THE UDPS IS NOT BOUND BY THE "UNILATERAL, CAVALIER, AND IRREGULAR PROVOCATIVE DECISIONS" OF THE HCR-PT. THE ZAIRIAN PEOPLE SHOULD THEREFORE IGNORE THEM.

-- THE UDPS BREAKS OFF RELATIONS WITH THE PARTIES OF THE URD, PARTIES WHICH WERE CREATED TO LIQUIDATE THE DECISIONS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

-- THE UDPS "SAYS NO TO ANY GOVERNMENT FORMED BY ANY PERSON OTHER THAN THE PRIME MINISTER ELECTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE."

-- THE UDPS CONTINUES TO RECOGNIZE ALL COUNTRIES WHICH SUPPORT PEACE AND JUSTICE AND PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE TROIKA. BUT THE UDPS WARNS THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ABOUT ITS PARTISAN AND ISOLATED SUPPORT OF MOBUTU'S DICTATORSHIP.

-- APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.85)
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RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0000
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0000
RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 0000
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0000
SUBJ: SUPPORT FOR FRENCH INITIATIVE ON RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 163237
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL MOPS, RW, FR
SUBJECT: SUPPORT FOR FRENCH INITIATIVE ON RWANDA

REF: USUN NEW YORK 2513

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUEST. REFTEL OUTLINES FRENCH PROFOSAL FOR A MULTINATIONAL FRENCH-LED FORCE TO INTERVENE IN RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO FROTECT THREATENED CIVILIANS UNTIL THE REGULAR UNAMIR CONTINGENTS CAN ARRIVE. POST SHOULD INFORM THE GOF THAT THE USG SUPPORTS THIS INITIATIVE BUT HAS SOME CONCERNS THAT WE WOULD LIKE THE FRENCH TO ADDRESS AND THAT WE ARE WILLING TO HELP THEM WITH. END SUMMARY.

3. THE USG'S MAIN OBJECTIVE IN RWANDA IS TO STOP THE KILLINGS NOW. THE FRENCH PROPOSAL WOULD PUT TROOFS ON THE GROUND TO HELP ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE AND THEY COULD ARRIVE MUCH MORE QUICKLY THAN THE EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCES. FOR THIS REASON, WE SUPPORT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. WE RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT THE RPF WILL CONS RUE THIS AS A FRENCH ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND MAY

EVEN RESIST ANY DEPLOYMENT ON THE GROUND.

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4. IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS FOR THE OPERATION, MINIMIZE THE RISKS TO THE TROOPS BEING DEPLOYED, AND AVOID UNDERCUTTING THE UN'S EFFORT TO DEPLOY UNAMIR -- WHICH REMAINS THE LONGER-TERM ANSWER TO PROTECTING POPULATIONS -- THE FRENCH SHOULD:

-- COORDINATE THEIR EFFORTS CLOSELY WITH THE UN AND OBTAIN UN BLESSING FOR THE MISSION. IN OUR VIEW, A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE OPERATION WOULD BE DESIRABLE, BUT SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DELAY AN URGENT MISSION.

-- TRY TO ENSURE THAT OTHER COUNTRIES PARTICIPATE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS IS A MULTILATERAL EFFORT, NOT SIMPLY A BILATERAL INITIATIVE BY THE FRENCH. THE PARTICIPATION OF AFRICANS, BOTH FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE, AS WELL AS OTHER EUROPEAN TROOPS, WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL IN THIS REGARD, EVEN IF ONLY IN A SUPPORT FUNCTION.

-- MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO OBTAIN RPF APPROVAL, OR AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE, BY EXPLAINING THE HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE FORCE. SIMILAR EFFORTS SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN WITH REGIONAL PLAYERS, PARTICULARLY UGANDA.

IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE FRENCH IN THIS EFFORT, WE ARE WILLING TO MAKE THE CASE FOR THE OPERATION TO THE RPF, REGIONAL LEADERS, AND OTHER KEY PLAYERS.

5. FOR PARIS: POST SHOULD INFORM THE GOF OF OUR DECISION TO SUPPORT THE OPERATION, DRAWING ON THE FOLLOWING FOINTS:

-- WE AGREE THAT THERE IS AN IMMEDIATE NEED TO STOP THE KILLINGS IN RWANDA AND THAT THIS MUST BE OUR FIRST PRIORITY.

-- FOR THIS REASON, WE SUPPORT YOUR PROFOSED PLAN FOR A MULTINATIONAL FRENCH-LED FORCE TO INTERVENE NOW, AND CONGRATULATE YOU ON THIS HUMANITARIAN INITIATIVE. WE ALSO SUPPORT YOUR PLAN TO "BRIDGE" THE GAP UNTIL THE REGULAR UNAMIR CONTINGENTS CAN ARRIVE.

-- IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE MISSION AND THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WE RECOMMEND YOU ADDRESS THE FOLLOWING ISSUES

-- THE MISSION SHOULD HAVE THE SANCTION OF THE UN AND SHOULD BE FULLY COORDINATED WITH UNAMIR. WE WOULD PREFER A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE MISSION, BUT THAT SHOULD NOT DELAY THE MISSION.

-- WE AGREE THAT OTHER COUNTRIES SNOULD CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO THIS INITIATIVE. WE ARE ENCOURAGED TO HEAR THAT THE SENEGALESE AND PERHAPS OTHERS HAVE AGREED TO JOIN.

-- YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO TALK TO THE RPF TO MAKE CLEAR

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YOUR PURELY HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE AND TRY TO OBTAIN THEIR APPROVAL FOR THE MISSION. THE RPF'S IMMEDIATE REJECTION OF THE PROPOSAL AND ITS THREATS TO ENGAGE FRENCH TROOFS ARE OF GREAT CONCERN AND MUST BE ADDRESSED. WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP ON THIS.

-- WE HOPE THAT AS THE MISSION PROCEEDS AND THE RPF SEES THE HUMANITARIAN INTENT, FRANCE CAN ENGAGE THEM ON THE NECESSITY OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF THE KIGALI AIRPORT FOR HUMANITARIAN MISSIONS. WE ARE PREPARED TO RAISE THIS WITH THE RPF. WE SHOULD OFFER UN CARGO INSPECTION AT EMBARCATION AT THE AIRPORT TO ALLAY RPF FEARS.

-- YOU SHOULD MAKE SIMILAR EFFORTS TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS, PARTICULARLY UGANDA. AGAIN, WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP. WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT ANY NEIGHBORING COUNTRY SHOULD PROVIDE TROOPS OR PERSONNEL.

-- SINCE ZAIRE IS PERCEIVED AS SUPPORTING THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, YOU SHOULD AVOID AN INTERVENTION THAT DEPLOYS ONLY FROM ZAIRE.

-- IN ORDER TO ADDRESS THE PERCEPTION THAT YOUR ACTIONS WILL LEND LEGITIMACY TO THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS INITIATIVE IS NOT INTENDED IN ANY WAY TO INTERVENE IN THE FIGHTING BETWEEN GOVERNMENT FORCES AND THE RPF OR TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OR ITS FORCES. WE WILL MAKE THE SAME POINT.

-, IN THE MEANTIME, WE NEED TO ACCELERATE EFFORTS TO DEPLOY AN EXPANDED UNAMIR. WE ARE WORKING HARD TO HELP EXPEDITE DEPLOYMENT. WE HAVE COMPLETED THE LEASE WITH THE UN FOR 50 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS (APC'S) AND HOPE TO START DELIVERY NEXT WEEK.

-- WE ARE LOOKING AT EQUIPMENT NEEDS, PARTICULARLY FOR THE GHANAIAN BATTALION, WHICH WE ARE TRYING TO GET ON THE GROUND AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO HELP

EQUIP THEM AND HOPE YOU CAN DO THE SAME WITH OTHER CONTINGENTS.

-- THE U.S. HAS NO INTENTION OF SENDING TROOPS INTO RWANDA.

6. FOR BUJUMBURA, DAR ES SALAAM, KAMPALA, ADDIS ABABA (FOR OAU): POSTS SHOULD INFORM HOST GOVERNMENTS/OAU OF THE USG DECISION, DRAWING ON BACKGROUND ABOVE AND POINTS BELOW:

-- THERE IS AN IMMEDIATE NEED TO STOP THE KILLINGS IN RWANDA AND THIS MUST BE OUR FIRST FRIORITY.

-- FOR THIS REASON, WE SUPPORT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR A MULTINATIONAL FORCE TO INTERVENE NOW, UNDER UN AUSPICES, AND "BRIDGE" THE GAP UNTIL THE REGULAR UNAMIR CONTINGENTS CAN ARRIVE.

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-- WE WANT THE MISSION TO HAVE THE SANCTION OF THE UN AND TO BE FULLY COORDINATED WITH UNAMIR.

-- WE ARE AWARE OF THE RPF'S CONCERNS OVER FRENCH INTERVENTION. HOWEVER, THIS IS A MULTILATERAL EFFORT AND THE PURPOSE IS TO PROTECT CIVILIANS AND SAVE LIVES, NOT TO INTERVENE IN THE FIGHTING BETWEEN GOVERNMENT FORCES AND THE RPF OR TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OR ITS FORCES.

-- IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE WORKING WITH THE UN TO ACCELERATE DEPLOYMENT OF EXPANDED UNAMIR. WE HAVE COMFLETED A LEASE WITH THE UN FOR 50 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS (APC'S) AND HOPE TO START DELIVERY VERY SOON (FYI: WEEK OF JUNE 20).

-- WE ARE WORKING ON OTHER EQUIPMENT REQUESTS NOW AND ARE WILLING TO PROVIDE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AS WELL.

7. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. TALBOTT
BT
#3237
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3237

TOR: 940617200252 M1106760

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	French Foreign Minister Clarifies Rwanda Mission Propasl [50 U.S.C. 403g, Section 6] [partial] (2 pages)	06/18/94	P3/b(3)
002. cable	Republic Turns Down UN Request for Peacekeepers in Rwanda [50 U.S.C. 403 g, Section 6] [partial] (2 pages)	06/20/94	P3/b(3)
~~003. cable~~	~~South Africa: SAG to Support Private Humanitarian Relief Effort for Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~06/20/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~004. cable~~	~~Wrap-Up of OAU Ministerial and Summit (6 pages)~~	~~06/22/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~005. cable~~	~~Ambassador Rawson's Meetings in Uganda Ministry of Defense (2 pages)~~	~~06/22/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
006. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	06/22/94	P1/b(1)
~~007. cable~~	~~Kinshasa Weekly Report: June 22 (4 pages)~~	~~0622/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~Senate Staffer Callahan's Visit to Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~06/23/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	[Rwanda/Relations] (2 pages)	06/23/94	P1/b(1)
~~010. cable~~	~~[Border] (2 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
011. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/24/94	P1/b(1)
~~012. cable~~	~~[Position on the French Initiative in Rwanda] (2 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
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Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
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FOLDER TITLE:
[06/18/1994 - 06/25/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh137

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	06/24/94	P1/b(1)
~~014. cable~~	~~[Expanded UNAMIR] (3 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~015. cable~~	~~The GOU on... (2 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~016. cable~~	~~Demarche... (3 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~017. cable~~	~~Congo Supports French Rwanda Initiative, UNMIR II (3 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~018. cable~~	~~Rwanda and France... (4 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~019. cable~~	~~Senegalese Scenes... (4 pages)~~	~~06/24/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
020. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/24/94	P1/b(1)
~~021. cable~~	~~President Museveni's Meeting with Acting Secretary Talbott (4 pages)~~	~~06/25/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

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Cable

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LINE3: O 201506Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
OSRI: RUEHSA
DTG: 201506Z JUN 94
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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1285
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RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1342
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0420
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA: SAG TO SUPPORT PRIVATE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT FOR RWANDA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3(3.86)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PRETORIA 008619
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, SF, RW
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: SAG TO SUPPORT PRIVATE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT FOR RWANDA
1. PRESIDENT MANDELA ANNOUNCED ON JUNE 17 THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WOULD SUPPORT "OPERATION MERCY," AN EFFORT SPEARHEADED BY THE NON-DENOMINATIONAL EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN RHEMA CHURCH TO SEND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA. THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENSE FORCE, THE PRESIDENT CONTINUED, WAS PREPARED TO TRANSPORT FOOD, CLOTHING AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES, FOR WHICH A SOUTH AFRICAN TASK FORCE IDENTIFIED A CRITICAL NEED.
2. RHEMA CHURCH LEADER RAY MCCAULEY REPORTED ON JUNE 20 THAT THOUSANDS OF ITEMS OF FOOD AND

CLOTHING HAD BEEN DROPPED OFF AT 300 COLLECTION

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POINTS AROUND THE COUNTRY. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE DONATIONS WILL BE TRUCKED TO PRETORIA'S WATERKLOOF AIR BASE. AIRLIFT TO TANZANIA, WHERE THE SUPPLIES WILL BE TURNED OVER TO THE UN FOR DISTRIBUTION TO REFUGEE CAMPS, LIKELY WILL BEGIN THE WEEK OF JUNE 27, ACCORDING TO DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS RWANDA DESK OFFICER WILLEM VAN DER VYVER. IN SUPPLEMENT TO THE PRIVATE EFFORT, THE SAG ALREADY PLEDGED ONE MILLION RANDS (APPROXIMATELY USD 276,000) WORTH OF GOODS PURCHASED IN SOUTH AFRICA TO RWANDA. VAN DER VYVER SAID IT WILL BE A "ONE-FF" EFFORT, BUT THAT IF THE SITUATION IN RWANDA CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE, THE POLITICAL DECISION MAKERS HERE WOULD TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS.

COMMENT

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3. "OPERATION MERCY" HAS PROVIDED A PSYCHOLOGICAL LIFT TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS INVOLVED IN IT, IF ONLY BECAUSE IT GIVES THEM SOMETHING TO DO ABOUT THE RWANDAN HOLOCAUST. THEY HAVE WATCHED THE UNFOLDING TRAGEDY IN HORROR, AND HAVE BEEN DEFENSIVE TO THE POINT OF QUERULOUSNESS ABOUT THEIR INACTION. IT FALLS WITHIN THE CONSTRAINTS OF THE POLITICALLY POSSIBLE FOR THE FLEDGLING GOVERNMENT, WHOSE SHIBBOLETH IS "SOUTH AFRICA FIRST." WE EXPECT THE SAG WILL CONTINUE TO FIND SIMILAR HIGH IMPACT/LOW COST MEASURES TO ILLUSTRATE ITS CONCERN FOR SUFFERING IN THE MORE FAR FLUNG PARTS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. END COMMENT.

4. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

LYMAN

BT

#8619

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8619

TOR: 940620112100 M1108787

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INFO: RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 2492
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RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 1931
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8918
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0069
RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: WRAP UP OF OAU MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0263-M-3 (3.87)
VR 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 ADDIS ABABA 004621
DEPT FOR AF AND NEA/MAG
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR AFDB
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
CAIRO FOR DAVIS, MOSCOW FOR NIBLOCK
E.0.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AORC, PREL, OAU, XA, XI
SUBJECT: WRAP UP OF OAU MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE AGREEMENT OF THE RPF TO ADHERE TO THE GBADOLITE ACCORD WAS THE PRINCIPAL ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AFRICAN LEADERS ASSEMBLED IN TUNIS FOR THE OAU MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT. A RECORD 42 HEADS OF STATE ATTENDED THE SUMMIT. EYADEMA GOT THE NIGERIAN AND CAMEROONIAN HEADS OF STATE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THE BAKASSI DISPUTE. OAU FINANCES IMPROVED WITH PAYMENT BY SOUTH AFRICA OF 1.3 MILLION US DOLLARS IN DUES AND 13 OTHER COUNTRIES MAKING FIRM COMMITMENTS OR PAYMENTS ON THEIR ARREARS. THE 1995 SUMMIT WILL BE HELD IN ADDIS ABABA. END SUMMARY.
3. INTRODUCTION: THE FOLLOWING IS A SUBSTANTIVE AND ATMOSPHERIC WRAP UP OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT HELD RECENTLY IN TUNIS. SOME OF THE INFORMATION WAS REPORTED IN PREVIOUS SEPTELS. OTHER INFORMATION, SUCH AS THAT ON THE MIDDLE

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EAST AND LOCKERBIE RESOLUTIONS, HAS ALSO ALREADY BEEN SUBMITTED IN DETAIL. END INTRODUCTION.

4. RWANDA: RWANDA WAS THE PREDOMINANT ISSUE OF THE 60TH REGULAR MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE 30TH HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT SUMMIT HELD IN TUNIS 6-10 AND 13-15 JUNE RESPECTIVELY. THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA LOST MOST OF ITS REMAINING CREDIBILITY IMMEDIATELY UPON ARRIVAL IN TUNIS WHEN ITS DELEGATION WAS FOUND TO INCLUDE JEAN BOSCO BARAYAGWIZA, ONE OF THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR PLANNING AND CARRYING OUT THE MASSACRES. DURING THE SUMMIT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE SENTIMENT TO OUST THE GOR FROM THE RWANDAN SEAT. THE MOVE FAILED DESPITE SUPPORT FROM OAU SYG SALIM AND PRESIDENTS MANDELA, MELES, AND KONARE. TWO LONG MEETINGS ON 14 JUNE FOCUSSED EXCLUSIVELY ON RWANDA. AT THE END OF THE DAY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) SAID THEY WOULD ABIDE BY THE GBADOLITE AGREEMENT PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO BY THE GOR.

5. BAKASSI AGREEMENT: DURING THE EVENING OF 13 JUNE TOGOLESE PRESIDENT EYADEMA CONVENED A NIGERIA-CAMEROON SUMMIT IN HIS HOTEL ROOM. FOUR HOURS LATER CHAIRMAN ABACHA AND PRESIDENT BIYA ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE REFERRING THE ISSUE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ). THE TWO PARTIES WILL IMPLEMENT A SERIES OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES DESIGNED TO LESSEN TENSIONS PRIOR TO AND IRRESPECTIVE OF THE ICJ DECISION.

6. BAKASSI COMMENT: WHILE ALL PARTIES ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE TUNIS AGREEMENT WILL HOLD, THE ENTIRE BAKASSI EPISODE HIGHLIGHTED THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE OAU'S CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM. WHILE BAKASSI WAS ALWAYS HIGH ON THE AGENDA OF THE MECHANISM'S CENTRAL ORGAN, IT WAS USUALLY DISPLACED BY RWANDA. MOREOVER, THE OAU'S MISSION TO THE GULF OF GUINEA FAILED TO GENERATE ANY SOLUTIONS OR INSTILL THE PARTIES WITH ANY SENSE THAT THE OAU COULD PLAY A USEFUL ROLE. IN THE END, A SOLUTION WAS REACHED THROUGH A HEADS OF STATE PALAVER, THE TIME HONORED AFRICAN METHOD OF RESOLVING CONFLICT. END BAKASSI COMMENT.

7. SOUTH AFRICAN ATTENDANCE: SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT MANDELA RECEIVED HIGH MARKS FOR HIS ADDRESS AT THE SUMMIT'S OPENING CEREMONY. DURING THE MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT, THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION WAS BUSY AND VISIBLE BUT DID NOT TRY TO FLEX ITS MUSCLES. ONE OBSERVER COMMENTED THAT THIS WAS A LEARNING EXPERIENCE FOR THEM AND THEY DID WELL. THEY ALSO BROUGHT REFRESHING OPENNESS TO THE PROCEEDINGS. SOUTH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS COULD BE SEEM IN THE CORRIDORS RECOUNTING EVENTS RECENTLY CONCLUDED IN CLOSED SESSION, A PHENOMENON WHICH CERTAINLY PLEASED THE ASSEMBLED

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 ADDIS ABABA 004621

DEPT FOR AF AND NEA/MAG
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E.0.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AORC, PREL, OAU, XA, XI
SUBJECT: WRAP UP OF OAU MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT

JOURNALISTS AS MUCH AS IT CONFOUNDED OTHER AFRICAN

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DIPLOMATS. IT WAS ALSO CLEAR THAT THE NIGERIANS ARE NOT TOO PLEASED WITH THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF ANOTHER COUNTRY TO RIVAL THEIR OFT-PROCLAIMED LEADERSHIP POSITION IN AFRICA. WHEN POLOFF ASKED ONE NIGERIAN DIPLOMAT IF THE 1996 SUMMIT WOULD BE HELD IN SOUTH AFRICA, HE REPLIED THAT THAT MIGHT BE TOO SOON. "WE SHOULDN'T GIVE THEM TOO MUCH BEFORE THEY CAN HANDLE IT."

8. SOUTH AFRICAN MONEY: SOUTH AFRICA PAID ITS OAU ASSESSMENT OF 1,122,160 US DOLLARS AND CONTRIBUTED 300,000 US DOLLARS TO THE PEACE FUND WHICH SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM. SOUTH AFRICA, ALGERIA, NIGERIA, AND EGYPT ARE EACH ASSESSED AT 8 PERCENT OF THE OAU BUDGET.

9. ARREARS: AT THE OPENING OF THE MINISTERIAL 14 COUNTRIES WERE CURRENT IN THEIR FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS TO THE OAU. THEY WERE ALGERIA, BOTSWANA, EGYPT, LESOTHO, MADAGASCAR, MAURITANIA, MAURITIUS, NAMIBIA, NIGERIA, SENEGAL, SWAZILAND, TANZANIA, TUNISIA, AND ZIMBABWE. WITH SANCTIONS ON LAGGARDS TO TAKE EFFECT FROM 1 JUNE 1995, A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES MADE SUBSTANTIAL PAYMENTS DURING THE MINISTERIAL/SUMMIT. GHANA PAID IN FULL; PARTIAL PAYERS WERE COTE D'IVOIRE, GUINEA BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE, SUDAN, UGANDA, AND ZAIRE. GUINEA, MALI, CAR, AND ZAMBIA ALL PLEDGED TO BEGIN PAYMENTS VERY SOON.

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10. AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY: THE AEC CAME INTO FORCE IN FEBRUARY 1994. WHEN THE 35TH COUNTRY DEPOSITED THE ARTICLES OF RATIFICATION AT THE OAU SECRETARIAT. SINCE THEN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AEC HAS FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN SEVERAL CONTINENTAL DISCUSSIONS. DESPITE SOME OBJECTIONS OVER THE COST OF A MEETING, THE MINISTERIAL ACCEPTED EGYPT'S OFFER TO HOST A CONFERENCE DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO AEC IMPLEMENTATION. THE OAU ASSISTANT SYG FOR ECONOMICS, BROWNSON DEDE, TOLD ADDIS POLOFF THAT A SPECIAL SESSION OF MINISTERS (NOTE: PROBABLY TRADE) WILL BE CONVENED O/A APRIL 1995 IN CAIRO.

11. UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA BELITTLED: DURING THE AEC DISCUSSION IN THE CLOSED SESSION, THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA (UNECA), LAYASHI YAKER, PROPOSED THAT THE REGULARLY SCHEDULED MINISTERIAL MEETINGS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES SERVE AS THE AEC'S DECISION MAKING BODY AND THE UNECA SECRETARIAT AS ITS INSTITUTIONAL BASE. OAU A/SYG DEDE REJECTED THE PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND AND REQUESTED YAKER REDUCE UNECA'S SCOPE SO THAT IT FUNCTIONS LIKE OTHER REGIONAL UN ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS. DEDE WENT ON TO SAY THAT SINCE THE OAU AND SUB-REGIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS WERE IN PLACE THE UNECA HAD NO BUSINESS HOLDING MINISTERIAL MEETINGS AND SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN REGIONAL POLITICS. THE UNECA SHOULD DO STUDIES AND PROVIDE EXPERT/TECHNICAL SUPPORT TO THE OAU AND MEMBER STATES. AS FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AEC, DEDE TOLD YAKER THAT THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES WILL REMAIN WITH THE OAU; UNECA ASSISTANCE IS WELCOME.

12. ECONOMIC FRUSTRATION: ONE REASON THE LIBYAN-SPONSORED LOCKERBIE RESOLUTION RECEIVED OVERWHELMING SUPPORT WAS THE WIDESPREAD FEELING AMONG AFRICAN LEADERS THAT, WHILE THE WEST PAYS THEM LITTLE

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REGARD, THEIR ECONOMIES ARE DOMINATED BY THE WEST, TO WIT, THE GATT AGREEMENT, CFA DEVALUATION, DECLINING TERMS OF TRADE, AND WORLD BANK AND IMF CONDITIONALITIES. THE RESOLUTION EVALUATING THE RESULTS OF THE URUGUAY ROUND CALLS FOR UNDP, GATT, OAU, UNECA, AND UNCTAD TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES TO MEMBER STATES SO THEY CAN BETTER ADAPT THEIR ECONOMIES TO THE NEW REALITIES. THE OAU AND UNECA ARE CALLED UPON TO MONITOR CLOSELY THE IMPACT OF THE GATT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 ADDIS ABABA 004621

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SUBJECT: WRAP UP OF OAU MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT AGREEMENT ON AFRICAN ECONOMIES.

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13. DISSOLUTION OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE: THE SUMMIT ADOPTED A RESOLUTION DISSOLVING THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE. THE RESOLUTION CONGRATULATES THE COMMITTEE FOR ITS GOOD WORK TOWARDS ENDING COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID IN
AFRICA. A ONE DAY SUMMIT WILL BE HELD IN TANZANIA IN LATE JULY OR EARLY AUGUST TO WITNESS THE COMMITTEE'S DISSOLUTION. (NOTE: A PROPOS THE WORK OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE, LITTLE OR NO MENTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA WAS MADE DURING THE MINISTERIAL OR SUMMIT. A RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED CALLING ON FRANCE (AND THE EUROPEAN UNION) TO RETURN THE "COMORIAN ISLAND OF MAYOTTE" TO THE ISLAMIC FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF THE COMOROS.)

14. CODE OF CONDUCT: THE SUMMIT ADOPTED A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHICH CALLS FOR A "CODE OF CONDUCT" FOR INTER-AFRICAN RELATIONS. THE CODE'S 16 CLAUSES PLACE CONSIDERABLE EMPHASIS ON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH AFRICAN STATE TO ABIDE BY INTERNATIONAL LAW (INCLUDING THE UN AND OAU CHARTERS), AND CONDEMN EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM, PARTICULARLY THAT DERIVED FROM RELIGIOUS OR ETHNIC SOURCES. IT STRESSES THE NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER MEMBER STATES. THIS RESOLUTION WAS INTRODUCED BY TUNISIA AND AIMED AT SUDAN. IN PRACTICE, THE CODE WILL PROBABLY BE ONE MORE AGREEMENT CITED ONLY WHEN ITS STIPULATIONS HAVE BEEN VIOLATED.

15. EGYPT'S TENURE AS OAU CHAIR: SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE TUNIS SESSIONS EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT TO POLOFF ABOUT EGYPT'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS OAU CHAIR DURING THE PAST YEAR. THEY SAID IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST DISTRACTED EGYPT FROM DEVOTING MORE TIME AND RESOURCES TO AFRICAN ISSUES. PRESIDENT MUBARAK WAS IN TUNIS LESS THAN 24 HOURS, JUST ENOUGH TIME TO SLEEP AND ATTEND THE OPENING CEREMONY. AS THE OUTGOING CHAIR OF THE OAU, EGYPT WAS APPARENTLY AFFLICTED WITH A SERIOUS CASE OF FIGMO AND/OR BUDGETARY DIFFICULTIES. ITS DELEGATION TO THE SUMMIT COMPRISED 12 PERSONS, INCLUDING

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PRESIDENT MUBARAK. BY COMPARISON, CAPE VERDE SENT 15, EQUATORIAL GUINEA AND DJIBOUTI 24 EACH. THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION TO FEBRUARY'S OAU MINISTERIAL WAS COMPOSED OF 14 PERSONS INCLUDING THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHO, IN THE EVENT, NEVER TURNED UP.

16. AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK: NEITHER THE MINISTERIAL NOR THE SUMMIT BROACHED FORMALLY ANY ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (AFDB). HOWEVER, THERE WAS SOME UNFAVORABLE PERIPHERAL DISCUSSION ABOUT AFDB PRESIDENT NDIAYE. TWO MEMBERS OF THE OAU SECRETARIAT TOLD POLOFF THAT SEVERAL AFRICAN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF STATE REFERRED TO NDIAYE AS A WEAK MANAGER, UNABLE TO DEVELOP GOOD RELATIONS WITH DONORS. HIS DISMISSAL OF THE ETHIOPIAN VICE PRESIDENT (EAST AFRICA REPRESENTATIVE) RECEIVED PARTICULAR SCORN.

17. RAWLINGS OUTSPOKEN: IN ADDITION TO CRITICIZING UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI FOR FACILITATING THE FLOW OF ARMS TO THE RPF, GHANAIAN PRESIDENT RAWLINGS DELIVERED A BLISTERING ATTACK ON CAMEROON'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS FRANCE AND NIGERIA OVER THE BAKASSI PENINSULA AFFAIR. IN THE MANNER OF HIS GHANAIAN PREDECESSORS, GHANA'S PRESIDENT ACCUSED CAMEROON OF MAINTAINING A "CONCUBINISH" RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS COLONIAL POWER IN A DAY WHEN THESE RELATIONSHIPS SHOULD BE MORE MATURE. AN OAU SECRETARIAT OFFICIAL LATER POINTED OUT THAT'RAWLINGS WAS NOT TALKING ABOUT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 ADDIS ABABA 004621

DEPT FOR AF AND NEA/MAG
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR AFDB
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
CAIRO FOR DAVIS, MOSCOW FOR NIBLOCK
E.0.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AORC, PREL, OAU, XA, XI
SUBJECT: WRAP UP OF OAU MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT

CAMEROON AT ALL, BUT HIS NEIGHBOR TOGO WHOSE PRESIDENT IS ALSO RELYING ON FRENCH SUPPORT TO SOLVE HIS INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PROBLEMS.

18. AFRICAN SECURITY COUNCIL: DURING SALIM'S PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING THE SUMMIT THE OAU SYG ANSWERED A REPORTER'S QUESTION ABOUT THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION'S CENTRAL ORGAN BY COMPARING IT TO AN AFRICAN SECURITY COUNCIL, THEN QUICKLY QUALIFYING HIS STATEMENT. AN OFFICIAL AT THE OAU SECRETARIAT TOLD POLOFF THAT BOTH SALIM AND ETHIOPIAN PRESIDENT MELES MADE REFERENCE TO SOME SORT OF AFRICAN SECURITY COUNCIL DURING SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS. THE OFFICIAL SAID THAT SALIM'S REFERENCE TO IT AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS A DELIBERATE MEASURE TO PROMOTE THE IDEA PUBLICLY. (COMMENT: IT REMAINS UNCLEAR WHAT AUTHORITY AN AFRICAN SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD HAVE AND HOW IT WOULD OPERATE. WE CAN EXPECT THIS IDEA, PROBABLY REALIZED THROUGH AN EVOLVING CENTRAL ORGAN, TO RE
SURFACE IN VARIED AND EXPANDED
FORMS THROUGHOUT THE REMAINDER OF SALIM'S TENURE AS SYG.)

19. CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM: THE MEMBERS OF THE MECHANISM'S CENTRAL ORGAN FOR THE NEXT YEAR ARE:

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TUNISIA (CHAIRMAN), COTE D'IVOIRE, SOUTH AFRICA,
MAURITIUS, ZAIRE, BENIN, TANZANIA, CHAD, NIGERIA,
EGYPT, AND ETHIOPIA.
20. THE 1995 SUMMIT WILL BE HELD IN ADDIS ABABA.
21. A/S MOOSE DID NOT CLEAR THIS MESSAGE.
22. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
WALKER
BT
#4621
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 4621
<^SSN>4621
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<^TOR>940622060238 M1112425
<^TOR>940622060346 M1112429

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-3(3.88)
VZ 10/20/2023

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 221258Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 221258Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0730
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0416
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0770
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S MEETINGS IN UGANDA
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 04949
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2562
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2006
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0223
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4151
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0315
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2064
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5935
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S MEETINGS IN UGANDA
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE
---
7. AMB. RAWSON AND CHARGE SHIPPY MET WITH UGANDAN SECRETARY FOR DEFENSE DR. M
BONYE ON JUNE 20. AMB.
RAWSON READ THE POINTS (REF A) ON U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH INIATIVE IN RWANDA. DR. MBONYE AGREED WITH THE NEED TO STOP THE KILLING, BUT DID NOT COMMENT ON THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. HE DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT THE WAR CANNOT BE WON AND RWANDANS MUST LEARN TO LIVE TOGETHER. HE AGREED THAT A CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS ON POWER-SHARING ARE ESSENTIAL.
-

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION
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8. ON JUNE 20, AMB. RAWSON AND CHARGE SHIPPY CALLED ON BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER EDWARD CLAY, WHO IS ACCREDITED TO RWANDA. AMB. RAWSON PRESENTED THE POINTS OF REF A TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, OUTLINING U.S. POLICY ON THE PROPOSED FRENCH INITIATIVE IN RWANDA. CLAY HAD NOT OFFICIALLY HEARD FROM LONDON HOW THE U.K. WOULD RESPOND TO THE FRENCH PLAN.

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COMMENT

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9. THE VISIT OF AMB. RAWSON AND HIS DELEGATION TO UGANDA USEFULLY REINFORCED U.S. POSITIONS ON RWANDA WITH A WIDE NUMBER OF INTERLOCUTORS, AND ALLOWED US TO TAKE ACTION ON CERTAIN PROBLEMS RAISED BY HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS (SEE RETEL B). ALTHOUGH UGANDA'S KEY FIGURE ON POLICY VIS-A-VIS RWANDA -- PRESIDENT MUSEVENI -- WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY, HE WAS IN WASHINGTON MEETING WITH SENIOR USG OFFICIAZS THERE. END COMMENT.

10. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SHIPPY

BT

#4949

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4949

TOR: 940622093028 M1112759

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 221646Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
OSRI: RUEHKI
DTG: 221646Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7044
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 2675
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0423
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 0460
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0573
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1823
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0464
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0238
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0698
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0638
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0669
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0305
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0239
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1757
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0604
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0253
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 0124
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 0163
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0988
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0533
SUBJ: KINSHASA WEEKLY REPORT: JUNE 22
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KINSHASA 03592
USIA FOR AF-ROCHESTER
PARIS FOR PERLOW; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW
NAIROBI ALSO FOR CO CO F
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
ROME PLEASE PASS EMB VATICAN
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREF, PREL, ECON, CG
SUBJECT: KINSHASA WEEKLY REPORT: JUNE 22
1. CLASSIFICATION AS MARKED.
2. (C) SUMMARY: THE NEWLY-CHOSEN PRIME MINISTER LEON KENGO WA DONDO WORKED TO PUT TOGETHER A GOVERNMENT, BUT WE FEAR HE WILL BE CONSTRAINED MORE BY CONSIDERATIONS OF GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION THAN BY PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE. THERE MAY BE A GOVERNMENT BY NEXT WEEK, BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW MANY MAJOR OPPOSITION FIGURES WILL BE MEMBERS. FRENCH TROOPS AND MATERIEL BEGAN ARRIVING IN GOMA, ON THE RWANDAN BORDER, JUNE 21. THE ARMED FORCES EYE THE

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CHANGED POLITICAL SITUATION AND NERVOUSLY AWAIT THEIR PAY. PRIME MINISTER-ELECT KENGO MOVED QUICKLY TO ASSERT HIS AUTHORITY ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, IMPOSING A FREEZE ON ALL CENTRAL BANK TRANSACTIONS, PENDING THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT. PRICES ROSE SLIGHTLY DURING THE WEEK BUT DID NOT OFFSET GAINS MADE EARLIER IN JUNE, WHICH COULD SHOW THE BEST MONTHLY INFLATION PERFORMANCE TO DATE IN 1994. THE EXCHANGE RATE HELD STEADY AT 480 NZ PER DOLLAR FOR THE SECOND WEEK RUNNING. EARLIER IN THE WEEK, EMBASSY KINSHASA'S REFUGEE REPORTING OFFICER TRAVELED TO THE KIVUS IN COORDINATION WITH THE REGIONAL REFUGEE COORDINATOR TO ASSESS THE AREA'S REFUGEE SITUATION.
END SUMMARY
POLITICAL AFFAIRS
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3. (C) SORTING IT OUT: DURING THE WEEK AFTER THE HCR-PT ELECTED HIM PRIME MINISTER, KENGO WA DONDO IS WORKING TO PUT TOGETHER A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY, HALF OF WHOSE MEMBERS MUST COME FROM MOBUTU'S FPC, HALF FROM THE OPPOSITION HOLY UNION AND ALLIES (USORAL). KINSHASA'S RUMOR MILL IS WORKING OVERTIME, BUT NO NAMES HAVE YET BEEN PUT FORWARD, EVEN BY THE RELATIVELY WELL-ORGANIZED FPC. ON THE OPPOSITION SIDE, TSHISEKEDI'S UDPS PARTY CONTINUES TO INSIST TSHISEKEDI REMAINS THE LEGITIMATE PRIME MINISTER, AND REFUSES TO PARTICIPATE IN EITHER THE HCR-PT OR KENGO'S GOVERNMENT. MOST OF USORAL'S OTHER PARTIES ARE SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE REGARDING PARTICIPATION. THE RADICAL WING OF THE OPPOSITION APPEARS TO BE REGROUPING, PERHAPS COUNTING ITS ADHERENTS; TO DATE, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF THE PROTEST STRIKE AGAINST THE MIBA DIAMOND PARASTATAL, OR THE BOYCOTT AGAINST FRENCH AND MOBUTIST BUSINESSES PROCLAIMED WITH GREAT FANFARE LAST WEEK. THE MODERATES, ONE ASSUMES, ARE QUIETLY CAMPAIGNING FOR MINISTERIAL POSTS. DELICATE POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS APPEAR LIKELY TO INTERFERE WITH KENGO'S STATED GOAL OF BUILDING A GOVERNMENT OF COMPETENT PROFESSIONALS WHO CAN TACKLE ZAIRE'S ECONOMIC CRISIS. ONE VERY OPTIMISTIC SOURCE PREDICTED THE HCR-PT WOULD VOTE ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT BY THE MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KINSHASA 03592
USIA FOR AF-ROCHESTER
PARIS FOR PERLOW; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW
NAIROBI ALSO FOR CO CO F
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
ROME PLEASE PASS EMB VATICAN
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREF, PREL, ECON, CG
SUBJECT: KINSHASA WEEKLY REPORT: JUNE 22
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
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4. (U) KENGO ANNOUNCES FREEZE ON CENTRAL BANK: PRIME MINISTER-ELECT KENGO WA DONDO MOVED QUICKLY THIS WEEK ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, ANNOUNCING A FREEZE ON ALL TRANSACTIONS BY ZAIRE'S CENTRAL BANK. THE ANNOUNCEMENT CAME IN THE FORM OF A SEVEN-POINT

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COMMUNIQUE, WHICH SUSPENDS, INTER ALIA, ALL PAYMENTS/WITHDRAWALS FROM GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTS WHETHER AT THE CENTRAL BANK OR AT OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS; ALL PRINTING OF NEW BANKNOTES; AND ALL CREDIT ADVANCES TO THE GOVERNMENT OR ANY STATE ENTITY. ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE, THE MEASURES ARE INTENDED TO PUT THE COUNTRY'S FINANCES ON HOLD PENDING THE FORMATION OF A KENGO GOVERNMENT AND ARE A FIRST STEP IN GETTING A HANDLE ON ZAIRE'S DEVASTATED ECONOMIC SITUATION.

5.(U). INFLATION AND EXCHANGE RATE: PRICES OF MOST COMMODITIES INCLUDED IN THE EMBASSY'S INFLATION INDEX HELD STEADY OVER THE PAST WEEK, NOTWITHSTANDING THE HIKE IN THE COST OF FUEL DUE TO EXCHANGE RATE DEPRECIATION EARLIER IN THE MONTH. THE PRICE OF GASOLINE ROSE FROM 182 NEW ZAIRE (NZ) PER LITER TO 215 NZ/PER LITER, EFFECTIVE JUNE 20, BASED ON A NEW REFERENCE EXCHANGE RATE OF 500 NZ TO THE U.S. DOLLAR, NEGOTIATED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND RETAIL DISTRIBUTORS OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS. MONTHLY INFLATION FOR JUNE IS MINUS FOUR PERCENT BASED ON DATA FOR THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF THE MONTH, REFLECTING PRICE DECLINES REGISTERED DURING THE FIRST PART OF THE MONTH, MAINLY ON FOOD ITEMS. THE EXCHANGE RATE HELD STEADY AT 480 NZ PER U.S. DOLLAR.

MILITARY EVENTS

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6. ~~(C)~~ THE FRENCH ARE COMING: THE ARRIVAL OF FRENCH TROOPS ALONG ZAIRE'S EASTERN BORDER WITH RWANDA HAS BEEN RUMORED SINCE ALAIN JUPPE'S SPEECH OF JUNE 16. DAO SOURCES REPORT THAT AS OF 21 JUNE, THERE ARE ABOUT 30 FRENCH MILITARY PLANNERS IN ZAIRE; 15 IN KISANGANI AND 15 IN GOMA. NO MORE WILL REPORTEDLY ENTER WITHOUT THE U.N. GREEN LIGHT. TSHISEKEDI'S "GOVERNMENT" PUT OUT A MODERATE STATEMENT CALLING FOR ANY MILITARY INTERVENTION TO BE CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE U.N. OR THE OAU, BUT AVOIDING ANY DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE FRENCH EFFORT. THE RADICAL PRESS IS NOT SO RESTRAINED, AND CONVINCED THAT THE FRENCH ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR KENGO, PRETEND TO SEE AN ANTI-UDPS MOTIVE EVEN BEHIND FRANCE'S RWANDAN INITIATIVE. THEY ALSO CRITICIZE THE EFFORT AS HELPING TO END SOME OF MOBUTU'S ISOLATION VIS-A-VIS AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OF THE TROIKA.

7. ~~(C)~~ AS OF 22 JUNE, THERE HAS BEEN NO WORD ON THE PAY SITUATION FOR JUNE MILITARY SALARIES. ALTHOUGH

USIA FOR AF-ROCHESTER
PARIS FOR PERLOW; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW
NAIROBI ALSO FOR CO CO F
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
ROME PLEASE PASS EMB VATICAN
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREF, PREL, ECON, CG
SUBJECT: KINSHASA WEEKLY REPORT: JUNE 22

NOT CONSIDERED LATE (MOST PAYDAYS ARE COMPLETED BY THE 26TH OR 27TH OF EACH MONTH), FAZ SOLDIERS EXPRESS CONCERN. PRIME MINISTER KENGO'S ORDER SUSPENDING

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GOVERNMENT PAYMENTS (SEE ABOVE) HAS FUELED SPECULATION AMONG THE RANK AND FILE.

8. (C) DAO SOURCES OBSERVED A BOEING 707 ARRIVE IN KINSHASA ON 22 JUNE WITH NEW ZAIRE BANK NOTES (DENOMINATIONS UNKNOWN). REPORTEDLY, THE MONEY WAS TRANSPORTED BY TWO DSP CARGO TRUCKS WHICH WERE LAST SEEN HEADING IN THE DIRECTION OF THE KINSHASA.

REFUGEE AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

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9. THE REFUGEE REPORTING OFFICER, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE REGIONAL REFUGEE COORDINATOR, TRAVELED TO EASTERN ZAIRE JUNE 13-18. THE NUMBER OF RWANDAN REFUGEES IN EASTERN ZAIRE IS ESTIMATED AT A RELATIVELY LOW 20,000, SCATTERED FROM GOMA SOUTH TO BUKAVU, BUT NEWCOMERS ARE STEADILY PUSHING REFUGEE POPULATIONS UPWARD. FURTHER SOUTH, IN UVIRA, THE NUMBER OF BURUNDIAN REFUGEES HAS NOW REACHED 106,000. UNHCR OFFICES IN BUKAVU AND GOMA ARE PREPARING FOR AN INFLUX OF SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE SHOULD THE RPF ADVANCE FURTHER IN RWANDA, OR SHOULD THE SITUATION DETERIORATE IN BURUNDI. HOWEVER, THE UNHCR REPRESENTATIVES ARE THE FIRST TO ADMIT THEY DON'T KNOW HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE LIKELY TO BECOME DISPLACED IN EITHER COUNTRY, OR WHICH WAY THEY MAY BE HEADED.

10. JOSEPH OLENGA NKOY, A FIREBRAND TSHISEKEDI SUPPORTER FROM THE FONUS SUB-PLATFORM, WAS RELEASED FROM POLICE CUSTODY JUNE 21, OVER A WEEK AFTER HIS ARREST. ALTHOUGH THE ARREST COINCIDED WITH TSHISEKEDI'S BRIEF DETENTION JUNE 12, IT IS UNCLEAR THAT THE TWO INCIDENTS WERE RELATED. THE CHARGES AGAINST OLENGA NKOY ARE UNKNOWN, AND POSSIBLY NON-EXISTENT. HE WAS REPORTEDLY MISTREATED DURING HIS DETENTION.

SCOTT

BT

#3592

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 3592
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,91)
NL 10/20/2023

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: P 231300Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 231300Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0743
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0771
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2007
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4156
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0224
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2071
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5940
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0418
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHLG/UDAO LILONGWE
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0316
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2567
SUBJ: SENATE STAFFER CALLAHAN'S VISIT TO RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KAMPALA 004964
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, FR, UG
SUBJECT: SENATE STAFFER CALLAHAN'S VISIT TO RWANDA
REF: STATE 162932 (NOTAL)

1. TOM CALLAHAN, DIRECTOR OF AFFRICAN AFFAIRS FOR THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, TRAVELED THROUGH UGANDA TO RWANDA ON JUNE 19 - 22. AMB. DAVID RAWSON AND HIS DELEGATION MET CALLAHAN BRIEFLY ON THE ROAD IN MBARARA ON JUNE 19, AS CALLAHAN WAS GOING DOWN TO RWANDA WITH ROGER WINTER AND A GROUP FROM AMERICARES. CALLAHAN PHONED THE EMBASSY EARLY ON JUNE 23 TO SAY HE WAS ON HIS WAY TO THE AIRPORT, BUT HE DID NOT HAVE TIME FOR A DEBRIEF WITH US.

2. THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT-OWNED DAILY "THE NEW VISION" ON JUNE 23 DESCRIBED CALLAHAN AS A "U.S. SENATOR" AND QUOTED HIM AS OPPOSING THE FRENCH MILITARY INTERVENTION IN RWANDA. THE ARTICLE, ENTITLED "RPF - FRENCH TALKS COLLAPSE," INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING SECTION ON AN INTERVIEW WITH CALLAHAN (DATE AND PLACE NOT SPECIFIED):

QUOTE. THE DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS AT THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, MR. TOM CALLAHAN ALSO WARNED THAT FRANCE SHOULD REFRAIN FROM SENDING TROOPS TO RWANDA. THE SENATOR WAS IN MULINDI

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ON A SPECIAL MISSION TO MEET THE RPF BOSS.
THE U.S. ENVOY SAID IN AN INTERVIEW HE HAD RECEIVED REPORTS OF ALLEGED FRENCH SUPPLY OF WEAPONS, AMMUNITION AND TROOPS TO THE STATE IN KIGALI FOR PROTECTION OF THEIR NATIONALS THERE.
THE US SENATOR SAID THE ARMS PROJECT, ONE OF THE ORGANIZATIONS MONITORING THE SITUATION HERE, HAD WITNESSED FIRST HAND FRENCH MILITARY ACTIVITIES THAT ARE TANTAMOUNT TO DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR.
HE ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH MORE THAN HALF OF THE ORIGINAL RPA INVASION FORCE CAME FROM UGANDA, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF ALLEGED RPF COMMANDS BEING ISSUED FROM UGANDA. END QUOTE.
3. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SHIPPY
BT
#4964
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4964

TOR: 940623090544 M1114921

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-m-3 (3,93)
VZ 10/20/2023

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LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH
LINE3: O 240907Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 240907Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0756
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0421
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0225
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI IMMEDIATE 0147
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 2008
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5943
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0772
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2568
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4157
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2080
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0012
RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0218
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0317
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0333
SUBJ: UGANDAN BORDER OPEN; APC'S HELD UP BY LOGISTICS, NOT THE RPF
TEXT:

~~S E C R E T~~ KAMPALA 005008
NOFORN
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, RW, FR, UG
SUBJECT: UGANDAN BORDER OPEN; APC'S HELD UP BY LOGISTICS, NOT THE RPF
REF: STATE 167690

1. ~~(S)~~ REFTEL REPORTED HOSTILE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) REACTIONS TO THE FRENCH-LED HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION AND POSSIBLE RPF PREVENTION OF UNOSOM AND U.S.-LEASED ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS FROM BEING DELIVERED TO UNAMIR IN RWANDA. A UGANDAN NEWS REPORTER SUGGESTED THAT THE RPF HAD CLOSED THE BORDER TO UGANDA.

2. ~~(S)~~ DATT PHONED THE UNOMUR CHIEF OF MILITARY OPERATIONS (CMO) AT THE BORDER ON JUNE 23. UNOMUR REPORTED THAT THE BORDER IS OPEN. UNOMUR KNEW OF THE INCIDENT IN REFTEL OF FOUR AMERICANS BEING DENIED ENTRY INTO RWANDA ON JUNE 22. THE UNOMUR CMO WAS

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DIRECTED BY THE UNAMIR COMMANDER (GENERAL DALLAIRE) TO SEND THE FOUR INDIVIDUALS BACK TO THE BORDER CROSSING, WHERE THEY WOULD BE MET AND ESCORTED TO KIGALI. THE CMO STATED THAT THIS PLAN HAD BEEN COORDINATED WITH AND APPROVED BY THE RPF.

3. ~~(S/NF)~~ THE FIRST FOUR U.S. APC'S ARRIVED AT ENTEBBE AIRPORT ON JUNE 23. BRIG. JIM MUHWEZI, HEAD OF INTERNAL SECURITY, TOLD EMBOFF JUNE 24 THAT THE GOU WOULD HAVE NO/NO OBJECTION TO KEEPING THE U.S. LEASED APC'S IN UGANDA UNTIL IT IS POSSIBLE TO MOVE THM INTO RWANDA - - IF LOGISTICAL OR OTHER PROBLEMS CAUSE DELAYS. HE ALSO SAID IF HE KNEW THE SCHEDULE OF MOVEMENT, HE WOULD INSURE THERE WOULD BE NO OBSTRUCTIONS IN APC MOVEMENT THROUGH UGANDA.

4. ~~(S)~~ THERE WAS A DELAY IN TRANSPORT OF THE U.N. APC'S FROM SOMALIA, BUT IT WAS DUE TO LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS, PRIMARILY THE LACK OF SUITABLE TRUCKS IN UGANDA FOR TRANSPORTING THE APC'S, NOT TO ANY INTERFERENCE BY THE RPF OR GOU. TWO OF THESE U.N. APC'S ARE NOW ON THEIR WAY TO RWANDA.

5. ~~(S)~~ IN THE ABSENCE OF MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEFENSE AMAMA MBABAZI, CHARGE AND DATT MET WITH SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DR. MBONYE JUNE 23 TO REQUEST GOU HELP WITH THE RPF PER INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL. MBONYE SAID HE WOULD PASS THE MESSAGE TO MBABAZI, WHEN HE COULD. CHARGE ALSO RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF THE U.S.-LEASED APC'S REMAINING IN UGANDA FOR A LONGER PERIOD THAN ORIGINALLY ANTICIPATED. MBONYE DID NOT SEE THIS AS A PROBLEM, AND MADE A NOTATION TO MENTION IT TO MBABAZI.

6. ~~(S)~~ CHARGE MET WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVES ON JUNE 23 LATE IN THE AFTERNOON (TO BE REPORTED BY SEPTEL).

7. (U) MINIMIZED CONSIDERED. SHIPPY

BT
#5008
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5008

TOR: 940624051449 M1116651

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.95)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDRA4027 1751310-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 241310Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 241310Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5108
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 1739
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 4798
INFO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4624
SUBJ: THE GOT STRUGGLES WITH A POSITION ON THE
- FRENCH INITIATIVE IN RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 004027
STATE FOR AF/E, OLIVER GRIFFITH
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, FR, RW, TZ
SUBJECT: THE GOT STRUGGLES WITH A POSITION ON THE
- FRENCH INITIATIVE IN RWANDA
REF: DAR ES SALAAM 3931
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE GOT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO FORMULATE ITS OFFICIAL POSITION ON THE FRENCH INTERVENTION IN RWANDA ALTHOUGH SENIOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN MEETING ON THE MATTER AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH THE PRESIDENT FOR MUCH OF THE WEEK. MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY, INCLUDING THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND THE AMERICAN CHARGE, HAVE BEEN PRESSING THE GOT TO SUPPORT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE AND TO CONVEY THIS ENDORSEMENT PUBLICLY.
3. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WHO HAS BEEN MOST ACTIVE ON THE ISSUE, CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER MALECELA LAST FRIDAY TO ELICIT TANZANIA'S SUPPORT. MALECELA'S RESPONSE WAS DISAPPOINTINGLY NONCOMMITTAL BUT HE PROMISED THE AMBASSADOR A REPLY THIS WEEK. AS LATE AS FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 24, THE MFA DIRECTOR OF THE AFRICA/MIDDLE EAST DEPARTMENT SAID FOREIGN MINISTER RWEGASIRA WAS REVIEWING THE MATTER WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI. EARLIER TODAY, THE AFRICA DIRECTOR INFORMED THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR THAT STATE HOUSE IS DECIDING WHETHER THE GOT STAND SHOULD BE TRANSMITTED VIA A COMMUNIQUE OR A BRIEFING TO SELECT MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS. (NOTE: IF PAST PRACTICE IS ANY INDICATION, THE GOT MAY OPT FOR THE LOWER-PROFILE DIPLOMATIC BRIEFING WHICH COULD BE CALLED AT ANY TIME. AT COB JUNE 24, MFA PRINCIPAL SECRETARY (P/S) PHONED CHARGE TO CONFIRM THAT THE GOT IS STILL FORMULATING ITS POSITION BUT OFFERED TO MEET WITH

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CHARGE MONDAY MORNING. THE P/S DID REITERATE THE GOT'S AGREEMENT THAT THE KILLINGS MUST END IMMEDIATELY (REF), ADDING, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.N. SHOULD NOT BE UNDERMINED)

4. BESIDES THE P/S REMARKS, THE ONLY HINT OF GOT THINKING ON THE FRENCH INITIATIVE HAS BEEN AN EDITORIAL PUBLISHED JUNE 20 IN THE RULING PARTY'S DAILY KISWAHILI PAPER, "UHURU." THE EDITORIAL, ENTITLED "WHAT IS FRANCE'S AIM?," DESCRIBES THE FRENCH PLAN AS SURPRISING AND ILL-TIMED. THE EDITORIAL'S AUTHORS QUESTION WHY FRANCE DOES NOT SIMPLY JOIN THE EXPANDED UNAMIR EFFORT IF, AS IT CLAIMS, IT WANTS TO END THE KILLING IN RWANDA. THE EDITORIAL RECALLS FRANCE'S HISTORICAL INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA AND SUGGESTS THE FRENCH ACTION MAY ONLY ADD TO PROBLEMS AND CAUSE THE SITUATION TO ESCALATE. THE ARTICLE URGES FRANCE TO JOIN ONGOING U.N. EFFORTS "IF IT TRULY" ENTERTAINS GOOD INTENTIONS IN RWANDA.

5. COMMENT: CHANCES OF GOT SUPPORT WOULD BE ENHANCED IF THE OAU, FOR ITS PART, WERE TO ISSUE A STRONG PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT OF THE FRENCH INTERVENTION. WITHOUT THIS, TANZANIA MAY PROVE QUITE RESISTANT TO ADOPTING A POSITION AT VARIANCE WITH THE OAU'S.

BROWNING

BT

#4027

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4027

TOR: 940624091413 M1117101

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 241435Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
OSRI: RUEHDS
DTG: 241435Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2906
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1198
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1717
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE 0594
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 0262
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0146
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO 0637
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2063
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0022
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0090
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8929
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 2975
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0150
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 4835
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 0836
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1632
RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 0295
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3852
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0094
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7857
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 3179
RUEHTUAMEMBASSY TUNIS 0070
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2499
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0990
SUBJ: SUPPORT FOR FRENCH-LED OPERATION, EXPANDED UNAMIR
-

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3.97)
RZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 ADDIS ABABA 004729
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, OAU, RW, FR, ET
SUBJECT: SUPPORT FOR FRENCH-LED OPERATION, EXPANDED UNAMIR
-
REF: STATE 168777
1. ~~-CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. THE AMBASSADOR RAISED THE ISSUE OF SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH IN RWANDA SEPARATELY ON JUNE 24 WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SEYOUM AND ASSISTANT OAU SECRETARY

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GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS MAPURANGA. THE TGE IS CONTINUING WITH PLANS TO DEPLOY ITS TROOPS TO RWANDA, BUT IS UNLIKELY TO MAKE ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THE FRENCH INTERVENTION. MAPURANGA BELIEVES THAT AN OAU PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT IS POSSIBLE; HE WILL BE RAISING IT WITH SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM IN NEW YORK. WE ARE LESS OPTIMISTIC. END SUMMARY.

3. IN THE ABSENCE OF OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM IN NEW YORK, AMBASSADOR RAISED REFTEL POINTS WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS (AND RWANDA POINT MAN) MAPURANGA. AMBASSADOR STRESSED THAT WHATEVER THE MERITS OF THE U.S. AND OAU POSITIONS PRIOR TO THE FRENCH ENTRY, THAT ENTRY INTO RWANDA WAS NOW A FACT, AND IT WAS IN EVERYONE'S INTEREST THAT THE FRENCH SUCCEED, WHICH WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE EXPANDED UNAMIR TO TAKE OVER, AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. AMBASSADOR ALSO PROVIDED MAPURANGA WITH THE APPROPRIATE TALKING POINTS FROM REFTEL.

4. MAPURANGA REPLIED THAT HE WOULD DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH SALIM IN NEW YORK (AMBASSADOR SAID A/S MOOSE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE WITH SALIM, BUT HE DID NOT HAVE A REPORT ON THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S RESPONSE). HOWEVER, HE DID NOT BELIEVE THERE WOULD BE ANY PROBLEM IN MEETING OUR REQUEST; SALIM HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID THAT THE OAU FACED A MORAL DILEMMA IN RWANDA SINCE WHILE THEY BELIEVED AN EXPANDED UNAMIR WOULD HAVE BEEN THE BEST CHOICE, UNAMIR WAS NOT READY, AND WOULD NOT BE FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, WHILE THE FRENCH WERE TRYING TO HELP STOP THE KILLING NOW. (COMMENT. WE ARE SLIGHTLY LESS SANGUINE THAN MAPURANGA ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THESE DEMARCHES SINCE SALIM CLEARLY SAID ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT 4000 AFRICAN TROOPS WERE READY TO GO AND JUST NEEDED LOGISTIC SUPPORT. ON THE OTHER HAND, A MORAL DILEMMA DOES EXIST IN THE SENSE THAT THE FRENCH ARE THERE TRYING TO STOP THE KILLING WHICH IS THE OAU'S GOAL TOO.)

5. LATER ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 24, AMBASSADOR ALSO DISCUSSED THE ISSUE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SEYOUM, LEAVING A NON-PAPER WITH THE APPROPRIATE TALKING POINTS. SEYOUM REPEATED WHAT WE HAD HEARD PREVIOUSLY: THAT THE TGE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THE FRENCH GO AS PART OF AN EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCE, AND THAT THEIR PRESENCE COULD COMPLICATE THE ISSUE. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THE MORAL ISSUE AS ABOVE, WITH WHICH SEYOUM AGREED. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO SAID THAT AT LEAST THE FRENCH INTERVENTION WAS COVERED BY A UNSC RESOLUTION. THE AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT AS A TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRY, THE BEST THING FOR ETHIOPIA TO DO WAS TO REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS TO GET THEIR TROOPS READY ASAP SO THAT THE FRENCH MISSION WOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE. SEYOUM SAID THEY WOULD DO SO, ALTHOUGH THEY OF COURSE RESERVED THE RIGHT NOT TO SEND THEIR TROOPS IF THINGS STARTED GOING BADLY BECAUSE OF THE FRENCH INTERVENTION.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 ADDIS ABABA 004729

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, OAU, RW, FR, ET
SUBJECT: SUPPORT FOR FRENCH-LED OPERATION, EXPANDED UNAMIR
-
REF: STATE 168777
6. REGARDING A PUBLIC STATEMENT, SEYOUM SAID THAT WAS VERY DIFFICULT FOR THEM. ALTHOUGH HE WOULD RAISE THE ISSUE WITH PRESIDENT MELES, HIS RECOMMENDATION WOULD BE THAT THE TGE CONTINUE TO SAY NOTH
ING, EITHER POSITIVE OR
NEGATIVE, ON THE FRENCH ACTION. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR RELATED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED AN INDICATION EARLIER THAT PERHAPS THE OAU WOULD MAKE A SUPPORTING STATEMENT, SEYOUM SAID THE OAU WOULD THEN BE SPEAKING FOR ALL OF AFRICA, INCLUDING ETHIOPIA. THE DCM SUGGESTED THAT THE TGE CONSIDER A STATEMENT NOT OF SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH ACTION BUT RATHER ONE THAT CALLED ON ALL SIDES TO COOPERATE WITH THE FRENCH FORCES WHO WERE THERE IN COMPLIANCE WITH A UN RESOLUTION. T TGE WOULD THEN NOT HAVE TO CHANGE THEIR PREVIOUS POSITION, BUT COULD BE HELPFUL. SEYOUM FOUND THE SUGGESTION INTERESTING, AND SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER IT. THE AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED THIS PORTION OF THE CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT WHILE A PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SOME KIND WAS IMPORTANT AND WOULD BE HELPFUL, IT WAS LESS IMPORTANT THAN GETTING THE ETHIOPIAN BATTALION READY TO GO QUICKLY.
7. COMMENT. WE SUSPECT THAT THERE WILL BE NO ETHIOPIAN PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THIS ISSUE OF ANY KIND. THEY TEND TO REFRAIN FROM PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN GENERAL, AND THEY ARE NOT COMPLETELY HAPPY WITH THE FRENCH INTERVENTION IN THIS CASE. THAT COULD CHANGE IF THE OAU MAKES A SUPPORTIVE STATEMENT. HOWEVER, WE DO BELIEVE THEY WILL CONTINUE EFFORTS TO GET THEIR TROOPS READY QUICKLY.
8. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. BAAS
BT
#4729
NNNN

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

SSN: 4729
<^SSN>4729

TOR: 940624104234 M1117315
<^TOR>940624104235 M1117316

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUTAKMA5059 1751520-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 241520Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 241520Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0773
INFO: RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0557
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2089
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0449
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0015
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2573
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4162
SUBJ: THE GOU ON MUSEVENI AT THE OAU
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (3,98)
VR 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 005059
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UG, LY, SU
SUBJECT: THE GOU ON MUSEVENI AT THE OAU
REF: STATE 165158
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
-
2. IN A MEETING JUNE 24 ON RWANDA (SEPTEL) AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, DEPUTY MINISTER AGARD DIDI TOLD CHARGE AND POLOFF THAT THE PRESS HAD BADLY MISREPRESENTED PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S ATTENDANCE AT THE OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT/NOT WALKED OUT ON THE MEETING, AND UGANDA WAS NOT/NOT CONDEMNED BY THE ASSEMBLY FOR ITS ALLEGED SUPPORT TO THE RPF. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAD MOVED TO CONDEMN UGANDA, BUT THE OTHER NATIONS ON THE COMMITTEE HAD SAID THE KILLINGS IN RWANDA ARE CLEARLY AN ETHNIC CONFLICT (MANY IF NOT MOST, BY MACHETES AND HOES), NOT ONE DUE TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION.
-
2. THE OAU SUMMIT DID NOT HAVE ANY FINAL STATE DINNER OR OTHER EVENT TO FORMALLY CLOSE THE SESSION. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI LEFT AFTER THE BUSINESS MEETING, A BIT EARLIER THAN SOME OTHERS, BUT CERTAINLY NOT IN A FIT OF PIQUE. DIDI SPECULATED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD STOPPED IN TUNISIA ON THE WAY BACK TO UGANDA TO MEET WITH QADHAFI; DIDI HIMSELF LEFT TUNIS EARLY FOR LONDON AND DID NOT KNOW THE DETAILS OF THE PRESIDENT'S TRAVEL.
-
3. COMMENT. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S MEETING WITH QADHAFI WAS REPORTED REFTEL. DIDI'S ACCOUNT OF THE

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OAU SUMMIT MAKES MUCH MORE SENSE THAN A HURT MUSEVENI
STOMPING OUT OF A HOSTILE SUMMIT. END COMMENT.
-
4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SHIPPY
BT
#5059
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5059

TOR: 940624112829 M1117422

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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PER E.O. 13526
Z11-0262-11-3 (3.99)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA5061 1751527-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 241527Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 241527Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 2010
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0775
INFO: RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI IMMEDIATE 0149
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0423
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0227
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2575
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0774
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4164
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2091
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5950
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0014
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUECS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0335
RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0319
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0220
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO THE RPF
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 005061
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, RW, FR, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO THE RPF
REF: STATE 167690
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST; SEE PARA 11.
3. SUMMARY. THE CHARGE MET WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVES SETH SENDASHONGA AND DENIS POOLISI ON JUNE 23 TO DELIVER THE POINTS IN REFTEL URGING THE RPF TO SUPPORT UNAMIR AND THE DELIVERY OF EQUIPMENT TO UNAMIR, AND TO STOP HARASSING U.S. CITIZENS AND OTHER EXPATRIATES. THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES EXPRESSED STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE FRENCH INTERVENTION. THEY REAFFIRMED THE RPF'S SUPPORT FOR AN EXPANDED UNAMIR, BUT WITHOUT TROOPS FROM FRANCE OR ITS ALLIES IN THE INTERVENTION FORCE. END SUMMARY.
4. AFTER RECEIVING REFTEL, WE REQUESTED AN APPOINTMENT WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVES ON JUNE 23. THE CHARGE MET WITH DENIS POOLISI, SECOND VICE CHAIRMAN

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OF THE RPF, AND SETH SENDASHONGA, MINISTER-DESIGNATE OF YOUTH AND COOPERATIVE AFFAIRS AND MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, LATE IN THE AFTERNOON. THE TWO WERE IN KAMPALA ON THEIR WAY BACK TO RWANDA FROM A TRIP TO WEST AFRICA. DATT AND POLOFF SAT IN ON THE MEETING.

5. THE CHARGE RAISED THE POINTS IN REFTEL, URGING THE RPF TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH UNAMIR, TO PERMIT THE FLOW OF SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT THROUGH RPF TERRITORY TO UNAMIR, AND TO STOP HARASSING AMERICAN CITIZENS AND OTHER EXPATRIATES. THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES ARGUED VEHEMENTLY AGAINST THE FRENCH INTERVENTION FORCE; UNAMIR SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXPANDED MUCH MORE QUICKLY, THEY INSISTED, PRECLUDING THE FRENCH UNILATERAL ACTION. THE CHARGE NOTED THAT THE RPF HAD SENT A LETTER CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR IF THE FRENCH FORCE ENTERED RWANDA. SETH SENDASHONGA REPLIED THAT THE LETTER WAS WRITTEN BEFORE THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION; HE DID NOT KNOW THE STATUS OF THE LETTER NOW THAT THE RESOLUTION HAS PASSED. THE CHARGE STATED THAT THE EXPANSION OF UNAMIR IS ONGOING, THAT EQUIPMENT IS BEING DELIVERED TO PREPARE FOR THE ARRIVAL OF ADDITIONAL TROOPS, AND THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE RPF PERMIT UNAMIR TO CONTINUE ITS WORK. SENDASHONGA STATED THAT THE RPF WOULD ALLOW THE EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES FOR UNAMIR TO PASS THROUGH THE RPF ZONE.

6. DENIS POOLISI SAID THAT THE RPF HAS REPORTS THAT UNAMIR IS DOING "ADVANCE WORK" FOR THE FRENCH FORCES. HE LISTED THE RPF'S OBJECTIONS TO FRENCH FORCES BASED ON FRENCH ACTIONS IN RWANDA IN THE PAST. DATT NOTED THAT THE RPF COULD MONITOR ANY NON-NEUTRAL ACTIONS BY THE FRENCH AND REPORT TO UNAMIR AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES SAID THEY DID NOT KNOW THE SCOPE OF THE U.N. RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THE FRENCH OR THEIR RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. THE CHARGE GAVE THEM COPIES OF THE U.N. RESOLUTION. DATT SAID THEY -- AND WE -- COULD INQUIRE ABOUT THE FRENCH RULES OF ENGAGEMENT.

7. TO THE CHARGE'S SPECIFIC QUESTION ON WHETHER THE RPF WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT UNAMIR, SENDASHONGA STATED THAT THE RPF WILL COOPERATE WITH UNAMIR. POOLISI ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE RPF RESERVES THE RIGHT TO OBJECT TO CERTAIN NATIONALITIES PARTICIPATING IN AN EXPANDED UNAMIR, NOTABLY THE FRENCH AND ANY OF THEIR "ALLIES" IN THE INTERVENTION FORCE.

8. ON THE QUESTION OF HARASSMENT OF U.S. CITIZENS AND OTHER EXPATRIATES BY THE RPF, SENDASHONGA SAID HE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 005061

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, RW, FR, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO THE RPF

WOULD NEED DETAILS OF THE SPECIFIC INCIDENT TO RESPOND. "IN PRINCIPLE, IT IS WRONG FOR THE RPF TO TREAT ANYONE RUDELY AT THE BORDER," HE SAID. THE RPF

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HAS ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES FOR CLEARANCE INTO ITS ZONE, HE SAID: THE NGO'S AND OTHERS APPLY FOR CLEARANCE FROM THE RPF OFFICE IN BRUSSELS TO USE THE CROSSING POINT AT GATUNA NEAR KABALE, UGANDA. AN RPF LIAISON OFFICER IS POSTED AT GATUNA TO CLEAR EXPATRIATES FOR WORK OR TRAVEL IN RWANDA. POLOFF NOTED THAT THE HARASSMENT OF THE AMERICANS OCCURRED AT KAGITUMBA, THE ROUTE THAT UNAMIR PLANS TO USE FOR THE TRANSPORT OF THE APC'S FR ENTEBBE. SENDASHONGA SAID THAT THE RPF WOULD HAVE TO WORK OUT LOGISTICS WITH UNAMIR FOR THAT CROSSING POINT, BUT AMERICANS -- OR OTHERS -- WHO DO NOT HAVE ALL THE INFORMATION (IE., THAT THEY ARE TO USE GATUNA) SHOULD NOT BE TREATED "RUDELY." SENDASHONGA SAID THERE WILL BE NO RPF HARASSMENT OR MISTREATMENT OF AMERICANS BECAUSE OF THEIR NATIONALITY OR THE POLITICAL SUPPORT BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR THE FRENCH INTERVENTION IN RWANDA.

9. COMMENT. THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES HAD BEEN TRAVELING AND WERE OUT OF THE LOOP ON THE MOST CURRENT RPF POLICY VIS A VIS THE FRENCH INTERVENTION AND UNAMIR. WE BELIEVE THEY WILL CARRY OUR MESSAGE ACCURATELY TO THE RPF LEADERSHIP IN RWANDA. END COMMENT.

10. ACTION REQUEST FOR PARIS: IS IT POSSIBLE TO GET A COPY OF THE FRENCH RULES OF ENGAGEMENT FOR THEIR INTERVENTION IN RWANDA? IF SO, COULD IT BE PASSED TO THE RPF? PLEASE ADVISE.

11. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SHIPPY

BT

#5061

NNNN

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

SSN: 5061
<^SSN>5061

TOR: 940624113457 M1117442
<^TOR>940624113507 M1117444

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.01)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBZA1888 1751550-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 241550Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
OSRI: RUEHBZ
DTG: 241550Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5433
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0101
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY 0060
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 0246
RUEHLC/AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY 3754
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0173
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY 0036
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0098
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0510
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE PRIORITY 0156
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY 0078
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY 0029
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 6083
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0336
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RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0010
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 3863
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0377
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0277
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0045
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY 0116
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0669
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI PRIORITY 3471
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0794
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUFGAID/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN ECJ2
SUBJ: CONGO SUPPORTS FRENCH RWANDA INITIATIVE, UNAMIR II
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BRAZZAVILLE 001888
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, RW, FR, CF
SUBJECT: CONGO SUPPORTS FRENCH RWANDA INITIATIVE, UNAMIR II
REF: A) STATE 16877 B) BRAZZAVILLE 1846 (NOTAL)
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE CONGOLESE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUED A STATEMENT JUNE 23 SUPPORTING FRANCE'S "HUMANITARIAN INITIATIVE" IN RWANDA, AND WELCOMING THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S APPROVAL OF THE OPERATION.
3. THE GOTC ALSO PRONOUNCED ITSELF READY TO

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"PARTICIPATE IN" (I.E., PROVIDE TROOPS FOR) UNAMIR II ON THE BASIS OF BOTH UNSC RESOLUTION 925 AND THE OUA'S RWANDA RESOLUTION. PRESIDENT LISSOUBA EXPRESSED HIS READINESS TO ENGAGE IN SUB-REGIONAL DISCUSSIONS ON THE QUESTION OF RWANDA, ALSO EXHORTING ALL FORCES FAVORABLE TO PEACE TO PROCEED QUICKLY WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION.

4. BACKGROUND. DURING AN EARLY-JUNE STOPOVER IN ADDIS, LISSOUBA ANNOUNCED THE CONGO'S READINESS TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO THE UNAMIR II FORCE. THE PRESIDENT ADVANCED THE FIGURE OF 300 MEN ON THAT OCCASION. SINCE THEN VARIOUS FIGURES HAVE CIRCULATED, BUT CURRENT CONGOLESE THINKING, AS BEST WE CAN DETERMINE, APPEARS TO HAVE SOLIDIFIED AROUND A ONE-COMPANY TOTAL: 120-130 MEN. CONGO HAS HAD A CONTINGENT OF 25 MEN IN KIGALI WITH THE UNAMIR I FORCE SINCE PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES. THESE TROOPS, ALONG WITH OTHERS FROM FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN COUNTRIES, HAVE RECENTLY BEEN WITHDRAWN FROM KIGALI FOLLOWING THREATS FROM THE RPF. END BACKGROUND.

5. THE GOTC'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNILATERAL FRENCH INTERVENTION WAS AMBIVALENT AT THE OUTSET, BUT APPEARS TO HAVE BECOME MORE POSITIVE SINCE THE OPERATION WAS ENDORSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FRENCH INITIATIVE, RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONALE LISTED THE CONGO AMONG SEVERAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES WILLING TO JOIN FRANCE. SUBSEQUENTLY, RFI ANNOUNCED THAT THE CONGO HAD WITHDRAWN ITS OFFER TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS. (NOTE: FRENCH AMBASSADOR CESAIRE TOLD US THAT CONGO WAS NOT FORMALLY APPROACHED ON THE QUESTION IN BRAZZAVILLE, AND THAT NO OFFER OF CONGOLESE SUPPORT HAD BEEN MADE OR WITHDRAWN. THE FRENCH HERE ARE MYSTIFIED AT THE SOURCE OF THE RFI REPORTS. END NOTE.) AT ONE POINT WE WERE LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE CONGO WOULD SUPPORT UNAMIR II, BUT NOT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. NOW THAT THE UNSC HAS GIVEN A GREEN LIGHT TO THE FRENCH, AND OPERATION TURQUOISE IS BEING VIEWED AS A PRECURSOR TO UNAMIR II, THE CONGOLESE APPARENTLY HAVE DROPPED THEIR RETICENCE AND ARE PREPARED TO JOIN THE FRENCH.

6. DATT HAS ALREADY DISCUSSED LOGISTICAL NEEDS WITH THE CONGOLESE MILITARY (REF B). BRIEFLY, WE WERE TOLD A CONGOLESE CONTINGENT WOULD REQUIRE:

-- PERSONAL COMBAT EQUIPMENT;
-- VEHICLES (MAINLY JEEPS);
-- COMMUNICATIONS GEAR;
-- TRANSPORTATION (NOT EXPLICITLY REQUESTED BUT PRESUMED NECESSARY)

7. THE AMBASSADOR IS SCHEDULED TO SEE PRESIDENT LISSOUBA ON SATURDAY, 25 JUNE TO REINFORCE THE MESSAGE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BRAZZAVILLE 001888

PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, RW, FR, CF
SUBJECT: CONGO SUPPORTS FRENCH RWANDA INITIATIVE, UNAMIR II

OF SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH. AS CONGO HAS ALREADY INDICATED IT IS ON BOARD, WE WILL USE THE OCCASION FOR

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COORDINATION AMONG POTENTIAL SUPPORTING ACTORS FOR
OPERATION TURQUOISE. RAMSAY
BT
#1888
NNNN

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

SSN: 1888
<^SSN>1888

TOR: 940624115553 M1117495
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.01)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 241629Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 241629Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6812
INFO: RUCNANC/FRANCOPHONE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 5666
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 6676
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6622
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3032
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1837
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 5384
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8314
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0617
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 4924
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 6868
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1197
SUBJ: RWANDA AND FRANCE: WHY NOW? THE OAU, MEDIA, NGOS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 17431
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, PREF, RW, FR
SUBJECT: RWANDA AND FRANCE: WHY NOW? THE OAU, MEDIA, NGOS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY
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2. THE GOF'S SUDDEN DECISION TO INTERVENE IN RWANDA AFTER TWO AND ONE-HALF MONTHS OF WELL PUBLICIZED MASSACRES HAS LEFT MANY IN FRANCE AND ABROAD WONDERING WHY THE FRANCE HAS CHOSEN TO ACT AT THIS LATE DATE AND WHAT IT HOPES TO ACCOMPLISH. OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH A BROAD RANGE OF GOF AFRICANISTS HAVE NOT REVEALED A WELL REASONED PLAN FOR STABILIZING THE COUNTRY; RATHER, THE GOF POLICY SEEMS TO TO SPRING LARGELY FROM AN EMOTIONAL REACTION FROM THE CONTINUED SCENES OF SLAUGHTER AND A STEADY DRUM-BEAT OF CRITICISM BY THE MEDIA AND NORMALLY APOLITICAL NGOS OF FRANCE'S PAST AND PRESENT ACTIONS. IN ADDITION TO THESE DOMESTIC PRESSURES, THE GOF DELEGATION CAME IN FOR PERSISTENT CRITICISM BY ITS AFRICAN PARTNERS AT THE OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. FINALLY, AT A POLITICAL LEVEL, THERE WAS CONCERN THAT GIVEN THE INABILITY OF THE UN OR OAU TO ACT, THE RWANDA AFFAIR COULD LEAVE AN IMPRESSION OF INCOMPETENCE AND CALLOUSNESS THAT WOULD HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT FOR THE

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GOVERNMENT IN THE UPCOMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

THE MEDIA EFFECT

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3. PERHAPS THE MOST CONSISTENT AND READILY IDENTIFIABLE ELEMENT IN THE GOF DECISION TO INTERVENE WAS THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF FRENCH JOURNALISTS REPORTING FOLLOWING THE EVACUATION OF FRENCH NATIONALS. IT WAS DONE LARGELY BY FRENCH JOURNALISTS SINCE ONLY THEY COULD CIRCULATE RELATIVELY FREELY IN HUTU-HELD AREAS. IN ADDITION, GOF POLICY IN RWANDA OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS WAS THE SUBJECT OF CONCERTED, HIGHLY NEGATIVE MEDIA COVERAGE, FUELED BY WELL-DOCUMENTED LEAKS.

4. ALTHOUGH GOF SPOKESMEN TRIED GENTLY ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO REMIND THE FRENCH PUBLIC THAT THE MITTERRAND GOVERNMENT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EVOLUTION OF RWANDA POLICY, NO SPECIAL EFFORT WAS MADE TO PUSH ALL BLAME ON TO THE ELYSEE, THUS LEAVING THE BAG IN THE HANDS OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT. ONE FACTOR THAT ALL OF OUR CONTACTS CITED WAS THE EFFECT ON GOF AFRICANISTS OF THE TELEVISED IMAGES OF THE SLAUGHTER. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS SAME MEDIA ATTENTION DID NOT CREATE PUBLIC OR PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURE FOR INTERVENTION. RATHER, IT WAS A DECISION OF THE FRENCH POLITICAL CLASS.

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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5. ACCORDING TO QUAI STAFFERS, DOMINIQUE DE VILLEPIN, FORMER DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND NOW CHIEF OF STAFF TO FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE, TOOK THE LEAD IN PRESSING JUPPE FOR AN INTERVENTION OVER DEFENSE MINISTER LEOTARD'S INITIAL OBJECTIONS. DE VILLEPIN'S ARGUMENT WAS THAT DESPITE THE EVIDENT POLITICAL RISKS AND HUGE COSTS, A FAILURE TO ACT COULD BE VERY DAMAGING TO THE CENTER-RIGHT'S HOPES IN 1995 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. THUS, THE POLITICAL DANGERS OF INACTION WERE JUDGED TO BE GREATER THAN THOSE OF INACTION.

FOR FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE, THE FINAL STRAW WAS THE MURDER OF NEARLY 100 ORPHANS DURING THE WEEK OF JUNE 13

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 17431

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, PREF, RW, FR

SUBJECT: RWANDA AND FRANCE: WHY NOW? THE OAU, MEDIA, NGOS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

AS A CEASE FIRE WAS BEING DEBATED AT THE OAU SUMMIT.

THE OAU SUMMIT

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6. A SECOND ELEMENT WAS THE EXPERIENCE OF THE FRENCH DELEGATION TO THE OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS. THE DELEGATION WAS HEADED BY BERNARD DE MONTEFERRAND, THE PRIME MINISTER'S CHIEF DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR, WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AS A GENERAL RULE, ONLY ON CRISIS SITUATIONS IN ORDER TO PROTECT BALLADUR'S INTERESTS. DE MONTEFERRAND AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH DELEGATION WERE TAKEN ABACK BY THE INSISTENCE OF THEIR NORMALLY DOCILE FRANCOPHONE PARTNERS THAT FRANCE, DESPITE ITS DESIRE TO REDUCE ITS ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA,

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NEEDED TO ACT IF IT WAS GOING TO RETAIN ANY CREDIBILITY IN THE REGION -- ESPECIALLY AFTER ITS DECISION TO "CUT AND RUN" FOLLOWING THE EVACUATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALS IN APRIL, LEAVING AFRICANS TO BE SLAUGHTERED WHILE EUROPEANS SAVED.

NGOS

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7. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A TRADITION OF COOPERATION BETWEEN NGOS AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, IT IS CONDUCTED IN A VERY DIFFERENT MANNER THAN IN THE U.S. OPEN CRITICISM OF A GOF POLICY BY FRENCH NGO'S IS RARE, ESPECIALLY BY THE CATHOLIC-BASED ORGANIZATIONS. WHEN SUCH CRITICISM HAPPENS, IT VS GENERALLY ASSUMED TO HAVE A POLITICAL COLORATION, SINCE NGOS ARE OFTEN LOOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEFT OR RIGHT. HOWEVER, IN THE CASE OF RWANDA, THE CRITICISM CAME FROM A WIDE SPECTRUM OF NGOS/PVOS THAT TRADITIONALLY HAVE NOT PARTICIPATED IN A POLITICAL DEBATE, SUCH AS "MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERS/FRANCE" AND "ACTION INTERNATIONAL CONTRE LA FAIM." THIS CRITICISM WAS ALL THE MORE STINGING SINCE IT HIT GOF POLICY ON SEVERAL FRONTS SIMULTANEOUSLY: HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, ATTACKS ON CATHOLIC CLERGY AND LAY WORKERS, FRANCE'S PAST ACTIONS, FRANCOPHONE SOLIDARITY, COMPARASIONS WITH EX-YUGOSLAVIA; ETC.

8. HIGHLY PUBLICIZED EVENTS SUCH AS THE (INEFFECTIVE) VISIT TO RWANDA BY FORMER MINISTER OF HEALTH (AND NEMESIS OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT) BERNARD KOUCHNER DROVE GOF AFRICANISTS INTO A FURY, SINCE IT ONLY INCREASED THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF A CENTER-RIGHT GOVERNMENT WITHOUT A POLICY OR COURAGE. QUAI CONTACTS, STRESSED THAT THE STINGING CRITICISM AND SUBSEQUENT CALL FOR HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION BY BY MSF/FRANCE CARRIED TREMENDOUS WEIGHT.

DECIDE IN HASTE.....

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9. MANY OF THE MID-LEVEL OFFICIALS AT THE QUAI AND IN OTHER MINISTRIES (INCLUDING COOPERATION) DID NOT SUPPORT AN INTERVENTION AFTER NEARLY TWO AND ONE-HALF MONTHS OF SLAUGHTER. THEIR REASONING WAS THAT THE WORST ASPECTS OF THE MASSACRES HAVE ENDED DUE TO THE SCALE OF MURDERS AND THE FLIGHT OF HUGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES. THUS THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH INTERVENTION MIGHT HAVE LITTLE REAL IMPACT -- AND IT COULD EVEN PROVOKE HUTU'S TO ONE LAST SPASM OF SLAUGHTER. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ARGUMENT WENT, FRANCE WOULD BE TAKING HUGE FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL RISKS. HOWEVER, THE

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, PREF, RW, FR

SUBJECT: RWANDA AND FRANCE: WHY NOW? THE OAU, MEDIA, NGOS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

DEBATE ENDED QUICKLY, AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL, LEAVING LITTLE TIME FOR RECONSIDERATION. THE RAPIDITY OF THE DECISION, AND THE LACK OF PRIOR CONSULTATIONS INTERNALLY OR WITH FOREIGN CAPITALS, EXPLAINS THE CONSTANT AD HOC APPEARANCE OF THIS OPERATION.

10. OUR STRONG IMPRESSION THAT THE GOF HAS YET TO

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DEFINE ITS POLITICAL GOALS OR DEVELOP A PLAN ON STABILIZING RWANDA OR THE REGION REMAINS UNCHANGED. ASSERTIONS WE HAVE HEARD THAT FRENCH INTERVENTION WILL LEAD TO A "POSITIVE SPIRAL" ARE BASED MORE ON HOPE THAN ANY SOLID ANALYSIS. AS ONE EXAMPLE OF THE NEED TO COME UP WITH A COHERENT POLICY AT ALL COSTS, DEFENSE MINISTER LEOTARD DURING A JUNE 22 TELEVISION INTERVIEW DEFENDED THE INTERVENTION BY CLAIMING THAT "IF ONE LIFE IS SAVED, THE OPERATION IS JUSTIFIED." IN EFFECT, THIS IS THE ARGUMENT LONG USED BY BERNARD KOUCHNER FOR SOMALIA AND EX-YUGOSLAVIA -- AND HEAVILY CRITICIZED BY THE CENTER-RIGHT DURING THE 1993 ELECTIONS AND EVER SINCE, I.E., THE SUBSTITUTION OF "HUMANITARIAN ACTION" FOR FOREIGN POLICY.

11. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

BT

#7431

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 7431
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TOR: 940624123237 M1117583
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.02)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 241637Z JUN 94
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2529
INFO: RUEHBQ/AMEMBASSY BISSAU 0131
RUEHJL/AMEMBASSY BANJUL 0408
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO 0321
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0363
RUEHNK/AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT 0292
RUTARY/AMEMBASSY CONAKRY 0291
SUBJ: SENEGALESE SCENES: VISIT OF FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER; SENEGAL TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO RWANDA; HUNGER STRIKE BY ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS; UNIVERSITY STRIKE CONTINUES.
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DAKAR 005353
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOC, PREL, PHUM, UNAMIR, SG
SUBJECT: SENEGALESE SCENES: VISIT OF FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER; SENEGAL TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO RWANDA; HUNGER STRIKE BY ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS; UNIVERSITY STRIKE CONTINUES.
1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY. FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER ALAIN JUPPE AND COOPERATION MINISTER JACQUES ROUSSIN VISIT DAKAR JUNE 18-20, DISCUSS SENEGALESE CONTRIBUTION TO RWANDA PKO FORCE, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AND ANNOUNCE VISIT OF FRENCH PM BALLADUR FOR END OF JULY. PRESIDENT DIOUF CONFIRMS SENEGAL WILL CONTRIBUTE TO RWANDA. PUBLIC AND PRESS REACTION HESITANT; GENERALLY PERCEIVED AS THE RIGHT THING TO DO, BUT SOME FEAR UNFORSEEN CONSEQUENCES AND A REPEAT OF LIBERIA. MODY SY AND SAMUEL SARR, ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS IN THE ASSASSINATION OF BABACAR SEYE, COMMENCE A HUNGER STRIKE DEMANDING THEIR RELEASE. THE UNIVERSITY REMAINS CLOSED AS GOVERNMENT, STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS REMAIN INTRANSIGENT, AND THE EXTENT OF INSTITUTIONAL PARALYSIS IS RAISING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY'S FUTURE AND PROPER ROLE. END SUMMARY.
JUPPE AT BAT, BALLADUR ON DECK
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2. (U) FRENCH FOMIN ALAIN JUPPE ARRIVED SATURDAY, JUNE 18 FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT DIOUF AND GOS FOMIN MOUSTAPHA NIASSE ON SENEGAL'S CONTRIBUTION OF TROOPS TO FRENCH PKO INITIATIVE IN RWANDA. FRENCH AND SENEGALESE OFFICIALS LAUDED AND APPLAUDED THE DEEP CHARACTER OF

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FRANCO-SENEGALESE COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE OR NO PRESS PLAY ON THE FACT THAT SENEGAL IS THE ONLY FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN COUNTRY (AND EXCEPT FOR GHANA, THE ONLY AFRICAN COUNTRY) THAT HAS RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO FRANCE'S INITIATIVE. JUPPE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY COOPERATION MINSTER MICHEL ROUSSIN, WHOSE DISCUSSIONS WITH DIOUF AND OTHERS TOUCHED ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATIO FIVE MONTHS AFTER DEVALUATION AS WELL AS FUTURE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COOPERATION.

3. (U) JUPPE ALSO ANNOUNCED THE INTENTION OF FRENCH PM EDOUARD BALLADUR TO VISIT SENEGAL AT THE END OF JULY.

SENEGAL TO JOIN RWANDA PEACEKEEPING FORCES

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4. (U) PRESIDENP DIOUFQ&FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON TUESDAY, JUNE 21, CONFIRMED SENEGAL'S INTENTION TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE FRENCH-LED RWANDA PKO FORCE.

5. (U) REACTION HAS BEEN HESITANT. IBA DER THIAM, SECGEN OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY CDP/GARAB-GI, (QUOTED IN AN EDITORIAL IN INDEPENDENT DAILY "WAL FADJRI"Q22 JUNE) ASKED WHETHER SENEGAL RISKED EMBROILING ITSELF IN A CONFLICT FROM WHICH, LIKE LIBERIA, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO EXTRICATE ITSELF. THIAM OPINED THAT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO CALL A SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY TO DEBATE THE QUESTION, BUT ALSO NOTED THAT SENEGAL HAD STRONG TIES OF SOLIDARITY WITH FRANCE AND OF BROTHERHOOD WITH RWANDA. A SPOKESPRSON FOR OPPOSTION PARTY AND-JEF/PADS COMPLETELY OPPOSED THE MOVE, WHILE THE SECGEN OF THE RND, MADIOR DIOUF, AGREED WITH THE INITIATIVE IN PRINCIPLE BUT EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT UNKNOWN CONSEQUENCES.

6. ~~(S)~~ COMMENT: GENERAL SENTIMENT SEEMS TO BE THAT SENEGAL IS "DOING THE RIGHT THING" BUT THERE IS A TANGIBLE UNDERCURRENT OF HESITATION BECAUSE OF THE FEAR OF UNKNOWN CONSEQUENCES AND OF GETTING ONCE AGAIN ENTANGLED (AS IT IS PERCEIVED HERE) IN ANOTHER LIBERIA. END COMMENT.

SY, SARR UNDERTAKE HUNGER STRIKE, DEMAND TO BE RELEASED

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7. (U) MODY SY AND SAMUEL SARR, THE TWO ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS IN THE ASSASSINATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL COURT VICE-PRESIDENT BABACAR SEYE AGAINST WHOM CHARGES WERE DISMISSED EARLIER THIS MONTH, HAVE INITIATED A HUNGER STRIKE IN AN EFFORT TO PRESS THE GOS TO RELEASE THEM FROM DETENTION. IN A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THEIR LAWYER

AND REPRINTED IN PART IN "WAL FADJRI", SY AND SARR EXPLAINED THE REASONS FOR THEIR ACTIONS: "WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE ARBITRARY ACT OF KEEPING US IN PRISON WHEN THE COURT HAS ORDERED OUR RELEASE." THE DETAINEES BLAMED "A POWER PLAY BY INDIVIDUALS CONVINCED OF THEIR (ABILITY TO ACT WITH) IMPUNITY AND WHO DO WHAT THEY WISH WITH UTTER DISREPECT FOR THE SENEGALESE PEOPLE."

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DAKAR 005353

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOC, PREL, PHUM, UNAMIR, SG

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: SENEGALESE SCENES: VISIT OF FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER; SENEGAL TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO RWANDA; HUNGER STRIKE BY ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS; UNIVERSITY STRIKE CONTINUESQ

8. (U) THE FAMILIES OF THE TWO MEN ARE SUPPYRTING THEM TO THE BEST OF THEIR ABILITIES. SY'S WIFE EXPRESSED NO DOUBT THAT HER HUSBAND INTENDS TO CARRY THE STRIKE TO THE END, IF NECESSARY. SARR'S MOTHER, MEANWHILE, EXPRESSED HER CONVICTION THAT HER SON IS BEING MADE TO PAY FOR HIS INTRANSIGENCE.

9. (C) MADAME SARR ALSO COMPLAINED THAT SHE HAD NOT SEEN HER SON FOR THE LAST 45 DAYS, "SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SEARCHES." COMMENT: PRISON OFFICIALS INSTITUTED ROUTINE SEARCHES OF BOTH PRISONERS AND VISITORS BEFORE AND AFTER VISITS APPROXIMATELY 45 DAYS AGO, PRESUMABLY TO PREVENT THE TRANSMISSION OF WRITTEN CORRESPONDENCE. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE PRISONERS THEMSELVES HAVE REFUSED VISITORS IF IT MEANS SUBMITTING TO THESE SEARCHES. END COMMENT.

NO MORE SCHOOL, NO MORE BOOKS...

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10. (U) THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY HOLDS ITS COLLECTIVE BREATH AWAITING THE RESULTS OF THE LATEST MEETING OF SAES, THE LARGEST PROFESSOR'S UNION AT CHEIKH ANTA DROP UNIVERSITY. THE PROFESSORS, REVEALING THE DIVISIONS WITHIN THEIR GROUP AND BETWEEN SAES AND SUDES (SYNDICAT UNIQUE ET DEMOCRATIQUE DES ENSEIGNANTS DU SENEGAL, A SMALLER UNION), ARE BEING SOMEWHAT MERCURIAL. AT THE END OF LAST WEEK, SAES SECRETARY GENERAL FALILOU NDIAYE STATED THAT THE UNION, VERY BEGRUDGINGLY, WAS PREPARED TO CEDE CERTAIN POINTS TO THE GOS. BUT TODAY, IN THE JUNE 22 EDITION OF "LE SOLEIL", HE OPINED THAT IT WAS NOT DESIRABLE FOR THE STRIKE TO CONTINUE, BUT WOULD STILL BE "POSSIBLE" FOR IT TO CONTINUE IF A POSITIVE REACTION FROM THE GOS WERE NOT FORTHCOMING.

11. (U) MEANWHILE, THE UNIVERSITY REMAINS CLOSED AND THE STUDENTS REMAIN ON STRIKE. THE DEBATE AMONG THE SENEGALESE HAS STARTED TO SHIFT FROM "HOW DO WE GET THE UNIVERSITY TO FUNCTION?" TO "WHAT ARE, IN FACT, THE PROPER FUNCTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY?". SOME ARGUE THAT THE PRESENT REFORMS WILL JEOPARDIZE THE UNIVERSITY'S ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS SOCIAL MISSION OF "ABSORBING THE YOUTH (OF THE COUNTRY) AND ASSURING THEIR FORMATION," AS PROF. GAYE DAFFE, MAITRE-ASSISTANT OF THE FACULTE DES SCIENCES ECONOMIQUE, TOLD "WAL FADJRI". ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRESIDENT'S CHIEF EDUCATION COUNSELOR, SOULEYMANE BACHIR DIAGNE, COUNTERS FIRMLY THAT THE UNIVERSITY HAS "ONE SOLE MISSION. IT IS WHERE ONE ACQUIRES KNOWLEDGE, AND DEVELOPS IT THROUGH RESEARCH AND DISSEMINATION. ALL ELSE IS SUPPLEMENTAL...AND ONE SHOULD NOT MISTAKE THE MEANS FOR THEIR OWN ENDS."

12. (C) COMMENT: ENVIRONMENT MINISTER ABDOULAYE BATHILY, WHO RETAINS CLOSE TIES TO THE UNIVERSITY, TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD BEEN SUMMONED BY PRESIDENT DIOUF ON JUNE 23 AND ASKED TO HELP MEDIATE THE STALEMATE AT THE UNIVERSITY. BATHILY SAID NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PROCEED OVER THE WEEKEND OF JUNE 25-26 AND WAS CONFIDENT A SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND. END COMMENT.

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13. ~~(S)~~ COMMENT: A CONVERSATION WITH DIAGNE SUNDAY, JUNE 19 REVEALED AN INTERESTING STRATEGY. DIAGNE TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE GOS WOULD LIKE TO GET THE PROFESSORS BACK TO THE CLASSROOMS AS ADDITIONAL LEVERAGE AGAINST THE STUDENTS. FACED WITH THE PROSPECT OF AN "ANNEE BLANCHE", THE GOS IS WEIGHING THE POSSIBILITY OF COUNTING THIS YEAR NOT AS A DO-OVER, BUT AS A FAILURE, AND EXPELLING STUDENTS. (FYI: AN "ANNEE BLANCHE" OCCURS WHEN INSUFFICIENT TIME REMAINS TO PREPARE THE STUDENTS FOR THEIR STANDARDIZED FINAL EXAMS; NORMALLY THE YEAR IS NOT COUNTED AND IS REPEATED THE FOLLOWING TERM.) DIAGNE POINTED OUT THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO ANNEE BLANCHE IN THE LYCEES, AND THAT SOMEHOW SPACE HAS TO BE MADE FOR INCOMING HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE SITUATION WOUL
D PLAY OUT ONE WAY OR THE OTHER,
DEPENDING ON THE PROFESSORS, IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS.
END COMMENT. JOHNSON
BT
#5353
NNNN

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

SSN: 5353
<^SSN>5353

TOR: 940624143655 M1117851
<^TOR>940624143758 M1117853

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.04)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P R 251651Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 251651Z JUN 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
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INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0000
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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0000
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
SUBJ: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S MEETING WITH ACTING SECRETARY TALBOTT

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 170607
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UG, SU RW
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S MEETING WITH ACTING SECRETARY TALBOTT

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN A JUNE 22 MEETING WITH ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE STROBE TALBOTT, UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI OUTLINED A POTENTIAL POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR RWANDA. HE REPEATED HIS RESERVATIONS ABOUT FRENCH INTENTIONS, BUT SAID HE HAD BEEN "CONVERTED" TO THE NEED FOR A SHORT-TERM FRENCH HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION AND WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE RPF TO ACQUIESCE. THE ACTING SECRETARY ASSURED MUSEVENI THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS THE FRENCH TO BE SENSITIVE TO RPF CONCERNS. THERE WAS A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF PROSPECTS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN SUDAN, AND MUSEVENI EXPOUNDED HIS THEORY OF IMPEDIMENTS TO DEMOCRATIC STABILITY IN AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

3. UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MET WITH ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TALBOTT FOR 30 MINUTES ON JUNE 22. MUSEVENI WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER SSEMOGERERE, FINANCE MINISTER MYANJA-NKANGI, AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.

KATENTA-APULI, AND PROTOCOL CHIEF STEPHEN NABEETA. U.S. PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE,

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AMBASSADOR JOHNNIE CARSON, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY JOHN WITHERS, AND UGANDA DESK OFFICER (NOTETAKER).

RWANDA

4. MUSEVENI OUTLINED HIS VIEW OF A POTENTIAL "POWER-SHARING" SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CRISIS. HE DESCRIBED THE THREE BROAD FACTIONS WHICH, IN HIS VIEW, HOLD THE KEY TO RWANDA'S FUTURE: SOUTHERN HUTUS (I.E., THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION LED BY PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU); THE TUTSIS, IN THE FORM OF THE RPF; AND NORTHERN HUTUS (I.E.. THOSE MOST DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECENT ATROCITIES). "I HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH THE RPF LINKING UP WITH THE SOUTHERN HUTUS," SAID MUSEVENI. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE NORTHERN HUTUS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE BROUGHT IN TO A GOVERNING STRUCTURE, BUT ONLY AFTER INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRES HAD BEEN SCREENED OUT AND NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE NORTHERN FACTION HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED. "THEN THESE THREE GROUPS CAN BECOME POLITICAL BUILDING BLOCKS." MUSEVENI SAID HE COULD ALSO ENVISION A MERGING OF "RWANDA'S TWO ARMIES" -- THE RPA AND THE GOVERNMENT ARMY.

5. RESPONDING TO THE ACTING SECRETARY'S QUESTION ABOUT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE FOR HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN RWANDA, MUSEVENI SAID THAT THE RPF WAS AFRAID THIS WOULD "ALLOW THE OLD GROUP TO REMAIN IN POWER." THIS POLITICAL ANGLE MUST BE CONSIDERED, HE INSISTED. THE ACTING SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER MUSEVENI SHARED THE RPF'S VIEW ON THIS QUESTION. MUSEVENI HEDGED. BUT SAID FINALLY THAT HIS SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE HAD "CONVERTED ME" TO THE VIEW THAT, IF THE FRENCH GO IN UNDER A NARROWLY DEFINED UN MANDATE, "IT WON'T BE A PROBLEM."

6. THE ACTIDG SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT THE IMMEDIATE ISSUE IS TO STOP THE KILLING, WHICH IS WHY WE HAVE CAUTIOUSLY SUPPORTED THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. THERE IS STILL THE PROBLEM OF THE RPF'S ATTITUDE THAT MUST BE OVERCOME. THE ACTING SECRETARY STRESSED THAT, IN LIGHT OF RPF GENERAL KAGAME'S RESPECT FOR MUSEVENI, HE HOPED THE UGANDAN PRESIDENT COULD PERSUADE KAGAME TO ACQUIESCE IN THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. MUSEVENI RESPONDED THAT HE HAD HEARD ON JUNE 21 THAT "KAGAME SAYS HE WON'T OPPOSE" THE FRENCH EFFORT, BUT THAT THE RPF DID NOT PLAN TO MAKE A

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT TO THAT EFFECT.

7. MUSEVENI THEN VENTED HIS WELL-KNOWN VIEWS ABOUT THE FRENCH -- "THEY HAVE DONE A LOT OF DAMAGE" IN RWANDA. MUSEVENI CHARGED THAT THE FRENCH MUST BEAR SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEATHS IN RWANDA, AND THAT THEY HAD "FOUGHT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE ON THE BODIES OF AFRICANS."

8. THE ACTING SECRETARY ASSURED MUSEVENI THAT, IN HIS APPROACH TO FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE, SECRETARY

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CHRISTOPHER HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT FRANCE NEEDED TO ADDRESS THE CONCERNS OF THE RPF. WE WERE WELL AWARE OF THE COMPLICATED HISTORY OF FRENCH INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA, BUT OUR CALCULATION TO SUPPORT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE WAS DRIVEN BY THE INTENSE CHAOS IN RWANDA. IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WORLD, A UN OR OAU FORCE WOULD HAVE MOVED IN RIGHT AWAY TO STOP THE KILLING. THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. THE FRENCH WERE PREPARED TO INTERVENE IN A HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. AND THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT THIS MERITS SUPPORT. BUT, THE ACTING SECRETARY ADDED, "AS A RESULT OF WHAT YOU'VE SAID TO ME, I'LL MAKE SURE WE CONTINUE TO SOUND A CAUTIONARY NOTE WITH THE FRENCH."

SUDAN
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9. AT AMBASSADOR CARSON'S SUGGESTION, MUSEVENI BRIEFLY OUTLINED HIS VIEWS ON SOUTHERN SUDAN. THE PROBLEM OF SUDAN WAS THAT KHARTOUM IS PUSHING AN ARAB/ISLAMIC IDENTITY ON A MULTI-ETHNIC AND MULTI-RELIGIOUS COUNTRY. MUSEVENI SAID HE IS CONVINCED THAT AFRICANS AND ARABS IN SUDAN CAN LIVE IN UNITY PROVIDED THAT THERE IS EQUALITY. BUT KHARTOUM HAS NOT PERMITTED EQUALITY, AND THUS A WAR HAS BEEN FOUGHT SINCE 1955. KHARTOUM HAS CHOSEN WAR OVER PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. THEREFORE, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE AGGRESSOR'S ENEMY (THE SPLA) TO ARM ITSELF AND FIGHT BACK.

IMPEDIMENTS TO DEMOCRATIC STABILITY IN AFRICA
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10. EARLIER IN THE MEETING, MUSEVENI EXPOUNDED HIS PHILOSOPHY ON THE ROOTS OF AFRICA'S CURRENT UNREST. HE DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THREE "STRUCTURAL" IMPEDIMENTS TO AFRICA'S LONG-TERMS STABILITY: A "BACKWARD" AND INCOMPLETELY EVOLVED SOCIAL STRUCTURE WHICH IS EASILY MANIPULATED BY MALEVOLENT POLITICAL FORCES; DISTORTION OF POLITICAL POWER DUE TO COLONIAL INFLUENCES, PARTICULARLY THE FAILURE TO TRAIN AFRICANS IN LEADERSHIP; AND GREAT POWER MANIPULATION OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES DURING THE COLD

WAR. MUSEVENI SAID THAT, IN UGANDA, THE SECOND PROBLEM HAD BEEN RESOLVED AS A RESULT OF THE SUCCESSES OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, BUT FURTHER PROGRESS IN ESTABLISHING DEMOCRACY WOULD BE IMPEDED BY THE ABSENCE OF EVOLVED SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES.

11. THE ACTING SECRETARY, CITING BOSNIA AND RWANDA ASKED MUSEVENI WHETHER A FOURTH FACTOR WERE AT PLAY: TRIBALISM. HOW COULD THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS DEAL WITH THIS FACTOR? MUSEVENI DISMISSED THE CONNECTION BETWEEN TRIBALISM AND INSTABILITY. POINTING TO SOMALIA, WHOSE LEGENDARY INSTABILITY HAD ARISEN DESPITE ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS HOMOGENEITY. BY THE SAME TOKEN, UGANDA NOW HAS PEACE DESPITE ITS COMPLEX ETHNIC DYNAMICS. "I TRY TO MAKE UGANDANS SEE THAT TRIBALISM IS BACKWARDS," HE SAID. MUSEVENI DID NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT TRUE STABILITY COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MIDDLE CLASS WHICH HAD "A VESTED INTEREST IN INTEGRATION." UGANDA WAS WORKING TOWARDS THIS BY IMPLEMENTING SOUND ECONOMIC POLICIES.

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12. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#0607
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0607
TOR: 940625125935 M1119025
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~MFA Principle Secretary on France's Rwanda Action (2 pages)~~	~~06/27/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
002. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	06/27/94	P1/b(1)
003. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/27/94	P1/b(1)
~~004. cable~~	~~Uwimana Talks to AF/C (3 pages)~~	~~06/27/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~005. cable~~	~~Ambassador's Meeting with MFA Secretary General Salleo on Bosnia, Rwanda and G-7 (4 pages)~~	~~06/27/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
006. cable	Rwandan Patriotic Front... (2 pages)	06/27/94	P1/b(1)
~~007. cable~~	~~Letter to High Commissioner for Human Rights on Rwanda and Sudan (2 pages)~~	~~06/28/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~Update on Presidential Succession (5 pages)~~	~~06/28/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/28/94	P1/b(1)
010. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/29/94	P1/b(1)
~~011. cable~~	~~[Belgian Logistical Aid] (2 pages)~~	~~06/29/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
012. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	06/29/94	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[06/27/1994 - 06/30/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh138

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~A/S Mosse Letter to Pres. Rawlings (2 pages)~~	~~06/29/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
014. cable	[Rwandan Crisis] (3 pages)	06/30/94	P1/b(1)
015. cable	[Refugees] (6 pages)	06/30/94	P1/b(1)
~~016. cable~~	~~Recommend End of Ordered Departure in Burundi (3 pages)~~	~~06/30/94~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
017. cable	[Foreign Relations] (3 pages)	06/30/94	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[06/27/1994 - 06/30/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh138

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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2011-0262-M-3 (4.05)
VL 10/20/2023

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OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 271015Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 4799
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0314
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0136
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4626
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 1296
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1740
SUBJ: MFA PRINCIPAL SECRETARY ON FRANCE'S RWANDAN - ACTION
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DAR ES SALAAM 004056
STATE FOR AF/E, OLIVER GRIFFITH
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, FR, TZ
SUBJECT: MFA PRINCIPAL SECRETARY ON FRANCE'S RWANDAN - ACTION
REF: A.) DAR ES SALAAM 4027 (NOTAL); B.) STATE 168777
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AS AGREED LATE LAST WEEK (REF A), CHARGE MET WITH MFA PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, IBRAHIM MSABAHA, ON JUNE 27 TO DELIVER TALKING POINTS PER REF B REQUEST. MSABAHA INFORMED CHARGE THAT A GOT STATEMENT ON THE FRENCH INTERVENTION IN RWANDA IS IMMINENT. UNABLE TO PROVIDE THE EXACT WORDING, THE P/S NOTED THAT, IN GENERAL, THE STATEMENT IS TO CONVEY GOT SUPPORT FOR FRANCE'S HUMANITARIAN EFFORT BUT WILL ALSO "EXPRESS THE HOPE" THAT THE ACTION BE UNDERTAKEN WITHIN THE CONFINES OF AND IN COORDINATION WITH THE UNITED NATIONS.
3. EXPLAINING, MSABAHA REITERATED GOT AGREEMENT THAT THE KILLING MUST END IMMEDIATELY. A CEASEFIRE IS DEFINITELY NEEDED; HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS MUST PROCEED. NO COUNTRY REALIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LATTER BETTER THAN TANZANIA WITH ITS HUGE REFUGEE POPULATION. AS CRITICAL AS THEY ARE, HOWEVER, A CEASEFIRE AND RELIEF WORK ARE SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES. THE LONGER-TERM GOAL, A LASTING PEACE, REQUIRES THE RESUMPTION OF THE PEACE PROCESS. NOTHING MUST BE ALLOWED TO TORPEDO THE POSSIBILITY OF RESUMED PEACE TALKS.
4. ASKED IF THE GOT FEARS THAT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE COULD UNDERMINE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, THE P/S DENIED THIS BUT CAUTIONED THAT EXTREME CARE IS NEEDED TO

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ENSURE THAT OTHER LONGER-TERM POSSIBILITIES ARE NOT UPSET. THE GOT STATEMENT WOULD BE COUCHED ALONG THESE LINES.

5. EVEN SO, MSABAHA COMMENTED THAT IT WAS POSITIVE THAT THE RPF HAD SOFTENED ITS POSITION ON FRANCE'S INTERVENTION. CHARGE RESPONDED THAT WHILE THE USG AGREES THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO DERAIL THE PEACE PROCESS, WE VIEW THE FRENCH ACTION AS THE BRIDGE NEEDED TO HALT THE KILLINGS UNTIL THE EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCE IS ABLE TO DEPLOY IN RWANDA.

6. THE P/S ALSO INFORMED THAT THE RPF CHAIRMAN WOULD BE VISITING TANZANIA. SPECULATING THAT THE GOT STATEMENT MIGHT EVEN AWAIT THE CHAIRMAN'S ARRIVAL, MSABAHA, HOWEVER, SAID HE DID NOT KNOW THE PURPOSE OF THE RPF VISIT. CHARGE TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONFIRM THE USG'S POSITION THAT THE ARUSHA FRAMEWORK STILL OFFERS THE BEST PROSPECTS FOR A PERMANENT SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CONFLICT. MSABAHA REPLIED THAT HE WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THIS ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NEW CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN ANY RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS. HE REQUESTED CONTINUED USG ASSISTANCE IN IMPRESSING UPON ALL THOSE CONCERNED THAT ARUSHA IS STILL THE MOST VIABLE MEANS TO A LASTING PEACE IN RWANDA.

BROWNING

BT

#4056

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4056

TOR: 940627062359 M1119920

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.08)
VL 10/20/2023

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RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000
SUBJ: UWIMANA TALKS TO AF/C

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 171026
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PGOV MOPS RW FR
SUBJECT: UWIMANA TALKS TO AF/C

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ON JUNE 21, AF/C DEPUTY DIRECTOR FENDRICK AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON MET WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR UWIMANA AT HIS REQUEST TO DISCUSS LATEST DEVELOPMENTS. UWIMANA WELCOMED THE FRENCH-LED INTERVENTION AND CONTINUED TO STRESS THE NEED FOR A CEASE-FIRE. HE SAID THE RPF COULD NOT WIN A MILITARY VICTORY, AND CLAIMED ONCE AGAIN THAT THE KILLINGS HAD ENDED IN THE GOR ZONE. HE THOUGHT THAT RWANDA MIGHT AGREE TO SKIP ITS TURN AS PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN SEPTEMBER, DUE TO LACK OF PERSONNEL AND RESOURCES AT THEIR MISSION IN NEW YORK. END SUMMARY

THE FRENCH-LED INTERVENTION
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3. UWIMANA SAID HE APPROVED OF THE FRENCH OPERATION. HE SAID IT'S NOT CLEAR WHEN THE 5,500 UNAMIR TROOPS CAN GET ON THE GROUND AND"SOMETHING" NEEDS TO BE DONE NOW. HE WELCOMED ANY INTERVENTION THAT WOULD STOP THE VIOLENCE OR HELP BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER. FENDRICK STRESSED THAT

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THE PURPOSE OF THE OPERATION WAS TO SAFEGUARD THREATENED CIVILIANS, NOT TO INTERVENE IN THE FIGHTING BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. UWIMANA REPLIED THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE NEEDED TO SOLVE THE CRISIS, ALTHOUGH HE CONCEDED THAT SAVING CIVILIANS MAY BE MORE IMPORTANT IN THE SHORT TERM.

4. UWIMANA SAID HE DID NOT THINK THE FRENCH INTERVENTION WOULD LEAD TO A CEASE-FIRE BECAUSE THE RPF IS NOT READY TO NEGOTIATE OR ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE. HE DID NOT THINK THAT THE RPF WANTED TO RESUME ARUSHA TALKS BECAUSE THEY WOULD HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. FENDRICK SAID THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE WILLING TO TALK, REGARDLESS OF THE INTERLOCUTORS ON THE OTHER SIDE.

NO MILITARY VICTORY; MASSACRES OR "CIVIL DEFENSE"?

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5. UWIMANA REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT THE RPF COULD NOT WIN A MILITARY VICTORY AND, AS A MINORITY, COULD ONLY RULE BY TYRANNY. HE SAID THAT EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. FENDRICK REPLIED THAT A MILITARY VICTORY BY EITHER SIDE WOULD NOT SOLVE RWANDA'S PROBLEMS.

6. FENDRICK ASKED WHY THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER PUBLICLY CONDEMNED THE KILLINGS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEHIND GOR LINES. UWIMANA REPLIED THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY DECLARED PUBLICLY THAT THEY WANT PEACE AND HAS APPEALED TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO PROVIDE SECURITY. HE THEN REPEATED HIS FREQUENT CLAIM THAT THE KILLINGS HAVE STOPPED IN THE GOR ZONE AND THAT THE "ACTIVITY" IN KIGALI IS MERELY "CIVIL DEFENSE" AGAINST INFILTRATION. WITHOUT IT, HE SAID, KIGALI WOULD HAVE FALLEN BY NOW.

RWANDA'S TURN AS PRESIDENT ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL

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7. FENDRICK POINTED OUT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSIONS ON CONTESTING RWANDA'S PRESENCE ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND A MOVEMENT IS AFOOT TO ENSURE THAT RWANDA DOES NOT TAKE UP THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENCY IN SEPTEMBER. UWIMANA REPLIED THAT THE RWANDAN MISSION IN NEW YORK DOES NOT HAVE THE PERSONNEL OR RESOURCES TO ASSUME OR EXERCISE THE PRESIDENCY. HE THOUGHT SOME FORMULA COULD BE FOUND TO POSTPONE RWANDA'S TURN AS PRESIDENT, WITHOUT REQUIRING RWANDA TO GIVE UP ITS SEAT. FENDRICK SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PRUDENT FOR RWANDA TO SKIP ITS TURN AS PRESIDENT AND SUGGESTED THAT RWANDA TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO ANNOUNCE THEIR INTENTION AHEAD OF TIME TO DO SO.

ALLEGED ARMS TRAFFICKING CASE

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8. FENDRICK RAISED THE RECENT CASE OF AN AMCIT WHO HAD

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WORKED FOR EMBASSY KINSHASA AND HAD BEEN ARRESTED IN BRUSSELS FOR ALLEGEDLY TRYING TO PASS STOLEN TRAVELERS CHECKS TO BUY ARMS FOR THE GOR. FENDRICK ADDED THAT THERE WERE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE AMCIT WAS ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO ZAIRE. UWIMANA CLAIMED HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE CASE AND THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST HE'D HEARD OF THE MATTER. FENDRICK POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD BE A VERY SERIOUS MATTER FOR A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT TO USE AN AMERICAN IN THIS MANNER, AND ONE ASSOCIATED WITH ONE OF OUR EMBASSIES, AND TO DO SO IN AN EFFORT TO CIRCUMVENT A UN ARMS EMBARGO. UWIMANA SAID THAT IF THE STORY IS TRUE, IT WOULD BE A GREAT EMBARRASSMENT TO THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AS WELL; HE SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE CASE.

9. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#1026
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1026

TOR: 940627121605 M1120586

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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Cable

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.09)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHROA0370 1781625-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 271625Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ROME
OSRI: RUEHRO
DTG: 271625Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ROME
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7229
INFO: RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 3592
RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA 5083
RUFHZG/AMEMBASSY ZAGREB 0240
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1884
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0176
RUEHPU/AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE 0090
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0123
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 7737
RUEHBW/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 7725
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 9658
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0488
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 0093
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL SALLEO ON BOSNIA, RWANDA AND G-7
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ROME 010370
EXDIS
VIENNA FOR BOSNIA
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, KSUM, UN, IT
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL SALLEO ON BOSNIA, RWANDA AND G-7
REF: A) STATE 168917, B) STATE 158548,
C) ROME 96613
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SEE PARA FOUR ACTION REQUEST.
SUMMARY
- - - -
3. MFA SECRETARY GENERAL SALLEO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR JUNE 24 THAT FOREIGN MINISTER MARTINO WOULD PRESS ALL THREE PARTIES IN THE BOSNIAN CONFLICT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS AND NOT LOSE AN CRUCIAL OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE A PEACE SETTLEMENT. CALLING ITALY'S EXCLUSION FROM THE CONTACT GROUP AN "OPEN WOUND," SALLEO CAUTIONED THAT IT COULD BECOME A DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE IF EARLY ELECTIONS ARE HELD THIS FALL, WHICH HE SAID WAS A POSSIBILITY. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S REQUEST FOR A REPLY TO THE U.S. REQUEST FOR A SMALL ITALIAN COMMITMENT TO CONTRIBUTE TO A FUTURE PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN

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HAITI, SALLEO UNDERTOOK TO PROVIDE A PROMPT ANSWER. SALLEO ALSO CONFIRMED THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MINISTRIES' OPPOSITION TO ITALIAN MILITARY PARTICIPATION IN THE FRENCH-LED HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN RWANDA, BUT EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI MIGHT SUCCUMB TO PRESSURE FROM FRENCH PRIME MINISTER BALLADUR. ITALY WILL MAKE A PROPOSAL AT THE G-7 SUMMIT FOR THE CREATION OF A HUMANITARIAN TASK FORCE THAT WOULD CONSIST OF NATIONAL UNITS ON CALL FOR QUICK DEPLOYMENT, BUT SALLEO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BERLUSCONI'S IDEA STILL HAD TO BE FLESHED OUT. THE AMBASSADOR CAUTIONED ITALY TO BE CAREFUL NOT TO PUT FORWARD A PROPOSAL THAT WOULD NOT FIND SUPPORT IN THE G-7 AND TO AVOID DUPLICATION OF PFP AND CJTF ACTIVITIES. ITALY WILL NOT RAISE UN SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM AT THE G-7 SUMMIT, AND SALLEO MADE CLEAR ITALY'S REAL PREFERENCE IS FOR NO CHANGE IN THE UNSC STATUS QUO. ITALY, ALONG WITH THE OTHER EU STATES, BELIEVES THAT EITHER THE OECD OR THE WTO SHOULD BE HEADED BY A EUROPEAN. END SUMMARY

BOSNIA

4. WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MARTINO IN CORFU FOR THE EU SUMMIT, THE AMBASSADOR CALLED ON MFA SECGEN FERDINANDO SALLEO ON JUNE 24. DRAWING UPON REFTEL POINTS THE AMBASSADOR PROVIDED A U.S. ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON A BOSNIA SETTLEMENT, WHICH SALLEO UNDERTOOK TO CONVEY TO MARTINO PRIOR TO HIS JUNE 27-28 VISIT TO SARAJEVO, ZAGREB AND BELGRADE. THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED THAT:

-- THE CONTACT GROUP HAS MADE GOOD PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING A PACKAGE INVOLVING TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND INCENTIVES, AND THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE ON BOARD;

-- THERE IS ALSO GENERAL AGREEMENT ON A SANCTIONS RELIEF PACKAGE FOR SERBIA, AS WELL AS DISINCENTIVES IN CASE BELGRADE REJECTS THE PLAN;

-- AN EARLY MINISTERIAL IS PLANNED TO APPROVE THE PACKAGE AND AUTHORIZE THE CONTACT GROUP TO PRESENT IT TO THE PARTIES; AND,

-- THE U.S. HOPES THE G-7 WILL GIVE A STRONG ENDORSEMENT TO THE PACKAGE WHEN IT MEETS AT THE NAPLES SUMMIT.

5. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE U.S. ENCOURAGED MARTINO TO MAKE CLEAR IN HIS MEETINGS WITH THE PARIES THE NEED FOR THEM TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND NOT ON THE BATTLEFIELD. THE U.S. WOULD ALSO LIKE MARTINO TO URGE THE PARTIES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS, BECAUSE THERE WILL NOT BE A BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO REACH A SETTLEMENT.

6. IN RESPONSE TO SALLEO'S QUERY, THE AMBASSADOR UNDERTOOK TO FIND OUT WHAT IF ANY ROLE THE CONFLICTING PARTIES WOULD HAVE AT THE MINISTERIAL AND WHAT IS THE LIKELY TIMEFRAME. (ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE ADVISE.)

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7. WITHOUT PREJUDIC
ING MARTINO'S RESPONSE, SALLEO
EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY THE
MESSAGE THAT HE EXPECTS MARTINO TO MAKE ON HIS
VISIT. SALLEO DREW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT
ITALY'S EXCLUSION FROM THE CONTACT GROUP REMAINS
AN "OPEN WOUND," AND IF EARLY ELECTIONS ARE HELD -
- WHICH SALLEO SUGGESTED WAS POSSIBLE WITH
BERLUSCONI'S FORZA ITALIA PARTY RIDING HIGH IN THE
OPINION POLLS AT 42 PERCENT -- THIS ISSUE COULD
BECOME A TOPIC OF DEBATE. THE AMBASSADOR
RESPONDED THAT IF THE CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS ARE
SUCCESSFUL, THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL MOVE INTO A NEW
PHASE. IF NOT, THEN WE WILL HAVE TO REASSESS THE
SITUATION.
HAITI/RWANDA
- - - - - -
8. FOLLOWING UP ON THE DCM'S DEMARCHE TO MFA
DEPUTY DIRECTOR AMARI ON AN ITALIAN CONTRIBUTION
TO A HAITI PEACEKEEPING FORCE (REF C), THE
AMBASSADOR STRESSED TO SALLEO THE U.S. NEED FOR A
RESPONSE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN RESPONSE, SALLEO
NOTED THAT THE GOI ALREADY FOUND ITSELF IN TROUBLE
OVER RWANDA, WITH THE ITALIAN MILITARY RESISTING
ANY DEPLOYMENT THERE. THE MFA, AS WELL, DOES NOT
LIKE THE IDEA OF ITALIAN MILITARY CONTINGENTS
GOING TO RWANDA, BUT SALLEO SAID IT IS UNCLEAR
WHETHER PRIME MINISTER BERLUSCONI WILL BE ABLE TO
RESIST THE PRESSURE THAT FRENCH PRIME MINISTER
BALLADUR IS EXPECTED TO BRING TO BEAR WHEN THEY
MEET AT THE CORFU SUMMIT. SALLEO LAMENTED THE
SITUATION ITALY FOUND ITSELF IN, CALLING THE
FRENCH HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION "UNFORTUNATE AND
ILL-CONCEIVED." TURNING BACK TO HAITI, SALLEO
EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE ITALIAN NAVY
MIGHT BE INTERESTED -- BECAUSE IT HAS NOT
EXERCISED IN THE CARIBBEAN -- IN FULFILLING THE
NEED FOR A PLATOON OF LIGHT INFANTRY (REF B) BY
DEPLOYING AN AMPHIBIOUS PLATOON. HE AGREED TO
HAVE THE MFA PROVIDE A TIMELY RESPONSE.
G-7
- -
9. SALLEO PREFACED DISCUSSION ON THE G-7 BY
NOTING THAT THE ITALIANS HAD TURNED DOWN A YELTSIN
REQUEST FOR A BILATERAL MEETING, EXPLAINING THAT
BERLUSCONI WOULD MAKE A BILATERAL VISIT TO MOSCOW
IN EARLY OCTOBER.
10. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED WHETHER BERLUSCONI WOULD
PRESENT A PROPOSAL AT THE SUMMIT ON HIS IDEA FOR A
MULTINATIONAL HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION FORCE.
RESPONDING AFFIRMATIVELY, SALLEO SAID THE GOI'S
IDEA IS TO HAVE SUCH A FORCE UNDER NATO
OPERATIONAL COMMAND. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT SPECIFICS
STILL NEEDED TO BE WORKED OUT, SALLEO SAID HE
WOULD WELCOME ANY U.S. IDEAS.
11. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED A FEW AREAS OF POSSIBLE
CONCERN. THERE WAS THE PROBLEM OF DUPLICATING THE
WORK OF NATO'S PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE AND THE CJTF

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CONCEPT. SALLEO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS A LEGITIMATE CONCERN. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT ITALY BE CAREFUL NOT TO PUT A PROPOSAL ON THE TABLE THAT IS NOT CERTAIN TO RECEIVE FULL SUPPORT AT THE SUMMIT, WHICH WOULD NOT REFLECT WELL ON BERLUSCONI. SALLEO SAID THAT BERLUSCONI WANTED TO TAKE THIS IDEA UP AT THE SUMMIT, BUT THAT IT MIGHT NOT BE ANYTHING MORE THAN CHARGING POLITICAL DIRECTORS TO WORK ON THE IDEA. THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THE ITALIANS WERE NOT THINKING OF HAVING SUCH AO FORCE UNDER UN COMMAND. SALLEO POINTED OUT THAT THE FRENCH ARE PUSHING HARD TO HAVE SUCH A FORCE PUT UNDER THE UN, BUT INDICATED THAT THE ITALIANS DO NOT LIKE THIS IDEA.

12. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION, SALLEO SAID ITALY WOULD NOT RAISE UN SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM AT THE G-7 SUMMIT. IN A FOOTNOTE, HE REMARKED THAT ITALY REALLY WANTS TO KEEP THE UNSC JUST THE WAY IT IS, AND TOWARD THIS END HAS TRIED TO MUDDY THE WATERS WITH COMPLICATED REFORM PROPOSALS.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION POSTS

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

13. SALLEO SAID IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT ITALIAN EU COMMISSIONER RUGGIERO WOULD BE ENDORSED AT THE EU SUMMIT FOR THE WTO LEADERSHIP POST. THE ITALIANS BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON PERSONALLY FAVORS MEXICAN PRESIDENT SALINAS, BUT UNDERSTAND THAT NO DECISION HAS YET BEEN MADE. SALLEO POINTED OUT THAT IF SALINAS GETS THE WTO POST, THE EUROPEANS HAVE AGREED NOT TO SUPPO
RT THE CANADIAN CANDIDATE
JOHNSON FOR THE OECD POST, AS THEY BELIEVE THAT ONE OF THESE TWO LEADERSHIP POSTS SHOULD GO TO A EUROPEAN, SUCH AS NIGEL LAWSON.

14. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BARTHOLOMEW

BT

#0370

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0370

TOR: 940627125251 M1120688

DIST:

SIT: BLEICKEN BLEICKENN DESHAZER KERRICK NSC VAX
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SIT: VERSHBOW LEBOURGEOIS
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4,11)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHGVA5731 1791302-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 281302Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 281302Z JUN 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0786
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 8599
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0280
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3070
RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 7385
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2087
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0566
RUEHUP/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 4919
RUEHCP/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN 5648
SUBJ: LETTER TO HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ON RWANDA AND SUDAN
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 05731
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, UNSC, RW, SU
SUBJECT: LETTER TO HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ON RWANDA AND SUDAN
REF: (A) GENEVA 5584 (B) STATE 169377
1. AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL ATTEMPTED TO CONTACT HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AYALA LASSO JUNE 27 FOR A DISCUSSION OF RWANDA AND SUDAN. WE WISHED TO RAISE TWO ISSUES IN PARTICULAR WITH AYALA: (1) OUR CONCERN OVER THE DELAY IN ISSUANCE OF THE INITIAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON RWANDA, ESPECIALLY GIVEN AYALA'S CONCERN OVER IMPENDING ACTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION TO ANALYZE VIOLATIONS OF HUMANITARIAN LAW THERE; AND (2) TO ASK THAT AYALA TAKE ACTION IN RESPONSE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN'S LATEST ATTACK ON SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR GASPAR BIRO. SINCE AYALA IS ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO DENMARK, WE PUT OUR POINTS INTO A LETTER WHICH WE FAXED TO HIS OFFICE FOR IMMEDIATE FORWARDING TO HIM. FULL TEXT OF LETTER APPEARS IN PARAGRAPH 2 BELOW.
2. BEGIN TEXT
DEAR MR. HIGH COMMISSIONER:
SINCE I WAS UNABLE TO REACH YOU BY TELEPHONE THIS MORNING, I AM WRITING TO YOU IN CONNECTION WITH TWO IMPORTANT MATTERS THAT MERIT YOUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION. FIRST, FURTHER TO OUR CONVERSATION ON RWANDA LAST WEEK, I AM CONCERNED TO LEARN THAT THE REPORT OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR DEGNI SEGUI IS NOT LIKELY TO BE ISSUED BEFORE

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FRIDAY. THIS WOULD BE MORE THAN A FULL WEEK BEYOND THE DEADLINE SET BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. THE LATE RELEASE OF THIS REPORT INCREASES THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS WILL NOT BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS IT CONSIDERS THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION TO EXAMINE AND ANALYZE POSSIBLE ACTS OF GENOCIDE AND VIOLATIONS OF HUMANITARIAN LAW IN RWANDA. CLEARLY, THIS COULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO SMOOTH COORDINATION BETWEEN MECHANISMS ESTABLISHED BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. I HOPE THAT YOU CAN USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO INSURE THAT THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT IS COMPLETED AND RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.

SECONDLY, I WISH TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION A CIRCULAR DIPLOMATIC NOTE ISSUED BY THE SUDANESE MISSION IN GENEVA WHICH SHARPLY CRITICIZES THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON SUDAN, GASPAR BIRO, AND CALLS FOR HIS REPLACEMENT "WITH A GENTLEMAN OF INTEGRITY, KNOWLEDGE, AND ABILITY." YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION ISSUED A STATEMENT DURING THE LAST REGULAR SESSION SUPPORTING THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR AND REMINDING DELEGATIONS THAT AN ATTACK ON A RAPPORTEUR HAD TO BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK ON THE COMMISSION ITSELF. THIS NEW ASSULT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN ON THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR MERITS AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE BY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER. YOU MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, CALL IN THE SUDANESE AMBASSADOR TO REMIND HIM OF THE COMMISSION'S DECISION, OR ISSUE A STATEMENT REITERATING THE UNIQUE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS, THE IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATING WITH THEM, AND THE PARTICULAR CONFIDENCE YOU HAVE IN THE WORK OF MR. BIRO.

I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR PROMPT ATTENTION TO THESE MATTERS. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU SOON AFTER YOUR RETURN TO GENEVA.

SINCERELY YOURS, DANIEL SPIEGEL. END TEXT

SPIEGEL

BT

#5731

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5731

TOR: 940628090721 M1122378

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 281623Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 281623Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3989
INFO: RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1097
RUSNSTC/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 0826
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0267
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1181
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1271
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0506
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0567
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1095
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0753
RUEHNM/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY 0289
RUEHOU/AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU PRIORITY 0275
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1148
RUEHBP/AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY 0294
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0853
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 1866
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0629
SUBJ: UPDATE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 002227
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, DS/ITA, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION
REF: (A) BUJUMBURA 2124 (B) BUJUMBURA 0099
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE GRB HAS PRESENTED ITS "BALANCE SHEET" ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE KIGOBE/KAJAGA AGREEMENT OF LAST FEBRUARY. AN ALL PARTIES MEETING CHAIRED BY INTERIM PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA TO DISCUSS THAT DOCUMENT WHICH COULD LEAD TO TALKS ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROCEDURES IS DUE TO TAKE PLACE THIS WEEK UNSGSR ABDALLAH EXPRESSED SOME HOPE ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF TALKS BUT NOTED THAT THE OPPOSITION HAS TOUGHENED ITS STANCE AND BROUGHT PRESSURE ON FRODEBU AS DEMONSTRATED BY UPRONA'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF ITS OWN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT THIS

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2011-0262-M-3 (4.12)
VL 10/20/2023

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WEEK. OVER THE WEEKEND, CHRISTIAN SENDEGAYE RESIGNED AS FRODEBU PARLIAMENTARY VICE PRESIDENT BECAUSE OF UPRONA OBJECTIONS TO A SPEECH THEY FOUND INFLAMMATORY, AND PROMPTING ETHNIC HATRED. BOTH THE INTERIM PRESIDENT AND EX-PRESIDENT BUYOYA RECENTLY CALLED ON BURUNDI POLITICIANS TO ACT RESPONSIBLY DURING THE TALKS IN ORDER TO AVOID THE VIOLENCE OF LAST OCTOBER AND THAT NOW BEING VISITED ON RWANDA. END SUMMARY.

POLITICAL TALKS STALLED

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3. SINCE ABOUT JU
E 18, FORMAL BURUNDI POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS HAVE SUFFERED AN IMPASSE AS OPPOSITION FORCES CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THEIR PRECONDITIONS BE MET FULLY BEFORE TALKING ABOUT FILLING THE PRESIDENTIAL VACANCY. INFORMAL CONTACTS HAVE BEEN PURSUED BY THE PRESIDENT A.I. AND THE PRIME MINISTER IN AN EFFORT TO UNTRACK THE PROCESS, UNSGSR ABDALLAH AND WESTERN DIPLOMATS HAVE MET SELECTIVELY WITH KEY POLITICIANS TO ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE, FLEXIBILITY AND A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE OF SUCCESSION.

4. MOST OF LAST WEEK, ACCORDING TO AMBASSADOR ABDALLAH, THE GRB CABINET SPENT DEVELOPING A LENGTHY ASSESSMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT/FRODEBU'S IMPLEMENTATION OF THE KIGOBE/KAJAGA CONSENSUS AGREEMENT OF LAST FEBRUARY. OPPOSITION CABINET MEMBERS WERE EXPECTED TO PRESENT THE ASSESSMENT TO THEIR PARTIES FOR CONSIDERATION FOLLOWING WHICH THIS "BALANCE SHEET" WOULD BE SUBMITTED FOR CONSENSUS DISCUSSION/APPROVAL IN AN ALL PARTIES MEETING CHAIRED BY INTERIM PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA. THAT MEETING WAS SCHEDULED FOR JUNE 27 BUT HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL THE 29TH.

5. IN THE GRB'S BALANCE SHEET THE DISCUSSION GENERALLY ASSERTS THAT SEVERAL OF THE KIGOBE MEASURES HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED: COALITION CABINET, PACIFICATION/DISARMAMENT, APPOINTMENT OF NEW PROVINCIAL/LOCAL OFFICIALS/AMBASSADORS, PROCEEDINGS AGAINST OFFICIALS ALLEGED TO HAVE INSPIRED KILLINGS, AND A STUDY OF AMBASSADORIAL PERFORMANCES. THE GRB ACKNOWLEDGES MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE ON DISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCIAL/LOCAL POSTS BETWEEN FRODEBU AND OPPOSITION APPOINTEES, TO CLARIFY RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE INTERIOR MINISTER AND MINISTER OF TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION (I.E., WHAT TO BE DONE ABOUT INTERIOR MINISTER NYANGOMA), MALFEASANCE/CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR OF SOME BURUNDI OFFICIALS AND ACCESS TO THE MEDIA. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ASSESSMENT (WRITTEN ALONE BY THE INTERIM PRESIDENT ACCORDING TO ABDALLAH) CRITIQUED THE MILITARY'S LACK OF NEUTRALITY (IMPARTIALITY) IN CARRYING OUT THE DISAR
MAMENT OPERATION AND OTHER POLICE FUNCTIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOVERNMENT RESTATES ITS COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL AND

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USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION
INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATIONS AND JUDICIAL
PROCEEDINGS AGAINST PUTSCHISTS AND THOSE ALLEGED TO
HAVE INSPIRED OR PARTICIPATED IN MASSACRES FOLLOWING
THE ATTEMPTED COUP LAST OCTOBER. THE DOCUMENT
STATES THE GRB/FRODEBU'S ACCEPTANCE TO HOLD A DEBATE
IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO DISCUSS NATIONAL COHABITATION.
RELATED ITEMS
---

6. EX-PRESIDENT BUYOYA SAID ON A LOCAL TV
DISCUSSION SHOW LAST FRIDAY THAT HE FEARED CIVIL
STRIFE IN BURUNDI UNLESS POLITICIANS QUIT BICKERING
AND ACT RESPONSIBLY. BUYOYA CRITICIZED STATEMENTS
BY SOME GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (I.E. PARLIAMENTARY VP
SENDEGAYE) AND MESSAGES ON A CLANDESTINE RADIO WHICH
PREPARE CITIZENS FOR WAR. THE EX-PRESIDENT ALSO
CRITICIZED FRENCH INTERVENTION IN RWANDA; HE DID NOT
SEE IT AS A HUMANITARIAN INITIATIVE. BUYOYA, WHO
JUST RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO GERMANY, SAID HE WAS
SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE FATE OF DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA.
UNSGSR ABDALLAH AND SOME WESTERN AMBASSADORS BELIEVE
BUYOYA MAY BE SEEKING TO WIN BACK SOME SUPPORT FROM
TUTSI POLITICIANS BY OFFERING HIS VARIOUS CRITICISMS.
7. INTERIM PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA IN A SUNDAY,
JUNE 26, PRESS CONFERENCE DISCUSSED THE CURRENT
POLITICAL IMPASSE AND HIS GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO
HAVE PARTIES COMBINE EFFORTS, SHOW GOOD WILL AND BE
SENSITIVE TO BURUNDI'S NEED TO ADDRESS THE
PRESIDENTIAL VACUUM. NTIBANTUNGANYA TERMED SHAMEFUL
AND REPREHENSIBLE INTER-ETHNIC KILLINGS AND DISTRUST
AMONG BURUNDIANS WHICH KEEP IT ON THE EDGE OF AN
ABYSS. THE PRESIDENT SEIZED THE OCCASION TO
ANNOUNCE THE RESIGNATION OF CHRISTIAN SENDEGAYE, AND
STATED THEY WERE DOING EVERYTHING TO PUT AN END TO
THE BROADCASTS OF THE CLANDESTINE RADIO AND ITS
MESSAGES CONTRARY TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THE
LOCATION OF THE SOURCE OF THESE BROADCASTS REMAINS,
TO US, UNKNOWN, BUT ARE STILL BELIEVED TO ORIGINATE
OUTSIDE BURUNDI.
UPRONA PRESSURES
---

8. WHILE THE INTERIM PRESIDENT'S ALL PARTIES
MEETING WAS POSTPONED TO LATER THIS WEEK, UPRONA'S
CENTRAL COMMITTEE ANNOUNCED THAT ITS PRESIDENT,
CHARLES MUKASI, IS A CANDIDATE FOR THE JOB AS CHIEF
OF STATE. A NUMBER OF OBSERVERS BELIEVE THIS MOVE
IS A NEGOTIATING TACTIC BY WHICH THE OPPOSITION
HOPES TO PRESS FRODEBU FOR MORE CONCESSIONS AS THE
90-DAY PERIOD FOR PRESIDENTIAL VACANCY EXPIRES.
ACCORDING TO UNSGSR, FRODEBU HAS LEFT ITSELF OPEN TO
THIS PRESSURE BY NOT MOVING QUICKLY ON SUCCESSION
FOLLOWING NTANYMIRA'S UNTIMELY DEATH. ABDALLAH SAID

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MUKASI ADMITTED OVER THE WEEKEND THE NEGOTIATING PLOY. DEFENSE MINISTER FYIROKO TOLD DCM YESTERDAY THAT MUKASI'S MOVE WAS TACTICAL.

9. ABDALLAH BELIEVES THAT THE OPPOSITION'S INTRANSIGENCE AND INITIAL REACTION TO THE GRB'S (NTIBANTUNGANYA'S) ASSESSMENT DOCUMENT HAPPENED BECAUSE THE TUTSIS DO NOT TRUST THE INTERIM PRESIDENT PERSONALLY -- HE IS CONSIDERED TOO SMART, TOO INTELLECTUAL A HUTU, THEY WOULD PREFER A MORE PLIABLE FRODEBU CANDIDATE. BUT, NTIBANTUNGANYA'S LACK OF POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION SHOWS, UNSGSR SAID, SINCE HE DISDAINS THE KIND OF PERSONAL CONTACTS/LOBBYING AMONG THE OPPOSITION WHICH COULD SMOOTHE SOME OF THEIR AVERSION AND SPEED THE SUCCESSION PROCESS.

EXTREMISTS BEHIND SCENES

10. IN A BRIEFING TODAY OF WESTERN AMBASSADORS, THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 002227
DEPT FOR DAS BRYNN, AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF, DS/ITA, USAID
USIA FOR AF AND B/VOA/A
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO, "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

UNSGSR SAID AS WITH THE EXPERIENCE LAST JANUARY/FEBRUARY, HE BELIEVES SOME EXTREMIST TUTSIS ARE ONCE AGAIN WILLING TO USE INTIMIDATION TO WEAKEN FURTHER FRODEBU AND ADVANCE THE CRAVING FOR POWER. NOW FAMILIAR TUTSI NAMES, SALVATOR NZIGEMASABO KADEGE AND BARANYERETSE, WHO HOLD FRODEBU UNWORTHY OF GOVERNING. NZIGEMASABO (A LOCAL BUSINESS CONSULTANT) IS STILL REPUTED TO BE THE MONEY-BAGS FOR VIOLENCE AND DESTABILIZING ACTIVITIES BY YOUNG TUTSIS. ABDALLAH'S OWN, AND HIS SUGGESTED APPROACH IS TO WORK TO ISOLATE THE EXTREMISTS WITH DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WHILE ENCOURAGING MODERATES TO BOLD, RESPONSIBLE ACTION.

11. COM
MENT: AS IN JANUARY THIS YEAR, THE UNSGSR IS LOOKING TO WESTERN AMBASSADORS TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ADVANCING POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSIONS AMONG BURUNDIANS. THIS DIRECT, INTENSE DIPLOMATIC INTERVENTION HAS HAD THE EFFECT OF ASSISTING OTHERWISE DISCOURAGED AND INTIMIDATED MODERATE POLITICIANS TO ACTION IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY.

KRUEGER
BT
#2227
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2227
<^SSN>2227

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<^SSN>2227

TOR: 940628123051 M1122806
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.15)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA7166 1801604-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 291604Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 291604Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7974
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 7429
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0133
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0676
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0477
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0972
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0094
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0531
SUBJ: NO DECISION YET ON BELGIAN LOGISTICAL AID TO FRENCH INTERVENTION IN RWANDA.
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 07166
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PREF, MOPS, BE, FR, RW, BY, CG
SUBJECT: NO DECISION YET ON BELGIAN LOGISTICAL AID TO FRENCH INTERVENTION IN RWANDA.
1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
2. IN SPITE OF RECENT PRESS REPORTS INDICATING THAT BELGIUM HAS DECIDED TO PROVIDE A MILITARY HOSPITAL TEAM TO SUPPORT OPERATION TURQOUISE, THE FRENCH INITIATIVE IN RWANDA, BELGIAN MFA DESK OFFICER FOR CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS, BAUDOUIN FONTAINE, TOLD POLOFF ON 6/28 THAT NO/NO DECISION HAD BEEN MADE. BELGIUM WOULD DEFINITELY PROVIDE SOME TYPE OF SUPPORT. FONTAINE SAID MOD DELCROIX AND FONMIN CLAES DISAGREED OVER THE EXTENT OF THE AID, HOWEVER. DELCROIX DID NOT OBJECT, IN PRINCIPLE, TO HAVING BELGIAN MEDICAL OFFICERS ACCOMPANY THE FIELD HOSPITAL WHILE FONMIN CLAES APPEARED TO OPPOSE SENDING ANY BELGIANS BACK TO RWANDA.
3. FONTAINE EXPLAINED THAT THE SITE OF DEPLOYMENT WAS A PROBLEM. IT WAS POSSIBLE TO STATION A MEDICAL UNIT IN EITHER ZAIRE (GOMA) OR IN RWANDA (CYANGUGU). ALTHOUGH THE FONMIN WAS UNHAPPY ABOUT USING ZAIRE AS A BASE, HE WAS TOTALLY OPPOSED TO HAVING ANY BELGIAN PERSONNEL IN RWANDA, PARTICULARLY IN GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED AREAS. CYANGUGU IS UNDER CONTROL OF THE RWANDAN ARMED FORCES. THE GOB WAS, THEREFORE, STUDYING THE ISSUE. FONTAINE SAID THE GOB HAD EVEN DISCUSSED TURNING OVER THE EQUIPMENT TO THE FRENCH AND LETTING THEM STAFF IT WITH THEIR OWN PERSONNEL. ACCORDING TO FONTAINE, A DECISION WILL PROBABLY BE MADE AT THE JULY 1 COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING, WHERE MINISTERS

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WOULD THRASH OUT BOTH THE QUESTION OF DEPLOYMENT AND THE PROVISION OF BELGIAN PERSONNEL.
4. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE COMIDERED.
BLINKEN
BT
#7166
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7166

TOR: 940629121048 M1125030

DIST:

SIT: BLEICKEN BLEICKENN DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA4013 1802257-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 292256Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 292256Z JUN 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE 6358
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 1103
SUBJ: A/S MOOSE LETTER TO PRES. RAWLINGS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.17)
VZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 174013
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL MOPS OPDC RW GH
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE LETTER TO PRES. RAWLINGS

1. POST IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM A/S MOOSE TO PRES. RAWLINGS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ASSUMING THAT PRES. RAWLINGS IS NOT READILY ACCESSIBLE, AMB. BROWN SUGGESTS THAT CHARGE DELIVER THE LETTER TO FOREIGN AND SECURITY AFFAIRS ADVISOR TSIKATA, WITH A BACK-UP COURTESY DEMARCHE TO FORNMIN ASAMOAH/DEP FORNMIN CHAMBAS -- OR VICE VERSA. WE LEAVE IT TO YOUR DISCRETION. THE MAIN POINT IS TO GET THE LETTER TO RAWLINGS URGENTLY.

BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, ON A SUBJECT THAT DEEPLY PAINS AND AFFECTS US ALL -- RWANDA. THE HORRORS THERE CONTINUE TO SHOCK AND APPALL THE WORLD. THE VALIANT EFFORTS OF UNAMIR, HOWEVER, HAVE SERVED A CRUCIAL ROLE IN MITIGATING THE EFFECTS OF THE UNPRECEDENTED VIOLENCE. YOUR TROOPS, IN PARTICULAR, HAVE SERVED WITH GREAT COURAGE AND DISTINCTION, AND THE RWANDANS AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY OWE YOU AND YOUR COUNTRY A GREAT DEBT OF GRATITUDE.

WITH THE CRISIS ENTERING ITS THIRD MONTH, IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WORK TOGETHER TO SPEED DEPLOYMENT OF THE ADDITIONAL UNAMIR FORCES. WHILE THE FRENCH-LED HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IS HELPING TO PROTECT POPULATIONS NOW, THIS IS ONLY A TEMPORARY OPERATION TO BRIDGE THE GAP UNTIL THE UN CAN DEPLOY EXPANDED UNAMIR. THE FRENCH AND THE REST OF THE

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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AGREE THAT EXPANDED UNAMIR MUST BE DEPLOYED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AS RECOGNIZED IN THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT OF MAY 13 AND UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 918, AND AS BEFITTING THE KEY ROLE PLAYED BY THE GHANAIAN CONTINGENT, GHANAIAN TROOPS SHOULD BE THE FIRST CONTINGENT DEPLOYED TO EXPANDED UNAMIR.

TO FACILITATE THIS DEPLOYMENT, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS WORKED HARD TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT FOR THE GHANAIAN CONTINGENT. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE PROVIDED 50 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS (APCS) TO UNAMIR, AND DELIVERY IS EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. WE STAND READY TO PROVIDE THE ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT THAT THE UN HAS IDENTIFIED FOR THE GHANAIAN CONTINGENT, DRAWING ON THE INITIAL LIST SUBMITTED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT.

WITH THESE PREPARATIONS IN PLACE, WE HOPE THAT THE GHANAIAN CONTINGENT WILL BE IN A POSITION TO DEPLOY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE ARRIVAL OF YOUR TROOPS WILL BE A CONCRETE SHOW OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S RESOLVE TO BRING AID AND PROTECTION TO RWANDAN CIVILIANS, AND WILL HELP SPUR FURTHER ACTION ON DEPLOYMENT OF THE REMAINDER OF THE FORCE.

THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT ON THIS ISSUE, AND I REMAIN AT YOUR DISPOSAL TO HELP ADVANCE THIS VITAL CAUSE IN ANY WAY I CAN.

SINCERELY,

GEORGE E. MOOSE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#4013
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4013
TOR: 940629190235 M1125817
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-3 (4.20)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 301636Z JUN 94
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OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 301636Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4001
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1276
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//ASD:FM&P// PRIORITY
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0509
RUEBBEA/DIRNSA WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEADWD/HQDA WASHDC//DAPE:// PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3: JOD/ATE, PRIORITY
INFO: ****
SUBJ: RECOMMEND END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE IN BURUNDI
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002262
STATE FOR AF/C AND AF/EX
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AEMR, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: RECOMMEND END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE IN BURUNDI
REF: BUJUMBURA 1885
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON JUNE 29, BY A VOTE OF 10 TO ONE, THE EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE AGREED THAT U.S. AND BURUNDIAN INTERESTS WILL BE BEST SERVED BY AN IMMEDIATE END TO ORDERED DEPARTURE. TWELFTH PERSON RECOMMENDED AS A COMPROMISE THAT THE ORDER BE REVIEWED IF THE QUESTION OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS SUBSEQUENTLY RESOLVED.)
3. THE REASONS FOR THIS DECISION SEEM CLEAR TO THOSE RESIDENT AND WORKING HERE. BEFORE LISTING THEM, LET ME RECALL, FRO MEMORY AND PERHAPS INACCURATELY, SOME LINES FROM THE OPENIN SCENE OF SHAKESPEARE'S "TEMPEST," IN WHICH A ROYAL ADVISO REMINDS THE SHIP'S CAPTAIN OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KING' LIFE, SAYING, "KEEP IN MIND WHO IT IS WHOM YOU HAVE ABOARD" TO THIS THE SHIP'S CAPTAIN REPLIED, "NONE THAT I LOVE MOR THAN MYSELF." I SUPPOSE THAT IF THERE ARE ANY WHOM MEMBERS 0 THE EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE MIGHT LOVE MORE THAN THEMSELVE IT WOULD BE THEIR DEPENDENTS AND FAMILY. YET, THE COMMITTE ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY BELIEVES BOTH THAT IT IS SAFE FO DEPENDENTS AND ALL PERSONNEL TO RETURN, AND THAT THIS ACTIO WOULD BEST SERVE U.S. AND BURUNDIAN INTERESTS.
4. THE REASONS ARE THESE:
-- FIRST, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE FROM THE HISTORY EITHER OF TH PAST THREE MONTHS, OR THE PAST 30 YEARS, THAT AMERICA CITIZENS ARE IN PARTICULAR DANGER HERE. BURUNDI IS A EXTREMELY DANGEROUS PLACE FOR MANY BURUNDIANS, BUT HAS NO

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BEEN FOR AMERICANS, AND DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE PARTICULARLY S
NOW. A COUNTRY LIKE AN INDIVIDUAL, SHOULD BE CONSIDERE
INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY. BURUNDI HAS A BAD CRIMINA
RECORD AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS, BUT HAS HAD NO ATTACKS AND N
OFFENSE AGAINST AMERICANS. IT IS UNFAIR AND ILLOGICAL T
EXPECT BURUNDI TO IMPROVE ITS RECORD TOWARD AMERICANS, SINC
IT HAS NO RECORD OF ATTACKS AGAINST THEM.
-- SECOND, THE DEPARTURE WAS ORDERED AS A PRECAUTIONAR
MEASURE WHEN IT WAS FELT THAT VIOLENCE WOULD SPILL OVER FRO
RWANDA INTO BURUNDI. THREE MONTHS LATER THAT HAS NO
HAPPENED. BURUNDI AND RWANDA MAY BE BROTHERS OR SISTERS, BU
THEY ARE NOT TWINS. THE HORRENDOUS CARNAGE IN RWANDA WAS I
PART PRECIPITATED BY AN INVASION FROM TROOPS TRAINED IN
FOREIGN COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH THE SLAUGHTER WAS OFTEN CARRIED OU
BY THUGS, STREET GANGS AND LOCAL EXTREMISTS, IT WAS DIRECTL
ENCOURAGED BY TWO SEPARATELY TRAINED AND ARMED MILITARY
FORCES. BURUNDI HAS HAD INCURSIONS ACROSS ITS BORDERS SUCH A
PALIPEHUTU IN 1991, BUT THERE HAS NOT BEEN, NOR IS THERE NOW
ANY CREDIBLE MILITARY THREAT TO THE BURUNDIAN ARMY, FOREIGN O
DOMESTIC. IF DEPENDENTS AND NONESSENTIAL PERSONNEL WER
REMOVED FROM BURUNDI BECAUSE OF THE FEAR THAT THE WOUND WOUL
TEAR FROM RWANDA INTO BURUNDI, THAT FEAR CAN END, BECAUSE THA
HAS NOT HAPPENED.
-- THIRD, BURUNDI'S EMERGING DEMOCRACY IS FRAGILE AND FEEBLE
BUT ITS WEAKNESS DOES NOT OF ITSELF ENDANGER AMERICA
DEPENDENTS AND PERSONNEL. THE PACE OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTIA
SUCCESSION IS STILL PROCEEDING FALTERINGLY. IT MAY B
RESOLVED BEFORE JULY 10, OR MAY NOT BE RESOLVED WITHIN A MUC
LONGER PERIOD, BUT THIS WEAKNESS BRINGS NO DIRECT THREAT T
THE SECURITY OF AMERICANS.
-- FOURTH, IT WAS THOUGHT BY GENERAL DALLAIRE THAT UP TO
MILLION RWANDANS MIGHT BE DISPLACED IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA AN
COULD PROCEED INTO BURUNDI, CAUSING UNREST HERE. UNHC
REPRESENTATIVE SHELLY PITTERMAN INFORMED US THIS MORNING THA
75,000, NOT 2 MILLION, HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER, BUT THERE HA
BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT UNREST RESULTING FROM THEIR ARRIVAL AN
CERTAINLY THEY HAVE NOT THREATENED AMERICANS.
-- FIFTH, IT WAS THOUGHT THAT THE FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE I
RWANDA MIGHT EVOKE ANTIWESTERN OR ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING
HERE. IN REALITY, HOWEVER, THE PROTEST MARCH ON JUNE 22 B
TUTSIS AGAINST THIS FRENCH ACTION WAS ENTIRELY PEACEFUL, AN
NO HOSTILITY TOWARD AMERICANS HAS BEEN REPORTED. IF A FOREIG
COMMUNITY WERE AT THIS TIME TO BE CONSIDERED ENDANGERED I
WOULD BE THE FRENCH. YET, WHILE THEY HAVE HAD SOME STAF
LEAVE EARLY ON SUMMER VACATION AND HAVE RESERVED SPACES O
DEPARTING COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS FOR THOSE WHO MIGHT WISH T
LEAVE, THE AMBASSADOR'S WIFE REMAINS HERE AS DO MOST FRENC
EMBASSY STAFF.
5. THE DCM VOTED TO CONTINUE ORDERED DEPARTURE POINTED TO THE
STILL UNCERTAIN PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROCESS, AND, THE
INTER-ETHNIC CONFRONTATION IN BURUNDI THAT OCCURRED IN THE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002262
STATE FOR AF/C AND AF/EX
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AEMR, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: RECOMMEND END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE IN BURUNDI
LAST FEW DAYS (SEPTEL). BECAUSE A PRIME RESPONSIBILITY IN ANY
EMBASSY IS THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, THE GENERA

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UNCERTAINTY IN BURUNDI DOES NOT, HE BELIEVES, WARRANT A RETURN OF DEPENDENTS AND "NON-ESSENTIAL" PERSONNEL.
6. THE END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE WILL NOT END THE EMBASSY' SCRUTINY OR CAUTION. FOR THE FUTURE, WE WOULD WANT, AS TRIP WIRES, TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING:
(A) HAS ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING DEVELOPED, FOR ANY REASON, THA WOULD ENDANGER AMERICAN CITIZENS?
(B) IS THERE A WELL-ORGANIZED SERIOUS MILITARY FORCE FRO WITHIN OR WITHOUT BURUNDI'S BORDERS THAT OPPOSES GOVERNMEN MILITARY FORCES? IF SO, DOES SUCH A CONFLICT THREATE AMERICANS?
(C) IS THERE A DEGREE OF CRIME OR TERRORISM THAT PUT AMERICANS IN PERIL?
7. ENDING ORDERED DEPARTURE WOULD ALLOW A RETURN T EQUILIBRIUM IN THE EMBASSY. MANY AMERICAN PROGRAMS PARTICULARLY THOSE OF AID, ARE AT BEST ON HOLD, AND SOME AR LIKELY TO BE WITHDRAWN, IF THEY DO NOT PROCEED AT THIS TIME TO MOVE BEYOND NORMALCY TO PROGRESS, THESE EXCELLENT PROGRAM NEED TO PROCEED.
8. FURTHER, THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TOWARD DEMOCRAC CAN BE IMMENSELY STRENGTHENED BY THE SUPPORT OF THE WORLD' MOST POWERFUL NATION AND ITS OLDEST DEMOCRACY. THE RETURN 0 AMERICANS WOULD BE WIDELY VIEWED AS A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE I DEMOCRACY ITSELF, AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP HERE WOULD PROBABL BE FOLLOWED BY CONFIDENCE INSTILLED IN OTHER FOREIG COMMUNITIES, SOME OF WHOM FOLLOWED OUR LEAD IN THE EXODUS. FRAGILE AS IT IS, BURUNDI'S DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY MAJORITY RULE, DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN CENTRAL AFRICA. I IT NOT FIT AND PROPER THAT THE WORLD'S STRONGEST NATION AN OLDEST DEMOCRACY SHOULD NURTURE THIS FOUNDLING? BURUNDI' DEMOCRACY HAS JUST BEGUN. IF WE APPEAR TO ABANDON IT BEFOR IT IS EVEN WEANED, OTHERS MAY QUESTION OUR COMMITMENT. BUT I IT SURVIVES, WITH OUR SUPPORT, IT MIGHT IN LATER YEARS BE A SURPRISING A MODEL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AS SOUTH AFRICA HA PROVEN TO BE. AND, THEN, AS IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE U.S. COUL LEGITIMATELY CLAIM, SOME PARENTAGE.
9. FINALLY, THE EMBASSY'S OWN WORK WOULD IMPROVE IN TWO WAYS FIRST, THE RETURN OF PERSONNEL, INCLUDING THE WORKING SPOUSES WOULD BRING THE EMBASSY BACK TO FULL STRENGTH. BUT SECOND, I WOULD SHOW RESPECT FOR THE JUDGMENT OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE 2 HOUR, YEARS LONG EXPERIENCE ON THE GROUND IN BURUNDI AND WHOS LIVES ARE DEDICATED TO THE WELLBEING OF OUR COUNTRY AND IT PEOPLE.
KRUEGER
BT
#2262
NNNN

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

SSN: 2262
<^SSN>2262

TOR: 940630124943 M1127427
<^TOR>940630124841 M1127426

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~Nuns in Peril in Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~07/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
002. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	07/01/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	[Security] (3 pages)	07/01/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Nonpublic Aspects... (3 pages)	07/05/1994	P1/b(1)
005. cable	[Rwandan Patriotic Front] (2 pages)	07/06/1994	P1/b(1)
~~006. cable~~	~~Tour D'Horizon with Namibian Foreign Minister (3 pages)~~	~~07/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~007. cable~~	~~Mitterrand Visit to Cape Town (3 pages)~~	~~07/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
008. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instabililty... (2 pages)	07/06/1994	P1/b(1)
009. cable	[Early July 1994 Information] (3 pages)	07/06/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	[Refugees] (3 pages)	07/06/1994	P1/b(1)
~~011. cable~~	~~Belgian Defense Minister Criticizes French on Rwanda Action (2 pages)~~	~~07/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
012. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	07/06/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[07/01/1994 - 07/11/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch139

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~GOF Finds Modus Vivendi with RPF (2 pages)~~	~~07/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
014. cable	European Union Increases Financial Aid for Rwanda, Haiti [50 U.S.C. 403g, Section 6] [partial] (2 pages)	07/07/1994	P3/b(3)
~~015. cable~~	~~Ambassador Rawson's June 7 Meeting in Brussels with Jaeques Bihozagara (3 pages)~~	~~07/07/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~016. cable~~	~~AF/C Urges Cease Fire in Meeting with RPF (4 pages)~~	~~07/07/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
017. cable	Security Developments... (3 pages)	07/07/1994	P1/b(1)
~~018. cable~~	~~Gatete Departure from Benaco (3 pages)~~	~~07/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~019. cable~~	~~South Africa: First Relief Flights for Rwanda Set for July 12 (2 pages)~~	~~07/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
020. cable	[UNAMIR Peacekeeping Contingent in Rwanda] (4 pages)	07/11/1994	P1/b(1)
~~021. cable~~	~~French Response to Replacement of Rwanda on UNSC (3 pages)~~	~~07/11/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
022. cable	[Rwandan Patriotic Front Forces] (3 pages)	07/11/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

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2006-0192-F
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RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0442
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RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5970
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1453
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0021
SUBJ: NUNS IN PERIL IN RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 005213
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, CASC, RW, FR, UG
SUBJECT: NUNS IN PERIL IN RWANDA
RUYENZI:
SR. ROUARD CECILIA (BELGIAN)
SR. NYIRAGAKOBOKA ALPHONSEINE
SR. MUREKATETE ETIENNE
SR. NYINAWUMWAMI BERNADETTE
SR. MUKABUTERA MARIE-ALPHONSINE
-

RESCUING THE KIBUYE NUNS
---
6. CAMPBELL WORKED WITH THE FRENCH MILITARY IN GOMA ON THE RESCUE OF THE SISTERS OF ST. MARY IN KIBUYE. BEFORE THE FRENCH ARRIVED IN GOMA, CAMPBELL AND A BRITISH JOURNALIST HAD TRAVELED BY ROAD TO KIBUYE, THROUGH 29 CHECKPOINTS MANNED BY HUTU MILITIAS WITH PANGAS WHOSE SOLE QUESTION WAS WHETHER THERE WERE A NY
TUTSIS IN THE VEHICLES. CAMPBELL MET WITH THE SISTERS WHO WERE "TERRIFIED" OF THE LOCAL MILITIAS AND OFFICIALS, AND GATHERED INFORMATION ON THE LOGISTICS OF THEIR MISSION. HIS ORIGINAL PLAN TO COME ACROSS LAKE KIVU IN 12 BOATS WOULD NOT WORK, HE FOUND OUT, SINCE A GOVERNMENT MILITARY CAMP WAS

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LOCATED BETWEEN THE CONVENT ON THE HILL AND THE LAKE. CAMPBELL AND THE JOURNALIST RETURNED TO GOMA, SHARED THEIR INFORMATION WITH THE FRENCH MILITARY AND CONVINCED THEM THAT THE NUNS WERE IN IMMINENT DANGER. THE FRENCH THEN FLEW IN AND EVACUATED THE NUNS AND THEIR ORPHANED TUTSI STUDENTS.

COMMENT

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7. ALAN CAMPBELL TAKES RISKS THAT ORDINARY PEOPLE WOULD NEVER ATTEMPT (SUCH AS THE PLANNED RESCUE OF THE ST. MARY SISTERS BY BOAT ACROSS LAKE KIVU). HE IS A PROFESSIONAL PILOT, AND DID SUPERB WORK HERE IN UGANDA, WHERE HE ASSISTED IN THE CLEAN-UP OF LAKE VICTORIA AND THE KAGERA RIVER BY COUNTING THE FLOATING BODIES FROM A HELICOPTER. (HE HAD DONE SIMILAR SURVEYS BEFORE, EXPERIENCE WHICH WAS INVALUABLE HERE.) CAMPBELL WAS CAUGHT UP WITH THE URGENCY OF THE PLIGHT OF THE REMAINING NUNS IN KIRUHURA AND WAS RELIEVED TO LEARN THAT WE HAD A MESSAGE FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS AWARE OF THEIR PLIGHT.

8. ALAN CAMPBELL PLANNED TO FLY BACK TO THE STATES ON JULY 1, BUT WE EXPECT HE WILL POP UP AGAIN IN OUR NEIGHBORHOOD SOON. IF HE SURFACES AT OTHER POSTS, WE WOULD RECOMMEND HIM AS A PERSON WHO CAN GET DIFFICULT JOBS DONE. END COMMENT.

9. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SHIPPY

BT

#5213

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

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RUEHOR/AMEMBASSY GABORONE 2351
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0957
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 1821
RUEHRU/AMEMBASSY MASERU 0687
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SUBJ: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH NAMIBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 WINDHOEK 001634
DBPARTMENT FOR AF/S, AF/C
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MASS, WA
SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH NAMIBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
GURIRAB: LESOTHO, RWANDA, PEACEKEEPING, U.S. ASSISTANCE
REF: WINDHOEK 1523
SUMMARY
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1. THE AMBASSADOR AND DCM CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER GURIRAB ON JUNE 30, TO DISCUSS AND REVIEW A NUMBER OF ISSUES, INCLUDING REGIONAL EFFORTS TO AMELIORATE THE SITUATIONS IN RWANDA AND LESOTHO, AND U.S. BIODIVERSITY AND EDUCATION ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. TWO OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED, LIBYA AND THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT), WILL BE REPORTED BY SEPTELS. GURIRAB HAS BEEN TRAVELING EXTENSIVELY SINCE THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT IN MID-MAY. END SUMMARY
LESOTHO
---
2. THE FOREIGN MINISTER REMARKED THAT THE SITUATION IN LESOTHO CONTINUES TO BE TENSE. THE FRONT LINE STATES' (FLS) INITIATIVE FOR A TWO STAGE EFFORT (FIRST A TASK FORCE TO DELIVER A STRONG DIPLOMATIC MESSAGE TO THE LESOTHO POLICE AND MILITARY, THEN MILITARY ACTION IF THAT DID NOT WORK) HAS BEEN PUT ON HOLD. RECOGNIZING THAT MILITARY ACTION WOULD HAVE SERIOUS AND POSSIBLY UNEXPECTED REPERCUSSIONS, THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION WANT FIRST TO GIVE QUIET SOUTH AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS A CHANCE, AND GURIRAB FRANKLY ADMITTED THAT EVEN MUGABE

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WAS AT A LOSS CONCERNING WHAT EFFECTIVE ACTION THE FLS COULD TAKE.

3. THE FOREIGN MINISTER WENT ON TO ASK, RHETORICALLY, "WHAT SHOULD GOOD NEIGHBORS DO?" IN A SITUATION LIKE THIS? IS WHAT IS HAPPENING IN LESOTHO AN INTERNAL AFFAIR, AND IF SO, HOW DO NEIGHBORS HELP IF THEY ARE ASKED? THE CONVERSATION BECAME MORE PHILOSOPHICAL AS GURIRAB WONDERED ALOUD WHAT ARE THE OBLIGATIONS OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION WHEN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN ONE COUNTRY ARE THREATENED? HOW WILL THE FLS EVOLVE? WILL IT BECOME A FORUM FOR DISCUSSING REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY? IF SO, WILL IT BE THROUGH A FORMAL ARRANGEMENT OR TREATY, OR WILL IT BE INFORMAL -- COUNTRIES USING THEIR GOOD OFFICES, AS SOUTH AFRICA IS NOW DOING, TO INFLUENCE THE SITUATION? RETURNING SPECIFICALLY TO LESOTHO, HE SAID THAT WHEN THE FLS CONTEMPLATED THE TASK FORCE AND POSSIBLE MILITARY ACTION, THEY WERE RESPONDING TO A REQUEST FROM THE LESOTHO PRIME MINISTER FOR ASSISTANCE, AND THEY FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO DO SO WITHOUT BEING AGGRESSIVE. HENCE THE SUSPENSION OF THAT INITIATIVE.

RWANDA AND PEACEKEEPING

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4. GURIRAB TOLD US HE HAD SPOKEN RATHER BLUNTLY AT THE OAU SUMMIT IN TUNIS CONCERNING RWANDA SPECFICALLY AND THE GENERAL ISSUE OF AFRICAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUPPORTING THE PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN AFRICA (REPORTED IN REFTEL). HE WAS GENUINELY HORRIFIED AT THE STAGGERING LOSS OF LIFE IN RWANDA, AND SAID THAT IN NAMIBIAN TERMS, HALF A MILLION DEAD WOULD "LEAVE THIS COUNTRY EMPTY" (NAMIBIA'S POPULATION IS APPROXIMATELY 1.5 MILLION).

5. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE AMBASSADOR CONCERNING NAMIBIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE UN PEACEKEEPING EFFORT IN RWANDA, GURIRAB STATED THAT WHILE NAMIBIA IS GOING TO PROVIDE A GENEROUS USD 500,000 DONATION, THE GON IS NOT PREPARED TO SEND TROOPS. HE REMARKED THAT NAMIBIA HAS ALSO BEEN ASKED TO PROVIDE WOLF ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS, THE SAME EQUIPMENT THAT WAS USED SO SUCCESSFULLY IN CAMBODIA IN 1993. THE FINAL DECISION HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT NAMIBIA WILL ACCEDE TO THE REQUEST TO PROVIDE THE VEHICLES BECAUSE TROOPS WOULD HAVE TO BE PART OF THE PACKAGE.

U.S. ASSISTANCE

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6. THE AMBASSADOR BRIEFED THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON TWO RECENT EVENTS WHICH HIGHLIGHT U.S. ASSISTANCE TO NAMIBIA. THE FIRST EVENT WAS THE TURNOVER OF FIVE CESSNA O-2 SURVEILLANCE AIRCRAFT TO THE NAMIBIAN DEFENSE FORCE AS PART OF DOD'S BIODIVERSITY PROGRAM. THE AMBASSADOR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 WINDHOEK 001634

DBPARTMENT FOR AF/S, AF/C

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MASS, WA

SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH NAMIBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GURIRAB: LESOTHO, RWANDA, PEACEKEEPING, U.S. ASSISTANCE

PRESENTED THE AIRCRAFT, WHICH COME WITH EXTENSIVE PILOT AND MAINTENANCE TRAINING PROGRAMS, TO PRESIDENT NUJOMA ON JUNE 23, 1994. THE PRESENTATION CEREMONY RECEIVED

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SIGNIFICANT LOCAL NEWS COVERAGE. THE SECOND EVENT OCCURRED IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER -- THE SIGNING OF THE BASIC BDUCATION SUPPORT AGREEMENT, MODIFYING USAID'S ORIGINAL EDUCATION PROGRAM TO TARGET EARLY PRIMARY EDUCATION. THE AGREEMENT BRINGS THE TOTAL LEVEL OF U.S. AID TO NAMIBIAN EDUCATION TO APPROXIMATELY N$115 MILLION AND EXTENDS PROJECT ASSISTANCE BY THREE YEARS TO JUNE 1999. THE NAMIBIAN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION WILL USE THIS PROGRAM TO COMPLETE NEW CURRICULA AND EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS NATIONWIDE, AND TO UPGRADE TEACHER SKILLS IN 500 OF NAMIBIA'S MOST DISADVANTAGED PRIMARY SCHOOLS. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT AN EXCITING ELEMENT OF THE NEW PROJECT IS THE INCLUSION OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER TEACHER TRAINERS AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL, IN ADDITION TO VOLUNTEERS CURRENTLY SERVING IN SECONDARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING. GURIRAB EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR CONTINUED U.S. PARTNERSHIPS IN UPGRADING NAMIBIAN EDUCATION AND ASSISTING THE NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT WITH ANTI-POACHING AND ANTI-SMUGGLING EFFORTS THROUGH THE BIODIVERSITY PROGRAM. MCCALLIE
BT
#1634
NNNN

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

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RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6379
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 9291
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0019
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE 0057
SUBJ: MITTERRAND VISIT TO CAPE TOWN
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 CAPE TOWN 000790
PARIS FOR PERLOW, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RAID, SF
SUBJECT: MITTERRAND VISIT TO CAPE TOWN
1. (U) SUMMARY: ON JULY 4, FRENCH PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND, THE FIRST FOREIGN HEAD OF STATE TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA SINCE PRESIDENT MANDELA'S INAUGURATION, SET ANOTHER PRECEDENT BY BEING THE FIRST FOREIGN LEADER TO ADDRESS A JOINT SITTING OF THE SA PARLIAMENT. MITTERRAND PLEDGED TO BECOME THE INTERNATIONAL CHEERLEADER OF SA'S STRUGGLE, PROMISING DEVELOPMENT AID, TECHNICAL EXPERTISE, INVESTMENT AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. AFTER HIS DEPARTURE ON JULY 5, DETAILS ABOUT THE "PARTNERSHIP" WERE STILL BEING WORKED OUT. END SUMMARY.
2. (U) MITTERRAND WAS WELCOMED AS A STAUNCH ALLY IN THE PROMULGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY BY PRESIDENT MANDELA AND THE MAINSTREAM SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS AMIDST ALLEGATIONS THAT THE 77 YEAR-OLD PRESIDENT WAS USING THE VISIT TO SECURE HIS PLACE IN HISTORY. MANDELA REFERRED TO HIS VISIT AS "HIGHLY SYMBOLIC" BECAUSE OF PRANCE'S PAST SUPPORT. IN

RECENT YEARS, HIS WIFE DANIELLE MITTERRAND BROKERED UNPRECEDENTED DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN PROMINENT SA

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PROGRESSIVES AND EXILED ANC LEADERS, INCLUDING THE HISTORIC 1988 ANC/AFRIKANER CONFERENCE IN DAKAR.

3. (U) IN AN ELOQUENT UT NON-SPECIFIC SPEECH BEFORE A JOINT SITTING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND SENATE, MITTERRAND SAID HE EXPECTED ELECTRIFICATION, HOUSING, HEALTH, RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND WATER PROVISION CONTRACTS TO BE SIGNED BEFORE HE LEFT. AFTER THE SPEECH, MITTERRAND AND MANDELA VISITED KHAYELITSHA, A TOWNSHIP OUTSIDE CAPE TOWN, FOR A SYMBOLIC SWITCH-ON OF ELECTRICITY TO 50 MORE HOMES--A PROJECT IN WHICH A FRENCH ELECTRICITY PARASTATAL WAS INVOLVED. THE PAIR WERE GREETED BY JUBILANT CROWDS, BUT THE TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS TURNED OUT PRIMARILY TO SEE MANDELA; MANY DID NOT KNOW WHO MITTERRAND WAS. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS REPORTED THAT MITTERRAND WAS VISIBLY MOVED BY DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS IN CAPE PENINSULA TOWNSHIPS.

4. (U) PRE-VISIT EXPECTATIONS IN CAPE TOWN WERE HIGH BUT RESULTS WERE MIXED. AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF FRENCH DEPLOYMENT AND FIERCE FIGHTING IN KIGALI, RUMORS THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD ASSIST FRANCE IN AFRICA WERE SILENCED A DAY BEFORE MITTERRAND'S ARRIVAL WHEN MANDELA ANNOUNCED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD NOT SEND TROOPS TO RWANDA. AN UNIDENTIFIED SAG OFFICIAL WAS QUOTED IN THE SA PRESS AS SAYING "SOUTH AFRICA HAS ITS LIMITS, ESPECIALLY IN A CASE SUCH AS RWANDA. WE WILL USE MITTERRAND'S VISIT TO SPELL OUT THESE LIMITS." MITTERRAND SAID HE HOPED AFRICAN COUNTRIES WOULD INTERVENE COLLECTIVELY TO STOP THE BLOODSHED IN RWANDA.

5. (U) MITTERRAND PROMISED TO PROMOTE A UNIFIED G-7 ASSISTANCE PACKAGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA AT THE MID-JULY SUMMIT MEETING IN NAPLES. AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FRENCH DEVELOPMENT BANK AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD EVENTUALLY BE WORTH A REPORTED 30 MILLION USD A YEAR WAS ALSO EXPECTED TO BE ANNOUNCED. MITTERRAND SAID THE PARTNERSHIP WOULD TAKE MORE CONCRETE FORM AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN BERLIN IN SEPTEMBER.

6. (U) MANY COMMENTATORS NOTED THAT FRENCH FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (FDI) MAY NOT BE AS FORTHCOMING AS LIMITED OFFICIAL AID. A FRENCH PAPER WHICH LAUDED THE VISIT AS "A SCOUTING MISSION FOR FRENCH INVESTMENT" IN SOUTH AFRICA ALSO NOTED THE DISAPPOINTINGLY SMALL GROUP OF FRENCH BUSINESSMEN ACCOMPANYING MITTERRAND. FRENCH INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS MORE THAN DOUBTED IN THE PAST THREE YEARS, BUT INVESTORS STILL APPEAR RELATIVELY CAUTIOUS.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 CAPE TOWN 000790

PARIS FOR PERLOW, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RAID, SF

SUBJECT: MITTERRAND VISIT TO CAPE TOWN

7. (U) MEMBERS OF THE ISLAMIC PARTY HELD A SMALL DEMONSTRATION AT THE CAPE TOWN AIRPORT UPON

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MITTERRAND'S ARRIVAL. MUSLIM DEMONSTRATORS PROTESTED FRANCE'S INVOLVEMENT IN ALGERIA AND ALLEGED ANTI-MUSLIM DRESS CODES IN FRENCH SCHOOLS.
8. (LOU) COMMENT: MITTERRAND RECEIVED PROMINENT PRESS COVERAGE DURING HIS HISTORIC VISIT, BUT CONCRETE RESULTS APPEAR MEAGER THUS FAR. WIDE-RANGING FRENCH AND SOUTH AFRICAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA DICTATE A HIGHER DEGREE OF COOPERATION, BUT NO SAG CONTACTS IN CAPE TOWN VIEW THE VISIT AS A SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IN FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION. END COMMENT.
MYRICK
BT
#0790
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0978
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0483
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE 0098
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0005
SUBJ: BELGIAN DEFENSE MINISTER CRITICIZES FRENCH ON RWANDA ACTION

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BRUSSELS 07446
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PREF, BE, FR, RW
SUBJECT: BELGIAN DEFENSE MINISTER CRITICIZES FRENCH ON RWANDA ACTION
REFS: BRUSSELS 7380 AND PREVIOUS
1. CLASSIFICATIONS -- AS INDICATED.
2. (U) BELGIAN DEFENSE MINISTER LEO DELCROIX, WHO HAD BEEN A PROPONENT WITHIN THE GOB OF SENDING A MEDICAL TEAM TO SUPPORT THE FRENCH FORCES IN THEIR HUMANITARIAN ACTION IN RWANDA, TOLD THE PRESS JULY 6 THAT THE MATTER HAD BECOME "TOO POLITICAL AND DELICATE" AND THAT THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT WAS INCREASINGLY RELUCTANT TO SEND A TEAM.
3. (U) ANSWERING QUESTIONS ON RWANDA DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE BELGIAN DEFENSE WHITE PAPER, DELCROIX SAID THAT FRENCH SOLDIERS HAVE BECOME "INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN THE INTERNAL SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY". HE UNDERLINED THE "VERY NEUTRAL" POSITION OF BELGIUM VIS-A-VIS RWANDA. THE GOB, DELCROIX SAID, FEARED GETTING INVOLVED IN AN "AMBIGUOUS SITUATION," ESPECIALLY SINCE THE FRENCH SKIRMISH WITH THE RPF ON JULY 3. THE GOB, HE ADDED, WOULD WAIT TO SEE HOW EVENTS EVOLVE IN RWANDA BEFORE RECONSIDERING WHETHER TO SEND A MEDICAL TEAM.
4. (LOU) COMMENT. GOB MINISTERS, NOTABLY DELCROIX, HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS WITHOUT FULL GOB CLEARANCE. THE TONE, IF NOT THE CONTENT, OF DELCROIX'S REMARKS WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT/NOT ENDORSED BEFOREHAND EITHER BY PM DEHAENE OR THE FULL CABINET. FONMIN WILLY CLAES, WHO HAS OPPOSED SENDING BELGIAN TROOPS TO ASSIST

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THE FRENCH FROM THE BEGINNING, HAS BEEN RESTRAINED IN HIS PUBLIC COMMENTS ABOUT "OPERATION TURQUOISE." END COMMENT.
BLINKEN
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#7446
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7446

TOR: 940706120040 M1135909

DIST:

PRT: SIT
SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC SUM SUM2 VAX
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2011-0262-M-4 (4.34)
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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 061644Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7338
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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 1874
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RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 6925
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 6646
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 3064
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY 5416
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 8384
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0027
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 4973
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 1243
SUBJ: GOF FINDS MODUS VIVENDI WITH RPF
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PARIS 18393
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, PREF, RW, FR
SUBJECT: GOF FINDS MODUS VIVENDI WITH RPF
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. LOCAL MEDIA TODAY HAVE FEATURED REPORTS ON THE MODUS VIVENDI BETWEEN THE RPF AND ELEMENTS OF FRANCE'S OPERATION TURQUOISE, FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE RPF THAT IT WOULD RESPECT THE FRENCH PROTECTED ZONE. MIDDAY TELEVISED NEWSCASTS CONFIRMED THAT RPF FORCES HAD HALTED EIGHT TO TEN KILOMETERS FROM FRENCH LINES. RADIO FRANCE INTER (RFI), IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A JOURNALISTIC EXTENSION OF THE FACTS, THIS MORNING IMPLIED GOF RECOGNITION OF THE RPF IN EXCHANGE FOR THE LATTER'S RESPECT OF THE REFUGE AREA.
3. WE HAVE QUERIED A NUMBER OF OUR SOURCES TO PURSUE THE RFI REPORT, AND HAVE BEEN TOLD BY BOTH THE QUAI AND ELYSEES THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF RECOGNITION. FRANCE DOES NOT RECOGNIZE GOVERNMENTS, BUT DEALS WITH STATES. QUAI EAST AFRICA DIRECTOR BOIVINEAU SAID THAT THE GOF HAS SENT AN "EMISSARY, NOT AN AMBASSADOR," TO DEAL WITH THE ELEMENTS THE U.S. CALLS THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. FRENCH DEALINGS HAVE BEEN STRICTLY LIMITED TO MATTERS CONCERNING OPERATION TURQUOISE, SHE CLAIMED.
4. THERE ALSO HAVE BEEN REGULAR CONTACTS WITH THE RPF, INCLUDING MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS AND KAMPALA, PLUS INFORMAL MEETINGS ARRANGED BY GEN DALLAIRE. CENTRAL

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AFRICAN DESKOFF CILLARD SAYS CONTACTS WITH KAGAME HAVE GONE ESPECIALLY WELL BECAUSE HE "UNDERSTANDS THE FRENCH POSITION."

5. ELYSEES AFRICA ADVISOR DOMINIQUE PIN CONFIRMS THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL CONTACTS WITH KAGAME, BUT STRESSES THERE IS NO QUESTION OF RECOGNITION INVOLVED AND IT REMAINS FOR THE RWANDANS TO RESOLVE THEIR INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS. HE CLAIMS THE SITUATION IS EVOLVING RAPIDLY, BUT DECLINED TO FURNISH DETAILS. PIN SAID GOF OBJECTIVES IN RWANDA WILL REMAIN HUMANITARIAN ONLY.

HARRIMAN

BT

#8393

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8393

TOR: 940706124830 M1136038

DIST:

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 071607Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0145
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0542
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0983
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0488
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0010
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S JUNE 7 MEETING IN BRUSSELS WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M 4 (4.35)
VR 10/20/2023

********** INCOMPLETE MESSAGE **********

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~L SECTION 01 OF 03 BRUSSELS 07520
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PREF, BE, FR, RW
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S JUNE 7 MEETING IN BRUSSELS WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA
1. ~~(C)~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY

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2. AMBASSADOR RAWSON MET JUNE 7 IN BRUSSELS WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA, RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT'S (RPF) EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE. BIHOZAGARA CONFIRMED THE RPF WAS STILL DISTRUSTFUL OF OPERATION TURQUOISE BUT WOULD BE SOMEWHAT REASSURED IF CURRENT UNAMIR TROOPS WERE USED TO REPLACE SOME OF THE EXISTING FRENCH TROOPS. BIHOZAGARA SAID THE RPF'S OBJECTIVES HAD BEEN 80-90 PERCENT FULFILLED. CONSOLIDATION OF THE RPF'S GAINS WAS THE NEXT STEP. THE RPF WOULD ANNOUNCE A CEASEFIRE AND WOULD TRY TO PROCEED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE ARMY.
3. BIHOZAGARA SAID THE RPF EXPECTED TO FORM A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, BUT WITH ADJUSTMENTS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE CURRENT SITUATION. THE RPF WANTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DECLARE ITSELF. STATEMENTS LIKE THE ONE ISSUED BY BELGIUM WERE HELPFUL, AS THEY DISCOURAGED THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE QUESTIONED US VIEWS ON THE DEFINITION OF A BROADLY-BASED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND INSISTED THERE WAS BOTH COLLECTIVE AND

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INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR MASSACRES. THOSE WHO WERE FOUND GUILTY COULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT. BIHOZAGARA OBLIQUELY QUESTIONED THE FUTURE OF MULTIPARTYISM IN REBUILDING RWANDA, SAYING IT WOULD LEAD TO A REPEAT OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT REINED IN RWANDA FROM DEC. 93 UNTIL APRIL 94.

4. AMBASSADOR RAWSON REMINDED BIHOZAGARA THAT THE USG HAD EARLY CALLED FOR ACCOUNTABILITY OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRES. ANY EMERGING GOVERNMENT SHOULD ENJOY THE RESPECT AND SUPPORT OF LARGE NUMBERS OF THE RWANDAN POPULATION AND SHOULD STRIVE TO ENCOURAGE HUTUS TO PARTICIPATE IN POWER SHARING. THERE WERE GOOD PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES. A WAY HAD TO BE FOUND TO OBTAIN THEIR SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY

5. AMBASSADOR RAWSON MET JUNE 7 IN BRUSSELS WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA, RPF'S EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE. BIHOZAGARA SAID HE WAS SPENDING MOST OF HIS TIME MARCHING ABOUT EUROPE PROMOTING EFFORTS TO LAUNCH UNAMIR II. THE RPF, HE STATED, WAS STILL DISTRUSTFUL OF THE GOF AND OF OPERATION TURQUOISE. THERE HAD BEEN CERTAIN RECENT INCIDENTS THAT RISKED DESTABILIZING NOT ONLY RWANDA BUT ALSO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THEREFORE, HAD TO HURRY UP AND ORGANIZE QUICKLY THE DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR II. AS KIGALI WAS NOW SECURE IN RPF HANDS, UNAMIR'S PRESENCE WAS NO LONGER NECESSARY IN THE CAPITAL. THE UNAMIR TROOPS COULD BE USED TO REPLACE SOME OF THE FRENCH SOLDIERS FROM OPERATION TURQUOISE. THE RPF, HE SAID, WOULD BE SOMEWHAT REASSURED ABOUT FRENCH INTENTIONS IF THIS WERE DONE.

6. BIHOZAGARA REVIEWED THE RPF'S TWO MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES: STOPPING THE MASSACRES AND NEUTRALIZING THE ARMY AND MILITIAS. ACCORDING TO BIHOZAGARA, THE FRONT HAD ACHIEVED BETWEEN 80-90 PERCENT OF ITS OBJECTIVES. CONSOLIDATION OF ITS GAINS WOULD NOW ENSUE. HE CONFIRMED THE RPF WOULD ANNOUNCE A CEASEFIRE AND WOULD TRY TO PROCEED TOWARDS A RESTRUCTURING OF THE ARMY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

7. TURNING TO THE SUBJECT OF GOVERNMENT FORMATION, BIHOZAGARA SAID THE RPF EXPECTED TO FORMA NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, BUT "ADJUSTED" TO MEET THE REALITIES OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. THE FRONT WANTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DECLARE ITSELF.

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BRUSSELS 07520

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PREF, BE, FR, RW

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S JUNE 7 MEETING IN BRUSSELS WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA

THEIR SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION IN REBUILDING RWANDA.

BLINKEN

BT

#7520

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 7520
<^SSN>7520

TOR: 940707121530 M1138143

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<^TOR>940707121531 M1138144

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M.4 (4.36)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 071634Z JUL 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 0000
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RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0000
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0000
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0000
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0000
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000
SUBJ: AF/C URGES CEASE-FIRE IN MEETING WITH RPF

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ STATE 180391
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL MOPS PGOV PHUM RW FR
SUBJECT: AF/C URGES CEASE-FIRE IN MEETING WITH RPF

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. AF/C (ACTING DIRECTOR FENDRICK AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON) CONVOKED RPF REP DR. CHARLES MURIGANDE TO THE DEPARTMENT ON JULY 6 TO DISCUSS THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR A SAFE ZONE IN SOUTHWESTERN RWANDA AND TO URGE THE RPF TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. ALTHOUGH MURIGANDE DID NOT KNOW THE RESULTS OF FRENCH-RPF DISCUSSIONS, HE THOUGHT THE RPF COULD ACCEPT A FRENCH SAFE ZONE IF IT WERE LIMITED IN SIZE AND DID NOT ALLOW ARMED GROUPS TO OPERATE INSIDE. IN URGING AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE FIGHTING, FENDRICK CITED THE DANGERS OF A POSSIBLE CLASH WITH THE FRENCH AND POINTED OUT THAT A CEASE-FIRE WOULD FACILITATE DEPLOYMENT OF EXPANDED UNAMIR, WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE FRENCH TO LEAVE, AS THE RPF HAD WANTED. MURIGANDE RESPONDED THAT THEY WILL CALL FOR A CEASE-FIRE AFTER OPPOSITION LEADERS ARE BACK IN THE COUNTRY AND THEY CAN ESTABLISH A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT. HE THOUGHT THE MRND WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT WOULD BE

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DIFFICULT TO FIND MRND LEADERS WHO HAD NOT IN SOME WAY BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE. AF/C URGED THAT ANY GOVERNMENT BE FORMED ON THE BASIS THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AND THAT IT BE TRULY BROAD-BASED. END SUMMARY.

FRENCH SAFE-ZONE PROPOSAL

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3. MURIGANDE SAID THAT THE WAY THE FRENCH PROPOSAL WAS ANNOUNCED SHOCKED THE RPF: THE FRENCH MILITARY ON THE GROUND ANNOUNCED THAT THEY HAD RECEIVED ORDERS TO STOP THE RPF ADVANCE. ONLY LATER DID GOF MINISTERS ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY THE PROPOSAL BY COUCHING IT IN TERMS OF A HUMANITARIAN ZONE WHICH WAS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE RPF PER SE. THE RPF'S IMMEDIATE REACTION WAS TO REJECT THE IDEA AS AN ATTEMPT TO PROTECT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE. MURIGANDE SAID THAT THE RPF WAS NOT OPPOSED TO AN INITIATIVE TO PROTECT CIVILIANS, BUT IF THE FRENCH REALLY WANTED TO PROTECT CIVILIANS THEY WOULD MAKE SURE THE SAFE ZONE DOES NOT BECOME A SANCTUARY FOR KILLERS AND WOULD DISARM AND EXPEL THE CRIMINALS FROM THE ZONE.

4. MURIGANDE SAID HE KNEW THE FRENCH HAD TALKED TO THE RPF IN BRUSSELS AND KAMPALA ABOUT THE PROPOSAL, BUT HE HAD NO READ-OUT ON THE DISCUSSIONS AND DID NOT KNOW WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN AGREED TO. FENDRICK NOTED THAT NEWS REPORTS INDICATED THE FRENCH WERE PROPOSING A SMALLER SAFE AREA AND WOULD NOT ALLOW ARMED GROUPS TO OPERATE INSIDE THE AREA. MURIGANDE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT IF THIS WAS DONE, THE RPF WOULD ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL AND WOULD NOT TRY TO INVADE THE SAFE AREA. HE ASKED THE USG TO HELP THE FRENCH UNDERSTAND THE RPF'S CONCERNS AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO AGREE TO THE KINDS OF LIMITATIONS ON THE ZONE THAT HAD BEEN REPORTED IN THE PRESS. FENDRICK APPLAUDED THE RPF'S CONTACTS WITH THE FRENCH AND URGED THEM TO MAINTAIN THIS COMMUNICATION TO MINIMIZE THE CHANCES OF A MISUNDERSTANDING OR WORSE, AN ARMED CONFRONTATION.

URGENT NEED FOR CEASE-FIRE

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5. FENDRICK STRESSED THAT WE BELIEVE A CEASE-FIRE IS URGENTLY NEEDED. HE SAID THE CURRENT SITUATION WAS VERY DANGEROUS AND POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST TO HAVE THE RPF AND FRENCH CLASH. FENDRICK ADDED THAT A CEASE-FIRE WOULD FACILITATE DEPLOYMENT OF THE AFRICAN UNAMIR II CONTINGENTS, WHICH WILL ALLOW THE FRENCH TO LEAVE. THUS IF THE RPF REALLY WANTS FRANCE OUT OF RWANDA, THEY NEED TO ANNOUNCE AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. FENDRICK POINTED OUT THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT COULD BE MADE UNILATERALLY, NOTING THAT IT IS DOUBTFUL THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FORCES WILL WANT TO PURSUE THE WAR IF THE RPF STOPS ADVANCING.

6. MURIGANDE SAID THAT THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT THE RPF PLANS TO FORM WOULD DECLARE A CEASE-FIRE. HOWEVER,

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MANY OF THE OPPOSITION LEADERS WHO WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT HAVE FLED THE COUNTRY AND DO NOT HAVE THE RESOURCES OR ABILITY TO RETURN QUICKLY. THE RPF IS ATTEMPTING TO FACILITATE THEIR RETURN SO THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT CAN FORM.

BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT, MRND'S (NON)ROLE, AND ARUSHA

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7. MURIGANDE SAID THAT IN FORMING THE GOVERNMENT, THE RPF WOULD FOLLOW THE "SPIRIT" OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. HOWEVER, THEY WOULD NOT NECESSARILY FOLLOW THE LETTER OF THE AGREEMENT BECAUSE INTERVENING EVENTS HAVE MADE THAT IMPRACTICAL. TO FORM THE GOVERNMENT, THE RPF WOULD CONVENE A MEETING OF THOSE POLITICAL LEADERS WHO SURVIVED THE GENOCIDE BUT WOULD EXCLUDE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS. HE DID NOT THINK THE MRND (HABYARIMANA'S PARTY) WOULD BE REPRESENTED IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT. HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FIND MRND LEADERS WHO HAD NOT IN SOME WAY BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS. NONE OF THE MRND LEADERS HAVE DENOUNCED THE GENOCIDE AND, ACCORDING TO MURIGANDE, MOST KNEW OF THE HARDLINERS' PLANS. HE SAID THAT, SO FAR, THE RPF HAS NOT FOUND ANY INNOCENT MRND "MODERATES" WHO MIGHT BE SUITABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

8. FENDRICK AND AISTON STRESSED THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORD MUST SERVE AS A BASIS FOR THE FORMATION OF ANY NEW GOVERNMENT AND THAT RWANDANS MUST HAVE A BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT THAT IS THE RESULT OF TRUE DIALOGUE AMONG RELEVANT POLITICAL FORCES AND NOT MERELY THE PRODUCT OF MILITARY CONQUEST. FENDRICK ASKED HOW THE RPF COULD FORM A STABLE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY IF THEY EXCLUDE HABYARIMANA SUPPORTERS. THE RPF RECOGNIZED THAT IT CANNOT RUN THE COUNTRY ITSELF. IF THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS FORMED TURNS OUT TO BE MADE UP OF THE RPF AND A FEW HAND-PICKED TOKEN OPPOSITION LEADERS, IT WILL NOT BE REGARDED AS LEGITIMATE. AISTON NOTED THE LARGE NUMBERS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS FLEEING THE RPF ADVANCE AND SAID THAT THESE PEOPLE NEEDED TO SEE THAT THEY ARE REPRESENTED IN ANY FUTURE GOVERNMENT. MURIGANDE DOWNPLAYED THESE CONCERNS, CLAIMING THAT THE MRND HAD POWER BUT FEW SUPPORTERS AND THAT THE FLEEING MASSES WERE MORE OFTEN TRYING TO AVOID GETTING CAUGHT IN THE FIGHTING, RATHER THAN FLEEING IN FEAR OF THE RPF.

9. MURIGANDE SAID THAT ONCE THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT IS FORMED, IT WOULD MOVE TO CLAIM THE RWANDA SEAT IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES, TAKE CONTROL OF THE EMBASSIES, AND TAKE OTHER STEPS CONSISTENT WITH ITS STATUS. HE SAID HE HOPED THE U.S. WOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW GOVERNMENT. AT A MINIMUM, THE RPF WANTS THE U.S. TO DROP RECOGNITION OF THE SO-CALLED INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE WAS NOT SURE WHETHER HE WOULD BE NAMED AMBASSADOR OR EVEN WHETHER HE WOULD WANT THAT.

10. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
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RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
SUBJ: GATETE DEPARTURE FROM BENACO
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 183627
NAIROBI-DART REFCOORD; GENEVA-RMA
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF PREL PHUM TZ RW
SUBJECT: GATETE DEPARTURE FROM BENACO
REF: (A) 94 DAR ES SAL 4312, (B) 94 STATE 180972,
(C) 94 NAIROBI 11917, (D) DAR/BROWNING - PRM/DUTY TELECON 7/9,
(E) DAR/BROWNING - PRM/MCKELVEY TELECON 7/9

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. PER REF TELECONS, RWANDAN REFUGEE LEADER AND ACCUSED MURDERER GATETE HAS REJECTED THE GOT PLAN FOR HIM TO MOVE WITH HIS FAMILY BY ROAD FROM NGARA TO DAR AND ONWARD TO GOMA ZAIRE BY COMMERCIAL FLIGHT (AS OUTLINED REF A). THE GOT NOW PLANS TO CHARTER A FLIGHT TO MOVE GATETE AND FAMILY DIRECTLY FROM NGARA TO GOMA ON TUESDAY JULY 12 AND HAS REQUESTED UNHCR FINANCING OF THIS CHARTER. UNHCR HAS SO FAR REFUSED. ARRANGEMENTS -- IF ANY -- FOR DEALING WITH GATETE IN GOMA ARE UNKNOWN. UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OGATA IS TO ARRIVE IN DAR ON JULY 10 FOR A VISIT TO THE NGARA AREA CAMPS AND FOR A CALL ON PRESIDENT MWINYI JULY 11. WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF HER AGENDA ASIDE FROM ASSESSING ONE OF UNHCR'S MOST URGENT CURRENT OPERATIONS, ALTHOUGH THE GATETE ISSUE IS SURE TO ARISE.

3. CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO SEEK A MEETING WITH MRS. OGATA TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON GATETE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF MAKING PARALLEL AND SIMILAR DEMARCHES TO THE GOT. IF MRS. OGATA

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DOES NOT CONCUR WITH USG APPROACH TO GOT, OR IF CHARGE IS NOT ABLE TO REACH HER IN A TIMELY ENOUGH FASHION, CHARGE SHOULD PROCEED, DRAWING SELECTIVELY FROM AMONG THE FOLLOWING POINTS AS WELL AS REF B, TO INFORM THE GOT THAT THE USG CANNOT CONDONE COMPLICITY IN LETTING GATETE FLEE. THE GOT'S PROPOSED EXPEDIENT RESPONSE TO GATETE'S PRESENCE IN BENACO DOES NOT REPEAT NOT ADDRESS THE UNDERLYING ISSUE OF SECURITY FOR RELIEF WORKERS AND REFUGEES. MOREOVER, IT UNDERCUTS A REGIONAL APPROACH TO THE GENOCIDE QUESTION AND TAINTS REFUGEE PROTECTION EFFORTS. POST MAY ALSO WISH TO SHARE OUR ADDITIONAL VIEWS WITH CANADIAN AND BRITISH COLLEAGUES.

4. ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND POINTS:

O THE PROBLEMS OF HOW TO DEAL WITH SECURITY IN REFUGEE CAMPS AND WITH CRIMINAL ELEMENTS AMONG REFUGEES, AS PERSONIFIED CURRENTLY BY GATETE -- AND WITH OTHERS LIKE HIM -- ARE ADMITTEDLY SENSITIVE AND COMPLEX, AND NOT UNIQUE TO TANZANIA.

O ONE PART OF THE ISSUE IS THE AGREED UPON NEED TO GET GATETE PHYSICALLY OUT OF BENACO CAMP IN ORDER TO DIMINISH HIS INFLUENCE AND ABILITY TO THREATEN THE SECURITY OF RELIEF WORKERS AND OTHER REFUGEES. THIS SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVE OF UNHCR PARTLY OVERLAPS WITH THE GOT'S SHORT-TERM GOAL OF GETTING GATETE OUT OF TANZANIA ALTOGETHER.

O ALL PARTIES IN TANZANIA ARE GENERALLY AGREED THAT IF GATETE WERE TO BE FORMALLY DETAINED ANYWHERE IN THE REGION, WORD WOULD FILTER BACK TO BENACO AND PROVOKE REFUGEE THREATS TO THE SECURITY OF RELIEF WORKERS. GATETE'S ABILITY TO CALL THE SHOTS SO FAR, E.G., IN DEMANDING THAT HE BE FLOWN FROM NGARA TO GOMA, UNDERSCORES HOW MUCH OF A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH HE IS. ACCORDINGLY, ANY DETENTION WOULD NEED TO INVOLVE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION TO RELIEF WORKERS.

O FYI. THE TANZANIAN MINISTER OF DEFENSE, VISITING WASHINGTON ON LIBERIA/ECOMOG BUSINESS, OPINED THAT USING THE TANZANIAN MILITARY TO MOVE INTO BENACO TO DETAIN GATETE AND THE OTHERS SO FAR IDENTIFIED WOULD NOT BE OVERLY DIFFICULT, THOUGH IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE HAD NOT THOUGHT THROUGH ALL OF THE IMPLICATIONS. SEPTEL COVERS HIS DISCUSSIONS. END FYI.

O HOWEVER, REMOVING GATETE FROM THE BENACO CAMP IS AN IMPORTANT STEP BUT DOES NOT REPEAT NOT SOLVE THE QUESTION OF SECURITY FOR RELIEF WORKERS AND REFUGEES. BOTH ARE STILL CURRENTLY THREATENED WHETHER GATETE IS FORMALLY DETAINED OR NOT. THERE ARE AT LEAST 13 OTHERS IN BENACO WHO ARE LIKE GATETE AND WHO WILL NEED TO BE DEALT WITH. THE INCREASE IN INTRA-CAMP MURDERS (REF C) IS UNLIKELY TO ABATE WITH THE DEPARTURE OF GATETE ALONE.

O THE ISSUE OF BRINGING TO JUSTICE THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IS A REGIONAL ISSUE.

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THE USG HAS ALREADY, FOR EXAMPLE, CALLED UPON THE FRENCH TO DETAIN SUCH PEOPLE WITHIN THE SAFE HAVEN ZONE THAT FRENCH TROOPS HAVE ESTABLISHED INSIDE RWANDA. ACCUSATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE AGAINST SOME OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES WHO HAVE SOUGHT SAFETY IN ZAIRE AND BURUNDI AS WELL AS IN TANZANIA.

O UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS NOT YET IN PLACE A UNIFORM SYSTEM FOR IDENTIFYING, DETAINING, AND TRYING THE ACCUSED. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE WORK OF A COMMISSION OF EXPERTS SET UP BY A UNSC RESOLUTION WILL LEAD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND THE USG IS PROPOSING TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK NOW FOR SUCH A TRIBUNAL.

O THE GOT'S ASSERTION THAT IT CANNOT DETAIN GATETE UNDER THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION WITHOUT A REQUEST FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA IS SELF-SERVING SINCE THERE IS NO SUCH UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED GOVERNMENT AT PRESENT. A NEW RPF-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA WOULD MORE THAN LIKELY MAKE SUCH A REQUEST. MOREOVER, THE GOT WOULD SEEM TO BE ABLE TO DETAIN GATETE FOR HIS ACTIONS IN THE BENACO RIOT, IF THE GOT WERE INCLINED TO INVOKE ITS DOMESTIC LAWS.

O NEITHER THE GOT OR THE UNHCR IS IN A POSITION TO TURN A BLIND EYE TO GATETE'S DEPARTURE FROM TANZANIA, EVEN IF HE WERE TO TRAVEL ON A COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT RATHER THAN A SPECIALLY ARRANGED CHARTER. UNLESS HE IS CARRYING A VALID RWANDAN PASSPORT, HE WOULD NEED TRAVEL DOCUMENTATION (FROM THE GOT OR UNHCR OR THE ICRC) TO LEGALLY DEPART TANZANIA AND ENTER ZAIRE. THUS NEITHER CAN ESCAPE THE LABEL OF COMPLICITY.

O USING A REFUGEE SYSTEM TO ASSIST SOMEONE LIKE GATETE CAN ONLY UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF UNHCR'S PROTECTION WORK WORLDWIDE.

O MORE IMMEDIATELY, UNHCR WILL NEED TO ENJOY THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL PARTIES TO THE CURRENT RWANDAN CONFLICT IF IT IS TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE EVENTUAL REFUGEE RETURN AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN THAT COUNTRY -- AS WELL AS IN THE INTER-TWINED BURUNDI SITUATION.

5. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
TALBOTT
BT
#3627
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3627
TOR: 940709153441 M1142245
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

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2011-0262-M-4 (4.39)
VR 10/20/2023

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LINE3: O 111354Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
OSRI: RUEHSA
DTG: 111354Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5105
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 1142
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0096
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0126
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0910
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1333
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0025
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0041
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 3355
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0035
RUEHDU/AMCONSUL DURBAN 2954
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0021
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0050
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0048
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 3742
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA: FIRST RELIEF FLIGHTS FOR RWANDA
SET FOR JULY 12
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PRETORIA 009683
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY; PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, SF, RW
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: FIRST RELIEF FLIGHTS FOR RWANDA
SET FOR JULY 12
REF: PRETORIA 07070 (NOTAL)
1. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT).
2. DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPUTY DIRECTOR
GENERAL FOR AFRICA DEREK AURET CONFIRMED TO OIC JULY 11
THAT THE FIRST TWO FLIGHTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN RELIEF
SUPPLIES FOR RWANDA WOULD DEPART FROM PRETORIA'S
WATERKLOOF AIR BASE JULY 12.
3. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
LYMAN
BT
#9683
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 9683
TOR: 940711101632 M1143631
DIST:

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SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.41)
VR 10/20/2023

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 111804Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 111804Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7613
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1896
INFO: RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
SUBJ: FRENCH RESPONSE TO REPLACEMENT OF RWANDA ON - UNSC
TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 18878
DEPARTMENT PASS ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, RW, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH RESPONSE TO REPLACEMENT OF RWANDA ON - UNSC
REF: STATE 183008
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE. SEE PARAGRAPH 8.
3. SUMMARY: THE GOF AGREES THAT IT WOULD BE HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE FOR RWANDA TO ASSUME THE UNSC PRESIDENCY IN SEPTEMBER BUT HAS SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT TRYING TO TRYING TO CHALLENGE RWANDA'S REPRESENTATION IN CREDENTIALS' COMMITTEES. FROM BOTH A POLITICAL AND JURIDICAL POINT OF VIEW, THE FRENCH PREFER THAT A NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT BE FORMED AND THAT IT PRESENT ITS CREDENTIALS TO THE UN BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1. END SUMMARY.
4. POLOFF SPOKE TO QUAI IO DAS RIVASSEAU JULY 11 CONCERNING RWANDA'S UN REPRESENTATION (REFTEL). POLMINCOUNS RAISED THE SAME SUBJECT JULY 11 IN A MEETING ATTENDED BY RIVASSEAU, FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE'S CABINET ADVISOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA BERNARD EMIE AND QUAI CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA DAS BOIVINEAU. IN RESPONSE TO POINTS PRESENTED REFTEL, THESE OFFICIALS AGREED FULLY THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA RAISE SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SUITABILITY OF THE CURRENT RWANDAN UN DELEGATION AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRY. HOWEVER, THE GOF CONSIDERS THAT THERE ARE POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM THAT MUST BE ADDRESSED. RIVASSEAU WAS EMPHATIC THAT THE GOF DOES NOT WISH TO RESOLVE A UNIQUE SITUATION BY ADOPTING A SOLUTION THAT WILL SERVE AS AN UNDESIRABLE PRECEDENT IN OTHER, LESS EXTREME CIRCUMSTANCES.
5. QUAI LEGAL EXPERTS, THEY SAID, HAVE POINTED OUT THAT A CHALLENGE TO THE CREDENTIALS OF A GOVERNMENT'S REPRESENTATIVE OR THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF CAN ONLY BE

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MADE WHEN THERE IS A CHOICE BETWEEN TWO COMPETING CLAIMANTS. RIVASSEAU CITED THE EXAMPLE OF CYPRUS AND THE DECISION THE UN MADE IN THAT CASE TO RECOGNIZE NICOSIA AS THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT. AT THIS TIME, RIVASSEAU SAID, THE EVOLVING RPF GOVERNMENT IS NOT IN A POSITION TO PRESENT ITS CREDENTIALS TO THE UN WITH A CLAIM AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE. THIS COULD WELL CHANGE -- AND THE GOF HOPED IT WOULD -- BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1. IF THE RPF IS ABLE TO FORM A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT, ONE WHICH INCLUDED RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDAN "MAJORITY," IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE UN TO ACT QUICKLY TO APPROVE ITS CREDENTIALS AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF RWANDA.

6. RIVASSEAU COUNSELLED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO GIVE A PREMATURE SIGNAL BEFORE KNOWING WHAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT ACTUALLY IS. IN THE HOPES OF EASING NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, THE GOF WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE BROADEST POSSIBLE REPRESENTATION WITHIN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, EXCLUDING, OF COURSE, THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE. THE QUAI OFFICIALS POINTED OUT THAT THE CREDENTIALS ISSUE PROVIDED LEVERAGE OVER THE RPF AND AN INCITEMENT TO ACT QUICKLY AND RESPONSIBLY IN FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT.

7. IF THIS APPROACH DOES NOT WORK, THE QUAI IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER WAYS OF "PERSUADING" THE CURRENT RWANDAN UN REPRESENTATION TO "STEP ASIDE" ON SEPTEMBER 1 IN FAVOR OF THE NEXT-SLATED SC PRESIDENCY. RIVASSEAU SAID THERE WERE PRECEDENTS FOR SUCH A MOVE. QUAI OFFICIALS DID NOT OFFER SPECIFIC IDEAS, HOWEVER, ON HOW THIS WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED.

AN INTRIGUING APPROACH

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8. ACTION REQUEST: RIVASSEAU FOUND THE U.S. APPROACH INTRIGUING AND ASKED WHETHER THERE IS ANY EXISTING PRECEDENT FOR USE OF A CHALLENGE TO CREDENTIALS TO DELEGITIMIZE A GOVERNMENT. IF SO, THE GOF WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION ON IT AND MIGHT BE PREPARED TO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 18878

DEPARTMENT PASS ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, UNSC, RW, FR

SUBJECT: FRENCH RESPONSE TO REPLACEMENT OF RWANDA ON - UNSC

RECONSIDER ITS POSITION IF ITS PREFERRED STRATEGY (FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1) PROVED UNWORKABLE. PLEASE ADVISE.

BOHLEN

BT

#8878

NNNN

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

SSN: 8878
<^SSN>8878

TOR: 940711140828 M1144086
<^TOR>940711140829 M1144087

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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Rwanda/Internal Stability.... (3 pages)	07/12/1994	P1/b(1)
~~002. cable~~	~~Possible Talker on Tunisian Back Pay for UN PKO Participation (2 pages)~~	~~07/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
003. cable	[Rwandan Patriotic Front] (2 pages)	07/12/1994	P1/b(1)
~~004. cable~~	~~RPF Activity... (2 pages)~~	~~07/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
005. cable	Security Developments... (3 pages)	07/12/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	07/13/1994	P1/b(1)
~~007. cable~~	~~Ambassador's Meeting with Prime Minister-Designate Twagiramungu in Kampala (4 pages)~~	~~07/14/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~Kengo: Intentions and Actions (4 pages)~~	~~07/14/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~009. cable~~	~~Written Communique from Rwandian Government in Gisenyi (3 pages)~~	~~07/14/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~010. cable~~	~~Non-recognition of Rwanda Interim Government (2 pages)~~	~~07/15/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~011. cable~~	~~Australia and UNAMIR... (2 pages)~~	~~07/15/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~012. cable~~	~~Demarche... (2 pages)~~	~~07/15/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[07/12/1994 - 07/19/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh140

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	Rwandan Patriotic Front (3 pages)	07/15/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	07/15/1994	P1/b(1)
~~015. cable~~	~~Ambassador Gnehm and NSC Official Halperin Call on High Commissioner for Human Rights (7 pages)~~	~~07/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~016. cable~~	~~Rwanda: War Crimes, Non-recognition, and APC's (2 pages)~~	~~07/18/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~017. cable~~	~~Non-recognition of Interim Government of Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~07/18/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
018. cable	[Foreign Relations] (3 pages)	07/19/1994	P1/b(1)
~~019. cable~~	~~Ethnic Disturbances... (3 pages)~~	~~07/19/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[07/12/1994 - 07/19/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh140

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 121426Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 121426Z JUL 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE 6783
INFO: ****
SUBJ: POSSIBLE TALKER ON TUNISIAN BACK PAY FOR UN PKO PARTICIPATION.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.44)
VR 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 185404
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW,
TS

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE TALKER ON TUNISIAN BACK PAY FOR UN PKO PARTICIPATION.

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOR A/S PELLETRAU'S POSSIBLE USE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH TUNISIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ON TUNISIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN UNAMIR AND UN NON-PAYMENT FOR TUNISIAN PARTICIPATION IN PKO'S IN CAMBODIA AND SOMALIA. THESE POINTS FOLLOW ISSUES DISCUSSED IN YOUR MEETING WITH DAS COOK.

-- USG FEELS IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE MATERIALLY SUPPORT UNAMIR, NOT ONLY DIPLOMATICALLY. FOR THIS REASON, WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE GOT FOR INCREASING THEIR TROOP COMMITMENT TO UNAMIR TO APPROXIMATELY 600 SOLDIERS. THESE TROOPS WILL PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN UNAMIR.

-- WHILE THE UN'S INABILITY TO REMAIN CURRENT ON REIMBURSEMENTS TO TROOP CONTRIBUTORS IS NOT A NEW ISSUE, WE ARE AWARE OF GOT CONCERNS ABOUT NON-PAYMENT FOR TROOP

SUPPORT FOR UN OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA AND CAMBODIA. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THIS TOPIC WITH THE UN. THEY CLAIM TO HAVE NO FUNDS AVAILABLE DUE TO UNPAID ARREARS AND THEREFORE ARE DEFERRING TROOP RE-PAYMENT COSTS.

-- HOWEVER, POTENTIALLY ALLEVIATING THE SITUATION MAY BE THE 140 MILLION USD FRANCE HAS GIVEN THE UN, AS WELL AS THE OVER 300 MILLION USD THAT THE USG HOPES TO GET APPROPRIATED BY THE END OF AUGUST.

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-- (IF ASKED) REGARDING GOT EQUIPMENT REQUESTS TO SUPPORT ITS TROOPS DESTINED FOR UNAMIR, GOT SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT AS A UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION, ANY REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE DIRECTED THROUGH THE UN ITSELF. THE UN WILL THEN CONTACT POTENTIAL EQUIPMENT DONORS, LIKELY TO INCLUDE THE USG.

-- GOT'S CONTRIBUTION OF TROOPS TO UNAMIR WILL NOT ONLY ENABLE THE UN TO PERFORM ITS MISSION IN RWANDA, BUT WILL SEND A POWERFUL SIGNAL THAT THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SUPPORTS THE OPERATION.

TALBOTT

BT

#5404

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5404

TOR: 940712103414 M1146032

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
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2011-0262-M-4 (4.46)
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1170
INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4063
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RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0771
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0842
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0020
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1113
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 1293
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0869
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0645
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0528
RUSNTCC/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: RPF ACTIVITY RUMORED IN BURUNDI
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BUJUMBURA 002368
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O: 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ASRC, BY
SUBJECT: RPF ACTIVITY RUMORED IN BURUNDI
REF: KAMPALA 05414
1. EMBASSY IS NOT AWARE OF RPF CONVOYS TRANSPORTING TUTSIS FROM BURUNDI TO RWANDA. REPORTS ELSEWHERE HAVE NOTED THAT SOME TUTSIS FROM BURUNDI HAVE RETURNED OR GONE TO RWANDA REPORTEDLY TO RPF CONTROLLED AREAS. IN ADDITION TO THE 80 TO 100,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES IN BURUNDI AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT FIGHTING IN RWANDA, THERE WERE ALREADY OVER 300,000 RWANDAN "REFUGEES" IN BURUNDI, SOME AS LONG AS 20 YEARS. THERE HAD BEEN REPORTS FOR WEEKS OF RWANDANS RETURNING TO THEIR COUNTRY, SOME IT IS SAID TO JOIN THE RPF.
2. THE TYPES OF KILLINGS DESCRIBED IN REFTEL AS "INDISCRIMINATE" HAVE NOT COME TO EMBASSY ATTENTION. AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, WE HAVE REPORTED ON THE CONTINUING AND SPORADIC VIOLENCE IN COUNTRY. NO SOURCES HERE HAVE RAISED THE SPECTRE RECENTLY OF KILLINGS ON THE SCALE IMPLIED IN REFTEL. EMBASSY WILL PURSUE THIS MATTER

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FURTHER WITH GRB OFFICIALS, HCR AND UNSGSR.
KRUEGER
BT
#2368
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2368

TOR: 940712132723 M1146358

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M-4 (4.49)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1007
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0349
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SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU IN KAMPALA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 005554
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR DALSIMER
E.(9. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU IN KAMPALA
REF: A) STATE 186121 B) BRUSSELS 7513
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU OUTLINED HIS THOUGHTS ON RWANDA'S FUTURE IN A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON JULY 13. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE RPF SHOULD INCLUDE "INNOCENT" MEMBERS OF THE MRND IN ITS DIALOGUE AND ALSO IN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE ARUSHA ACCORD. THE RPF COULD NOT EXCLUDE THE ARMY FROM TALKS, IF TRUE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IS TO SUCCEED. TWAGIRAMUNGU WOULD LIKE TO SEE UNAMIR'S ROLE STRENGTHENED UNDER A CHAPTER 7 MANDATE, AND HE SEES UGANDA AS HAVING A KEY ROLE IN NEGOTIATING WITH BOTH THE RPF AND A NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.
3. THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AT THE NILE HOTEL IN KAMPALA ON JULY 13. POLOFF SAT IN AS NOTETAKER. TWAGIRAMUNGU HAD MET WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI IN TANZANIA THE DAY BEFORE, AND WAS ABOUT TO

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LEAVE FOR MBARARA TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI THAT AFTERNOON. UNAMIR WILL SEND A PLANE TO PICK HIM UP ON JULY 14 TO GO TO KIGALI.

4. AMBASSADOR CARSON OPENED THE MEETING WITH A BRIEF REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD RWANDA, EMPHASIZING OUR HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, THE IMPORTANCE OF A CEASEFIRE AND THE RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE, AND OUR SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO BRING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS TO JUSTICE.

5. PM-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THOSE POINTS CLOSELY REFLECTED HIS OWN THINKING ON WHAT MUST BE DONE IN RWANDA. HE SAID RWANDANS MUST REACH NATIONAL RECONCILIATION THAT AVOIDS THE EXCLUSION OF SOME GROUPS AS HAD HAPPENED IN THE PAST. IN THE CURRENT SITUATION, RWANDA MUST ACCEPT POWER-SHARING; THE ONLY PEOPLE TO BE EXCLUDED SHOULD BE THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MASSACRES. ON THIS POINT, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) SHOULD BE NCOURAGED TO INCLUDE "INNOCENT" MEMBERS OF THE MRND IN ANY TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE RPF OPPOSES THE PARTICIPATION OF THE MRND PARTY, BUT, TWAGIRAMUNGU MAINTAINED, INDIVIDUALS FROM THE PARTY SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY POLITICAL DIALOGUE.

6. THE SECOND MAJOR ISSUE TWAGIRAMUNGU RAISED WAS THE ARMY. THE RPF MIGHT HOPE TO EXCLUDE THE ARMY THROUGH TOTAL VICTORY, BUT THAT WAS NOT/NOT POSSIBLE, HE SAID. TWAGIRAMUNGU WANTS TO DECLARE A CEASEFIRE AND BRING THE ARMY AND THE RPF TO SIT TOGETHER AND DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF THE MILITARY. "PEOPLE ARE RUNNING AWAY FROM RWANDA," HE SAID. THE PEOPLE NEED TO SEE A STABLE GOVERNMENT AND BE REASSURED THAT THERE WILL BE RECONCILIATION. MAXIMUM SECURITY FOR THE POPULATION IS NEEDED SO THAT THE THOUSANDS OF DISPLACED PEOPLE CAN RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. TWAGIRAMUNGU STRESSED THAT RWANDA MUST BEGIN WITH THE ARUSHA ACCORD OF AUGUST 1993, WHICH ALLOWS FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE, AND WORK TOWARD RECONCILIATION TO END THE CYCLES OF CONFLICT THAT HAVE PLAGUED THE NATION SINCE 1959.

7. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT DEMOCRACY, A STRONG CONSTITUTION, AND A COURT SYSTEM THAT GUARANTEES EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW WOULD BE THE BEST INSTITUTIONS TO PROTECT THE POPULATION OF RWANDA, INCLUDING MINORITY POPULATIONS. HE CITED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAWS IN THE U.S. THAT PROTECT PEOPLE IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, RELIGION OR ETHNICITY, MAKING ALL AMERICANS EQUAL UNDER THE LAW. TWAGIRAMUNGU AGREED THAT THE RULE OF LAW IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. HE ADDED THAT RWANDA WOULD NEED U.S. LEADERSHIP AND HELP IN TEACHING RWANDANS WHAT TRUE DEMOCRACY IS.

8. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE HAD MET WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVES

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KAMPALA 005554

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR DALSIMER
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU IN KAMPALA

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IN BRUSSELS, INCLUDING SECRETARY GENERAL RUDASINGWA. HE BELIEVES THE RPF SENSES TOTAL MILITARY VICTORY AND WANTS THE PRESIDENCY. THE RPF IS EVEN TALKING ABOUT CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE OR SETH SENDASHONGA AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, OR EVEN GENERAL KAGAME. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID IT WOULD BE BETTER TO CHOOSE A PRESIDENT WITH BROADER CREDIBILITY, FROM "AMONG THE INNOCENT." THIS WOULD BE A STICKY POINT, HE ADMITTED, SINCE ARUSHA HAD LEFT HABYARIMANA IN PLACE AS PRESIDENT THROUGH THE TRANSITION; THE ISSUE WOULD NOW HAVE TO BE RE-NEGOTIATED.

9. TWAGIRAMUNGU SPOKE HIGHLY OF GENERAL DALLAIRE AND THE ROLE OF UNAMIR. UNFORTUNATELY, THE POLITICAL APPOINTEES OF THE U.N. WERE NOT AS CAPABLE AS THE GENERAL, HE ASSERTED, AND UNAMIR HAD SUFFERED FROM A GAP IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING. HE ADVOCATED A STRONGER ROLE FOR UNAMIR, UNDER U.N. CHAPTER 7 RATHER THAN CHAPTER 6, WHERE THE TROOPS WILL BE ABLE TO ACT IN DEFENSE OF THE POPULATIOAN. THE ROLE OF UNAMIR NEEDS TO BE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED TO TAKE OVER FROM THE FRENCH TROOPS AND TO BE DEFINED UNDER CHAPTER 7, HE SAID.

10. TWAGIRAMUNGU PRAISED UNAMIR FOR ITS PROTECTION OF HIM DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF THE CRISIS IN APRIL, WHEN UNAMIR TROOPS SHELTERED HIM AT THEIR BARRACKS. TWAGIRAMUNGU SEEKS UNAMIR'S PROTECTION OF HIS SECURITY UPON HIS RETURN TO KIGALI. (FOLLOWING THIS CONVERSATION, WE PHONED GENERAL DALLAIRE IN KIGALI. DALLAIRE SAID UNAMIR HAD MADE FULL ARRANGEMENTS FOR TWAGIRAMUNGU'S ARRIVAL IN KIGALI, INCLUDING HIS FLIGHT FROM KAMPALA ON JULY 14, AND UNAMIR WOULD LOOK AFTER HIS SECURITY.)

11. UGANDA HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN RWANDA AS WELL, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID. PAUL KAGAME RESPECTS MUSEVENI AND WILL LISTEN TO HIM. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID UGANDA SHOULD PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN WORKING WITH THE RPF AND WITH THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IN THE DAYS AHEAD. IN HIS MEETING WITH MUSEVENI THAT AFTERNOON, HE PLANNED TO RAISE THIS POINT.

12. ON A CEASEFIRE, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE WOULD PREFER AN IMMEDIATE DECLARATION OF CEASEFIRE AND THEN THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT, BUT THE RPF SEEMED TO WANT THE TWO IN THE OTHER ORDER. THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONES WERE GOOD, BUT THE CRIMINALS SEEM TO BE SEEKING REFUGE THERE AS WELL AS HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE. TWAGIRAMUNGU HAS NO DESIRE TO BE PRIME MINISTER OF AN EMPTY COUNTRY. PEOPLE NEED TO HAVE TRUST IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, HE STATED. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU'S OWN RETURN COULD SERVE AS ONE STEP IN RENEWED CONFIDENCE BUILDING IN RWANDA.

13. COMMENT. TWAGIRAMUNGU'S THINKING APPEARS TO BE EVOLVING, FROM HIS COMMENTS TO AMBASSADOR RAWSON (REF A) TO THE REMARKS HE MADE TO US. HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR THIS MEETING AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS RWANDA'S FUTURE. HE SEEMED SOLEMN IN HIS CONTEMPLATION OF THE WORK THAT LIES AHEAD FOR HIM. IT IS CLEAR FROM HIS REMARKS TO US THAT HE IS NOT A

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CREATURE OF THE RPF AND THAT HIS IDEAS ON HOW TO FORGE RECONCILIATION ARE NOT IDENTICAL TO THOSE OF THE RPF LEADERSHIP. TWAGIRAMUNGU APPEARS, HOWEVER, TO BE A REAL MODERATE WHO IS INTERESTED IN ENDING THE VIOLENCE AND BEGINNING A PERIOD OF GENUINE RECONCILIATION LEADING TO SOME TYPE OF DEMOCRATIC REGIME. HE WILL NEED ALL HIS POLITICAL SKILLS TO WORK THROUGH THE POLITICAL THICKET HE NOW ENTERS AS THE FIGHTING STOPS AND THE TALKING BEGINS.

14. COMMENT, CONT. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO THINK ABOUT POSITIONING AMBASSADOR RAWSON CLOSER TO THE SCENE OF ACTION TO DIALOGUE WITH ALL THE CONTENDING POLITICAL FACTIONS. MUSEVENI WILL CONTINUE TO BE NEEDED TO LEAN ON THE RPF TO ENCOURAGE KAGAME TO DO THE RIGHT THINGS AND NOT TO PUSH THE HUTU MODERATES TOO FAR. END COMMENT.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 KAMPALA 005554

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR DALSIMER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RW, UG

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU IN KAMPALA

15. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CARSON

BT

#5554

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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SSN: 5554
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RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: KENGO: INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 KINSHASA 04005
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EFIN, EAID, CG
SUBJECT: KENGO: INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS
REF: STATE 186809

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT

2. PRIME MINISTER KENGO ATTENDED A SMALLISH DINNER JULY 13 AT THE SWISS AMBASSADOR'S (BUT ORGANIZED BY ZAIRIAN BUSINESSMAN/PROMOTOR AUGUSTINE DOKOLO SANU) WHICH I ATTENDED WITH MY BELGIAN AND FRENCH COLLEAGUES. HIS FIRST WORDS TO ME WERE TO EXPRESS GRATITUDE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S LETTER (REFTEL) WHICH HE HAD JUST RECEIVED. KENGO INTERPRETS THE LETTER AS ONE OF CONGRATULATIONS ON BEHALF OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. HE IS ALSO WELL AWARE OF OUR PRESS COMMUNIQUE (AND THOSE OF THE BELGIANS AND FRENCH) AND REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO VARIOUS PARTS OF ALL THREE MESSAGES--ACTIONS RATHER THAN INTENTIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS, INDEPENDENCE OF CENTRAL BANK (SEE SUBSEQUENT PARAS).

CONFRONTATION AT TSHISEKEDI'S RESIDENCE: RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

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3. WHEN KENGO ARRIVED, THE SWISS AND HIS ZAIRIAN CO-HOST, DOKOLO SANU, WERE IN ANIMATED DISCUSSION OF MONDAY'S CONFRONTATION AT TSHISEKEDI'S LIMETE RESIDENCE AND HOW THE OPPOSITION ALLEGATIONS HAD BEEN BROADCAST AROUND THE WORLD MORE OR LESS AS FACT. THEY WERE BOTH LAMENTING
THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAD NOT AT LEAST EXPRESSED REGRET OVER THE INCIDENT WHEREVER FAULT MIGHT LAY. WITH STERN DEMEANOR, KENGO FORCEFULLY SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE THREE POINTS. FIRST HE TOOK SERIOUSLY THE ADMONITION IN ALL THREE TROIKA PARTNERS DECLARATIONS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE

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OF THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AS ONE OF THE AREAS ON WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE JUDGED. IN THAT REGARD, HE SAID, RESPECT ALSO NEEDED TO BE OBSERVED BY POLITICAL MILITANTS. SPECIFICALLY TSHISEKEDI'S PEOPLE COULD NOT (AS THEY HAVE LONG DONE) BARRICADE OFF THE STREETS OF LIMETE AND PREVENT PRIVATE OR PUBLIC ACCESS TO THEM (AS IMPLICITLY HAD BEEN THE CASE OF THE THREE CIVIL GUARDS WHOSE PRESENCE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD APPARENTLY PRECIPITATED THE EVENTS). KENGO ASKED THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR IF HE COULD HELP GET THIS MESSAGE ACROSS SINCE HIS EMBASSY SEEMED TO HAVE GOOD ACCESS TO LIMETE. SECONDLY, KENGO SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO PROVIDE PROTECTION TO TSHISEKEDI, KIBASSA OR OTHERS OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT WHO MIGHT FEEL THREATENED. AS HE HAD SAID IN HIS INVESTITURE SPEECH, CLEARING THE CLIMATE OF INSECURITY FROM UNDISCIPLINED MILITARY ELEMENTS WAS A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE. FINALLY, WITHOUT PRE-JUDGING THE FINDINGS, HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE A STATEMENT FRIDAY ON ITS INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED BY VICE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE KAMANDA WA KAMANDA. IF MILITARY ELEMENTS WERE AT FAULT THERE WOULD BE COURTS MARTIAL. LIKEWISE IF UDPS MILITANTS WERE AT FAULT, THERE WOULD BE JUDICIAL PROCESS AGAINST THEM TOO.

FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO STATE MEDIA

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4. IN THE INTENTIONS TO BE FULFILLED BY ACTIONS CATEGORY, KENGO ALSO INFORMED US THAT THERE WOULD BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT FRIDAY (PRESUMABLY AFTER THE REGULAR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING) THAT THE STATE-RUN TELEVISION AND RADIO WOULD HENCEFORTH BE OPEN TO ZAIRIANS OF ALL POLITICAL TENDENCIES WITHIN THE RULES OF DECENCY AND GOOD BEHAVIOR. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE LEGISLATION INSTITUTING AN OVERSIGHT BOARD (MORE OR LESS ON THE FRENCH MODEL) AS MANDATED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE WOULD BE ENACTED.

ELECTIONS

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5. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID HE WAS COMMITTED TO THE TRANSACTION ACT SCHEDULE FOR EELECTIONS TO BE HELD WITHIN TWELVE MONTHS. IT WOULD BE A HARD DEADLINE TO MEET. AN INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION WOULD HAVE TO

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 KINSHASA 04005

CINCEUR FOR POLAD
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EFIN, EAID, CG
SUBJECT: KENGO: INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS

BE CREATED; A CONSTITUTION DRAFTED; PLEBISCITE HELD ON THAT CONSTITUTION; DECISIONS ON WHETHER TO HAVE SIMULTANEOUS OR PROGRESSIVE ELECTIONS; AND, BEFORE ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD, THE NECESSITY OF A CENSUS. WHILE KENGO THOUGHT IT WOULD TAKE A YEAR TO GET THE CENSUS DONE (AND WOULD REQUIRE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD) HE ALSO THOUGHT A CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM COULD BE UNDERTAKEN BEFORE THE CENSUS WAS COMPLETED. COMMENT: IMPLICIT IN KENGO'S COMMENTS WERE THAT IT WOULD TAKE A MIRACLE, OR MORE PROBABLY A SERIES THEREOF, TO MEET THE ONE YEAR ELECTORAL CALENDAR.

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INDEPENDENCE OF THE BANK OF ZAIRE
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6. HE WAS, HOWEVER, CONSIDERABLY MORE POSITIVE ON HIS COMMITMENT TO SEE AN INDEPENDENT BANK OF ZAIRE ESTABLISHED--INDEPENDENT OF MOBUTU AND INDEPENDENT OF HIS OWN GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD BE DONE WITHIN A MONTH. IF HE WAS STALEMATED IN HIS EFFORTS (BY GBADOLITE), HE WOULD RESIGN. KENGO ALSO SPOKE OF AN INDEPENDENT AUDIT OF STATE FINANCES AND DID NOT DENY AT HIS HOST'S DINNER TABLE THAT A NEUTRAL SWISS FIRM MIGHT BE IDEAL IN THISD REGARD.

EXTERNAL AID
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7. KENGO DID NOT SPECIFICALLY ASK THE MEMBERS OF THE TROIKA FOR AID, BUT HE WILL. HE NOTED AGAIN THE JANUARY 1993 TROIKA DEMARCHE WITH ITS CRITERIA FOR RENEWAL OF ASSISTANCE. HE NOTED PLEDGES OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND REMARKED THAT AMONG POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FUNDS WHICH HE THOUGHT COULD BECOME AVAILABLE RATHER RAPIDLY WERE BLOCKED COUNTERPART FUND ACCOUNTS. (COMMENT: WITH THE CLOSEOUT OF THE USAID MISSION TWO WEEKS AGO, I WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED OF THE AMOUNTS AND CATEGGORIES OF ANY SUCH FUNDS UNDER OUR CONTROL. THIS IS A REQUEST FOR INFORMATION AND NOT A RECOMMENDATION TO FREE UP FUNDS! END COMMENT.)

RWANDA REFUGEES
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7. KENGO ANNOUNCED AT DINNER THAT HE HAD JUST BEEN ADVISED BY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR THAT "GISENYI WAS READY TO FALL" AND THAT REFUGEES WERE FLOODING INTO GOMA BY THE THOUSANDS. THIS WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ADDED BURDENS ON HIS GOVERNMENT IN TRYING TO SET THINGS ON A BETTER COURSE. (IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY, HE SAID THAT THE PROVISIONAL RWANDA GOVERNMENT HAD NOT/NOT RETREATED TO GOMA. COMMENT: AN AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN CONFIRMS THE MASSIVE INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO GOMA--REPORTED AT A RATE OF TEN THOUSAND PER HOUR BY THE VOA AND RFI)

BIRINDWA APPOINTEES HAUL AWAY WHATEVER THEY CAN CARRY
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8. RETIRING MEMBERS OF BIRINDWA'S GOVERNMENT ALLEGEDLY HAVE ADOPTED THE SCORCHED MINISTRY POLICY TYPICAL OF LONG ESTABLISHED ZAIRIAN PRACTICE. KENGO SAYS THE PRIME MINISTER'S RESIDENCE WAS LOOTED AND UNLIVABLE (BUT MAKING IT HABITABLE WAS NOT ONE OF HIS IMMEDIATE PRIORITIES). MINISTER OF PLAN KIAKWAMA, WHO WAS ALSO IN ATTENDANCE, SAID THAT EVERYTHING FROM TELEPHONE SWITCHBOARDS THROUGH COMPUTERS, AIR CONDITIONERS AND OFFICE CHAIRS HAD BEEN LOOTED FROM HIS MINISTRY, MUCH OF IT DURING THE 48 HOURS AFTER HIS REMISE-REPRISE CEREMONY WHEN HE AND THE OTHER MINISTERS WERE PARTICIPATING IN HCR-PT PROCEEDINGS ANTECEDENT TO INVESTITURE.
9. COMMENT: THE FOREGOING IS MORE A SNAPSHOT OF LESS THAN COHESIVE DINNER TABLE CONVERSATION, THAN ANY COHERENT PRESENTATION BY KENGO AND SHOULD BE READ AS

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SUCH. WE, OF COURSE, KNOW THE PRIME MINISTER WELL AND HAVE CONSIDERABLE REGARD FOR HIS REPUTATION AS AN INTELLIGENT, TOUGH ADMINISTRATOR. AT TIMES HE SEEMED
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 KINSHASA 04005
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EFIN, EAID, CG
SUBJECT: KENGO: INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS
QUITE IMPERIOUS IN HIS DECLARATIONS. CERTAINLY HE UNDERSTANDS TROIKA ATTITUDES ON HIS NEED TO PRODUCE. HE EQUALLY UNDERSTANDS THAT THE FRENCH ARE CLEARLY MORE ACCOMMODATING, THE BELGIANS ONLY GRUDGINGLY RECEPTIVE AND THAT WE ARE SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN. MY SENSE IS THAT HE ACCEPTS OUR DECLARATION AS AN HONEST CHALLENGE AND ACCEPTS OUR OFFICIAL CONGRATULATIONS AS A WILLINGNESS TO GIVE HIM A CHANCE. HE WILL BE GRATEFUL FOR ANY FUTURE EVIDENCES OF SUPPORT NO MATTER HOW SMALL, BUT BEFORE LONG WILL CLEARLY BE LOOKING FOR MORE TANGIBLE ASSISTANCE.
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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INFO: ****
SUBJ: WRITTEN COMMUNIQUE FROM RWANDIAN GOVERNMENT IN GISENYI

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 188699
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV PREL
SUBJECT: WRITTEN COMMUNIQUE FROM RWANDIAN GOVERNMENT IN GISENYI

(U) 1. RWANDAN AMBASSADOR UWIMANA PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING TEXT TO AMBASSADOR RAWSON ON JULY 12. ACCORDING TO UWIMANA, THE "INTERIM GOVERNMENT" WANTED THREE THINGS: A CEASEFIRE, AN INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CRIMES BY INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL COMPROMISE THAT INCLUDE ALL POLITICAL ELEMENTS IN THE PROCESS. SINCE THE US GOVERNMENT IS ANNOUNCING A POLICY OF NONRECOGNITION ON JULY 14, THIS WILL BE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S LAST MESSAGE AND ITS EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON.

(U) 2. BEGIN TEXT:

THE NEW POLITICAL SPIRIT OF THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT

1. PRINCIPLES:

THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION SHOWS CLEARLY THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF EXCLUSION FROM POWER HAS SUSTAINED AND CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THE CONFLICTS THAT HAVE MARKED THE HISTORY OF RWANDA.

THE NEW SPIRIT DEMANDS THAT THIS PRINCIPLE OF EXCLUSION MUST BE BANISHED ONCE AND FOR ALL AND MUST BE REPLACED BY A PRINCIPLE OF POWER SHARING THAT REASSURES THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF RWANDAN

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SOCIETY AND SAFEGUARDS THE COMMON GOOD.

TO SAFEGUARD THIS COMMON GOOD, THERE ARE CERTAIN VALUES THAT MUST HAVE PRIORITY.

THESE VALUES HINGE AROUND MORAL AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY. THIS IMPLIES THAT THE CRITERIA OF PARTICIPATION IN POWER MUST BE DETERMINED AND REQUIRED FROM ALL RWANDANS WHO ASPIRE TO THE EXERCISE OF POWER.

IN THIS SPIRIT, ACCESS TO PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITIES MUST NO LONGER BE BASED ON:

ETHNICITY
REGION
NEPOTISM
PARTISANSHIP AND FAVORITISM

FOR ACCESS TO POWER, THE NEW SPIRIT REQUIRES COMPETENCE, PUBLIC MORALITY, PATRIOTISM AND A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. ALL CANDIDATES, FROM WHATEVER PARTY THEY MAY COME, MUST BE SUBJECT TO THESE CRITERIA. HENCE FORTH, THE PAST OF CANDIDATES TO (POSITIONS OF) HIGH RESPONSIBILITY MUST BE OBJECTIVELY EXAMINED. TO REMAIN IN THE LIMITS OF THESE CRITERIA, CAUTION MUST BE TAKEN TO AVOID ANY INTERFERENCE BY ANY OF THE PARTIES IN THE DESIGNATION OF CANDIDATES. THIS IS, MOREOVER, THE SPIRIT THAT IS CONSECRATED IN THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF PARTIES IN THIS MATTER MUST BE RESPECTED BY ALL.

2. COMPROMISE:

ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-EXCLUSION IN SHARING OF POWER, THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT (THE REMAINDER OF THIS SENTENCE WAS BLURRED.)

TO AFFIRM CREDIBILITY IN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION, THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AGREES TO HONOR THE PRINCIPLE OF MORAL AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY IN ITS CANDIDATES. IT ASKS OTHER PARTIES TO DO THE SAME.

THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IS ALWAYS READY TO ACCEPT CONDUCT OF AN INVESTIGATION TO IDENTIFY AND BRING TO JUSTICE THE AUTHORS OF THE PRESENT RWANDAN TRAGEDY. THESE INVESTIGATIONS MUST BE IMPARTIAL AND PURSUED IN THE TWO CAMPS.

GISENYI, JULY 11, 1994

END OF TEXT.

3. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZED CONSIDERED.

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#8699
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 8699
TOR: 940714174707 M1151322
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-6262-M-4 (4.52)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA9080 1960146-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 150139Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 150139Z JUL 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 9116
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7246
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1916
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 5602
INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 9553
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0208
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0478
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 4739
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2407
SUBJ: NON-RECOGNITION OF RWANDA INTERIM GOVERNMENT

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 189080
ADDIS FOR OAU
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, US
SUBJECT: NON-RECOGNITION OF RWANDA INTERIM GOVERNMENT

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO CONVEY THAT THE U.S. WILL IMMINENTLY ANNOUNCE THAT WE RECOGNIZE NO GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA AND DO NOT CONSIDER THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA (IGOR) AS THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA.

2. BEGIN TALKING POINTS:

FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA THE USG DE-EMPHASIZED RECOGNITION ISSUES.

OVER THE PAST THREE MONTHS, THE RPF HAS STEADILY PUSHED BACK IGOR FORCES, WHICH NOW HOLD ONLY ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF THE COUNTRY'S TERRITORY. THE RPF HAS TAKEN CONTROL OF KIGALI AND BUTARE. THE ANARCHY PREVALENT IN THE IGOR-ZONE INDICATES THAT THE IGOR HAS ONLY LIMITED CONTROL OVER THE LIMITED TERRITORY IT PURFORTS TO HOLD. THE JUNE 28 REPORT OF THE UNHRC SPECIAL RIGHTS RAPPORTEUR FOR RWANDA CONCLUDED THAT THE IGOR BEARS RESPONSIBILITY FOR HAVING

SUPPORTED MASSACRES AND FOR REFUSING TO TAKE STEPS TO PREVENT WHAT THE SPECIA RAPPORTEUR CHARACTERIZED AS GENOCIDE

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EVENTS MAKE CLEAR THAT THERE IS NO FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA AT THIS TIME. THEREFORE THE U.S. DOES NOT RECOGNIZE ANY GOVERNMENT IN THAT COUNTRY. WE INTEND OUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS FACT TO SEND A FORCEFUL POLITICAL AND MORAL STATEMENT OF OUR DISAPPROVAL OF THE IGOR.

OUR ANNOUNCEMENT WILL PUBLICLY DECLARE THAT NO GOVERNMENT EXISTS AT THIS TIME AND WILL CALL FOR ALL RWANDAN POLITICAL PARTIES TO MEET AND BEGIN TALKS ON INSTALLING THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITION GOVERNMENT PROVIDED FOR IN THE ARUSHA ACCORD .

WE WILL REQUIRE FOR THE PRESENT THE CESSATION OF RWANDA'S DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON AND THE WITHDRAW L OF MISSION PERSONNEL. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#9080
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 9080
TOR: 940714215425 M1151705
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (2.53)
VL 10/20/2013

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHBYA3909 1960719-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 150718Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
OSRI: RUEHBY
DTG: 150718Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5204
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0633
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0232
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0004
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0054
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 0140
RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 4441
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 2020
SUBJ: AUSTRALIA AND UNAMIR: LEASE OF APCS TO BE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ CANBERRA 03909
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, PHUM, MARR, RW, UN, AS
SUBJECT: AUSTRALIA AND UNAMIR: LEASE OF APCS TO BE
. CONSIDERED; MEDICAL ASSISTANCE LIKELY
REF: A. STATE 188264; B. CANBERRA 3666
1. ~~C~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AUSTRALIA HAS M-113 APCS, BUT THEIR AVAILABILITY FOR LEASE TO UNAMIR IN RWANDA (AS REQUESTED REFTEL) IS NOT CLEAR, ACCORDING TO HUGH WHITE, FIRST ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY, AUSTRALIAN DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (ADOD); DAVID STUART, DIRECTOR FOR U.N. AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE (DFAT); AND DAVID HEGARTY, DIRECTOR FOR DEFENSE POLICY, DFAT. WHITE SAID ADOD HAS A "PROGRAM RUNNING" INVOLVING ITS APCS, SO THERE IS A QUESTION ABOUT AVAILABILITY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOA SHARES THE "CONCERNS AND MOTIVES" FOR THE USG REQUEST AND WILL LOOK AT HOW BEST TO HELP. WHITE PROMISED TO HAVE A RESPONSE BY EARLY NEXT WEEK.
3. WHITE NOTED THAT THE GOA HAS BEEN UNDERGOING A "PROTRACTED PROCESS" CONCERNING HOW TO CONTRIBUTE TO UNAMIR, AND MINISTERS CONCLUDED THAT PROVISION OF A "SUBSTANTIAL MEDICAL UNIT" PLUS PROTECTIVE INFANTRY MIGHT BE MOST APPROPRIATE. BEFORE COMMITTING, HOWEVER, THE MINISTERS INSISTED THAT A FACT-FINDING TEAM LOOK AT THE CONDITION ON THE GROUND (REF B). THE GOA TEAM VISITED RWANDA AND NEW YORK AND HAS JUST RETURNED TO AUSTRALIA. WHITE IS "REASONABLY POSITIVE" THAT THE MEDICAL-TEAM CONCEPT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED, THOUGH SOME

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

QUESTIONS REMAIN. HE PREDICTED THAT DEFENSE MINISTER ROBERT RAY AND FOREIGN MINISTER GARETH EVANS WILL MAKE A RECOMMENDATION TO CABINET SHORTLY AND THAT A FIRM DECISION WILL BE MADE WITHIN A COUPLE OF WEEKS.

4. DFAT'S STUART WAS RATHER NEGATIVE ABOUT THE PROSPECT FOR LEASING APCS, POINTING OUT THAT, WHEN THE U.N. SOME WEEKS AGO ASKED THE GOA TO LEASE APCS, ADOD SAID, "NO, THERE AREN'T ENOUGH TO SEND TO RWANDA." AT THAT TIME, THE VIEW WAS THAT APCS WOULD BE SENT ONLY IF AN AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENT TO RWANDA WOULD USE THEM STUART NOTED THAT, IN THE INTERVENING WEEKS, THE DISPOSITION OF BOTH THE USG AND GOA TO BE INVOLVED HAS BECOME CLEARER; BUT HE PREDICTED THE GOA RESPONSE IS STILL LIKELY TO BE NEGATIVE. HE CRYPTICALLY MENTIONED "LOGISTICAL QUESTIONS" AND QUERIED HOW REPORTED U.N. CASH SHORTFALLS WOULD IMPACT ON A LEASING OPERATION. WE SUGGESTED THAT LOGISTICAL AND LEASING DETAILS WOULD NEED TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE GOA AND U.N.

5. DFAT'S HEGARTY WAS LESS NEGATIVE THAN STUART, CONTEMPLATING ALOUD THAT A LEASE OF APCS COULD BE A SOMEWHAT ATTRACTIVE WAY TO CONTRIBUTE TO UNAMIR, SINCE IT WOULDN'T INVOLVE PERSONNEL.

COMMENT

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6. WHILE THE GOA APPARENTLY REJECTED LEASING APCS FOR UNAMIR WHEN THE U.N. FIRST RAISED THE POSSIBILITY, WE RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT RECENT MINISTERIAL INTEREST IN MAKING SOME MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTION(S) WILL CAUSE A CAREFUL RECONSIDERATION. THE RESULT MAY STILL BE "NO," BUT THERE IS AT LEAST SOME CHANCE OF A POSITIVE RESPONSE. WE WILL KEEP ADDRESSEES INFORMED.

PERKINS

BT

#3909

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3909

TOR: 940715045020 M1152093

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.54)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA5606 1961342-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 151342Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 151342Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1016
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4198
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0039
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE 1054
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 5993
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2591
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0461
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0352
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0793
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2042
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO UGANDA ON RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 005606
AF FOR DAS BRYNN FROM THE AMBASSADOR
AF/C FOR AMB. RAWSON, AMB. RENDER, AF/C DEPUTY DIRECTOR FENDRICK
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR DALSIMER
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO UGANDA ON RWANDA
REF: BRYNN - SHIPPY TELCON
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AFTER RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS TO DEMARCHE THE UGANDANS TO URGE THE RPF TO STOP THEIR OFFENSIVE, I MET LATE JULY 14 WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PAUL SSEMOGERERE, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AGARD DIDI, AND MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS KIRUNDA KIVEJINJA. SPEAKING INDIVIDUALLY WITH EACH OF THE MINISTERS, I REPORTED THE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING MILITARY SITUATION IN WESTERN RWANDA, THE DELUGE OF HUTU REFUGEES POURING INTO ZAIRE, THE GROWING INABILITY OF THE NGO'S AND INTERNATIONAL AID AGENCIES TO COPE AND THE INCREASING FRUSTRATIONS OF THE FRENCH AND MOBUTU. I CALLED UPON ALL THREE MINISTERS TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE RPF AND TO URGE RPF LEADERS TO ENTER INTO AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, I TOLD THEM TO CONTACT PRESIDENT MUSEVENI AND ASK HIM TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH RPF LEADER KIGAME TO STOP THE CURRENT FIGHTING THAT IS LEADING TO NEAR BIBICAL EXODUS OF PEOPLE FROM RWANDA. (COMMENT: AT THE CONCLUSION OF BASTILLE DAY CELEBRATIONS HERE, THE

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FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN MY PRESENCE, RAKED MINISTER OF STATE KIVEJINJA OVER THE COALS IN AN EFFORT TO GET HIM TO INTERCEDE WITH THE RPF. END COMMENT.)

3. FOLLOWING MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE THREE MINISTERS, I TELEPHONED THE PRESIDENT'S FARM IN RAKATURA (NEAR MBABARA) LATE THURSDAY EVENING AND ASKED TO SPEAK WITH HIM URGENTLY. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI WAS STILL IN MBABARA MAKING A SPEECH, BUT I SPOKE WITH HIS WIFE AND STRESSED TO HER THE NEED TO HAVE MUSEVENI CALL ME FRIDAY MORNING AT THE LATEST.

4. COMMENT: I HAVE LET THE UGANDANS IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY KNOW OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE SITUATION ALONG THE ZAIRE/RWANDA BORDER. HOWEVER, MUSEVENI IS THE KEY TO KIGAME AND UGANDA'S RWANDA POLICY. I WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO REACH MUSEVENI VIA PHONE TO LET HIM KNOW THE URGENCY AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR CONCERNS. IT APPEARS MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE IS DOING THE SAME.

5. MIMINIZE CONSIDERED. CARSON

BT

#5606

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5606

TOR: 940715095305 M1152710

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.57)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA2939 1970052-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 160052Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 160052Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7769
INFO: RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
RUEHUB/USINT HAVANA 0169
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0334
RUEHPU/AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE 0084
RUEHGT/AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA 0223
RUEHOO/CHINA COLLECTIVE
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5440
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR GNEHM AND NSC OFFICIAL HALPERIN
CALL ON HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002939
WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC: DR. HALPERIN
E.0.12356: DECL 12/31/99
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, CU, CH, BM, GT, HA, RW
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR GNEHM AND NSC OFFICIAL HALPERIN
CALL ON HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
REF: A) STATE 187388; B) GENEVA 6166
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR GNEHM AND NSC OFFICIAL HALPERIN DISCUSSED A WIDE RANGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WITH HCHR AYALA LASSO DURING THE HCHR'S SHORT TRIP TO NEW YORK. THE HCHR CONFIRMED HE IS CONTEMPLATING A VISIT TO CUBA, BUT IS NOT GOING TO ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE USED BY THE CASTRO REGIME: HE WILL INSIST ON PROGRESS OR HE WON'T GO. HE HOPES TO VISIT CHINA, OR RECEIVE THE CHINESE VICE PRIME MINISTER, BUT IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT SHORT TERM RESULTS ON MYANMAR. HE BELIEVES HIS ACTIONS ON RWANDA SET A VALUABLE PRECEDENT FOR HIS OFFICE. AMBASSADOR GNEHM ASSURED THE HCHR OF USG SUPPORT FOR HIS PERSONNEL AND BUDGET REQUESTS, AND DISCUSSED PRIVATELY WITH HIM HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER DIRECTOR FALL. AYALA WANTS TO DIND A LOGICAL PLACE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS WHEN APPROPRIATE IN SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIVITIES. AYALA WAS IMPRESSIVE IN HIS APPROACH TO THE ISSUES, AND VERY OPEN TO AND APPRECIATIVE OF U.S. IDEAS AND SUPPORT. SEE PARA 28 FOR ACTION REQUEST. END SUMMARY.
3. AMBASSADOR GNEHM, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR DEMOCRACY AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HALPERIN, ECOSOC MIN-COUNSELLOR BLANEY, AND USUN HUMAN RIGHTS OFF CALLED ON HIGH COMMMISSIONER

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FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (HCHR) JOSE AYALA LASSO JULY 14. THE HCHR IS IN NEW YORK FOR TWO DAYS ONLY TO SPEAK TO ECOSOC, CONSULT WITH SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS, REGIONAL GROUPS, AND INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS. HE DEPARTS SATURDAY FOR ASIA, WHERE HE WILL VISIT THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, JAPAN, CAMBODIA, BHUTAN, AND NEPAL. HE RETURNS TO GENEVA AUGUST 2.

4. THE AMBASSADOR BEGAN BY NOTING THE HIGH REGARD HE HAS FOR AYALA LASSO BASED ON REPORTS OF HIS ACTIVITIES AS ECUADOR'S REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHEN HE (GNEHM) WAS AMBASSADOR TO KUWAIT DURING THE GULF WAR. HE THEN REPORTED THAT USUN HAD FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN CLARIFYING TO SOME EXTENT PART OF THE HCHR'S DIFFICULTY IN RECRUITING PERSONNEL. AT USDEL URGING, THE CONTROLLER HAD STATED DURING 5TH COMMITTEE CONSULTATIONS THAT THE HCHR HAS AUTHORITY TO HIRE THE PERSONNEL RECOMMENDED IN THE SYG'S REPORT TO THE GA LAST DECEMBER, I.E., THREE PROFESSIONAL AND TWO GS POSTS.

5. AYALA RESPONDED THAT HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR THIS NEWS, AND LAMENTED THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM THE SECRETARIAT. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE COULD DRAW ON THE CENTER'S BUDGET AND STAFF IN THE INTERIM, BUT KNEW THAT THIS PRACTICE WAS BAD MANAGEMENT, EVEN THOUGH HE WAS OVERALL HEAD OF THE CENTER. AMBASSADOR GNEHM ALSO INFORMED THE HCHR THAT THE USG WILL SUPPORT HIS REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDING (REF A).

RWANDA

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6. DR. HALPERIN REITERATED STRONG USG DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE HCHR, CITING USG APPRECIATION FOR THE ACTIVE ROLE HE HAS BEEN PLAYING ON RWANDA. HE SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER HUMAN RIGHTS, EVEN WHEN OTHER CONCERNS SUCH AS HUMANTARIAN SITUATIONS CLAMOR FOR ATTENTION, AS IN RWANDA. THE INITIATIVE THE HCHR TOOK IS VERY IMPORTANT AND THE USG HOPES IT SETS A PRECEDENT.

7. AYALA RESPONDED THAT HE ACTED FOR TWO REASONS IN RWANDA:

- TO SET A PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE ACTIONS BY HIS OFFICE; RWANDA PRESENTED A SITUATION WHERE NO ONE COULD OBJECT;
- TO DEMONSTRATE THAT, EVEN THOUGH THE HCHR IS NOT SUPPOSED TO BE POLITICAL, HUMAN RIGHTS WERE BEING VIOLATED IN SUCH AN ATROCIOUS WAY THAT THERE COULD BE A MORAL IMPERATIVE TO ACT.

HE ADDED THAT HE HAD BEEN PLEASED THAT THERE HAD BEEN ABSOLUTELY NO NEGATIVE REPERCUSSIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, SUBSEQUENT ACTIONS, INCLUDING THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, THE NAMING OF THE SPECIAL

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002939

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC: DR. HALPERIN
E.O.12356: DECL 12/31/99
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, CU, CH, BM, GT, HA, RW
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR GNEHM AND NSC OFFICIAL HALPERIN CALL ON HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

RAPPORTEUR, AND THE SENDING OF MONITORS HAD FLOWED FROM HIS TRIP TO THE REGION.

COUNTRY SITUATIONS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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8. HE RECALLED THAT HE HAD PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED AN INTEREST IN THREE COUNTRY VISITS: CUBA, CHINA, AND MYANMAR, AND SAID THAT HE HAD NEWS ON ALL THREE FRONTS. HE HAS RECEIVED LETTERS FROM CUBA AND CHINA, BUT NO RESPONSE YET FROM MYANMAR. (HE PROMISED TO GIVE USUN COPIES OF LETTERS FROM CHINA AND CUBA. THESE WILL BE FAXED TO IO/ESA.)

CUBA

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9. DR. HALPERIN ASKED ABOUT THE HCHR'S PLANS TO VISIT CUBA. AYALA CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED AN INVITATION JULY 13, AND ENVISIONS VISITING BEFORE THE NEXT GA STARTS, BUT NO DATE HAS BEEN FIXED. AMBASSADOR GNEHM MADE THE POINTS REF B, BUT THE HCHR ASSURED THE U.S. THAT HE WOULD NOT BE TAKEN IN BY THE CUBANS OR BY FIDEL. HE WILL NOT CONSIDER TAKING THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR WITH HIM: "THAT WOULD BE A MISTAKE AND I WILL NOT EVEN PROPOSE IT."

10. HE HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHAT TO REQUEST OF THE CUBANS BEFORE AGREEING TO VISIT, BUT IT WILL BE SUBSTANTIAL. "IF THE RESPONSE IS GOOD I WILL GO; IF NOT I WON'T." HE WELCOMED USG SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO PROCEED AND WHAT TO ASK FOR.

11. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE KNEW THERE WAS POTENTIAL THAT HIS TRIP COULD BE USED BY THE CUBANS, FOR EXAMPLE AS A PROPAGANDA VICTORY FOR FIDEL. BUT, HE ADDED, "I KNOW THAT THEY KNOW THAT I KNOW. THEY ARE CLEVER, BUT I WILL NOT ACCEPT THAT KIND OF ROLE. I WILL BE VERY CAREFUL. IT IS A TRICKY QUESTION."

CHINA

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12. RESPONDING TO DR. HALPERIN'S QUERY ABOUT CHINA, AYALA DISCUSSED CHINA'S LONG HISTORY AND PROUD PEOPLE. THEY SHOULD NOT BE PRESSURED, FOR THEY WILL NOT MOVE FROM A POINT IF YOU DO, HE ASSERTED, SO WITH THEM I MUST DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS AS A VALUE PER SE, AND NOT AS AN INSTRUMENT. WHAT HE HOPES TO DO IS VISIT AND NEGOTIATE A DECISION THE CHINESE CAN POZRAY AS THEIR OWN, "A SOVEREIGN NATIONAL DECISION." HE SAID HE WOULD TAKE A BROAD VIEW AND REQUEST MANY THINGS, ADDING THAT THERE WAS CERTAINLY NO SHORTAGE OF THINGS TO ASK FOR. HE BELIEVES THEY WILL MAKE A POLITICAL DECISION TO AGREE TO SOME OF HIS REQUESTS. HE SAID HE WOULD NOT RAISE ANY ISSUE RELATING TO TIBET, BUT LATER CHANGED HIS STANCE AFTER DR. HALPERIN'S PRESENTATION ON THE TOPIC (SEE BELOW).

13. DR. HALPERIN RECALLED THE ICRC ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN PERMISSION TO VISIT PRISONS, AND AYALA ACKNOWLEDGED HE HADN'T GIVEN THAT POINT MUCH THOUGHT, BUT HAD DISCUSSED IT BRIEFLY WITH (ICRC HEAD) SOMMARUGA.

14. DR. HALPERIN, STRESSING THAT INDEPENDENCE FOR TIBET WAS NOT AN ISSUE FOR THE U.S., DISCUSSED A PROPOSAL BY THE DALAI LAMA TO HOLD A DIALOGUE WITH THE GOC ON CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES. THE CHINESE HAD RESPONDED THAT THEY WOULD DO SO ONLY IF THE DALAI LAMA WOULD ANNOUNCE THAT INDEPENDENCE FOR TIBET WAS NOT HIS

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GOAL. THE DALAI LAMA HAD REPLIED THAT HE WAS READY TO EXCLUDE INDEPENDENCE FROM THIS PARTICULAR PROPOSED DIALOGUE BUT WAS NOT WILLING TO EXCLUDE IT PERMANENTLY OR PUBLICLY. THUS FAR, THE CHINESE HAD REFUSED THESE CONDITIONS.

15. THE HCHR CALLED THIS INFORMATION "MOST IMPORTANT" SEVERAL TIMES, AND SAID HE WOULD RETHINK HIS RELUCTANCE TO DISCUSS TIBET WITH THE CHINESE.

16. DR. HALPERIN THEN OFFERED TO SUPPLY LISTS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CHINA TO THE HCHR, ESPECIALLY PROMINENT DISSIDENTS. HE TOLD THE HCHR THAT THE USG HAD EXPECTED SOME IMPORTANT RELEASES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002939

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC: DR. HALPERIN
E.O.12356: DECL 12/31/99
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, CU, CH, BM, GT, HA, RW
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR GNEHM AND NSC OFFICIAL HALPERIN CALL ON HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

AFTER THE MFN DECISION, AND HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED BY THE LACK OF A RESPONSE.

BURMA
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17. ON BURMA, THE HCHR SAID HE HAD SENT A LETTER TO THE SLORC TO ELICIT A RESPONSE O/A JULY 20, THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S HOUSE ARREST, BUT IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT RECEIVING A FAVORABLE REPLY. HE REPORTED THAT HIS CONTACTS WITH THE BURMESE PERM REP IN GENEVA HAD EVOKED ENTIRELY NON-COMMITTAL REACTIONS. HE NOTED THAT HE WILL RECEIVE A DELEGATION OF NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS JULY 15. THEY WILL PRESENT A PETITION (PRESUMABLY FOCUSSED ON AUNG SAN SUU KYI) SIGNED BY PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM TWENTY COUNTRIES.

18. THE HCHR IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE ENTIRE SITUATION. HE HAS RECOGNIZED THAT ASEAN COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY JAPAN, ARE BECOMING MORE FLEXIBLE AND THE PRESSURE ON THE SLORC IS DIMINISHING RAPIDLY.

19. POINTING OUT THAT BURMA WAS ONE OF MANY CASES WHERE THE USG WANTS TO MULTILATERALIZE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, DR. HALPERIN SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO WIN THE COOPERATION OF ASEAN COUNTRIES, OR THERE WOULD BE NO PROGRESS. HE MADE THE POINT THAT THE USG GETS LECTURES ABOUT NOT USING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, BUT IN THE CASE OF MYANMAR ASEAN CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT STRATEGIES ARE NOT WORKING.

20. THE HCHR AGREED AND SAID HE WILL BRING UP THE ISSUE DURING HIS VISIT TO JAPAN NEXT WEEK. MIN-COUSELLOR BLANEY POINTED OUT THAT THE USG WAS ENGAGED IN ACTIVE DIALOGUE WITH JAPAN ON THIS MATTER.

21. AYALA HAD DISCUSSED MYANMAR WITH THE SYG, WHO IS OF THE OPINION THAT PRESSING RIGHT NOW ON AUNG SAN SUU KYI WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. THE SYG PREDICTS THAT THE HCHR WILL NOT RECEIVE AN ANSWER FROM THE SLORC.

OTHER COUNTRY ISSUES
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22. POINTING OUT THAT HE HAS ABSOLUTELY NO CONNECTION WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS ASSIGNED TO -- AND RECENTLY WITHDRAWN FROM -- HAITI, THE HCHR IS FRUSTRATED BY THE LACK OF INFLUENCE HE FEELS ON THAT ISSUE. HE

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WANTS VERY MUCH TO DEVISE ARRANGEMENTS FOR BETTER COORDINATION WITH THE SC AND THE GA WHEN HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS SHOULD BE RAISED. HE BELIEVES THAT GUATEMALA COULD BE THE NEXT EXAMPLE WHERE HE SHOULD HAVE AN INFLUENCE BUT MAY NOT. "POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE BEING TAKEN THAT QIGNOREQ THE OFFICE OF HCHR." HE THINKS IT'S IMPORTANT TO STRENGTHEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE HCHR IN THESE CASES. HE SAID THE EXPLANATION HE RECEIVED FROM THE DPKO -- THAT THERE WOULD BE FUNDING PROBLEMS -- WAS ABSURD.

23. HE ALSO COMPLAINED THAT SC RESOLUTION 935 SETTING UP THE COMMISSION OF EXPERTS FOR RWANDA WAS A COMPLETE DUPLICATION WITH THE MANDATE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN ITS RES S-3/1. AMBASSADOR GNEHM POINTED OUT THAT THE USG HAD TRIED WITH SOME SUCCESS TO LINK THE SC OPERATION WITH THE HCHR'S OFFICE, BUT THAT CHINA HAD PREVENTED A MORE SATISFACTORY RESULT. HE SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD WORK HARDER FOR SC TASKINGS TO THE HCHR IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD.

24. AYALA COMMENTED THAT PEOPLE ARE AFRAID HE'LL "TAKE OVER" POLITICAL OPERATIONS IF GIVEN A ROLE IN SC MATTERS. HIS REPLY IS THAT HE WILL COORDINATE COMPLETELY WITH THE POLITICAL OPERATIONS. THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES WOULD REPORT TO HIM AND THE POLITICAL OPERATIONS TO THE DPKO. AND IN A CASE LIKE GUATEMALA, HE WOULD NOT INSIST ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS AT ALL COSTS, SINCE HE RECOGNIZES THAT THE NEED FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COULD RESULT IN DE FACTO IMPUNITY FOR SOME HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS. HE ASKED FOR U.S. HELP IN MAKING SURE THERE IS COORDINATION WITH HIS OFFICE WHENEVER THERE ARE HUMAN RIGHTS COMPONENTS IN A SC OPERATION.

FALL/AYALA FRICTION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002939

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC: DR. HALPERIN

E.O.12356: DECL 12/31/99

TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, CU, CH, BM, GT, HA, RW

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR GNEHM AND NSC OFFICIAL HALPERIN CALL ON HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

25. AT THE END OF THE MEETING, AMBASSADOR GNEHM SPOKE PRIVATELY TO AYALA ABOUT THE FRICTION BETWEEN THE LATTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER DIRECTOR FALL. HE REITERATED THE USG'S HIGH STAKE IN THE HCHR'S SUCCESS, AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT LACK OF RESOURCES COULD BE ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES. HE REFERRED TO AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL'S RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH FALL AND AYALA IN GENEVA AND REITERATED THE USG VIEW THAT THE HCHR IS IN CHARGE OF ALL UN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE CENTER. IT IS CRITICAL THAT THE TWO ESTABLISH A PRODUCTIVE AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP.

26. AYALA SAID THAT THE SITUATION HAD IMPROVED VERY MUCH IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS. WITH FALL'S CONCURRENCE, HE HAD SOUGHT AN OPINION FROM THE UN LEGAL OFFICE. THE OPINION HAD CONFIRMED AYALA'S VIEW THAT HE HAD OVERALL CONTROL OVER THE CENTER, NOT JUST THE MANDATE TO GIVE "POLICY GUIDANCE," AS FALL HAD INSISTED.

27. AYALA CLAIMED THAT SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES WERE

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CULTURAL, BUT BELIEVES THINGS ARE NOW MOVING ALONG ON THE RIGHT TRACK. HE HAS SUCCESSFULLY ESTABLISHED THAT HE WILL DEAL WITH CENTER STAFFERS DIRECTLY RATHER THAN THROUGH FALL, AND THAT HE WILL REVIEW ALL PROPOSED PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS AT P-4 LEVEL OR HIGHER.

28. AMBASSADOR GNEHM SPOKE OF U.S. RESPECT FOR FALL AS WELL AND ONCE AGAIN OFFERED U.S. SUPPORT SHOULD AYALA NEED IT ON ANY ISSUE.

COMMENT

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29. THE MEETING WAS VERY CORDIAL, AND HCHR AYALA LASSO WAS IMPRESSIVE IN HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF NHE ISSUES WITH WHICH HE DEALS. AMBASSADOR GNEHM AND DR. HALPERIN CAME AWAY FROM THE MEETING CONFIDENT THAT THE HCHR WILL NOT PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF CUBA SHOULD HE CHOOSE TO VISIT. HIS OPENNESS TO U.S. VIEWS IS COMPREHENSIVE AND GENUINE.

30. AYALA'S SENSE OF CAREFULLY BUILDING THE INSTITUTION OF THE HCHR BY PRODUCING SUCCESS STORIES RATHER THAN EMPTY RHETORICAL ENGAGEMENTS ON ALL FRONTS WAS LAUDABLE. HE IS INVESTING THOUGHT IN THIS STILL VERY EMBRYONIC AND VULNERABLE INSTITUTION OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. ON THE ONE HAND, WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE HIM SHY AWAY FROM MAKING PRONOUNCEMENTS ON CRITICAL HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES FOR THE SAKE OF BUREAUCRATIC PRUDENCE, AS MIGHT BE INFERRED FROM HIS COMMENT ABOUT GUATEMALA. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF HE KEEPS MOVING IN THE DIRECTION HE HAS LAID OUT FOR HIMSELF, HE WILL ESTABLISH A STRONG PRECEDENT FOR THE FUTURE ACTIVITY OF HIS OFFICE. END COMMENT.

ACTION REQUEST

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31. USUN REQUESTS THAT THE DEPARTMENT PROVIDE REALISTIC GOALS THE HCHR SHOULD PRESS FOR IN CONTACTS WITH CUBA AND CHINA. WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT INCLUDE IN A CHINA PACKAGE A PRIORITY LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HE CAN DISCUSS WITH CHINESE LEADERS. THIS INFORMATION SHOULD BEST BE PASSED TO THE HCHR THROUGH THE CENTER IN GENEVA ASAP. WE IMAGINE HE WILL BE NEGOTIATING WITH CHINA AND CUBA ABOUT TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR SUCH VISITS EVEN BEFORE HIS AUGUST 2ND RETURN FROM HIS CURRENT TRIP, SO THE CENTER SHOULD BE ASKED TO FORWARD U.S. VIEWS TO THE HCHR DURING HIS TRIP.

32. DR. HALPERIN DID NOT HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

ALBRIGHT

BT

#2939

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
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SSN: 2939
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SIT: BLAKEMAN CLARKER DESHAZER HALPERIN NSC SCHWARTZ VAX
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Cable

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2011-0262-M-4 (4.58)
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHMD/AMCONSUL BARCELONA 3992
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0023
RUEHMD/AMCONSUL BILBAO 9607
SUBJ: RWANDA: WAR CRIMES, NON-RECOGNITION, AND APC'S
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ MADRID 007615
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, PHUM, SP, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDA: WAR CRIMES, NON-RECOGNITION, AND APC'S
REF: (A) STATE 188919 (B) STATE 190358 (C) STATE 188264
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ADCM AND POLOFF REVIEWED REFTELS JULY 18 WITH JUAN IGNACIO LOPEZ DE CHICHERI, DIRECTOR GENERAL (A/S) LEVEL FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, LEAVING HIM NON-PAPERS. ADDITIONALLY, POLOFF GAVE NON-PAPERS TO STAFF OFFICERS IN THE AFRICA AND CFSP UNITS. GOS REACTIONS WERE:
3. WAR CRIMES COMMISSION (REF A): LOPEZ DE CHICHERI THOUGHT THE IDEA OF A TRIBUNAL WAS A GOOD ONE, AND SAID THAT THE GOS HAD BEEN GIVING SOME THOUGHT TO IMPLEMENTATION. WHILE IT HAD NOT YET REACHED A CONCLUSION, ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO EXPAND THE COMPETENCE OF THE YUGOSLAVIA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL TO COVER RWANDA -- LOPEZ DE CHICHERI NOTED THAT IT HAD LONG BEEN THE GOS POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD A GENERAL U.N. WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL.
4. NON-RECOGNITION (REF B): LOPEZ DE CHICHERI TOOK NOTE OF OUR POINTS ON DE-RECOGNIZING THE GOR, AND POINTED OUT THAT, SINCE THERE WAS NO RESIDENT RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN SPAIN THERE WAS LITTLE OF A PRACTICAL NATURE THAT SPAIN COULD DO. HE USED THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN TO THE ISSUE OF THE RWANDAN PRESIDENCY OF THE UNSC IN SEPTEMBER, AND SAID THAT WHILE SPAIN WOULD BE WILLING TO ASSUME THE SEPTEMBER PRESIDENCY, THAT WAS NOT THE ONLY OPTION; HE HELD OUT THE HOPE THAT A NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE IN PLACE THAT COULD EFFECTIVELY EXERCISE THE PRESIDENCY.
5. APC'S (REF C): LOPEZ DE CHICHERI HAD NO SUBSTANTIVE REACTION TO OUR PAPER. IN THE AFRICA OFFICE, THE OFFICER IN CHARGE NOTED THAT THE SPANISH DEFENSE MINISTRY WAS EXAMINING WAYS OF PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, BUT

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HAD NOT LOOKED AT PROVIDING EQUIPMENT.
6. COMMENT: WE WILL FOLLOW UP WITH THE MFA ON BOTH THE TRIBUNAL AND APC ISSUES, BUT THE NORMAL SUMMER SLOWDOWN, EXACERBATED BY TRANSFERS AND ILLNESS IN THE AFRICA DIVISION, WILL MAKE IT INCREASINGLY HARD TO GET DECISIONS.
GARDNER
BT
#7615
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7615

TOR: 940718124401 M1156262

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0634
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 7373
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0050
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0001
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0348
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0454
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0289
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0016
SUBJ: NON-RECOGNITION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OTTAWA 003631
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, CA, RW
SUBJECT: NON-RECOGNITION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA
REF: STATE 190358
1. POLOFF DELIVERED THE TEXT OF THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT ON NON-RECOGNITION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA TO CANADA'S ACTING DESK OFFICER FOR RWANDA, BERNADETTE SAINT-JEAN, ON JULY 18. SHE HAD ALREADY RECEIVED THE INFORMATION FROM THE CANADIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
2. SAINT-JEAN SAID THAT THE GOC WILL CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH RWANDAN DIPLOMATS FROM THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT UNTIL A NEW GOVERNMENT IS FORMED IN RPF-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. SHE EXPECTS THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO RECALL THE RWANDAN DIPLOMATS NOW ASSIGNED TO CANADA. IF THIS OCCURS, THE GOC WILL DESIST FROM FURTHER CONTACT WITH THE RWANDAN EMBASSY UNTIL THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS ITS OWN DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE(S) IN PLACE.
3. ACCORDING TO BEN ROWSWELL OF DFA'S PEACEKEEPING SECTION, AN ADVANCE TEAM OF 38 SOLDIERS FROM THE CANADIAN COMMUNICATIONS UNIT ASSIGNED TO UNAMIR LEFT FOR RWANDA ON JULY 18. THE NEXT DEPLOYMENT (APPROXIMATELY 160 PERSONNEL) IS SCHEDULED FOR JULY 25.
BLANCHARD
BT
#3631
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3631

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.61)
VZ 10/20/2023

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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4106
INFO: RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
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RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0023
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0853
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0787
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RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1189
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RUSNDNB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0539
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0655
SUBJ: ETHNIC DISTURBANCES IN BURUNDI PROVINCES
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002451
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
YAOUNDE FOR DATT
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, ASEC, BY
SUBJECT: ETHNIC DISTURBANCES IN BURUNDI PROVINCES
REF: BUJUMBURA 2398
1. FOLLOWING IS A REPORT ON INCIDENTS OF ETHNIC DISTURBANCE IN THE INTERIOR OF BURUNDI OVER THE PERIOD OF JULY 13 THROUGH 17.
NGOZI PROVINCE
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2. ACCORDING TO CHEF D'ETAT MAJOR LTCOL BIKOMAGU, THE GOVERNOR OF NGOZI PROVINCE RECEIVED A MACHETE WOUND TO THE HEAD WHEN HE WAS ATTACKED BY FOUR DISPLACED BURUNDIANS IN KIREMBA COMMUNE ON JULY 15. SECURITY FORCE MEMBERS FIRED ON THE ATTACKERS KILLING AT LEAST ONE. THE GOVERNOR WAS BROUGHT TO THE MILITARY HOSPITAL IN BUJUMBURA. UNHCR RESREP TOLD ECONOFF HE VISITED THE GOVERNOR IN THE HOSPITAL JULY 17 AND FOUND HIM FULLY RECOVERED. THE GOVERNOR WAS IN KIREMBA TO INVESTIGATE THE DEATH OF THE COMMUNAL ADMINISTRATORS AND A NUMBER 0 OTHER INDIVIDUALS IN A DISPLACED PERSONS CAMP.

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3. UNHCR RESREP REPORTS ON JULY 15 AT CENDAJERU IN NGOZI PROVINCE, 41 REFUGEES, PREDOMINANTLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN, WERE KILLED WHEN A GRENADE WAS THROWN INTO TH DESERTED CHAPEL WHERE THEY HAD SOUGHT REFUGE. ANOTHER FOUR WERE KILLED WHEN TAKEN TO A HOUSE WHERE THEY HAD BEEN TOLD BEANS WOULD BE DISTSRIBUTED. IN BOTH CASES HCR REPORTS LOCAL WITNESSES SAID EIGHT ARMED, UNIFORMED MEN WERE RESPONSIBLE. HCR PROTECTION OFFICERS VIEWED THE BODIES OF THE VICTIMS AND INFORMED THE MILITARY IN NGOZI AND BUJUMBURA WHO PROMISED TO IMMEDIATELY OPEN AN INQUIRY.

KAYANZA PROVINCE

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4. COS BIKOMAGU REPORTED ON JULY 13 IN KABARORE, KAYANZA PROVINCE ABOUT THIRTY RWANDAN MEN (WHOM HE PRESUMED TO BE MEMBERS OF INTERHAMWE) WERE APPREHENDED BY THE LOCAL MILITARY UNIT FOR QUESTIONING AND LATER RELEASED. HE CONSIDERS THAT ON THEIR RELEASE THEY BECAME FRIGHTENED AND "PROBABLY RETURNED TO RWANDA" SINCE THEY CANNOT BE FOUND SINCE THEIR RELEASE.

5. UNHCR RESREP SHELLY PITTERMAN SAYS THE RWANDANS WER REMOVED BY THE MILITARY FROM A UNHCR RECEIVING CAMP WITHOUT NOTIFICATION TO LOCAL UNHCR FIELD PERSONNEL OR TO HCR'S BUJUMBURA OFFICE AND FAILED TO RETURN THEM TO THE CAMP. THE FAMILIES OF THE MEN SUBSEQUENTLY LEFT TH CAMP. PITTERMAN REPORTED THE OCCURRENCE AND HIS CONCERN AT THE MILITARY'S DISREGARD FOR UNHCR'S PROTECTION MANDATE TO HCR GENEVA. HCR WILL SEND PROTECTION OFFICIALS TO THE AREA JULY 19 IN A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE MISSING MEN.

MUHANGA UPDATE

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6. BIKOMAGU ASSURED ECONOFF THE TOTAL ARMED CIVILIANS KILLED IN LAST WEEK'S VIOLENCE IN THE MUHANGA AREA OF KAYANZA (REFTEL) FINALLY REACHED ONLY ABOUT TWENTY DESPITE THE DRAMATIC PROPORTIONS INDICATED IN BURUNDI RADIO BROADCASTS. HE SAYS THAT BY FRIDAY, JULY 15 THE AREA WAS CALM AND UNDER CONTROL. ECONOFF WILL PURSUE PRESS SOURCES AND REPORT SEPTEL.

MURAMVYA PROVINCE

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7. DURING THE WEEK OF JULY 13 TO 17 IN THE MBUYE COMMUNE OF MURAMVYA, FOUR TO SIX TUTSI DISPLACED WERE KILLED BY SNIPER FIRE AS THEY FORAGED OR CULTIVATED NEARBY FIELDS. SECURITY FORCES APPREHENDED A SNIPER AN RESTORED CALM TO THE AREA THOUGH NOT BEFORE DISPLACED HAD RESPONDED BY BURNING SEVERAL HUTU RESIDENCES IN THE AFFECTED AREA. MILITARY AUTHORITIES SAID THEY CONSIDER THE INCIDENT A TYPICAL RESPONSE TO DISARMAMENT EFFORTS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002451

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

PARIS FOR PERLOW

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, ASEC, BY

SUBJECT: ETHNIC DISTURBANCES IN BURUNDI PROVINCES IN THE AREA.

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8. A SIMILAR INCIDENT IN NYABIHANGA COMMUNE OF MURAMVY HAS RESULTED IN 15 BURNED HOUSES AND 8 DEAD. A MISSION FSN NATIVE TO THE COMMUNE SAID COS TOLD HIM THE HOUSES BELONGED TO DISPLACED TUTSIS AND WERE BURNED BY RESIDENTS (PRESUMABLY HUTU) TO DISCOURAGE THE OWNERS' RETURN. IF TRUE THE BURNINGS WERE PROBABLY MOTIVATED A MUCH BY ECONOMICS AS BY ETHNICITY SINCE NEIGHBORS ARE PROBABLY SQUATTING ON THE ABANDONED PROPERTY. DETAILS ON THE EIGHT DEATHS ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE; THE FSN'S FAMILY WAS NOT AFFECTED.
BUJUMBURA CITY
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9. BY CONTRAST, THE CITY OF BUJUMBURA HAS REMAINED RELATIVELY CALM SINCE AWARENESS OF THE ONGOING NEGOCIATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS HIGHER. THE ONLY SERIOUS INCIDENT OCCURRED JULY 16 WHEN, ACCORDING TO AN EMBASSY FSN, THREE PERSONS WERE KILLED IN THE NGAGARA QUARTIER OF BUJUMBURA DURING AN INTERETHNIC CONFRONTATION. KRUEGER
BT
#2451
NNNN

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

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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~Current and Potential Zimbabwean Involvements in Peacekeeping Operations (3 pages)~~	~~07/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~French Equipment for UNAMIR (2 pages)~~	~~07/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~Rwanda: Aid Administrator Atwood's Meetings with GOF Officials (4 pages)~~	~~07/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
004. cable	[Political Observations] (2 pages)	07/20/1994	P1/b(1)
~~005. cable~~	~~Africa Watch Views on 1993 Coup Attempt in Burundi, Current Situation in Rwanda (5 pages)~~	~~07/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~006. cable~~	~~[Gatete] (2 pages)~~	~~07/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
007. cable	[Security Situation] (2 pages)	07/24/1994	P1/b(1)
~~008. cable~~	~~MGRWO2: Algerian Contributions to Rwanda Relief Effort (1 page)~~	~~07/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~009. cable~~	~~Delivery of Presidential Letter to Rwanda (1 page)~~	~~07/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~010. cable~~	~~MGRWO2: Israelis Offer to Lease APC's (2 pages)~~	~~07/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~011. cable~~	~~President's Letter to Head of Government (2 pages)~~	~~07/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~012. cable~~	~~Rwanda Refugee Crisis... (2 pages)~~	~~07/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[07/20/1994 - 07/30/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh141

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~[Troops for Rwanda Relief] (2 pages)~~	~~07/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~014. cable~~	~~Under Secretary Davis' July 20-21 Paris Discussions: NPT Extension, Fissile Material Cutoff, North Korea, NATO Expansion, Ukraine, Rwanda (6 pages)~~	~~07/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~015. cable~~	~~Rwandan Ambassador to Belgium Resigns to Protest RPF-Led Government (2 pages)~~	~~07/26/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
016. cable	[Agenda for Meeting] (3 pages)	07/26/1994	P1/b(1)
~~017. cable~~	~~Tunisian Envoy Sent to Rwanda for OAU (1 page)~~	~~07/26/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~018. cable~~	~~[Request for Building Democracy] (3 pages)~~	~~07/27/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
019. cable	[The Rwandan Crisis] (3 pages)	07/27/1994	P1/b(1)
~~020. cable~~	~~Kenyan Ambassador's Call on A/S Moose (2 pages)~~	~~07/28/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~021. cable~~	~~MGRWO2: EU Commission Reaction to Aid Director Atwood's Letter on Rwanda Conference; ECHO Office Observations on Emergency Aid (3 pages)~~	~~07/28/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~022. cable~~	~~Human Rights Tribunal - Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~07/29/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
023. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	07/29/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[07/20/1994 - 07/30/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh141

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
024. cable	[Rwanda Crisis] (3 pages)	07/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[07/20/1994 - 07/30/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh141

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: O 201341Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
OSRI: RUEHSB
DTG: 201341Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3145
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0271
RUEHRU/AMEMBASSY MASERU 2751
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE 7328
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 2956
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0773
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 1058
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0242
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 1022
RUEHKT/AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU 0009
RUEHOR/AMEMBASSY GABORONE 9846
RUEHNE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 0275
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0151
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0597
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0761
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0046
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0183
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6132
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI//KUSLO// 0039
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2279
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5//
RUEHMG/USLO MOGADISHU 0030
RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 9244
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC
RUSNNOM/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4/ECJ5//
RUCQAAA/USCINCCENT INTEL CEN MACDILL AFB FL
SUBJ: CURRENT AND POTENTIAL ZIMBABWEAN INVOLVEMENTS IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 008086
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MARR, RW, AO, SO, LE, ZI
SUBJECT: CURRENT AND POTENTIAL ZIMBABWEAN INVOLVEMENTS IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DCM AND DATT CONFERRED THIS DATE WITH AMBASSADOR NICHOLAS GOCHE, MFA SENIOR DEPUTY SECRETARY AND CHAIRMAN OF ZIMBABWEBJS INTER-MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING. GOCHE'S COMMENTS,

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SUMMARIZED BELOW, TOUCHED ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES RELATING TO ZIMBABWEAN INVOLVEMENT IN EXTERNAL PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.

3. GOCHE DENIED THAT ZIMBABWE OR THE CURRENT AD HOC MILITARY COMMITTEE IN SOUTH AFRICA WERE CONTEMPLATING MILITARY INTERVENTION IN LESOTHO IN THE NEAR TERM. HE INFERRED THAT THE COMMITTEE WAS CONTINUING TO CLOSELY WATCH EVENTS IN LESOTHO. HE SAID THAT THE ROYAL LESOTHO DEFENSE FORCE HAD BEEN WARNED THAT OUTRAGES AGAINST LEGITIMATE LESOTHO CIVIL AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED. GOCHE FURTHER COMMENTED THAT A MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO COMPROMISE THE PREROGATIVES OF A DULY ELECTED GOVERNMENT.

4. ASKED ABOUT ZIMBABWEAN PLANS FOR DEPLOYMENT TO RWANDA UNDER UNAMIR AUSPICES, GOCHE INDICATED THAT THE GOZ WAS NOT HIGHLY ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT SUCH AN OPERATION, PREFERRING THAT COUNTRIES NEIGHBORING RWANDA BE MORE INVOLVED IN THE PEACEKEEPING EFFORT. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT ZIMBABWE HAS MOBILIZED AN INFANTRY BATTALION FOR SUCH DUTY. HE INDICATED THAT A UNITED NATIONS TEAM WOULD ARRIVE IN ZIMBABWE ON 21 JULY TO DISCUSS ZIMBABWEAN PARTICIPATION IN UNAMIR.

5. ASKED ABOUT ZIMBABWEAN PERSPECTIVES ON RECENT EVENTS IN RWANDA, GOCHE WAS UNENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE RECENT RPF VICTORY. HE SAID THAT THE UNDERLYING ETHNIC-BASED TENSIONS IN RWANDA HAD NOT BEEN RESOLVED, AND SPECULATED THAT THERE WAS NOTHING TO PREVENT MEMBERS OF THE FAR AND HUTU MILITIAS WHICH FLED TO ZAIRE FROM REGROUPING TO LAUNCH THEIR OWN "RPF-STYLE" GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST THE NEW GOVERNMENT. GOCHE ALSO COMMENTED NEGATIVELY ON THE FRENCH INTERVENTION IN RWANDA, CHARACTERIZING IT AS OUTSIDE THE UNAMIR ROLE AND THUS "ILLEGITIMATE."

6. IN REGARD TO SOMALIA, GOCHE NOTED THAT THE GOZ WAS CONTINUING TO WATCH DEVELOPMENTS CAREFULLY, AND HAD MADE NO DECISION ON EXTENSION OF THE ZIMBABWEAN MILITARY COMMITMENT BEYOND THE EXISTING FRAMEWORK.

7. GOCHE REITERATED THAT ZIMBABWE IS PREPARED TO COMMIT UP TO A BATTALION-SIZED FORCE FOR PEACEKEEPING DUTIES IN ANGOLA UNDER UNITED NATIONS AUSPICES..

8. ASKED IF ZIMBABWE COULD SUSTAIN THREE SEPARATE BATTALION-SIZED EXTERNAL COMMITMENTS (I.E. RWANDA, SOMALIA, AND ANGOLA) GOCHE SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT A PROBLEM AT THE POLICY LEVEL, BUT COULD POSE SIGNIFICANT DIFFICULTIES FOR THE ZIMBABWEAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE GOZ WOULD DEFER TO THE MILITARY ON THIS ISSUE, AND THAT A PRIORITIZATION OF COMMITMENT COULD CONCEIVABLY RESULT IN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SOMALIA OPERATION. HOWEVER, GOCHE MADE NO FIRM PRONOUNCEMENT ON THIS POINT INFERRING THAT SUCH DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE ONLY WHEN NECESSARY.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 HARARE 008086 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MARR, RW, AO, SO, LE, ZI
SUBJECT: CURRENT AND POTENTIAL ZIMBABWEAN INVOLVEMENTS IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

9. COMMENT. EXCEPT IN LESOTHO, THE CURRENT KEY TO

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ZIMBABWEAN EXTERNAL OPERATIONS IS SUPPORT - FINANCIAL AND LOGISTIC - FROM SOME EXTERNAL SOURCE. ZIMBABWE PROBABLY WOULD SUPPORT A LESOTHO OPERATION "OUT OF HIDE," ALTHOUGH SOUTH AFRICAN APPROVAL AND COOPERATION WOULD BE ESSENTIAL. HOWEVER, TO GET ZIMBABWEAN PEACEKEEPING FORCES TO RWANDA, THE UNITED NATIONS WILL HAVE TO OFFER MORE THAN VAGUE PROMISES.
10. BUJUMBURA AND LUANDA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
LANPHER.
BT
#8086
NNNN

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

SSN: 8086
<^SSN>8086

TOR: 940720095054 M1159814
<^TOR>940720095201 M1159817

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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LINE3: O 201703Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 201703Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8027
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1926
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RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0009
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0550
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ-F/ECJ-4//
SUBJ: FRENCH EQUIPMENT FOR UNAMIR
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PARIS 19853
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, MARR, UN, RW, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH EQUIPMENT FOR UNAMIR
REF: STATE 192068
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: WE APPROACHED THE QUAI JULY 19 TO ENCOURAGE THE FRENCH TO LEAVE OPERATION TURQUOISE MILITARY EQUIPMENT FOR UNAMIR CONTINGENTS AND WERE INFORMED THAT THE GOF ALREADY HAD GIVEN UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE A NEGATIVE REPLY ON THE SAME REQUEST. END SUMMARY.
3. EAST AFRICA DIRECTOR BOIVINEAU INFORMED US THE EVENING OF JULY 19 THAT UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE ALREADY HAD REQUESTED THE GOF TO LEAVE OPERATION TURQUOISE EQUIPMENT AND MATERIEL FOR UNAMIR CONTINGENTS WHEN FRENCH TROOPS WITHDREW FROM RWANDA, AND THAT FRANCE WAS NOT ABLE TO DO SO. THE PRINCIPLE REASON IS THAT THE FRENCH ARMY UNITS THERE HAVE ONLY "NEW AND SOPHISTICATED" EQUIPMENT WHICH IS NECESSARY FOR THEIR CONTINUED OPERATION AND WHICH CANNOT READILY BE REPLACED FROM EXISTING STOCKS. NONETHELESS, SHE ADDED THAT INSTALLATIONS SUCH AS THE CYANGUGU FIELD HOSPITAL WOULD REMAIN AND POSSIBLY CERTAIN NON-ESSENTIAL EQUIPMENT. DALLAIRE ALSO HAD INQUIRED ABOUT RENTING TRUCKS OR CERTAIN OTHER ITEMS; THE FRENCH SAID GOF ADMINISTRATIVE RULES PREVENTED THIS. ONLY SALES OR GIFTS WERE POSSIBLE.
4. BOIVINEAU POINTED OUT THAT FRANCE WAS EQUIPPING 240

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SENEGALESE, 160 CHADIAN, 40 NIGERIEN AND 40 CONGOLESE MILITARY. THE TWO LATTER CONTINGENTS WERE TO BE PART OF UNAMIR AND THE FRENCH ALREADY HAD ASKED DALLAIRE TO APPROACH THE RPF TO FACILITATE THE EVENTUAL TRANSFER OF THE SENEGALESE FROM TURQUOISE TO UNAMIR.

5. IN A JULY 19 RADIO INTERVIEW, FONMIN JUPPE ALSO REITERATED FRANCE'S INTENTION TO HAVE ITS TROOPS OUT BY MID-AUGUST. BOIVINEAU SAID THIS WAS NOT A POLICY MODIFICATION, MERELY A PUBLIC REMINDER THAT ITS MANDATE ENDS AUGUST 21 AND THERE IS NO LIKELIHOOD OF AN EXTENSION.

BOHLEN

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9853

TOR: 940720130913 M1160248

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER KELLY NSC VAX

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LINE3: O 201811Z JUL 94
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OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 201811Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8061
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0551
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1927
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3093
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0010
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8501
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 7686
SUBJ: RWANDA: AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD'S MEETINGS WITH GOF OFFICIALS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 19857
DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR USAID
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, AF, RW, FR
SUBJECT: RWANDA: AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD'S MEETINGS WITH GOF OFFICIALS
REF: STATE 193361
1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY. AID ADMINISTRATOR AND SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY TO RWANDA BRIAN ATWOOD DISCUSSED THE RWANDAN CRISIS WITH QUAI OFFICIALS JULY 20. ATWOOD EMPHASIZED THAT, IN DEALING WITH THE HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE, PRIORITY ATTENTION MUST BE GIVEN TO ENCOURAGING THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI TO ACT RESPONSIBLY. ALSO A PRIORITY IS THE PREVENTION OF A FUTURE COUNTEROFFENSIVE BY EX-GOVERNMENT FORCES WHICH HAVE CROSSED INTO ZAIRE AND MAY BE TRYING TO REGROUP. GOF OFFICIALS STRONGLY SECONDED ATWOOD'S APPEAL FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOCUSSED ON STOPPING AND REVERSING THE EXODUS OF RWANDANS INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.
3. QUAI SECRETARY GENERAL DUFOURCQ LAMENTED THE TARDY RESPONSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO THE CRISIS AND URGED AN ACCELERATION OF UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT, POSSIBLY DRAWING ON UNOSOM ASSETS. HE ALSO INSISTED ON THE QUICKEST POSSIBLE DISPATCH OF UN WAR CRIMES INVESTIGATORS TO RWANDA. FRENCH FORCES, HE SAID, DO NOT HAVE THE TIME OR THE TRAINING TO TRACK DOWN AND ARREST WAR CRIMINALS, BUT WILL COOPERATE FULLY WITH UN INVESTIGATORS WHEN THE LATTER ARRIVE. DUFOURCQ WILL LEAD A GOF MISSION TO KIGALI JULY 21 TO URGE THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT UNDERTAKE IMMEDIATE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. END SUMMARY.

ATWOOD BRIEFS FRENCH

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4. DURING A BRIEF PARIS TRANSIT ON HIS RETURN FROM RWANDA, AID ADMINISTRATOR AND SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY TO RWANDA BRIAN ATWOOD CALLED ON QUAI SECRETARY GENERAL BERTRAND DUFOURCQ JULY 20 TO REVIEW THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. OTHER FRENCH PARTICIPANTS WERE QUAI AFRICA DIRECTOR ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DEPUTY DIRECTOR LAPOUGE, AND HUMANITARIAN ACTION MINISTRY OFFICIAL PLUM.

5. ATWOOD OPENED BY THANKING THE GOF FOR THE COOPERATION OF FRENCH FORCES DURING HIS JUST-COMPLETED TRIP TO THE REGION. DURING THIS TRIP, ATWOOD SAID, HE HAD LEARNED OF AN ADDITIONAL 400,000 REFUGEES MOVING THROUGH KAMANYOLA AND OF 150,000 LOCATED AT BUKAVU. (QUAI OFFICIALS WERE UNAWARE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS.) ATWOOD MENTIONED THE PROBLEM OF THE MILLES COLLINES TRANSMITTER, NOTING THAT THE OPERATION TURQUOISE COMMANDER AWAITED EQUIPMENT WHICH WOULD ENABLE HIM TO TRACK ITS LOCATION. ATWOOD SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE INFLAMMATORY BROADCASTS BE STOPPED.

6. THE U.S. HAS NOT RECOGNIZED THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI, ATWOOD EXPLAINED, BUT IS ENCOURAGING IT TO BE BROADLY-BASED AND CONCILIATORY AND TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. A GOOD FIRST STEP HAS BEEN THE NAMING OF HUTU MODERATES AS PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER, ALTHOUGH THE QUESTION REMAINED OF HOW MUCH LATITUDE THEY WILL BE GIVEN BY THE RPF. THE U.S., ATWOOD SAID, WOULD MEASURE THE GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE NOT ONLY BY ITS WORDS BUT BY ITS DEEDS. ONE IMPORTANT GESTURE, ATWOOD CONTINUED, WOULD BE FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE HUTUS HELD IN INTERNMENT CAMPS SO THAT THEY COULD CULTIVATE CROPS WHICH WILL OTHERWISE SOON BE LOST, THUS CREATING A FURTHER HUMANITARIAN BURDEN. DUFOURCQ AGREED WITH THIS SUGGESTION AND MADE NOTE OF IT.

7. ATWOOD ASSURED THE FRENCH THAT THE U.S. SHARES THEIR SENSE OF URGENCY REGARDING UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT AND HAS ALREADY EQUIPPED THE GHANIAN BATTALION. IF THE CEASEFIRE HOLDS, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE THAT UNAMIR WON'T NEED AS MUCH HEAVY EQUIPMENT AS ANTICIPATED AND COULD THEREFORE BE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 19857

DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR USAID

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, AF, RW, FR

SUBJECT: RWANDA: AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD'S MEETINGS WITH GOF OFFICIALS

DEPLOYED MORE QUICKLY. ATWOOD SAID THAT THIS NEEDED TO BE EXPLORED WITH GENERAL DALLAIRE.

8. REVIEWING U.S. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, ATWOOD SAID THE U.S. HAD JUST CONTRIBUTED A USDOLS 35 MILLION ADDITION AND HOPED TO ANNOUNCE JULY 21 ANOTHER USDOLS 41 MILLION. EIGHTY DOD FLIGHTS INTO THE REGION WERE PROJECTED IN THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS. ATWOOD SAID THAT THE KEY TO EFFECTIVE DELIVERY OF FOOD AID IN THE NORTH WAS GOMA AIRPORT, SINCE ROAD TRANSPORT FROM KAMPALA COULD NOT REALISTICALLY BEGIN FOR ANOTHER THREE TO FOUR WEEKS. ATWOOD ADDED THAT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION NEEDED TO BE GIVEN TO ESTABLISHMENT OF A MULTI-NATIONAL AIR OPERATIONS CELL AT GOMA AIRPORT BASED ON THE SARAJEVO MODEL.

9. ATWOOD SAID HE HAD FOUND THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI

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"STILL CALM." HE HAD CAUTIONED THE TUTSIS THERE AGAINST DRAWING THE WRONG CONCLUSIONS FROM THE RPF'S VICTORY. MUCH MORE WORRISOME IS THE SITUATION ACROSS THE BORDER IN ZAIRE WHERE, ATWOOD SAID, HUTU MILITARY UNITS HAD TAKEN REFUGE AND MAINTAINED COHESION. SOME OF THEM WERE CLAIMING THAT IF THE TUTSIS HAD CROSSED INTO RWANDA WITH AN ARMY OF 12,000, THEY (THE HUTUS) WOULD RETURN WITH AN ARMY OF "3 MILLION." ATWOOD EMPHASIZED THAT THIS PROBLEM HAD TO BE ADDRESSED. EQUALLY IMPORTANT IS APPREHENDING THE WAR CRIMINALS. ATWOOD NOTED THE DILEMMA OF PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WHICH UNINTENTIONALLY CREATES AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH ARMED ELEMENTS MIGHT BE ABLE TO REGROUP.

10. OVERALL, ATWOOD SAID, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RESPOND QUICKLY TO THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS AND CONFIGURE THE AID IN SUCH A WAY THAT RWANDANS STOPPED FLEEING AND EVENTUALLY RETURNED HOME.

FRENCH RESPONSE

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11. DUFOURCQ SAID THE GOF'S ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION CLOSELY PARALLELED OURS. ON THE RADIO TRANSMITTER, HE AFFIRMED THAT DIRECTION-FINDING EQUIPMENT HAD ARRIVED IN RWANDA AND THAT JAMMING EQUIPMENT WAS ON THE WAY. HE WAS SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL THAT EITHER WOULD WORK AS LONG AS THE TRANSMITTER WAS MOBILE.

12. REGARDING WAR CRIMINALS, DUFOURCQ RECALLED THAT FRANCE WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO CONDEMN THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE AND HAD AUTHORED THE RESOLUTION FOR A UN INQUIRY INTO WAR CRIMES. BUT FRANCE HAD ONLY 1,500 TROOPS IN THE SAFE ZONE AND 1,000 FURTHER NORTH, AND THEY WERE IN NO POSITION TO INVESTIGATE OR DETAIN SUSPECTS. IT WASN'T A QUESTION OF LACKING A MANDATE, BUT RATHER OF LIMITED MANPOWER AND OTHER PRIORITIES. IN ANY EVENT, ALL FRENCH TROOPS WILL HOPEFULLY BE WITHDRAWN WITHIN FOUR WEEKS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE GOF INSISTS -- AS IT HAS FOR WEEKS -- THAT THE UN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY "DO ITS JOB" AND GET INVESTIGATORS TO RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. FRENCH FORCES WILL MAKE ALL THE INFORMATION THEY HAVE AVAILABLE TO THE UN TEAMS.

13. DUFOURCQ LIKEWISE UNDERLINED THE NECESSITY OF A RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR. DALLAIRE HAD ASSURED THE GOF, DUFOURCQ SAID, THAT UNAMIR WOULD TAKE OVER PROGRESSIVELY AS ITS UNITS ARRIVED. DE LA SABLIERE AND LAPOUGE INTERJECTED THAT IT WAS URGENT TO REVISIT THE IDEA OF A TEMPORARY DEPLOYMENT OF UNOSOM UNITS FROM SOMALIA. THE GOF DISAGREED WITH THE U.S. AND UN VIEW THAT 2,000 OR SO TROOPS FROM UNOSOM COULDN'T BE SPARED.

14. REGARDING AID REQUIREMENTS, PLUM POINTED OUT THAT THE OVERWHELMING NEED AT THE PRESENT TIME IS FOOD. THERE ARE 1.2 MILLION REFUGEES IN THE FRENCH SAFE ZONE, AND THE GOF IS ABLE TO FEED ONLY HALF OF THEM. IF THIS POPULATION IS NOT STABILIZED, IT WILL SOON START MOVING INTO ZAIRE. THE FRENCH OFFICIALS URGED THAT THE U.S. CONSIDER USING BUJUMBURA AS A "PLATFORM" FOR MOVING ASSISTANCE INTO THE SAFE ZONE AND SOUTHERN RWANDA.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 19857
DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR USAID

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, AF, RW, FR
SUBJECT: RWANDA: AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD'S MEETINGS WITH GOF OFFICIALS

15. WHEN FRENCH OFFICIALS APPEALED FOR THE U.S. TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO ENSURE THAT UN AGENCIES COORDINATED AND MOVED QUICKLY, ATWOOD AGREED WITH THE NEED. HE POINTED TO THE ESSENTIAL ROLE OF UN DISASTER RELIEF COORDINATOR HANSEN AND ALSO TO THE NEED TO AVOID A SITUATION IN WHICH UNHCR RELIEF OPERATIONS INADVERTENTLY PULLED POPULATIONS OUT OF RWANDA.

16. DUFOURCQ CONFIRMED THAT HE WOULD LEAD A GOF MISSION TO KIGALI JULY 21, PRIMARILY TO IMPRESS UPON THE NEW GOVERNMENT THE NEED TO REBUILD CONFIDENCE AND BEGIN RECONCILIATION. HE NOTED THAT THE GOF HAD VERY LITTLE INFORMATION ON CONDITIONS IN RWANDA OUTSIDE THE SAFE ZONE AND ASKED IF THE U.S. HAD ANY. ATWOOD NOTED THAT OUR CONTACT WITH GENERAL KAGAME HAD BEEN INTERRUPTED FOR SEVERAL DAYS AND HAD BEEN ONLY RECENTLY RESTORED. WE HAD SINCE HEARD THAT HE HAD PROMISED UN OFFICIALS THAT THE RPF WOULD RESPECT INTERNATIONAL RULES CONCERNING WAR CRIMINALS AND WOULD TRY TO CREATE CONDITIONS TO INDUCE THE HUTUS TO RETURN.

17. THE DISCUSSION CONCLUDED WITH ATWOOD AND DUFOURCQ NOTING THAT THE U.S. AND FRANCE AGREED CLOSELY ON THE NATURE AND URGENCY OF THE CRISIS AND ON THE STEPS NEEDED TO ADDRESS IT.

BOHLEN
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 9857
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<^SSN>9857

TOR: 940720141551 M1160414
<^TOR>940720141657 M1160417
<^TOR>940720141654 M1160415

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER KELLY NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.16)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA5907 2030018-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 220017Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 220017Z JUL 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 0000
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY 0000
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE PRIORITY 0000
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY 0000
RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0000
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 0000
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0000
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 0000
SUBJ: AFRICA WATCH VIEWS ON 1993 COUP ATTEMPT IN BURUNDI, CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 195907
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM PGOV PREL BY RW UN
SUBJECT: AFRICA WATCH VIEWS ON 1993 COUP ATTEMPT IN BURUNDI, CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA

1. SUMMARY. A/S MOOSE MET JULY 19 WITH AFRICA WATCH STAFFERS TO DISCUSS BURUNDI AND RWANDA. AFRICA WATCH CONCLUDES THAT BURUNDI MILITARY HIGH COMMAND WAS COMPLICIT IN PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF OCTOBER 1993 COUP ATTEMPT, AND WANTS TO SET UP PROSECUTION IN BURUNDI COURTS OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE. AFRICA WATCH BELIEVES THERE IS NO CHANCE FOR LASTING PEACE IN BURUNDI IF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COUP ATTEMPT ARE NOT PROSECUTED. ON RWANDA, AFRICA WATCH DOES NOT BELIEVE RPF APPEALS ARE ENOUGH TO GET REFUGEES IN ZAIRE TO RETURN HOME, AND CALLS

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FOR EXPANDED UNAMIR COVERAGE IN BORDER AREAS. END SUMMARY.

2. ALISON DESFORGES AND JANET FLEISCHMAN OF AFRICA WATCH CALLED ON A/S MOOSE JULY 19 TO DISCUSS THE FINDINGS IN THEIR REPORT ON THE OCTOBER 21, 1993 COUP ATTEMPT IN BURUNDI, AS WELL AS THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. AF/C DEPUTY DIRECTOR REED FENDRICK AND AF SPECIAL ASSISTANT ROGER ERVIN ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING. THE BULK OF THE HOUR LONG MEETING WAS DEVOTED TO BURUNDI.

3. MS. DESFORGES GAVE A COMPLETE RUNDOWN OF AFRICA WATCH'S JUST-PUBLISHED REPORT ON THE OCTOBER 21, 1993 FAILED COUP ATTEMPT IN BURUNDI. THE AFRICA WATCH REPORT CONCLUDES THAT THE BURUNDI MILITARY HIGH COMMAND, INCLUDING COL. BIKOMAGU, WERE TOTALLY INVOLVED IN THE COUP PLANNING AND EXECUTION. THE SENIOR OFFICERS JUST PRETENDED PUBLICLY THAT IT WAS JUNIOR MILITARY WHO LED THE COUP ATTEMPT. AMONG THE CRUCIAL EVIDENCE AFRICA WATCH CITES IN DRAWING THIS CONCLUSION IS THE FACT THAT KEY OFFICERS WHO NORMALLY TAKE THEIR HOLIDAYS IN JULY AND AUGUST INSTEAD TOOK THEIR HOLIDAYS IN OCTOBER. THUS THESE OFFICERS ON HOLIDAY WERE SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AT THE TIME OF THE COUP ATTEMPT AND WERE ABLE TO IDENTIFY HUTU LEADERS TO BE ASSASSINATED.

4. AFRICA WATCH BELIEVES THAT THE COUP WAS CLEARLY LONG PLANNED AND THAT ITS OBJECTIVE WAS TO LOP OFF THE TOP LEADERSHIP OF THE GOVERNMENT. THERE WERE THREE CONCURRENT CAUSES FOR THE COUP, IN AFRICA WATCH'S VIEW. FIRST, IT WAS PARTLY A COUP BY TUTSI LEADERSHIP DETERMINED TO PRESERVE THEIR PRIVILEGES. SECONDLY, IT WAS PARTLY A REGIONAL COUP IN THAT SOME HUTU COUP SUPPORTERS CAME FROM THE BURURI REGION (HOME OF MOST OF THE TUTSI MILITARY). THIRDLY, IT WAS PARTLY A COUP DESIGNED TO REASSERT THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY AS THE COUNTRY'S LEADERS.

5. AFRICA WATCH ATTRIBUTES MUCH OF THE KILLING WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE COUP ATTEMPT TO THE FACT THAT PRO-GOVERNMENT GOVERNORS OF BURUNDI'S PROVINCES SET UP ROADBLOCKS WHEN THEY FIRST HEARD ABOUT THE COUP ATTEMPT IN ORDER TO PREVENT TUTSI MILITARY FROM ENTERING THEIR PROVINCES. THE GOVERNORS ALSO TOOK TUTSI HOSTAGES. WHEN THEY HEARD THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN KILHED, AND MISTAKENLY BELIEVED THAT THE COUP HAD SUCCEEDED, THEY KILLED THE HOSTAGES. THIS IN TURN LED TO FURTHER REPRISALS BY TUTSI MILITARY BENT ON AVENGING KILLINGS OF HOSTAGES. AFRICA WATCH BELIEVES THAT A TOTAL OF 50,000 PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE COUP ATTEMPT.

6. MS. DESFORGES EMPHASIZED THAT THE SITUATION TODAY IS PRECARIOUS IN BURUNDI BECAUSE SO MUCH OF THE POPULATION IS ARMED, INCLUDING MILITIAS. RADIO BROADCAST INCITING VIOLENCE ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO INSTABILITY. AFRICA WATCH BELIEVES THAT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA HAS MADE BURUNDI EVEN MORE EXPLOSIVE. AFRICA WATCH RECOMMENDS THAT IN

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ORDER TO PREVENT FUTURE BLOODSHED IN BURUNDI, ALL OF THOSE GUILTY OF KILLINVS IN THE OCTOBER COUP ATTEMPT AND AFTERMATH NEED TO BE PROSECUTED.

7. MS. DESFORGES BRIEFED A/S MOOSE ON HER RECENT TRIP TO EUROPE WHERE SHE DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR PROSECUTION OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COUP ATTEMPT AND KILLINGS. SHE SAID THAT INITIALLY ALL THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THOUGHT THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BURUNDI WAS TOO FRAGILE TO RISK PROSECUTION AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, AFTER THE JULY 12 ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE EXTENSION OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD, MOST THOUGHT THAT IT WAS NOT UNREASONABLE TO PUSH FOR PROSECUTION, AND THAT THIS WOULD NOT CAUSE A NEW EXPLOSION. THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION WAS GOF ELYSEE AFRICA DIRECTOR BRUNO DELAYE, WHO CONTINUES TO VIEW THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI AS TOO PRECARIOUS TO RISK ANY TYPE OF PROSECUTIONS AT THE PRESENT TIME.

8. MS. DESFORGES MADE A STRONG PLEA FOR THE U.S. TO JOIN WITH EUROPEAN LEADERS TO PUT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON THE GOB TO PROSECUTE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COUP ATTEMPT AND KILLINGS. SHE POINTED OUT THAT SINCE BURUNDI DEPENDS ON FOREIGN AID FOR 60 PERCENT OF ITS GOVERNMENT BUDGET, DONORS HAVE A LOT OF LEVERAGE WITH THE GOB. MS. DESFORGES SAID THAT ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN BURUNDI HAVE SIGNED AN AGREEMENT TO PROSECUTE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS, BUT DID NOT PROVIDE DETAILS OF THE REPORTED AGREEMENT. AFRICA WATCH PLANS TO WORK OUT A BUDGET FOR A SYSTEM WHICH WOULD USE FRANCOPHONE JUDGES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES TO CARRY OUT PROSECUTION IN THE BURUNDI COURTS, AND WILL SUBMIT THIS BUDGET TO THE U.S.G. AND OTHER DONORS. MS. DESFORGES ALSO CALLED FOR THE BUREAUCRATIC SEPARATION OF BURUNDI'S POLICE AND MILITARY, AND FOR MILITARY RECRUITMENT TO BE BASED ON THE NATIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE.

9. MS. DESFORGES REPORTED THAT UNSGSR ABDULLAH HAD TOLD HER PRIVATELY THAT AFRICA WATCH SHOULD GO AHEAD AND PUBLISH ITS REPORT ON THE COUP ATTEMPT. DESPITE PRESSURE ON ABDULLAH FROM THE BURUNDI MILITARY, HE HAD DECLINED TO MAKE A RECOMMENDATION THAT SHE NOT PUBLISH THE REPORT. MS. DESFORGES AND HER TEAM PLAN TO RETURN TO BURUNDI BY THE END OF AUGUST, ASSUMING THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION HAS BEEN RESOLVED BY THEN, TO PUSH FOR THEIR PROSECUTIONHPLAN.

10. AF/C DEPUTY DIRECTOR FENDRICK EXPRESSED TO DESFORGES AND FLEISCHMAN HIS PERSONAL OPINION THAT THE BURUNDI GOVERNMENT DID NOT APPEAR STRONG ENOUGH AT THIS TIME TO RISK PROSECUTION OF THOSE INVOLVED IN THE OCTOBER EVENTS AND AFTERMATH. THE SITUATION IS VERY PRECARIOUS AT PRESENT, AND SETTING UP PROSECUTION COULD INCREASE THE DANGER OF AN EXPLOSION. BEGINNING PROSECUTION NOW RISKS AN EXPLOSION IN BURUNDI, AND COULD LEAD BURUNDI INTO A SITUATION ALMOST AS BAD AS RWANDA'S. DESFORGES AND FLEISCHMAN INSISTED THAT WITHOUT JUSTICE THERE WILL BE NO PEACE IN BURUNDI, AND IT IS NECESSARY THAT THERE BE SOME SEMBLANCE OF PROSECUTION OR THE COUNTRY WILL REMAIN

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UNSTABLE. AFRICA WATCH FEARS THAT THE BLOODSHED IN RWANDA IS READY TO SPILL OVER INTO BURUNDI, AND NOTED THAT HUTUS IN BURUNDI ARE RE-ARMING THEMSELVES IN FEAR OF TUTSIS.

11. TURNING TO RWANDA, DESFORGES EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE FACT THAT NEWLY DESIGNATED PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU AND VICE PRIME MINISTER KANYARAWENGE HAD SUPPORTED EXTREMIST ANTI-TUTSI POLICIES FOR MOST OF THEIR LIVES, AND HAD ONLY RECENTLY BECOME RPF LEADERS. BOTH ARE FROM HABYARIMANA'S REGION OF RWANDA. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU IS FROM THE CENTER OF THE COUNTRY AND IS THUS GEOGRAPHICALLY MARGINAL IN TERMS OF RWANDA'S NORTH/SOUTH DICHOTOMY. AFRICA WATCH IS PLEASED WITH THE NOMINATION OF NKUBITO AS MINISTER OF JUSTICE, AND THINKS THAT HE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT FORCE IN CALLING FOR FUTURE PROSECUTION OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES IN RWANDA. HE IS A FORMER PROSECUTOR WHO RELEASED MANY TUTSIS WHO HAD BEEN UNJUSTLY ARRESTED DURING THE HABYARIMANA REGIME.

12. DESFORGES DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT APPEALS BY THE RPF WILL BE ENOUGH TO CONVINCE RWANDAN REFUGEES IN ZAIRE TO RETURN HOME. IN ORDER TO GET THE REFUGEES TO RETURN, UNAMIR NEEDS TO BE EXPANDED UP TO FULL STRENGTH AND UNAMIR TROOPS NEED TO DEPLOY TO BORDER AREAS. ONCE THE FRENCH ARE OUT, UNAMIR WILL BE ABLE TO COMPREHENSIVELY COVER THE WHOLE COUNTRY, AND THIS WILL BE INSTRUMENTAL IN GETTING REFUGEES TO RETURN. HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS NEED TO BE DEPLOYED THROUGHOUT RWANDA, AND INFLAMMATORY RADIO BROADCASTS NEED TO BE STOPPED IMMEDIATELY. DESFORGES SAID THAT BRUNO DELAYE TOLD HER THAT FRENCH FORCES ARE SEEKING THE SOURCE OF THE RADIO BROADCASTS AND WILL TRY TO STOP THEM; DESFORGES IMPLIED SHE HAS DOUBTS ABOUT FRENCH DETERMINATION TO ACCOMPLISH THIS TASK. (COMMENT: ON JULY 21 A FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY PRESS SPOKESWOMAN STATED THAT THE RADIO BROADCASTS HAD CEASED. END COMMENT.) SHE ALSO SAID THAT THE PREFECTS OF CYANGUGU AND KIBUYE ARE STILL ON THE RADIO ENCOURAGING PEOPLE FLEE. AFRICA WATCH IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT A NEW REPORT THAT TUTSIS LONG IN EXILE WHO ARE RETURNING TO RWANDA ARE BEING RESETTLED ON LAND PREVIOUSLY BELONGING TO HUTUS, WHICH WILL ONLY SERVE TO PROLONG AND INTENSIFY CONFLICTS.

13. A/S MOOSE THANKED DESFORGES AND FLEISCHMAN FOR THEIR PRESENTATION AND FOR THE COPY OF THE BURUNDI REPORT. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE PROPOSALS IN THE REPORT AND THAT HE AND APPROPRIATE DEPARTMENT HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIALS WOULD TRY TO MEET WITH DESFORGES WHEN SHE RETURNS TO WASHINGTON LATER THIS MONTH.

14. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

TALBOTT
BT
#5907
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5907

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TOR: 940721202650 M1163184
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.67)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 221552Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
OSRI: RUEHNR
DTG: 221552Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0390
RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0129
INFO: RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0072
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0086
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0066
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0079
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0131
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0065
SUBJ: GATETE'S WHEREABOUTS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NAIROBI 13024
STATE FOR PRM, AF/C AND AF/E
GENEVA FOR RMA
PARIS FOR DALSIMER; LONDON FOR YOUNG
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL PHUM, RW, TZ, KE
SUBJECT: GATETE'S WHEREABOUTS
REF: DAR ES SALAAM 4641
1. NEITHER UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE IN NAIROBI NOR KENYAN OFFICE OF PROTOCOL COULD CONFIRM GATETE'S ARRIVAL IN NAIROBI ON JULY 18 OR SINCE. THE UNHCR REP CLAIMED NOT TO HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY HIS COUNTERPART IN DAR ES SALAAM OF ANY TRAVEL BY GATETE, THOUGH HE RECEIVES DAILY SITREPS AND WOULD HAVE EXPECTED TO HAVE BEEN TOLD. THE KENYAN DEPUTY CHIEF OF PROTOCOL SAID THAT A CHECK OF IMMIGRATION RECORDS SHOWED NO ENTRY INTO KENYA BY GATETE. HE COULD HAVE TRANSITED NAIROBI, HOWEVER, WITHOUT GOING THROUGH IMMIGRATION.
2. UNHCR REP ALSO REPORTED THAT HE HAD HEARD A STORY THAT THE RADIO MILLES COLLINES HAD BEEN LOCATED IN THE FRENCH "SAFE ZONE" OF RWANDA, ALLEGEDLY "SURROUNDED BY AND UNDER THE PROTECTION OF FRENCH SOLDIERS." HE ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. COULD CONFIRM THE STORY. WE RESPONDED THAT WE HAD NO INFO ON IT. FOSTER##
BT
#3024
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3024
TOR: 940722115906 M1164648
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA7862 2060013-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 250014Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 250014Z JUL 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: AMEMBASSY ALGIERS IMMEDIATE 4311
INFO: ****
SUBJ: MGRWO2: ALGERIAN CONTRIBUTION TO RWANDA RELIEF EFFORT
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.69)
NL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 197862
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREF, PREL, RW, AG
SUBJECT: MGRWO2: ALGERIAN CONTRIBUTION TO RWANDA RELIEF EFFORT
REF. A. ALGIERS 3162
1. FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF REFTEL AT ABOUT 1500 EDT JULY 24, DEPT. INVITED ALGERIAN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVE TO ATTEND A PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED RWANDA DONORS BRIEFING AT 1600 EDT JULY 24. DESPITE RECEIVING ONLY ONE HOUR'S NOTICE, ALGERIAN CHARGE ATTENDED THE BRIEFING. REPORT ON BRIEFING IS PROVIDED SEPTEL. COPY OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON DISTRIBUTED AT BRIEFING IS BEING FAXED TO POST.
2. POST SHOULD DRAW ON POINTS MADE BY A/S MOOSE AND OTHER BRIEFERS IN THE DONORS MEETING IN RESPONDING TO GOA INQUIRIES. ALL ASSISTANCE FOR THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CRISIS IS BEING COORDINATED BY UNHCR IN GENEVA. GOA SHOULD BE ADVISED TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH UNHCR IN DETERMINING WHICH SPECIFIC ASSISTANCE THEY ARE BEST ABLE TO SUPPLY. POST SHOULD ASSURE GOA THAT, IN VIEW OF THE UNPRECEDENTED SCOPE OF THIS EMERGENCY, ITS ASSISTANCE WILL BE MUCH APPRECIATED BY THE UNHCR.
3. DOD IS PROVIDING BULK OF AIR TRANSPORT OF SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT INTO GOMA. ALL AIR TRANSPORT IS BEING COORDINATED BY UN AIR CELL IN GENEVA.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#7862
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7862
TOR: 940724204416 M1166995
DIST:
SIT: BEERS DESHAZER NSC SATTERFIELD VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHULA6259 2060828-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 250828Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
OSRI: RUEHUL
DTG: 250828Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8004
INFO: ****
SUBJ: DELIVERY OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER ON RWANDA
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0242-M-4 (4.70)
VZ 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SEOUL 06259
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, KS, RW
SUBJECT: DELIVERY OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER ON RWANDA
REF: WHITE HOUSE 231808Z JUL 94
PER INSTRUCTIONS, EMBASSY DELIVERED THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT KIM YOUNG SAM UNDER COVER OF A LETTER FROM AMBASSADOR LANEY TO FOREIGN MINISTER HAN SUNG JOO ON JULY 25.
LANEY
BT
#6259
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6259
TOR: 940725042948 M1167265
DIST:
SIT: BEERS DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4(4,71)
NR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 250908Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
OSRI: RUEHTV
DTG: 250908Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0888
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0219
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 9548
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0048
RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0894
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ-5/ECJ-4// IMMEDIATE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0004
SUBJ: MGRW02: ISRAELIS OFFER TO LEASE APC'S
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ TEL AVIV 014140
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, PHUM, MARR, RW, UN, IS
SUBJECT: MGRW02: ISRAELIS OFFER TO LEASE APC'S
REF: A) STATE 188264 B) TEL AVIV 13607
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. MFA DIRECTOR OF IO/UN AFFAIRS DAVID PELEG PHONED US MORNING OF JULY 25 TO SAY THAT THE GOI HAD DECIDED TO OFFER "TEN PLUS" APC M-113'S TO UNAMIR AS REQUESTED BY US IN REF A. HE SAID THAT BOTH WASHINGTON AND THE UN WOULD BE INFORMED TODAY.
3. THE ISRAELIS HAVE ALSO SENT A FIELD HOSPITAL STAFFED BY SOME 50 PARAMEDICS TO RWANDA. THE HOSPITAL WAS SENT ON EIGHT HERCULES ON JULY 24. PELEG SAID THAT THIS ACTION HAD BEEN COORDINATED WITH UNHCR AND THE FRENCH.
4. COMMENT: THE RWANDAN CRISIS HAS RECEIVED SIGNIFICANT PRESS PLAY IN ISRAEL, AND OFFERS THE GOI THE CHANCE TO BECOME INVOLVED IN HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS FAR FROM ITS BORDERS. THIS FITS IN WELL WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO BECOME A "NORMAL" MEMBER OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. AS ENVIRONMENT MINISTER SARID SAID, "WE ARE PROBABLY THE LAST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WHO CAN BE INDIFFERENT IN THE FACE OF SUCH A DISASTER." LAROCCO
BT
#4140
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4140

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TOR: 940725053624 M1167327
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC SATTERFIELD SCHWARTZ VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4(4.72)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA8184 2060933-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 250933Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 250933Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8449
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0554
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 7449
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0498
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0153
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0739
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 9501
SUBJ: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO HEAD OF GOVERNMENT
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 08184
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, BE, RW, CG, XA, ZF
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO HEAD OF GOVERNMENT
REF: WHITE HOUSE MESSAGE 231808Z
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. IN ABSENCE OF PRIME MINISTER'S POLITICAL ADVISOR THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE WAS DELIVERED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. IN CONVERSATION SUNDAY MORNING FOREIGN MINISTER'S CHEF DE CABINET SAID THAT BELGIANS ARE IN INTENSIVE DISCUSSION. IT HAD BEEN DECIDED THAT HUMANITARIAN AID WOULD BE INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY. THEY WILL HELP WITH LOGISTICS, POSSIBLY C-130 TRANSPORTATION. DETAILS ARE BEING FIRMED UP. THE BELGIANS HAVE BEEN TALKING TO THE UN ABOUT "ADOPTING" AN AFRICAN COUNTRY PEACEKEEPING FORCE AND WILL PROBABLY BE EQUIPPING A MALAWI INFANTRY COMPANY OF 120 SOLDIERS WITH OUTRIGHT DONATIONS RATHER THAN LEASING THE EQUIPMENT. THEY WILL BE SENDING A DELEGATION CONSISTING OF THE DCM AND A RETIRED AMBASSADOR BACK TO RWANDA TO ASSESS THE SITUATION AND WITH MESSAGES FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT, PROBABLY ARRIVING ON WEDNESDAY.
3. THE CHEF DE CABINET NOTED THAT HE AND PRIME MINISTER'S POLITICAL ADVISOR WERE MEETING AT 7:30 MONDAY MORNING AND WOULD DISCUSS FURTHER THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE. A MINISTERIAL MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR 10:00 BRUSSELS TIME, AFTER WHICH THEY WILL BE ABLE TO CONFIRM INFORMATION ABOVE AND SUPPLY ADDITIONAL DETAILS. HE NOTED THAT THE BELGIAN MILITARY ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON HAD ATTENDED A PENTAGON BRIEFING ON FRIDAY SO BELGIUM WAS AWARE OF U.S. ACTIVITIES. BLINKEN
BT
#8184

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 8184
TOR: 940725053832 M1167331
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER KELLY NSC VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.73)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHNRA3049 2061018-CCCC--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 251012Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
OSRI: RUEHNR
DTG: 251012Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0408
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP//OASD-PA-DPL/PA// IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/JOINT-STAFF WASHDC//3-JOD/JS-SOD/J6// IMMEDIATE
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ETTC// IMMEDIATE
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3// IMMEDIATE
RUEADWD/CSA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUENAAA/CNO WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEACMC/CMC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RHDLCNE/CNCUSNAVERU LONDON UK//N3/N31/N5/N7// IMMEDIATE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0074
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0143
RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0136
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0082
RUFHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0088
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0088
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0075
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0094
INFO: ****
SUBJ: RWANDA REFUGEE CRISIS: REQUEST FOR ACCESS TO PORT OF MOMBASA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NAIROBI 13049
E.O.:12356: N/A
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, PREF, MARR, KE
SUBJECT: RWANDA REFUGEE CRISIS: REQUEST FOR ACCESS TO PORT OF MOMBASA
REF: A) STATE 197651 B) FOSTER/WILSON TELCON 7/23
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT..
2. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY POLCOUNS, CALLED ON MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AMERICAS DIVISION CHIEF PAUL MWAURA JULY 25 AND REQUESTED ACCESS TO THE PORT OF MOMBASA FOR TRANSHIPMENT OF HEAVY EQUIPMENT AND VEHICULES FOR USE IN THE RWANDA RELIEF OPERATION, USING TALKING POINTS PROVIDED REF A. AT THE REQUEST OF MFA PERMANENT SECRETARY SALLY KOSGEI (WHO, UNAVAILABLE OVER THE WEEKEND, CONTINUED TO BE TIED UP WITH IGADD TALKS ON MONDAY) CHARGE ALSO PROVIDED THE MFA WITH A NOTE VERBALE BASED ON THE TALKING POINTS. CHARGE ALSO EXPLAINED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA HAD PROVIDED BLANKET AIR CLEARANCES TO ALL US AIRCRAFT ASSOCIATED WITH THE RWANDA

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HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATION, AND REQUESTED THAT THE GOK DO THE SAME.

3. MWAURA ASSURED US THAT THE GOK WAS EAGER TO COOPERATE, AS IT HAD DONE IN THE RECENT PAST WITH REGARD TO US EFFORTS IN SOMALIA. KENYA HAD A GREAT DEAL OF EXPERIENCE IN WORKING WITH THE US AND, ONCE FORMAL POLITICAL APPROVAL WAS OBTAINED FROM PRESIDENT MOI, MWAURA THOUGHT DIRECT COORDINATION BETWEEN US AND KENYAN MILITARY AUTHORITIES WOULD SUFFICE. HE BELIEVED PRESIDENT MOI'S FORMAL APPROVAL COULD BE OBTAINED BY THE END OF THE DAY.

4. MWAURA ASKED THAT WE AMEND THE NOTE VERBALE TO INCLUDE THE REQUEST FOR BLANKET AIR CLEARANCES FOR AN INITIAL PERIOD OF THREE MONTHS WHICH, HE EXPLAINED, COULD BE EXTENDED. THE NOTE WOULD THEN BE SENT TO THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE. WE HAVE DONE SO, AND WILL CONFIRM THE GOK'S FORMAL APPROVAL AS SOON AS WE RECEIVE IT.

FOSTER##

BT

#3049

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3049

TOR: 940725062436 M1167380

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC SCHWARTZ VAX

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.74)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHRBA6873 2061218-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 251218Z JUL 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY RABAT
OSRI: RUEHRB
DTG: 251218Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY RABAT
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7668
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 9384
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0020
RUEHCL/AMCONSUL CASABLANCA 3301
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0503
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0008
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1593
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0094
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 2680
INFO: ****
SUBJ: MOROCCAN TROOPS FOR RWANDA RELIEF:
- FASSI-FIHRI TO SPEAK TO KING HASSAN
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ RABAT 006873
AF FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PREF, RW, MO
SUBJECT: MOROCCAN TROOPS FOR RWANDA RELIEF:
- FASSI-FIHRI TO SPEAK TO KING HASSAN
REF: A) STATE 197635; B) RABAT 6860
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON JULY 25 AMBASSADOR MET WITH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DEP/SEC EQUIVALENT) TAIEB FASSI-FIHRI WHO PROMISED TO RAISE WITH THE KING THE DEPLOYMENT OF MOROCCAN TROOPS ISSUE AND GET BACK TO AMBASSADOR THIS EVENING LOCAL TIME. FASSI-FIHRI WAS NONCOMMITTAL ABOUT THE DEPLOYMENT AND RAISED THE FOLLOWING CONCERNS:
-- FASSI-FIHRI QUESTIONED AMBASSADOR ABOUT POSSIBLE EXPOSURE OF MOROCCAN TROOPS TO CHOLERA. HE ASKED IF THERE WOULD BE POTABLE WATER AVAILABLE AT THE SITE.
-- HE ALSO ASKED IF MOROCCAN TROOPS COULD BE DEPLOYED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.
3. AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT BOTH U.S. AND MOROCCAN TROOPS WOULD BE PROVIDED WITH SUFFICIENT POTABLE WATER AND MEDICAL FACILITIES. AMBASSADOR ALSO EXPRESSED HIS CONFIDENCE UN-SPONSORSHIP COULD BE COORDINATED.
4. COMMENT: GIVEN ITS RECENT EXPERIENCE IN SOMALIA, THE MOROCCAN MILITARY LEADERSHIP IS UNDOUBTEDLY RELUCTANT TO DEPLOY TROOPS TO ZAIRE. FASSI-FIHRI'S LACK OF COMMITMENT AND EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT

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CHOLERA PROBABLY REFLECT INITIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE MILITARY. KING HASSAN'S DECISION, HOWEVER, WILL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION MOROCCO'S REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS AS WELL AS HASSAN'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN BEING RESPONSIVE TO THE U.S. WHENEVER POSSIBLE. NEVERTHELESS, IT MAY BE NECESSARY FOR AMBASSADOR TO MEET PERSONALLY WITH THE KING, IF WE DO NOT HAVE A POSITIVE RESPONSE BY THIS EVENING.
5. ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE CONFIRM THAT SUFFICIENT POTABLE WATER AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES WILL BE AVAILABLE IN SUPPORT OF POSSIBLE MOROCCAN DEPLOYMENT OF TWO BATTALIONS. ALSO CONFIRM THAT SHOULD THE GOM AGREE TO SEND MOROCCAN TROOPS TO ZAIRE, IT COULD BE DONE UNDER CLOAK OF UN-SPONSORSHIP.
6. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
GINSBERG
BT
#6873
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6873

TOR: 940725083823 M1167572

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC SATTERFIELD SCHWARTZ VAX

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.75)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 251257Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 251257Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8269
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8538
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 7084
RUEHUL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 8471
RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 6951
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 3325
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1942
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1329
RUEHNO/USMISSION USNATO 2219
RUEHVEN/USMISSION USVIENNA 0039
SUBJ: UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS' JULY 20-21 PARIS
- DISCUSSIONS: NPT EXTENSION, FISSILE-MATERIAL
- CUTOFF, NORTH KOREA, NATO EXPANSION,
- UKRAINE, RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 05 PARIS 20200
GENEVA FOR CD DEL; USVIENNA FOR UNVIE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, KNNP, NATO, RW, NK, FR
SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS' JULY 20-21 PARIS
- DISCUSSIONS: NPT EXTENSION, FISSILE-MATERIAL
- CUTOFF, NORTH KOREA, NATO EXPANSION,
- UKRAINE, RWANDA
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY
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2. UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS REVIEWED A WIDE RANGE OF REGIONAL SECURITY AND NONPROLIFERATION ISSUES WITH SENIOR ELYSEE, MATIGNON, QUAI, AND FRENCH MOD OFFICIALS JULY 20-21. HER INTERLOCUTORS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR INDEFINITE EXTENSION OF THE NPT, FEARING THAT THE NORTH KOREA IMBROGLIO SETS A BAD PRECEDENT AND THAT SOME NATIONS MAY TRY TO HOLD NPT EXTENSION HOSTAGE TO CONCLUSION OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT). ON REGIONAL ISSUES, SENIOR FRENCH DEFENSE OFFICIALS EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY IN RWANDA AND REGRET THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT PROVIDED MORE CONCRETE ASSISTANCE. THEY ALSO ANTICIPATED THAT THE NATO EXPANSION ISSUE MAY MOVE BACK ON TO THE FRONT-BURNER, AS PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE CONTINUES TO BE THE OBJECT OF STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE

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EAST EUROPEANS WHO WANT TO USE THE INITIATIVE TO GET CLOSER TO NATO AND THE RUSSIANS WHO WANT TO PUT THE BRAKE ON THIS PROCESS. ON UKRAINE, THEY REGISTERED CONCERN AT THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT TO USE WISELY THE USD 200 MILLION FUND FOR CIVILIAN NUCLEAR REACTOR SAFETY ESTABLISHED AT THE NAPLES G-7 SUMMIT.

3. UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS PROFESSED CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM ON NPT EXTENSION AND POINTED OUT THAT SOLID PROGRESS IN CTBT NEGOTIATIONS IS CENTRAL TO ADVANCING OUR BROADER NONPROLIFERATION GOALS. SHE EXPLAINED THAT U.S. POLICY AIMS AT BRINGING NORTH KOREA BACK INTO COMPLIANCE WITH ITS NPT OBLIGATIONS AND ASSURED HER HEARERS THAT THE U.S. WOULD GO BACK TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL IF PYONGYANG RENEGES ON ITS COMMITMENTS. DR. DAVIS URGED THAT THE GOF SUPPORT THE U.S. FISSILE-MATERIAL CUT-OFF AND SOUTH ASIA NONPROLIFERATION INITIATIVES AND ALERTED HER INTERLOCUTORS THAT THE U.S. MAY SOON MAKE PROPOSALS FOR CONTROLLING ANTI-PERSONNEL MINES. ON RWANDA, SHE SAID THAT THE U.S. IS REVIEWING ITS PROCEDURES FOR HANDLING AIRLIFT REQUESTS BUT REJECTED CHARGES THAT THE U.S. HAS DONE NOTHING, POINTING TO U.S. PROVISION OF 50 APC'S TO EQUIP UNAMIR FORCES. END SUMMARY.

NPT

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4. UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS REVIEWED A BROAD RANGE OF NONPROLIFERATION AND REGIONAL SECURITY ISSUES JULY 20-21 WITH QUAI DEPUTY SECRETARIES GENERAL ALAIN DEJAMMET AND CLAUDE MARTIN, MATIGNON DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR BERNARD DE MONTFERRAND, FRENCH MOD STRATEGIC AFFAIRS DIRECTOR JEAN-CLAUDE MALLET, AND ELYSEE MILITARY ADVISOR CHRISTIAN QUESNOT. PROSPECTS FOR INDEFINITE EXTENSION OF THE NPT AT NEXT YEAR'S CONFERENCE TOPPED HER INTERLOCUTOR'S CONCERNS. DEJAMMET, IN PARTICULAR, SEEMED NERVOUS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT NON-NUCLEAR STATES COULD HOLD NPT EXTENSION HOSTAGE IN AN EFFORT TO FORCE CONCLUSION OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT) FIRST. HE ASO EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE ATTITUDE OF THE ARAB STATES, FEARING THAT SOME MIGHT THREATEN TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NPT UNLESS ISRAEL SIGNS UP. THE POSSIBLE ATTITUDE OF EGYPT WORRIED HIM ESPECIALLY, GIVEN CAIRO'S PERFORMANCE ON THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 PARIS 20200

GENEVA FOR CD DEL; USVIENNA FOR UNVIE

E.O. 12356: 74/6)

0-21 PARIS

- DISCUSSIONS: NPT EXTENSION, FISSILE-MATERIAL
- CUTOFF, NORTH KOREA, NATO EXPANSION,
- UKRAINE, RWANDA

5. DR. DAVIS ASSURED DEJAMMET THAT THE U.S. OPPOSES LINKING THE NPT AND CTBT. ON THE OTHER HAND, SHE STRESSED THAT PROGRESS TOWARD A CTBT IS CENTRAL TO MAKING PROGRESS ON A WIDE-RANGE OF NONPROLIFERATION GOALS, INCLUDING NPT EXTENSION. WHILE WARNING AGAINST OVER-CONFIDENCE, DR. DAVIS REPORTED THAT ACDA DEPUTY DIRECTOR GRAHAM HAS SOUNDED OUT MANY STATES ON NPT EXTENSION AND COME AWAY OPTIMISTIC. THERE ARE SOME

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STATES, HOWEVER, ON WHICH WE NEED TO FOCUS. EGYPT IS ONE OF THESE, DAVIS AGREED.

NORTH KOREA

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6. MANY OF DR. DAVIS' INTERLOCUTORS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE CURRENT NORTH KOREAN IMBROGLIO SETS A BAD PRECEDENT FOR THE NPT REGIME. THEY ASKED WHETHER OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD NOT SEE THAT NORTH KOREA HAS OBTAINED SPECIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE U.S AND BEHAVE SIMILARLY, REPORTING THAT THE INDIANS AND PAKISTANS HAVE ALREADY RAISED THE NORTH KOREAN PRECEDENT IN TALKS WITH FRANCE. FRANCE, THEY SAID, WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THIS PROBLEM BE TREATED AS A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY AND REFERRED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR POSSIBLE SANCTIONS.

7. DR. DAVIS POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS FAR FROM CERTAIN THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD HAVE VOTED FOR SANCTIONS, AND, IF IT HAD, IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER SANCTIONS WOULD HAVE HAD MUCH IMPACT ON NORTH KOREA.

8. DR. DAVIS STRESSED THAT THE U.S. IS PROCEEDING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF A FREEZE IN THE NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM. SHE NOTED THAT WE EXPECT TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS WITH NORTH KOREA IN GENEVA SHORTLY AFTER THE FUNERAL OF KIM IL SONG. SHE REPORTED THAT THE FIRST DAY'S DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE DPRK AND THE U.S. WERE WORKMANLIKE AND WITHOUT THE USUAL SHARP RHETORIC. SHE EXPLAINED THAT THE DPRK SEEMED TO BE FOCUSING ON OBTAINING LIGHT WATER REACTOR TECHNOLOGY, AND ALSO REQUESTED SECURITY ASSURANCES, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., AND AN END TO THE TRADE EMBARGO. ALTHOUGH THE ELEMENTS OF A POSSIBLE DEAL COULD BE FOUND IN THE POSITIONS BEING TAKEN BY PYONGYANG, IT IS FAR FROM CERTAIN THAT WE CAN AGREE ON HOW TO SEQUENCE THEM IN A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WAY.

9. THE FRENCH DOUBTED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE MUCH CHANCE OF SUCCESS. MALLET AT MOD PREDICTED THAT THE CURRENT CRISIS WILL BE LONG AND DRAWN-OUT. THE KOREANS, HE CLAIMED, SEE THEMSELVES AS SURROUNDED BY THE CHINESE, RUSSIANS, AND JAPANESE AND BELIEVE POSSESSION OF A NUCLEAR DEVICE IS ESSENTIAL TO THEIR NATIONAL SECURITY.

UKRAINE

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10. DR. DAVIS DISCUSSED THE G-7 SUMMIT AGREEMENT ON ASSISTANCE TO THE UKRAINE IN HER MEETING WITH THE QUAI'S MARTIN, ALLUDING TO THE UNCERTAINTIES RAISED BY THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT KUCHMA. SHE EXPLAINED THAT THE U.S. WAS GIVING PRIORITY TO GAINING UKRAINIAN ADHERENCE TO THE NPT, POSSIBLY BY OCTOBER OF THIS YEAR. MARTIN RESPONDED THAT IT APPEARS THAT AN INFORMAL BURDENSHARING ARRANGEMENT IS EVOLVING, WITH THE U.S. TAKING THE LEAD ON MISSILE AND MILITARY NUCLEAR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 PARIS 20200

GENEVA FOR CD DEL; USVIENNA FOR UNVIE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, KNNP, NATO, RW, NK, FR

SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS' JULY 20-21 PARIS

- DISCUSSIONS: NPT EXTENSION, FISSILE-MATERIAL

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- CUTOFF, NORTH KOREA, NATO EXPANSION,
- UKRAINE, RWANDA

TECHNOLOGY AND FRANCE LEADING THE EFFORT ON CIVILIAN NUCLEAR SAFETY. DAVIS NOTED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR BOTH THE U.S. AND EUROPE TO BE ACTIVE IN BOTH AREAS.

11. MARTIN SAID THE USD 200 MILLION AGREED AT NAPLES FOR CLOSING DOWN A CHERNOBYL REACTOR AND COMPLETING ITS REPLACEMENT WAS DISAPPOINTING, THOUGH IT WAS A BEGINNING. HE ADDED THAT THE GOF IS PARTICULARLY DISAPPOINTED IN JAPANESE DISINTEREST. IN HIS VIEW, THE EASY PART IS COMING UP WITH THE USD 200 MILLION; GETTING THE UKRAINIANS TO USE THE MONEY EFFICIENTLY WILL BE HARDER. HE SAID FRENCH-UKRAINIAN TALKS ON CLOSING DOWN CHERNOBYL HAD THUS FAR BEEN NEGATIVE; THE GOF IS WAITING TO SEE WHAT THE NEW LEADERSHIP WILL DO.

12. THROUGHOUT THE CONVERSATION ON UKRAINIAN NUCLEAR SAFETY, MARTIN RETURNED PERSISTENTLY TO THE HIGH COST THE OPERATION WOULD ENTAIL, AND THE RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS WE ALL FACE IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM. DR. DAVIS UNDERLINED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORT, EVEN THOUGH FINANCIAL RESOURCES WERE LIMITED.

SOUTH ASIA NONPROLIFERATION

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13. DR. DAVIS WARNED ALL OF THE DANGERS OF PROLIFERATION IN SOUTH ASIA, REPORTING THAT THE INDIANS MAY DECIDE SOON WHETHER OR NOT TO DEPLOY THE PRITHVI MISSILE. DEPLOYMENT COULD IN TURN TRIGGER MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS BY PAKISTAN. DEJAMMET ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. IS HAVING ANY LUCK IN CONVENING THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE IT HAS PROPOSED. DR. DAVIS REPLIED THAT THE INDIANS VIEW THEIR SECURITY IN RELATIONSHIP TO CHINA AND URGED DEJAMMET AND HER OTHER INTERLOCUTORS TO HELP FIND WAYS TO CONVENE A MULTILATERAL CONFERENCE.

FISSILE-MATERIAL CUT-OFF

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14. DR. DAVIS APPEALED TO DEJAMMET FOR HELP IN CREATING A MANDATE IN THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT (CD) IN AUGUST FOR A FISSILE-MATERIAL CUT-OFF CONVENTION. SHE STRESSED THAT SUCH AN ACCORD IS CRITICAL TO SUCCESS IN OUR GOALS FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

ANTIPERSONNEL MINES

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15. DR. DAVIS ALSO ALERTED DEJAMMET THAT THE U.S. WILL SOON BE SHARING THOUGHTS WITH FRANCE ON A NEW REGIME WHICH WOULD NOT ONLY BAN EXPORT OF ANTIPERSONNEL MINES BUT ALSO REGULATE THEIR STOCKPILING AND PRODUCTION. HE RESPONDED THAT FRANCE IS MOVING VERY MUCH IN THE SAME DIRECTION AND LOOKS FORWARD TO HEARING U.S. IDEAS IN GREATER DETAIL.

RUSSIA, EAST EUROPE, AND WESTERN SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

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16. ASKED TO GIVE HIS VIEWS ON PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (PFP), MALLET RESPONDED WITH A DISQUISITION ON THE BROADER PROBLEMS OF ASSOCIATING THE EAST EUROPEANS WITH WESTERN INSTITUTIONS. PFP ITSELF, HE CONTINUED, HAS A BUILT-IN AMBIGUITY WHICH WILL "POISON" IT FOR A LONG

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TIME. IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO SATISFY BOTH THE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 05 PARIS 20200
GENEVA FOR CD DEL; USVIENNA FOR UNVIE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, KNNP, NATO, RW, NK, FR
SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS' JULY 20-21 PARIS
- DISCUSSIONS: NPT EXTENSION, FISSILE-MATERIAL
- CUTOFF, NORTH KOREA, NATO EXPANSION,
- UKRAINE, RWANDA
RUSSIANS AND EAST EUROPEANS AT THE SAME TIME. THE QUESTION, MALLET ASSERTED, IS HOW LONG THE SITUATION SHOULD BE TOLERATED. FRENCH MOD EXPERTS SAY THAT SOONER OR LATER THE ROLE OF THE CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (CEEC'S) IN THE EU -- AND THEREFORE IN NATO -- WILL HAVE TO BE CLARIFIED. MALLET NOTED THAT THERE ARE SOME WHO ARGUE THAT THE CEEC'S MUST BE BROUGHT INTO WESTERN INSTITUTIONS QUICKLY -- CERTAINLY BEFORE THE 1996 RUSSIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. HE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT HE DID NOT AGREE WITH THIS APPROACH, SEEING INSTEAD A GRADUAL PROCESS OVER THE COMING 10 YEARS OF INTEGRATING THE CEEC'S INTO THE EU'S ECONOMIC SPACE. INCLUSION IN NATO, HE INDICATED, WILL COME GRADUALLY AT THE END OF THIS PROCESS. UNLIKE ON NATO EXPANSION, HE ARGUED, THE RUSSIANS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO VETO WESTERN EUROPE'S GRADUAL ECONOMIC INCLUSION OF THE EAST.

17. DR, DAVIS REJECTED THE IDEA THAT RUSSIA VETOED NATO EXPANSION LAST YEAR. THE U.S DID NOT SEE THE CONTRADICTION AND BELIEVED THAT IT WAS THE WRONG MOMENT TO SEND MOSCOW A SIGNAL THAT IT WAS BEING EXCLUDED FROM WESTERN INSTITUTIONS.

18. MALLET WARNED THAT THE QUESTION OF NATO EXPANSION WILL BE REOPENED IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS, AS THE CONTRADICTIONS INHERENT IN PFP MAKE IT HARD FOR THAT INITIATIVE TO SATISFY ALL. THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BEGIN A SERIOUS DIALOGUE ON THIS ISSUE SOON, HE SUGGESTED. MALLET ENDED BY ASKING WHETHER THE U.S. CONGRESS WOULD ACCEPT NATO EXPANSION.

19. DR. DAVIS RESPONDED THAT IT IS HARD TO PREDICT WHERE CONGRESS WILL COME OUT, SINCE IT HAS NOT REALLY BEGUN ITS INTERNAL DEBATE ON NATO EXPANSION. SHE CALLED MALLET'S ATTENTION, HOWEVER, TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S STATEMENT IN WARSAW TO THE EFFECT THAT THE QUESTION ON NATO EXPANSION IS NOT WHETHER BUT HOW AND WHEN.

RWANDA
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20. FRENCH DEFENSE OFFICIALS SHOWED GREAT CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. BOTH MALLET AT MOD AND QUESNOT AT THE ELYSEE FEARED THAT IT MAY BE TOO LATE TO PREVENT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF DEATHS FROM DISEASE AND STARVATION. MALLET COMPLAINED THAT THE "BLOODY HUTU RADIOS" ARE STILL ENCOURAGING REFUGEES IN THE FRENCH ZONE IN SOUTHWESTERN RWANDA TO FLEE INTO ZAIRE, WHICH FRANCE BELIEVES WILL COMPLICATE EFFORTS TO AID THEM.

21. MALLET THOUGHT U.S. POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH OPERATION HAD BEEN GOOD, BUT HE REGRETTED THAT

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THE U.S. HAD BEEN UNABLE TO PROVIDE MUCH CONCRETE HELP. QUESNOT WAS MUCH MORE OUTSPOKEN IN CRITICIZING THE ABSENCE OF U.S LOGISTICAL SUPPORT. FRANCE, HE SAID, HAD SUPPORTED THE U.S. IN SOMALIA AND HAD A RIGHT AS AN ALLY TO EXPECT SIMILAR SUPPORT IN RETURN IN RWANDA. QUESNOT IMPLIED THAT FRENCH WILLINGNESS TO CONTRIBUTE POLICE TRAINERS TO A UN OPERATION IN HAITI COULD BE CALLED INTO QUESTION AS A RESULT. (COMMENT: QUESNOT'S REMARKS ACCURATELY REFLECT WIDE-SPREAD DISSATISFACTION WITHIN THE FRENCH MILITARY OVER THE LACK OF U.S. AIRLIFT SUPPORT IN RWANDA BUT SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS SIGNALLING A CONSIDERED GOF DECISION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 PARIS 20200

GENEVA FOR CD DEL; USVIENNA FOR UNVIE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PARM, MNUC, KNNP, NATO, RW, NK, FR
SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS' JULY 20-21 PARIS
- DISCUSSIONS: NPT EXTENSION, FISSILE-MATERIAL
- CUTOFF, NORTH KOREA, NATO EXPANSION,
- UKRAINE, RWANDA

TO WITHDRAW COMMITMENTS ALREADY MADE ON HAITI. QUESNOT'S ROLE IN GOF DECISION-MAKING ON HAITI IS MARGINAL AT MOST. END COMMENT.)

22. DR. DAVIS RESPONDED THAT IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE U.S. IS UNWILLING TO HELP IN RWANDA. SHE NOTED THAT USAID DIRECTOR ATWOOD WAS IN PARIS AT THAT MOMENT FOR TALKS ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, AND THAT THE U.S. HAS DONATED 50 APC'S TO EQUIP GHANAIAN PARTICIPANTS IN UNAMIR. SHE ADDED THAT THE U.S. IS REVIEWING ITS PROCEDURES FOR REQUESTING AIRLIFT SUPPORT TO SEE IF THEY CAN BE IMPROVED.

23. UNDER SECRETARY DAVIS REVIEWED THIS MESSAGE.

BOHLEN
BT
#0200
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 05
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 05
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 05
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SSN: 0200
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DIST:
SIT: AOKI DESHAZER KELLY NSC VAX WITKOWSKY
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.76)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHBSA8267 2071441-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 261441Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 261441Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8495
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 7451
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0155
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0754
SUBJ: RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM RESIGNS TO PROTEST RPF-LED GOVERNMENT

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BRUSSELS 08267
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, EUR/NE, AND INR/B
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINR, BE, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM RESIGNS TO PROTEST RPF-LED GOVERNMENT
REF: A) BRUSSELS 7234 B) BRUSSELS 6151 C) BRUSSELS 4736
1. ~~(C)~~ - WHERE INDICATED
2. (U) ON 7/26, BELGA WIRE SERVICES CARRIED THE NEWS THAT RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM, FRANCOIS NGARUKIYINTWALI, HAD RESIGNED HIS POSITION EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY. NGARUKIYINTWALI SAID HE WAS RESIGNING TO PROTEST THE FORMATION OF A NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT THAT EXCLUDED CERTAIN POLITICAL PARTIES. HE CALLED THE EXCLUSIONS CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF POWER-SHARING EMBODIED BY THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. HE FURTHERMORE DENOUNCED THE NEW GOVERNMENT, CALLING IT TOTALLY SUBSERVIENT TO THE RPF. NGARUKIYINTWALI SAID HE HAD REQUESTED AND BEEN GRANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM IN AN AFRICAN COUNTRY. HE REFUSED TO IDENTIFY THE COUNTRY OR TO ANNOUNCE THE DATE OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM BRUSSELS CITING "SECURITY" CONCERNS.
3. ~~(C)~~ LUDO VAN DEN MAAGDENBERG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARAN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, CONFIRMED TO POLOFF THAT NGARUKIYINTWALI HAD RESIGNED. THE MFA CHIEF OF PROTOCOL WOULD BE MEETING WITH NGARUKIYINTWALI LATE ON THE 26TH. VAN DEN MAAGDENBERG SAID THE MFA STILL DID NOT KNOW WHO WOULD TAKE OVER AT THE RWANDAN EMBASSY.
4. ~~(C)~~ AS POST HAS REPORTED (REFTELS), RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RWANDAN EMBASSY AND THE MFA HAVE BEEN VERY POOR SINCE THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. THE MFA HAD BEEN WITHIN INCHES OF DECLARING NGARUKIYINTWALI PERSONA NON GRATA FOR ISSUING INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS ACCUSING BELGIUM OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR HABYARIMANA'S DEATH.
NGARUKIYINTWALI IS CONSIDERED A HARD-LINE MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MNRD. BETWEEN 1979-89, HE WAS

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RWANDA'S FOREIGN MINISTER, AS WELL AS MINISTER FOR COOPERATION. HE HAD BEEN AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS SINCE 1989. COMMENT. THE MFA WON'T SHED ANY TEARS OVER NGARUKIYINTWALI'S DEPARTURE. VAN DEN MAAGDENBERG CHEERFULLY NOTED HIS RESIGNATION "SOLVED" ONE OF THE MFA'S PROBLEMS. END COMMENT.
BLINKEN
BT
#8267
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8267

TOR: 940726104628 M1170009

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX VERSHBOW
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.78)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHTUA5073 2071730-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 261730Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY TUNIS
OSRI: RUEHTU
DTG: 261730Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY TUNIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7023
INFO: RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1640
SUBJ: TUNISIAN ENVOY SENT TO RWANDA FOR OAU
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ TUNIS 005073
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MARR, OAU, RW, TZ, TS
SUBJECT: TUNISIAN ENVOY SENT TO RWANDA FOR OAU
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. HATEM ATALLAH, SPECIAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINLSTER BEN YAHIA, ASKED EMBASSY TO TRANSMIT TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE ASAP THE INFORMATION THAT SADOK FAYALA, MINISTER OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, IS GOING TOMORRO TO RWANDA AND TANZANIA. HE WILL BE DISCUSSING WITH LEADERS THE POSSIBILITY OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN PREPARATION FOR AN OAU MEETING OF ITS PEACE MECHANISM. ATALLAH HAD NO FURTHER DETAILS ON FAYALA'S TALKING POINTS.
STOCKER
BT
#5073
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5073
TOR: 940726124232 M1170242
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.79)
NZ 10/20/2023

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OSRI: RUEHNM
DTG: 271616Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3690
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC//PM/DRSA// 3691
RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC
RUSNDNB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ5/POLAD//
RUSNDNB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SA/SPS-T/SAA//
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:RSA/DSAA-OPS-MA//
INFO: RUEOHNA/CDRUSAJFKSWC FT BRAGG NC//ATSU-SATMO//
RUVAFMC/DISAM WPAFB OH
RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC//OMB//
RUEAHQA/HQUSAF WASHDC
RUEATRS/TREASURY WASHDC
RUEADWD/DA WASHDC//DALO-SSF//
RUEACMC/CMC WASHDC
RUEHAB/USDAO ABIDJAN IV
RUENAAA/CNO WASHDC
RUEAHQA/OSAF WASHDC//SAF-IA//
RUVKDVA/DLIELC LACKLAND AFB TX//CC/LEA//
RHWRAAA/CDRAFSAT RANDOLPH AFB TX//TOM//
RUKGAIA/DIRSATFA FT MONROE VA//ATFA-R//
RHFJPOV/NETSAFA PENSACOLA FL
RULSJGA/COMDT COGARD WASHDC//GCI//
RUFHMC/CGMCCDC QUANTICO VA//TF32F//
RULSMCA/MCSATFA QUANTICO VA//TE30F//
RULSSAA/NAVY IPO WASHDC//O2T//
RULSSAA/NAVOTTSA WASHDC
SUBJ: NIGER FY96 BUDGET REQUEST FOR BUILDING DEMOCRACY (COUNTY IN TRANSITION)
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 07 NIAMEY 004536
DEPT FOR PM/DRSA, DRL, AF/W AND AF/RA
ALSO FOR ACDA AND USAID
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MASS, EAID, KDEM, PHUM, NG
SUBJECT: NIGER FY96 BUDGET REQUEST FOR BUILDING DEMOCRACY (COUNTY IN TRANSITION)
REF: STATE 166550
1. ~~(C)~~ EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:
- A. NIGER, ONE OF AFRICA'S POOREST COUNTRIES, HAS (DESPITE NUMEROUS OBSTACLES) UNDERGONE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION FROM MILITARY RULE TO A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. NIGER'S CITIZENS

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CONTINUE TO ENJOY FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, AND ASSOCIATION. THE GOVERNMENT, ELECTED IN FREE AND FAIR BALLOTING IN 1993, RECEIVES OVERWHELMING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS THE FULL COOPERATION OF THE OFFICER CORPS IN KEEPING THE MILITARY SUBORDINATE TO A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, NIGER WAS ONE OF ONLY TWO AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO SEND A CONTINGENT TO SUPPORT THE ALLIES IN THE GULF WAR AND HAS RECENTLY HAD PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS (PKO) OBSERVERS IN BURUNDI AND IS SENDING A PKO CONTINGENT TO RWANDA. NIGER'S MOST SERIOUS EXTERNAL THREAT, BOTH FROM A CONVENTIONAL MILITARY AND INTERNAL SUBVERSION PERSPECTIVE, COMES FROM LIBYA.

- B. SINCE NIGER'S MILITARY IS, PER CAPITA, THE SMALLEST ARMY IN THE WORLD, IT DOES NOT FACE THE ISSUE OF HOW TO DOWNSIZE ITS FORCE STRUCTURE. RATHER, NIGER NEEDS TO INCREASE ITS FORCE STRUCTURE. SINCE NIGER DOES NOT HAVE ENOUGH NATIONAL FUNDS TO EVEN ADEQUATELY MAINTAIN ITS PRESENT MILITARY FORCE, FUTURE EXPANSION OF THE MILITARY DEPENDS ON THE AVAILABILITY OF OUTSIDE FUNDING, IN PARTICULAR, FROM FRANCE.

- C. WITH A MODEST AMOUNT OF FMF, THE U.S. CAN PROVIDE IMPORTANT CAPABILITIES TO THE NIGERIEN ARMED FORCES (FAN) IN FULFILLING ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD NIGER'S NEWLY DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY. THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED PRIMARILY THROUGH THE DEFENSE TRAINING PROGRAM. AT THE SAME TIME, U.S. ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE COMPLEMENTING THE EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH, GERMAN, AND ALGERIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE MISSIONS IN NIGER. U.S. ASSISTANCE WILL ENABLE THE U.S. TO CONTINUE INFLUENCING THE POSITIVE ATTITUDES OF THE FAN'S LEADERSHIP TOWARDS THE MILITARY'S PROPER ROLE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. ALTHOUGH THE FAN RECEIVES LESS THAN THREE PERCENT OF THE GON'S BUDGET, THEIR ROLE IS CRITICAL TO NATIONAL UNITY. IN REMOTE REGIONS OF THIS VAST COUNTRY, THE FAN DELIVERS MAIL AND CARGO, HANDLES EMERGENCY EVACUATIONS, AND PROVIDES THE ONLY MEDICAL CARE AVAILABLE TO MUCH OF ITS CIVILIAN POPULATION.

- D. POST RECOMMENDS MAINTAINING THE FUNDING OF DEFENSE TRAINING AT THE 200K USD LEVEL, WITH THESE FUNDS TARGETED PRIMARILY AT THE OFFICER CORPS FOR PROFESSIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION (PME) AND TRAINING, PROGRAMS EMPHASIZING DEMOCRATIZATION, INTERNAL DEFENSE, AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS. NIGER WILL BE ABLE TO GREATLY BENEFIT FROM, AND CONTINUE TO BUILD UPON, THE DEFENSE TRAINING PROGRAM IT HAS GROWN TO RELY HEAVILY UPON.

2. (S) SECTION I - U.S. POLICY CONSIDERATIONS:

BT
#4536
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4536

TOR: 940808055128 M1191568

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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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Cable

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4,81)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 280035Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 280035Z JUL 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
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RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2614
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 9743
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 8195
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY 8179
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 4994
INFO: ****
SUBJ: KENYAN AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON A/S MOOSE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 201259
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, KE, UK, UG, TZ, SU, BY
SUBJECT: KENYAN AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON A/S MOOSE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. KENYA'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S., BENJAMIN KIPKORIR, MADE HIS INITIAL COURTESY CALL ON A/S MOOSE ON JULY 26. THE AMBASSADOR USED THE CALL TO DISCUSS THE LESSONS OF RWANDA AND SUDAN AS WELL AS THE STATE OF U.S.-KENYA RELATIONS. AF/E DIRECTOR SHINN AND NEW EMBASSY NAIROBI POLITICAL OFFICER YOUNG ALSO ATTENDED.

3. KIPKORIR SAID HE PERCEIVED PARALLELS BETWEEN THE CONFLICTS IN SUDAN AND RWANDA. HE FEARED THAT THE DYNAMICS OF ETHNICITY AND VIOLENCE THAT UNDERLAY BOTH CONFLICTS WERE ALSO AT PLAY IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. HE NOTED, FOR EXAMPLE. THAT WHEREAS LAND CLASHES IN KENYA HAVE BEEN BLAMED UPON POLITICAL PROVOCATEURS, THESE CLASHES COULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF THEY DID NOT HAVE THEIR OWN "CONSTITUENCIES."

4. KIPKORIR ADDED SURPRISINGLY THAT NOT ALL EAST AFRICAN COUNTRIES SHARE THE SAME JUDGMENT ON THE ORIGINS OF

VIOLENCE IN SUDAN AND RWANDA. WHEN ASKED BY SHINN WHAT THOSE DIFFERENCES MIGHT BE, THE AMBASSADOR ALLUDED TO THE "UGANDAN ANGLE" ON BOTH CONFLICTS. A/S MOOSE NEVERTHELESS STRESSED THAT A REGIONAL EFFORT TO SOLVE THESE CRISES HAD BEEN MOUNTED AND THAT, IN THE CASE OF RWANDA, THE ARUSHA

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FRAMEWORK WAS STILL VALID.

5. REGARDING BILATERAL TIES, KIPKORIR STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THE U.S. HAS LONG BEEN SUPPORTIVE OF KENYA, MORE RECENTLY THE RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN CLOUDED BY AN AIR OF SUSPICION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE PROBLEMS THAT REMAIN AFTER FOUR YEARS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM ARE FOR KENYANS TO SOLVE. THE AMBASSADOR THEN ASKED THAT THE U.S. NOT GIVE COMFORT TO POLITICAL AGITATORS AND THOSE "WHO MAKE A NUISANCE OF THEMSELVES." HE CONCLUDED THAT HIS INTENTION WAS TO BUILD A FRAMEWORK OF UNDERSTANDING THAT SUPPORTS DIALOGUE AND ACHIEVES RESULTS.

6. A/S MOOSE RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. RELIES ON KENYA AS AN ANCHOR OF STABILITY IN AN OTHERWISE TROUBLED REGION, AND THAT FOR THIS REASON IT PAINS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO MAKE CRITICAL COMMENTS ABOUT THE COUNTRY. HE ADDED THAT HE DOES NOT PRESUME TO KNOW WHAT SOLUTIONS ARE BEST FOR KENYANS. BUT HE HOPED, LIKE THE AMBASSADOR, TO ACHIEVE RESULTS THAT WOULD IMPROVE THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND STRENGTHEN KENYA AS A NATION.

7. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#1259
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 1259
TOR: 940727204239 M1173242
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4(4.82)
VR 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC
LINE3: O 282048Z JUL 94
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OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 282048Z JUL 94
ORIG: USEU BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHXQ/ALLEU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE
RHFQAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE
SUBJ: MGRW02: EU COMMISSION REACTION TO AID DIRECTOR ATWOOD'S LETTER ON RWANDA CONFERENCE; ECHO OFFICE OBSERVATIONS ON EMERGENCY AID

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 08411
DEPT FOR EUR/RPE, AF/E, AF/C, MGRWO2, PRM/AAA, PM/ISP, IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
DEPT PASS TO USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA, AID/BHR/FFP, AID/PPC, AID/PPC/DC, VAN EGMOND, AND AID/AFR
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
NAIROBI FOR DART AND REFCOORD
-
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, RAID, MOPS, RW, EUN
SUBJECT: MGRW02: EU COMMISSION REACTION TO AID DIRECTOR ATWOOD'S LETTER ON RWANDA CONFERENCE; ECHO OFFICE OBSERVATIONS ON EMERGENCY AID
REFS: (A) STATE 201379, (B) ALBRIGHT FAX OF 7/27, (C) USEU BRUSSELS 8285
1. AS REQUESTED IN REF. A, ON JULY 28 WE DELIVERED USAID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD'S LETTER ON RWANDA TO PETER POOLEY, DIRECTOR OF THE EU COMMISSION'S DG VIII (DEVELOPMENT). WE ALSO TOOK THE LIBERTY OF ADDRESSING ANOTHER COPY TO COMMISSION VICE PRESIDENT MARIN, SINCE HE HAS OVERALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EU DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT ADDED SUPPORTING

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LETTERS TO BOTH MARIN AND POOLEY.
2. POLITICAL COUNSELOR AND POLOFF MET LATER IN THE DAY WITH GIOVANNI LIVI, DIRECTOR FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN DG VIII, AND WITH ROBERT COX, ACTING DIRECTOR OF THE EU EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE OFFICE (ECHO). BOTH TOLD US THAT THE COMMISSION APPRECIATED MR. ATWOOD'S LETTER. HOWEVER, THE EU WILL HAVE TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE U.N. DONOR MEETING IN GENEVA ON AUG. 2 ONLY BY ITS GENEVA MISSION. STAFFING IS VERY THIN IN THE COMMISSION RIGHT NOW, ALTHOUGH BOTH COX AND LIVI ARE ANXIOUS TO SPEAK WITH THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE GENEVA MEETING ON AUG. 3, IF MEMBERS CAN RETURN TO WASHINGTON VIA BRUSSELS. COX SAID THAT UNFORTUNATELY THE OPERATIONAL DEMANDS OF THE RWANDA CRISIS MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO SPARE ANYONE FROM BRUSSELS TO GO TO GENEVA. POOLEY LEAVES JULY 29 ON COMMISSION BUSINESS THAT WILL KEEP HIM OUT OF BRUSSELS MOST OF AUGUST.
3. WE ALSO DISCUSSED WITH COX SOME AREAS IN WHICH GREATER EU EFFORTS IN RWANDA COULD BE USEFUL; COX HAD ASKED FOR U.S. INPUT (REF. C). PER INFORMATION GATHERED BY EUR/RPE (REF. B), POLCOUNS SUGGESTED THREE AREAS IN WHICH THE EU MIGHT CONSIDER INPUT: SANITATION, UNICEF INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAMS, AND JEEPS AND TRUCKS.
4. COX REPLIED THAT ECHO HAD PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH SANITATION AND MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP WITH "PART OF THE ANSWER." HE SAID ECHO WAS CURRENTLY DISCUSSING SANITATION WITH UNHCR AND THE ICRC.
5. COX WAS LESS POSITIVE ABOUT UNICEF PROJECTS BUT EXPRESSED SOME INTEREST, PERHAPS PARADOXICALLY BECAUSE THE PROJECTS WENT SOMEWHAT BEYOND TRADITIONAL STRICT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE MANDATES. ESPECIALLY SINCE THE EU IS DIVERTING DEVELOPMENT FUNDS TO PAY FOR RWANDA, AND THIS IS CAUSING PROBLEMS WITH THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, HE INDICATED, ECHO MIGHT BE PREPARED TO LOOK AT SOME INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE AND FACILITATE REFUGEE RETURN.
6. COX ALSO SAID HE BELIEVED ECHO HAD MADE SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEETING TRANSPORTATION NEEDS, ALTHOUGH STRICTLY SPEAKING THAT WAS NOT IN THEIR MANDATE.
7. COX COMMENTED POSITIVELY ON THE SCOPE AND DIRECTION OF U.S. ASSISTANCE, ESPECIALLY THE EMPHASIS ON CLEAN WATER. IN ADDITION, HE SAID, HE HOPED WE COULD HELP FURTHER ON TRANSPORTATION LOGISTICS AND FIND WAYS BOTH

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 08411
DEPT FOR EUR/RPE, AF/E, AF/C, MGRWO2, PRM/AAA, PM/ISP, IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
DEPT PASS TO USAID FOR AID/A, AID/.?#4, AID/BHR/OFDA, AID/BHR/FFP, AID/PPC, AID/PPC/DC, VAN EGMOND, AND AID/AFR
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
NAIROBI FOR DART AND REFCOORD
-
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, RAID, MOPS, RW, EUN
SUBJECT: MGRW02: EU COMMISSION REACTION TO AID DIRECTOR ATWOOD'S LETTER ON RWANDA CONFERENCE; ECHO OFFICE OBSERVATIONS ON EMERGENCY AID

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TO KEEP SCARE PROPAGANDA OFF THE AIRWAVES AND TO GET AN ALTERNATIVE RADIO STATION UP AND RUNNING, SUCH AS DESIRED BY THE FRENCH NGO, RADIO FRANCE LIBERTE. COX ALSO SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE LEARNING U.S. THINKING ON THE PROBLEM OF ARMED RWANDANS IN ZAIRE.

8. INTERESTINGLY, IN LIGHT OF UNHCR COMMENTS MADE TO US EARLIER IN THE WEEK ABOUT CUMBERSOME ECHO REQUIREMENTS DESIGNED TO ENSURE FINANCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY (SEPTEL), COX CONFIDED THAT ECHO WAS FINDING THE DEMANDS OF ITS OWN PROCEDURES A DIFFICULT BURDEN IN A FAST-DEVELOPING CRISIS LIKE RWANDA. WHEN THESE PROCEDURES HAD BEEN DEVISED, HE SAID, ECHO WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF A LONG-TERM PROBLEM SUCH AS BOSNIA. HE ALSO SAID THAT, DESPITE COMPLAINTS FROM SOME NGO'S, ECHO HAD DECIDED TO GO WITH UN COORDINATION MECHANISMS IN RWANDA, ESPECIALLY UNHCR.

9. COX WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE DEBATE WHICH HAS BEEN KINDLED IN THE EU OVER GROWING NEEDS FOR EMERGENCY AID MONEY. IN 1992, HE SAID, ECHO SPENT 400 MILLION ECU; IN 1993 600 MILLION ECU. AS A RESULT OF THE PLIGHT OF RWANDAN REFUGEES, THE EU DECIDED IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS TO CONVERT 150 MILLION ECU IN LONE DEVELOPMENT FUNDS TO EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE. (1 ECU EQUALS APPROX 1.2 USD.) THE EU BUDGET AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY KIND TO ECHO UP TO NOW, COX SAID, BUT HE WAS AFRAID THAT PERIOD MIGHT BE OVER. THERE IS A GROWING DESIRE, HE SAID, TO LOOK FOR WAYS THAT POLITICAL MEANS AND THE EU "COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY" COULD BE USED TO PREVENT PROBLEMS FROM REACHING THE SIZE OF THE CRISIS IN RWANDA.

DRAFTED:POL-KLANG; APPROVED:POL-JGREENWALD.

EIZENSTAT

BT

#8411

NNNN

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

SSN: 8411
<^SSN>8411

TOR: 940728165529 M1175111
<^TOR>940728165630 M1175112

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER KELLY NSC VAX VERSHBOW

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4(4.83)
RL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA2705 2100331-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZEX
LINE3: O 290329Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 290329Z JUL 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7674
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 2730
RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 7185
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 8282
RUFHTH/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE 7416
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 6396
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE 7062
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 9763
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 2639
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0855
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0735
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 3964
RUEHDJ/AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI IMMEDIATE 4459
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 5831
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 5865
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 5035
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 9873
SUBJ: HUMAN RIGHTS TRIBUNAL - RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 202705
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PGOV, PHUM, BE, RW, UN
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS TRIBUNAL - RWANDA

REF: BRUSSELS 8330

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUEST: POST IS ASKED TO CONFER WITH BELGIAN CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS REGARDING POSSIBLE DATES TO MEET WITH PRINCIPAL DEPUTY LEGAL ADVISER MICHAEL J. MATHESON. END SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUEST.

3. USG IS HAPPY TO CONFER WITH WILLEMS REGARDING USG THINKING ON A RWANDA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. MATHESON WOULD PREFER TO MEET IN THE HAGUE ON AUGUST 5. HOWEVER, HE COULD ALSO MEET WITH WILLEMS IN GENEVA FROM AUGUST 8 TO THE 20TH.

4. POST SHOULD CONFER WITH WILLEMS AND ARRANGE A

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CONVENIENT DATE FOR A MEETING.

5. PLEASE SLUG REPLIES FOR L - CRYSTAL NIX, L/UNA - EVAN BLOOM AND USUN/W - DAVID SCHEFFER. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#2705
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2705

TOR: 940728233713 M1175626

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC SCHWARTZ VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~[Response to Rwanda Troop Appeal] (2 pages)~~	~~08/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~U.S. Military Presence... (2 pages)~~	~~08/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~Air Commander Wants to Buy U.S. C130's and Blackhawks (3 pages)~~	~~08/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~004. cable~~	~~Burundi Sitrep 8/4/94 (2 pages)~~	~~08/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~005. cable~~	~~Topics for Discussion during a High Level Visit by President Bedie (2 pages)~~	~~08/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~006. cable~~	~~[Water Tankers Available for Rwanda] (1 page)~~	~~08/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
007. cable	[Rwandan Patriotic Front] (2 pages)	08/04/1994	P1/b(1)
~~008. cable~~	~~Message to the President Concerning Rwanda from Romanian President Iliescu (2 pages)~~	~~08/08/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
009. cable	[Information on Rwandan...] (3 pages)	08/08/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (3 pages)	08/08/1994	P1/b(1)
~~011. cable~~	~~A/S Moose's August 4 Meeting with FM Musyoka (4 pages)~~	~~08/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~012. cable~~	~~Operation Turquoise/UNAMIR... (1 page)~~	~~08/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/02/1994 - 08/09/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh142

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~A/S Moose August 5 Meeting with Tanzanian Prime Minister (6 pages)~~	~~08/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~014. cable~~	~~Kenyan Ambassador Comments... (2 pages)~~	~~08/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~015. cable~~	~~South Africa and the European Union... (5 pages)~~	~~08/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
016. cable	[Internal Instability] (4 pages)	08/09/1994	P1/b(1)
017. cable	[United Nations Mission in Rwanda] (3 pages)	08/09/1994	P1/b(1)
018. cable	[The Rwandan Crisis] (4 pages)	08/09/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/02/1994 - 08/09/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh142

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.8C)
VR 10/20/2023

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH (CCY ADDED ADDEE ADX63612F 503A)
LINE3: O 021356Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY RABAT
OSRI: RUEHRB
DTG: 021356Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY RABAT
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7746
INFO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0098
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0360
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 2682
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0003
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0022
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0010
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 9389
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0505
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1218
RUEHCL/AMCONSUL CASABLANCA 3346
RUSNJTF/JTF SUPPORT HOPE KELLY BARRACKS GE
SUBJ: MOROCCO: RESPONSE TO RWANDA TROOP APPEAL
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ RABAT 007134
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDING KELLY BARRACKS)
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PGOV, MARR, MOPS, RW, MO
SUBJECT: MOROCCO: RESPONSE TO RWANDA TROOP APPEAL
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AMBASSADOR MET KING HASSAN ON AUG 1 TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE GOM WOULD AGREE TO DISPATCH TROOPS TO EASTERN ZAIRE TO ASSIST REFUGEE RELIEF OPERATIONS. AMBASSADOR TOLD HASSAN THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WOULD PERSONALLY WELCOME A POSITIVE AND SWIFT GOM RESPONSE AND URGED HASSAN TO JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORT.
3. HASSAN'S RESPONSE WAS A TENTATIVE "NO" TO TROOPS, BUT AN UNQUALIFIED "YES" TO OTHER FORMS OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. HASSAN INFORMED AMBASSADOR THAT INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS PROBABLY PRECLUDED A GOM TROOP DEPLOYMENT. HASSAN CITED RESISTANCE WITHIN HIS MILITARY TO A RWANDA MISSION, WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO THE GOM'S RECENT DIFFICULTIES IN SOMALIA. HASSAN FURTHER EXPLAINED THAT SINCE RWANDA WAS A STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF THE POLISARIO, A GOM TROOP DEPLOYMENT WOULD NOT ESCAPE CRITICISM BY HIS POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND BY HIS MILITARY TROOPS, NOTWITHSTANDING THE UNDERSTANDABLE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS AND NATURE OF THE DEPLOYMENT.
4. HASSAN INFORMED AMBASSADOR THAT HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH HIS SENIOR MILITARY STAFF THAT SAME AFTERNOON AND DISCUSS OUR REQUEST NOTWITHSTANDING THESE RESERVERATIONS.

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5. AMBASSADOR COUNTERED THAT NO TROOP DEPLOYMENT DECISION IS WITHOUT INTERNAL POLITICAL RISK, WHETHER IN THE U.S. OR IN MOROCCO. AMBASSADOR TOLD HASSAN THAT THE U.S. AND OTHER DONORS HAD DETERMINED THAT POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS HAD TO GIVE WAY TO ADDRESSING A CATASTROPHIC HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY. IF PRESIDENT CLINTON COULD OVERCOME POLITICAL OBSTACLES, CERTAINLY, AMBASSADOR REASONED, HASSAN SHOULD DO SO, AS WELL.

6. HASSAN HELD FAST. HOWEVER, HE INFORMED AMBASSADOR THAT PENDING A FORMAL DECISION ON GOM TROOP DEPLOYMENT, HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO HAVE HIS MILITARY MEET WITH US TO EXPLORE WHAT OTHER FORMS OF RELIEF COULD BE IMMEDIATELY MADE AVAILABLE.

7. AS A LAST RESORT, AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT A SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL, POSSIBLY A/S MOOSE, MEET WITH GOM INTELLIGENCE HEAD GENERAL KADIRI SOMEWHERE IN EASTERN AFRICA TO RECEIVE A BRIEFING ON TROOP DEPLOYMENT SCENARIOS. HASSAN COUNTERED WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT ANY MEETING BE HELD WITH HIS TOP GENERALS IN MOROCCO. AMBASSADOR OFFERED TO CONVEY THIS SUGGESTION BACK TO THE APPROPRIATE STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS.

8. AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: WHEN FORMALLY RECEIVED, IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT HASSAN WILL YIELD ON THE TROOP DEPLOYMENT REQUEST UNLESS IT BECOMES THE SUBJECT OF A DIRECT PERSONAL PRESIDENTIAL/VICE PRESIDENTIAL APPEAL, WHICH AMBASSADOR DOES NOT/NOT RECOMMEND UNLESS NO ALTERNATIVE SOURCE OF TROOPS CAN BE LOCATED. AMBASSADOR ALSO DOES NOT RECOMMEND A VISIT BY A/S MOOSE SINCE ANY OTHER GOM HUMANITARIAN DONATION COULD BE HANDLED VIA UN OR EMBASSY CHANNELS.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER WE SHOULD EXPLORE WITH THE GOM MILITARY OTHER FORMS OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF WHICH HASSAN MAY BE WILLING TO DISPATCH TO EASTERN ZAIRE. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

GINSBERG

BT

#7134

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7134

TOR: 940802110031 M1182234

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC SATTERFIELD SCHWARTZ VAX

□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2511-0262-M-4 (4.87)
NL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 021555Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 1221
INFO: RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC//DHO-6// IMMEDIATE
RUEHAB/USDAO ABIDJAN IV IMMEDIATE
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE IMMEDIATE 0055
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0562
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4185
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//,IMMEDIATE
SUBJ: U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN BURUNDI
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BUJUMBURA 002579
KAMPALA FOR DAO, LTC KELLER
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, BY
SUBJECT: U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN BURUNDI
1. ~~(C/NF)~~ AMBASSADOR KRUEGER INTENDS TO RECOMMEND TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE THAT IT WOULD BE HIGHLY BENEFICIAL TO HAVE A LIMITED UNITED STATES MILITARY PRESENCE IN BUJUMBURA, BURUNDI IN CONJUNCTION WITH ONGOING U.S. HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS TO RWANDA. AMBASSADOR KRUEGER WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS FEASIBILITY OF DEPLOYMENT OF SMALL U.S. MILITARY CONTINGENT TO BUJUMBURA WITH A EUCOM REPRESENTATIVE. REQUEST YOU ADVISE LTG SCHROEDER'S OFFICE ACCORDINGLY.
2. ~~(C)~~ AT PRESENT, THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS (IRC) IS UTILIZING BUJUMBURA FOR A STAGING AIRFIELD. THERE ARE NORMALLY TWO OR THREE RUSSIAN IL-76 OR AN-124 AIRCRAFT ON THE RAMP OFF-LOADING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF CARGO WHICH IS THEN SHIPPED OVERLAND TO ESTABLISHED HUMANITARIAN RELIEF SITES.
3. (U) THE BUJUMBURA AIRPORT (ICAO IDENTIFIER HBBA) IS AN ALL WEATHER DAY/NIGHT AIRFIELD WITH AN 11,811' HARD-SURFACED RUNWAY. FUEL IS AVAILABLE WITH PRIOR COORDINATION; REFERENCED IRC AIRCRAFT HAVE ROUTINELY BEEN REFUELING & UTILIZING HBBA AS AN RON SITE.
4. ~~(C/NE)~~ IT APPEARS THAT BUJUMBURA IS FULLY CAPABLE OF SUPPORTING ADDITIONAL RELIEF AIRCRAFT; COULD BE UTILIZED AS A DIVERT AIRFIELD FOR GOMA, KIGALI, & ENTEBBE; OR COULD BE UTILIZED AS A STAGING AIRFIELD FOR KC-LO'S OR OTHER PERIPHERAL SUPPORT OPERATIONS.
REGARDS, COL HIBL. KRUEGER
BT
#2579

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2579
TOR: 940802115941 M1182364
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4,88)
VL 10/20/2023

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
OSRI: RUEHLS
DTG: 040745Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO: RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SA//
INFO: RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP/DSAA/ISA-ME/AFRICA//
RUEHSA/USDAO PRETORIA
RUEHSB/USDAO HARARE
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 9575
RUEHOR/USODC GABORONE BC
RUEHWD/USDAO WINDHOEK
SUBJ: AIR COMMANDER WANTS TO BUY U.S. C130S AND BLACKHAWKS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LUSAKA 004538
E.0.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MCAP, MARR, ZA
SUBJECT: AIR COMMANDER WANTS TO BUY U.S. C130S AND BLACKHAWKS
1. (U) DATT HARARE HAS RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING LETTER, DATED 13 JULY, FROM ZAMBIA AIR FORCE COMMANDER LTG RONNIE SHIKAPWASHYA:
QUOTE:
COL HENK
USA DEFENCE ATTACHE
HARARE
ZIMBABWE
ZAMBIA AIR FORCE PURCHASE OF A SECONDHAND C130 HERCULES TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT AND BLACK HAWK HELICOPTERS FROM EXCESS US FORCES STOCKS
I REFER TO OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THE ABOVE SUBJECT ON TUESDAY 12 JULY 1994 AT AIRFORCE HEADQUARTERS. ZAMBIA DEFENCE FORCES ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A PROMINENT ROLE IN PEACE KEEPING EFFORTS IN THE SOUTHERN REGION. ACCORDINGLY, THERE ARE PLANS FOR THE DEFENCE FORCES TO DEPLOY IN ANGOLA AND RWANDA. FURTHER, THERE HAVE BEEN REQUESTS FOR THE ZAMBIAN DEFENCE FORCES TO TAKE PART IN PEACE KEEPING INITIATIVES IN LIBERIA AND SOMALIA. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, A LARGE DEMAND ON AIRLIFT FOR THE GROUND FORCES HAS BEEN PUT ON THE ZAMBIA AIR FORCE. IT HAS HOWEVER BEEN DIFFICULT TO MEET THIS DEMAND DUE TO INADEQUATE TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT. IT IS IN THIS LINE THAT THE ZAMBIA AIR FORCE IS LOOKING AT THE OPTION OF PURCHASING THE FOLLOWING AIRCRAFT FROM THE EXCESS

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STOCKS OF THE U.S. FORCES:
A. TWO (02) C130 AIRCRAFT.
B. TEN (10) BLACK HAWK UTILITY HELICOPTERS.
THE ZAMBIA AIR FORCE WILL UNDERTAKE TO PAY FOR THE TRAINING OF THE CREWS FOR THE AIRCRAFT AND ALSO THE PURCHASE OF THE NECESSARY SPARE PARTS.
I AM THEREFORE REQUESTING THAT YOU AS A MATTER OF URGENCY ASSIST TO FIND THIS EQUIPMENT.
I HOPE TO HEAR FROM YOU SOON.
R.S. SHIKAPWASHYA
LIEUTENANT GENERAL
AIR COMMANDER
UNQUOTE
2. ~~(S)~~ COMMENT: DURING THE TWO-PLUS YEARS OF THE U.S. MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AIR FORCE, SHIKAPWASHYA HAS ASKED FOR C130S AND HELICOPTERS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. EACH TIME, WE AND VARIOUS U.S. MILITARY VISITORS HAVE TOLD HIM THAT SUCH EQUIPMENT WILL NOT BE FORTHCOMING UNDER U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE. NOW, SHIKAPWASHYA SEEMS TO BE INDICATING A WILLINGNESS TO PURCHASE THE AIRCRAFT, ALTHOUGH WE ARE AT A LOSS AS TO HOW THE AIR FORCE WILL PAY FOR ENORMOUS TRAINING AND MAINTENANCE COSTS, LET ALONE BUYING THE AIRCRAFT. WE ARE ALSO HIGHLY DOUBTFUL AS TO THE AIR FORCE'S ABILITY TO KEEP SUCH AIRCRAFT FLYING.
3. ~~(S)~~ DURING THE JULY 12 MEETING WITH DATT REFERRED TO IN SHIKAPWASHYA'S LETTER, EDA WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL AND DATT BELIEVES SHIKAPWASHYA HAS A CLEAR IDEA OF THE FINANCIAL RAMIFICATIONS OF PURCHASING USED U.S. EQUIPMENT UNDER EDA. IT IS EQUALLY POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT SHIKAPWASHYA DEVELOPED THE MISTAKEN IMPRESSION THAT C130S AND BLACKHAWKS ARE AVAILABLE UNDER EDA.
4. (U) ACTION REQUEST FOR EUCOM J4-SA. EMBASSY REQUESTS INFORMATION TO HELP US REPLY TO SHIKAPWASHYA'S LETTER, INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING:
-- AVAILABILITY OF C130S AND BLACKHAWKS UNDER EDA AND, IF SO, PROCUREMENT COSTS.
-- IF NOT AVAILABLE UNDER EDA, ARE SUCH AIRCRAFT AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE? IF SO, WHAT IS APPROXIMATE COST?
-- BALLPARK ESTIMATE OF TRAINING AND SPARE PARTS PACKAGES FOR 2 C130S AND 10 BLACKHAWKS.
-- ANY OTHER USEFUL LANGUAGE/GUIDANCE.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LUSAKA 004538
E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MCAP, MARR, ZA
SUBJECT: AIR COMMANDER WANTS TO BUY U.S. C130S AND BLACKHAWKS
5. (U) EMBASSY APPRECIATES YOUR ASSISTANCE. POC IS POLITICAL OFFICER DON GATTO; PHONE: 260-1-250955; FAX: 260-1-252225.
ARIETTI
BT
#4538
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4538
<^SSN>4538

TOR: 940804040025 M1185967
<^TOR>940804035924 M1185966

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.89)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 041517Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 041517Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4200
INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1338
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1224
RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0114
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0808
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0565
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 0343
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1232
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 141
SUBJ: BURUNDI SITREP 8/4/94
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BUJUMBURA 002618
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PINS, PREF, BY, RW
SUBJECT: BURUNDI SITREP 8/4/94

1. (LOU) VISIT OF A/S MOOSE: A/S MOOSE DEPARTED BUJUMBURA AT NOON AUGUST 4 FOLLOWING A TWO-DAY VISIT TO BUJUMBURA. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY MET WITH THE INTERIM PRESIDENT AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, MILITARY LEADERS, KEY FIGURES IN THE ONGOING POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS, AND LOCAL ACTORS IN THE REGIONAL REFUGEE RELIEF EFFORT. A/S MOOSE DESCRIBED TO HIS BURUNDI INTERLOCUTORS HIS PROFOUND DISTRESS AT WHAT HE HAD SEEN DURING HIS VISIT TO KIGALI. HE NOTED THAT, WHILE BURUNDI AND RWANDA ARE NOT THE SAME, BURUNDIANS MUST EXERT ENORMOUS EFFORT TO ASSURE THAT EXTREMIST VOICES ARE NOT PERMITTED TO DOMINATE THE POLITICAL DEBATE AS WAS THE CASE IN RWANDA. A/S MOOSE URGED ALL OF HIS INTERLOCUTORS TO RAPIDLY END THE STALEMATE OVER BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION. PRIOR TO DEPARTING THE COUNTRY, THE A/S DELIVERED A STRONGLY WORDED STATEMENT TO THE LOCAL PRESS (TEXT OF STATEMENT DELIVERED SEPTEL).

2. (LOU) A FULL REPORT ON A/S MOOSE'S VISIT WILL FOLLOW.

3. (U) WORK STOPPAGE A NON-EVENT: AS EXPECTED, THE RUMORED AUGUST 3 WORK STOPPAGE DID NOT/NOT TAKE PLACE. YOUTHS SET UP A FEW ROAD BLOCKS ALONG BUJUMBURA'S MAIN BOULEVARD CONSISTING OF STONES AND BURNING TIRES (A

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NEW TOUCH) WHICH WERE QUICKLY CLEARED AWAY BY MILITARY AND GENDARME TROOPS. RELATIVELY FEW BARRICADES WERE ERECTED; SEVERAL AREAS OF TOWN WHERE MAJOR ROADBLOCKS HAD APPEARED DURING PREVIOUS "VILLE MORTES" WERE UNAFFECTED. NO INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN REPORTED. ALL MISSION PERSONNEL REPORTED TO WORK AUGUST 3. NONE REPORTED ANY DIFFICULTY.

4. (LOU) BAGAZA'S PARTY REGISTERED: "PARENA," THE NEW POLITICAL PARTY OF FORMER PRESIDENT BAGAZA RECEIVED ACCREDITATION ON AUGUST 3. AS LEADER OF AN ACCREDITED PARTY, BAGAZA IS NOW ENTITLED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION NEGOTIATIONS HELD AT NOVOTEL. BAGAZA TOLD REPORTERS THAT HIS PARTY HAD NO INTEREST IN RECEIVING POSITIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT, THAT ASSIGNMENT OF SUBORDINATE OFFICES SHOULD NOT DELAY PRESIDENTIAL NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT HIS PRINCIPAL CONCERN WAS EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

5. (C) COMMENT: BAGAZA'S STATEMENTS BEAR NO RESEMBLANCE TO THE EXHORTATIONS TO RESIST THE "ILLEGITIMATE AND GENOCIDAL" FRODEBU CONTAINED IN FLYERS ANNOUNCING PARENA'S POORLY JTENDED MARCHES DURING THE LAST TWO WEEKS. ALSO OMITTED WAS BAGAZA'S USUAL ATTACK ON BUYOYA WHO, HE CLAIMS, CAUSED ALL BURUNDI'S WOES BY INTRODUCING DEMOCRACY AND A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM. ONE WESTERN AMBASSADOR INDICATED THAT HE BELIEVED FRODEBU HAD AGREED TO SUCH REGISTRATION IN HOPES THAT PARENA WOULD THEREBY HELP TO DIVIDE THE OPPOSITION, PARTICULARLY WHATEVER POLITICALSPOILS THE OPPOSITION MIGHT SHARE. IF SO, THEIR POLITICAL LOGIC SEEMS FAULTY. BAGAZA IS, TO PUT IS CHARITABLY, NOT SOMEONE LIKELY TO BRING HARMONY TO THE CURRENT POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS, AND MIGHT INTRODUCE, FOR THE FIRST TIME, OVERTLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC OR ANTI-WESTERN STATEMENTS IN THESE TALKS. END COMMENT.

KRUEGER

BT

#2618

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2618

TOR: 940804112553 M1186683

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHABA8854 2161805-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 041805Z AUG 94 ZDK
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
OSRI: RUEHAB
DTG: 041805Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7032
INFO: ****
SUBJ: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION DURING A HIGH LEVEL VISIT BY PRESIDENT BEDIE
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.90)
VL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ABIDJAN 008854
AF/W FOR DANE SMITH AND RICHARD APPLETON FROM CHARGE CHUCK CECIL
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OVIP, PGOV, IV
SUBJECT: TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION DURING A HIGH LEVEL VISIT BY PRESIDENT BEDIE
REF: (A) TELECON CECIL/SMITH 8/4/94, (B) STATE 204973
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~-ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: REFTEL SPEAKS OF POSSIBILITY OF A BEDIE MEETING WITH DEPARTMENT PRINCIPALS. FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE, POST SUGGESTS IN PARA 3 REASONS WHY A MEETING WITH SENIOR USG OFFICIALS WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST. PARA 4 SUGGESTS POINTS WHICH COULD BE MADE IN SUCH MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

REASONS FOR THE MEETING

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3. --TO DEMONSTRATE OUR HIGH-LEVEL INTEREST IN COTE D'IVOIRE. THERE ARE SOME DOUBTS HERE THAT WE GIVE A DAMN.
-- TO OPEN DOORS FOR HIGH-LEVEL VISITORS TO COTE D'IVOIRE DURING THE COMING 15 MONTHS LEADING UP TO THE FALL 1995 ELECTIONS.
-- TO THANK BEDIE FOR THE GOCI'S GIVING THE CONTRACT FOR OFFSHORE GAS EXPLOITATION AND PIPELINE CONSTRUCTION TO AN AMERICAN FIRM, UNITED MERIDIAN. TO MAKE THE POINT THAT AMERICAN FIRMS ARE INTERESTED IN COTE D'IVOIRE, AND TO ASK THAT SERIOUS ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO THEIR PROPOSALS.
-- TO PUT SOMETHING IN THE BANK FOR FAVORS--UNKNOWN AT THE MOMENT--WE ARE LIKELY TO REQUEST DURING THE REMAINDER OF THE BEDIE ADMINISTRATION.
-- TO URGE BEDIE TO EXERCISE IVORIAN INFLUENCE IN INTERNATIONAL CIRCLES, INCLUDING RELIEF EFFORTS SUCH AS RWANDA. (AT PRESENT THE GOCI, AT BEDIE'S INSTRUCTION, IS CONSIDERING WHETHER IT CAN SEND A MEDICAL TEAM OR OTHER ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA.)
-- TO URGE MORE ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN SOLVING THE LIBERIAN PROBLEM, BEFORE WE HAVE A SECOND RWANDA ON COTE D'IVOIRE'S WESTERN BORDER.
-- TO MAKE THE POINT THAT WE WILL BE WATCHING, AND HOPING, THAT THE 1995 ELECTIONS WILL BE FREE AND FAIR, AND OPEN TO INTERNATIONAL

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OBSERVERS.
-- TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERNS OVER THE MANAGEMENT AND PORTFOLIO PROBLEMS AT THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND REQUEST COTE D'IVOIRE'S SUPPORT AS WE WORK TO FIND SOLUTIONS.

SOFTBALL TALKING POINTS

4.-- CONGRATULATE BEDIE ON AN IVORIAN, HIS FOREIGN MINISTER, BEING ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
-- TAKE CREDIT FOR OUR RESCHEDULING OF DEBTS UNDER THE PARIS CLUB (A LINE BEST SPOKEN BY THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BUT NOT ONE TO BE MISSED IN ANY CASE.)
-- CONGRATULATE BEDIE ON HAVING THE COURAGE TO PUSH FOR CFA DEVALUATION. COTE D'IVOIRE TOOK THE LEAD IN THIS. THOUGH THE FIRST IVORIAN TO ADVOCATE IT WAS FORMER PM OUATTARA, IT WAS BEDIE AND HIS PRIME MINISTER KABLAN DUNCAN WHO PUSHED IT THROUGH, AND WHO DESERVE CREDIT FOR SUCCESSFULLY MANAGING THE FIRST 6 MONTHS AFTER DEVALUATION.
5. COMMENT: WE RECOGNIZE THAT COTE D'IVOIRE IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT TO FRANCE THAN IT IS TO THE UNITED STATES, AND THAT IT IS NOT REALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT COTE D'IVOIRE WILL RECEIVE THE SAME AMOUNT OF ATTENTION FROM SENIOR USG OFFICIALS AS IT DOES FROM SENIOR FRENCH. NEVERTHELESS, WE OFTEN READ THAT WE ARE TO DO ALL WE CAN TO PROMOTE AMERICAN BUSINESS ABROAD, AND WE RECEIVE AN UNENDING STREAM OF CABLES FROM WASHINGTON ASKING US TO SEEK IVORIAN SUPPORT ON ONE ISSUE OR ANOTHER. VIRTUALLY EVERY SIGNIFICANT AMERICAN BUSINESS PROPOSAL OR BID COMES UP AGAINST STIFF FRENCH COMPETITION, INCLUDING THE USE OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE TO ENSURE DECISIONS FAVORABLE TO FRANCE. IF WE EXPECT AMERICAN FIRMS TO COMPETE SUCCESSFULLY IN THIS ENVIRONMENT, WE NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WE ARE NOT SIMPLY OUT FOR PROFIT, BUT THAT AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL WE FEEL THAT COTE D'IVOIRE MERITS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF ATTENTION. HARD ECONOMIC TIMES IN RECENT YEARS HAVE MADE COTE D'IVOIRE LIMIT SOMEWHAT ITS SCOPE OF ACTIVITY, BUT DEVALUATION, RISING COFFEE AND COCOA PRICES, AND SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC REFORMS MAY BE CREATING NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WHICH WILL GIVE THE COUNTRY THE WHEREWITHAL TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL COUNCILS, AND CAN CREATE A MORE INTERESTING MARKET FOR AMERICAN FIRMS. (A.T. AND T., HUGHES, 3-M, AND SOUTHWESTERN BELL HAVE ALL MADE EXPLORATORY VISITS FOLLOWING THE DEVALUATION.) A 30-MINUTE APPOINTMENT FOR PRESIDENT BEDIE AT A SENIOR USG LEVEL CAN DO A LOT TO ENSURE THAT OUR PROPOSALS AND REQUESTS ARE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.
CECIL
BT
#8854
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 8854
TOR: 940805034006 M1188139
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-4(4.91)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA3220 2161925-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 041925Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 041925Z AUG 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8167
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 0265
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE 0244
INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 5569
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA: WATER TANKERS AVAILABLE FOR
- RWANDA
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN NEW YORK 003220
CAPE TOWN ALSO FOR EXECUTIVE OFFICE
E.0.12356: N/A
TAGS: PINS, PREL, AMGT, CASC, PREF, PHUM, EAID, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: WATER TANKERS AVAILABLE FOR
- RWANDA
REF: (1) PRETORIA 11060, (2) STATE 204301
1. ECONMINCOUNS SPOKE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO UN STEWARD AS A FOLLOW-UP TO OUR EARLIER APPROACH.
2. STEWARD SAID THAT NEW CIRCUMSTANCES IN SOUTH AFRICA MADE PROMPT PROCESSING BY THE SAG OF SUCH A REQUEST UNLIKELY. HE IS NOT OPTIMISTIC, PARTICULARLY ON THE TIMELINESS OF THE SAG'S REPLY, AND HE UNDERSTANDS THE URGENCY OF THE MATTER. NEVERTHELESS, HE WELCOMED USUN'S APPROACH AS GIVING HIM CAUSE TO PRESS PRETORIA FOR AN ANSWER.
3. AS AN AFTERTHOUGHT, HE MENTIONED THAT APPROACHING THE MUNICIPALITIES OF SOUTH AFRICA (I.E., RATHER THAN JUST THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT) MIGHT BE PRODUCTIVE.
ALBRIGHT
BT
#3220
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3220
TOR: 940804155625 M1187225
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-4 (4.93)
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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
LINE1: PAAUZYUW RUEHBMA7405 2201038-UUUU--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH
LINE3: P 081038Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
OSRI: RUEHBM
DTG: 081038Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO: RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7252
INFO: ****
SUBJ: MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT CONCERNING RWANDA FROM ROMANIAN PRESIDENT ILIESCU
TEXT:

UNCLAS BUCHAREST 007405
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, RO, RW, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT CONCERNING RWANDA FROM ROMANIAN PRESIDENT ILIESCU
REF: WHITE HOUSE RHEHAAA 3986

ON AUGUST 8, MFA PROVIDED EMBASSY WITH A COPY OF PRESIDENT ILIESCU'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S LETTER (REFTEL) URGING ROMANIA TO SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THE RWANDA REFUGEE CRISIS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE ROMANIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HAS FORWARDED SIGNED ORIGINAL TO THE WHITE HOUSE. TEXT OF MESSAGE FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I RECEIVED WITH GREAT INTEREST YOUR LETTER OF JULY 25 ON THE EFFORTS YOU ARE UNDERTAKING IN ORDER TO ASSIST IN PROVIDING RELIEF IN THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CRISIS, AND I SALUTE YOUR PROMPT HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE ON THIS ISSUE.

ENTIRELY SHARING YOUR CONSIDERATION AND POSITION ON THIS MATTER, I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT ROMANIA IS READY TO CONTRIBUTE - TO THE EXTENT OF HER CAPABILITIES - TO A JOINT EFFORT, WITH OTHER STATES AND UN SUPPORT, AIMED AT BRINGING AN END TO THIS CRISIS. THEREFORE, I WANT TO LET YOU KNOW THAT, AS A REACTION TO THE PREVIOUS UN ACTION AND APPEALS ON THIS ISSUE, ROMANIA HAS ALREADY SET UP A MILITARY MEDICAL TEAM OF 22 EXPERTS TO TAKE PART IN THE MISSIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE LOGISTIC SYSTEM DESIGNED BY THE UN. THE UN SECRETARIAT HAS BEEN INFORMED ABOUT THIS ACTION AND ABOUT OUR READINESS TO SUPPLY THAT CONTRIBUTION.

IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED TEAM, MY COUNTRY IS ALSO PREPARED TO FURNISH ALL NECESSARY PERSONNEL FOR A MILITARY CAMP HOSPITAL IN CASE THE U.S. OR ANOTHER COUNTRY WOULD PROVIDE THE FACILITIES AND

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EQUIPMENT.

REGARDING MATERIAL AID, I AM SURE YOU ARE AWARE OF ROMANIA'S DIFFICULT SITUATION, DUE TO THE HARDSHIPS IMPOSED BY THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THEREFORE, WE FEEL SORRY FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE NOW TO THE EXTENT OF OUR DESIRE, TO THIS EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. FURTHERMORE, I WISH TO POINT OUT OUR WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ANY OTHER FEASIBLE ALTERNATIVE THAT MIGHT ACCOMMODATE OUR PRESENT LIMITED MEANS WITH OUR DETERMINATION TO ACT IN RWANDA.

LET ME ALSO ADVISE YOU THAT ROMANIAN NGO'S, SUCH AS THE NATIONAL RED CROSS, ARE CURRENTLY ASSESSING THE POSSIBILITIES OF JOINING OUR GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

I SHALL KEEP YOU INFORMED ON ALL FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING MY COUNTRY'S EFFORTS RELATED TO ENDING THIS PAINFUL CRISIS.

PLEASE ACCEPT, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

ION ILIESCU.

END TEXT. RICKERT

BT

#7405

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7405

TOR: 940808065436 M1191677

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (4.96)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHNRA4095 2210734-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 090734Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
OSRI: RUEHNR
DTG: 090734Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0942
INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0256
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0303
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0207
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0185
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0284
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 0115
RUFHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0204
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0187
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0169
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0020
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
SUBJ: A/S MOOSE'S AUGUST 4 MEETING WITH FM MUSYOKA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 NAIROBI 14095
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PGOV, BY, KE, RW, SU
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE'S AUGUST 4 MEETING WITH FM MUSYOKA
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY: IN HIS AUGUST 4 CALL ON KENYAN FOREIGN MINISTER MUSYOKA, A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR KENYA'S COOPERATION IN FACILITATING THE UN RWANDAN RELIEF EFFORT, PARTICULARLY THE TRANSSHIPMENT OF US RELIEF SUPPLIES THROUGH THE PORT OF MOMBASA. HE ALSO PRESENTED A LETTER OF THANKS FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT MOI. MOOSE BRIEFED MUSYOKA ON HIS RECENT VISITS TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI AND EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BOTH COUNTRIES. HE OBSERVED THAT EVERYONE HAD UNDERESTIMATED THE DEPTH OF ETHNIC ANIMOSITIES WHICH EXISTED IN RWANDA PRIOR TO APRIL 6, ADDING THAT ALL SHOULD REFLECT ON THE FORCE AND DANGER OF ETHNIC TENSIONS. HE NOTED THAT WHAT HAPPENED IN RWANDA COULD HAPPEN ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION WHERE ETHNIC TENSIONS EXIST AND THAT ALL CONCERNED HAD TO BE EXTRAORDINARILY CAREFUL, A POINT NOT LOST ON MUSYOKA. MOOSE ALSO URGED ACTION BY REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS TO RESPOND TO THE RWANDA TRAGEDY. MUSYOKA EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR US HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION. HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT MOI HAD ORDERED KENYAN OFFICIALS TO RENDER FULL COOPERATION IN FACILITATING US RELIEF EFFORTS THROUGH KENYA. MUSYOKA AGREED ON THE NEED FOR REGIONAL ACTION. ON SUDAN AND THE IGADD PROCESS, MUSYOKA CRITICIZED THE GOS FOR ITS APPARENT DUPLICITY. HE BLAMED THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION IN KENYA ON THE UNSTABLE SITUATION IN SOMALIA AND URGED US SUPPORT FOR KENYA'S REQUEST TO THE UN FOR ASSISTANCE TO PATROL THE KENYA/SOMALI BORDER. END

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SUMMARY.

APPRECIATION FOR KENYA'S HELP

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3. ON AUGUST 4, ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE, POLITICAL COUNSELOR AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT ROGER ERVIN, MADE A FORTY-FIVE MINUTE CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER MUSYOKA. THE FM WAS ACCOMPANIED BY POLITICAL DIRECTOR GERALD RAICHENAH AND AMERICAS DIRECTOR PAUL MWAURA AND SEVERAL UNIDENTIFIED STAFF MEMBERS. MOOSE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR KENYA'S COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF THE UN RWANDAN RELIEF EFFORT, PARTICULARLY THE USE OF THE PORT OF MOMBASA, NOTING THAT SUCH A LARGE ENDEAVOR WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT KENYA'S ASSISTANCE. HE PRESENTED THE FOREIGN MINISTER A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT MOI, WHICH EXPRESSED SIMILAR SENTIMENTS.

RWANDA

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4. BRIEFING MUSYOKA ON RWANDA, MOOSE SAID THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS THE MAGNITUDE OF FURTHER DEMANDS WHICH WOULD BE REQUIRED TO STABLIZE THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN SOME IMPROVEMENT IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS, MUCH REMAINED TO BE DONE. HE NOTED KENYA'S APPROVAL OF US MILITARY OVERLAND TRANSPORT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR RWANDA AND COMPLIMENTED THE GOK ON ITS DECISION TO ESTABLISH A COMMITTEE TO COORDINATE THE TRANSSHIPMENT. HE EXPLAINED THAT TRUCKS AND OTHER HEAVY EQUIPMENT WOULD BE NECESSARY IN ASSISTING AND REHABILITATING RWANDA. MOOSE SAID HE HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY THE ENORMITY OF THE DESTRUCTION IN RWANDA WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE PAST FOUR MONTHS. HE DESCRIBED THE STRANGE AND EERIE FEELING ONE GOT IN FLYING OVER THE COUNTRY AND SEEING NO INHABITANTS AT ALL. IN KIGALI, HE SAID, THERE WAS NO WATER, NO ELECTRICITY, NO CURRENCY, NO BANKS, NO CIVIL SERVICE, NO POLICE. IT WOULD TAKE ENORMOUS TIME AND EFFORT TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE.

5. MOOSE OBSERVED THAT EVERYONE HAD UNDERESTIMATED THE DEPTH OF ETHNIC ANIMOSITIES WHICH EXISTED IN RWANDA PRIOR TO APRIL 6, ADDING THAT ALL SHOULD REFLECT ON THE FORCE AND DANGER OF ETHNIC TENSIONS. HE NOTED THAT WHAT HAPPENED IN RWANDA COULD HAPPEN ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION WHERE ETHNIC TENSIONS EXIST AND THAT ALL CONCERNED HAD TO BE EXTRAORDINARILY CAREFUL, A POINT NOT LOST ON MUSYOKA.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 NAIROBI 14095

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PGOV, BY, KE, RW, SU

SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE'S AUGUST 4 MEETING WITH FM MUSYOKA

6. MOOSE SAID HE HAD SEEN MANY OF THE TOP OFFICIALS OF THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND HAD COME AWAY PERSUADED THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WANTED TO DO THE RIGHT THING. THEY WANTED TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE PRINCIPLES OF ARUSHA AND TO BRING ABOUT A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION. UNFORTUNATELY, THEY HAD INHERITED A GOVERNMENT WHICH LACKED THE BASIC RESOURCES NEEDED TO FUNCTION. HE NOTED THAT THE US COULD HELP BUT WE COULD ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STRUCTURE THE GOVERNMENT PUTS INTO PLACE. MOOSE URGED THAT REGIONAL STATES ALSO TAKE ACTION TO HELP RWANDA.

7. MOOSE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT SOME OF THE FORMER GOR ARMY STILL WERE ARMED AND THE CRIMINALS WHO DIRECTED THE GENOCIDE STILL AT LARGE. SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE, HE SAID, FOR IF CARE IS NOT TAKEN, THERE WOULD BE "MANY RWANDAS" OUTSIDE RWANDA.

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BURUNDI
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8. EXPRESSING DEEP CONCERN ABOUT BURUNDI, MOOSE SAID THERE WERE TOO MANY ELEMENTS IN THE BURUNDI SITUATION WHICH ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE WHICH LED TO THE TRAGEDYIN RWANDA. THERE WAS HEIGHTENED TENSION BETWEEN ETHNIC COMMUNITIES AND A PATTERN OF ACQUIRING ARMS, EXACERBATED BY THE INFLUX OF REFUGEES, MANY OF WHOM HAD HIGHLY POLITICAL IDEAS. AT THE SAME TIME, POLITICAL DIALOGUE HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL IN RESOLVING THE QUESTION OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION. IF THIS ISSUE WERE NOT RESOLVED, MOOSE CONTINUED, THE RESULT COULD BE MASSIVE VIOLENCE. IF THE DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH FROM THEIR "SAFE ZONE" IN RWANDA WEREN'T MANAGED WELL, THERE COULD BE AN EXODUS OF ANOTHER TWO MILLION REFUGEES, MANY OF THEM IN THE DIRECTION OF BURUNDI, AND THIS WOULD CAUSE TREMENDOUS PROBLEMS.
9. FM MUSYOKA EXPLAINED THAT PRESIDENT MOI WAS IN A REMOTE PART OF THE COUNTRY AND REGRETTED HE COULD NOT SEE MOOSE. HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR MOOSE'S REPORT AND HIS APPROACH TO THE RWANDAN PROBLEM, WHICH HE PROMISED TO TRANSMIT TO PRESIDENT MOI. KENYA WOULD TRY TO EXCERCISE LEADERSHIP, HE SAID. MUSYOKA ADDED THAT THE UN WAS TRYING TO SORT OUT THE PROBLEM, BUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN ACTIONS DEPENDED ON THE SUPPORT IT RECEIVED. HE AGREED THAT ALL EFFORTS SHOULD BE POOLED TO AVERT A FURTHER DETERIORATION IN THE SITUATION. WITHOUT US INTERVENTION, HE SAID, WE WOULD FACING OVER ONE MILLION DEATHS INSTEAD OF HALF THAT NUMBER. RWANDA WAS A GREAT TRAGEDY WHICH EXCEEDED EVEN THAT OF SOMALIA OR UGANDA UNDER IDI AMIN. IT HAD NEVER OCCURRED TO HIM THAT SUCH A TRAGEDY COULD HAVE HAPPENED. MUSYOKA, A BORN-AGAIN CHRISTIAN, EXPRESSED BEWILDERMENT AND SAID HE HAD NOT KNOWN WHAT TO DO WHEN HE HEARD ABOUT THE MASSACRES. HE HAD CONTEMPLATED THE MEANING OF LIFE AND WONDERED WHETHER TO FAST. IN ANY CASE, HE SAID, PRESIDENT MOI HAD GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS THAT ANYTHING HAVING TO DO HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES FOR RWANDA SHOULD BE DEALT WITH EXPEDITIOUSLY. MUSYOKA CONFIRMED THAT THE SHORTAGE OF AVIATION FUEL, WHICH CAUSED A DELAY IN THE DEPARTURE OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLANE WHEN HE LEFT FOR ZAMBIA THE PREVIOUS WEEK, HAD NOW BEEN RESOLVED.

REGIONAL COOPERATION
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10. MUSYOKA AGREED WITH MOOSE'S SUGGESTION THAT NATIONS IN THE REGION SHOULD MEET URGENTLY TO PLAN A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI. MUSYOKA THOUGHT THE PROBLEM WOULD NEED THE BEST BRAINS AVAILABLE TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION. WITH THE TUTSIS COMPRISING 14& OF THE POPULATION AND SOME 500,000 DEAD, THE FM WONDERED HOW MANY TUTSIS COULD BE LEFT, AGAIN BEMOANING THE TRAGEDY. MOOSE SAID THAT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HARMONIZATION OF NATIONAL POLICIES ON REFUGEES WAS NEEDED.

SUDAN
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11. TURNING TO SUDAN, MUSYOKA REFERRED TO MOOSE'S APPOINTMENT LATER IN THE DAY WITH KENYA'S SPECIAL ENVOY TO THE IGADD TALKS, ZACHARY ONYONKA, AND SAID THAT WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A LITTLE ARM

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 NAIROBI 14095
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PGOV, BY, KE, RW, SU
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE'S AUGUST 4 MEETING WITH FM MUSYOKA
TWISTING ON THE GOS. THE SPLA HAD BEEN FLEXIBLE DURING THE JULY TALKS BUT WERE NOW ASKING THE KENYANS TO "SHOW WHAT THE GOVERNMENT

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OF THE SUDAN HAS GIVEN." THE FM THOUGHT THE SUDANESE WERE PLAYING GAMES; THEY HAD BOMBED NIMULE AFTER DECLARING A CEASEFIRE. MOOSE AGREED AND SAID HE WAS ANGERED BY THE WHOLE CEASEFIRE EPISODE. HE NOTED THAT THE GOS HAD PROMISED OUR SPECIAL ENVOY, AMBASSADOR WELLS, THAT THEY WOULD DECLARE A CEASEFIRE ON JULY 16; WE COUNTERED "WHY NOT NOW?" MUSYOKA THOUGHT THAT DESPITE THESE SETBACKS, THE ONLY WAY FORWARD WAS TO CONTINUE TO TALK.

SOMALIA/UN ASSISTANCE WITH BORDER CONTROL

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12. MUSYOKA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE US PAID 34& OF THE UNOSOM BUDGET IN SOMALIA AND THAT DONORS ARE GETTING FATIGUED BUT URGED THAT THE US NOT REDUCE ITS SUPPORT FOR UNOSOM. HE PREDICTED A RESURGENCE OF HOSTILITIES AND STRESSED THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOMALIA IMPACTED ON KENYA. HE MENTIONED KENYA'S REQUEST TO THE UNSC FOR ASSISTANCE ON BORDER MONITORING AND ASKED FOR US SUPPORT FOR THAT APPEAL. MUSYOKA SAID THAT BANK ROBBERIES ARE BEGINNING ANEW IN KENYA AND ASCRIBED THIS TO THE EASY AVAILABILITY OF ARMS FROM SOMALIA. MOOSE AGREED THAT THE SOMALI SITUATION IS A FRUSTRATING ONE. NOTWITHSTANDING THE TREMENDOUS AID TO SOMALIA, THE SOMALIS DID NOT SEEM TO APPRECIATE IT. HE ADDED THAT THE US LIAISION OFFICE IN MOGADISHU WAS ENDANGERED AND INSTABILITY THREATENED THE OPERATION. THE SOMALIS PREFESSED TO UNDERSTAND BUT THE SITUATION WORSENED EVERYDAY. DESPITE PLEADINGS AND EFFORTS, THE PATTERN DIDN'T CHANGE. MOOSE CONTINUED THAT MANY BELIEVE THE FACTIONS ARE EXPLOITING UNOSOM'S PRESENCE; IT BRINGS IN MONEY. HE MUSED THAT THE MOST IMPRESSIVE THREAT WE COULD MAKE MIGHT BE TO PULL OUT, TO REDUCE THE ELEMENTS THAT CAN'T FUNCTION BECAUSE OF THE INSECURITY. THERE WAS NO NEED FOR L8,000 TROOPS, HE ADDED. MUSYOKA COMMENTED THAT THE LAST THING WE WANTED TO SEE IS A RETURN TO THE EVENTS OF TWO YEARS AGO. MOOSE REITERATED THAT HE REMAINED DUBIOUS THAT THE SOMALIS DESIRED RECONCILIATION.

12. MIMIMIZE CONSIDERED. FOSTER##

BT

#4095

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 4095

<^SSN>4095

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TOR: 940809112200 M1194095

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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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LINE3: O 091041Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
OSRI: RUTAND
DTG: 091041Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1325
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0011
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0129
RUSNNOG/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: OPERATION TURQUOISE/UNAMIR--CHADIAN CONTINGENT
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NDJAMENA 005052
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS
SUBJECT: OPERATION TURQUOISE/UNAMIR--CHADIAN CONTINGENT
REF: STATE 209450
STATE FOR AF/C, IO/PHO, PM/ISO, OPS FOR RWANDA TASK FORCE
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. FRENCH AMBASSADOR (STRICTLY PROTECT) TOLD CHARGE DURING 8/6 CALL THAT FRANCE HAS BEEN ASKED BY CHADIAN PRESIDENT DEBY TO FULLY FUND AND EQUIP THE PLANNED EXPANSION OF THE CHADIAN TURQUOISE/UNAMIR CONTINGENT. CHADIAN REQUEST INCLUDED SALARIES AT UN PEACEKEEPING LEVELS TO BE PAID TO THE GOC, ALL UNIFORMS & FIELD EQUIPMENT, RATIONS AND TRANSPORT.
3. FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOLD DEBY THAT HE WOULD OF COURSE RELAY THE REQUEST BUT WAS NOT SANGUINE ON FULL FRENCH SUPPORT FOR CHADIAN CONTINGENT AFTER PLANNED 8/22 FRENCH WITHDRAWAL.
4. FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND HIS DEFATT CONFIRMED LATER AT FUNERAL MASS FOR FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF N'DJAMENA THAT THEY HAVE NO REPLY FROM PARIS AS YET. KINNEY
BT
#5052
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5052
TOR: 940809065134 M1193629
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 091230Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
OSRI: RUEHDR
DTG: 091230Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5507
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0184
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1065
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8799
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3//
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0360
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1390
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0762
RUCBSAA/CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4849
RUSNNOT/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N3/N31/N5/N7//
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0156
RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX/RS//
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0509
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGE-0//
RHCUAAA/USCINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0130
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1079
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4710
RUKGNLA/DLA CAMERON STA VA
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ETCC//
SUBJ: A/S MOOSE AUGUST 5 MEETING WITH TANZANIAN PRIME MINISTER

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 DAR ES SALAAM 005051
GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME ALSO FOR FODAG; NAIROBI FOR DART
AND REFCOORD; DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA,
PM/ISP, IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA, AID/BHR/FFP,
AID/PPC
SECDEF FOR OASD-PA-DPL/PA
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE AUGUST 5 MEETING WITH TANZANIAN
PRIME MINISTER
REF: DAR ES SALAAM 5023
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN HIS AUGUST 5 SESSION WITH A/S MOOSE,
PRIME MINISTER MALECELA DWELT AT LENGTH ON THE NEED

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FOR UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT INTO THE RWANDAN COUNTRYSIDE. MALECELA ARGUED THAT A UN PRESENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, IN ITSELF, WILL INDUCE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME. HE SUPPORTED A/S MOOSE'S PROPOSAL FOR A REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES BUT THOUGHT A HEADS OF STATE SESSION WOULD BE MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN A GATHERING OF MINISTERS. THE PM ALSO SUGGESTED THAT AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF EXPERTS BE IN PLACE PRIOR TO THE HOLDING OF THE REGIONAL MEETING TO ASSUAGE PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU ON THE ISSUE OF MASSACRES. END SUMMARY.

3. FOLLOWING HIS EARLIER SESSION THAT DAY WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI (REF), ON AUGUST 5 VISITING A/S MOOSE BRIEFED PRIME MINISTER JOHN MALECELA ON HIS RECENT VISITS TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI. A/S MOOSE INFORMED MALECELA THAT GOR OFFICIALS IMPRESSED HIM AS SERIOUS PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO DO THE RIGHT THING. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE NO RESOURCES WITH WHICH TO WORK. MAKING THEIR JOB HARDER ARE THE FORMER ARMY AND MILITIA MEMBERS IN REFUGEE CAMPS WHO ARE ENGAGED IN A CAMPAIGN OF FORMENTING HATRED AGAINST THE NEW REGIME. A/S MOOSE PREDICTED THAT THE REFUGEE PROBLEM WILL EXIST FOR SOME TIME TO COME. AS FOR THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI, IT IS VERY FRAGILE AND POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE--NOT UNLIKE RWANDA BEFORE THE EVENTS OF APRIL 6TH. SOME PARTIAL IN BURUNDI DO NOT SEEM TO WANT A POLITICAL SOLUTION AND ARE HOLDING THE MODERATES HOSTAGE.

4. A/S MOOSE CONCLUDED THAT THERE ARE MANY PROBLEMS REQUIRING AN ENORMOUS COLLECTIVE EFFORT IN ORDER TO FIND THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE. HE NOTED HE HAD JUST SHARED WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI HIS VIEW THAT IT IS TIME TO ENGAGE THE STATES IN THE REGION ON THESE MATTERS. THE ISSUES AT STAKE ARE COMPLICATED AND THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION WILL BE LONG BUT, AS A/S MOOSE OBSERVED, "WE CANNOT WAIT FOR PASSIONS TO COOL." A REGIONAL MEETING, PERHAPS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL AND INCLUDING SECURITY FORCES, COULD BE CONVENED TO EXAMINE THE ISSUE OF REFUGEES AND REFUGEE-RELATED MATTERS. PARTICIPANTS COULD EVEN WORK THEIR WAY INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF RECONCILIATION TO REINITIATE POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND RETURN TO THE PROCESS OF ARUSHA.

MALECELA REPLIES

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5. PRIME MINISTER MALECELA RESPONDED TO MOOSE'S BRIEFING BY FIRST EXPRESSING THE GOT'S APPRECIATION THAT "YOUR GOVERNMENT STILL CARES AND WANTS SOMETHING DONE." HE PRAISED MOOSE'S ANALYSIS AS "ABSOLUTELY CORRECT" AND ONE WITH WHICH THE GOT'S ONLY DIFFERENCES ARE IN DEGREES OF EMPHASIS. MALECELA THEN UNDERSCORED AT SOME LENGTH HIS VIEW ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ENSURING SECURITY IN THE RWANDAN COUNTRYSIDE THROUGH THE SPEEDY

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USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA, AID/BHR/FFP,

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AID/PPC
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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE AUGUST 5 MEETING WITH TANZANIAN PRIME MINISTER
REF: DAR ES SALAAM 5023
DEPLOYMENT OF UN FORCES. THE UN, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID, SHOULD SEND TROOPS NOT TO KIGALI BUT OUT I NTO
THE COUNTRYSIDE AND IN PARTICULAR TO THOSE AREAS BORDERING REFUGEE CAMPS. IF THIS WERE DONE, MALECELA PREDICTED, NO CAMPAIGN TO PERSUADE REFUGEES TO RETURN WOULD BE NEEDED. INDEED, EARLIER THE REFUGEE INFLOW INTO TANZANIA HAD DROPPED TO NO MORE THAN 200 A DAY. SINCE "LAST WEEK" HOWEVER, THIS FIGURE HAD ESCALATED TO 5,000 A DAY AFTER YOUNG TUTSIS, BENT ON REVENGE, BEGAN TO ROAM THE AREA WITH WEAPONS.
6. REFUGEES, MALECELA INSISTED, ARE KEEN TO RETURN TO THEIR LAND AND FARM THEIR CROPS. WITH ENHANCED SECURITY, LIFE COULD RETURN TO NORMAL AND INCOME PRODUCING ENTERPRISES, SUCH AS TEA FACTORIES, COULD RESUME OPERATIONS. THIS WOULD REDUCE THE BURDEN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF CARING AND FEEDING FOR THE REFUGEES AND THE GOR COULD START TO REALIZE REVENUES. THE UN DEPLOYMENT WOULD ALSO BUY SOME TIME FOR THE GOR TO TRAIN ITS POLICE TO MAINTAIN SECURITY UPON THE EVENTUAL DEPARTURE OF UN FORCES. THE PRIME MINISTER ALSO STRESSED THE URGENCY OF THE LAND ISSUE--THE LONGER REFUGEES ARE AWAY, THE GREATER ARE THE CHANCES THAT THEIR LANDS WILL BE SETTLED BY OTHERS SINCE THERE IS NO FUNCTIONING MINISTRY TO PREVENT ILLEGAL LAND CLAIMS.
7. CONTINUING, MALECELA SAID, FOR EXAMPLE, A UN PRESENCE IN EASTERN RWANDA ACROSS FROM NGARA DISTRICT IN TANZANIA WOULD INDUCE MANY REFUGEES TO RETURN. THE PM ARGUED THAT IT WOULD EVEN FACILITATE THE INDENTIFICATION OF CRIMINALS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS AS THESE WOULD BE THE PERSONS MOST LIKELY RESISTING RETURN TO RWANDA. IN COMMENTING ON REFUGEE CAMP SECURITY, MALECELA MENTIONED THAT TWO TANZANIAN POLICEMEN HAD DIED, UNFORTUNATE, BUT "WHEN HOSTING HALF-A-MILLION REFUGEES, A PRICE WE HAVE TO PAY."
8. MALECELA TOLD A/S MOOSE HE AGREES THAT A REGIONAL MEETING ON RWANDA IS NEEDED BUT THOUGHT A HEAD OF STATE RATHER THAN A MINISTERIAL LEVEL SESSION IS PREFERABLE. MALECELA EXPLAINED THAT AFTER ATTENDING MINISTERIAL OAU CONFERENCES SINCE 1963, HIS EXPERIENCE IS THAT THEY CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE MUCH BEYOND A COMMUNIQUE WHICH STATES THE OBVIOUS. AT A HIGHER LEVEL, HOWEVER, PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU CAN COME AND HAVE HIS PROBLEMS APPRECIATED BY HIS FELLOW HEADS OF STATE. MALECELA CHUCKLED THAT MOBUTU'S EXPECTED ABSENCE AT A HEADS OF STATE SESSION COULD EVEN FACILITATE A COMPROMISE.
9. FURTHER, A SUCCESSFUL MEETING ON RWANDA COULD EVEN BENEFIT BURUNDI AS STABILITY IN RWANDA COULD OVERFLOW INTO BURUNDI. MALECELA RECALLED THAT EVEN AT THE

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ILL-FATED APRIL 6 SESSION IN DAR ES SALAAM THE
GATHERED HEADS OF STATE HAD AGREED THAT THE RWANDAN
TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT ENVISIONED IN THE ARUSHA
ACCORDS COULD BE APPLIED TO BURUNDI. AS THINGS STAND
NOW, HOWEVER, THE TUTSI ARMY IN BURUNDI WILL ENSURE
THAT THINGS WILL NEVER CHANGE. TUTSI POLITICIANS HAVE
NO INCENTIVE TO COMPROMISE, MALECELA COMMENTED, AS
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 DAR ES SALAAM 005051
GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME ALSO FOR FODAG; NAIROBI FOR DART
AND REFCOORD; DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA,
PM/ISP, IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA, AID/BHR/FFP,
AID/PPC
SECDEF FOR OASD-PA-DPL/PA
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE AUGUST 5 MEETING WITH TANZANIAN
PRIME MINISTER
REF: DAR ES SALAAM 5023
THEY KNOW THEY "HAVE THE GUNS BEHIND THEM."
10. IN CLOSING HIS REMARKS, MALECELA ASSURED A/S
MOOSE THAT "WHATEVER LITTLE WE CAN BE CALLED UPON TO
DO WE WILL DO BECAUSE THE COST OF REFUGEES IS VERY
HIGH." HERE THE PM CITED THE ENORMOUS ENVIRONMENTAL
DEGRADATION TO TANZANIA CAUSED BY THE REFUGEES BECAUSE
OF THEIR VAST NEED FOR FIREWOOD.
MOOSE COMMENTS FURTHER
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11. MOOSE THANKED MALECELA FOR HIS USEFUL
OBSERVATIONS. WITH RESPECT TO HIS EMPHASIS ON
SECURITY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, MOOSE INFORMED THE PM
THAT THE USG HAS BEEN PRESSING FOR THE RAPID
DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR. UN COMMANDER GEN DALLAIRE'S
FIRST PRIORITY NOW IS MOVE INTO THE FRENCH
HUMANITARIAN ZONE AFTER FRANCE'S WITHDRAWAL TO PREVENT
A MASSIVE REFUGEE EXODUS INTO ZAIRE AND BURUNDI. FROM
THERE, DALLAIRE HOPES TO DEPLOY INTO OTHER PARTS OF
THE COUNTRY.
12. COMMENTING ON MALECELA'S POINT ON THE OBSTINACY
OF THE BURUNDI MILITARY, MOOSE SAID THE INCREASING
MILITANCY OF THE OPPOSITION MAKES IT IMPERATIVE FOR
OTHERS TO PUT AS MUCH PRESSURE AS POSSIBLE ON THOSE
BLOCKING THE TRANSITION. MOOSE REFERRED TO HIS
BURUNDI DEPARTURE STATEMENT AS A MESSAGE TO THOSE
NDERMINING A POLITICAL SOLUTION THAT THEIR ACTS WILL
NOT GO UNNOTICED. THIS WARNING, HE ADDED, SHOULD TO
BE HEARD FROM THE REGION AS WELL.
13. AS FOR MOBUTU, MOOSE AGREED THAT THE ZAIREAN
LEADER IS NOT THE MOST COOPERATIVE. AT THE SAME TIME,
HE SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM ATTEMPTS TO ARRIVE AT A
SOLUTION OR HE COULD BECOME PART OF THE PROBLEM.
MOOSE REITERATED THAT A REGIONAL MEETING IS URGENTLY
NEEDED TO SHARE THOUGHTS ON ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
AND TO AVERT ANOTHER CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, MOOSE POINTED OUT, ALSO BEARS
RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE OF THE GENOCIDE COMMITTED.
MALECELA ON RWANDAN PERSONALITIES

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14. MALECELA, IN TURN, OBSERVED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION IS ALREADY IN PLACE BY THE TIME THE REGIONAL MEETING IS HELD. THIS WAY, "BIZIMUNGU, WHEN HE COMES WON'T SPEND SO MUCH TIME TALKING ABOUT THE MASSACRES. IF THE COHMSISSION WERE IN PLACE, THERE WOULD BE TIME FOR THE REST OF THE AGENDA." CONTINUING, MALECELA OFFERED HIS ASSESSMENT OF BIZIMUNGU AS "A HARD GUY"--AN IMPRESSION HE HAD ALSO GAINED FROM BIZIMUNGU'S PARTICIPATION AT THE ARUSHA TALKS. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU, ON THE OTHER HAND, STRUCK MALECELA AS BELIEVING SINCERELY IN RECONCILIATION AND POSSESSING A VISION OF HOW THIS RECONCILIATION COULD TAKE PLACE. HE ONLY WISHED THE PM HAD THE STRENGTH TO CARRY OUT HIS IDEAS, WHICH, MALECELA SAID, HE IS CONVINCED COULD OFFER A SOLUTION. A/S MOOSE AGREED THAT BIZIMUNGU SEEMS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 DAR ES SALAAM 005051

GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME ALSO FOR FODAG; NAIROBI FOR DART AND REFCOORD; DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA, PM/ISP, IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
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SECDEF FOR OASD-PA-DPL/PA
E.O. 12356: DECR:OADR
TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE AUGUST 5 MEETING WITH TANZANIAN PRIME MINISTER
REF: DAR ES SALAAM 5023

DEEPLY EMBITTERED BY THE EVENTS IN RWANDA. WHILE INTELLECTUALLY BIZIMUNGU MAY ACKNOWLEDGE THE NEED TO EMBARK ON RECONCILIATION, ON A VISCERAL LEVEL HE FINDS THIS DIFFICULT.

15. ASKED BY MALECELA IF HE HAD MET KANYARENGWE, MOOSE REPLIED HE HAD NOT BUT THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH KAGAME. IN RESPONSE TO THIS NEWS, MALECELA ASKED MOOSE TO PERSUADE KAGAME "TO GIVE THE PRIME MINISTER TEETH TO BITE ON."

16. IN CLOSING, A/S MOOSE SAID HE APPRECIATED THE PRIME MINISTER'S OBSERVATIONS WHICH IS "WHY WE NEED TO HAVE THESE INTERCHANGES." MALECELA WISHED A/S MOOSE SUCCESS WITH HIS MISSION. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AGAIN FOR THE USG'S ATTENTION TO RWANDA IN LIGHT OF ALL THE OTHER INTERNATIONAL DEMANDS FOR ITS TIME SUCH AS BOSNIA, HAITI AND NORTH KOREA. TANZANIA'S OWN CONTRIBUTION IS MODEST, HE ADDED, COMPARED TO THE US BURDEN. MOOSE NOTED THAT TANZANIA, NEVERTHELESS, IS HELPING THE US TO CARRY THE BURDEN AND HE ENCOURAGED TANZANIA, REGARDED BY MANY AS A NEUTRAL AND IMPARTIAL PLAYER, TO REMAIN ENGAGED ON RWANDA.

17. A/S MOOSE DID NOT CLEAR THIS MESSAGE PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE.

18. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
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<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
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INFO: RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY 8309
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 6031
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 2823
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 5315
RUEHMG/USLO MOGADISHU PRIORITY 8044
SUBJ: KENYAN AMBASSADOR COMMENTS ON UGANDAN ROLE IN REGION

TEXT:

********** INCOMPLETE MESSAGE **********

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 213122
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, KE, UG
SUBJECT: KENYAN AMBASSADOR COMMENTS ON UGANDAN ROLE IN REGION

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. KENYAN AMBASSADOR KIPKORIR EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE REGIONAL ROLE OF UGANDA DURING AUGUST 8 LUNCH WITH AMBASSADOR BRAZEAL AND AF/E DIRECTOR SHINN. HE CITED THE SUPPLY OF WEAPONS BY UGANDA TO THE NPF IN RWANDA AND TO THE SPLA IN SUDAN AND ALLEGED THAT PRESIDENT MUSEVENI IS ALSO WORKING IN AN UNHELPFUL WAY TO SUPPORT THE TUTSIS IN BURUNDI. HE ASKED HOW CAN UGANDA BE A NEUTRAL PARTICIPANT IN THE IGADD TALKS ON SUDAN WHEN IT IS PROVIDING ARMS TO ONE OF THE PROTAGANISTS. HE ALSO WONDERED IF UGANDA MIGHT ONE DAY TURN ITS ATTENTION TO SUPPORTING GROUPS OPPOSING THE GOVERNMENT IN KENYA.

3. COMMENT: KIPKORIR'S CRITICISM OF THE MUSEVENI GOVERNMENT IS AMONG THE STRONGEST WE HAVE HEARD FROM A KENYAN OFFICIAL. AS THEY BECOME AVAILABLE, WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE VIEWS OF GOK OFFICIALS IN KENYA ON THIS SUBJECT.

4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED SPERO
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SECT: SECTION: 02 OF 02
SSN: 3122
TOR: 940809105002 M1194007
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SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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LINE3: P 091656Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USEU BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 091656Z AUG 94
ORIG: USEU BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO: RUEHXQ/ALLEU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEATRS/DEPTREASURY WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
RUEHBG/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG PRIORITY
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION:
PUTTING THE NEW RELATIONSHIP TOGETHER
TREASURY FOR INN (M. RAUCH)
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BRUSSELS 08828
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EUN, SF
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION:
PUTTING THE NEW RELATIONSHIP TOGETHER
TREASURY FOR INN (M. RAUCH)
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: ON AUGUST 5, SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE EU NIELS PETER VAN HEERDEN TOLD AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS DIVIDED ON WHETHER TO SEEK LOME CONVENTION STATUS AND MAY, INSTEAD, SEEK A SPECIAL BILATERAL TRADE RELATIONSHIP SUCH AS THE EU IS NEGOTIATING WITH SOME OF THE MAGHREB NATIONS. HE CLAIMED THERE IS GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT FRANCE IS BLOCKING PROGRESS ON THE EU'S EXTENSION OF GSP BENEFITS TO SOUTH AFRICA, DESPITE PRESIDENT MITTERRAND'S HIGH PROFILE (BUT MUCH CRITICIZED) TRIP THERE. THIS IS CAUSING FRENCH-SOUTH AFRICAN TENSIONS, HE SAID.
3. AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN ALSO STATED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS CONTENT TO PLAY A LOW-PROFILE ROLE AS IT ENTERS THE ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY, INCLUDING ON RWANDA; RECOGNIZES PROBLEMS WITH ITS GENERAL EXPORT INCENTIVE SCHEME BUT IS UNDER DOMESTIC PRESSURE FROM ITS EXPORT COMMUNITY TO MAINTAIN IT OR PHASE IT OUT ONLY OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME; AND SEES THE SEPTEMBER BERLIN MEETING BETWEEN THE EU AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY, INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA, AS BEING LARGELY FOR GERMAN DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION. INDEED, HE SAID, THERE IS CONCERN WITHIN THE ACP SECRETARIAT THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE IS AN EFFORT TO BREAK TOME INTO REGIONAL COMPONENTS. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE EU'S STRONG EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONALITY HAS

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CAUSING INCREASING FRICTION AMONG SOME OF THE AFRICAN LOME COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT DIVIDED ON TOME CONVENTION

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4. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT HAS TOLD BY SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE EU NIELS PETER VAN HEERDEN THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS DIVIDED ON WHETHER TO BECOME A PARTY TO THE LOME CONVENTION, THE EU'S MAJOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND TRADE INSTRUMENT FOR DEVELOPING NATIONS. THE ANC LEADERSHIP WOULD LIKE SOUTH AFRICA TO PARTICIPATE, VAN HEERDEN SAID, EVEN GIVEN ITS RELATIVELY ADVANCED STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT COMPARED TO OTHER LOME RECIPIENTS, OUT OF AN "EMOTIONAL" COMMITMENT TO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION, THE MINISTER OF TRADE FEELS THAT SOUTH AFRICA NEEDS TOME BECAUSE HE BELIEVES THE
WORLD IS MOVING TOWARD MULTILATERAL RATHER THAN BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

5. OTHERS, AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN INCLUDED, ARE CONCERNED THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA ENTERS TOME IT WILL PRECLUDE OTHER TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE EU WHICH COULD BE MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO SOUTH AFRICA IF DEVELOPED ON A BILATERAL BASIS. THERE IS ALSO SOME THINKING ABOUT A "TOME MINUS" STRATEGY, GIVING SOUTH AFRICA SOME LOME ADVANTAGES BUT NOT OTHERS, AND UNDER WHICH SOUTH AFRICA WOULD HAVE "PORTALS ON ITS REGIONAL WINDOWS" TO HARMONIZE ITS LAWS AND REGULATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES WOULD QUALIFY FOR DEVELOPMENT CONTRACTS IN THE REGION UNDER TOME, SOMETHING FROM WHICH THEY ARE NOW EXCLUDED, VAN HEERDEN SAID.

6. THE CONCERN OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE TOME PARTICIPATION, VAN HEERDEN SAID, IS THAT "TOME IS NOT A GOOD VEHICLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA." THEY BELIEVE THAT WITH LOME "NO OTHER MARKET PREFERENCES" ARE AVAILABLE, WHILE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS COULD ACTUALLY PROVIDE GREATER MARKET ACCESS TO THE EU FOR SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS. AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN WOULD STRONGLY PREFER A BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT SUCH AS THE EU IS NOW NEGOTIATING WITH THE MAGHREB COUNTRIES. (COMMENT: THE VIEWS DESCRIBED IN PARAS 5 AND 6 ARE VERY CLOSE TO THOSE OF THE EU COMMISSION, I.E., THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS UNLIKE THE OTHER LOME COUNTRIES AND THAT A BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE EU MIGHT BE MORE APPROPRIATE. END COMMENT.)

7. THE AFRICAN PARTICIPANTS IN LOME, VAN HEERDEN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BRUSSELS 08828

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EUN, SF
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION:
PUTTING THE NEW RELATIONSHIP TOGETHER
RELATED, DESPITE SOME EARLY EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN, ARE NOW BEHIND SOUTH AFRICA'S PARTICIPATION, WHICH THEY BELIEVE WOULD STRENGTHEN THE LOME CONVENTION. THE EU IS NOT PUSHING SOUTH AFRICA TO JOIN, HOWEVER, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA IS NOW "RE-THINKING" THE ISSUE.

GSP HANG-UP: FRENCH FINGERPRINTS

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8. SOUTH AFRICA IS ANXIOUS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE EU'S GSP SYSTEM, VAN HEERDEN SAID. ON JULY 18, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AGREED TO REFER A LIST OF SOUTH AFRICAN EXPORTS ELIGIBLE FOR GSP WITH A POTENTIAL VALUE OF 400 MILLION ECU PER YEAR TO COREPER AND THE COMMISSION. VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT HE HAS HEARD FROM MANY SOURCES IN BRUSSELS THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN OPPOSING GSP BENEFITS ON A VARIETY OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTS. THEIR MISSION HERE DENIES THIS, HE SAID, BUT HE IS CERTAIN IT IS THE CASE.

9. THIS COMES DESPITE PRESIDENT MITTERRAND'S HIGHLY VISIBLE TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA RECENTLY, VAN HEERDEN WENT ON. VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS PANNED THE VISIT. THERE ARE NOW TENSIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND SOUTH AFRICA ON THE GSP ISSUE, HE RELATED, PARTICULARLY GIVEN MITTERRAND'S GRANDIOSE STATEMENTS WHILE IN SOUTH AFRICA. VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT HE SEES GSP AS BEING ONLY A "TEMPORARY" BENEFIT FOR SOUTH AFRICA, WITH THE LONG-TERM GOAL BEING A MAGHREB-TYPE FULL BILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE EU.

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THE BERLIN CONFERENCE: SKEPTICISM

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10. ON SEPTEMBER 5-6, THERE WILL BE A MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE EU AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY, INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA, TO DISCUSS REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND INVESTMENT. THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY OF THE EU HAS BEEN A MAJOR FACTOR IN THIS EFFORT AT CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE EU AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONS, VAN HEERDEN SAID.

11. AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN TOOK A RATHER CYNICAL VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE, FOR WHICH HE HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN THE PREPARATION. HE DESCRIBED IT TO AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT AS A "COSMETIC" EFFORT TO HELP FOREIGN MINISTER KINKEL, WHOSE FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS "TEETERING" IN THE RUN-UP TO THE GERMAN ELECTIONS. AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, HE OPINED, KINKEL JUST WANTS TO GET THE CONFERENCE OVER WITHOUT ANY MAJOR PROBLEMS.

12. VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY IS PART OF A "RAILROAD" PROCESS INVOLVING THE CONFERENCE. THERE WOULD BE A "PRE-COOKED" OUTCOME AND COMMUNIQUE, HE SAID, AFTER EACH OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS FROM THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES MADE A SHORT PREPARED SPEECH. THEY THEN WOULD "HAVE COFFEE AND CAKE AND A PHOTO OPPORTUNITY". ACCORDING TO VAN HEERDEN, THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ACP (LOME COUNTRIES) SECRETARIAT IS "NERVOUS" THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE REPRESENTS AN EFFORT BY THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY TO "BREAK UP" LOME INTO REGIONAL GROUPS.

13. THE ACP COUNTRIES ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED, THE AMBASSADOR SAID, THAT THE EU IS SEEKING TO IMPOSE HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND GOOD GOVERNMENT REQUIREMENTS ON THEM AS A "PRETEXT TO CUT OFF FUNDS." VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT HE HAS COUNSELED THEM THAT THESE ARE "MOTHERHOOD" CONDITIONS IN TODAY'S WORLD, AND THEY

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MUST LEARN TO LIVE WITH THEM. AN AMBASSADOR OF A WEST AFRICAN NATION RECENTLY TOLD HIM, HE SAID, THAT TOME IS VIEWED INCREASNGLY AS A "ONE WAY STREET" IN WHICH THERE IS LITTLE INPUT FROM THE RECIPIENTS AND THEY ARE SIMPLY TOLD WHAT TO DO.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN AFRICA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BRUSSELS 08828

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EUN, SF

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: PUTTING THE NEW RELATIONSHIP TOGETHER

14. AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN INDICATED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS STILL FEELING ITS WAY AS IT JOINS THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, IN TERMS OF THE DEGREE OF LEADERSHIP IT EXERCISES. THERE IS A NEED TO CONCENTRATE ON URGENT DOMESTIC AND INTERNAL REQUIREMENTS, HE SAID.

15. ON AUGUST 2, SOUTH AFRICA PLEDGED TWO ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS FOR USE BY THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM IN RWANDA. VAN HEERDEN BELIEVED, HOWEVER, THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS UNLIKELY TO PLAY A MUCH MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THAT CRISIS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAID, HE IS ASKING HIS AFRICAN COLLEAGUES HERE IN BRUSSELS "HOW LONG THE UNITED STATES CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO HELP AFRICA" OUT OF ONE CRISIS AFTER ANOTHER, WHEN THE NATIONS OF THE CONTINENT ARE UNWILLING TO DO MORE THEMSELVES. HE EXPRESSED THE CONCERN THAT ALL THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROVIDED OVER THE YEARS TO AFRICA HAD ACTUALLY RETARDED THE PROCESS OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

OBJECTIONS EXPRESSED ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S GEIS AND ABOUT TIED AID

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16. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT TOOK THE OCCASION OF THE MEETING TO EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S GENERAL EXPORT INCENTIVE SCHEME (GEIS). AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD A "GOOD HEAD OF STEAM UP" TO ADJUST OR ELIMINATE GEIS, BUT THAT THE EXPORT COMMUNITY WANTS TO RETAIN IT AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. VAN HEERDEN SAID HE KNOWS THAT SOUTH AFRICA "NEEDS TO PLAY BY THE RULES" ON THIS AND ON TARIFF ISSUES WHICH THE EU HAS RAISED. IN GENERAL, HE SAID, HE HAS BEEN COUNSELING HIS GOVERNMENT TO PREPARE TO LIVE BY RECIPROCAL RULES ON TRADE ISSUES.

17. HE EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S MAY PACKAGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND SAID THAT IT HAD HELPED PROD THE EU ALONG. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT ALSO TOLD AMBASSADOR VEN HEERDEN WHY THE U.S. OBJECTED TO TIED AID BEING USED BY DONOR COUNTRIES FOR SOUTH AFRICA. AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN EXPRESSED HIS UNDERSTANDING.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD GERMANY

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18. AMBASSADOR VAN HEERDEN ASKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR AN AMPLIFICATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD

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GERMANY, POINTING TO A RECENT WILLIAM PFAFF ARTICLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT NOTED HE HAD JUST HAD A LETTER TO THE EDITOR PUBLISHED ON THIS TOPIC IN THE HERALD TRIBUNE. IT INDICATED THAT WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION DID WANT GERMANY TO PLAY A GREATER ROLE ON THE WORLD STAGE, IT WANTED IT TO DO SO WITHIN ESTABLISHED ORGANIZATIONS LIKE NATO AND THE EU.

LACK OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

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19. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT ASKED WHETHER THE AMBASSADOR AGREED WITH A RECENT ARTICLE ON THE LACK OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, TO WHICH VAN HEERDEN REPLIED THAT HE DID. HE SAID SOUTH AFRICA WAS IN AN UNUSUAL SITUATION, NOT ENTIRELY A DEVELOPING COUNTRY AND YET NOT A FULLY DEVELOPED ONE, EITHER. ITS LABOR COSTS ARE HIGH COMPARED TO OTHER DEVELOPING NATIONS, THERE IS A STRONG, POLITICIZED LABOR MOVEMENT THAT IS CALLING IN ITS CHITS WITH THE ANC FOR THEIR LONG SUPPORT OF THE ANC'S EFFORTS TO END APARTHEID, AND THERE IS LOW PRODUCTIVITY DUE TO A LACK OF EDUCATION AND "CULTURAL" FACTORS. THESE, COMBINED WITH THE FACT THAT INVESTORS ARE STILL IN A WAIT-AND-SEE POSTURE REGARDING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, HAVE LED TO DISAPPOINTING LEVELS OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT, HE SAID.
DRAFTED:THE AMBASSADOR; CLEARED:POL-KLANG, USTR-BHARMAN, ECON-SNOBLE, A/DCM-JGREENWALD; APPROVED:THE AMBASSADOR.
EIZENSTAT
BT
#8828
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~Lusaka Talks - August 9-10 (5 pages)~~	~~08/10/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
002. cable	[Kenyan Foreign Minister Musyoka's Meeting with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State] (3 pages)	08/10/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	[Internal Instability] (2 pages)	08/10/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Reaction of... (3 pages)	08/11/1994	P1/b(1)
~~005. cable~~	~~[Kigali] (2 pages)~~	~~08/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~006. cable~~	~~[OAU Meeting] (4 pages)~~	~~08/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
007. cable	Erroneous Information.... [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1), P3/b(3) VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~[Refugee Camps] (3 pages)~~	~~08/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~009. cable~~	~~A/S Shattuck's Meeting with French on Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal and Burundi (5 pages)~~	~~08/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~010. cable~~	~~Proposed Regional Meeting on Refugees... (2 pages)~~	~~08/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~011. cable~~	~~MGRWO2: UNDP Funding of Human Rights Monitors for Rwanda (2 pages)~~	~~08/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
012. cable	[The Rwandan Patriotic Front Government] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1) VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/10/1994 - 08/13/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh143

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	[Military Relations] (2 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (2 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	[Aircraft] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	08/12/1994	~~P1/b(1),~~ P3/b(3) VZ
016. cable	[Increased Insecurity] (2 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1)
017. cable	Rwanda/Internal Instability... (5 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1)
018. cable	Rwanda/Internal Stability... (3 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1)
~~019. cable~~	~~[Humanitarian Assistance to Rwanda] (2 pages)~~	~~08/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~020. cable~~	~~Bilateral Discussions with Russian Director for African Affairs... (8 pages)~~	~~08/03/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~021. cable~~	~~Bilateral Discussions with Russian Director for African Affairs... (3 pages)~~	~~08/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~022. cable~~	~~Bilateral Discussions with Russian Director for African Affairs... (3 pages)~~	~~08/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~023. cable~~	~~Demarche... (3 pages)~~	~~08/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~024. cable~~	~~[UNAMIR] (1 page)~~	~~08/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/10/1994 - 08/13/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh143

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (5,04)
M 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLSA4674 2221535-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 101535Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
OSRI: RUEHLS
DTG: 101535Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9625
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA IMMEDIATE 0486
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0381
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 0754
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 1351
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0447
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 0099
RUEHLI/AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY 0246
SUBJ: LUSAKA TALKS - AUGUST 9-10
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LUSAKA 004674
SECSTATE FOR AF/S; ACTION REQUEST IN PARA 15
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, AO, SF
SUBJECT: LUSAKA TALKS - AUGUST 9-10
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: NATIONAL RECONCILIATION MODIALITIES WERE APPROVED BUT THE IMPASSE OVER WHO WILL NAME THE GOVERNOR OF HUAMBO CONTINUES TO STYMIE THE TALKS. UNITA IS WORRIED THAT IT IS BEING SET UP BY WASHINGTON TO TAKE THE BLAME FOR AN EVENTUAL FAILURE IN LUSAKA. BEYE MADE IT CLEAR TO UNITA THAT THERE IS NO VIABLE NEW ZAMBIAN FORMULA FOR SOLVING THE HUAMBO GOVERNORSHIP PROBLEM. A HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IS ONLY WEEKS AWAY UNLESS UNITA PERMITS FLIGHTS TO HUAMBO AND KUITO. END SUMMARY.

SLOW PROGRESS IN TALKS

3. ON AUG. 9 BOTH THE GRA AND THE UNITA DELEGATIONS APPROVED THE 11-POINT "MODIALITIES FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION" (ENGLISH VERSION FAXED AF/S AUG. 9). THE CONTRAVERSIAL POINT ON THE RETURN OF THE REMAINS OF UNITA'S LEADERS WAS LEFT OUT OF THE DOCUMENT AFTER NO COMPROMISE LANGUAGE COULD BE FOUND AND THE TWO DELEGATIONS AGREED TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM OUTSIDE THE PROTOCOL. UNITA ALSO ACCEPTED THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION, BACKED BY THE MEDIATION, THAT NOTHING USEFUL COULD BE ADDED IN THE MODIALITIES SECTION TO IMPROVE THE LANGUAGE PREVIOUSLY APPROVED IN THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES CONCERNING DECENTRALIZATION. LIKEWISE, UNITA DROPPED ITS DEMAND TO ADD A POINT ESTABLISHING A PROCEDURE OF REGULARLY CONSULTING WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL POLICY. WITH THESE COMPROMISES AND CONCESSIONS, THE FINAL SUBSTANTIVE SECTION OF THE

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PROTOCOL WAS APPROVED, IN WHAT FOR SGSR BEYE AMOUNTED TO UNPRECEDENTED INFORMALITY.

WHAT REMAINS?

4. BEYE'S UNUSUAL LACK OF FANFARE FOR WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN A LANDMARK EVENT IN THE LUSAKA TALKS IS UNDERSTANDABLE IN LIGHT OF WHAT STILL REMAINS UNRESOLVED. THERE IS THE "ROLE AND MANDATE OF THE U.N. AND THE OBSERVERS", WHICH EVERYONE HOPES WILL BE ESSENTIALLY TECHNICAL AND NON-CONTRAVERSIAL, ALTHOUGH COMPLICATED. IT WILL CERTAINLY TAKE WEEKS TO COMPLETE.

5. THERE ARE ALSO TWO ANNEXES TO THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION MODIALITIES TO COMPLETE, ONE DEALING WITH THE SPECIAL SECURITY TO BE PROVIDED TO UNITA LEADERS AND THE OTHER WITH THE POLITICAL JOBS THE GRA WILL OFFER UNITA. THE FIRST ANNEX WAS DISCUSSED IN A PLENARY SESSION AUG. 10, AND THERE WAS SOME HEAT GENERATED BY THE UNITA DELEGATION'S CLAIM THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE GRA TO PROVIDE SATISFACTORY PSYCHOLOGICAL SECURITY TO UNITA'S LEADERS SINCE THEY STILL BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS THEIR PRINCIPLE ENEMY. THE GRA DELEGATION HANDLED THIS ARGUMANT WELL, NOTING THAT U.N.- SPONSORED SECURITY MIGHT BE A SHORT-TERM OPTION BUT THAT SOONER OR LATER UNITA'S LEADERS WHOULD HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN LIVING WITH THE GRA OR LIVING IN EXILE. THE FEELING AMONG THE MEDIATION AND OBSERVERS WAS THAT THE ISSUE WILL BE RESOLVED BY WEEK'S END. UNITA IS WORKING ON ITS REPLY TO THE GRA DRAFT OF THIS ANNEX, AND THE TWO SIDES WILL MEET FOR FACE - TO - FACE DISCUSSIONS BEFORE ANOTHER PLENARY AUG. 11.

6. THE REAL IMPASSE REMAINING IS OVER THE ANNEX LISTING THE POLITICAL JOBS UNITA WILL BE OFFERED BY THE GRA. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THERE APPEARS TO BE NO GIVE IN UNITA'S INSISTANCE ON HAVING THE GOVERNORSHIP OF HUAMBO PROVINCE AND SO FAR IN LUSAKA THERE ARE NO COMPROMISES BEING DISCUSSED. FOR LACK OF BETTER TACTICS, UNITA APPEARS DETERMINED TO STRING OUT THE DISCUSSION OF THIS JOBS ISSUE WITHOUT DEALING DIRECTLY WITH HUAMBO. THEY ARE EXPECTED TO NEGOTIATE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE OVER THE COMPLETION OF THE LISTS OF THE SPECIFIC CITIES AND COMMUNES THAT SO FAR HAVE ONLY BEEN PARTIALLY AGREED TO BY BOTH DELEGATIONS. THUS, ADDITIONAL WEEKS COULD GO BY BEFORE THE FINAL CRUNCH POINT IS REACHED ON HUAMBO

UNITA LODGES A COMPLAINT

7. THE UNITA DELEGATION'S LEADERSHIP ASKED TO SEE BEYE AND THE OBSERVERS BEFORE THE PLENNARY SESSION AUG. 9, TO LODGE A COMPLAINT. MANUVAKOLA EXPLAINED THAT THE PERCEPTION IN UNITA IS THAT THE MEDIATION AND OBSERVERS ARE TRYING TO POSITION UNITA TO TAKE THE BLAME FOR FAILURE TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT IN LUSAKA. EVEN WORSE, THE UNITA SECRETARY-GENERAL SAID, THERE ARE INDICATIONS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LUSAKA 004674

SECSTATE FOR AF/S; ACTION REQUEST IN PARA 15

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, AO, SF

SUBJECT: LUSAKA TALKS - AUGUST 9-10

THAT DR. SAVIMBI, HIMSELF, IS BEING SINGLED OUT FOR THIS BLAME. MANUVAKOLA SAID THAT THIS PERCEPTION STEMS FROM RECENT DECLARATIONS, IN WASHINGTON AND LUANDA FOR

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EXAMPLE, BY THE OBSERVERS. MANUVAKOVA ARGURED THAT UNITA CAN IN NO WAY BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FAILURE TO PROGRESS IN LUSAKA SINCE PROGRESS IS STILL BEING MADE, THE TALKS CONTINUE AND THERE IS NO DEADLINE FOR THEIR CONCLUSION. THEREFORE, HE REQUESTED A STATEMENT FROM THE MEDIATION MAKING IT CLEAR THAT UNITA, AND PARTICULARLY ITS PRESIDENT, ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SUPPOSED LACK OF PROGRESS IN LUSAKA. UNITA WILL NOT ALLOW A REPEAT OF ABIDJAN WHERE IT WAS BLAMED BY THE OBSERVERS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, MANUVAKOLA THREATENED, AND INTENDS TO DEFEND ITSELF IN THE MEDIA IF "ATTACKS" AGAINST DR. SAVIMBI CONTINUE.

BEYE ANSWERS UNITA AND CLARIFIES THE "ZAMBIAN INITIATIVE"

8. CONSULTING WITH THE OBSERVERS, BEYE CONCLUDED THAT THE DEPARTMENT'S PRESS STATEMENT OF AUG. 5, WHICH WAS SUMMARIZED IN PORTUGUESE BY AMBASSADOR DE JARNETTE IN LUANDA AUG. 8, WAS THE BASIS FOR THE UNITA COMPLAINT. THE CONSENSUS VIEW WAS THAT THE STRESS PLACED ON DR. SAVIMBI IN THESE STATEMENTS CLEARLY TOUCHED A VERY SENSITIVE NERVE. IT WAS AGREED THAT BEYE WOULD ASK THE UNITA DELEGATION FOR MORE SPECIFICS AND REPEAT ONCE AGAIN HIS LONGSTANDING POLICY OF KEEPING THE MEDIA OUT OF THE LUSAKA TALKS. UNITA APPEARED SATISFIED WITH THIS ANSWER BUT WOULD NOT PROVIDE MORE SPECIFICS ABOUT THE DECLARATIONS THEY PERCEIVED AS OFFENSIVE, STATING ONLY THAT THE "GUILTY PARTIES KNOW WHO THEY ARE".

9. BEYE THEN TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THIS MEETING TO CLOSE PART OF THE LOOP ON THE "ZAMBIAN INITIATIVE". HE EXPLAINED TO THE UNITA DELEGATION THAT IN THEIR MEETING AUG. 6, FORMER ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MWAANGA MADE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT HE HAD NOT EXCEEDED HIS INSTRUCTIONS IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH DR. SAVIMBI IN HUAMBO JULY 6. MWAANGA DID SAY THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED WAYS IN WHICH A "NEUTRAL" GOVERNOR COULD BE CHOSEN FOR HUAMBO, BUT HE CLAIMED THAT THE SUGGESTION FOR SUBSTITUTING HUAMBO FOR ONE OF THE OTHER GOVERNERSHIPS ALREADY OFFERED UNITA HAD COME FROM THE UNITA SIDE. MANUVAKOLA RESPONDED THAT HUAMBO REPORTED TO THEM THAT IT WAS MWAANGA WHO HAD SUGGESTED THE "SUBSTITUTION" GAMBIT AND THAT UNITA COULD NOT ACCEPT THE "NEUTRAL" GOVERNOR FORMULA IN ANY CASE. IT MUST HAVE HUAMBO.

10. BEYE REPLIED THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF QUESTIONING THE VERACITY OF EITHER MWAANGA OR UNITA. IT IS ESSENTIALLY IMMATERIAL WHO SUGGESTED THE IDEA OF SUBSTITUTING HUAMBO FOR ONE OF THE OTHER PROVINCES, BEYE EXPLAINED, SINCE THIS HAS NEVER BEEN AN ACCEPTABLE OPTION. THE MEDIATION HAS ALWAYS MADE IT CLEAR TO UNITA THAT THE MARCH 17 COMPROMISE PROPOSAL IS A PACKAGE THAT CAN NOT BE MODIFIED. THIS REMAINS THE POSITION OF THE MEDIATION; UNITA CAN REJECT THE PROPOSAL OR IT CAN ACCEPT IT, BUT IT CAN NOT MODIFY IT. MANUVAKOLA TOOK THIS ON BOARD BUT CONCLUDED ANYWAY WITH PRAISE FOR THE "HONESTY" AND GOOD FAITH THAT ZAMBIA HAD BROUGHT TO ITS EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE HUAMBO PROBLEM.

USDEL'S BILATERAL WITH UNITA

11. THE USDEL HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE TO REACH A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION IN LUSAKA DURING A PRIVATE MEETING

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WITH THE UNITA DELEGATION AT THE END OF THE DAY AUG. 9. HE FIRST CLARIFIED THAT UNITA HAD LODGED ITS COMPLAINT THAT MORNING BASED ON ITS PERCEPTION THAT HIS AND THE DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENTS OF AUG. 8 AND 5 CONSTITUTE A CAMPAIGN TO HOLD DR. SAVIMBI RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FAILURE TO CONCLUDE THE LUSAKA TALKS. HE THEN POINTED OUT THAT UNITA MUST BE AWARE THAT THERE ARE CLEAR DEADLINES FOR IT TO SHOW ITS GOOD FAITH IN LUSAKA, SPECIFICALLY THE SAVIMBI-MANDELA MEETING AND THE NEXT SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF ANGOLA. CALLING PUBLICALLY FOR DR. SAVIMBI TO CARRY OUT HIS AGREEMENT TO MEET MANDELA AND FOR UNITA TO ACCEPT THE MEDIATION PROPOSAL BEFORE THE NEXT SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IS OUR WAY TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT THESE DEADLINES EXIST AND THAT TIME IS FAST RUNNING OUT. IT IS MATTER OF ONLY DAYS FOR THE MANDELA MEETING AND THE END OF THE MONTH FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL. UNITA'S FAILURE TO SEIZE THESE OPPORTUNITIES WILL CERTAINLY LEAVE THE OBVIOUS CONCLUSION THAT IT DOES NOT INTEND TO SIGN THE LUSAKA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LUSAKA 004674

SECSTATE FOR AF/S; ACTION REQUEST IN PARA 15
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, AO, SF
SUBJECT: LUSAKA TALKS - AUGUST 9-10
PROTOCOL.

12. THE UNITA DELEGATION APPEARED CONCERNED BY THESE STATEMENTS BY THE USDEL. AT FIRST IT TRIED COUNTER-ARGUMENTS SUCH AS CLAIMING THAT USG PRESSURE FOR DR. SAVIMBI TO TRAVEL TO PRETORIA ONLY SERVED TO RAISE FEARS THAT AN ASSASINATION PLOT IS AFOOT. HOWEVER, THIS WAS QUICKLY REFUTED BY AN OFFER TO ACCOMPANY DR. SAVIMBI OR TO ALLOW UNITA TO CHOOSE ANOTHER USG OFFICIAL SUCH AS SPECIAL ENVOY PAUL HARE TO PROVIDE A PERSONAL GUARANTEE FOR THE UNITA LEADER'S SAFETY. IN THE END UNITA WAS LEFT WITH ITS FAMILIAR COMPLAINT THAT THE DECK IS STACKED AGAINST IT; THE RUSSIANS AND THE PORTUGUESE ARE HELPING THE GRA MILITARILY AND THE MEDIATOR AND USG ARE PUSHING FOR UNITA TO ACCEPT A DEAL THAT IT DOESN'T LIKE. "IF ONLY WE COULD FIND A SUBSTITUTE FOR LUSAKA", MANUVAKOLA SAID.

THE LOOMING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

13. THE USDEL ALSO TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THIS MEETING TO TELL THE UNITA DELEGATION THAT IT MUST COMMUNICATE WITH HUAMBO URGENTLY TO ALLOW HUMANITARIAN AID FLIGHTS TO MALANGE AND KUITO. THE PRESSURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON THE GRA HAS SUCCEEDED IN KEEPING AID FLOWING TO HUAMBO. IF UNITA DOES NOT OPEN ACCESS TO MALANGE AND KUITO IT WILL BE SINGLED OUT FOR THE BLAME FOR THE FAST-APPROACHING TRAGEDY IN THESE CITIES. THROUGH EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ANGOLANS WERE SAVED LAST YEAR BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN MALAMGE AND KUITO; UNITA AND DR. SAVIMBI WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE IF THEY NOW DIE.

14. AT A MEETING WITH THE OBSERVERS AUG. 10, BEYE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION IN MALANGE AND KUITO. HE DISTRIBUTED A FRENCH TEXT RESUME OF THE RAPIDLY-INCREASING MORTALITY FROM FAMINE IN THESE CITIES (FAXED AF/S AUG. 10), AND ASKED FOR HELP IN PRESSURING

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UNITA TO REOPEN ACCESS TO THEM. HE SAID THAT HE IS DIRECTING THE UN IN LUANDA TO GIVE ITS MAXIMUN ASSISTANCE TO THE GRA FLIGHTS THAT ARE STILL FLYING TO MALANGE SO THAT THEY CAN INCREASE THE FOOD REACHING THAT CITY. BEYE ALSO SAID THAT HE HAS TRIED TO PERSUADE THE NGO'S IN ANGOLA TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT CONDEMNING UNITA FOR ITS REFUSAL TO APPROVE FLIGHTS TO MALANGE AND KUITO, BUT HE HAS BEEN TOLD THAT THE NGO'S, AS APOLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, NEVER MAKE POLITICAL STATEMENTS UNDER PRESSURE, ONLY WHEN IT'S THEIR OWN INITIATIVE.

15. SPECIFICALLY, BEYE ASKED THAT WASHINGTON AND LISBON CALL IN THE UNITA REPRESENTATIVES IN THESE CITIES AND DEMAND IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THAT UNITA AUTHORIZATION FOR HUMANITARIAN FLIGHTS BE REESTABLISHED TO MALANGE AND KUITO AT ONCE. THE PORTUGUESE OBSERVER AND THE USDEL PROMISED TO TRANSMIT THIS REQUEST TO THEIR CAPITALS.

16. BEYE ALSO SAID THAT HE WOULD INFORM THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.N. THAT NOW MORE PEOPLE ARE DYING DAILY IN ANGOLA THAN IN RWANDA AND THAT HE WOULD URGE HIM TO SO INFORM THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE PORTUGUESE AND RUSSIAN OBSERVERS SAID THAT THEY WILL REQUEST THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO CONSIDER AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO SEEK A SOLUTION FOR THE LOOMING HUMANITARIAN DISASTER IN ANGOLA.

17. LUANDA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. ARIETTI

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#4674

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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SSN: 4674
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RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE PRIORITY
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RUEANLA/DLA CAMERON STA VA PRIORITY
SUBJ: FRANCE TO OPEN KIGALI DIPLOMATIC "ANTENNA"
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ PARIS 22189
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
NAIROBI FOR DART AND REFCOORD
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA, PM/ISP,
IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA,
AID/BHR/FFP, AID/PPC
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, EAID, MOPS, RW, FR
SUBJECT: FRANCE TO OPEN KIGALI DIPLOMATIC "ANTENNA"
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DURING HIS VISIT LAST WEEKEND TO KIGALI, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR FROM KAMPALA WAS GIVEN THE GREEN LIGHT BY RWANDAN AUTHORITIES FOR FRANCE TO REOPEN A DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENT IN THE CAPITAL. QUAI CENTRAL AFRICA DESKOFF PERROUZAS HAS INFORMED US THAT FRENCH CAREER DIPLOMAT COURBEN AND THREE SECURITY GUARDS WILL LEAVE FOR KIGALI IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, AS QUICKLY AS PERSONAL AND OFFICIAL PREPARATIONS CAN BE COMPLETED.
3. CENTRAL AFRICA DIRECTOR BOIVINEAU TOLD US THAT THE GOF HAS NO CURRENT PLANS OR TIMING CONCERNING REOPENING A FULL EMBASSY AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA MARLAUD WILL REMAIN IN PARIS UNTIL THE QUAI MAKES A FURTHER DECISION, BASED ON THE REPORTS RECEIVED FROM ITS ANTENNA. HARRIMAN
BT
#2189

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2189
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RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1180
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1653
SUBJ: OAU MANAGEMENT MECHANISM MEETING AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL, AUGUST 3-4, 1994
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 TUNIS 005507
AF FOR ROGER ERVIN
LONDON FOR TUELLER
PARIS FOR ALLEGRONE
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, OAU, KDEM, PHUM, TS
SUBJECT: OAU MANAGEMENT MECHANISM MEETING AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL, AUGUST 3-4, 1994
REF: (A) ADDIS ABABA 6092 (B) TUNIS 5354
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE THIRD SESSION OF THE OAU MECHANISM FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION, WHICH MET IN TUNISIA FOR TWO DAYS LAST WEEK, FOCUSSED ON RWANDA AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF OAU TROOPS THERE AND PRODUCED A SPECIAL RESOLUTION ON THAT COUNTRY, AS WELL AS AN END-OF-SESSION COMMUNIQUE DETAILING OAU POSITIONS ON A NUMBER OF CONFLICT SITUATIONS IN AFRICA (BOTH DOCUMENTS HAVE BEEN FAXED TO AF AND APPEAR REFTEL A). THE OAU'S COMMITMENT OF A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF TROOPS TO THE RWANDA SITUATION (REFTELS) DEMONSTRATES ITS WILLINGNESS TO TAKE ON PEACEKEEPING RESPONSIBLIITIES IN ITS OWN BACKYARD. TUNISIA'S LEADERSHIP ON THE OAU TROOP OFFER ILLUSTRATES ITS DESIRE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN AFRICAN CONFLICT RESOLUTION DURING ITS OAU PRESIDENCY. END SUMMARY.
3. THE FOLLOWING 13 COUNTRIES PARTICIPATED IN THE OAU SESSION: MINISTERIAL LEVEL -- COTE D'IVOIRE, SOUTH AFRICA, TUNISIA, NIGERIA; DEPUTY MINISTER LEVEL -- ETHIOPIA, EGYPT, CHAD, TANZANIA, ZAIRE. EMBASSY REPRESENTATION -- BENIN AND MAURITIUS. OBSERVERS STATUS -- UGANDA AND CAMEROON. RWANDA WAS NOT PRESENT BECAUSE OF AIRPLANE DIFFICULTIES. THE OAU MINISTERIAL-LEVEL MEETING PRODUCED A TWO-PAGE SPECIAL RESOLUTION ON RWANDA THAT AFFIRMED OAU

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MEMBERS' READINESS TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO RWANDA UNDER UNAMIR II BUT DEPLORED LACK OF LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO TRANSPORT THEM. THE MINISTERS DECLARED THE READINESS OF ETHIOPIA, NIGERIA, AND TUNISIA TO DEPLOY TROOPS IMMEDIATELY AND CALLED ON THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL (SYG) TO TAKE MEASURES TO ENSURE THEIR ARRIVAL BY AUGUST 21, 1994, AS WELL AS TO SEE THAT ALL OTHER AFRICAN TROOPS ARE DEPLOYED BY SEPTEMBER 15, 1994. THE COMMUNIQUE IMPLORES DONOR NATIONS TO PROVIDE ALL NEEDED LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO THE UN SO THAT THESE AFRICAN TROOPS CAN BE DEPLOYED PROMTLY.

4. THE PARTICIPATS--APART FROM THOSE POINTS ALREADY MENTIONED IN THE SPECIAL RESOLUTION ABOVE--EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER DISPLACEMENT OF REFUGEES INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, POOR HEALTH AND SANITARY CONDITIONS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS, AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONSEQUENCES ON NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THEY CALLED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN CONFERENCE ON RWANDA, AND REQUESTED BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE GROUPS TO CONTRIBUTE ADDITIONAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. THE PARTICIPANTS URGED NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND BROAD POLITICAL PARTICIPATION UNDER THE SPIRIT OF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT, ECURE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES, AND INTERNATIONA JUSTICE FOR THOSE INVOLVED IN GENOCIDE.

5. ON AUGUST 10, POLOFF MET WITH SOUTH AFRICAN SECOND SECRTARY OOSTHUIZEN TO OBTAIN A READOUT ON SOUTH AFRICA'S PARTICIPATIONAT THE SESSION. REGARDING RWANDA, THE SOUTH AFRICAN SAID THE MEETING SHOWED THAT THE OAU--TRADITIONALLY, IN HIS WORDS, JUST A "TALK SHOP"--NOW INTENDS TO BECOME SERIOUSLY INVOLVED IN SOLVING AFRICAN PROBLEMS. THE WILLINGNESS OF SOME OAU COUNTRIES TO COMMIT TROOPS TO RWANDA, HE NOTED, IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF SERIOUS COMMITMENT. THE PROBLEM, HOWEVER, REMAINS THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING FUNDS TO PAY FOR GETTING THE TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT THERE. HE MENTIONED THAT SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF HAS 50 ARMORED VEHICLES THAT IT COULD DONATE TO THE RWANDAN EFFORT, BUT IT DOES NOT HAVE THE FUNDS TO MOVE THEM THERE.

6. THE OAU REPRESENTATIVES ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE VOLATILE SITUATION IN BURUNDI AND ASKED DONORS TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. THEY CALLED ON ALL ELEMENTS OF BURUNDIAN SOCIETY TO OPT FOR DIALOGUE AND, BASED ON THE POSITIVE ROLE THEY BELIEVE THE OAU MISSION IN BURUNDI (OMIB)--INCLUDING THE OMIB MILITARY COMPONENT-- HAS PLAYED THUS FAR, ASKED THE OAU SECRETARY GENERAL TO CONSIDER STRENGTHENING OMIB TO THE LEVEL AGREED WITH THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT AND EXTENDING THE OMIB MANDATE ANOTHER THREE MONTHS.

7. ON SOMALIA, THE COMMUNIQUE NOTES THAT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 TUNIS 005507

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, OAU, KDEM, PHUM, TS
SUBJECT: OAU MANAGEMENT MECHANISM MEETING AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL, AUGUST 3-4, 1994

RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE IN SOMALIA RESTS FIRST WITH THE SOMALI PEOPLE, AND CALLED ON ALL FACTIONS TO NEGOTIATE. IT ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF UNOSOM AND CALLED ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO CONTINUE ITS SUPPORT FOR SOMALIA.

8. THE COMMUNIQUE EXPRESSED REGRET AT THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN LIBERIA, INCLUDING DISRUPTION OF THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW FACTIONS. THE REPRESENTATIVES SUPPORTED THE COTONOU AGREEMENT, AND CALLED ON DONORS TO SUPPORT ECOMOG ECONOMICALLY AND MATERIALLY.

9. THE REPRESENTATIVES ENCOURAGED SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT MANDELA AND ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT CHILUBA TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO SUPPORT NEGOTIATIONS TO END THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT. ON THIS SUBJECT, SOUTH AFRICAN DIPLOMAT OOSTUIZEN ASSURED POLOFF THAT PRESIDENTS MANDELA AND CHILUBA WOULD INDEED CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA. HE ADDED THAT AT THE OAU SESSION LAST WEEK, THE IDEA WAS FLOATED OF HAVING CURRENT OAU PRESIDENT BEN ALI TAKE A CENTRAL ROLE WITH MANDELA AND CHILUBA IN REACHING A FINAL SETTLEMENT IN ANGOLA. THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMENTED THAT THE IDEA HAS BEEN TABLED, BUT REMAINS VERY MUCH ALIVE.

10. THE OAU REPRESENTATIVES CALLED ON ALL MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE IN OBSERVING THE IMPENDING MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE. THEY REQUESTED THE OAU SYG TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS RECOMMENDATION. OUR SOUTH AFRICAN INTERLOCUTOR STATED HIS BELIEF THAT THIS IS NOT AN EMPTY OFFER ON THE PART OF THE OAU AND THAT SEVERAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES MAY IN FACT SEND OFFICIAL OBSERVERS TO MOZAMBIQUE FOR THE ELECTIONS. HE STRESSED HOWEVER, THAT HIS GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS OTHER OAU MEMBERS ARE WORRIED THAT IF THE ELECTION RESULTS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO RENAMO, ANOTHER POST-ELECTION SCENARIO SIMILAR TO THE ANGOLAN COULD BE IN THE MAKING. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT IS FOCUSED ON SEEING THAT ALL OF RENAMO'S ARMS ARE CONTROLLED SO THAT THEY ARE NOT READILY AVAILABLE AFTER THE ELECTION.

11. CONCERNING CAMEROON/NIGERIA, THE MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIVES BROKE NO NEW GROUND ON THE BAKASSI PENINSULA DISPUTE AND ASKED ONLY THAT THE OAU LEADERSHIP CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE SITUATION CLOSELY.

COMMENT

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12. ACCORDING TO OUR SOUTH AFRICAN INTERLOCUTOR, THE PARTICIPANTS AT THIS SESSION APPEARED TO DEMONSTRATE MORE SERIOUSNESS THAN THEY HAVE IN THE PAST, ALTHOUGH MANY HOURS WERE SPENT ARGUING OVER WORDING OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE. ACCORDING TO HIM, OAU SYG SALIM AHMED SALIM PLAYED A VERY POSITIVE ROLE, AT ONE POINT IMPLORING HIS COLLEAGUES TO DO SOMETHING CONSTRUCTIVE. HOWEVER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN

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GAVE BEN ALI EVEN MORE CREDIT: "HE WAS THE ONE PUSHING THE OLD SCHOOL FROM ITS SLEEP," HE COMMENTED, ADDING THAT MANY IN THE OLD SCHOOL ARE NOT HAPPY WITH BEN ALI BECAUSE THEY VIEW HIM AS TOO FORCEFUL.

13. COMMENT CONTINUED: DESPITE THE SEVERAL PRONOUNCEMENTS CONCERNING OTHER AFRICAN CONFLICTS, THE CRISIS IN RWANDA DOMINATED THIS OAU MINISTERIAL-LEVEL MEETING. ON AUGUST 6, GOT MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HABIB BEN YAHIA CALLED IN THE CHARGE AND OTHER UNSC REPRESENTATIVES TO EXPRESS THE OAU'S DESIRE FOR AFRICA TO SHARE THE BURDEN OF THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN OVERCOMING THE CRISIS, BUT HE ADDED THAT MEMBERS MUST HAVE IMMEDIATE HELP FROM DONOR COUNTRIES TO TRANSPORT TROOPS (REFTEL B). END COMMENT.

STOCKER

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
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FOLDER TITLE:
[08/10/1994 - 08/13/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh143

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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ORIG: (b)(3)
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INFO: RHPBWQU/CTF ONE FIVE SIX
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(b)(3)
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RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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RUEHTH/AMEMBASSY ATHENS
RUFGAID/USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
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RUETIAA/DIRNSA FT MEADE MD
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC
RHCUAAA/HQ AMC TACC SCOTT AFB IL//DOOM/SAAM/XOOX//
RUEKJCS/HQ USEUCOM LO WASHDC
RUCJACC/CINCSOCOM MACDILL AFB FL//
RHCGSRB/COMFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA//ACOP-OCO//
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA//AIR OPS CELL//
RUEAHQA/HQ USAF WASHDC//DPXC/XOOO//
RUFTNKZ/COMUSNAVCENT BAHRAIN//N3/FMO//
RULYSCC/15 MEUSOC USS TRIPOLI //S3//
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//SOLIC HRA/USDP/OASD-PA-DPL/PA//
RHFQAAA/USAFE AOS RAMSTEIN AB GE//EUCOM ARC/AOCA/AOOS/AOOR//
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
RUEHSM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RHEHWSR/WHITE HOUSE SITROOM WASHDC
RUSNNOT/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//SOJ3//
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
RHIUFAA/CJTF SWA//J2//
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
RHCUAAA/USCINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL
RUEACMC/CMC WASHDC
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC (b)(3)

[10 U.S.C. 424]

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RUCQAAA/USCINCCENT INTEL MACDILL AFB FL
RUFHTH/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
(b)(3)
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHDC
RUEADWD/CSA WASHDC
RHCUAAA/HQ AMC SCOTT AFB IL//XOO//
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA
RHFQAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J1/J2/J2/JOD/J4/J5//
RUSNJTF/JTF SUPPORT HOPE MOEHRINGEN GE
RHJAAFA/HQ JTF SUPPORT HOPE ENTEBBE UGANDA
RHJAAGA/JTF-A SUPPORT HOPE GOMA CG
RHJAAKA/JTF-B SUPPORT HOPE KIGALI RW
RHPBWQU/CTF ONE FIVE EIGHT
RUFPAAC/CDR USASETAF AVIANO IT

SUBJ: ERRONIOUS INFORMATION ON ETHIOPIAN DEPLOYMENT TO RWANDA. (USEUCOM J3/J4 MSG DTG LLOOOLZ AUG 94, SITREP NR 49.

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 ADDIS ABABA ET 006213
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ~~NOFORN~~ U-441-94
SUBJ: ERRONIOUS INFORMATION ON ETHIOPIAN DEPLOYMENT TO RWANDA. (USEUCOM J3/J4 MSG DTG LLOOOLZ AUG 94, SITREP NR 49.
REF: USCINCEUR SITREP SUPPORT HOPE NR 49 FOR PERIOD 101200Z AUG 94 TO LLOOOLZ AUG 94, DTG LLOOOLZ AUG 94.
1. ~~(C/NF)~~ PARA 3 D OF REF CONTAINS INFORMATION KNOWN TO BE IN ERROR. FOLLOWING IS PROVIDED TO ENSURE ALCON AWARE AND IN VIEW OF EXTENSIVE INTEREST IN STATUS OF ETHIOPIAN BATTALION'S DEPLOYMENT TO UNAMIR.
2. ~~(C/REL TO ET)~~ REF PARA STATES IN PART "THE MOST CRITICAL REQUIREMENT IS FOR THE ETHIOPIAN BATTALION TO BE AIRLIFTED. ETHIOPIANS ARE TO BEGIN MOVING THEIR TROOPS ON 10 AUG. THEY HAVE REQUESTED EQUIPMENT (M113'S) TO BE LIFTED ON 21 AUG." (b)(3)
(b)(3)
(b)(3) NO AIRCRAFT HAVE BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 21 AUG OR ANY OTHER DATE. DETAILS OF LIFT OF ET BN HAVE NOT YET BEEN CONFIRMED--A DATE WILL BE SET ONCE ET AND THE UN HAVE AGREED UPON A SMALL AMOUNT OF SUPPLEMENTARY EQUIPMENT TO BE PROVIDED BY UN, FORMAL AGREEMENT ON REIMBURSEMENT MECHANISMS, AND CONFIRMATION OF HEAVY LIFT AVAILABILITY AND SCHEDULING. E.O. 13526 3.3(b)(1)
LIFT COULD BEGIN WITHIN THREE TO FOUR DAYS OF RESOLUTION OF ISSUES BETWEEN ET AND UN, BUT IS NOT LIKELY TO BE EARLIER THAN 19 AUG.
3. ~~(C/NF)~~ (b)(3) WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW SOURCE OF INFORMATION IN PARA 3D OF REF. THE FOLLOWING LIST IS (b)(3) REPORTING ON ET BN STATUS AND ET INTENTIONS.
(b)(3)

[10 U.S.C. 424]

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 ADDIS ABABA ET 006213
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ~~NOFORN~~ U-441-94
SUBJ: ERRONIOUS INFORMATION ON ETHIOPIAN DEPLOYMENT TO RWANDA. (USEUCOM J3/J4 MSG DTG LLOOOLZ AUG 94, SITREP NR 49.

(b)(3)

[10 U.S.C. 424]

DECL: OADR.
BT
#6213
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 6213
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8803
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1768
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0143
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0188
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 3225
RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4853
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0365
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1394
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1069
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0513
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4715
INFO: RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
SUBJ: PROPOSED REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES;
UPDATE ON TANZANIAN CAMPS
REF 94 STATE 216571

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 005150
GENEVA FOR RMA; PARIS FOR DALSIMER
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, EAID, PREL, UNHCR, UN, BY, CG, RW,
TZ, UG
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES;
UPDATE ON TANZANIAN CAMPS
REF 94 STATE 216571
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. THE GOT BELIEVES THAT A REGIONAL CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS REFUGEES ISSUES, PARTICULARLY REPATRIATION AND CAMP SECURITY, IS AN EXCELLENT IDEA. CONFLICT OVER LAND OWNERSHIP MUST BE RESOLVED BEFORE MASS REPATRIATION. HUTUS CONTINUE TO SEEK REFUGE IN TANZANIA, MANY WHO CLAIM TO BE FLEEING RETURNING TUTSIS WHO ARE DRIVING THEM OFF OF THEIR LAND. TENSIONS ARE INCREASING IN THE CAMPS. END SUMMARY.
3. THE HEAD OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS' REFUGEE SECTION, JOHNSON BRAHIM, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A VISIT TO REFUGEE CAMPS IN NORTHWESTERN TANZANIA, INFORMED CHARGE TODAY THAT THE NUMBERS AND PATTERNS OF REFUGEE MOVEMENT ARE DISTURBING. HE READILY ENDORSED

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THE IDEA OF A REGIONAL CONFERENCE, SAYING THAT COORDINATION BETWEEN THE REFUGEE SENDING AND RECEIVING STATES IS IMPORTANT. THE ONLY THING THAT WOULD INTERFERE WITH TANZANIA'S ATTENDANCE WOULD BE LACK OF FUNDING.

4. BRAHIM REPORTED THAT AS OF AUGUST 6 THE TOTAL REFUGEE POPULATION IN KAGERA REGION HAD GROWN TO 406,528. THE DAILY INFLUX OF 5,000 CONTINUES, ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY HUTUS FLEEING DIRECTLY FROM RWANDA OR VIA BURUNDI. MANY OF THESE NEW HUTU REFUGEES ARE REPORTING THAT THEY WERE DRIVEN OFF THEIR LAND BY LONGTERM TUTSI REFUGEES WHO HAD RETURNED AFTER 30 YEARS EXILE. THE NEWCOMERS ARE ATTEMPTING SOMETIMES VIOLENTLY, TO RECLAIM LAND THEY LEFT LONG AGO WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY SETTLED BY THE HUTUS.

5. BRAHIM FIGURES THAT OF THE 6,000 REFUGEES WHO RETURNED TO RWANDA FROM TANZANIA AND BURUNDI, ONLY 28 WERE HUTUS. ALL OF THE RETURNEES WILL BE LOOKING FOR LAND TO OCCUPY, EITHER LONGHELD FAMILY LAND OR LAND NEWLY ABANDONED BY HUTUS. THE TUTSIS HAVE BEEN RETURNING FOR SEVERAL WEEKS NOW AND "THEY MUST HAVE SETTLED IN BY NOW." BRAHIM EMPHASIZES THAT IF ALL THE REFUGEES, TUTSI AND HUTUS, HEEDED THE CALL TO RETURN IMMEDIATELY, THERE WOULD BE VIOLENT CONFLICT OVER LAND. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE GOVERNMENT PLAN CAREFULLY THE LAND OWNERSHIP PROCEDURES/REGULATIONS BEFORE A MASS RETURN OF REFUGEES.

6. CONTRARY TO HIS EXPECTATIONS, THE POPULATION OF THE BURIGI SETTLEMENT, ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TUTSI, HAS INCREASED BY 1,600 IN THE PAST MONTH. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME TUTSI REFUGEES FROM THE BURIGI AREA WHO RETURNED TO RWANDA, BRAHIM BELIEVES, BUT HE DOES NOT KNOW HOW MANY. NOR DOES HE UNDERSTAND THE REASON FOR THE INCREASE IN THE TUTSI POPULATION. HE ALSO REPORTED THAT HE HAD HEARD THAT TUTSI REFUGEES IN UGANDA HAD BEEN ADVISED (BY WHOM HE DID NOT KNOW) TO RETURN TO RWANDA "BEFORE IT WAS TOO LATE."

7. HEALTH CONDITIONS IN THE CAMPS ARE DETERIORATING. MORTALITY RATES HAVE DOUBLED IN LESS THAN A MONTH, ACCORDING TO BRAHIM, TO 4 PER 1,000 FOR THOSE OLDER THAN 5 YEARS AND 10 PER 1,000 FOR THOSE YOUNGER THAN 5 YEARS. ONE EXPLANATION IS THAT THE NEW ARRIVALS HAVE BEEN IN HIDING FOR EXTENDED PERIODS AND ARE ARRIVING IN VERY POOR HEALTH.

8. SINCE HIS LAST VISIT TO THE CAMPS A FEW WEEKS AGO, BRAHIM HAS PICKED UP A CHANGE IN "ATTITUDE" AMONG THE REFUGEES. HE SENSES THAT THEY ARE MORE DEMANDING OF SERVICES AND SUPPORT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 005150

GENEVA FOR RMA; PARIS FOR DALSIMER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREF, EAID, PREL, UNHCR, UN, BY, CG, RW, TZ, UG

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SUBJECT: PROPOSED REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES;
UPDATE ON TANZANIAN CAMPS
NOW, AND THEY SEEM TO CONSIDER THEMSELVES MORE
"AUTONOMOUS." REGIONAL CIVILIAN AND POLICE
OFFICIALS TOLD BRAHIM THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE
COMMUNE LEADERS HAS GROWN. BECAUSE THESE
LEADERS ARE ENCOURAGING THE
REFUGEES TO STAY,
FEW ARE RETURNING. BRAHIM ALSO SAID THAT THE
REFUGEES SEEM MORE "EASILY AGITATED" THAN EVER
BEFORE.
9. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. BROWNING
BT
#5150
NNNN

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

SSN: 5150
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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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OSRI: RUEHFR
DTG: 121613Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9101
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0593
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0052
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3130
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 7798
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2008
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1401
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 1192
SUBJ: A/S SHATTUCK'S MEETING WITH FRENCH ON RWANDA
- WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND BURUNDI

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 22245
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PREF, RW, FR
SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK'S MEETING WITH FRENCH ON RWANDA
- WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND BURUNDI
REF: USUN 3281
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: DRL A/S SHATTUCK MET AUGUST 10 WITH QUAI OFFICIALS TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RWANDA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. THE FRENCH AGREED ON THE NEED FOR: (1) QUICK MOVEMENT TO ESTABLISH SUCH A TRIBUNAL, INCLUDING THE POTENTIAL VALUE OF AN INTERIM COMMISSION OF EXPERTS REPORT IN MOVING IT FORWARD; (2) PROMOTION OF EARLY RETURN OF REFUGEES THROUGH PRESENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA -- THOUGH THE FRENCH MADE NO COMMITMENT TO FUND MONITORS; AND (3) PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL RWANDAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM CAPABLE OF PROSECUTING WAR CRIMINALS. THE MEETING ENDED WITH A SHORT DISCUSSION OF ESCALATING TENSIONS IN BURUNDI AND THE NEED TO INCREASE THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE THERE. END SUMMARY.
DEVELOPMENT OF THE RWANDA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
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3. ON AUGUST 10, DRL A/S SHATTUCK MET WITH SENIOR GOF OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS ESTABLISHMENT OF A RWANDA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI. SHATTUCK WAS ACCOMPANIED BY L SPECIAL ASSISTANT CRYSTAL NIX, DRL/MLA OFFICE DIRECTOR JOSIAH ROSENBLATT, AND EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICERS. HIS FRENCH INTERLOCUTORS WERE QUAI AFRICA A/S JEAN-MARC ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE, IO A/S

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COLIN DE VERDIERE, LEGAL ADVISOR JEAN-PIERRE PUISSOCHET, CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA DAS CATHERINE BOIVINEAU AND IO DESK OFFICER LAURENCE RIST.

CONVINCING REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME

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4. DE LA SABLIERE UNDERLINED GOF CONCERN THAT RWANDAN REFUGEES ARE RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES TOO SLOWLY. HE ARGUED THAT THE NEW KIGALI GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO PROVIDE CLEAR SECURITY ASSURANCES TO THE REFUGEES IN THE FACE OF REPORTED REVENGE KILLINGS BY RPF SOLDIERS. HE NOTED THAT THE EXODUS OF REFUGEES INTO TANZANIA CURRENTLY EXCEEDS THE NUMBER OF RETURNEES.

5. SHATTUCK OUTLINED RECENT STEPS THE GOR HAS TAKEN TO ENCOURAGE THE RETURN HOMEWARD OF REFUGEES. HE DESCRIBED THE LETTER THE GOR HAD SENT TO THE UN SYG, IN WHICH THE GOR PUBLICLY CONDEMNED ACTS OF RETRIBUTION, AGREED TO ARREST THOSE ENGAGING IN SUMMARY EXECUTIONS NOW OR PREVIOUSLY, DECLARED ITS SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL, AGREED TO DEFER PROSECUTION OF WAR CRIMINALS TO THE TRIBUNAL, AND SAID IT WOULD RELY ON DUE PROCESS IN LOCAL PROSECUTIONS. SHATTUCK ALSO NOTED THE GOR PRIME MINISTER'S PUBLIC COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH HE CLEARLY STATED THE GOVERNMENT'S GUARANTEE OF SECURITY FOR RETURNING REFUGEES. THE GOR TOLD SHATTUCK IT WANTS THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME SOON.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBUNAL

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6. WHILE AGREEING ON THE NECESSITY OF ESTABLISHING AN INTERNATIONAL RWANDAN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, LEGAL ADVISOR PUISSOCHET NOTED THE FRENCH PREFERENCE TO ESTABLISH A LEGALLY DISTINCT TRIBUNAL FOR CRIMES COMMITTED IN RWANDA, THOUGH HE INDICATED THE GOF COULD BE FLEXIBLE ON THIS. HE ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ENLARGE THE YUGOSLAVIA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND THAT THE COMPOSITION OF JUDGES ALREADY SELECTED FOR YUGOSLAVIA MIGHT NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR RWANDAN CRIMES. REGARDLESS OF WHETHER A NEW TRIBUNAL WERE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 PARIS 22245

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PREF, RW, FR

SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK'S MEETING WITH FRENCH ON RWANDA - WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND BURUNDI

CREATED OR THE EXISTING TRIBUNAL WERE ENLARGED, HE SAID A NEW UNSC RESOLUTION WILL BE REQUIRED. HE DID NOT SEE OBVIOUS MONETARY SAVINGS IN ENLARGING THE YUGOSLAVIA TRIBUNAL AND EXPRESSED A CONCERN THAT ENLARGEMENT COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO AN INTERNATIONAL COURT -- AN UNDESIRABLE RESULT FROM THE GOF POINT OF VIEW. PUISSOCHET DID AGREE THAT CERTAIN SERVICES MIGHT BE SHARED BETWEEN THE TWO TRIBUNALS, SUCH AS REGISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE FACILITIES.

7. NIX DESCRIBED THE U.S.-PREFERRED ORGANIZATION OF THE RWANDAN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. SHE EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR RELATIVE PARITY WITH THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL -- SO THAT IT WOULD BE CLEAR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DOES NOT ATTACH LESS IMPORTANCE TO WAR CRIMES IN AFRICA THAN TO THOSE IN EUROPE. SHE POINTED OUT THE ADVANTAGE OF HAVING ONE TRIBUNAL HANDLE ALL WAR CRIMES CASES,

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THUS DEVELOPING A CONSISTENT BODY OF LAW EMPLOYING A SINGLE SET OF STANDARDS. SHE NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF SETTING UP THE TRIBUNAL IN A TIMELY MANNER. USING THE BUILDING IN THE HAGUE, SUPPORT STAFF, AND THE SAME APPELLATE AND TRIAL JUDGES, THE NEW TRIBUNAL WOULD NEED TO ADD ONLY SEVERAL AFRICAN JUDGES AND A SEPARATE PROSECUTORIAL STAFF. A SINGLE CHIEF PROSECUTOR, JUSTICE GOLDSTONE, WOULD PRESIDE OVERALL. THE FRENCH AGREED THAT JUDGE GOLDSTONE WOULD BE VERY CREDIBLE IN THAT POSITION.

8. PUISSOCHET SAID THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIBUNAL MUST BE CLEARLY DEFINED -- WHETHER IT IS INTENDED TO JUDGE THE INSTIGATORS, MIDDLE-LEVEL COMMANDERS, OR THE HUGE NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO CARRIED OUT THE KILLINGS. HE NOTED THAT THOUGH THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL IS INTENDED TO PROSECUTE ALLEGED INSTIGATORS AND MIDDLE-LEVEL CRIMINALS, ONLY ONE OR TWO PERSONS MIGHT BE PROSECUTED BEFORE THE END OF THIS YEAR. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUDGMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE HANDED DOWN BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL AND THOSE OF LOCAL COURTS: LOCAL COURTS COULD CONDEMN PERSONS TO DEATH, WHEREAS THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, PRESUMABLY TRYING HIGHER-LEVEL CRIMINALS, WOULD BE LIMITED TO LONG-TERM PRISON SENTENCES.

9. PUISSOCHET RAISED THE PROBLEM OF ARRESTING AND DETAINING ALLEGED CRIMINALS. RHETORICALLY ASKING WHO COULD MAKE ARRESTS AND UNDER WHAT AUTHORITY, HE NOTED THAT CHAPTER 7 HAS BEEN USED AS THE BASIS FOR ESTABLISHING THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL AND WAS SKEPTICAL THAT THIS COULD BE EXPANDED FURTHER AND STATES BE INSTRUCTED TO ARREST ALLEGED WAR CRIMINALS. SHATTUCK RESPONDED THE UNSC RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL WOULD PROVIDE THE AUTHORITY FOR LOCAL OFFICIALS TO ARREST AND DETAIN ALLEGED CRIMINALS IN WHATEVER COUNTRY THEY MAY BE FOUND. HE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF CALLING UPON STATES TO ARREST ALLEGED CRIMINALS BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL IS ESTABLISHED; THE FRENCH PARTICIPANTS INSISTED THAT NO DETENTIONS COULD OCCUR BEFORE A RESOLUTION IS PASSED CREATING THE TRIBUNAL.

10. IN VIEW OF THE AGREED-UPON URGENCY OF CREATING THE TRIBUNAL, SHATTUCK RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION RECOMMEND CREATION OF THE RWANDAN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL IN AN INTERIM REPORT, FOLLOWING THE WAY IN WHICH THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL HAD BEEN CREATED. DE LA SABLIERE RESPONDED THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WOULD NEED TO BE CONSULTED, BUT HE SEEMED FAVORABLY INCLINED TO THE IDEA.

11. DE LA SABLIERE RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE NUMBER OF POTENTIAL CRIMINALS TO BE JUDGED. HE NOTED THE FRENCH

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PREF, RW, FR

SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK'S MEETING WITH FRENCH ON RWANDA - WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND BURUNDI

PRESS HAD PUBLISHED A LIST OF 500 LEADERS, BUT, QUERIED BY SHATTUCK, STATED THE GOF HAD NOT COMPILED A LIST OF ITS OWN. HE THEN QUOTED A PRESS REPORT THAT THE GOR

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MINISTER OF JUSTICE HAD SAID THERE WERE 32,000 GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY PERSONNEL WHO COULD BE PROSECUTED. ROSENBLATT EXPLAINED THAT THE GOR MINISTER OF JUSTICE HAD TOLD THE U.S. DELEGATION HE MEANT THAT THAT WAS THE NUMBER OF PERSONS POSSIBLY IMPLICATED BECAUSE OF THEIR POSITIONS, NOT THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TO BE PROSECUTED. (NOTE: THE 500 NUMBER APPEARS TO INCLUDE INSTIGATORS AND MIDDLE-LEVEL COMMANDERS. END NOTE.)

LOCAL JUSTICE VERSUS INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL

12. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING THE LOCAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM AT THE SAME TIME AS THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL IS BEING ESTABLISHED. DE LA SABLIERE POINTED OUT THAT THE INSTIGATORS OF THE KILLINGS ARE NO LONGER IN RWANDA, AND IT WILL ONLY BE POSSIBLE TO PROSECUTE THEM THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST FIND A WAY TO JUDGE THESE CRIMINALS TO PREVENT FUTURE GENOCIDE. SHATTUCK AGREED THAT AN EARLY PRIORITY FOR THE TRIBUNAL AND THE GOR WOULD BE TO DELINEATE CATEGORIES OF WAR CRIMINALS EACH WOULD SEEK TO PROSECUTE. REGARDING THE MIDDLE-LEVEL COMMANDERS, HE NOTED THAT BOTH ZAIRE AND TANZANIA WANT THE RWANDAN REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME, AND IT WOULD BE IN THOSE COUNTRIES' OWN INTERESTS TO DETAIN CRIMINALS, THOUGH THAT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE UNTIL THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL IS ESTABLISHED.

13. DE VERDIERE NOTED THAT REFUGEES WILL NOT RETURN TO RWANDA UNLESS THEY ARE ASSURED THAT THEY WILL BE SECURE FROM REPRISALS. IN ADDITION TO THE DECLARATIONS THE GOR HAS ALREADY MADE, THE BEST WAY TO ENSURE THIS IS THROUGH THE OPERATION OF A LOCAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM RELYING ON DUE PROCESS OF LAW TO PUNISH THE ACTUAL WAR CRIMINALS. WITHIN RWANDA, THEREFORE, MIDDLE-LEVEL COMMANDERS WHO HAVE NOT FLED, OR WHO RETURN WITH THE REFUGEES, MIGHT BE ARRESTED.

HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS; OBSERVERS FOR COURT PROCEEDINGS

14. SHATTUCK DESCRIBED THE GOR'S REQUEST FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS TO ENCOURAGE THE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND DISCOURAGE VIGILANTE ACTIVITIES. HE REPORTED THAT THE UN IN GENEVA HAS STARTED THE PROCESS AND THAT A PORTION OF THE TWO MILLION DOLLARS THE U.S.Q59 !7,$ .9,8594. HE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED THE
FRENCH TO PROVIDE MONITORS OR FUNDING FOR THEM. ROSENBLATT ESTIMATED THAT THE NUMBER OF MONITORS REQUIRED WOULD BE A MINIMUM OF 150: ONE FOR EACH OF THE 15 COMMUNES IN EACH OF RWANDA'S 10 PREFECTURES OUTSIDE KIGALI. DE LA SABLIERE COMMENTED THAT THE GOF IS WORKING IN THE SAME DIRECTION, BUT DID NOT MAKE ANY OFFERS OF FRENCH PARTICIPATION OR FUNDING.

15. SHATTUCK REPORTED THAT THE GOF HAS ALSO REQUESTED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS OF LOCAL COURT PROCEEDINGS TO INCREASE CONFIDENCE IN THE RULE OF LAW. HE NOTED THE NEED TO PROVIDE A HIGH STANDARD OF PERSONNEL, PERHAPS THROUGH LAWYERS ASSOCIATIONS. HE SAID OBSERVERS COULD BE PROVIDED BY INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS OR BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, A COMPLICATED ISSUE

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BECAUSE THESE MONITORS WOULD BE SEEN AS APPROVING LOCAL COURT DECISIONS.
UPDATE ON BURUNDI
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 PARIS 22245
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PREF, RW, FR
SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK'S MEETING WITH FRENCH ON RWANDA - WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND BURUNDI

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16. SHATTUCK PRESENTED AN UPDATE ON THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI, WHERE HE HAD BEEN THE DAY BEFORE. HE DESCRIBED THE ATMOSPHERE OF HIGH TENSION AND THE DISTRUST THAT HAVE LED TO VIOLENCE AMONG EXTREME ELEMENTS, INCLUDING UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BEING USED BY TUTSI EXTREMISTS. SHATTUCK SAID BURUNDI NEEDS A LARGE PRESENCE OF INTERNATIONAL CIVILIAN MONITORS. HE POSED TWO QUESTIONS: HOW TO INCREASE THE MONITORING CAPACITY IN BURUNDI, NOTING THAT THE 32 OAU OBSERVERS ARE NOT WELL-REGARDED; AND WHAT CAN BE DONE TO INCREASE ASSISTANCE OF HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS. HE ALSO RAISED THE PROBLEM OF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE 1993 MASSACRES OF APPROXIMATELY 60,000 PERSONS.
17. DE SABLIERE COMMENTED THAT BURUNDI HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ACCELERATE THE PROCESSES OF NEGOTIATION AND THAT COMPROMISE IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT. HE COMPLAINED THAT RPF LEADER KAGAME HAS ENOUGH INFLUENCE TO CALM THE BURUNDIAN TUTSIS, BUT HASN'T USED IT. HE PLACED RESPONSIBILITY WITH THE ARMY TO DO SOMETHING AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IMPUNITY WILL RESULT IN A CONTINUATION OF VIOLENCE. HE NOTED THAT THE SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED IN THE LAST 10 DAYS AND AGREED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD INCREASE ITS PRESENCE IN BURUNDI.
18. THIS MESSAGE WAS DRAFTED AFTER A/S SHATTUCK DEPARTED POST.
HARRIMAN
BT
#2245
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 2245
<^SSN>2245
<^SSN>2245
<^SSN>2245

TOR: 940812122241 M1200438
<^TOR>940812122346 M1200441
<^TOR>940812122819 M1200458
<^TOR>940812122244 M1200440

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX
□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (S.13)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA2853 2241723-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 121723Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 121723Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6369
INFO: RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: PROPOSED REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES: BRITISH RESPONSE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 012853
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND RWANDA TASK FORCE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF EAID PREL UNHCR UN RW BY CG TZ UG UK
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES: BRITISH RESPONSE
REF: STATE 216571
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE (SEE PARA 4).
2. WE SPOKE AUG.12 WITH ALEX HALL-HALL HEAD OF THE FCO'S UN DEPARTMENT'S HUMANITARIAN SECTION REGARDING CONVOCATION OF A MINISTERIAL LEVEL CONFERENCE ON RWANDA AND BURUNDIAN REFUGEES AND REFUGEE RELATED MATTERS.
3. HALL-HALL SAID HMG WAS INTERESTED IN ATTENDING SUCH A MEETING BUT HAD A FEW QUESTIONS:
-- HAD THE MEETING BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THE UNHCR? IF SO WHAT WAS THEIR OPINION?
-- WOULD IT BE BETTER TO ORGANIZE THE MEETING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF UNHCR, THEREBY PREVENTING POLITICAL OVERTONES FROM CREEPING IN?
-- WHAT PRECISELY WOULD THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MEETING BE?
-- HOW WOULD RWANDA BE REPRESENTED? WOULD THEIR REPRESENTATION BE LIMITED TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT OR WOULD IT ALSO INCLUDE MEMBERS OF THE OLD GOVERNMENT OR INCLUDE REFUGEE CAMP LEADERS?
HALL-HALL COMMENTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RUNS THE DANGER OF EXACERBATING TENSIONS IF THE HUTUS ARE CUT OUT OF THE MEETING.
-- WHAT WOULD BE THE NATURE OF THE DISCUSSION ON DETENTION OF ALLEGED CRIMINALS? HMG THOUGHT THAT THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE ADDRESSED QUIETLY -- PERHAPS ONLY AMONG THE PERM3 UNTIL A CREDIBLE WAY TO DETAIN SUSPECTS COULD BE DESIGNED. HALL-HALL RELATED THE INCIDENT IN TANZANIA WHERE A CAMP LEADER WAS TO BE ARRESTED AND A RIOT ENSUED. HMG WAS CONCERNED THAT THE ISSUE OF

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DETENTION COULD PREOCCUPY THE MEETING.
-- SHOULD THE MEETING BE AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL? IF IT IS INTENDED AS A MEETING WHICH WOULD SUBSTANTIVELY ADDRESS THE ISSUES, THEN PERHAPS A WORKING LEVEL MEETING WOULD BE MORE EFFICIENT.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR THE QUESTIONS IN PARA 3. CROWE

BT
#2853
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2853

TOR: 940812132925 M1200567

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC SCHWARTZ VAX

□

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (5.14)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA3345 2241906-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 121906Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 121906Z AUG 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8337
INFO: RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 5641
SUBJ: MGRW02: UNDP FUNDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN NEW YORK 003345
AID FOR ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD AND MCALL
IO FOR A/S BENNET
E.0.12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, KDEM, PREF, EAID, RW
SUBJECT: MGRW02: UNDP FUNDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA
REF: A) GENEVA 06933 B) STATE 214773
1. SUMMARY: PRIOR TO RECEIPT OF REF B USUN PRESSED UNDP ON ITS FUNDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA. AFTER A DAY'S WAIT, UNDP (JENKS) REPLIED THAT UNDP WILL PARTIALLY FUND THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS BUT WILL APPEAL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS, INCLUDING FROM THE USG. UNDP WON'T WAIT, HOWEVER, AND IS PUTTING THE OPERATION TOGETHER THEMSELVES. UNDP OFFICER NORMAN LAUZON WILL BE IN WASHINGTON ON MONDAY TO MEET WITH USAID. USUN SUGGESTS DEPARTMENT CONTACT HIM WHILE HE IS IN WASHINGTON FOR MORE OPERATIONAL DETAILS. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SECONDS AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL'S RECOMMENDATION (REF A) TO CONTRIBUTE QUICKLY TO THIS MISSION AND ALSO URGES SIMILAR PREVENTIVE ACTION IN BURUNDI. END SUMMARY
2. USUN CONTACTED UNDP, BRUCE JENKS, ON AUGUST 9 TO PRESS UNDP ON PROMPTLY FUNDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA. IN A TELEPHONE CALL AUGUST LOTH, JENKS INFORMED USUN THAT HAVING DISCUSSED THE ISSUE FULLY WITH NORMAN LAUZON, "WE (UNDP) ARE COMMITTED, MOVING AHEAD, AND TRYING TO PUT SOMETHING TOGETHER." UNDP IS WORKING WITH AYALA LASSO AND THE UNV. UNDP HAS A KEEN AWARENESS OF HOW URGENT THE NEED IS TO GET PEOPLE ON THE GROUND. HOWEVER, NO DATE HAS BEEN SET. HE SAID, LAUZON ALSO INFORMED USAID OF HIS PLANS.
3. IT IS CLEAR THAT UNDP IS PUTTING MONEY IMMEDIATELY INTO THIS OPERATION. HOWEVER, THEY NEED FINANCIAL HELP AND WILL APPEAL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS, INCLUDING FROM THE USG. THEY EMPHASIZED THAT THEY ARE NOT WAITING FOR

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CONTRIBUTIONS, HOWEVER, AND WILL IMMEDIATELY BEGIN THE OPERATION. UNDP WILL ALSO BE LOOKING AT THE DEVELOPMENT SIDE OF THE EFFORT. THEY AGREE THE MONITORS ARE IMPORTANT, BUT ARE ALSO CONSIDERING LONGER-TERM NEEDS OF THE RETURNEES.

4. NORMAN LAUZON IS THE KEY PERSON ON THIS ISSUE. HE IS THE OFFICER IN CHARGE IN THE ABSENCE OF ELLEN JOHNSON-SIRLEAF. LAUZON IS GOING TO WASHINGTON ON MONDAY TO MEET WITH USAID (ON HORN OF AFRICA ISSUES) AS WELL AS ON THIS ISSUE. USUN SUGGESTS THAT DEPARTMENT ARRANGE A MEETING WITH HIM WHILE HE IS IN WASHINGTON.

5. COMMENT: AS A SUPPORTIVE MOVE TO UNDP, AND TO EXPEDITE THE PROCESS, AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SECONDS AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL'S RECOMMENDATION FOR A USG VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION QUICKLY TOWARD FUNDING THE 20 HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA. RECOGNIZING THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN BURUNDI, USUN ALSO SUGGESTS DEPARTMENT LOOK URGENTLY INTO WHATEVER SIMILAR STEPS ARE NECESSARY TO BOLSTER PREVENTIVE ACTION IN BURUNDI.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#3345

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3345

TOR: 940812154445 M1200804

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC SCHWARTZ VAX

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. cable	[The Rwandan Patriotic Front Government] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	08/12/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/10/1994 - 08/13/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh143

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: RAASZYUW RUEAIIA4620 2241922-SSSS--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS
LINE3: R 121920Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM CIA
OSRI: RUEAIIA
DTG: 121920Z AUG 94
ORIG: CIA
TO: RUEAIJU/NPIC
RUETIAA/DIRNSA
RUEHC/DEPT OF STATE//INR/DSITA
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHINGTON DC
RUEADWD/DA WASHINGTON DC
RUENAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC
RUEACMC/CMC WASHINGTON DC
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RUEATRS/TREASURY DEPT
RUCNSE/SECRET SERVICE//ID
RUCNFB/FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//J-2
RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK//DOA//
RUFTAKC/UDITDUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGB-CI-CIS/AEAGB-ID//
RHFQAAA/HQ USAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//IN//
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
RULYSCC/CTF ONE FIVE SIX
RULYSCC/CTF ONE FIVE EIGHT
RUFTNAB/COMUSNAVCENT//N2//
RUCBSAA/CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
RUCBAIC/AIC NORFOLK VA
RUCQVAB/USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB
RUCQAAA/USCINCCENT INTELCEN MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ2-JIW/CCJ2//
RUWSMXI/AMC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL
RUWSMXI/USCINCTRANS INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL
RUEOFAA/COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC//J2//
RUFQBBA/US SURVEY SECTION SHAPE BE
INFO: ****
SUBJ: E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
1.4(c) HUTU ATTITUDES REGARDING REPATRIATION AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT GOVERNMENT

TEXT:
~~S E C R E T WNINTEL NOFORN~~ E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
CITE CIA 775852
E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
PASS: NSA FOR ZKZK OO DLS DE (FOR NSOC).

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (5.15)
VZ 10/20/2023

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REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T--WNINTEL--NOFORN~~ E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
DIST: 12 AUGUST 1994
COUNTRY: RWANDA
SUBJ: E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
1.4(c) HUTU ATTITUDES REGARDING REPATRIATION AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT GOVERNMENT

E.O. 13526 1.4(c)

SUMMARY: NONE.
TEXT: 1. E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
1.4(c) NOT MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF HUTU REFUGEES CURRENTLY IN ZAIRE AND IN TANZANIA WOULD VOLUNTARILY RETURN TO RWANDA REGARDLESS OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNLESS THEY PERCEIVED A MUCH STRONGER HUTU INFLUENCE IN THE NEW RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) GOVERNMENT. E.O. 13526 1.4(c) HUTUS REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT TUTSI REPRISALS AGAINST THEM AND ARE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE TUTSI DOMINATION OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT. HUTUS ARE TIRED OF BEING TREATED AS INFERIORS BECAUSE OF THEIR BANTU ETHNICITY. THE HATRED AND MISTRUST HELD BY MOST HUTUS FOR TUTSIS IS DEEP-SEATED AND BASED ON WHAT HUTUS PERCEIVE AS YEARS OF ABUSE BY TUTSIS. 1.4(c) 1.4(c) IN THE VIEW OF MOST HUTUS, TUTSIS HAVE TREATED HUTUS LIKE DOGS, CURRENTLY TREAT HUTUS LIKE DOGS AND WILL TREAT HUTUS LIKE DOGS IN THE FUTURE.

2. E.O. 13526 1.4(c) MOST HUTUS CURRENTLY IN THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONE IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA ARE MAKING PLANS TO FLEE RWANDA FOR ZAIRE WHEN THE FRENCH DEPART. THESE HUTUS HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN RPF GUARANTEES OF SECURITY AND DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A UNITED NATIONS FORCE WOULD BE CAPABLE OF STOPPING TUTSI REPRISALS. THE HUTUS WOULD RATHER TAKE THEIR CHANCES AS REFUGEES THAN FACE WHAT THEY VIEW AS AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE UNDER THE TUTSIS.

3. E.O. 13526 1.4(c) THE MAJORITY OF RWANDAN CIVIL SERVANTS, TUTSIS AND HUTUS, ARE PAWNS OF THE EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES. MOST CIVIL SERVANTS DO NOT SUPPORT EXTREMISTS BUT HAVE BEEN CARRIED ALONG BY THE TIDE OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE, TAKING ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER AS TRIBAL VIOLENCE POLARIZED RWANDAN SOCIETY. 1.4(c) COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HUTUS WAS VERY BAD AND THAT ACQUIRING INFORMATION ABOUT HUTU REFUGEES WAS VERY DIFFICULT. E.O. 13526 1.4(c) COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TUTSIS WAS MUCH BETTER.

4. (1.4(c) MOST AFRICAN OBSERVERS OF THE RWANDAN CRISIS BELIEVE THE CURRENT RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT SPONSORED GOVERNMENT TO BE, AT BEST, A FIRST STEP AND NOT A CREDIBLE SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS IN RWANDA OR IN THE REGION. REGIONAL AFRICAN OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THE RPF'S VICTORY IN RWANDA HAS HARDENED THE LINES IN BURUNDI AND HAS MADE A TUTSI ATTEMPT TO SEIZE POWER, AS WELL AS TRIBAL VIOLENCE, MORE LIKELY.)
E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
DISSEM: E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
E.O. 13526 1.4(c)
E.O. 13526 1.4(c) USUN, USNMR SHAPE (FOR SACEUR), USCINCEUR, EUCOM JAC, CINCUSAREUR, CINCUSAFE, CINCUSNAVEUR, USCINCCENT, USCINCSOC, JSOC, COMUSNAVCENT, USCINCTRANS, CINCTRANSCOM, CINCUSACOM, AIC, CTF 156, CTF 158.
WARNING: REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T--WARNING NOTICE--INTELLIGENCE SOURCES OR METHODS INVOLVED--NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN~~

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NATIONALS--[E.O. 13526 1.4(c)]
[E.O. 13526 1.4(c)] ALL
PORTIONS CARRY CLASSIFICATION AND CONTROLS OF OVERALL DOCUMENT.
END OF MESSAGE ~~SECRET.~~
BT
#4620
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4620
TOR: 940812165332 M1200949
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
015. cable	[Aircraft] [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	08/12/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/10/1994 - 08/13/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh143

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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2011-0262-M-4 (5.18)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: OAASZYUW RUCJACC3090 2242034-SSSS--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS
LINE3: O P 122015Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3//
OSRI: RUCJACC
DTG: 122015Z AUG 94
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TO: RUCBSAA/CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
RHCUAAA/USCINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL
RUFTNAB/COMUSNAVCENT
(b)(3) [10 U.S.C. 424]
INFO: RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHINGTON DC
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUCJAAA/USCINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
RUWTNOK/USCINCSPACE PETERSON AFB CO
RUHQHQB/USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI
RUCUSTR/USCINCSTRAT OFFUTT AFB NE
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC//J3-JOD/J4/J5//
RUEANLA/DLA CAMERON STA VA
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
RHEHWSR/WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM WASHINGTON DC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//ISA/FM&P/PA//
RUEADWD/CSA WASHINGTON DC
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RUENAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC
RUEACMC/CMC WASHINGTON DC
RUEHGV/AMEMBASSY GENEVA
RUCNDT/USMISSION US UN NEW YORK NY
RULYSCC/COMUSMARCENT
RUWDCAA/CG I MEF
RUCKMEA/CG II MEF
RULYSCC/FIFTEENTH MEU SOC
RULYSCC/COMPHIBRON THREE
SUBJ: ***NO SUBJECT FOUND***
TEXT:
~~S E C R E T~~
MSGID/DEPLOYORD/USCINCCENT//
AMPN/SUBJ: REDEPLOYMENT ORDER FOR FOUR CH-53E AND TWO KC-130
AIRCRAFT ~~(S)~~//
REF/A/CJCS/281646Z JUL 94/-/NOTAL//
AMPN/CJCS DEPLOYMENT ORDER FOR FOUR CH-53E AND TWO KC-130
AIRCRAFT/-/NOTAL//
REF/B/USCINCCENT/282330Z JUL 94/-/NOTAL//
AMPN/EXECUTE ORDER FOR FOUR CH-53E AND TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT TO BE
OPCON TO USCINCEUR ~~(S)~~//

REF/C/USCINCEUR/101735Z AUG 94/-/NOTAL//
AMPN/USCINCEUR MESSAGE REQUEST TO RELINQUISH OPCON OF FOUR CH-53E AND TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT TO USCINCCENT AS OF 130001Z AUG 94 (S)
REF/D/CJCS/121445Z AUG 94/-/NOTAL//
AMPN/REDEPLOYMENT OF CH-53 AND KC-130 ASSETS TO USCINCCENT AOR (~~S~~)//
TIMEZONE/Z//
NARR/ (~~S~~) THIS IS A REDEPLOYMENT ORDER. USCINCCENT HAS APPROVED REDEPLOYMENT OF FOUR CH-53E AIRCRAFT, TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT AND ALL ASSOCIATED SUPPORT PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT TO COMUSNAVCENT. FOLLOWING OPCON TRANSFER, THE 2 KC-130 AIRCRAFT AND KC-130 ASSOCIATED SUPPORT PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT WILL REDEPLOY TO HOME STATION.//
GENTEXT/SITUATION/
1. (~~S~~) PER REFS A AND B USCINCCENT PROVIDED USCINCEUR FOUR CH-53E AND TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT IN SUPPORT OF OPERATION SUPPORT HOPE. REFERENCED AIRCRAFT ARE NO LONGER REQUIRED BY USCINCEUR AND OPCON IS RETURNED TO USCINCCENT PER REFS C AND D NLT 130001 AUG 94.
GENTEXT/MISSION/
2. (U) USCINCCENT WILL TRANSFER OPCON OF FOUR CH-53E AND TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT WITH ASSOCIATED PERSONNEL AND SUPPORT EQUIPMENT TO COMUSNAVCENT UPON ARRIVAL AT MOMBASSA, KENYA (EXPECTED ARRIVAL NLT 130001Z AUG 94). FOLLOWING OPCON TRANSFER, USNAVCENT WILL REDEPLOY TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT AND ASSOCIATED PERSONNEL AND SUPPORT EQUIPMENT TO HOME STATION ON OR ABOUT 220001Z AUG 94./
GENTEXT/EXECUTION/
3. (U) TASKINGS.
3A. (U) COMUSNAVCENT.
3A1. (~~S~~) ACCEPT OPCON OF TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT AT MOMBASA, KENYA NLT 130001Z AUG 94. ACCEPT OPCON OF FOUR CH-53E AIRCRAFT AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT UPON ARRIVAL IN MOMBASSA, KENYA FROM RWANDA CRISIS AREA.
3A2. (~~S~~) REDEPLOY TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT TO HOME STATION ON OR ABOUT 220001 AUG 94.
3A3. (~~S~~) REDEPLOY FOUR CH-53 AIRCRAFT AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT TO 15TH MEU.
3B. (U) USCINCTRANS.
3B1. (U) PROVIDE MOVEMENT TRANSPORTATION SUPPORT AS REQUIRED.
3C. (U) CINCUSACOM. [10 U.S.C. 424]
3C1. (~~C~~) ACCEPT OPCON OF TWO KC-130 AIRCRAFT AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT UPON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM USCINCCENT AOR.
3D. (U) (b)(3)
3D1. (U) COORDINATE FOR OVERFLIGHT AND DIPLOMATIC CLEARANCES AS REQUIRED FOR REDEPLOYING AIRCRAFT AND PACKAGES.//
4. (U) COORDINATING INSTRUCTIONS.
4A. (U) C-DAY, L-HOUR, 200001Z JUL 94.
4B. (U) RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. PEACETIME ROE IN EFFECT.
4C. (U) OPSEC AND DECEPTION GUIDANCE. OPSEC DURING PLANNING AND EXECUTION TO PREVENT DISCLOSURE OF CAPABILITIES AND INTENT.
4D. (U) UNITS MOVE WITH APPROPRIATE MISSION ORIENTED PROTECTIVE POSTURE (MOPP) GEAR.
4E. (U) DIRLAUTH ALCON. KEEP USCINCCENT INFORMED.//
GENTEXT/ ADMIN AND LOG/
5. (U) AIRLIFT MOVEMENT PRIORITY. 1B1.
5A. (U) THE JOINT STAFF WILL NOT PROVIDE FUNDING. CINC SERVICE COMPONENT COMMANDS WILL FUND COSTS OF REDEPLOYMENT. SERVICE COMPONENT COMMANDERS WILL CAPTURE INCREMENTAL AND TOTAL COSTS AND REPORT COSTS TO THE ARMY FOR CONSOLIDATION AND DISTRIBUTION BEFORE

FORWARDING TO DOD COMPTROLLER. CJCS PROJECT CODE 9DH.
5B. ~~(C)~~ USE OF JOPES IS DIRECTED. ENTER MOVEMENT REQUIREMENTS IN PID 193RR.
5C. (U) FORCE ACTIVITY DESIGNATORS WILL BE ISSUED BY APPROPRIATE SERVICES.
5D. (U) REPORTING INSTRUCTIONS. IAW JOINT PUBS 1-03.8 AND 6-04. AFTER ACTION REPORTING IAW JOINT PUB 1-03.30.
5E. (U) CLASSIFICATION GUIDANCE. DEPLOYMENT IS CLASSIFIED SECRET FOR PLANNING, UNCLASSIFIED FOR EXECUTION.
5F. (U) PUBLIC AFFAIRS. PUBLIC RELEASE OF INFORMATION CONCERNING DEPLOYMENT IS NOT AUTHORIZED UNTIL RELEASED BY ATSD(PA) OR USCINCCENT PA(CCPA). USNAVCENT PROVIDE PPAG TO USCINCCENT(CCPA), LTCOL MARTENS, DSN 968-5899.
G. (U) KNOWN LOGISTICS CONSTRAINTS. NONE.//
GENTEXT/COMMAND AND SIGNAL/
6. (U) USNAVCENT WILL ASSIST DEPLOYING UNITS WITH FREQUENCY ALLOCATIONS AS REQUIRED AND PUBLISH COMSEC GUIDANCE TO ALCON.
7. (U) COMMAND RELATIONSHIPS.
7A. (U) DEPLOYMENT FROM RWANDA CRISIS AREA TO MOMBASA, KENYA, USCENTCOM AOR. USCINCEUR IS SUPPORTED CINC AND USCINCCENT IS SUPPORTING CINC.
7B. (U) DEPLOYMENT OF TWO KC-130S TO HOME STATION. USCINCCENT IS SUPPORTED CINC UPON ACCEPTING OPCON OF FORCES. [10 U.S.C. 424]
7C. (U) (b)(3) ARE SUPPORTING (b)(3) ARE SUPPORTING AGENCIES.//
GENTEXT/AUTHENTICATION/CENTCOM OFFICIAL: (b)(3) (b)(3) [10 U.S.C. 130(b)]
AKNLDG/YES//
DECL/OADR//
BT
#3090
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3090
TOR: 940812174458 M1201085
DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (5.22)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA7954 2250234-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 130232Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 130232Z AUG 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 3483
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 7069
INFO: ****
SUBJ: IMPLEMENTATION OF PDD-25 - HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 217954
EXDIS
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AORC, APER, EAID, PREF, MOPS, MASS, UN
SUBJECT: IMPLEMENTATION OF PDD-25 - HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA

REF: (A) 94 USUN NEW Y 3233, (B) 94 GENEVA 6863,
(C) GENEVA FAX 94/2787 OF 5 AUGUST 94

1. DEPARTMENT IS REACTING TO REFS A AND B ON AN URGENT BASIS TO IDENTIFY APPROPRIATE CANDIDATES FOR DHA FOR SURGE CAPACITY IN UNREO.

2. TO THE EXTENT THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES MAY BE IDENTIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR SUCH SERVICE, NAMES AND C.V.'S WILL BE PROVIDED TO DHA THROUGH MISSION. DEPARTMENT IS USING BOTH THE IO DATABASE AS WELL AS INTERAGENCY CONTACTS TO IDENTIFY APPROPRIATE STAFF.

3. DEPARTMENT ENVISAGES DRAWING FIELD COORDINATORS PRINCIPALLY FROM STATE, AND HAS COMMUNICATED NEED FOR INFORMATION OFFICERS TO USIA. POSITION DESCRIPTIONS PROVIDED IN REF C HAVE BEEN HELPFUL.

4. PLEASE COMMUNICATE TO UN INTERLOCUTORS OUR DESIRE TO

EXPEDITIOUSLY HONOR DHA'S REQUEST, AND PLEASE ASK TO BE KEPT INFORMED OF OTHER MEMBERS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO SATISFY SURGE CAPACITY REQUIREMENTS. THIS WILL ALLOW US TO EVALUATE LEVEL OF RESPONSE AND PREVENT DUPLICATION OF EFFORTS.

5. M/DGP HAS CLEARED THIS CABLE. CHRISTOPHER
BT

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#7954
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7954
TOR: 940812225406 M1201528
DIST:
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4(5.23)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHCAA8146 2250430-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZEX
LINE3: R 130421Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 130421Z AUG 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
INFO: RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0000
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC 0000
RUEKJCS/DOD WASHDC 0000
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 0000
SUBJ: BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 218146
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EFIN, MASS, AO, MZ, SO SU, RW, RS, XA
SUBJECT: BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

1. SUMMARY: A/S MOOSE MET WITH RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS LEONID SAFONOV ON MONDAY, JULY 25, 1(94. THE AGENDA INCLUDED ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, SOMALIA, SUDAN, RWANDA/ZAIRE, PEACEKEEPING, ARMS SALES, AND AFRICAN DEBT. END SUMMARY

PREAMBLE

THE MEETING BEGAN WITH A/S MOOSE GIVING SAFONOV A RUN DOWN ON THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AFRICA. SAFONOV NOTED THAT THEY HAD RECENTLY RECALLED TO MOSCOW ALL OF THEIR AMBASSADORS TO AFRICA FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE FUTURE OF RUSSIAN POLICY IN AFRICA. THIS WAS A BOTTOM UP EXERCISE, DRIVEN BY THE AMBASSADORS THEMSELVES AND RESPONDING TO THE DRASTIC CUTS IN FUNDS THAT THEY ARE FACING. THE RUSSIAN PUBLIC WANTS TO FOCUS FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON THE CIS, US, EUROPE, AND JAPAN. THE AFRICA DIRECTORATE NEEDS TO

EXPLAIN WHY AFRICA IS IMPORTANT TO A DUBIOUS RUSSIAN PUBLIC. SAFONOV PROPOSED TWO NEW IDEAS THAT HAD COME UP IN A RECENT MEETING OF RUSSIAN AMBASSADORS TO AFRICA. FIRST, THE RUSSIANS HAVE A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ALREADY UNDERWAY WHERE RUSSIAN STATE FUNDS ARE RUNNING OUT. NOTING THAT WORK WAS, IN MANY CASES, ALMOST COMPLETE AND THAT PEOPLE WERE ALREADY IN PLACE, SAFONOV MUSED THAT

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IT MIGHT BE IN US INTEREST (AND CHEAPER) TO FUND THE COMPLETION OF PROJECTS RATHER THAN LET THE EFFORT TO DATE BE LOST. SECOND, SAFONOV NOTED THAT AFRICA POLICY WAS TOO OFTEN REACTIVE AND PROPOSED A THINK TANK OF COUNTRIES ENGAGED IN AFRICA (US, RUSSIA, FRANCE, UK) TO MEET THREE OR FOUR TIMES A YEAR TO IDENTIFY POSSIBLE TROUBLE SPOTS BEFORE THEY ERUPT. A SIDE BENEFIT WOULD BE TO UNIFY THE VOICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, LEAVING FEWER LOOPHOLES FOR AFRICAN LEADERS. DISCUSSION OF THE AGENDA ITEMS FOLLOWED. END SUMMARY

ANGOLA
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2. A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE FIGHTING IN ANGOLA, NOTING RECENT GRA MILITARY ADVANCES IN THE NORTH AND PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS'S COMMENT TO HIM AT THE OAU MEETING IN TUNIS THAT IT WAS ONLY NATURAL TO TRY TO EXTEND MILITARY ADVANTAGE WHILE PEACE TALKS WERE UNDERWAY. MOOSE SAID THAT PURSUIT OF A MILITARY SOLUTION COMPLICATES EFFORTS TO REACH A SETTLEMENT.

3. IN A LENGTHY REPLY, SAFONOV REVIEWED THE HISTORY OF THE WAR, EMPHASIZING THE DANGER OF TREATING UNITA AND THE GOVERNMENT AS EQUALS; UNITA HAS THE POWER TO DISTURB CIVIL LIFE IN AREAS IT OCCUPIES BUT IT IS NOT A GOVERNMENT. THE GRA HAD TO SWALLOW HARD TO ACCEPT THE MEDIATION'S PACKAGE ON POWER-SHARING. UNITA IS DRAGGING ITS HEELS AND SEEMS INTENT ON CONTINUING THE CURRENT INSTABILITY IN ANGOLA. DELAYS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF THE MILITARY HARDLINERS IN LUANDA AND HUAMBO. WHILE UNITA IS AN INALIENABLE PART OF ANGOLA'S SOCIAL-POLITICAL STRUCTURE, THE GRA IS AFRAID UNITA DOES NOT SEEK A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS.

4 THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL HAVE TO TAKE FIRM ACTION WITH UNITA. UNITA DIDN'T QUIT THE PROCESS WHEN HIT WITH SANCTIONS LAST SEPTEMBER AND WON'T QUIT IF HIT AGAIN

SAFONOV SAID. PRESIDENT MANDELA'S INITIATIVE, HOWEVER, MERITS SUPPORT, "WE HAVE TO GIVE HIM TIME, PROVIDED HE DOES NOT INTRODUCE NEW ELEMENTS."

5. A/S MOOSE CONCURRED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST ACT IF UNITA FAILS TO ACCEPT THE MEDIATION'S POWER-SHARING PACKAGE. GOVERNMENT RESTRAINT, HOWEVER, WOULD INFLUENCE UNITA RESPONSE. WE HAVE TOLD PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS THAT OFFENSIVE MILITARY ACTIONS WERE NOT CONDUCIVE TO POSITIVE RESULTS IN LUSAKA. WE NEED TO SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN INITIATIVE, WHILE MAKING IT CLEAR THAT WE ARE NOT REOPENING THE ISSUES. WE WILL HAVE TO MAXIMIZE PRESSURE ON UNITA OVER THE NEXT MONTH. MOOSE AGREED WITH SAFONOV'S PROPOSAL FOR A TROIKA STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE MANDELA INITIATIVE AND TO THE SUGGESTION THAT THE TROIKA MEET IN SEPTEMBER SHOULD THE SOUTH AFRICAN

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INITIATIVE RUN AGROUND.

6. TURNING TO ZAIRE'S ROLE IN RESUPPLYING UNITA, SAFONOV SAID HE HAD NO CONFIDENCE THAT MANDELA COULD PERSUADE MOBUTU TO DESIST. HE ADDED ENIGMATICALLY THAT "OTHER COUNTRIES ARE MORE IMPORTANT IN THIS (UNITA RESUPPLY) THAN ZAIRE." A/S MOOSE ENDORSED EFFORTS TO END THE RESUPPLY BUT NOTED "WE MUST BE MINDFUL OF THE PRACTICAL REALITIES." NONETHELESS, IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INITIATIVE FAILS, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO EXPLORE MEASURES AGAINST ZAIRE, HE SAID.

7. A/S MOOSE RAISED USG CONCERNS OVER UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT SAMS (UNITA) AND FUEL AIR EXPLOSIVES (GRA) WERE BEING INTRODUCED INTO THE CIVIL WAR. SAFONOV STATED WITH CATEGORICAL ASSURANCE THAT RUSSIA HAD DEFINITELY NOT PROVIDED FUEL AIR EXPLOSIVES TO ANGOLA.

MOZAMBIQUE
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8. SAFONOV OBSERVED THAT WHILE CHISSANO AND DHLAKAMA EACH ACCUSED THE OTHER OF HIDING TROOPS, IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT BOTH HAD INITIALLY INFLATED TROOP STRENGTH FIGURES. THE SHORTFALLS IN VOTER REGISTRATION AND PROBLEMS IN ENTERING RENAMO ZONES ARE OF REAL CONCERN, HE SAID. CHISSANO HAS MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT HE DOES NOT WANT TO TALK ABOUT A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

9. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT CHISSANO HAD SOFTENED SOMEWHAT AND IS NOW TELLING US THAT HE IS OPEN TO EXPLORING MORE

INCLUSIVE APPROACHES AFTER THE ELECTION. HE IS, HOWEVER, RELUCTANT TO GO PUBLIC. ON QUESTIONS OF DEMOBILIZATION AND REGISTRATION FOR ELECTIONS, MOOSE SAID TIME IS RUNNING OUT AND WE NEED TO MONITOR THE SITUATION CLOSELY WITH THE UN.

SUDAN
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10. AF/E DIRECTOR SHINN BRIEFED ON TWO MAJOR ISSUES IN EAST AFRICA: THE SUDAN AND SOMALIA. ON THE ISSUE OF SUDAN, HE NOTED THAT EFFORTS TO FORGE A PEACE SETTLEMENT HAVE NOT PROGRESSED VERY FAR -- A UNILATERAL CEASEFIRE DECLARED BY THE GOS ON JULY 24 WAS BROKEN THE NEXT DAY AND PEACE TALKS IN NAIROBI UNDER IGADD AUSPICES HAVE YET TO YIELD CONCRETE RESULTS. DESPITE THESE STRONG REASONS FOR PESSIMISM, THE USG CONTINUES TO REMAIN INVOLVED. AMBASSADOR MELISSA WELLS, FOR EXAMPLE, IS SERVING AS THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL ENVOY TO ENCOURAGE AN END TO THE CONFLICT. THE USG IS ALSO WORKING WITH ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA ON THIS ISSUE IN ORDER TO LESSEN THE DANGER OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM AND A NEW FLOOD OF REFUGEES. AMBASSADOR MOOSE NOTED THAT THE MAJOR LEADERS IN THE SOUTH ARE NOT SAINTS AND THAT THIS COMPLICATES MATTERS.

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11. THE RUSSIAN INTERLOCUTORS SAID THEY AGREED ON MAJOR POINTS. THEY ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT ISLAMIC EXTREMISM AND ITS EFFECT ON NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THEY NOTE THAT THE SUDANESE PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN PROSELYTIZING OTHERS IN THE REGION, INCLUDING TANZANIA (SIC). SAFONOV WAS ALSO CONCERNED THAT SUDAN MIGHT TRY TO EXPORT ITS FUNDAMENTALISM TO THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS. HE POINTED OUT THAT SUDAN HAS AN EMBASSY IN AZERBAIJAN. THE RUSSIANS ARE NOT HOPEFUL ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN THE REGION.

12. A/S MOOSE CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT THE USG WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE GOS BUT THAT WE WILL TRY OTHER MEASURES IF THE EFFORT TO REACH A SETTLEMENT DOES NOT SUCCEED. THE US IS DETERMINED NOT TO GET INVOLVED IN A DRAWN OUT NEGOTIATION BUT WE ARE DETERMINED TO FORGE AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS BEFORE PRESSING FOR MEASURES LIKE AN ARMS EMBARGO. WE DO NOT WANT TO BE IN A POSITION IN WHICH THE US CAN BE PORTRAYED AS ANTI-ISLAMIC.

SOMALIA

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13. TURNING TO SOMALIA, SHINN INDICATED THAT THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION HAS SPREAD FROM THE CAPITAL INTO SOME PARTS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE. HE ADDED THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT IS HAVING AN EFFECT ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO MAINTAIN A SMALL DIPLOMATIC LIAISON OFFICE IN MOGADISHU. AS WITH SUDAN, THE USG WISHES TO COORDINATE WITH THE UN AND OTHER COUNTRIES SINCE A UNILATERAL ACTION COULD UNRAVEL THE ENTIRE MISSION. BEFORE MAKING A DECISION ABOUT OUR FUTURE POLICY, WE ARE AWAITING THE RESULTS OF THE SENIOR-LEVEL ASSESSMENT TEAM SENT TO SOMALIA BY THE UNSYG.

14. A/S MOOSE SAID WE NEED TO TAKE A SERIOUS LOOK AT REDUCING THE UN PRESENCE, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE LACK OF PROGRESS AND THE GREAT EXPENSE. THE 18,000 TROOPS, FOR EXAMPLE, DO NOT SEEM TO BE CONTRIBUTING MUCH TO STABILITY. IN FACT, THERE IS STRONG EVIDENCE THAT TNE FACTIONS SIMPLY MANIPULATE THE UN PRESENCE. WE NEED TO ACT IN A WAY THAT DRIVES HOME THE MESSAGE OF DIMINISHING INTERNATIONAL INTEREST.

15. THE RUSSIANS SAID THEY STRONGLY SUPPORT THE NEED FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AND THAT THEY ARE WORKING TO ENERGIZE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TOWARD THIS GOAL. RUSSIAN EFFORTS WILL REMAIN CENTERED ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL. ON THE ISSUE OF A UN WITHDRAWAL, THEY BELIEVE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT THE SOMALI FACTION LEADERS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE. THIS WILL DO MUCH TO MAKE CLEAR WHO IS AT FAULT FOR THE PROBLEM.

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RWANDA
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16. A/S MOOSE OBSERVED THAT RWANDA WAS A CASE WHERE WE TNOUGHT THAT PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY WAS WORKING WELL TO AVERT AN EXPLOSION. HE NOTED THE OPTIMISM WE FELT LAST AUGUST WHEN THE ARUSHA ACCORD WAS SIGNED, AND DESCRIBED HOW CONCERN MOUNTED AS IT BECAME OBVIOUS THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA WAS HAVING DIFFICULTY CONVINCING HARDLINERS IN HIS OWN PARTY TO ACCEPT A DIVISION OF POWER BETWEEN HUTUS AND TUTSIS. MR. MOOSE NOTED THAT ALL THE PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY EFFORTS WERE BLOWN APART BY THE APRIL 6 PLANE CRASH, AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WE ASSUME THAT THE PLANE WAS

SHOT DOWN.

17. A/S MOOSE REVIEWED UNAMIR'S ROLE IN RWANDA AND EXPLAINED OUR POSITION IN VOTING FOR A REDUCTION OF UNAMIR'S PRESENCE WHEN IT WAS CLEAR EARLY IN THE CRISIS THAT UNAMIR FORCES WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO INTERPOSE THEMSELVES BETWEEN THE FIGHTING PARTIES. HE EMPHASIZED U.S. SUPPORT FOR EXPANSION OF UNAMIR AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND OUTLINED OUR EFFORTS TO SEE THAT AFRICAN TROOP CONTINGENTS FOR UNAMIR HAVE ADEQUATE EQUIPMENT. HE EXPLAINED THE "ADOPT A BATTALION" CONCEPT WHICH WE HAVE USED IN REQUESTING OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO PROVIDE EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES FOR AFRICAN UNAMIR TROOPS, AND NOTED THAT WE WERE PROVIDING ALL NECESSARY EQUIPMENT FOR THE GHANAIAN UNAMIR CONTINGENT.

18. ON THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN ZAIRE, A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED DISMAY AT THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TRAGEDY, ADDING THAT NOBODY COULD POSSIBLY HAVE PREDICTED THAT MORE THAN A MILLION PEOPLE COULD MOVE ACROSS THE BORDER SO QUICKLY. HE EXPLAINED THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES WAS CONCENTRATED IN THOSE AREAS WHERE WE HAVE PARTICULAR CAPABILITIES, AND THAT WE HAVE AGREED TO MANAGE THE AIRHEAD AT ENTEBBE AND ARE PROVIDING AIRLIFT FOR NEEDED FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES, AS WELL AS SUPPLYING WATER PURIFICATION EQUIPMENT. A/S MOOSE EMPHASIZED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR AS MANY COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE TO RESPOND TO THE UNHCR'S APPEAL FOR THE REFUGEE CRISIS, AND MENTIONED THAT THERE ARE STILL SEVERAL OF THE "SERVICE PACKAGES" WHICH THE UN HAD REQUESTED, INCLUDING SANITATION AND ROAD TRANSPORT AND SECURITY, WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED.

19. A/S MOOSE STRESSED THAT WHILE OUR IMMEDIATE GOAL IS TO MEET THE URGENT HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE REFUGEES, OUR POLICY GOAL IS TO CREATE CONDITIONS SO THAT THE REFUGEES CAN RETURN TO RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE NOTED THAT IN THIS REGARD, HIS OWN TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE RPF GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN REASSURING, AS THE RPF HAS ASSURED HIM THEY WILL COOPERATE WITH THE UN ON THE REFUGEE RETURN. RPF LEADERS ARE TALKING WITH BOTH FRENCH AND UNAMIR LEADERS, AND JOINT RPF/FRENCH AND RPF/UNAMIR PATROLS HAVE BEGUN. THIS KIND OF EFFORT NEEDS TO BE EXPANDED IN ORDER TO MAKE PEOPLE FEEL THAT IT IS SAFE

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ENOUGH IN RWANDA FOR THEM TO RETURN HOME.

20. MR. SAFONOV AGREED WITH A/S MOOSE'S EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO HAVE THE REFUGEES RETURN HOME QUICKLY, AND CHARACTERIZED THE SITUATION IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

AS "A GREAT HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY." HE ADDED THAT AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN ATTRACTING THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME WAS THE RPF'S WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER IN RWANDA. SAFONOV SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS WORKING TO DETERMINE WHAT KIND OF ASSISTANCE IT COULD PROVIDE IN RESPONSE TO THE UNHCR'S APPEAL, AND MENTIONED THAT RUSSIA HAS TEAMS OF TRUCK DRIVERS NOW IN TANZANIA WHO MAY BE ABLE TO HELP WITH ROAD TRANSPORT. ON EQUIPPING UNAMIR, MR. SAFONOV SAID HE IS SURE RUSSIA WILL CONTRIBUTE, BUT HE DOUBTED THAT HIS COUNTRY IS IN A POSITION TO FULLY ARM AND DRESS A BATTALION FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT RUSSIA IS COMMITTED TO HELPING AND WILL PROVIDE WHAT EQUIPMENT IT CAN.

UNFINISHED RUSSIAN AID PROJECTS

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21. RUSSIA'S LACK OF FUNDS WILL FORCE IT TO STOP A NUMBER OF ITS LONG-TERM AID PROJECTS IN AFRICA AND THUS LOSE THE EXTENSIVE INVESTMENT ALREADY SUNK INTO THE PROJECTS. SAFONOV ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE U.S. COMING INTO THE PROJECTS AS A FINANCIAL BACKER. AT ONE POINT, SAFONOV IMPLIED THAT IT WAS THEIR HOPE TO KEEP THE RUSSIAN EMPLOYEES ON-STATION ON THE PROJECTS WITH USG FINANCING. SAFONOV COMMITTED TO PROVIDING A LIST OF APPROPRIATE PROJECTS WHILE A/S MOOSE COMMITTED TO BROACHING THE SUBJECT WITH USAID OFFICIALS.

PEACEKEEPING/CONFLICT PREVENTION

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22. A/S MOOSE BEGAN BY STATING THAT THE US SAW TWO APPROACHES TO PEACEKEEPING: A MAJOR, UN LEAD OPERATION AND A SMALLER AFRICAN OR REGIONAL OPERATION. HE NOTED THAT THE US IS GIVING MONEY TO THE OAU TO HELP DEVELOP A CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITY. WE ARE CONSIDERING SENDING PEOPLE TO ADDIS ABABA TO SERVE AS ADVISORS AND ARE SUPPORTING SENEGAL, GHANA, BOTSWANA AND OTHER TROOP CONTRIBUTORS. SAFONOV NOTED THAT RUSSIA LACKED THE US'S EMOTIONAL TIES TO AFRICA. THE RUSSIAN PUBLIC SEES THAT THE WORLD IS NOT HELPING WITH RUSSIAN ISSUES AND WONDERS WHY RUSSIA SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEND MONEY ON AFRICA. THAT SAID, RUSSIA WILL ENGAGE DIPLOMATICALLY AND DOES HAVE SKILLS AND SPECIALISTS WHO MIGHT BE USEFUL. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT THE UN HAD NO EARLY WARNING SYSTEM TO IDENTIFY POTENTIAL PROBLEMS AND HOPED THAT WE COULD SHARE

INFORMATION ON COMING PROBLEMS.

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ARMS SALES
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23. A/S MOOSE ASKED SAFONOV FOR HIS VIEWS ON ARMS SALES IN AFRICA. SAFONOV NOTED THAT WHILE THE SOVIET UNION HAD PREVIOUSLY SUPPLIED ALMOST 50 PER CENT OF ALL WEAPONS IN AFRICA, RUSSIA PROVIDED ALMOST NONE. THIS RESULTED IN A LOSS IN INCOME AND INFLUENCE. SAFONOV STRESSED THAT RUSSIA WOULD ABIDE BY ALL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS THAT HAD BEEN SIGNYD AND HAD NO INTEREST IN MILITARIZING AFRICA. AT THE SAME TIME RUSSIA EXPECTED TO HANDLE FOLLOW-ON SALES OF SPARE PARTS AND REPLACEMENT EQUIPMENT (ON A CASH BASIS). RUSSIA DID NOT LOOK FAVORABLY ON EFFORTS BY SOME WESTERN NATIONS (HE HINTED AT THE FRENCH) TO PERSUADE AFRICA NATIONS TO DISCARD EXISTING RUSSIAN WEAPONS SYSTEMS ONLY TO REPLACE THEM WITH NEW WESTERN-MANUFACTURED SYSTEMS.

24. A/S MOOSE POINTED OUT THE SPECIAL DANGERS ASSOCIATED WITH CERTAIN PERNICIOUS WEAPONS SYSTEMS SUCH AS PLASTIC LAND MINES AND SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO CONTROL SUCH SYSTEMS, ESPECIALLY IN VOLATILE AREAS SUCH AS SUDAN, SOMALIA, AND ANGOLA. HE FURTHER ASKED IF THE RUSSIANS COULD BE HELPFUL IN MINE SWEEPING. SAFONOV REPLIED THAT THE RUSSIAN MILITARY'S VIEW WAS THAT THEY DID NOT PLANT THE MINES AND THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO SWEEP THEM. THAT SAID, THERE ARE PRIVATE GROUPS IN RUSSIA, OFTEN EX-MILITARY, WITH THE SKILLS TO PERFORM MINE SWEEPING IF SOMEONE CAN COME UP WITH THE MONEY TO PAY THEM.

DEBT RESCHEDULING
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25. ACCORDING TO SAFONOV, AFRICAN DEBT RESCHEDULING IS A REALITY THAT RUSSIANS ACCEPT. HE USED THE EXAMPLE THAT "... YOU CAN'T TAKE CLOTHES FROM A NAKED MAN OR SHOES FROM SOMEONE WITHOUT FEET." THERE IS REPORTEDLY A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THEY MUST MOVE AHEAD WITH RESCHEDULING THE APPROXIMATELY 19 BILLION DOLLARS OWED TO RUSSIA BY AFRICAN COUNTRIES. THEY ARE CONSIDERING A COMBINATION OF CAPITALIZATION, RESCHEDULING, FORGIVENESS, AND CONVERSIONS TO LOCAL CURRENCY -- THE MIX IN EACH COUNTRY DEPENDING ON CONDITIONS IN THAT COUNTRY.

26. THE LEAST TROUBLESOME WAY FOR RUSSIA TO CONDUCT THE RESCHEDULING, ACCORDING TO SAFONOV, WOULD BE TO JOIN THE PARIS CLUB AND THEN DO THE RESCHEDULING ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS. UNDER THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF BILATERAL RENEGOTIATION (SINCE RUSSIA IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE PARIS CLUB), THE RUSSIAN OFFICIAL NEGOTIATING THE NEW DEAL IS OFTEN ACCUSED OF CORRUPTION BY SOMEONE IN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT. (IT IS ASSUMED THAT HE IS TAKING A CUT OF THE ACTION IN REDUCING THE DEBT LOAD.) THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT BUREAUCRATIC DETERRENT TO RESCHEDULING. PARIS CLUB MANDATED RESCHEDULING WOULD AVOID THIS SUSPICION.

27. WHEN ASKED BY A/S MOOSE ABOUT THE STATUS OF RUSSIA'S

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APPLICATION TO JOIN THE PARIS CLUB, SAFONOV REPLIED THAT THE PARIS CLUB DID NOT KNOW EXACTLY HOW TO DEAL WITH RUSSIA SINCE, AS OPPOSED TO THE CURRENT MEMBERS, RUSSIA HAS BOTH CREDITOR AND DEBTOR STATUS. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#8146
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8146

TOR: 940813021151 M1201639

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHCAA8146 2250430-CCCC--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZEX
LINE3: R 130421Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 130421Z AUG 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
INFO: RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 4787
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC 5524
RUEKJCS/DOD WASHDC 0794
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 7042
SUBJ: BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.
THIS DEVELOPMENT IS HAVING AN EFFECT ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO MAINTAIN A SMALL DIPLOMATIC LIAISON OFFICE IN MOGADISHU. AS WITH SUDAN, THE USG WISHES TO COORDINATE WITH THE UN

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4 (5.24)
VR 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 STATE 218146
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EFIN, MASS, AO, MZ, SO SU, RW, RS, XA
SUBJECT: BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.
THIS DEVELOPMENT IS HAVING AN EFFECT ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO MAINTAIN A SMALL DIPLOMATIC LIAISON OFFICE IN MOGADISHU. AS WITH SUDAN, THE USG WISHES TO COORDINATE WITH THE UN AND OTHER COUNTRIES SINCE A UNILATERAL ACTION COULD UNRAVEL THE ENTIRE MISSION. BEFORE MAKING A DECISION ABOUT OUR FUTURE POLICY, WE ARE AWAITING THE RESULTS OF THE SENIOR-LEVEL ASSESSMENT TEAM SENT TO SOMALIA BY THE UNSYG.

14. A/S MOOSE SAID WE NEED TO TAKE A SERIOUS LOOK AT REDUCING THE UN PRESENCE, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE LACK OF PROGRESS AND THE GREAT EXPENSE. THE 18,000 TROOPS, FOR EXAMPLE, DO NOT SEEM TO BE CONTRIBUTING MUCH TO STABILITY IN FACT, THERE IS STRONG EVIDENCE THAT TNE FACTIONS SIMPLY MANIPULATE THE UN PRESENCE. WE NEED TO ACT IN A WAY THAT DRIVES HOME THE MESSAGE OF DIMINISHING INTERNATIONAL INTEREST.

15. THE RUSSIANS SAID THEY STRONGLY SUPPORT THE NEED FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AND THAT THEY ARE WORKING TO ENERGIZE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TOWARD THIS GOAL. RUSSIAN EFFORTS WILL REMAIN CENTERED ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL. ON THE ISSUE OF A UN WITHDRAWAL, THEY BELIEVE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT THE SOMALI FACTION LEADERS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE. THIS WILL DO MUCH TO MAKE CLEAR

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WHO IS AT FAULT FOR THE PROBLEM.

RWANDA
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16. A/S MOOSE OBSERVED THAT RWANDA WAS A CASE WHERE WE TNOUGHT THAT PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY WAS WORKING WELL TO AVERT AN EXPLOSION. HE NOTED THE OPTIMISM WE FELT LAST AUGUST WHEN THE ARUSHA ACCORD WAS SIGNED, AND DESCRIBED HOW CONCERN MOUNTED AS IT BECAME OBVIOUS THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA WAS HAVING DIFFICULTY CONVINCING HARDLINERS IN HIS OWN PARTY TO ACCEPT A DIVISION OF POWER BETWEEN HUTUS AND TUTSIS. MR. MOOSE NOTED THAT ALL THE PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY EFFORTS WERE BLOWN APART BY THE APRIL 6 PLANE CRASH, AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WE ASSUME THAT THE PLANE WAS

SHOT DOWN.

17. A/S MOOSE REVIEWED UNAMIR'S ROLE IN RWANDA AND EXPLAINED OUR POSITION IN VOTING FOR A REDUCTION OF UNAMIR'S PRESENCE WHEN IT WAS CLEAR EARLY IN THE CRISIS THAT UNAMIR FORCES WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO INTERPOSE THEMSELVES BETWEEN THE FIGHTING PARTIES. HE EMPHASIZED U.S. SUPPORT FOR EXPANSION OF UNAMIR AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND OUTLINED OUR EFFORTS TO SEE THAT AFRICAN TROOP CONTINGENTS FOR UNAMIR HAVE ADEQUATE EQUIPMENT. HE EXPLAINED THE "ADOPT A BATTALION" CONCEPT WHICH WE HAVE USED IN REQUESTING OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO PROVIDE EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES FOR AFRICAN UNAMIR TROOPS, AND NOTED THAT WE WERE PROVIDING ALL NECESSARY EQUIPMENT FOR THE GHANAIAN UNAMIR CONTINGENT.

18. ON THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN ZAIRE, A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED DISMAY AT THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TRAGEDY, ADDING THAT NOBODY COULD POSSIBLY HAVE PREDICTED THAT MORE THAN A MILLION PEOPLE COULD MOVE ACROSS THE BORDER SO QUICKLY. HE EXPLAINED THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES WAS CONCENTRATED IN THOSE AREAS WHERE WE HAVE PARTICULAR CAPABILITIES, AND THAT WE HAVE AGREED TO MANAGE THE AIRHEAD AT ENTEBBE AND ARE PROVIDING AIRLIFT FOR NEEDED FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES, AS WELL AS SUPPLYING WATER PURIFICATION EQUIPMENT. A/S MOOSE EMPHASIZED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR AS MANY COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE TO RESPOND TO THE UNHCR'S APPEAL FOR THE REFUGEE CRISIS, AND MENTIONED THAT THERE ARE STILL SEVERAL OF THE "SERVICE PACKAGES" WHICH THE UN HAD REQUESTED, INCLUDING SANITATION AND ROAD TRANSPORT AND SECURITY, WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED.

19. A/S MOOSE STRESSED THAT WHILE OUR IMMEDIATE GOAL IS TO MEET THE URGENT HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE REFUGEES, OUR POLICY GOAL IS TO CREATE CONDITIONS SO THAT THE REFUGEES CAN RETURN TO RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE NOTED THAT IN THIS REGARD, HIS OWN TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE RPF GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN REASSURING, AS THE RPF HAS ASSURED HIM THEY WILL COOPERATE WITH THE UN ON THE REFUGEE RETURN. RPF LEADERS ARE TALKING WITH BOTH FRENCH AND UNAMIR LEADERS, AND JOINT RPF/FRENCH AND RPF/UNAMIR

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PATROLS HAVE BEGUN. THIS KIND OF EFFORT NEEDS TO BE EXPANDED IN ORDER TO MAKE PEOPLE FEEL THAT IT IS SAFE ENOUGH IN RWANDA FOR THEM TO RETURN HOME.

20. MR. SAFONOV AGREED WITH A/S MOOSE'S EMPHASIS ON THE
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8146

TOR: 940813020840 M1201635

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TO: ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
INFO: RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 4788
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC 5525
RUEKJCS/DOD WASHDC 0795
RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 7043
SUBJ: BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.
NEED TO HAVE THE REFUGEES RETURN HOME QUICKLY, AND CHARACTERIZED THE SITUATION IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-4(5,25)
RZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 05 STATE 218146
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EFIN, MASS, AO, MZ, SO SU, RW, RS, XA
SUBJECT: BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS.
NEED TO HAVE THE REFUGEES RETURN HOME QUICKLY, AND CHARACTERIZED THE SITUATION IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE

AS "A GREAT HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY." HE ADDED THAT AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN ATTRACTING THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME WAS THE RPF'S WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER IN RWANDA. SAFONOV SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS WORKING TO DETERMINE WHAT KIND OF ASSISTANCE IT COULD PROVIDE IN RESPONSE TO THE UNHCR'S APPEAL, AND MENTIONED THAT RUSSIA HAS TEAMS OF TRUCK DRIVERS NOW IN TANZANIA WHO MAY BE ABLE TO HELP WITH ROAD TRANSPORT. ON EQUIPPING UNAMIR, MR. SAFONOV SAID HE IS SURE RUSSIA WILL CONTRIBUTE, BUT HE DOUBTED THAT HIS COUNTRY IS IN A POSITION TO FULLY ARM AND DRESS A BATTALION FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT RUSSIA IS COMMITTED TO HELPING AND WILL PROVIDE WHAT EQUIPMENT IT CAN.

UNFINISHED RUSSIAN AID PROJECTS
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21. RUSSIA'S LACK OF FUNDS WILL FORCE IT TO STOP A NUMBER OF ITS LONG-TERM AID PROJECTS IN AFRICA AND THUS LOSE THE EXTENSIVE INVESTMENT ALREADY SUNK INTO THE PROJECTS. SAFONOV ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE U.S. COMING INTO THE PROJECTS AS A FINANCIAL BACKER. AT ONE POINT,

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SAFONOV IMPLIED THAT IT WAS THEIR HOPE TO KEEP THE RUSSIAN EMPLOYEES ON-STATION ON THE PROJECTS WITH USG FINANCING. SAFONOV COMMITTED TO PROVIDING A LIST OF APPROPRIATE PROJECTS WHILE A/S MOOSE COMMITTED TO BROACHING THE SUBJECT WITH USAID OFFICIALS.

PEACEKEEPING/CONFLICT PREVENTION

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22. A/S MOOSE BEGAN BY STATING THAT THE US SAW TWO APPROACHES TO PEACEKEEPING: A MAJOR, UN LEAD OPERATION AND A SMALLER AFRICAN OR REGIONAL OPERATION. HE NOTED THAT THE US IS GIVING MONEY TO THE OAU TO HELP DEVELOP A CONFLICT RESOLUTION CAPABILITY. WE ARE CONSIDERING SENDING PEOPLE TO ADDIS ABABA TO SERVE AS ADVISORS AND ARE SUPPORTING SENEGAL, GHANA, BOTSWANA AND OTHER TROOP CONTRIBUTORS. SAFONOV NOTED THAT RUSSIA LACKED THE US'S EMOTIONAL TIES TO AFRICA. THE RUSSIAN PUBLIC SEES THAT THE WORLD IS NOT HELPING WITH RUSSIAN ISSUES AND WONDERS WHY RUSSIA SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO SPEND MONEY ON AFRICA. THAT SAID, RUSSIA WILL ENGAGE DIPLOMATICALLY AND DOES HAVE SKILLS AND SPECIALISTS WHO MIGHT BE USEFUL. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT THE UN HAD NO EARLY WARNING SYSTEM TO IDENTIFY POTENTIAL PROBLEMS AND HOPED THAT WE COULD SHARE

INFORMATION ON COMING PROBLEMS.

ARMS SALES

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23. A/S MOOSE ASKED SAFONOV FOR HIS VIEWS ON ARMS SALES IN AFRICA. SAFONOV NOTED THAT WHILE THE SOVIET UNION HAD PREVIOUSLY SUPPLIED ALMOST 50 PER CENT OF ALL WEAPONS IN AFRICA, RUSSIA PROVIDED ALMOST NONE. THIS RESULTED IN A LOSS IN INCOME AND INFLUENCE. SAFONOV STRESSED THAT RUSSIA WOULD ABIDE BY ALL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS THAT HAD BEEN SIGNED AND HAD NO INTEREST IN MILITARIZING AFRICA. AT THE SAME TIME RUSSIA EXPECTED TO HANDLE FOLLOW-ON SALES OF SPARE PARTS AND REPLACEMENT EQUIPMENT (ON A CASH BASIS). RUSSIA DID NOT LOOK FAVORABLY ON EFFORTS BY SOME WESTERN NATIONS (HE HINTED AT THE FRENCH) TO PERSUADE AFRICA NATIONS TO DISCARD EXISTING RUSSIAN WEAPONS SYSTEMS ONLY TO REPLACE THEM WITH NEW WESTERN-MANUFACTURED SYSTEMS.

24. A/S MOOSE POINTED OUT THE SPECIAL DANGERS ASSOCIATED WITH CERTAIN PERNICIOUS WEAPONS SYSTEMS SUCH AS PLASTIC LAND MINES AND SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO CONTROL SUCH SYSTEMS, ESPECIALLY IN VOLATILE AREAS SUCH AS SUDAN, SOMALIA, AND ANGOLA. HE FURTHER ASKED IF THE RUSSIANS COULD BE HELPFUL IN MINE SWEEPING. SAFONOV REPLIED THAT THE RUSSIAN MILITARY'S VIEW WAS THAT THEY DID NOT PLANT THE MINES AND THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO SWEEP THEM. THAT SAID, THERE ARE PRIVATE GROUPS IN RUSSIA, OFTEN EX-MILITARY, WITH THE SKILLS TO PERFORM MINE SWEEPING IF SOMEONE CAN COME UP WITH THE MONEY TO PAY THEM.

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 130617Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 130617Z AUG 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 0743
RHCUAAA/USCINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL IMMEDIATE
RHFQONA/CINUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX/RS// IMMEDIATE
RUCBSAA/CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE
RUCJACC/USCINCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3// IMMEDIATE
RUEANLA/DLA CAMERON STA VA IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5// IMMEDIATE
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGE-0// IMMEDIATE
RUFNBUT/HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD// IMMEDIATE
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ETCC// IMMEDIATE
RUSNNOT/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
RUSSNOA/HQJTF SUPPORT HOPE ENTEBBE UGANDA//CMD GP// IMMEDIATE
RUSSNOA/JTF SUPPORT HOPE KELLY BARRACKS GE//COS/JOC/J3// IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE 6822
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 6099
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 2240
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE IMMEDIATE 0131
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 8114
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RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE 3056
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 9992
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 7083
RUEHSBAMEMBASSY HARARE IMMEDIATE 9067
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 2887
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 1008
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE 4177
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE IMMEDIATE 3777
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 9275
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE 8215
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 1528
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 5061
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE 6159
RUEHRB/AMEMBASSY RABAT IMMEDIATE 1776
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 2808
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE 7273
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 3513
RUEHYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE IMMEDIATE 3245
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO THE FRENCH ON RWANDA

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 218230

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GENEVA FOR RMA NAIROBI FOR DART/REFCORD
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF PREL PHUM EAID MOPS RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO THE FRENCH ON RWANDA

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: INTELLIGENCE REPORTS INDICATE DISPLACED PERSONS ARE NOW ON THE MOVE IN THE FRENCH SAFE ZONE IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA AND ARE STARTING TO CROSS OVER INTO BUKAVU IN ZAIRE. THIS MOVEMENT COULD ECLIPSE THE CRISIS IN GOMA. THE HUTUS IN THE AREA MAY BE PERSUADED TO STAY IF THE FRENCH PRESENCE REMAINS. THE FRENCH ARE ALSO NEEDED FOR PROTECTION OF TUTSIS IN THE AREA. END SUMMARY.

3. PRELIMINARY INTELLIGENCE REPORTS INDICATE THAT THOUSANDS OF RWANDANS HAVE BEGUN MOVING FROM THE FRENCH SAFE ZONE IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA TO BUKAVU ACROSS THE BORDER IN ZAIRE. THE MOVEMENT STARTED LAST NIGHT, AND UNHCR REPORTS THAT BY AFTERNOON, 5,000 PEOPLE HAD ALREADY CROSSED THE BORDER. NEW ARRIVALS WERE STILL COMING AT A RATE OF 600 PEOPLE PER HOUR. THERE ARE AN ESTIMATED ONE MILLION DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE SAFE ZONE AND ANOTHER ONE TO ONE AND ONE-HALF MILLION RESIDENTS. THE MAGNITUDE AND SPEED OF THE OUTFLOW INTO BUKAVU COULD WELL MATCH OR EXCEED THE EARLIER OUTFLOW INTO GOMA. UNHCR OFFICIALS FEAR THAT THE OUTFLOW INTO BUKAVU WILL BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO HANDLE THAN GOMA DUE TO FEW SUITABLE AREAS FOR SETTLEMENT SITES AND AN INADEQUATE AMOUNT OF PRE-POSITIONED RELIEF SUPPLIES. AMBASSADOR RAWSON IN KIGALI NOTED THAT THE FRENCH ARE THE ONLY VOICES THAT THE HUTUS IN THE ZONE MIGHT LISTEN TO, OTHER THAN THEIR OWN LEADERS WHO ARE PUSHING THEM TO FLEE.

4. OF ADDITIONAL CONCERN IS A CAMP OF OVER TEN THOUSAND TUTSIS LOCATED IN THE FRENCH ZONE JUST NORTH OF CYANGUGU IN NYARUSHISHI. THE POTENTIALLY HIGH NUMBERS OF HUTUS FLEEING THROUGH THE AREA POSE A DIRECT THREAT TO THE SAFETY OF THE TUTSIS. ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS COULD PROVE VOLATILE. REPORTS HAVE INDICATED THE PRESENCE OF 15-20 FRENCH TROOPS AROUND THE TUTSI CAMP. THEIR NUMBERS ARE NOT ENOUGH TO PREVENT A SIGNIFICANT DISASTER FROM OCCURING.

5. FOR PARIS: WE URGE YOU TO MEET AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES AND EXPRESS OUR CONCERN FOR THE SAFETY OF INDIVIDUALS SEEKING REFUGE IN THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONE. STRESS THE NEED FOR CONTINUED FRENCH PRESENCE THERE ALONG WITH ADDITIONAL NUMBERS OF TROOPS IN THE AREAS OF MOVEMENT. URGE THE FRENCH TO TRY TO REASSURE THE POPULATION THAT IT WILL BE PROTECTED, BOTH BY THE FRENCH AND, ULTIMATELY, BY UNAMIR. ALSO ALERT THE FRENCH TO OUR CONCERN FOR THE OVER TEN THOUSAND DISPLACED TUTSIS IN THE PATH OF THE FLEEING HUTUS. ASK THE FRENCH TO MAKE SURE THIS GROUP IS PROTECTED, CONSISTENT WITH THE MANDATE OF OPERATION TURQUOISE.

6. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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CHRISTOPHER
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SSN: 8230
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTANDA5186 2250812-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 130812Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
OSRI: RUTAND
DTG: 130812Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1369
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0133
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0012
SUBJ: RWANDA -- CHADIAN CONTINGENT FOR UNAMIR?
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NDJAMENA 005186
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS, AORC,OAU, PREF, RW, CD, UN
SUBJECT: RWANDA -- CHADIAN CONTINGENT FOR UNAMIR?
REF: N'DJAMENA 5052
STATE FOR AF/C AND IO/PHO
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.
2. CHAD IS COMMITTED TO TRANSITIONING ITS OPERATION TURQUOISE TROOPS INTO UNAMIR-II BLUE BERETS.
3. CHAD IS LOOKING AT INCREASING ITS RWANDA-RELATED CONTINGENT, PERHAPS EVEN TO 800 MEN. MOST LIKELY UNIT IS SAID TO BE THE 42ND REGIMENT FROM THE LAKE REGION.
4. PRIME SOURCE OF FRICTION REMAINS RESOURCES. THE FRENCH HAVE TURNED DOWN THE CHADIAN REQUEST (REFTEL) POR FULL SALARY, EQUIPMENT AND LOGISTICS 8UPPORT FOR A UN DEPLOYMENT. WB SHOULD BXPECT TO BE ASKED TO HELP AND BEGIN CONSIDERING OUR ANSWER. KINNEY
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~[Army Commander Surveys Military Relationship] (4 pages)~~	~~08/24/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~[Troop Participation] (2 pages)~~	~~08/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~003. cable~~	~~[Transportation of Military Troops to Rwanda] (2 pages)~~	~~08/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
004. cable	Deployment... (3 pages)	08/25/1994	P1/b(1)
~~005. cable~~	~~[UN Human Rights Monitors] (1 page)~~	~~08/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~006. cable~~	~~Expulsion of Alleged Rwandan War Criminal from Switzerland (2 pages)~~	~~08/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
007. cable	[UNAMIR] (3 pages)	08/26/1994	P1/b(1)
008. cable	[Border Control] (2 pages)	08/29/1994	P1/b(1)
~~009. cable~~	~~Ambassador's Call on Foreign Minister Musyoka (5 pages)~~	~~08/30/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
010. cable	[Relations] (2 pages)	08/30/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	[Forces in Rwanda] (3 pages)	08/30/1994	P1/b(1)
~~012. cable~~	~~Meeting with President Meles (5 pages)~~	~~08/30/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/16/1994 - 09/20/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh144

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~President Lissouba's Agenda for His U.S. Visit (3 pages)~~	~~08/31/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~014. cable~~	~~[Refugees] (2 pages)~~	~~09/06/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~015. cable~~	~~[Peacekeeping Operations in Rwanda] (4 pages)~~	~~09/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~016. cable~~	~~UK Ideas on Peacekeeping in Africa (2 pages)~~	~~09/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~017. cable~~	~~USG Interview Trip to Rwanda (3 pages)~~	~~09/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~018. cable~~	~~EU Delegation Visits Kinshasa (4 pages)~~	~~09/15/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~019. cable~~	~~Presentation of Credentials (3 pages)~~	~~09/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~020. cable~~	~~Portuguese on Africa (3 pages)~~	~~09/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[08/16/1994 - 09/20/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh144

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.28)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHLSA4936 2360713-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 240713Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
OSRI: RUEHLS
DTG: 240713Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO: RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SA/ECJ4-SPS-T/ECJ5//
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP/DSAA/ISA-ME/AFRICA//
RHFJPOL/NETSAFA PENSACOLA FL
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 9714
RUKGAIA/CDR SATFA FT MONROE VA
RHWRAAA/AFSAT RANDOLPH AFB TX
RUEHSA/USDAO PRETORIA
RUEHSB/USDAO HARARE
RUEHOR/USODC GABORONE BC
RUEHWD/USDAO WINDHOEK
RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE
RUSNSOC/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUDPSFC/CDR USASFC FT BRAGG NC
SUBJ: ARMY COMMANDER SURVEYS THE U.S./ZAMBIA MILITARY RELATIONSHIP
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LUSAKA 004936
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, IMET, ZA, US
SUBJECT: ARMY COMMANDER SURVEYS THE U.S./ZAMBIA MILITARY RELATIONSHIP
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: ZAMBIA ARMY COMMANDER SIMBEYE IS PLEASED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S./ZAMBIA MILITARY RELATIONSHIP. NOT SURPRISINGLY, HE DESIRES ADDITIONAL U.S. ASSISTANCE IN SUCH AREAS AS TRAINING, PROFESSIONALIZATION, AND NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT. A NEW SOUTHERN AFRICA DEFENSE AND SECURITY ORGANIZATION, TO INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA, IS IN THE WORKS, AND UNDER ITS AEGIS ZAMBIA WILL CONTINUE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUB-REGIONAL AND REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING. END SUMMARY.

3. POLOFF AND VISITING EUCOM TRAINING OFFICER RICHARD DYER MET WITH ZAMBIA ARMY COMMANDER LIEUTENANT GENERAL NOBBY SIMBEYE ON AUGUST 17. ALSO PRESENT WERE ACTING DEPUTY ARMY COMMANDER SOLOMON MUMBI AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICERS. SIMBEYE HAS SUFFERED FROM A BAD BACK FOR SOME THREE MONTHS AND IS STILL IN CONSIDERABLE PAIN. HE IS ABLE TO WORK ONLY A FEW HOURS A DAY BUT SAID HE IS IMPROVING. (COMMENT: WITH THE JULY DEATH OF DEPUTY ARMY COMMANDER MOONO AND SIMBEYE'S BACK TROUBLE, MUMBI HAS BEEN FORCED TO SHOULDER ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES,

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PARTICULARLY OVER THE LAST MONTH. END COMMENT.)
4. SIMBEYE OPENED THE MEETING WITH A LENGTHY, THOUGH ARTICULATE AND INSIGHTFUL, DISCUSSION OF THE U.S./ZAMBIA RELATIONSHIP AND REGIONAL SECURITY DEVELOPMENTS. OVERALL, HE SAID, ZAMBIA IS EXTREMELY HAPPY WITH ITS COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. SINCE EUCOM DCINC MCCARTHY OPENED THE RELATIONSHIP IN MARCH 1992. IN APPARENT REFERENCE TO PRESIDENT CHILUBA AND DEFENSE MINISTER MWILA HE SAID THAT TOP LEADERS AND MINISTERS WERE PLEASED WITH THE STATE OF U.S./GRZ MILITARY COOPERATION.
5. TURNING TO SPECIFIC POINTS ON HIS AGENDA, SIMBEYE RAISED THE FOLLOWING:
-- IMET: THE ARMY WAS CONCERNED THAT AN MOD CIVIL SERVANT HAD BEEN SELECTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE 1994 DEFENSE RESOURCES MANAGEMENT COURSE. THE U.S. SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT IN ZAMBIA CIVIL SERVANTS ARE HIGHLY MOBILE AND DO NOT STAY IN ONE MINISTRY FOR LONG. IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE USEFUL FOR A MILITARY MAN TO ATTEND SUCH COURSES. (COMMENT: WE EXPLAINED THE EMPHASIS THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION IS PLACING ON EXPANDED IMET COURSES, INCLUDING THE TRAINING OF CIVILIANS. END COMMENT.)
-- BIODIVERSITY: THE POACHING SITUATION ON THE LOWER ZAMBEZI IS SERIOUS; THE SOONER THE U.S. DELIVERS THE BIODIVERSITY EQUIPMENT THE SOONER THE ARMY WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE INROADS INTO THIS PROBLEM.
-- JOINT COMBINED EXCHANGE TRAINING (JCET): ZAMBIA IS VERY HAPPY WITH THE JCET TRAINING. "WE HAVE BENEFITTED ALOT." HOWEVER, THE ARMY WAS A BIT DISAPPOINTED THAT THERE WERE FEWER U.S. PARTICIPANTS THIS YEAR (11, DOWN FROM 14 LAST YEAR) AND THAT THE RANK OF U.S. PARTICIPANTS SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN DOWNGRADED. THE ZAMBIANS WOULD PREFER MORE RATHER THAN FEWER U.S. TROOPS AND A MORE SENIOR PRESENCE. THE 1994 JCET, HE OBSERVED, WAS AN EFFECTIVE TOOL FOR TRAINING ENLISTED RANKS; WHAT THE ZAMBIANS DESIRE IS FOR U.S. FORCES TO TEACH OFFICERS, WHO WILL IN TURN IMPART THE TRAINING TO THE LOWER RANKS. (COMMENT: THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE ZAMBIAN PRACTICE, WHICH THE JCET COMMANDER NOTED LAST YEAR, OF EMPHASIZING TOP-DOWN FLOW OF INFORMATION AND MINIMIZING KNOWLEDGE AND INITIATIVE BY ENLISTED TROOPS. THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT FOR FUTURE JCETS. END COMMENT.)
-- STAFF COLLEGE: THE ZAMBIAN ARMED FORCES ARE WORKING HARD TO GET THEIR COMMAND AND STAFF COL
LEGE UP AND
RUNNING. INITIALLY, SIMBEYE PROJECTED AN INTAKE OF 30 OFFICERS PER YEAR -- 20 ARMY AND 10 AIR FORCE. IN THE PAST, HE SAID, THE ARMY USED FOREIGN TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES TO EDUCATE ITS RISING OFFICERS, PRINCIPALLY IN THE UK, CANADA, PAKISTAN, AND INDIA. DUE TO THIS, THE ARMY IS ORGANIZED BASICALLY ALONG WESTERN LINES IN TERMS OF ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION. NOW, THE MILITARY WANTS TO CONDUCT SUCH ADVANCED TRAINING

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LUSAKA 004936

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, IMET, ZA, US
SUBJECT: ARMY COMMANDER SURVEYS THE U.S./ZAMBIA

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MILITARY RELATIONSHIP
WITHIN ZAMBIA AND IS LOOKING FOR ANY ASSISTANCE THAT
DONORS MIGHT PROVIDE. THE BRITS HAD REJECTED THE
ZAMBIAN REQUEST FOR STAFF COLLEGE AID, ARGUING THAT IT
WOULD MAKE MORE SENSE FOR ZAMBIANS TO ATTEND THE
ZIMBABWE STAFF COLLEGE. THIS WAS UNTENABLE FOR
POLITICAL REASONS, SIMBEYE SAID. THE CANADIANS,
HOWEVER, ARE SENDING ONE OFFICER AND THE INDIANS ARE
SENDING FOUR (ONE AIR FORCE AND THREE ARMY) TO ADVISE,
GUIDE, AND TAKE PART IN THE INSTRUCTION OF ZAMBIAN
STUDENTS UNTIL THE ZAMBIANS CAN TAKE OVER FULL-TIME
INSTRUCTOR DUTIES. THE ZAMBIANS REMEMBERED GENERAL
CHELBERG'S GENEROUS DONATION OF BOOKS TO THE STAFF
COLLEGE, AND ANY FURTHER U.S. ASSISTANCE WOULD BE
GREATLY APPRECIATED, SIMBEYE SAID.
-- COMMANDER'S VISIT: SIMBEYE RECALLED THAT A U.S.
VISIT BY HIMSELF HAD BEEN BROACHED IN 1992. HOWEVER, HE
WOULD CONTINUE TO DEFER SUCH A VISIT IF IT WOULD REDUCE
TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ZAMBIANS IN THE U.S.
(COMMENT: WE TOLD HIM IT WOULD AND HE INDICATED HE
WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PATIENT. END COMMENT.)
-- EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES: THE ARMY CONTINUES TO BE
EAGER FOR U.S. EDA IN THE FORM OF TENTAGE, FIELD
EQUIPMENT, BOATS, AND VEHICLES. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST
WAS THE NEED TO ENHANCE THE ARMY'S CAPABILITY TO ASSIST
THE CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES COMBAT EPIDEMICS. THE BRITS
HAD BEEN ASKED TO PROVIDE TWO FIELD HOSPITALS FOR THIS
PURPOSE. IF RECEIVED, THE ZAMBIANS WOULD BE WILLING TO
USE ONE OF THEM FOR REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING. (COMMENT:
WE EXPLAINED TO SIMBEYE THE MECHANICS OF EDA AND SAID WE
WOULD FORWARD A LIST OF REQUESTED EQUIPMENT TO EUCOM.
WE EMPHASIZED THE ADVANTAGE OF HAVING A GRZ
REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SCENE OR IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH U.S.
EDA PEOPLE IN EUROPE IN ORDER TO BE IN A BETTER POSITION
TO CLAIM EXCESS MATERIEL. HE SAID THE GRZ WOULD SOON BE
SENDING A MILITARY ATTACHE TO THE U.K. END COMMENT.)
6. TURNING TO REGIONAL SECURITY, SIMBEYE SAID ZAMBIA
WAS HAPPY THAT IT WAS GOING TO ASSIST IN RWANDA. THIS
DEMONSTRATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO HELP SOLVE A CONTINENTAL
PROBLEM. THE MILITARY IS CONSTRAINED BY RESOURCES
SHORTAGES, HOWEVER. WITH RESPECT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, HE
SAID ZAMBIA WAS PLEASED WITH THE PEACEFUL TRANSITION IN
SOUTH AFRICA AND EQUALLY PLEASED WITH THE CONSTRUCTIVE
ROLE THE U.S. HAD PLAYED. A RECENT MEETING OF DEFENSE
FORCE CHIEFS IN GABORONE HAD POINTED TO THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW SUB-REGIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY
ORGANIZATION, TO INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA. THIS
ORGANIZATION WOULD APPARENTLY FACILITATE PEACEKEEPING
EFFORTS BOTH IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION AND
ELSEWHERE ON THE CONTINENT.
KUCHEL
BT
#4936
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4936
<^SSN>4936

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TOR: 940824032017 M1217540
<^TOR>940824032118 M1217541

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SIT: DESHAZER NSC SARTOR VAX
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2011-0762-M-6 (5.29)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBYA4849 2370940-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 250938Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
OSRI: RUEHBY
DTG: 250938Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5879
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RWAND/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
RUEHMG/USLO MOGADISHU 0067
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0788
RUEHNE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 2456
RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 4662
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ2//
RUHQHQB/USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//FPA/J5//
RUEHBN/AMCONSUL MELBOURNE 0219
RUEHDN/AMCONSUL SYDNEY 8898
ZEN/AMCONSUL BRISBANE
ZEN/AMCONSUL PERTH
SUBJ: AUSTRALIAN TROOP PARTICIPATION IN RWANDA AND
- SOMALIA: GOOD NEWS, BAD NEWS
TEXT:

********** INCOMPLETE MESSAGE **********

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 CANBERRA 04849
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, MARR, PREF, EAID, UN, RW, SO, AS
SUBJECT: AUSTRALIAN TROOP PARTICIPATION IN RWANDA AND
- SOMALIA: GOOD NEWS, BAD NEWS
8. DOMNEY AND STUART WERE CONSIDERABLY LESS POSITIVE ON SOMALIA. DOMNEY WAS DELIGHTED AT THE NEWS OF OUR DIPLOMATIC PULLOUT BECAUSE, HE EXPLAINED, IT WILL MAKE IT EASIER FOR AUSTRALIAN POLICY MAKERS TO ACCEPT THE NOTION THAT THE ADF MUST WITHDRAW FROM UNOSOM.
9. EMBOFFS ASKED DOMNEY ABOUT REPORTS THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GARETH EVANS TOLD PARLIAMENT ON AUGUST 24 THAT THE ADF WILL NOT REPLACE ITS UNOSOM CONTINGENT WHEN THE LATTER IS DUE FOR ROTATION IN OCT/NOV. WHILE THE ACTUAL STATEMENT WAS NOT THAT SPECIFIC, DOMNEY SAID, THERE IS A STRONG INCLINATION WITHIN THE GOA THAT IT NOT RPT NOT STAY IN SOMALIA BEYOND THAT DATE. THE GOA, HE ADDED, WILL LIKELY DECIDE WITHIN THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS WHICH COURSE OF ACTION TO FOLLOW.
10. DOMNEY ADDED THAT ADF ASSESSMENTS COMING OUT OF SOMALIA ARE UNIFORMLY PESSIMISTIC. IN A SEPARATE

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CONVERSATION, SENIOR ADF OPERATIONS OFFICERS TOLD DATT THAT UNOSOM OFFICIALS ARE NOT RELAYING A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THEIR BLEAK PROSPECTS.

11. UNOSOM IS SERVING NO USEFUL PURPOSE, DOMNEY AVERRED, AND ADOD BELIEVES THAT AN "IMMEDIATE AND SUBSTANTIAL DRAWDOWN" IS OVERDUE. WHILE THE ADOD IS CONCERNED NOT TO UNDERMINE UNOSOM, HE INSISTED, "IT IS TIME TO MAKE DECISIONS."

12. DOMNEY TOOK NOTE OF OUR TALKING POINT THAT U.S. SUPPORT FOR UNOSOM REMAINS UNDIMINISHED. HE EXPRESSED "CONSIDERABLE INTEREST" IN THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. READY REACTION FORCE AND WHAT THE USG CAN OFFER DURING UNOSOM'S ACTUAL WITHDRAWAL. THE LATTER, HE OPINED, EVEN IF FULLY PLANNED, WILL BE "SHAMBOLIC;" CASUALTIES ARE "LIKELY." DOMNEY INDICATED THAT THE ADF EXPECTS TO CONDUCT ITS OWN WITHDRAWAL OPERATION; BUT, "IN EXTREMIS," HELP FROM U.S. FORCES COULD BE NECESSARY.

13. EMBOFFS POINTED OUT THAT THE ADF MOVEMENT CONTROL EXPERTS WOULD BE INVALUABLE IN UNOSOM'S EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL, AND THE U.N. COMMAND WOULD CERTAINLY MISS THEM IF THEY PULLED OUT BEFOREHAND. DOMNEY REPLIED Q"THAT IS PART OF THE PROBLEM." HE SAID PAKISTANIS HAVE A GROUP ON THE GROUND WHICH HAS RESOURCES IN PLACE TO DO ALL THAT THE ADF DOES, ALTHOUGH, HE SUGGESTED, THEIR SKILLS CAN BE QUESTIONED. HE NOTED THAT AUSTRALIAN AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS HAVE BEEN TRAINING SOMALI LOCALS IN RECENT MONTHS TO DO THEIR WORK. HE ADDED, "THAT MAY BE A HOLLOW GESTURE."

14. DFAT U.N. AFFAIRS DIRECTOR STUART WAS JUST AS PESSIMISTIC. BOTH OFFICIALS EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.N. MUST PROVE IN SOMALIA THAT IT CAN END A MILITARY OPERATION. OTHERWISE, DONORS WILL NOT RESPOND TO CRISES LIKE RWANDA IN THE FUTURE. DOMNEY RECALLED THAT THE ADF COMMITTED MILITARY OBSERVERS TO THE WESTERN SAHARA (MINURSO) FOR SIX MONTHS AND IT TOOK THE GOA THREE YEARS TO EXTRICATE ITSELF.

15. DOMNEY AND STUART STRESSED THAT UNDER NO RPT NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD THE GOA ENTERTAIN KEEPING FORCES IN SOMALIA BEYOND MARCH 1995, AND THEY REPEATED THEIR POINT THAT A STRONG CONSENSUS IS EMERGING IN CANBERRA THAT THE ADF'S DEPARTURE SHOULD COINCIDE WITH THE END OF THE CURRENT TEAM'S DEPLOYMENT IN OCT/NOV. PERKINS

BT
#4849
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4849

TOR: 940825054839 M1219693

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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2011-0262-M-S (5.30)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 251050Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
OSRI: RUEHBP
DTG: 251050Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3007
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP/OASD-PA-DPL/PA//
RUEKJCS/JOINTSTAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ETCC//
INFO: RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGE-0//
RHFQAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX/RS//
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N3/N31/N5/N7//
RUSNNOT/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUCJACC/UNCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3//
RULYSHH/CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
RHCUAAA/USCINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL
RUKGNLA/DLA CAMERON STA VA
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0821
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0076
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0976
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0668
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0026
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0349
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0131
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0036
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0708
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0013
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2139
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2259
SUBJ: MALIANS NEED HELP GETTING TO RWANDA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BAMAKO 05906
GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
NAIROBI FOR DART AND REFCOORD
DEPT FOR AF/W, AF/C MGRW02, PRM/AAA, PM/ISP, IO/PHO,
IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA AND AF/W
USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA, AID/BHR/FFP,.
AID/PPC
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, EAID, MOPS, RW, ML
SUBJECT: MALIANS NEED HELP GETTING TO RWANDA
REF: A) BAMAKO 5672, B) BAMAKO 5311, C) BAMAKO 5162,
- D) BAMAKO 4526
1. THE DIRECTOR OF CABINET AT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE,
JUST BACK FROM A WEEK-LONG VISIT TO THE U.N., CALLED THE
EMBASSY AUGUST 24 ASKING FOR U.S. SUPPORT IN FINDING AIR

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TRANSPORTATION FOR THE MALIAN MILITARY CONTINGENT OF 200 MEN TO UNAMIR (REFTELS). APPARENTLY, THE MALIANS ARE NOT HAVING MUCH SUCCESS, THROUGH THE U.N., IN SECURING TRANSPORTATION. APART FROM THE UNAMIR CONTINGENT, MALI HAS OFFERED TO PROVIDE A 40-MEMBER MEDICAL TEAM (REF B, C). THIS LATTER GROUP DOES NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE PART OF UNAMIR, BUT WILL HAVE TO BE SPONSORED BY SOMEBODY ON THE GROUND, BE IT THE UNHCR, RED CROSS OR SOME OTHER ORGANIZATION.

2. THE DIRECTOR OF CABINET, SEKOU MAMADOU CHERIF DIABY, ASKED THE EMBASSY IF THE U.S. COULD PROVIDE TRANSPORTATION ON A BI-LATERAL BASIS FOR ONE OR BOTH GROUPS. WE INFORMED HIM THAT THE U.S. HAD ALREADY "ADOPTED" THE GHANAIAN UNAMIR CONTINGENT, AND, UNFORTUNATELY, DID NOT HAVE ANY MORE RESOURCES THAT WE COULD COMMIT FOR THE MALIAN TROOPS. WE DID, HOWEVER, PROMISE TO PASS ALONG THE GRM'S CONCERNS ABOUT SECURING UN TRANSPORTATION.

3. AS FOR THE MEDICAL TEAM, MALI HAS NOT YET FOUND A SPONSOR ORGANIZATION. WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT BOTH TEAMS ARE READY FOR DEPLOYMENT AND ARE AWAITING ONLY TRANSPORT. THIS IS A MAJOR COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF MALIANS, AND THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO PLAY THEIR PART, LIMITED AS IT MAY BE, IN REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING AND HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS.

4. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE ANY FEEDBACK USUN OR DEPARTMENT MAY HAVE AS TO WHEN UN MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP TRANSPORT MALIAN UNAMIR CONTINGENT. AS FOR MEDICAL TEAM, WE WOULD HOPE U.S. COULD HELP, BUT MALIANS WILL FIRST HAVE TO FIND A SPONSOR.

DAMERON

BT

#5906

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5906

TOR: 940825071122 M1219807

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VL NARA, Date 10/20/2023
2011-0262-M-S (5.32)

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHTVA6390 2371332-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 251332Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
OSRI: RUEHTV
DTG: 251332Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1732
INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 4010
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1009
SUBJ: RWANDA: ISRAELI SUPPORT FOR UN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ TEL AVIV 016390
FOR DRL/MLA
DEPARTMENT PASS RWANDA COLLECTIVE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC, PREF, PREL, IS
SUBJECT: RWANDA: ISRAELI SUPPORT FOR UN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS
REF: STATE 225938
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. JOHANAN BEIN, MFA DEPUTY DG FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, PHONED AUGUST 25 IMMEDIATELY AT THE CONCLUSION OF A MEETING CHAIRED BY DEPUTY FM BEILIN, TO INFORM US OF THE DECISION THE GOI HAD JUST TAKEN ON OUR REQUEST FOR SUPPORT FOR UN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS.
3. BEIN BEGAN BE NOTING THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD ALREADY CONTRIBUTED HANDSOMELY TO THE RWANDA RELIEF EFFORT BY SENDING A HOSPITAL TO THE REGION. THIS OPERATION WOULD CONCLUDE NEXT WEEK, HE SAID, AND WILL HAVE COST THE GOI $2 MILLION.
4. THUS, EXPLAINED BEIN, ISRAELI RESOURCES WERE "REALLY DRY." AS A "GESTURE," HOWEVER, THE GOI WOULD CONTRIBUTE $10,000 FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. BEIN SAID THAT THE ISRAELI MISSION IN GENEVA WOULD PASS ON THIS INFORMATION AS WELL.
LAROCCO
BT
#6390
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6390
TOR: 940825094052 M1220024
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SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
<^DIST>
SIT: SIMON
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2011-0262-M-S (5.33)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 251754Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 251754Z AUG 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2954
INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 9559
RUEHSW/AMEMBASSY BERN PRIORITY 8765
RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY 0064
SUBJ: EXPULSION OF ALLEGED RWANDAN WAR CRIMINAL FROM SWITZERLAND
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ GENEVA 07438
DEPT. FOR DRL - A/S SHUTTUCK, L - MATHESON AND NIX AND USUN/W - SHEFFER
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, RW, SZ
SUBJECT: EXPULSION OF ALLEGED RWANDAN WAR CRIMINAL FROM SWITZERLAND
REF: BERN 4480
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. WE ARE APPALLED BY THE SWISS DECISION REPORTED REFTEL TO EXPEL RADIO MILLE COLLINES PROPRIETOR FELICIEN KABUGA FROM SWITZERLAND.
3. IT APPEARS THAT KABUGA MAY HAVE BEEN A MAJOR INSTIGATOR OF THE MASS KILLINGS IN RWANDA. HE SHOULD BE A PRIME CANDIDATE FOR CRIMINAL PROSECUTION.
4. WE DO NOT KNOW IF THE SWISS WOULD HAVE HAD A LEGAL BASIS FOR DETAINING KABUGA, OR IF THEY WOULD HAVE USED WHATEVER POWERS THEY HAVE IF PRESSED BY THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, NEITHER WE NOR ANY OTHER COUNTRY PRESSED THE MATTER WITH THE SWISS.
5. WE BELIEVE THIS CASE SHOWS THE NEED FOR A FURTHER STRONG U.S. DEMARCHE TO ALL COUNTRIES WHERE RWANDAN VIOLATORS MAY SEEK REFUGE. WE SHOULD PRESS NATIONAL AUTHORITIES DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO DETAIN FOR EVENTUAL PROSECUTION THOSE WHO MAY HAVE COMMITTED WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY. US DIPLOMATIC POSTS SHOULD ALSO BE INSTRUCTED TO BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR SUCH CASES AND TO INTERVENE AGGRESSIVELY WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES AS REQUIRED. SPIEGEL
BT
#7438
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7438

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TOR: 940825125918 M1220474
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.36)
VZ 10/7/2013

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: R 300911Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
OSRI: RUEHNR
DTG: 300911Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1750
INFO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0645
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0633
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 0187
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0557
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0481
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0444
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER MUSYOKA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 NAIROBI 15539
LONDON FOR YOUNG, PARIS FOR DALSIMER
E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, KE
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER MUSYOKA
REF: A) NAIROBI 10632 AND PREVIOUS; B) STATE 15050;
C) STATE 220686
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. THE AMBASSADOR, TOGETHER WITH THE DCM AND POLOFF, CALLED AUG. 24. ON FOREIGN MINISTER KALONZO MUSYOKA, WHO :
-- CLAIMED THAT THE SITUATION IN KENYA WAS STABLE AND THAT KENYANS WERE DETERMINED TO LIVE PEACEABLY AMONG THEMSELVES IN LIGHT OF THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY, BUT NOTED LATER THAT "FEELINGS OF ETHNICITY" HAD NEVER BEEN AS "PARAMOUNT" WAS THEY WERE NOW.
-- CLAIMED THAT KANU HAD ESTABLISHED ITS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE.
-- SAID THAT PRES. MOI WOULD CHAIR THE "MAKE-OR-BREAK" FOURTH SESSION OF THE IGADD TALKS (A STATEMENT LATER QUALIFIED BY PS SALLY KOSGEI -- SEPTEL).
-- SAID AN UNSTABLE SOMALIA, MORE THAN ETHNIC ANIMOSITY, WAS KENYA'S GREATEST SECURITY CONCERN.
-- ARGUED THAT THE CONVENING OF A GENOCIDE TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA SHOULD BE DELAYED ON GROUNDS IT WOULD DETER RWANDAN REFUGEES FROM RETURNING HOME.
-- SOUGHT US SUPPORT IN ITS BID FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERALSHIP OF THE ITU.
END SUMMARY

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THE STABLE NATIONAL CLIMATE
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3. MUSYOKA CLAIMED THAT THE SITUATION IN KENYA WAS STABLE AND THAT KENYANS WERE MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER TO LIVE PEACEABLY AMONG THEMSELVES. THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY HAD BEEN A SOBERING EXPERIENCE FOR THE REGION, ILLUSTRATING THE DANGERS OF TRIBALISM. RECENT CALLS FOR A POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE KIKUYUS AND LUOS IN KENYA (SEPTEL) WERE CONSEQUENTLY ILL-FATED, SINCE THEY WERE BASED ON TRIBALISM. "RIGHT-THINKING" PEOPLE KNEW SUCH AN ALLIANCE WOULD BE WRONG, HE MAINTAINED.

4. THE AMBASSADOR REFERRED TO THE RECENT REPORT BY BRITISH LABOR MP TONY WORTHINGTON (SEPTEL) WHICH, INTER ALIA, CRITICIZED KENYA'S OPPOSITION PARTIES AS BASED ON TRIBE AND PERSONALITY AND HAVING NO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, AND NOTED MUSYOKA'S WIDELY PUBLISHED REMARK THAT HE WOULD TRAVEL TO LONDON TO SHAKE WORTHINGTON'S HAND. MUSYOKA REJOINED DEFENSIVELY (AND TRIVIALLY) THAT HE HAD SAID ONLY THAT IF HE FOUND HIMSELF IN LONDON AND HAD THE OCCASION, HE WOULD SHAKE WORTHINGTON'S HAND, NOT THAT HE WOULD MAKE A SPECIAL TRIP.

5. CONTINUING THE THEME OF TRIBAL ALLIANCES, MUSYOKA VENTURED, WITHOUT SEEMING TO REALIZE WHAT IT IMPLIED FOR KANU, THAT THE PATTERN OF (OPPOSITION) VOTING BY TRIBAL ALLIANCE MIGHT CONTINUE BUT THAT IT WAS A PATTERN WITH NO REAL MEANING. THAT IS, THE PEOPLE VOTING THE SAME WAY HAD NO COMMON ELEMENT, NO LASTING PHILOSOPHY.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 NAIROBI 15539
LONDON FOR YOUNG, PARIS FOR DALSIMER
E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, KE
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER MUSYOKA

HUMAN RIGHTS
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6. THE FM ASSERTED THAT THE GOK HAD NOTHING TO HIDE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT KANU HAD ESTABLISHED ITS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE (WHOSE CHAIRMAN HE COULD NOT REMEMBER). ON THE SUBJECT OF THE NDEIYA SIX CASE (REF A), MUSYOKA SAID IT WAS UP TO THE DEFENDANTS IN QUESTION TO FILE COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT THE GOK MIGHT TAKE THE LEAD IN INVESTIGATING THE COMPLAINTS, THE FM REPLIED THAT, ACTUALLY, HE COULD NOT RECALL THE CASE CLEARLY.

ETHNIC CLASHES
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7. MUSYOKA SAID, DESPITE HIS ASSESSMENT THAT THE SITUATION WAS STABLE, THAT FEELINGS OF ETHNICITY HAD NEVER BEEN AS "PARAMOUNT" WAS THEY WERE NOW IN KENYA. BUT NO ONE IN KENYA WANTED VIOLENCE. WELL, EXCEPT IN MATHERA CONSTITUENCY, WHERE THE CLIMATE WAS TENSE AND PEOPLE FOUGHT WITH PANGAS (MACHETES). BUT

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ON THE WHOLE THE SITUATION WAS CALMING DOWN, HE INSISTED.

8. HE CONTINUED THAT THE RESETTLEMENT OF THOSE DISPLACED BY ETHNIC CLASHES WAS A SERIOUS EXERCISE THAT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT CONSERVATION AND QUESTIONABLE LAND CLAIMS BY NON-INDIGENOUS PEOPLE. HE COMMENDED THE RIFT VALLEY PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER, ISHMAEL CHELANG'A, FOR SHOWING SENSITIVITY ON THIS ISSUE. THE FM DESCRIBED THE CLASHES AS A THING OF THE PAST AND SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE MORE USEFUL TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT WITH PERMANENT SECRETARY OF INTERNAL SECURITY, WILFRED KIMALAT.

THE STRIKES

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9. ASKED ABOUT THE DOCTORS' AND UNIVERSITY STRIKES, MUSYOKA ASSERTED THAT THE GOK'S DETERMINED EFFORTS TO END THE STRIKES WERE CAUSING DOCTORS AND TEACHERS TO LOSE FACE. HE FEARED THAT A POSSIBLE DOCTORS' OR TEACHERS' UNION WOULD, AS IN ZAMBIA, SEEK TIES WITH THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND CALL FOR PARALYZING WORK STOPPAGES. ALTHOUGH HE CLAIMED THE STRIKES WERE BECOMING A NON-ISSUE, HE LAMENTED THAT THEY HAD DAMAGED THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE IN THE COUNTRY.

THE WORTHINGTON REPORT AND THE CONSTITUTION

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10. MUSYOKA DISAGREED STRONGLY WITH THE WORTHINGTON REPORT'S RECOMMENDATION THAT A SPECIALLY CHOSEN FOREIGNER ASSIST KENYANS IN REWRITING THEIR CONSTITUTION. INSISTING THAT KENYANS THEMSELVES WERE CAPABLE OF THIS PROJECT, HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF PROVIDING A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE THAT WAS LASTING. HE SAID THERE WAS NO TIME-FRAME FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM BECAUSE THERE WAS CURRENTLY NO POLITICAL CRISIS TO SPEAK OF.

SUDAN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 NAIROBI 15539

LONDON FOR YOUNG, PARIS FOR DALSIMER

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, KE

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER MUSYOKA

11. REGARDING IGADD, MUSYOKA CLAIMED THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN OR HEARD OF THE ETHIOPIAN PROPOSAL FOR RESTRUCTURING THE IGADD SECRETARIAT (REF B). HE NOTED, THOUGH, THAT PRES. MOI WOULD CHAIR THE "MAKE-OR-BREAK" FOURTH SESSION OF TALKS AND THAT THE KENYANS WOULD APPRECIATE US FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE ROUND, SUCH AS EXPENSES FOR LODGING. THE FM HAD ALSO RECEIVED AN SPLA LETTER REQUESTING THAT THE FRENCH COME CLEAN ON "THE CARLOS DEAL," AS THE SPLA FEARED A FRENCH GREEN LIGHT FOR RENEWED MILITARY OFFENSIVES BY THE KHARTOUM GOVERNMENT.

SOMALIA

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12. THE FM PREDICTED THAT THERE WOULD BE A NEW ROUND OF VIOLENCE IN SOMALIA IF UNOSOM II LOWERED ITS TROOP STRENGTH FROM 19,000 TROOPS TO 9,000. HE ALSO BELIEVED IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE FOR THE US TO DROP BELOW ITS 30 PERCENT SHARE OF THE UNOSOM BUDGET. HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT A POWER-SHARING ARRANGEMENT AMONG THE CLANS HAD NOT BEEN REACHED, BUT HE ATTRIBUTED THE FAILURE TO THE SOMALIS' PENCHANT FOR VIOLENCE.

13. ASKED BY THE AMB. IF HE PREFERRED A SOMALIA WITH A SOUND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, THE FM REPLIED THAT HE ONLY PREFERRED PEACE. HE THEN DECLARED THAT AN UNSTABLE SOMALIA, RATHER THAN ETHNIC ANIMOSITY, POSED KENYA'S GREATEST SECURITY THREAT. MUSYOKA RECOUNTED HOW KENYAN BRIGANDS, ARMED WITH SOMALI WAR MATERIEL, WERE STEPPING UP CRIME IN NAIROBI AND FORCIBLY DISPLACING PEOPLE IN THE NORTHEAST, PARTICULARLY HIS OWN CONSTITUENCY OF KITUI NORTH.

RWANDA

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14. THE FM DIFFERED WITH THE AMB ON THE PROPOSED GENOCIDE TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA. THE AMB ARGUED THAT THE TRIBUNAL SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED QUICKLY TO DIMINISH REVENGE KILLINGS, MUSYOKA THOUGHT THAT THE TRIBUNAL WOULD DETER RWANDAN REFUGEES FROM RETURNING HOME. HE RECOMMENDED THAT THE TRIBUNAL BE CONVENED AFTER ALLOWING SUFFICIENT TIME FOR THE COUNTRY'S STABILIZATION.

ITU

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15. THE FM REQUESTED US SUPPORT IN KENYA'S BID FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTORY GENERALSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS UNION (ITU). MUSYOKA HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE USG CURRENTLY FAVORED THE RUSSIAN CANDIDATE. THE DCM COUNTERED THAT WE HAD RECEIVED A TELEGRAM FROM THE DEPARTMENT (REF C) HIGHLY EVALUATING KENYA'S CANDIDATE, DR. CHASIA, BUT THAT WE WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO COMMIT PUBLICLY AT THIS TIME. THE FM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION.

BRAZEAL##

BT

#5539

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
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SSN: 5539
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0242-M-S (5,40)
VL 10/20/2023

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OSRI: RUEHBZ
DTG: 310853Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5766
INFO: ****
SUBJ: PRESIDENT LISSOUBA'S AGENDA FOR HIS U.S. VISIT
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BRAZZAVILLE 002556
DEPT PASS AF/C FOR LORI MAGNUSSON
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OTRA, EFIN. EINV, PREL, PINR, KDEM, CF
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT LISSOUBA'S AGENDA FOR HIS U.S. VISIT
1. IN A CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT LISSOUBA ON 8/25, HE OUTLINED WHAT HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH WASHINTON OFFICIALS DURING HIS VISIT IN THE LAST WEEK IN SEPTEMBER.
FIRST AS AN AFRICAN:
2. IT IS TIME FOR AFRICA TO SHOULDER ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND BECOME A FULL MEMBER OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THE REST OF THE WORLD CAN ONLY BE BURDENED BY AFRICA IF AFRICANS DON'T TAKE BETTER CONTROL OF THEIR OWN FATE. PRESIDENT CLINTON IS THE ONLY PRESIDENT CAPABLE OF ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOUT THE FUTURE FOR AFRICA; OTHER WORLD LEADERS ARE WEAK, E.G. ALL THOSE ATTENDING THE G-7 ECONOMIC SUMMIT.
3. PRESIDENT LISSOUBA BELIEVES AFRICA SHOULD ULTIMATELY HAVE A SEAT AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THINKS THAT IF A DECISION WERE MADE NOW AS TO WHICH COUNTRY SHOULD BE THE REPRESENTATIVE, IT WOULD BE SOUTH AFRICA. HE RECOGNIZES THAT SUCH A PLACE ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS NOT POSSIBLE NOW, BUT SHOULD BE A PRINCIPLE TOWARDS WHICH THE UN WOULD WORK.
4. THE PRESIDENT THINKS THAT ECONOMIC STAGNATION IS THE BASIC CAUSE OF AFRICA'S ETHNIC PROBLEMS BUT THAT DRUGS AND AIDS ARE AGGRAVATING AN ALREADY BAD SITUATION. RWANDA COULD HAVE BEEN PREVENTED BY A MORE CONCERTED WORLD EFFORT, PROBABLY COSTING SUBSTANTIALLY LESS THAN CURRENT ASSISTANCE.
5. ONE WAY THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES AFRICA COULD WORK TOWARDS GETTING A GRIP ON ITSELF WOULD BE A REEXAMINATION OF THE LOME CONVENTION AND ITS CONSISTENCY WITH BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS AND THE GATT. LISSOUBA BELIEVES THAT THE "PREFERENTIAL" TRADING REGIME UNDER WHICH LOME COUNTRIES OPERATE IS WORKING TO THEIR

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DETRIMENT.
AS A CONGOLESE:
6. PRESIDENT LISSOUBA HOPES BY HIS VISIT TO LEAVE BEHIND A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE CONGO. HE KNOWS ONLY TOO WELL THE REPUTATION THE CONGO HAS EARNED OVER THE YEARS THROUGH BOTH ITS EXTREME POLITICAL POSITIONS AND ITS SHABBY FINANCIAL BEHAVIOR. HE WANTS TO TRY TO CONVINCE HIS INTERLOCUTORS OF A CONGOLESE RENAISSANCE. HE IS A MAN WHO WAS CONDEMNED TO DEATH FOR VIEWS WHICH CONTRADICTED COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM. ONLY A LETTER CAMPAIGN BY IMMINENT WORLD SCIENTISTS SAVED HIM. HE POINTED OUT THAT CONGO'S PRIMARY OPPOSITION FIGURE (KOLELAS) WAS ALSO ARDENTLY ANTI COMMUNIST AND PAYED DEARLY WITH MANY YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT FOR HIS VIEWS.
7. THE PRESIDENT WILL CERTAINLY BOAST OF HIS PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRATIZING THE MOST INTENSELY MARXIST STATE IN AFRICA. HE CAN PROCLAIM INITIAL SUCCESS IN CONFORMING TO BANK/FUND CONDITIONALITY FOR GETTING BACK ON HIS FINANCIAL FEET, AND THE LARGE NUMBER OF DOMESTIC DECISIONS BEING TAKEN TO PRIVATIZE CONGO'S STATE-RUN ECONOMY, ATTRACT FOREIGN INVESTORS AND PUT THINGS RIGHT WITH CONGO'S CREDITORS. HE IS UNDER NO ILLUSION THAT SUSTAINING THESE EFFORTS WILL BE EVERY BIT AS HARD AS GETTING THEM UNDER WAY IN THE FIRST PLACE.
8. THE THREE THEMES PRESIDENT LISSOUBA WANTS UNDERSTOOD ARE:
0 THE CONGOLESE RENAISSANCE IS REAL AND DURABLE
0 AFRICA SHOULD NO LONGER BE THE WORLD'S LITTLE BROTHER
0 THE CONGO IS PREPARED TO SHOULDER ITS BURDEN AT HOME AND ABROAD.
AS A PLANT GENETICIST AND SCIENTIST:
9. TO THE THEMES OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM, PRESIDENT LISSOUBA WILL ADD HIS ABIDING INTEREST IN BIODIVERSITY, DESERTIFICATION AND THE PRESERVATION OF CONGO'S UNIQUE AND FOR THE MOMENT ABUNDANT FLORA AND FAUNA.
10. I ASKED PRESIDENT LISSOUBA IF HE PLANNED TO ASK SENIOR OFFICIALS FOR ANYTHING SPECIFIC. HE ASKED MY ADVICE ON ONE PARTICULAR ITEM OF INTEREST TO HIM IN THE FINANCIAL FIELD WHICH I COUNSELLED AGAINST. HE SAID HE WOULD DROP IT. OTHER TAN THAT HE HAS NO PARTICULAR REQUESTS AND BELIEVS THAT IF HE CAN GET HIS THREE MAIN THEMES ACROSS, THE SENSITIVITY OF U.S, AUTHORITIES TO CONGOLESE INTERESTS MAY BE HEIGHTENED.
11. PRESIDENT LISSOUBA NOW PLANS TO LEAVE ATLANTA DIRECTLY FOR SPAIN WHERE HE WILL VISIT SPANISH
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BRAZZAVILLE 002556
DEPT PASS AF/C FOR LORI MAGNUSSON
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OTRA, EFIN. EINV, PREL, PINR, KDEM, CF
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT LISSOUBA'S AGENDA FOR HIS U.S. VISIT AUTHORITIES FOR TWO TO THREE DAYS BEFORE PROCEEDING TO TEL AVIV FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT BEGINNING OCTOBER 9.
RAMSAY
BT
#2556
NNNN

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

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RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
SUBJ: OAU-UNHCR AFRICAN REFUGEE SYMPOSIUM
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KAMPALA 007209
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREF, EAID, PREL, UN BY CG RW, TZ, UG
SUBJECT: OAU-UNHCR AFRICAN REFUGEE SYMPOSIUM
REF: STATE 238847

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CHARGE CONTACTED MFA PERMANENT SECRETARY CHRIS KATZIGAZI ON MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 5, TO ENSURE THAT THE UGANDANS WERE AWARE OF THE INFORMAL TALKS ON THE RWANDA CRISIS TO BE HELD PARALLEL TO THE SEPTEMBER 8-10 OAU-UNHCR AFRICAN REFUGEE SYMPOSIUM, AND TO ENCOURAGE REPRESENTATION AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

3. THE GOU WAS NOT/NOT AWARE OF THE PLANNED INFORMAL TALKS. NEITHER WAS THE RESIDENT UNHCR MISSION. CHARGE RELAYED TO KATZIGAZI THE INFORMATION PROVIDED IN REFTEL.

4. THE GOU WILL BE REPRESENTED AT THE TALKS BY THE PERMANENT SECRETARY FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DIRECTOR OF REFUGEE AFFAIRS, THECLA KINALWA, AND BY THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS, CARLOS TWESIGOMWE. THERE IS ALSO THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT, STEVEN CHEBROT, WILL ATTEND (N.B., CHEBROT IS CURRENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES ON A USIS IV PROGRAM).

5. IT APPEARS THAT THE GOU DID NOT RECEIVE NOTIFICATION OF THE INFORMAL TALKS EXCEPT THROUGH US, AND THAT THE WORD CAME TOO LATE TO ARRANGE MINISTERIAL PARTICIPATION, EVEN IF THE UGANDANS HAD DESIRED IT.

BUSH
BT
#7209
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 7209

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VL 10/20/223

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RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 5406
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4859
RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 4049
RUEHUL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 7403
RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 2065
SUBJ: CABINET DECISIONS NEAR ON RWANDA PKO, UNSC
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 TOKYO 13375
USCINCPAC ALSO FOR FPA SALMON
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, PREF, EAID, PHUM, RW, JA
SUBJECT: CABINET DECISIONS NEAR ON RWANDA PKO, UNSC
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE CABINET IS POISED TO APPROVE RWANDA PKO SEPTEMBER 13, BUT ONLY FOR A THREE-MONTH DEPLOYMENT. COALITION MEMBERS HAVE AGREED THAT JAPAN, THROUGH FONMIN KONO'S UNGA SPEECH, SHOULD EXPRESS INTEREST IN A PERMANENT UNSC SEAT WHILE STRESSING THE LEGAL LIMITATIONS ON JAPAN'S PARTICIPATION IN CERTAIN UN MILITARY OPERATIONS -- OR, AS THE LDP'S KOICHI KATO TOLD POLMIN, "NO COMBAT TROOPS." END SUMMARY.
YES TO RWANDA PKO AND UNSC, WITH CONDITIONS
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3. PM MURAYAMA SEPTEMBER 11 MET SEPARATELY WITH FONMIN KONO (WHO HAD RETURNED TO JAPAN SEPTEMBER SHORTLY BEFORE) AND FINANCE MINISTER TAKEMURA. THE THREE PARTY LEADERS REAFFIRMED THAT FONMIN KONO IN HIS SEPTEMBER 27 UNGA SPEECH SHOULD CALL FOR A PERMANENT JAPANESE UNSC SEAT WHILE STRESSING THAT THERE WOULD BE LIMITS TO JAPAN'S PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY-RELATED UN

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ACTIVITIES.
4. MEANWHILE, THE COALITION'S SURVEY MISSION TO THE REGION, HEADED BY SOCIALIST DIET MEMBER SUKIO IWATARE, REPORTED TO PM MURAYAMA AND THE COALITION POLICY COORDINATION COUNCIL ITS CONCLUSION THAT JAPAN SHOULD INDEED DISPATCH SELF DEFENSE FORCE UNITS TO ASSIST IN RWANDA RELIEF EFFORTS. THE ONE TWIST IS THAT THE SURVEY MISSION RECOMMENDED A THREE-MONTH DEPLOYMENT, VICE SIX MONTHS. GOJ OFFICIALS HAVE STRESSED TO US THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT THE OPERATION COULD NOT ULTIMATELY BE EXTENDED TO SIX, CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTING.
5. THE CABINET IS SCHEDULED TO MEET THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 13 BOTH TO GIVE THE FINAL NOD TO THE RWANDA PKO MISSION (THREE-MONTH DEPLOYMENT OPTION) AND TO DISCUSS INFORMALLY THE UNSC ISSUE. SUBSEQUENTLY, UNSYG GHALI WILL CALL ON PM MURAYAMA; THEY WILL THEN BE JOINED AT LUNCH BY KONO, TAKEMURA AND CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY IGARASHI. ACCORDING TO MOFA UN POLICY DIVISION DIRECTOR YOSHIKAWA, MOFA HAS URGED THAT THE PARTY LEADERS USE THE LUNCHEON TO DISCUSS FRANKLY THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT PERMANENT JAPANESE UNSC MEMBERSHIP, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN PKO.
MOVING TOWARD CONSENSUS WITHIN THE COALITION
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6. FACED WITH THE IMPENDING KONO SPEECH TO THE UNGA, THE RULING COALITION PARTIES HAVE BEEN HARD AT WORK HAMMERING OUT A CONSENSUS ON A PERMANENT JAPANESE UNSC SEAT. (BY OUR BEST COUNT, RECENT DAYS HAVE SEEN TWO LDP MEETINGS, ONE SOCIALIST MEETING, ONE SAKIGAKE MEETING, AND TWO COALITION FOREIGN POLICY COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETINGS ON THE SUBJECT.)
7. INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS HAVE RESULTED IN AN "EMERGING CONSENSUS" THAT JAPAN -- THROUGH KONO'S

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 TOKYO 13375
USCINCPAC ALSO FOR FPA SALMON
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, PREF, EAID, PHUM, RW, JA
SUBJECT: CABINET DECISIONS NEAR ON RWANDA PKO, UNSC ADDRESS -- SHOULD MAKE CLEAR ITS INTENT TO BECOME A PERMANENT UNSC MEMBER, ACCORDING TO YOSHIKAWA. THAT SAID, THE VARIOUS COALITION MEMBERS HAVE SEVERAL PROVISOS IN MIND. THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LDP) HAS URGED THAT KONO MAKE CLEAR THAT, IRRESPECTIVE OF UNSC MEMBERSHIP, THERE ARE LEGAL RESTRICTIONS CONCERNING JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN UN MILITARY OPERATIONS (I.E., JAPAN WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN PEACE ENFORCEMENT). THAT SAID, PARTICIPATION IN PKO HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN AND WILL BE UNDERTAKEN, "SO, JAPAN WILL DO ALMOST EVERYTHING" UNDER THE LDP CONCEPT, YOSHIKAWA OBSERVED. THE LDP ALSO WISHES KONO TO STRESS THAT, AS A PERMANENT UNSC MEMBER, JAPAN WILL PLAY AN EVEN LARGER ROLE IN UN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES, HE ADDED.
8. THE SOCIALISTS HAVE COME AROUND TO THE LDP'S POSITION BUT ARE PUSHING FOR ADDITIONAL COMMENTS BY KONO, ACCORDING TO YOSHIKAWA. THEY PREFER THAT KONO

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SPELL OUT JAPANESE PROPOSALS NOT ONLY ON UNSC REFORM, BUT UPON UN REFORM IN TOTO. THE SOCIALISTS ARE ALSO CALLING FOR A REFERENCE BY KONO TO THE NEED FOR ELIMINATION OF THE ENEMY STATES CLAUSES, HE NOTED. PERHAPS MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, THEY ALSO PREFER A STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT, AS A REQUISITE FOR OBTAINING A PERMANENT UNSC SEAT, JAPAN SHOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN GENERAL AND OF ITS ASIAN NEIGHBORS IN PARTICULAR, YOSHIKAWA SAID. SAKIGAKE HAD NOT YET MADE ITS POSITION CLEAR TO MOFA, YOSHIKAWA ADMITTED, BUT HE PREDICTED THAT IT WOULD GO ALONG WITH THE CONSENSUS.

9. SAKIGAKE DIET MEMBER (AND FORMER JDA VICE MINISTER) MIHARA LATER TOLD POLOFF THAT SAKIGAKE HAD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT KONO SHOULD PRESENT JAPAN'S CASE ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED BY THE LDP, BUT SHOULD PUT A MORE POSITIVE SPIN ON JAPAN'S ROLE AS A PERMANENT UNSC MEMBER, STRESSING JAPAN'S ABILITY THEREBY MORE EFFECTIVELY TO PURSUE THE TRANSPARENCY IN ARMAMENTS INITIATIVE, INTER ALIA.

10. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE LDP'S KOICHI KATO CONFIRMED TO POLMIN THAT THE COALITION HAD AGREED THAT THE GOJ SHOULD ANNOUNCE ITS INTENT TO BECOME A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNSC, WHILE MAKING CLEAR THE LIMITATIONS ON ITS MILITARY CONTRIBUTIONS; IN OTHER WORDS, "NO COMBAT TROOPS," KATO STRESSED.

PINNING DOWN THE CABINET

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11. MOFA HAS BEEN MAKING THE POINT TO COALITION LEADERS THAT THIS DEBATE HAS DAMAGED JAPAN'S INTERESTS AND CREDIBILITY, YOSHIKAWA CONFIDED TO POLOFF. THE MOFA TOP BRASS HAS ALSO EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT JAPAN'S POLITICAL LEADERS WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT THEIR AFFIRMATIVE DECISION ON THE UNSC QUESTION "COMES FROM THE HEART," AND IS NOT THE RESULT OF UNDUE MOFA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 TOKYO 13375

USCINCPAC ALSO FOR FPA SALMON

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, PREF, EAID, PHUM, RW, JA

SUBJECT: CABINET DECISIONS NEAR ON RWANDA PKO, UNSC INFLUENCE. (COMMENT: A TOUGH SELL. END COMMENT.)

12. PUTTING THE BEST FACE ON MATTERS, YOSHIKAWA COMMENTED THAT THE PAST TWO MONTHS HAVE AT LEAST BEEN "USEFUL" IN HAMMERING OUT A COALITION-WIDE CONSENSUS -- WITH MOVES BY THE SOCIALISTS TO THE CENTER -- ON THE PROPER SCOPE OF JAPAN'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE. YOSHIKAWA SAID HE HOPES TO PUT THE FINAL TOUCHES ON KONO'S SPEECH BY THE END OF THE WEEK, AND THAT MOFA IS SUGGESTING ANOTHER CABINET MEETING SEPTEMBER 20, AT WHICH KONO WOULD STATE SPECIFICALLY WHAT HE INTENDS TO TELL THE UNGA. THE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO "PIN DOWN THE CABINET" SO THAT LESS ENTHUSIASTIC CABINET MEMBERS COULD NOT LATER CLAIM THEY HAD NOT BEEN ADEQUATELY CONSULTED, YOSHIKAWA CONCLUDED.

DEMING

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#3375

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
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SSN: 3375
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SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-S (S,43)
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RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2902
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
SUBJ: UK IDEAS ON PEACEKEEPING IN AFRICA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN NEW YORK 003780
E-0.12356: N/A
TAGS: MARR, PREL, UK, UN, XA
SUBJECT: UK IDEAS ON PEACEKEEPING IN AFRICA
1. SUMMARY: UKUN HAS SHARED WITH USUN ITS PRELIMINARY IDEAS ON IMPROVING UN PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN AFRICA. FONMIN HURD MAY INCLUDE SOME OF THESE IDEAS IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE UNGA LATER THIS MONTH. END SUMMARY.
2. UK PERMREP AMB HANNAY BROACHED THE SUBJECT OF PEACEKEEPING IN AFRICA TO AMB. ALBRIGHT DURING A LUNCHEON MEETING IN AUGUST. FOLLOWING ON THAT DISCUSSION, AMB. HANNAY HAS PROVIDED TO USUN A NON-PAPER LAYING OUT SOME OF THE UK'S THINKING ON HOW PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN AFRICA MIGHT BE STRENGTHENED. ALTHOUGH THESE IDEAS ARE NOT FULLY FLESHED OUT OR CLEARED WITHIN HMG AS YET, AMB HANNAY BELIEVES FONMIN HURD MAY INCLUDE SOME OF THESE POINTS IN HIS UPCOMING ADDRESS TO THE UNGA. DEPT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER PRESIDENT CLINTON MIGHT MENTION OR ENDORSE SOME OF THESE IDEAS DURING HIS UNGA ADDRESS, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE SIMILARITY OF THE "LOGISTIC SUPPORT" IDEA TO A SIMILAR PROPOSAL IN THE PEACEKEEPING PDD.
3. BEGIN TEXT OF NON-PAPER:
--NEARLY 40 PERCENT OF UN PEACEKEEPERS ARE DEPLOYED IN AFRICA- MOST INTRACTABLE PROBLEMS-
--INCREASING EMPHASIS ON PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY WITHIN UN/OAU. STAND READY TO CONTRIBUTE PERSONNEL. WELCOME OAU CONFLICT PREVENTION MECHANISM. NEED FOR NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO HELP IT. PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE. BUT OAU LACKS CAPACITY FOR SERIOUS PEACEKEEPING/PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT. RWANDA DEMONSTRATED SHORTCOMINGS. OBVIOUS LESSON THAT REGIONAL COUNTRIES HAVE A ROLE BUT CANNOT RESPOND QUICKLY ENOUGH. HOW CAN WE HELP?
--BILATERAL TRAINING/ADVICE. BUT MORE COULD BE DONE

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WITHIN THE UN FRAMEWORK.
--FOUR CONCRETE UK PROPOSALS WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, WOULD MAKE A VERY REAL DIFFERENCE IN THE KEY AREAS OF PLANNING, TRAINING, EQUIPMENT AND LOGISTIC SUPPORT.
- (I) ADMINISTRATION AND PLANNING: THE UN SHOULD IDENTIFY AND ESTABLISH SUB-REGIONAL CENTRES, WHICH WOULD ACT AS CENTRAL POINTS OF COORDINATION FOR ALL ASPECTS OF SUPPORT TO TROOPS CONTRIBUTORS AND POTENTIAL TROOP CONTRIBUTORS, INCLUDING TRAINING, LOGISTICS, PEACEKEEPING DOCTRINE, PLANNING AND OPERATIONS.
- (II) TRAINING: UN RESOURCES, AND BILATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM THOSE WHO TRADITIONALLY SUPPORT MILITARY TRAINING IN AFRICA AND OTHERS, MIGHT BE DEVOTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT IN STAFF COLLEGES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CONTINENT OF CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE IN PEACEKEEPING TRAINING.
- (III) EQUIPMENT: ESTABLISHMENT UNDER UN AUSPICES OF A LOGISTIC SUPPORT BASE AT AN AFRICAN LOCATION ON THE MODEL OF EXISTING BASES IN PISA AND ELSEWHERE.
- (IV) LOGISTIC SUPPORT: SETTING UP, AGAIN UNDER UN AUSPICES, OF RAPID MOBILE LOGISTICS TEAMS TO HELP AFRICAN COUNTRIES WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF VEHICLES AND EQUIPMENT AND TO FACILITATE ITS ACTIVATION AND DEPLOYMENT.
--THIS IS AN AREA IN WHICH THERE IS URGENT NEED FOR DISCUSSION AND ACTION- ALL IDEAS, INCLUDING THOSE RECENTLY SUGGESTED BY EUROPEAN PARTNERS AND AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES NEED TO BE BROUGHT TOGETHER IN A DECISION-MAKING DIALOGUE.
END TEXT.
ALBRIGHT
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#3780
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3780

TOR: 940912153003 M1247509

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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2011-0262-M-5 (5.44)
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UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
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SUBJ: USG INTERVIEW TRIP TO RWANDA

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 246554
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UNSE, RW
SUBJECT: USG INTERVIEW TRIP TO RWANDA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUEST: THE USG PLANS TO SEND AN INTER-AGENCY TEAM TO INTERVIEW PERSONS WITH FIRST-HAND INFORMATION OF GENOCIDE IN RWANDA. EMBASSY KIGALI IS ASKED TO IDENTIFY WITNESSES WITH FIRST-HAND INFORMATION OF THE ATROCITIES ORCHESTRATED OR COMMITTED BY THOSE PRINCIPALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF GENOCIDE, WHICH BEGAN ON APRIL 6, 1994, INCLUDING FORMER GOVERNMENT LEADERS, JOURNALISTS AND MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY AND THE MILITIAS. POST IS ALSO ASKED TO IDENTIFY NEUTRAL INTERPRETERS WHO SPEAK FRENCH AND KINYA-RWANDA WHO WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO ASSIST THE TEAM. POST IS ALSO ASKED TO ADVISE ABOUT AVAILABILITY OF DUPLICATING EQUIPMENT FOR DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE. EMBASSY KINSHASA IS ASKED TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER WITNESSES WITH PROBATIVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE ARE IN COUNTRY AND AVAILABLE TO BE INTERVIEWED, AS INDICATED IN PARA 11; IF SO, SOME TEAM MEMBERS WILL ALSO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS IN ZAIRE. END SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUEST.

3. THE USG IS PLANNING TO SEND AN INTER-AGENCY INTERVIEW TEAM TO RWANDA AND, IF APPROPRIATE, TO ZAIRE, TO GATHER

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EVIDENCE OF GENOCIDE AND OTHER ATROCITIES, WHICH BEGAN ON APRIL 6, 1994. THE TEAM PLANS TO ARRIVE IN KIGALI ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19 AND WILL LEAVE THE REGION ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6. ALL INFORMATION OBTAINED ON THE TRIP WILL BE TURNED OVER TO THE COMMISSION OF EXPERTS AND, ONCE ESTABLISHED, A TRIBUNAL.

4. THE TEAM IS MOST INTERESTED IN INTERVIEWING PERSONS WITH FIRST-HAND INFORMATION OF THE CAMPAIGN OF GENOCIDE ORCHESTRATED BY THE FORMER GOVERNMENT LEADERS, JOURNALISTS AND OTHER OFFICIALS, AND MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY AND MILITIA -- IN OTHER WORDS, THE MAJOR PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE.

5. THE TEAM WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ASCERTAIN WHAT EVIDENCE THE GOR HAS AGAINST THE 220 PERSONS LISTED ON ITS LIST OF MAJOR PERPETRATORS, AND TO MAKE COPIES OF DOCUMENTS AND TAPES IN THE POSSESSION OF THE GOVERNMENT OR WITNESSES AND INTERVIEW PERSONS WITH PROBATIVE INFORMATION TO THAT EFFECT.

6. DURING A TRIP WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK IN AUGUST, THE JUSTICE MINISTER WASGGIVEN A LIST OF TASKS TO PERFORM IN PREPARATION FOR THE USG TEAM, INCLUDING IDENTIFYING WITNESSES; GATHERING ALL RELEVANT INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT'S POSSESSION, AND PROVIDING DOCUMENTATION OF THE EVIDENCE AGAINST THOSE CURRENTLY IN CUSTODY. POST IS ASKED TO FOLLOW-UP WITH THE JUSTICE MINISTER TO MAKE SURE SUCH TASKS ARE COMPLETED BEFORE THE USG TEAM ARRIVES.

7. POSTSHOULD ALSO CONTACT NGOS TO DEVELOP POTENTIAL INTERVIEWEES AND TO OBTAIN INTERPRETERS. IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE IF THREE INTERPRETERS WERE FOUND WHO SPOKE BOTH FRENCH AND KINYA-RWANDA. IF THAT IS NOT POSSIBLE, WE WILL NEED AT LEAST TWO AND PREFERABLY THREE, INTERPRETERS WHO SPEAK THE LOCAL LANGUAGE AND TWO FRENCH INTERPRETERS.

8. THE TEAM WILL ALSO NEED TRANSPORTATION TO TRAVEL TO VARIOUS PARTS OF RWANDA FOR INTERVIEWS AS WELL AS ACCOMMODATIONS. THE TEAM WILL ALSO NEED SEVERAL ROOMS IN WHICH TO INTERVIEW WITNESSES. THE FUND CITE FOR TRANSLATION SERVICES AND OTHER EXPENSES IS 1940113-1004-400256-2589-U.S. DOLLARS 3000.00

9. THE TEAM WILL CONSIST OF CRYSTAL NIX, STATE; MAJ. PATRICK O'HARE, DOD; AN INVESTIGATOR FROM FBI AND A DOJ PROSECUTOR. POST IS ASKED TO ARRANGE ACCOMMODATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION.

10. THE TEAM WILL WISH TO MAKE COPIES OF ANY RELEVANT DOCUMENTS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND TAPES. POST IS ASKED TO ADVISE ABOUT WHETHER DUPLICATING FACILITIES ARE AVAILABLE FOR DOCUMENTS AND TAPES THROUGH THE EMBASSY OR WHETHER THE TEAM NEEDS TO TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT.

11. SOME OF THE TEAM MEMBERS COULD ALSO TRAVEL TO ZAIRE IF THERE ARE WITNESSES WITH PROBATIVE INFORMATION ABOUT

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THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE IN COUNTRY WHO WOULD BE WILLING TO BE INTERVIEWED. POST IS ASKED TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER SUCH WITNESSES ARE IN COUNTRY AND AVAILABLE TO BE INTERVIEWED. IF SO, SOME OF THE TEAM MEMBERS WILL TRAVEL TO ZAIRE DURING THE SEPTEMBER 18 TO OCTOBER 6 TIME-PERIOD.

12. PLEASE SLUG REPLIES FOR L - C. NIX AND USUN/W - D SCHEFFER.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED CHRISTOPHER
BT
#6554
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6554

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SIT: DESHAZER NSC SCHWARTZ VAX
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SUBJ: EU DELEGATION VISITS KINSHASA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KINSHASA 05486

PARIS FOR DALSIMER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, EAID, CG, RW
SUBJECT: EU DELEGATION VISITS KINSHASA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: A EUROPEAN UNION DELEGATION TOURED GOMA, THEN CALLED ON VARIOUS HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN KINSHASA SEPTEMBER 1-2. WHILE THE DELEGATION'S OFT-STATED PURPOSE WAS TO EVALUATE THE PROBLEM OF RWANDAN REFUGEES AND ITS IMPACT ON NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, ZAIRIANS WIDELY INTERPRETED THE VISIT AS THE SYMBOLIC END OF KINSHASA'S DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION, AND A MOVE TOWARD INCREASED HUMANITARIAN AID. PRIME MINISTER KENGO WA DONDO AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DISCUSSED AID PRIORITIES FOR THE REFUGEES, BUT ALSO OUTLINED THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION AND ENORMOUS NEEDS IN ZAIRE. THE RADICAL OPPOSITION TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE VISIT TO RAISE ITS PROFILE, BUT HAD LITTLE TO ADD TO THE DIALOGUE ON THE REFUGEE SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

3. THE EUROPEAN UNION DELEGATION HEADED BY GERMAN COOPERATION MINISTER HANS PETER REPUIK TOURED GOMA, THEN PROCEEDED TO KINSHASA FOR TWO DAYS OF MEETING WITH TOP GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION OFFICIALS SEPTEMBER 1-2. THE EU DELEGATION CONSISTED OF FRENCH DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTRY JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE, GREEK MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AND DIRECTOR GENERAL OF EUROPEAN

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AFFAIRS JOHN YANAIMATIQ 15 OTHER OFFICIALS REPRESENTING GERMANY, FRANCE, GREECE, BELGIUM AND THE EUROPEAN UNION COMMISSION. ON THE GOVERNMENT SIDE, THE DELEGATION MET WITH PRIME MINISTER KENGO WA DONDO, FINANCE MINISTER PAY-PAY WA SIAKASIGHE, AND VICE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS MUKULUMANYA WA NGATE. THE DELEGATION DID NOT MEET WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU, WHO ALTHOUGH INFORMED OF THE VISIT, DID NOT EXTEND AN INVITATION TO THEM TO TRAVEL TO GBADOLITE.

4. THE DELEGATION ALSO MET WITH A GROUP REPRESENTING THE RADICAL OPPOSITION HOLY UNION (USOR). WHILE THE EU REPRESENTATIVES POINTEDLY INCLUDED THE RADICAL OPPOSITION ON THEIR AGENDA, THEY DID NOT GO SO FAR AS TO EXTEND IMPLICIT RECOGNITION TO USOR'S CLAIM THAT ETIENNE TSHISEKEDI REMAINS THE SOLE LEGITMATE PRIME MINISTER. INSTEAD, THEY RECEIVED A DELEGATION HEADED BY USOR PRESIDENT KIBASSA MALIBA AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE PLATFORM, RATHER THAN WITH TSHISEKEDI AND MEMBERS OF HIS "GOVERNMENT." THE MEETING ENDED WITH AN UNUSUAL -- FOR ZAIRE -- PRESS INTERVIEW WITH KIBASSA, WHICH AIRED ON GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED TELEVISION. THE BROADCAST MEDIA ALSO SHOWED A SMALL DEMONSTRATION BY THE RADICAL OPPOSITION IN FRONT OF THE GERMAN EMBASSY. THE EU DELEGATION CONTRADICTED ACCOUNTS, WIDELY REPORTED IN THE PRO-USOR NEWSPAPERS, THAT THE DEMONSTRATORS HAD BEEN BRUTALIZED BY SECURITY FORCES.

5. ACCORDING TO A FRENCH EMBASSY SOURCE, THE EU DELEGATION CONSIDERED THE MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER KENGO TO BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL. ON THE REFUGEE ISSUE, KENGO SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO ENCOURAGE THE RWANDANS IN EASTERN ZAIRE TO RETURN HOME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND TO MAINTAIN CAMP SECURITY IN THE MEANTIME BY MOVING FORMER RWANDAN MILITARY ELEMENTS AWAY FROM THE BORDER. KENGO SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOZ HAD NO MEANS TO IMPLEMENT THESE OBJECTIVES ON ITS OWN, AND NEEDED TO LOOK TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR ASSISTANCE. THE PRIME MINISTER EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH DONNOR COUNTRIES PLANNING TO AID RWANDAN REFUGEES IN ZAIRE.

6. ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT ON THE EU DELEGATION'S OFFICIAL AGENDA, KENGO TOOK THE OCCASION TO DISCUSS THE ZAIRIAN ECONOMIC SITUATION, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED FLATLY AS DISASTEROUS. HE SAID ZAIRIAN PRIORITIES, IN THE EVENT OF A RESUMPTION OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, WOULD INCLUDE IMPROVEMENTS TO THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AND TO THE ENVIRONMENT. WITH REGARD TO THE ONGOING AUDIT OF THE CENTRAL BANK, KENGO SAID THAT CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR NDIANG, A HOLDOVER FROM THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT, WOULD EITHER HAVE TO LEAVE HIS POSITION, OR KENGO AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD RESIGN. IN A WRY COMMENTARY ON HOW GOVERNMENT SPENDING TENDED TO WORK IN ZAIRE, THE PRIME MINISTER REMARKED THAT THE GENERALS RECEIVED THE MONEY TO PAY ALL OF THE MILITARY PERSONNEL UNDER THEIR COMMAND -- AND WHERE THE

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, EAID, CG, RW
SUBJECT: EU DELEGATION VISITS KINSHASA

MONEY ACTUALLY WENT FROM THERE WAS ANYBODY'S GUESS. IN HIS MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION, FINANCE MINISTER PAY-PAY CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION OF ZAIRIAN ECONOMIC MATTERS. HE OUTLINED HIS PLANS TO DRAW UP AND IMPLEMENT A BUDGET FOR THE REMAINING MONTHS OF 1994, THE FIRST EFFECTIVE BUDGET THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT HAS HAD FOR SEVERAL YEARS. PAY-PAY SAID THE BUDGET WOULD BE THE FIRST OF THE ECONOMIC REFORMS HE WAS COMMITTED TO UNDERTAKE IN ORDER TO RE-ESTABLISH A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE IMF AND OTHER MULTILATERAL LENDERS.

7. THE FRENCH EMBASSY SOURCE SAID THAT THE MEETING WITH VICE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MUKULUMANYA WAS DISTINCTLY LESS USEFUL. A LONGTIME MPR PARTY FUNCTIONARY, MUKULUMANYA TOOK THE OCCASION TO EXPLAIN THE HUTU-TUTSI CONFLICT, AND OFFERED THE OPINION THAT THERE HAD BEEN MORE HUTUS KILLED IN RWANDA THAN TUTSIS, BUT THAT THE RPF HAD BEEN CAREFUL TO CONCEAL THE HUTU BODIES. HIS COMMENTS WERE CHARACTERIZED AS "WOODEN PROPAGANDA." FOREIGN MINISTER LUNDA BULULU WAS NOT AVAILABLE TO MEET WITH THE DELEGATION -- SOMETHING NOTED WITH SOME SURPRISE BY THE EU DELEGATION.

8. THE EU DELEGATION VISIT ENDED WITH A PRESS CONFERENCE. DELEGATION MEMBERS SPOKE OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM, AND PRAISED ZAIRE'S ROLE IN HOSTING THE REFUGEES. MOST OF THE REPORTERS' QUESTIONS, HOWEVER, FOCUSED ON THE POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF EU ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE. DELEGATION MEMBERS WERE CAREFUL TO MAKE NO COMMITMENTS.

9. THE FRENCH CHARGE INVITED THE U.S. CHARGE TO A BREAKFAST WITH AFRICA DIRECTOR DE LA SABLIERE FOR A COMPARISON OF VIEWS APART FROM THE LARGER DELEGATION. THE THEME WAS THE COMMON VIEW OF THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF DOING WHAT CAN BE DONE TO SUPPORT KENGO'S EFFORTS --HOWEVER PESSIMISTIC CIRCUMSTANCES MAY LEAD ONE TO BE CONCERNING KENGO'S CHANCES.

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#5486

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02
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SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX

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OSRI: RUEHDR
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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8832
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0538
RUEHKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4755
SUBJ: PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS
TEXT:

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5,46)
VL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 006039

LONDON FOR J. YOUNG

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ODIP, PREL, PREF, TZ, RW
SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

1. ~~C~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY
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2. HAVING ARRIVED IN DAR ES SALAAM A SHORT 48 HOURS BEFORE, I PRESENTED MY LETTER OF CREDENCE TO PRESIDENT ALI HASSAN MWINYI AT STATE HOUSE ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13. ALTHOUGH LOSING THE RACE FOR SENIORITY BY ONE HOUR TO THE CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER, I WAS PLEASED TO FIND THE NEXT MORNING'S GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED ENGLISH LANGUAGE "DAILY NEWS" CHOSE TO FEATURE FRONT-PAGE CENTER THE PICTURE OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND PRESIDENT MWINYI. MOST OF THE ENSUING 30 MINUTES WAS TAKEN UP BY OUR DISCUSSION OF THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN RWANDA AND THEIR IMPACT ON TANZANIA. WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE GROWING PAINS OF THIS EMERGING DEMOCRACY AND INVESTORS' NEED FOR STABILITY AND PREDICTABILITY. END SUMMARY.

RWANDA
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3. PRESIDENT MWINYI SPOKE WITH EMOTION ABOUT THE HORRORS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING IN RWANDA. HE SAID, "WE TANZANIANS HAVE NEVER SEEN SUCH A THING AND IT IS UNIMAGINABLE WHAT WOULD CAUSE ONE GROUP TO ATTEMPT TO SLAUGHTER ANOTHER." HE WONDERED WHY PEOPLE COULD KILL INNOCENT BABIES AND EXPRESSED REVULSION AT THE SIGHT OF CORPSES FLOATING IN THE KAGERA RIVER. "THIS IS

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UNCIVILIZED BEHAVIOR AND SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE," HE SAID. HE VOLUNTEERED THAT THE CURRENT PEACE INSIDE RWANDA IS ONLY TEMPORARY, FOR HUTUS AND TUTSIS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING PERIODICALLY FOR A LONG TIME; AND AS LONG AS THERE ARE HUTUS AND TUTSIS THERE WILL BE FIGHTING. I THEN ASKED HIM WHAT HE THOUGHT THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION MIGHT BE, AND HE LAUGHED AS HE SAID, "PERHAPS TANZANIA SHOULD OCCUPY BOTH COUNTRIES" (RWANDA AND BURUNDI). THE FOREIGN MINISTER, IN HIS ONLY EXPRESSION DURING THE TETE-A-TETE, LAUGHED LOUDLY, AS DID I. I CAUTIONED THAT I WOULD HAVE TO REPORT THAT REMARK BACK TO WASHINGTON. AS WE THREE LAUGHED AGAIN, I AM CERTAIN THE PRESIDENT UNDERSTOOD THAT WE COULD NOT SUPPORT SUCH A MOVE. I EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE BURDEN WHICH OVER 500,000 REFUGEES PLACED ON THE PEOPLE IN WESTERN TANZANIA, AND THE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT TANZANIA WOULD NEED HELP, ESPECIALLY RESTORING TREES AS THE REFUGEES WERE CUTTING ALL WITHIN THEIR REACH FOR FIREWOOD. HE FEARED REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES WOULD BE A VERY SLOW PROCESS.

TERROR IN RWANDA BY CAMP REFUGEES?
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4. HE SAID THE GOR HAD COMPLAINED TO HIM THAT HUTUS WERE LEAVING THE REFUGEE CAMPS AT NIGHT AND CROSSING BACK INTO RWANDAN VILLAGES KILLING TUTSIS. MWINYI SAID IF THAT IS HAPPENING THEN THEY MUST HAVE HIDDEN THEIR WEAPONS ON THE RWANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER BECAUSE ALL REFUGEES HAD BEEN DISARMED AS THEY CROSSED INTO TANZANIA

ELECTION YEAR SPENDING
---

5. WHEN I BROACHED THE SUBJECT OF NEXT YEAR'S MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS, HE TOLD ME OF THE MANY NEEDS TANZANIANS HAVE, ESPECIALLY FOR CLEAN WATER. HE SAID DURING AN ELECTION YEAR THE PEOPLE EXPECT INCREASED GOVERNMENT SERVICES, AND IF ONE WANTS TO BE RE-ELECTED THEN ONE MUST PROVIDE THOSE SERVICES. HE MENTIONED, AS ONE EXAMPLE, THE SINKING OF BORE HOLES FOR WATER IN THE LAKE VICTORIA REGION. I EXPRESSED TO HIM MY CONCERN THAT BOTH THE IMF AND BILATERAL DONORS WOULD NOT LOOK WITH FAVOR ON IRRESPONSIBLE SPENDING. HE SMILED AND ASKED THE U.S. TO STAND BY TANZANIA DURING THIS TRANSITION PERIOD. I RESPONDED THAT OUR AID WAS DEPENDENT ON THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC REFORMS, WHICH INCLUDED "LIVING WITHIN YOUR MEANS."
PRIVATE INVESTMENT

6. I TOLD HIM OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S EMPHASIS ON PRIVATE INVESTMENT. HE AGREED WE MUST ENCOURAGE MORE AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN TO INVEST IN TANZANIA, FOR NOW THAT THE CIVIL SERVICE IS SHRINKING THERE ARE NOT ENOU
GH JOBS
FOR "YOUNG MEN LEAVING SCHOOL." I REMINDED THE PRESIDENT THAT BEFORE THEY WILL INVEST THEIR CAPITAL BUSINESSMEN NEED TO KNOW WHAT THE GROUND RULES ARE. THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT PROBLEMS CONCERNING RETROACTIVE TAXES THAT, I SAID, DISCOURAGE INVESTMENT. NOT

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RESPONDING DIRECTLY TO MY CAUTION, HE SAID AMERICANS SHOULD INVEST IN TANZANIA BECAUSE OF ITS HISTORY OF STABILITY.

NEWSPAPERS TELL LIES
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 006039

LONDON FOR J. YOUNG

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ODIP, PREL, PREF, TZ, RW
SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

7. I CONGRATULATED HIM ON THE GROWTH OF A PRIVATE PRESS IN TANZANIA. HE RESPONDED THAT, YES, THE NEWSPAPERS ARE FREE, BUT THEY ARE FREE TO TELL LIES. I ASSURED HIM THIS WAS AN INEVITABLE PART OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN OPEN MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS WHICH EXISTS IN ANY DEMOCRACY.

CONCLUSION

8. PRESIDENT MWINYI SEEMED GENUINE IN HIS CONCERN FOR THE IMPACT WHICH THE PRESENCE OF 500,000 REFUGEES IS HAVING ON TANZANIANS LIVING IN THE KAGERA AREA. HIS FRUSTRATION AT THIS PERPLEXING PROBLEM ON HIS NORTHWESTERN BORDER WAS EVIDENT. HE SEEMED TO BE IN VERY GOOD SPIRITS AND WAS MORE ANIMATED IN THE CONVERSATION THAN I HAD EXPECTED. HE ENTREATED ME TO BRING ANY MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN TO HIM BY CALLING FOR AN APPOINTMENT TWO DAYS AHEAD. I ASSURED HIM OF MY DESIRE TO MAINTAIN AN OPEN AND FRIENDLY WORKING RELATIONSHIP.

9. MINIMIZES CONSIDERED. ANDERSON
BT
#6039

NNNN

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

SSN: 6039
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TOR: 940920020004 M1261162
<^TOR>940920015951 M1261160

DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC SARTOR VAX
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (S.47)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHCAA5055 2632221-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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LINE3: P 202219Z SEP 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 202219Z SEP 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHLI/AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY 0000
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0000
RUEHBQ/AMEMBASSY BISSAU 0000
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0000
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 0000
RUEHLC/AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE 0000
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0000
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0000
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0000
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0000
RUEHPR/AMEMBASSY PRAIA 0000
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
INFO: ////
SUBJ: PORTUGUESE ON AFRICA

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 255055

LUSAKA FOR USDEL

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PO RW CG SO NI AO MZ SF
SUBJECT: PORTUGUESE ON AFRICA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE PORTUGUESE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIR'S DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, DR. ANTONIO SENFELDT, MET WITH A/S MOOSE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF AF/C, AF/E, AF/W AND AF/S ON SEPTEMBER 15 TO DISCUSS A BROAD RANGE OF AFRICAN ISSUES -- WITH EMPHASIS ON MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA. THE PORTUGUESE WERE APPRECIATIVE OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS AFRICAN ISSUES ON A BILATERAL BASIS AND CALLED FOR REGULAR CONSULTATIONS. THE PORTUGUESE FOCUS ON AFRICA WAS REINFORCED SEPTEMBER 16 WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER BARROSO ADDRESSED A CSIS ROUNDTABLE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. SIGNIFICANT PORTUGUESE COMMENTS FOLLOW.

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3. PORTUGUESE INTEREST IN AFRICA

FOREIGN MINISTER BARROSO, WHO IMPRESSED HIS AUDIENCE WITH HIS GRASP OF THE HISTORY AND DETAILS OF THE REGION, TOOK EXCEPTION WITH A RECENT WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE ON AFRICA WHICH ASSERTED THAT PORTUGAL, WITH THE BRITISH AND BELGIANS, HAD "MOSTLY DISAPPEARED FROM AFRICA WHEN THEY SURRENDERED THEIR COLONIES THERE." BARROSO NOTED PORTUGAL'S LEADING ROLE IN TRYING TO GET THE EUROPEAN UNION TO FOCUS ON AFRICAN ISSUES WHICH, WHILE NOT ALWAYS SUCCESSFUL, HAD RESULTED IN THE SEPTEMBER 5 BERLIN CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE E.U. AND SADC (ALTHOUGH ORGANIZED UNDER THE GERMAN E.U. PRESIDENCY, BARROSO CLAIMED THE IDEA HAD ORIGINATED UNDER THE PORTUGUESE TENURE BUT ONLY GAINED CURRENCY AFTER THE SOUTH AFRICA ELECTIONS). BARROSO STRESSED PORTUGAL'S CONTINUED INTEREST IN LUSOPHONE AFRICA AND TOOK A JAB AT CRITICS BY NOTING, "QUITE OFTEN THOSE WHO LIKE TO CONVENIENTLY POINT THEIR FINGER AT THE ROLE OF THE PORTUGUESE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS IN THE MAKING OF THE (ANGOLAN AND MOZAMBICAN CONFLICTS), ARE INEXPLICABLY OVERCOME BY A CONVENIENT AMNESIA ABOUT THE VITAL ROLES OF THEIR OWN COUNTRIES IN THE ORIGINS OF THESE SITUATIONS."

4. ANGOLA

THE PORTUGUESE WERE GENERALLY PESSIMISTIC (BARROSO MORE THAN SENFELDT) ABOUT THE ANGOLAN PEACE PROCESS. THE TALKS WERE IN THEIR ELEVENTH HOUR AND DEPENDENT UPON THE ANGOLANS' POLITICAL WILL MORE THAN "EXTERNAL MIRACULOUS INTERVENTIONS." IF AND WHEN THE AGREEMENT IS INITIALLED, HOWEVER, THE PORTUGUESE CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE DEPLOYMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE AND SUSTAINED INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE. SENFELDT NOTED THE GOP WAS INTENT ON MAKING A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION, THOUGH PROBABLY NOT AS LARGE AS THE UN WAS ASKING (A SIGNALS BATTALION, INFANTRY, MEDICAL PERSONNEL AND NUMEROUS SMALLER UNITS).

5. MOZAMBIQUE

THE PORTUGUESE MAINTAINED SKEPTICISM OVER THE PROSPECTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE MOZAMBICAN PEACE PROCESS. BOTH BARROSO AND SENFELDT NOTED THE PORTUGUESE EFFORTS TO GET BOTH FRELIMO AND RENAMO TO CONSIDER NATIONAL RECONCILIATION EFFORTS. BARROSO SAID HE THOUGHT RENAMO WAS PSYCHOLOGICALLY PREPARED FOR AN ELECTION LOSS -- FRELIMO WAS NOT. THE PORTUGUESE MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR THE EXTENSION OF A "SKELETAL INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE" BEYOND THE EXPIRATION OF ONUMOZ -- SUGGESTING THAT THE CIVILIAN POLICE MISSION REMAIN FOR SIX MONTHS BEYOND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PEACEKEEPERS.

6. ZAIRE/RWANDA/BURUNDI

SENFELDT TERMED THE HOLOCAUST IN RWANDA A SYMBOL OF WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD NOT DO -- NOTING THE NEED TO FOCUS ON CONFLICT PREVENTION MORE THAN

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RESOLUTION. THE PORTUGUESE SUPPORTED INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOP THE OAU'S CAPABILITIES FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION AS WELL AS PEACE KEEPING. THE PORTUGUESE PLAN TO UPGRADE THEIR DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN KINSHASA BOTH TO BUILD THEIR TIES WITH ZAIRE -- "A HUGE AND VOLATILE COUNTRY THAT NEEDS TO BE HANDLED WITH KID GLOVES" -- AS WELL AS PROVIDE BETTER COVERAGE FOR RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

7. SOMALIA

THE PORTUGUESE NOTED THEY HAD VERY POOR COVERAGE FOR HORN OF AFRICAN ISSUES -- WHICH ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY THEIR EMBASSY IN NAIROBI. THEY PLAN TO OPEN A NEW EMBASSY IN ADDIS ABABA TO COVER HORN ISSUES AS WELL AS THE OAU.

8. NIGERIA

THE PORTUGUESE NOTED THAT NIGERIA WOULD BE A SUBJECT IN THE E.U.'S AFRICA WORKING GROUP THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 19. SENFELDT VIEWED TENSIONS IN WEST AFRICA AS A REASON THE E.U. SHOULD SUPPORT THE OAU'S CAPABILITIES.

9. SOUTH AFRICA

THE PORTUGUESE NOTED THAT THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT COMPLETE, BUT SHARED DEPARTMENT'S VIEW THAT THINGS ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK. THE PORTUGUESE HAVE PUSHED IN THE E.U. FOR SUBSTANTIAL ATTENTION ON SOUTH AFRICA AT PART OF A "SOUTHERN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE." THE PORTUGUESE NOTED THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THE ANGOLAN AND MOZAMBICAN CRISES WAS ESSENTIAL TO THE EVENTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION.

10. LUANDA AND BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#5055

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5055
TOR: 940920182934 M1262791
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~Equipment Needs for Ethiopian Battalion (2 pages)~~	~~09/21/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
002. cable	[UNAMIR] (3 pages)	09/21/1994	P1/b(1)
~~003. cable~~	~~Fendrick to Paris - Troika Meeting... (2 pages)~~	~~09/21/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~004. cable~~	~~Ambassador's Call on Mrema (4 pages)~~	~~09/29/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~005. cable~~	~~Trilateral Meeting on Rwanda (3 pages)~~	~~10/07/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
006. cable	[Security Situation] (2 pages)	10/12/1994	P1/b(1)
~~007. cable~~	~~EU Africa Working Group... (2 pages)~~	~~10/12/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~[Rwanda IBRD Arrears] (2 pages)~~	~~10/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~009. cable~~	~~10/12 Meeting with Burundi Minister of State (3 pages)~~	~~10/13/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
010. cable	[UNAMIR] (3 pages)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	Failure... (3 pages)	10/20/1994	P1/b(1)
012. cable	Establishment of... (3 pages)	10/20/1994	P1/b(1)
013. cable	[Certain Conditions] (3 pages)	10/20/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[09/21/1994 - 10/25/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh145

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~014. cable~~	~~Aid Administrator Meets Kengo (4 pages)~~	~~10/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~015. cable~~	~~Points on Rwanda for UNSYG (4 pages)~~	~~10/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~016. cable~~	~~Clearance of Rwanda's Arrears with IBRD (2 pages)~~	~~10/21/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
017. cable	Differences of Opinion... (4 pages)	10/25/1994	P1/b(1)
~~018. cable~~	~~Burundi Refugee Update (4 pages)~~	~~10/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~019. cable~~	~~[EU Working Group] (4 pages)~~	~~10/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
020. cable	[Political Situation] (3 pages)	10/25/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[09/21/1994 - 10/25/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh145

RESTRICTION CODES

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P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0762-M-5 (5.48)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: O 210822Z SEP 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 210822Z SEP 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0057
INFO: ////
SUBJ: EQUIPMENT NEEDS FOR ETHIOPIAN BATTALION
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KIGALI 001587

NOFORN

E.O. 12356; DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR
SUBJECT: EQUIPMENT NEEDS FOR ETHIOPIAN BATTALION

1. ~~(S)~~ DURING AN OFFICE CALL WITH AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND LTC'S COBB AND ODOM, SENIOR ETHIOPIAN OFFICERS ASSIGNED TO UNAMIR HEADQUARTERS PROVIDED SOME INSIGHTS ON THEIR BATTALION'S OPERATIONS IN SECTOR 4. DURING THOSE DI8CUSSIONS, AMBASSADOR RAWSON ASKED THEM IF THE ETHIOPIAN UNIT NEED ANYTHING TO BETTER PERFORM ITS MISSION. THE OFFICERS RESPONDED WITH THE FOLLOWING

-TENTAGE FOR 800 PLUS TROOPS. BOTH OFFICERS SAID THE TROOPS ARE LIVING IN SHELTER HALVES THAT MAKE A TWO-MAN PUP TENT.

-STOVES AND REFRIGERATION THAT WOULD ALLOW THE UNITS TO REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON MILITARY RATIONS THAT THE ETHIOPIAN TROOPS DO NOT LIKE IN THE FIRST PLACE

-NIGHT VISION EQUIPMENT FOR PATROLLING AND OBSERVATION POINTS

-FLAK VESTS. BOTH OFFICERS COMMENTED THEY HAVE 200 FLAK VEST8 FOR 800 SOLDIERS

-ADDITIONAL AMBULANCES. THE UNIT HAD TWO BUT ONE WAS DESTROYED OR SEVERELY DAMAGED IN AN ACCIDENT

2. ~~(S)~~ IT IS APPARENT THAT THE UN IS BEHIND IN MEETING THE NEED8 OF AT LEAST SOME OF THE DEPLOYING UNITS IN UNAMIR. SHELTER HALVES WILL NOT SERVE THE TROOPS WELL WHEN THE RAINY SEASON GETS UNDERWAY. ONCE THE RAINS START, THOSE PUP TENTS WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP DRY MUCH LESS WARM. GIVEN RPA FEARS OVER THE THREAT OF EX-FAR INFILTRATION, NIGHT VISION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

EQUIPMENT FOR THE TROOPS ON PATROL OR ON OBSERVATION POSTS ARE OPERATIONALLY CRITICAL. THE NEED FOR FLAK VESTS AT LEAST FOR ALL THE LINE TROOPS IS EQUALLY PRESSING. THE SAME IS TRUE FOR AMBULANCES. IN A SITUATION LIKE THAT IN CYANGUNGU, THE ABILITY OF THE LOCAL COMMANDER TO OFFER RAPID MEDICAL EVACUATION TO HIS OWN TROOPS OR TO THE LOCALS IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAINING UNIT AND CIVILIAN CONFIDENCE IN THE LOCAL SECURITY SITUATION.

3. THE SUPPORT GAP IS APPARENTLY NOT LIMITED TO THE ETHIOPIAN BATTALION. IN A RECENT MEETING WITH DAS BUSHNELL FORCE COMMANDER TOUSIGNANT COMPLAINED THAT TROOPS HAD COME IN WITH 30 DAYS SUPPLIGS WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT UN LOGI8TICS SUPPORT WOULD IN PLACE BY THAT TIME. THAT HAD NOT HAPPENED. EFFORTS TO OUTFIT THE TROOPS (E.G. TUNISIAN BATTALION) AND AIRLIFT THEM TO RWANDA (ZAMBIANS) WERE INCOMPLETE AND POORLY COORDINATED. WORSE STILL, TROOPS HAD NOT BEEN PAID, WITH INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES FOR MORALE.

4. POST REQUESTS DEPARTMENT'S ASSISTANCE IN BRINGING THIS ISSUE TO THE UN'S ATTENTION FOR URGENT ACTION. THE ETHIOPIAN BATTALION WAS DEPLOYED QUICKLY DUE TO THE NEED TO REPLACE THE FRENCH WHEN THEY PULLED OUT OF THE SOUTHWESTERN ZONE IN LATE AUGUST. IN MEETING THAT DEADLINE, THE BATTLION HAD TO COME IN LESS THAN FULLY EQUIPPED. SO FAR, THEY HAVE GOTTEN HIGH MARKS FOR THEIR PERFORMANCE; THE UN HAS A RESPONSIBIITY TO FOLLOW THROUGH AND ENSURE THAT THEY AND ALL UNAMIR TROOPS GET THE EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES THEY REQUIRE AND THAT THEY ARE PROMPTLY PAID. IF SUPPLIES ARE IN THE PIPELINE, THEY NEED TO BE EXPEDITED. IF NOT, A WAY MUST BE FOUND TO ADDRESS THESE NEEDS. THE USG HAS CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE OUTFITTING AND AIRLIFTING OF UNAMIR TROOPS; WE HOPE THE UN WILL PRESS OTHERS TO CONTRIBUTE IN ORDER TO ENSURE A COMPLETE AND EFFECTIVE UNAMIR FORCE.
RAWSON
BT
#1587

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 1587
TOR: 940921061236 M1263483
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Cable

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2011-0262-M-S (5.50)
VL 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P R 212041Z SEP 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 212041Z SEP 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 9131
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 2913
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 1584
SUBJ: FENDRICK TO PARIS - TROIKA MEETING ON ZAIRE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 256269

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV PREL OTRA FR BE CG
SUBJECT: FENDRICK TO PARIS - TROIKA MEETING ON ZAIRE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. DEPARTMENT PROPOSES TO SEND AF/C DEPUTY DIRECTOR REED FENDRICK AND AF/EPS DEPUTY DIRECTOR JACK FELT TO REPRESENT THE BUREAU ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES, RESPECTIVELY, AT THE MEETINGS OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL FRIENDS OF RWANDA AND FRIENDS OF BURUNDI TO BE HELD IN PARIS SEPTEMBER 27-28. REQUEST COUNTRY CLEARANCE FOR BOTH AND HOTEL RESERVATIONS FOR FENDRICK (IF POSSIBLE AT THE HOTEL BEAUSEJOUR WITH THE REST OF THE U.S. DELEGATION).

3. FENDRICK PLANS TO ARRIVE PARIS ON SEPTEMBER 26 ON TW 894 AT 6H25 AND DEPART ON SEPTEMBER 29 ON TW 895 AT 11H30. REQUEST PARIS ARRANGE BILATERAL MEETINGS AT THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL WITH THE GOF FOR THE AFTERNOON OF 9/26. FENDRICK WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE MICHEL LAMBINET SOMETIME DURING THE AFTERNOON OF 9/26. SEPTEL FOLLOWS WITH MR. FELT'S TRAVEL PLANS.

4. ACTION FOR PARIS AND BRUSSELS: A/S MOOSE HAS PROPOSED A MEETING ON THE MARGINS OF THE "FRIENDS" SESSION BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE US, FRANCE AND BELGIUM TO DISCUSS ZAIRE; THIS WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A TROIKA-BANK MEETING ON ZAIRE. FENDRICK WILL REPRESENT THE DEPARTMENT AT THESE MEETINGS. WE PROPOSE AN AGENDA WITH A REVIEW OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ZAIRE, NEXT STEPS FOR THE TROIKA (COLLECTIVELY AND ON A BILATERAL BASIS), AND A DISCUSSION WITH THE BANK ON THE VIEW OF ZAIRE FROM THE BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS. PLEASE

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CONFIRM THAT FRANCE AND BELGIUM AGREE TO PARTICIPATE AT
THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#6269

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6269
TOR: 940921165220 M1264721
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.51)
VL 10/20/2023

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OSRI: RUEHDR
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0543
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8839
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0011
RUEHKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 4763
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0304
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON MREMA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 006314

LONDON FOR YOUNG

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PREF, PHUM, TZ
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON MREMA

REF: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 6230, (B) DAR ES SALAAM 6246

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: MY FIRST COURTESY CALL TO A MEMBER OF THE TANZANIAN CABINET WAS ON AUGUSTINE MREMA, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS. HE VIGOROUSLY CHIDED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR IGNORING THE BURDEN IMPOSED UPON TANZANIA BY THE INFLUX OF REFUGEES FROM RWANDA. TANZANIA WILL ALLOW ONLY A FEW MORE REFUGEE CAMPS TO BE ESTABLISHED BUT WILL COOPERATE WITH HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATORS. ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, MREMA SAID TANZANIAN PRISONS ARE OPEN TO OUTSIDE INSPECTION. END SUMMARY.

-

TANZANIA WILL NOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED

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3. IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE MY CONCERN FOR THE IMPACT ON TANZANIANS OF THE INFLUX OF RWANDAN REFUGEES ON TANZANIA, I MADE MY FIRST COURTESY CALL FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS ON AUGUSTINE MREMA, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS. JOINING ME WERE USAID DIRECTOR MARK WENTLING AND REFOFF GEORGE HOGEMAN (NOTETAKER). MREMA PASSIONATELY DESCRIBED THE ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE INFLUX OF RWANDAN

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REFUGEES. THE IMPACT IS "VERY BAD," PARTICULARLY DEFORESTATION. MREMA, WHO AMONG CABINET MEMBERS IS SEEN AS THE VOICE OF THE WANANCHI (THE AVERAGE CITIZEN) AS WELL AS A LEADING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, SAID THAT THE WANANCHI OF NGARA WHO USED TO WALK TWO KM FOR FIREWOOD NOW MUST WALK EIGHT KM. "NO OTHER COUNTRY WOULD HAVE TOLERATED SUCH AN INFLUX." TANZANIA HAS "RECEIVED THE REFUGEES ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY....WE NEED YOUR HELP." INTERNATIONAL AID IS DIRECTED TO THE REFUGEES "WHO GROW FAT WHILE TANZANIANS REMAIN THIN."

4. THE MINISTER ALSO COMPLAINED THAT THE REFUGEE RELIEF EFFORT SHOULD SPEND MORE FUNDS INSIDE TANZANIA. HE WAS ESPECIALLY CRITICAL OF THE RELIEF SUPPLIES BROUGHT FROM NAIROBI. MILLIONS ARE BEING SPENT ON HIGH SALARIES FOR EXPATRIATE NGO WORKERS AND ON THE REFUGEES, WITH NOTHING FOR TANZANIANS.

NO MORE REFUGEE SITES

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5. TANZANIA WILL NOT ROUTINELY DESIGNATE ADDITIONAL SITES FOR THE REFUGEES AS THEY HAVE IN THE PAST. THE GOT HAS DESIGNATED TWO NEW SITES TO HELP DECONGEST PRESENT CAMPS SUCH AS BENACO. "IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WANTS MORE SITES, IT WILL HAVE TO PAY FOR THEM." WEN REMINDED THAT NEXT YEAR WAS AN ELECTION YEAR, MREMA SAID, "OUR PEOPLE WILL VOTE US OUT. ONLY TWO MORE CAMPS, NOT MORE THAN THAT EVER. IF CONDITIONS IN THE CAMPS ARE TOO GOOD, THE REFUGEES WILL NEVER RETURN HOME."

6. MREMA OPINED THE SOLUTION TO THE REFUGEE CRISIS IS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE, INCLUDING TANZANIAN SOLDIERS, TO CREATE A FREE ZONE INSIDE RWANDA AND THUS ENCOURAGE THE IMMEDIATE REPATRIATION OF ALL REFUGEES.

TANZANIA WILL SUPPORT HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION

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7. AS I READ TO HIM FROM PARAS TWO AND THREE OF THE PROPOSED UNSC RESOLUTION (STATE 245423), HE REPLIED THE GOT WILL COOPERATE WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION IF IT NEEDS ACCESS TO THE CAMPS IN TANZANIA. HE PROMISED TO DEPLOY THE NECESSARY FORCES TO ARREST AND DETAIN INDIVIDUALS IDENTIFIED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS WAR CRIMINALS. BASED ON OUR PAST EXPERIENCE WITH THE GOT, SUCH A PROMISE IS UNDOUBTEDLY CONDITIONED UPON DONOR FINANCING.

TANZANIA OPEN TO OUTSIDE INSPECTION OF PRISONS

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8. AT THE END OF OUR MEETING, I EXPLAINED OUR ANNUAL HUMAN RI
GHTS REPORT AND THE ATTENTION THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO PRISON CONDITIONS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN MONITORED BY OUTSIDERS. MREMA ATTRIBUTED THE POOR

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CONDITIONS INSIDE TANZANIA'S PRISONS TO A LACK OF
FUNDS, IN PARTICULAR CITING THE LOW SALARIES OF THE
PRISON GUARDS AND THE LACK OF PROPER WATER SUPPLIES.
HE SAID TANZANIA HOLDS NO POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THAT
TANZANIA IS NOT AFRAID OF INVITING OUTSIDERS INTO ITS
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 006314

LONDON FOR YOUNG

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, PREF, PHUM, TZ
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON MREMA

PRISONS. "THERE IS NOTHING SINISTER THERE," HE ADDED.
I HAVE ALREADY FORWARDED THIS INFORMATION TO THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS DELEGATE IN
NAIROBI, WHO WAS MOST INTERESTED IN MREMA'S
SURPRISINGLY OPEN RESPONSE AND SAID THE ICRC WAS
CONSIDERING A REPORT ON TANZANIA IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

MOSHI'S MAN OF THE PEOPLE
---
9. MREMA WAS IN PERSON THE SAME MAN HE APPEARS TO BE
TO THE MILLIONS OF TANZANIANS WHO LOOK TO HIM FOR
ASSISTANCE IN MATTERS OF AN UNRESPONSIVE BUREAUCRACY,
CORRUPT OFFICIALS, AND CRIMINALS. HE WAS FORCEFUL YET
INFORMAL AND MOST AT EASE WHEN SPEAKING KISWAHILI. HE
IS A MEMBER OF THE CHAGGA ETHNIC GROUP, WHICH IS KNOWN
FOR TOUGH BARGAINING IN BUSINESS AFFAIRS. WHEN I ASKED
ABOUT HIS POLITICAL PLANS, MREMA PROUDLY DESCRIBED
HIMSELF AS THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR MOSHI AND SAID
THAT HE WOULD RUN AGAIN NEXT YEAR. HE THEN INVITED ME
TO VISIT HIM IN HIS VILLAGE ON THE SLOPES OF MOUNT
KILIMANJARO--AN INVITATION I LOOK FORWARD TO
ACCEPTING. DESPITE HIS BLUSTER ABOUT THE DAMAGE THE
REFUGEES HAVE DONE TO TANZANIA, I FOUND HIM TO BE
SURPRISINGLY OPEN AND READY TO DO BUSINESS. HE WAS
SURPRISED TO BE ADDRESSED IN SWAHILI BY THE AMERICAN
AMBASSADOR. HE REMARKED THAT THE ONLY AMBASSADORS WHO
USUALLY SPEAK SWAHILI ARE THOSE FROM SCANDINAVIA, NOT
THE AMBASSADOR FROM SUCH A "BIG COUNTRY AS AMERICA."

10. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. ANDERSON
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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SSN: 6314
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 070054Z OCT 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0529
INFO: RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 1819
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3877
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 9548
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2260
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 6599
SUBJ: TRILATERAL MEETING ON RWANDA

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 272535

PARIS FOR MORAN; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW; LONDON FOR YOUNG

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, RW, BY, CG, FR, BE
SUBJECT: TRILATERAL MEETING ON RWANDA

REF: STATE 269241

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: AS PART OF THE TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 30 (REFTEL), ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN RWANDA WITH HIS FRENCH AND BELGIAN COUNTERPARTS. THE THREE SHARED ASSESSMENTS OF THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT, DISCUSSED THE ALLEGATIONS OF REPRISAL KILLINGS IN THE SOUTHEAST, THE DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE RAISED THE QUESTION OF REPAYMENT OF RWANDAN ARREARS TO THE WORLD BANK IN ORDER TO FREE UP 250 MILLION DOLLARS IN PROJECT ASSISTANCE. THE BELGIANS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN MOBILIZING DONORS AND CONTRIBUTING TO FUNDING THE ARREARS REPAYMENT. THE FRENCH FLOATED THE NOTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO RESOLVE THE REGIONAL CRISIS, BUT ADMITTED THAT THE "MOMENT HAD NOT YET COME." END SUMMARY.

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE REMARKED THAT IN THE US ASSESSMENT, THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS A SERIOUS INTERLOCUTOR, BUT THAT THE ALLEGATIONS OF REPRISAL KILLINGS IN THE SOUTHEAST "RAISED ALL THE OLD QUESTIONS." MOOSE

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EMPHASIZED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ACTIONS MAY DETERMINE WHAT HAPPENS IN RWANDA. HE SAID THAT THE US HAD PRESSED HARD FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR IN PART AS A RESPONSE TO THE REPORTS OF INCIDENTS IN THE SOUTHEAST. MOOSE ADDED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE UN DEPLOY HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN RWANDA QUICKLY, AND THAT DELAYS HAD GIVEN RISE TO JUSTIFIABLE CRITICISM IN THE US NGO COMMUNITY.

4. MOOSE MENTIONED THAT UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH HAD DELAYED HIS RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO MEET WITH VICE PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE MINISTER PAUL KAGAME ON THE ISSUE OF REPRISAL KILLINGS. KAGAME'S REACTION WAS AN "IRATE REJECTION" OF THE CHARGES, BUT A WILLINGNESS TO COLLABORATE IN THE INVESTIGATION AND CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. MOOSE UNDERLINED THE DESTITUTION OF THE KIGALI GOVERNMENT, AND NOTED THAT CREATING CONDITIONS FOR A RETURN OF THE REFUGEES WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE IN THE ABSENCE OF BASIC STRUCTURES OF GOVERNMENT AND A JUDICIAL SYSTEM. MOOSE ADDED THAT THE US UNDERSTOOD THE WORLD BANK MIGHT MAKE AVAILABLE 250 MILLION DOLLARS IN PROJECT ASSISTANCE IF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT REPAID ARREARS TO THE BANK WHICH WILL REACH 7 MILLION DOLLARS BY MAY 1995.

5. BELGIAN DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS FRANS VAN DAELE SAID THAT BELGIUM WAS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN MOBILIZING DONORS AND FUNDING THE ARREARS IN ORDER TO FREE "AN IMPORTANT AMOUNT" OF BANK MONIES. THE BELGIANS UNDERSTOOD THE ARREARS TO BE 4 MILLION, HOWEVER, RISING TO 5.2 MILLION IN MARCH 1995. VAN DAELE SAID THAT BRUSSELS HAD RESUMED NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE NEW AUTHORITIES IN KIGALI, BUT NOTED THAT THE BELGIANS WOULD PRESS THE GOVERNMENT TO BROADEN ITS BASE TO "REACH THE THRESHOLD OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION." THE BELGIANS SUPPORTED THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, AND URGED THE US AND FRANCE TO CONSIDER INCLUDING COORDINATION OF THE MONITORS AND UNAMIR WHEN NEXT THE LATTER'S MANDATE IS RENEWED (IN DECEMBER).

6. ON THE QUESTION OF THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. THE BELGIANS SAID THEY AWAITED THE REPORT DUE NEXT WEEK OF THE COMMISSION OF EXPERTS. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT EXPANSION OF THE EXISTING YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL SEEMED THE FASTEST MEANS TO

GET THIS OPERATIONAL, BUT HE AGREED WITH VAN DAELE'S JUDGMENT THIS WOULD NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE LACK OF ANY SYSTEM OF JUSTICE IN RWANDA.

7. FRENCH AFRICA DIRECTOR JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE WAS SILENT THROUGH MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION ON RWANDA. AT THE END OF THE MEETING HE FLOATED THE NOTION OF AN INTE&NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RWANDA AND BURUNDI WHICH WOULD INVOLVE ALL OF THE "PRINCIPAL ACTORS." DE LA SABLIERE ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT "THE MOMENT HAD NOT YET COME."
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#2535

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NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2535
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SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FEINBERG NSC SCHWARTZ VAX
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY BONN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1304
INFO: RUEHXQ/ALLEU POST COLLECTIVE
RUEHRL/USOFFICE BERLIN 0027
SUBJ: EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP AGENDA
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.54)
VL 10/2./2013

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BONN 25486

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EUN, EAID, ETRD, ECIN, GM
SUBJECT: EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP AGENDA

1. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE. SEE PARA. 4

2. GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA DAERR PROVIDED US WITH THE FOLLOWING AGENDA FOR THE EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP:

3. BEGIN AGENDA:

-- THE ELECTION MONITORING PROCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE

-- ANGOLA

-- RWANDA

-- ZAIRE AND KENGO'S PENDING OFFICIAL VISITS TO FRANCE AND BELGIUM

-- CHAD

-- NIGERIA

-- GAMBIA

-- THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES WILL BE DISCUSSED BRIEFLY: GABON, THE CONGO, SOMALIA, THE ELECTIONS IN SIERRA LEONE, AND SAO TOME.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: POST WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON ANY OR ALL OF THE AGENDA ITEMS TO SHARE IN

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CONFIDENCE WITH THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY.
BINDENAGEL
BT
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NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
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DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
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NL 10/20/2023

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ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0050
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0199
INFO: RUEHLGB/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: BELGIUM CONSIDERS RWANDA IBRD ARREARS,
GRANTS AGREMENT TO NEW RWANDAN AMBASSADOR
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KIGALI 001780

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, PGOV, BG, CT
SUBJECT: BELGIUM CONSIDERS RWANDA IBRD ARREARS,
GRANTS AGREMENT TO NEW RWANDAN AMBASSADOR

REF: BRUSSELS 10920 (NOTAL)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. BELGIAN CHARGE JEAN LINT (PROTECT) TOLD A/DCM THAT THE GOB IS PREPARED TO HELP THE GOR COVER IBRD ARREARS. HE SAID THAT BELGIUM WOULD PREFER TO DO SO IN THE COMPANY OF OTHERS. A/DCM REPLIED THAT WE HAD HEARD THAT SWITZERLAND, THE NORDICS, AND POSSIBLY JAPAN WERE ALSO CONSIDERING THIS, WITH THE SAME SPIM. THERE WAS WASHINGTON INTEREST AS WELL, IF THE GOR COULD MEET CERTAIN GOVERNANCE BENCHMARKS.

3. LINT SAID THAT PROPOSED RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM DENIS POLICY WOULD RECEIVE AGREMENT SHORTLY, WHICH IN TURN WOULD PERMIT THE GOB TO SEND ITS NEW AMBASSADOR TO KIGALI. HE SAID THAT THE DELAY IN AGREMENT WAS INTENDED AS A SIGNAL TO POLICY TO MODERATE HIS PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS. LINT OBSERVED THAT OFFHAND COMMENTS ON A SUBJECT AS SENSITIVE AS RWANDA COULD HAVE SERIOUS RAMIFICATIONS IN BELGIAN POLITICS. HE EXPRESSED LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR POLICY'S ABILITIES, NOTING THAT HIS DEPARTURE FOR BELGIUM WAS BRUSSELS' LOSS AND KIGALI'S GAIN.

RAWSON
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#1780

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VL 10/20/2023

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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INFO: RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 6006
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0026
RUEHKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0703
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0792
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0429
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
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RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0146
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2097
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0442
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1250
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1390
SUBJ: 10/12 MEETING WITH BURUNDI MINISTER OF STATE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ USUN NEW YORK 004322

STATE FOR WIRTH AND MOOSE

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, RW, UN,
SUBJECT: 10/12 MEETING WITH BURUNDI MINISTER OF STATE

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. BURUNDI MINISTER OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION NGENDAHAYO MET WITH USUN AMB INDERFURTH ON THE MARGINS OF THE UNGA. HE THANKED THE USG FOR ITS ASSISTANCE. HE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN BURUNDI. HE REQUESTED ASSISTANCE IN REESTABLISHING THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND INITIATING A NATIONAL DIALOGUE ON A SERIES OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES. HE EMBRACED THE IDEA OF A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON PEACE AND STABILITY, DEPLOYING HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND POSSIBLY ESTABLISHING A TRUTH

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COMMISSION. END SUMMARY.

3. IN A MEETING WITH USUN AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH ON OCTOBER 12, BURUNDI FOREIGN MINISTER NGENDAHAYO THANKED THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR ITS SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE WORK OF AMB KRUEGER IN BURUNDI. HE CHARACTERIZED HIS MOOD, AND THE MOOD OF THE GOVERNMENT AS ONE OF OPTIMISM REGARDING CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN BURUNDI AND THE PROSPECTS FOR LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY.

4. NGENDAHAYO REQUESTED ASSISTANCE IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. HE ASKED FOR INCREASED INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS IN RWANDA AND THE RWANDESE REFUGEES IN THE NEIGHBORING AREAS. WITHOUT STABILITY IN THE REGION, THERE COULD BE NO STABILITY IN BURUNDI. TOWARD THIS END HE SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF AN REGIONAL CONFERENCE, TO BE CONVENED BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, TO DEAL WITH ALL THE ISSUES IMPACTING PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE SUB-REGION.

5. IN ORDER TO FURTHER RECONCILIATION IN BURUNDI THE GOVERNMENT PLANS TO INITIATE A SERIES OF NATIONAL DEBATES ON SEVERAL CRITICAL ISSUES SUCH AS CO-HABITATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS, INTEGRATION OF THE ARMY, AND FAMILY PLANNING. HE ASKED FOR FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO SUPPORT THESE DEBATES.

6. AMB INDERFURTH THEN ASKED NGENDAHAYO FOR HIS THOUGHTS ON OTHER INITIATIVES THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD BE DISCUSSING SOON: INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. INDERFURTH LAID OUT TWO DIFFERENT MODELS FOR JUDICIAL INQUIRY: AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL AND A TRUTH COMMISSION. NGENDAHAYO FELT THAT A TRUTH COMMISSION WOULD BE MORE SUITABLE FOR HIS COUNTRY WHERE PEOPLE WOULD NOT ACCEPT BEING TRIED BY OUTSIDERS. HE ALSO ASKED FOR FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN REESTABLISHING BURUNDI'S JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

7. NGENDAHAYO FELT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS WERE VERY IMPORTANT--THAT PEOPLE WOULD "BEHAVE" IN THE PRESENCE OF INTERNATIONAL MONITORS. INDERFURTH ASKED IF ALL FACTIONS WOULD ACCEPT THIS. NGENDAHAYO SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT SPEAKES WITH ONE VOICE. HE ALSO SAID THAT IT WOULD BE NO PROBLEM TO GIVE AN OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT REQUEST FOR MONITORS IF THAT WERE REQUIRED.
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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHCAA5648 2940106-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 210102Z OCT 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 210102Z OCT 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0000
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0000
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0000
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000
RUEHKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0000
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 0000
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0000
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0000
SUBJ: AID ADMINISTRATOR MEETS KENGO

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 285648

PARIS FOR MORAN; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, CG, FR, BE
SUBJECT: AID ADMINISTRATOR MEETS KENGO

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: AID ADMINISTRATOR BRIAN ATWOOD MET OCTOBER 3 WITH PRIME MINISTER KENGO OF ZAIRE. KENGO REVIEWED US RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE SINCE INDEPENDENCE, OUTLINED THE HISTORY OF THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND THE SOURCE OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S LEGITIMACY, AND BRIEFED THE ADMINISTRATOR ON HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM. KENGO SAID THAT "ZAIRE SHOULD NOT BE JUDGED BY MOBUTU ALONE," AND URGED THE US TO ASSIST HIS GOVERNMENT IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ZAIRE. CALLING ZAIRE A "KEYSTONE COUNTRY" IN AFRICA MR. ATWOOD PRAISED KENGO FOR HIS GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS TO MOVE ZAIRE FORWARD TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS AND SANCTION THOSE WHO ABUSE HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ADMINISTRATOR CAUTIONED KENGO THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD CONTINUE TO JUDGE HIM BY HIS ACTIONS, AND NOTED THE DOUBTS WITHIN SOME PARTS OF ZAIRE'S DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION OVER THE DIRECTION OF HIS GOVERNMENT. THE TWO ALSO DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES IN EASTERN ZAIRE AND US HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

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KENGO AT LENGTH ON THE TRANSITION
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3. AS IN EARLIER MEETINGS WITH US OFFICIALS (SEPTELS), PRIME MINISTER KENGO PROVIDED A LENGTHY EXEGESIS OF ZAIRE'S LONG TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY, US-ZAIRIAN RELATIONS, AND THE SOURCE OF LEGITIMACY OF HIS COALITION GOVERNMENT. KENGO OUTLINED HIS PLAN TO RESTORE THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE, REFORM THE ECONOMY, AND REESTABLISH A JUDICIAL SYSTEM WHICH WOULD PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL ZAIRIAN CITIZENS. HE REMARKED THAT THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM WAS TO PERMIT ZAIRIANS TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS UNDER THE BEST POSSIBLE CONDITIONS.

DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT
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4. KENGO SAID THAT THE "RWANDAN DRAMA" HAD SERIOUSLY AFFECTED ZAIRE. HIS COUNTRY HAD OPENED ITS BORDERS TO THE MASSIVE INFLUX OF REFUGEES FROM RWANDA, AND THIS MASS OF HUMANITY HAD DEVASTATED ZAIRE'S PROVINCES OF NORTH AND SOUTH KIVU. THE ZAIRIAN LEADER PRAISED THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORT TO AMELIORATE THE CRISIS, BUT ASKED THE US AND OTHER DONORS TO "ALSO THINK OF ZAIRE." KENGO SAID THAT DEMOCRACY WAS LINKED INTIMATELY TO DEVELOPMENT, AND THE STABILITY OF ZAIRE REQUIRED A MINIMUM OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY. THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED UPON THE US TO ASSIST HIS GOVERNMENT IN ITS EFFORT TO PROMOTE THE REHABILITATION OF THE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL SECTORS. KENGO EMPHASIZED THAT "ZAIRE MUST LEARN TO LIVE WITHIN ITS MEANS, AND ZAIRE MUST LEARN TO USE ITS OWN RESOURCES." HE ASKED THAT ZAIRE "NOT BE JUDGED BY MOBUTU," AND SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS COMMITTED TO MOVE ZAIRE TO A THIRD REPUBLIC BASED UPON NEW RULES OF SOUND ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT AND THE RULE OF LAW.

5. IN REPLY, MR. ATWOOD SAID THAT THE US WOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN ZAIRE THROUGH NGOS, AND THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO WORK WITH THOSE WHO WISHED TO REESTABLISH DEMOCRACY IN ZAIRE. HE NOTED THAT THE US REMAINED INTERESTED IN ELECTIONS IN ZAIRE, BUT HOPED THAT THESE WOULD OCCUR ONLY WHEN THE COUNTRY WAS READY. MR. ATWOOD UNDERLINED THAT "PEOFLE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE CONCEPT OF CHOICE, AND MUST HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT THE

EXPRESSION OF THEIR WILL AT THE BALLOT WILL TRANSLATE INTO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT."

ATWOOD: THE WORD AND THE DEED
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6. MR. ATWOOD CALLED ZAIRE A "KEYSTONE STATE" IN AFRICA, AND PRAISED KENGO FOR HIS GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS TO MOVE

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THE COUNTRY FORWARD TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS AND SANCTION THOSE WHO COMMIT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. THE ADMINISTRATOR CAUTIONED THAT DOUBTS REMAINED, FUELED BY ZAIRE'S DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION, ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF THE KENGO GOVERNMENT. HE URGED KENGO TO FOCUS HIS GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS ON ACCOUNTABILITY, TRANSPARENCY OF THE PROCESS AND JUSTICE (PARTICULARLY TO ENSURE THAT THE MILITARY DOES NOT ACT WITH IMPUNITY). MR. ATWOOD SAID THAT SOME PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENTS QUESTIONED WHETHER KENGO WAS MOBUTU'S MAN OR AN EXPRESSION OF CHANGE; FOR HIS PART, THE ADMINISTRATOR INDICATED THAT "I WOULD SAY THAT YOU ARE AN EXPRESSION OF CHANGE, BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU PROVE TO ALL WHO ARE WATCHING THAT YOU ARE A MAN OF CHANGE AND COMMITTED TO MOVING TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC." HE ADDED THAT AS KENGO MOVED FORWARD WITH HIS AMBITIOUS AGENDA OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM, HE WOULD NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THROUGHOUT THAT THE PAGE HAD TRULY TURNED IN ZAIRE.

7. THE ZAIRIAN PRIME MINISTER REPLIED THAT HIS ELECTION HAD BEEN CONSTITUTIONAL, AND THAT DISSENT WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO A DEMOCRACY. KENGO INDICATED THAT "AS A MEASURE OF GOOD FAITH," HE HAD LEFT TWO MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS OPEN TO THE OPPOSITION LED BY FORMER PRIME MINISTER ETIENNE TSHISEKEDI AND THE UDPS PARTY. TO DATE, KENGO ADMITTED, THE UDPS HAD REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT. THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD MR. ATWOOD, HOWEVER, THAT HE HOPED TO SECURE AN AGREEMENT ON PARTICIPATION SOON WITH THE ELEVEN FEDERATIONS WHICH MADE UP THE PARTY'S GRASSROOTS. KENGO ASSURED THE ADMINISTRATOR THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S ULTIMATE GOAL REMAINED NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

RWANDANS AND EASTERN ZAIRE

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8. THE ADMINISTRATOR OUTLINED THE US EFFORT TO AMELIORATE THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN EASTERN ZAIRE, AND RAISED CONCERNS ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF ARMED FORMER RWANDAN

MILITARY (EX-FAR) IN THE REGION AND ABUSES BY THE ZAIRIAN ARMED FORCES (FAZ). MR. ATWOOD SAID THAT THE US WAS WORKING DILIGENTLY WITH THE NEW RWANDAN AUTHORITIES IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE THE KIGALI GOVERNMENT TO CREATE CONDITIONS SO THAT THE REFUGEES COULD RETURN HOME. AS FOR THE EX-FAR, THE US WANTED THEM MOVED FROM THE SENSITIVE BORDER AREA AND DISARMED. KENGO AGREED ON THE NEED TO MOVE THE EX-FAR, AND ADMITTED THAT THE FAZ HAD COMMITTED ABUSES. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT ZAIRE -- A COUNTRY BEREFT OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND WITHOUT A DISCIPLINED ARMY -- HAD BEEN OVERWHELMED BY THE INFLUX OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. HIS GOVERNMENT WAS DETERMINED TO DISCIPLINE THOSE WHO COMMITTED ABUSES, AND ONLY A DEARTH OF TRANSPORT HAD BLOCKED THE TRANSFER OF ZAIRIAN TROOPS WHICH HAD COMMITTED EXCESSES.

CONCLUSIONS

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9. MR. ATWOOD NOTED THAT ZAIRE HAD REACHED AN HISTORIC MOMENT IN THE TRANSITION FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC, AND SAID THAT THE PRIME MINISTER "HAD AN HISTORIC ROLE TO PLAY."

10. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER
BT
#5648

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5648
TOR: 941020211154 M1317343
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

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PER E.O. 13526
2001030l4 US. Dept. of STATE
Charles Doris 06/11/2007

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OTTCZYUW RUEKJCS0408 2940304-CCCC--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC
LINE3: O 210304Z OCT 94
LINE4: FM DIA WASHINGTON DC
OSRI: RUEKJCS
DTG: 210304Z OCT 94
ORIG: DIA WASHINGTON DC
TO: RUEHSD/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 7143-44
INFO: RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE
RUCMACC/CDRPSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//AORC-POG-SB//
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHINGTON DC
RUDMQAN/MARCORINTACT DET QUANTICO VA
RUFGAID/USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/DIA REP//
RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK//CC/DOA//
RUEALGX/SAFE
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO RUEHSD/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 7143-44
INFO ZEN/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0776-77
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 6910-11
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0000
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4673-74
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
ZEN/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 3918-19
ZEN/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0908-09
ZEN/USMISSION GENEVA 0180-81
SUBJ: POINTS ON RWANDA FOR UNSYG
TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 285608

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: UN, PHUM, PREL, RW, US

SUBJECT: POINTS ON RWANDA FOR UNSYG

1. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE.

2. WITH RWANDA OFF THE FRONT PAGES, WE WANT TO ENSURE THAT A NUMBER OF RWANDA-RELATED ISSUES REMAIN ON THE FRONT BURNER IN NEW YORK. DIFFERENCES OVER THE PENDING TRIBUNAL RESOLUTION NEED TO BE RESOLVED SO THAT THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR CAN BEGIN WORK. EVEN AS REPORTS INCREASE OF SHORTAGES IN REFUGEE CAMPS, IMPROVED COORDINATION IS

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NEEDED AMONG UN AGENCIES AND AMONG THE UN, NGOS AND OTHER PLAYERS. THE HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORT NEEDS ASSURANCE OF ADEQUATE SUPPORT AND THE QUESTION OF THE UN ROLE IN DEALING WITH THE VOLATILE SITUATION IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS NEEDS TO BE SQUARELY ADDRESSED.

3. DEPARTMENT REQUESTS USUN AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT ADDRESS THESE ISSUES WITH UNSYG AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY, NOTING PROGRESS ACHIEVED TO DATE AND URGING CONCERTED ACTION ON NEXT STEPS. AMBASSADOR SHOULD ALSO INDICATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT THESE EFFORTS THROUGH A "FRIENDS OF

RWANDA" GROUP (SEE PARA 4) AND THROUGH APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE. YOU MAY DRAW FROM THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

4. TALKING POINTS:

O WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL:

-- WE BELIEVE THE CURRENT DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL CREATE AN EFFECTIVE AND IMPARTIAL TRIBUNAL. WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND ITS UN DELEGATION TO OVERCOME GOR RESERVATIONS REGARDING THE CURRENT DRAFT.

-- WE HOPE THAT THE RESOLUTION CAN BE ADOPTED SOON AND THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR BEGIN WORK WITHOUT DELAY.

-- THE RESOLUTION PROVIDES THAT THE CURRENT PROSECUTOR FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA WILL ALSO SERVE AS PROSECUTOR FOR RWANDA. THIS WAS A KEY ELEMENT OF THE COMPROMISE WORKED OUT IN RECENT WEEKS AMONG THE P-5. HIS STATURE, EXPERIENCE AND CURRENT POSITION ON THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL ALL ARGUE FOR HIS EFFECTIVENESS AS THE RWANDA PROSECUTOR.

-- ALL UNSC MEMBERS HAVE AGREED TO DESIGNATE JUDGE GOLDSTONE AS CHIEF PROSECUTOR FOR THE RWANDA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL.

-- GOLDSTONE IS PREPARED TO SELECT A BLACK AFRICAN FRENCH-SPEAKING JURIST AS HIS DEPUTY PROSECUTOR FOR RWANDA, AND HE IS ALREADY LOOKING AT A STRONG CANDIDATE.

-- IF WE DON'T SELECT GOLDSTONE, WE WILL DEFINITELY BE DELAYING THE TRIBUNAL'S WORK BY MONTHS AS WE SELECT AND THEN GEAR UP A NEW PERSON. KEEP IN MIND THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY BE THE MAJOR OBSTACLE IN SELECTING AN AFRICAN FRANCOPHONE.

-- HE IS AN AFRICAN AND HAS PRESIDENT MANDELA'S PERSONAL SUPPORT AND IS BROADLY ACCEPTABLE TO AFRICAN STATES.

(WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN RAISED BEFORE W/ UNSYG; HOWEVER, WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANOTHER EFFORT TO REVERSE UNSYG'S POSITION ON THE ISSUE)

-- WE HOPE IN THE COMING WEEKS YOU AND YOUR STAFF WILL FULLY SUPPORT THE PROVISION OF SUFFICIENT FUNDING FOR THE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

START-UP OF THE RWANDA TRIBUNAL IN THE BUDGET THAT WILL BE CONSIDERED IN THE FIFTH COMMITTEE.

O SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES

-- WE COMMEND THE WORK OF YOUR SPECIAL REGIONAL ENVOY ROBERT DILLON; WE BELIEVE HE HAS MADE SOME USEFUL RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH WOULD ENHANCE THE OVERALL EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN'S RWANDA OPERATIONS;

-- ONE OF THESE IS TO STRENGTHEN THE ROLE OF RWANDA SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE KHAN BY EXPANDING HIS ROLE TO INCLUDE OVERALL COORDINATION FOR ALL UN ACTIVITIES IN RWANDA;

O HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS

-- ONE OF THE AREAS WHERE WE HOPE KHAN CAN BE EFFECTIVE IN HIS ENHANCED COORDINATION ROLE IS THE HUMAN RIGHTS OPERATION. IN ADDITION TO FULL DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR, SWIFT AND EFFECTIVE PRESENCE OF MONITORS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IS CRITICAL TO STEMMING THE RISING TIDE OF FEAR, WITH OR WITHOUT FOUNDATION, THAT IS PREVENTING REFUGEE RETURN AND PROGRESS ON RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA.

-- WE UNDERSTAND THAT DESPITE SOME PROGRESS IN OUTFITTING THE FIRST TRANCHE OF MONITORS, SERIOUS LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS REMAIN, DUE IN PART TO CONTINUING LACK OF COORDINATION BETWEEN SRSG KHAN AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE RELEVANT UN AGENCIES IN GENEVA AND NEW YORK BE AWARE OF AND RESPONSIVE TO THE LOGISTICAL NEEDS IN THE FIELD.

-- SPECIFICALLY, VEHICLES ARE NOW AVAILABLE IN MOGADISHU THAT COULD BE TRANSFERRED TO RWANDA FOR USE BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. THE UN DPKO NEEDS TO EXPEDITIOUSLY MAKE THOSE VEHICLES AVAILABLE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER IN GENEVA.

O UNAMIR

-- WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE TUNISIAN AND MALIAN BATTALIONS HAVE ARRIVED AND ARE BEING DEPLOYED IN RWANDA.

-- HOWEVER, LOGISTICAL SUPPORT REMAINS A CONCERN IN UNAMIR AS WELL. THE ZAMBIANS MUST STILL BE DEPLOYED, AND EQUIPMENT NEEDS FOR THE ETHIOPIAN BATTALION, DEPLOYED SINCE EARLY AUGUST, STILL HAVE NOT BEEN ADEQUATELY MET.

O FRIENDS OF RWANDA

-- WHILE THE WAR IN RWANDA HAS ENDED AND THE NUMBERS OF DEAD AND DYING IN REFUGEE CAMPS HAS DIMINISHED, THE RWANDA EMERGENCY IS FAR FROM OVER.

-- MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS APPEAR TO BE DETERIORATING; THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO SECURITY CONCERNS IN THE CAMPS STILL NEEDS TO

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

BE ADDRESSED; THE GOR HAS SERIOUS ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS TO EFFECTIVE RECONSTRUCTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS INSIDE RWANDA ARE BY NO MEANS ASSURED;

-- THE NUMBER AND SERIOUSNESS OF THESE ISSUES DEMONSTRATE THAT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE IN RWANDA. WITH THAT IN MIND, WE ARE PROPOSING THE FORMATION OF AN OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP FOR RWANDA, TO BEGIN MEETING IN NEW YORK IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

-- THESE "FRIENDS OF RWANDA" WOULD FOCUS ATTENTION ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION, SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION IN RWANDA.

-- WE DO NOT ENVISION THAT THE "FRIENDS" WOULD REPLACE ANY REGIONAL ACTORS OR THE UN OR UN AGENCIES IN SPONSORING A FORMAL PROCESS OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. RATHER, THEY WOULD LEND SUPPORT TO ANY SUCH PROCESS, SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN UN INITIATIVES IN THE REGION, AND HELP COORDINATE AND MOBILIZE RESOURCES TO ADDRESS MOST PRESSING NEEDS.

-- WE HAVE NOT YET FORMALLY APPROACHED POSSIBLE PARTNERS; HOWEVER, WE WOULD ASSUME PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE THOSE WITH POLITICAL AND/OR HISTORICAL INTEREST IN THE REGION AND THOSE WHO MIGHT ALSO BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE RESOURCES TO THE RECONSTRUCTION EFFORT.

CHRISTOPHER
BT
#0408

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0408
TOR: 941020230728 M1317472
DIST:
SIT: ATKIN DESHAZER NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.63)
VL 6/20/2023

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: O 210912Z OCT 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
OSRI: RUEHKO
DTG: 210912Z OCT 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7766
RUEATRS/TREASURY DEPT WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 5062
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0006
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 4752
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 3676
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 5633
SUBJ: CLEARANCE OF RWANDA'S ARREARS WITH IBRD
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TOKYO 015515

TREASURY FOR OASIA/INN/BARBER

OECD POSTS FOR FINATT

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EFIN, EAID, RW, JA, IBRD
SUBJECT: CLEARANCE OF RWANDA'S ARREARS WITH IBRD

REF: STATE 282177

1. POST DELIVERED REFTEL POINTS TO MINISTRY OF FINANCE (MOF) DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS, MR. YAMANISHI, AND OBTAINED HIS INITIAL RESPONSE.

3. YAMANISHI RESPONDED THAT MOF HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY WORD OF THE MEETING UNTIL OUR MESSAGE, BUT HAD SINCE CONFIRMED IT. AT THIS STAGE, INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS WERE STILL TAKING PLACE, HE SAID; BUT IN GENERAL, HE EXPECTED JAPAN TO BE POSITIVE BOTH REGARDING ATTENDING AND PROVIDING SOME FORM OF ASSISTANCE. YAMANISHI INDICATED HE WILL PROVIDE MORE INFORMATION EARLY NEXT WEEK.

MONDALE
BT
#5515

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5515
TOR: 941021051908 M1317817
DIST:
SIT: ATKIN DESHAZER NSC VAX
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LINE3: O 251537Z OCT 94
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OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 251537Z OCT 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 0406
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0075
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RUCBSAA/CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
RHCUAAA/USCINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL
RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
RUEANLA/DLA CAMERON STA VA
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:SO-LIC/USDP:HRA//
RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX RS//
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGE-0//
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
RHDLSAA/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N3/N31/N5/N7//
RUSNJTF/JTF SUPPORT HOPE KELLY BARRACKS GE//COS/JOC/J3//
RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
RUSNNOT/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0018
RUFNBUT/HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
SUBJ: BURUNDI REFUGEE UPDATE
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-MS (5.6.5)
VL 10/2-/2.23

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 003712

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PINS, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDI REFUGEE UPDATE

1. SUMMARY. THE NUMBER OF RWANDAN REFUGEES IN BURUNDI REMAINS AT AROUND 200,000 THOUGH REFUGEE POPULATIONS HAVE MIGRATED IN AND OUT OF THE COUNTRY. FOUR RWANDAN MINISTERS CURRENTLY TOURING REFUGEE CAMPS TO ENCOURAGE REFUGEE REPATRIATION FOUND THEIR EFFORTS OVERSHADOWED THIS MORNING, OCTOBER 24, WHEN ATTACKERS IN NGOZI (REPORTED TO BE RPA) KILLED 50 AND WOUNDED 10 REFUGEES. IN CIBITOKE PROVINCE, UNHCR EXPECTS TO MOVE APPROXIMATELY 20,000 REFUGEES TO NEW CAMPS IN THE INTERIOR AS SOON AS AUTHORITIES IDENTIFY A CAMP SITE AS THEY HAVE AGREED. END SUMMARY.

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TOTAL POPULATIONS
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2. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF RWANDAN REFUGEES IN BURUNDI HAS REMAINED FAIRLY CONSTANT THROUGH MID-OCTOBER THOUGH THE REFUGEE POPULATION HAS CHANGED. TOTAL NUMBERS IN THE NORTHERN BURUNDI CAMPS FELL FROM 213,200 TO 179,150 OVER THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, DUE IN PART, TO THE DEPARTURE OF SOME REFUGEES FROM MUYINGA PROVINCE TO TANZANIA FOLLOWING INCIDENTS OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE. APPROXIMATELY 20,000 REFUGEES WHO HAD SPONTANEOUSLY ENTERED CIBITOKE PROVINCE HAVE NOW BEEN IDENTIFIED AND REGROUPED BY UNHCR INTO TEMPORARY CAMPS. 2,000 NEW ARRIVALS ARE LOCATED IN TRANSIT CAMPS IN NGOZI AND KAYANZA PROVINCES.

SECURITY VS. REPATRIATION
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3. FOUR RWANDAN MINISTERS ARE CURRENTLY TOURING REFUGEE CAMPS IN NORTHERN BURUNDI IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE RWANDAN REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME. THEIR MESSAGE WAS CONTRADICTED IN NGOZI PROVINCE EARLY ON OCTOBER 24 WHEN ATTACKERS (REPORTEDLY RPA) KILLED 50 REFUGEES AND WOUNDED 10 OTHERS. UNHCR, THE REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDER AND THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR VISITED THE SITE AND CONFIRMED THE INCIDENT. UNHCR RESREP (PROTECT) REPORTED THAT WHILE HE ACCEPTS THE IDENTITY OF THE ATTACKERS, HE QUESTIONS THE MOTIVE AND THE LEVEL OF AUTHORITY FOR THE ATTACK SINCE IT OCCURRED DURING THE VISIT OF THE MINISTERS.

4. (FYI. IN A PRIVATE MEETING ON OCTOBER 24, FORMIN NGENDAHAYO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE PREVIOUS NIGHT, RWANDAN GOVERNMENT MILITARY FORCES (RPA) HAD ENTERED BURUNDI NEAR NGOZI AND KILLED RWANDAN HUTU REFUGEES. QUESTIONED WHETHER THERE WAS DOUBT, HE REPLIED, "NO; IT IS A FACT. THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE INFORMED ME AND IS DETERMINED TO STOP IT. HE IS MEETING TOMORROW WITH MILITARY LEADERS FROM THE REGION ON THIS MATTER." THE FORMIN BELIEVES THAT WHEREAS THE PREVIOUS MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP HAVE TOLERATED RPA INCURSIONS, THE NEW MINISTER WILL NOT. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT THAT HE HAD HEARD REPORTS THREE MONTHS AGO OF RPA AND BURUNDI MILITARY COMPLICITY IN SUCH KILLINGS, THE FORMIN STATED THAT UNIFORMED RPA ENTER INTO BURUNDI, WEARING SIDE ARMS, TO DRINK BEER IN BARS IN NGOZI. HE EXPECTS THE NEW MINISTER TO TAKE PROMPT ACTION TO END SUCH ACTIVITY. END FYI.)

UNREST IN CIBITOKE
---9---

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

5. IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS, CONFLICTS BETWEEN MILITARY AND ARMED CIVILIANS, AND SUBSEQUENT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 003712

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PINS, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDI REFUGEE UPDATE

BURNING AND LOOTING HAVE GENERATED THE FLIGHT OF AROUND 15,000 PERSONS FROM CIBITOKE PROVINCE TO ZAIRE. THIS GROUP MAY INCLUDE BOTH BURUNDIANS AND RWANDAN REFUGEES NEWLY ARRIVED IN CIBITOKE. ACCORDING TO ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF BIKOMAGU, MANY CIBITOKE RESIDENTS ARE EXPECTED TO RETURN WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS NOW THAT FIGHTING HAS CEASED AND THE ARMED BANDS HAVE DISPERSED FROM THE AREA.

6. THE PRESENCE OF RWANDAN REFUGEES IN CIBITOKE HAS NOT CAUSED, BUT MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO, RECENT ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN THAT PROVINCE. MILITARY AUTHORITIES REPORT THE ATTACKS ARE MADE BY ARMED BANDS OF BURUNDIANS, BUT SAY THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT EX-RWANDAN MILITIA AMONG THE ARRIVING REFUGEES ARE AIDING OR EVEN JOINING THE BURUNDIANS. THE MILITARY ADMIT THEY HAVE NO WAY TO DETERMINE NUMBERS OF SUCH PARTICIPANTS, BUT POINT TO THE OPEN BORDER AND THE SERIES OF REFUGEE CAMPS BETWEEN KAMANYOLA AND UVIRA, ZAIRE LOCATED ONLY METERS FROM THE BORDER. SPONTANEOUS REFUGEES ENTERING CIBITOKE, UNTIL RECENTLY, SHELTERED WITH FRIENDS OR FAMILY MEMBERS RATHER THAN ENTERING CAMPS. THIS MADE THEM AN INVISIBLE, UNKNOWN QUANTITY, FURTHER DISQUIETING MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

REMOVING THE REFUGEES
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7. UNHCR HAS RECENTLY IDENTIFIED 20,000 REFUGEES IN CIBITOKE AND REGROUPED THEM INTO TEMPORARY CAMPS IN ANTICIPATION OF REMOVAL TO A MORE PERMANENT SITE FARTHER FROM THE BORDER. HCR IS PREPARED TO MOVE THE REFUGEES AS SOON AS BURUNDI AUTHORITIES IDENTIFY AN ACCEPTABLE SITE ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY. THE SITE WAS EXPECTED TO BE NAMED LAST WEEK, BUT THE CONCERNED MINISTRIES ARE APPARENTLY HAVING DIFFICULTY LOCATING A SITE A PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR WILL ACCEPT.

8. HCR IN UVIRA HAS IDENTIFIED A SITE AND IS NOW CONSIDERING THE FEASIBILITY OF MOVING MANY OF THE UVIRA - KAMANYOLA AXIS REFUGEES AS FAR AS 200 KM SOUTH OF UVIRA TO DISCOURAGE ANY MILITANTS (EITHER RWANDAN OR BURUNDIAN REFUGEES) FROM VIOLENT

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ACTIVITY NEAR THE BORDER OR IN BUJUMBURA. THE MAJOR OBSTACLES IN THE SITE ARE: 1) PROMPT TRANSPORT DURING RAINY SEASON FOR SEVERAL THOUSAND REFUGEES, THEIR BELONGINGS AND CAMP INFRASTRUCTURE, OVER 200 TO 250 KMS, MOST OF WHICH IS UNPAVED TRACK; 2) CONTINUED FOOD PROVISION OVER MINIMAL ROADS AT SOME DISTANCE FROM THE CURRENT DELIVERY POINT. BOTH CONSIDERATIONS WILL REQUIRE ADDITIONAL TRUCKS AND/OR BARGES AND PERSONNEL HOURS (READ UNBUDGETED EXPENSES) ONCE THE VEHICLES CAN BE LOCATED.

9. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
KRUEGER
BT
#3712

NNNN

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

SSN: 3712
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (5.66)
VL 10/20/2023

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LINE3: R 251604Z OCT 94
LINE4: FM USEU BRUSSELS
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INFO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
RUEHXQ/ALLEU COLLECTIVE
RUEHZO/OAU COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: EU OCTOBER 18 WORKING GROUP: CHAD, SUDAN, MOZAMBIQUE, RWANDA, ANGOLA, ZAIRE, AND U.S.- EU TROIKA PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF DISCUSSION
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 11703

E.O. 12356: DECL OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, EUN
SUBJECT: EU OCTOBER 18 WORKING GROUP: CHAD, SUDAN, MOZAMBIQUE, RWANDA, ANGOLA, ZAIRE, AND U.S.- EU TROIKA PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF DISCUSSION

REF: A) STATE 269603; B) BONN 25486; C) USEU BRUSSELS 11572; D) USEU BRUSSELS 11598

1. ENTIRE TEXT ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.

2. SUMMARY. THE EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP MET ON OCTOBER 18 TO WADE THROUGH AN EXPANDED AGENDA. THE WG UNSUCCESSFULLY STRUGGLED OVER A DECLARATION OF COMMON POLICY ON CHAD, EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE "STAGNATION" OF IGADD, AND REQUESTED FURTHER DIALOGUE WITH AND IN SUDAN. THE WG AGREED THAT THE EU SHOULD ASSIST THE UN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING IN RWANDA. FURTHER, THE GROUP DECIDED THAT POLITICAL AGREEMENT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A MILITARY AGREEMENT IN ANGOLA. ON ZAIRE, IT SOUGHT TO CONTINUE THE POLICY OF CAUTIOUS SUPPORT FOR PM KENGO AND ATTEMPTED A MINOR RELAXATION OF COMMON VISA POLICIES. FINALLY, THE WG APPROVED THE AGENDA AND SCHEDULING FOR THE U.S.-EU TROIKA MEETING ON DECEMBER 2, AND SET OFF DISCUSSION ON LIBERIA AND MOZAMBIQUE UNTIL ITS NOVEMBER MEETING. SOUTH AFRICA APPARENTLY WAS INCLUDED ON THE AGENDA AS A "MORALE BOOSTER." END SUMMARY.

AGENDA

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3. AGENDA DESCRIBED IN REF C WAS SUPPLEMENTED AS FOLLOWS: "OTHER BUSINESS:
-- TOGO (HUMAN RIGHTS)
-- LIBERIA (GENERAL DISCUSSION)
-- GABON (GOVERNMENT - OPPOSITION TALKS)
-- CONGO (MOM REPORT)
-- SOMALIA (GENERAL DISCUSSION)
-- SIERRA LEONE (ELECTIONS)
-- SAO TOME (ELECTIONS)
-- FUTURE MEETINGS (AFRICA WORKING GROUP DIRECTORS, OAU INFORMALS, U.S.-EU TROIKA)."

CHAD
---

4. THE WORKING GROUP STRUGGLED OVER A DECLARATION OF COMMON POLICY OVER CHAD. FRANCE BLOCKED THIS INITIATIVE ON THE BASIS THAT THE SITUATION WAS "STILL FRAGILE, AND POSITIVE ELEMENTS SHOULD NOT BE NEGLECTED." OUR SOURCES CLAIM THAT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN N'DJAMENA'S POSITION HAD BEEN DISAVOWED BY HIS OWN GOVERNMENT. AFTER THE MEETING, OUR CONTACTS INFORMALLY ASKED US IF THE U.S. COULD PROPOSE A JOINT DECLARATION ON CHAD WITH THE EU, AND LOBBY FOR IT IN VARIOUS CAPITALS. THEY FELT THAT THE DEMARCHES INVOLVED IN CRAFTING SUCH A STATEMENT, EVEN IF IT WERE TO BE FINALLY ISSUED LOCALLY IN N'DJAMENA, COULD HELP NUDGE FRANCE INTO A MORE COOPERATIVE POSITION.

IGADD/SUDAN
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5. MEMBERS EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE "STAGNATION" OF THE IGADD INITIATIVE, AND REQUESTED FURTHER DIALOGUE WITH AND IN SUDAN. THE ISSUE OF A MORE EFFECTIVE ARMS EMBARGO ON SUDAN (REF D) WAS NOT TAKEN UP. FRANCE RECOMMENDED MORE AND "PRUDENT" PATIENCE WITH SUDAN BEFORE APPLYING PRESSURE; OTHER MEMBERS VEHEMENTLY DISAGREED WITH THIS SUGGESTION BECAUSE OF THEIR IMPRESSION THAT THE GOS WAS NOT MAKING ANY POSITIVE MOVES. IT WAS AGREED TO TAKE UP SUDAN IN THE UPCOMING CONSULTATIONS WITH A/S MOOSE AND AT THE NOVEMBER WG.

MOZAMBIQUE
---

6. THE WG MOVED TO PUT MOZAMBIQUE ON THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE'S AGENDA FOR ITS OCTOBER 24 MEETING.

RWANDA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 11703

E.O. 12356: DECL OADR

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TAGS: PREL, PHUM, EUN
SUBJECT: EU OCTOBER 18 WORKING GROUP: CHAD, SUDAN, MOZAMBIQUE, RWANDA, ANGOLA, ZAIRE, AND U.S.- EU TROIKA PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF DISCUSSION

7. THE WG AGREED THAT THE EU COMMISSION SHOULD COME FORTH WITH AN INITIATIVE FOR THE EU TO HELP THE UN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN RWANDA. THIS REQUEST WILL BE TAKEN UP AT THE OCTOBER 24 POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING. THE WG ALSO AGREED THAT ITS RWANDA DECLARATION (REF C) SHOULD BE PUBLISHED qS AN ITEM OF COMMON FOREIGN POLICY ASAP.

ANGOLA
---

8. THE GROUP REVIEWED THE STATUS OF THE DOS SANTOS-SAVIMBI POLITICAL AGREEMENT AND AGREED THAT IT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A MILITARY AGREEMENT BETWEEN COMMANDERS.

ZAIRE
---

9. THE WG AGREED TO CONTINUE THE POLICY OF CAUTIOUS SUPPORT FOR PM KENGO, AND TRIED TO AGREE ON MINOR RELAXATION OF COMMON VISA POLICIES FOR PRESIDENTIAL OFFICIALS WHO COOPERATE WITH KENGO'S DEMOCRATIZATION EFFORTS. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE WILL TAKE UP ZAIRE OCTOBER 24. LITTLE CHANGE IS EXPECTED ON ZAIRE POLICY BECAUSE THE WG AND THE COMMITTEE WORK BY CONSENSUS. HOWEVER, IN THE INTEREST OF COORDINATION, THE WORKING GROUP REQUESTED INFORMATION ON CURRENT U.S. VISA POLICY.

U.S.-EU TROIKA MEETING
---

10. THE WORKING GROUP APPROVED THE AGENDA AND SCHEDULING FOR THE U.S.-EU TROIKA MEETING ON DECEMBER 2.

LIBERIA
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11. THE WG AGREED THE WORSENING SITUATION IN LIBERIA WARRANTED ATTENTION AT ITS NOVEMBER MEETING.

SOUTH AFRICA
---

12. OUR SOURCES TOLD US THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS INCLUDED ON THE AGENDA AS A "MORALE BOOSTER," BUT THAT THERE WAS ONE ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUE TO ATTEND TO -- NAMELY THAT ICOMSA, THE EU'S SECURITY OBSERVER GROUP, HAD OVERRUN ITS BUDGET WHILE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE WG DECIDED THAT ITS

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COST OVERRUNS SHOULD BE FUNDED BY EURO-LOANS AT LOWER
INTEREST RATES THAN ITS CURRENT SOUTH AFRICAN OVERDRAFT.

(DRAFT:POL:ANAHAS; APPROVED:POL:JGREENWALD)
EIZENSTAT

BT
#1703

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

SSN: 1703
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TOR: 941025145159 M1324622
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DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. cable~~	~~International Assistance to Clear Rwandan World Bank Arrears: Swiss Response (2 pages)~~	~~10/26/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
002. cable	[Forces in Rwanda] (4 pages)	10/26/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	[Human Rights] (2 pages)	10/26/1994	P1/b(1)
~~004. cable~~	~~10/26 Meeting with Prime Minister (2 pages)~~	~~10/27/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~005. cable~~	~~[EU Africa Working Group] (4 pages)~~	~~10/27/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
006. cable	Visit to FAR/RPA Reintegration Camp [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	11/01/1994	~~P1/b(1),~~ P3/b(3) VZ
~~007. cable~~	~~Trends in French Engagement in Africa: Ghana (4 pages)~~	~~11/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~008. cable~~	~~Museveni on Sudan, the Kony Rebels, and the Economy (8 pages)~~	~~11/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~009. cable~~	~~The French in Zaire (4 pages)~~	~~11/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
010. cable	[Refugees] (2 pages)	11/02/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	Agreement of... (3 pages)	11/02/1994	P1/b(1)
012. cable	[Meeting] (6 pages)	11/02/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[10/26/1994 - 11/04/1994]

Eric Holzer
2006-0192-F
eh146

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	The Role of the French in Eastern Zaire (2 pages)	11/04/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	[UNAMIR] (8 pages)	11/04/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[10/26/1994 - 11/04/1994]

Eric Holzer
2006-0192-F
eh146

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (S.68)
VL 10/20/2023

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INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1774
SUBJ: INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO CLEAR RWANDAN WORLD BANK ARREARS: SWISS RESPONSE
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BERN 005658

PARIS FOR USDEL TO SPA MEETING

E.O. 12356: DACL: OADR
TAGS: EFIN, EAID, SZ, IBRD, RW
SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO CLEAR RWANDAN WORLD BANK ARREARS: SWISS RESPONSE
:REF: STATE 286613

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE DELIVERED JQBNZ(YLD US THAT SWITZERLAND WAS OPEN TO MAKING A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD CLEARING RWANDA'S WORLD BANK ARREARS. THE GOS HAS NOT YET DECIDED ON A FIGURE, BUT CHAPPATTE TOLD US THAT IT WOULD BE FAR LESS THAN THE USD 2.5 MILLION U.S. CONTRIBUTION.

4. COMMENT: OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS, AND UP UNTIL THE RECENT POLITICAL TURMOIL, RWANDA HAD BEEN ONE OF SWITZERLAND'S DEVELOPMENT AID CONCENTRATION COUNTRIES. MORE AID TO RWANDA ISSUE NOW. THEREFORE, ALTHOUGH THE SWISS SEEM LIKELY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE EFFORT TO CLEAR RWANDA'S WORLD BANK ARREARS, AN EXACT AMOUNT WILL HAVE TO BE DECIDED AT VERY HIGH POLITICAL LEVELS -- PRESUMABLY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL LEVEL -- OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, AFTER WHICH TIME A DETAILED PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS EXPECTED. THE SWISS WILL ALSO BE LOOKING TO OTHERS TO CONTRIBUTE A FAIR SHARE, AND IT WILL BE EASIER TO SELL A CONTRIBUTION TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL IF THE ENTIRE 9.5 MILLION IS COVERED BY THE FRIENDS GROUP. END COMMENT.

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5. FYI: SWITZERLAND WILL BE REPRESENTED AT THE FRIENDS OF RWANDA MEETING BY KATHRYN IMBODEN, CHIEF OF THE SECTION FOR ECONOMIC ISSUES AT DEH. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
LAWRENCE
BT
#5658

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5658
TOR: 941026111217 M1326468
DIST:
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Cable

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2011-0262-M-8 (5,71)
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0310
INFO: RUEHPC/AMEMBASSY LOME 0001
RUEHLGB/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: 10/26 MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KIGALI 001977

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, PGOV, EFIN, MOPS, CG, RW
SUBJECT: 10/26 MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER

REF: A) STATE 288048 B) KINSHASA 6379

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CHARGE MET WITH PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU AT THE LATTER'S INVITATION ON 10/26 TO DISCUSS TWAGIRAMUNGU'S RECENT VISIT TO KINSHASA. HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE REPATRIATION ACCORD CLOSELY PARALLELED KINSHASA'S IN REF B, I.E. THE STANDARD UNHCR TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. (COMMENT. HE DOES NOT HAVE A FUNCTIONING PHOTOCOPIER, AND WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN THE TEXT. END COMMENT.) TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT KENGO HAD COMMITTED TO SEPARATE AND MOVE THE EX-FAR TROOPS AND THEIR FAMILIES -- 80,000 IN ALL -- TO NEW CAMPS IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY SUPPORT. HE SAID THAT KENGO HAD ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT HE WANTED THE "DIGNITARIES" -- SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT -- OFF ZAIRIAN SOIL. KENGO SAID THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO FIND ANOTHER COUNTRY OF REFUGE AND SUGGESTED TOGO AS A POSSIBILITY. TWAGIRAMUNGU COULD NOT SAY WHY.

3. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN MISQUOTED ON THE CREATION OF BUFFER ZONES, BY WHICH HE HAD MEANT "ENLARGED WELCOME CENTERS" ALONG THE LINE OF THOSE ALREADY OPERATING IN RWANDA. HE SAID THAT UNAMIR WOULD HAVE A ROLE IN GUARANTEEING SECURITY FOR THESE, AS IT ALREADY DID. HE SAID THAT THE GOZ HAD SPLASHED COLD WATER ON HIS PLANS TO VISIT THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN GOMA, CITING THE SECURITY RISKS INVOLVED. HE ADMITTED THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE MILITIA IN THE CAMPS MIGHT HAVE HAD A "NEGATIVE IMPACT" ON HIS RECEPTION BY THE REFUGEES.

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4. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT HE AND KENGO HAD DISCUSSED THE RESTITUTION OF RWANDAN PROPERTY IN ZAIRE AT GREAT LENGTH, AND KENGO HAD PROMISED HIM THAT THE GOZ WOULD RETURN THE LOT -- MONEY, GUNS, VEHICLES, AND HELICOPTERS. HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO MEET MOBUTU, WHO WAS NOT IN TOWN. BIZIMUNGU HAD ASKED TWAGIRAMUNGU TO MEET MOBUTU AND PITCH HIM FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CEPGL. HE HAD NONETHELESS CALLED ON THE CEPGL'S EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, A BURUNDIAN, TO EXPRESS RWANDAN INTEREST IN THE ORGANIZATION. (COMMENT. WE ARE NOT SURE WHAT ROLE THE GOR FORESEES FOR THE CEPGL. OVERALL USG SUPPORT FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION ASIDE, IT WAS A SOMEWHAT INERT ORGANIZATION IN ITS LAST INCARNATION. END COMMENT.)

5. TWAGIRAMUNGU PLANS TO VISIT TANZANIA AS SOON AS THE GOT RESPONDED TO HIS REQUEST FOR A VISIT. HE WOULD LIKE TO TRAVEL THERE BY OCTOBER 31 AT LATEST AND ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE A REPATRIATION ACCORD WITH THE GOT AND UNHCR.

WHITEHEAD
BT
#1977

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 1977
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SIT: DESHAZER NSC VAX
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DTG: 271751Z OCT 94
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RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0006
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0237
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0105
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0797
RUEHJL/AMEMBASSY BANJUL 1954
RUEHPC/AMEMBASSY LOME 2013
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RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 2387
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0230
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1077
SUBJ: REPORT ON OCTOBER 19 EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP MEETING
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (5.72)
VL 10/20/2023

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 26638

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, EUN, EAID, ETRD, ECIN, GM
SUBJECT: REPORT ON OCTOBER 19 EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP MEETING

REF: USEU 25486

1. CRISIS MANAGEMENT WAS A TOPIC OF SPECIAL INTEREST AT THE OCTOBER 18 MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) AFRICA WORKING GROUP. ACCORDING TO MFA DIRECTOR FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA DAERR, THE UK PRESENTED SEVERAL CRISIS SCENARIOS TO SUPPORT ITS PROPOSAL FOR EARLY WARNING MECHANISMS, THE PRE-POSITIONING OF SUPPLIES, AND THE ADVANCE DEVELOPMENT OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT PLANS. THE FRENCH PROPOSED REGIONAL INTERVENTION FORCES. CRISIS MANAGEMENT IS ONE OF THE INITIAL AREAS IN WHICH EU/SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC) COOPERATION IS PLANNED.

2. DISCUSSIONS OF SPECIFIC COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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INCLUDED:

-- SOUTH AFRICA: THE WORKING GROUP DISCUSSED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERIM EU/SOUTH AFRICA DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT RECENTLY ADOPTED IN RECORD TIME (10 DAYS FROM FIRST DRAFT TO SIGNED DOCUMENT). THE AGREEMENT WILL ALLOW CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE WHILE A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT IS DEVELOPED BY THE COMMISSION. THE WORKING GROUP BELIEVES A SEPARATE LONG-TERM AGREEMENT IS NECESSARY BECAUSE THE LOME CONVENTION IS NOT SUITED FOR AN ECONOMY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S SIZE AND COMPLEXITY.

-- MOZAMBIQUE: THE WORKING GROUP DISCUSSED PROBLEMS WITH THE GROWING POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICE, REVIEWED ELECTION PREPARATIONS AND, WHILE HOPING FOR THE BEST, CONSIDERED POSSIBLE JOINT ACTIONS BY DONOR COUNTRIES TO ENCOURAGE POWER-SHARING, SHOULD PROBLEMS ARISE AFTER THE ELECTION. THE WG WAS ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE NOVEMBER 15 EXPIRATION DATE FOR THE UN MISSION WAS LIKELY TO COME DURING A UNSTABLE PERIOD, PARTICULARLY IF VOTE COUNTING IS SLOW OR IN THE LESS LIKELY EVENT OF A SECOND ELECTION. DAERR TOLD US THE EU POLITICAL COMMITTEE WOULD PROBABLY APPROACH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ABOUT EITHER EXTENDING THE MISSION BRIEFLY, OR SLOWING THE PACE OF WITHDRAWAL TO LEAVE IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN PLACE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.

-- ANGOLA: THERE WAS GENERAL SKEPTICISM THAT A PEACE ACCORD WOULD BE SIGNED, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INCREASED WEAPONS ACQUISITIONS. BUT IF THE ACCORD AND CEASEFIRE COME TO PASS, THERE MAY BE AN URGENT NEED FOR UN PEACEKEEPERS. THE WG DISCUSSED EU PARTICIPATION IN SUCH A MISSION, BUT FORESAW SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN FINANCING IT AND PROVIDING PERSONNEL.

-- RWANDA: DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON POSSIBLE FACTORS SLOWING THE RETURN OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. THE WG SUGGESTED THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE FURTHER INVESTIGATE LIVING CONDITIONS IN REFUGEE CAMPS AND INFILTRATION OF THE CAMPS BY EXTREMISTS. IT ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT THE EU PROVIDE HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVERS TO THE REGION AS PART OF THE UN MISSION AND NOT AS A SEPARATE EU MISSION.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 26638

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, EUN, EAID, ETRD, ECIN, GM
SUBJECT: REPORT ON OCTOBER 19 EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP MEETING

-- BURUNDI: THE WG ACKNOWLEDGED THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN BURUNDI, NOTING THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOWED PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY COULD WORK. RECOGNIZING THAT THE SITUATION WAS STILL FRAGILE AND THAT MODERATE FORCES NEEDED SUPPORT, THE MEMBERS BACKED BOTH THE PLANNED REFUGEE CONFERENCE AND A REGIONAL SUMMIT TO FOCUS ON SPECIFIC PLANS TO HELP MODERATE GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION.

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-- ZAIRE: PRIME MINISTER KENGO HAS REQUESTED INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR HIS EFFORTS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE RULE OF LAW IN ZAIRE AND HAS PROMISED ELECTIONS IN 15 MONTHS. THE PARTNERS FAVORED A CAUTIOUS RENEWAL OF EU FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR KENGO'S GOVERNMENT, CONDITIONED ON PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY, AND A SLIGHT RELAXATION OF VISA POLICIES APPLICABLE TO KENGO'S ASSOCIATES. BELGIUM, FRANCE AND PORTUGAL WILL RE-OPEN THEIR EMBASSIES IN ZAIRE, WHILE GERMANY, THE UK, THE NETHERLANDS AND SPAIN WILL OPEN OPERATIONAL LEVEL MISSIONS.

3. DISCUSSIONS OF COUNTRIES NORTH OF THE EQUATOR INCLUDED:

-- SUDAN: THE WG CALLED THE IGADD INITIATIVE A "STILLBORN CHILD," AND BLAMED THE SUDAN GOVERNMENT'S INFLEXIBILITY. ACCORDING TO MFA DIRECTOR FOR WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA SIMON, GERMANY ARGUED THAT ANY PROSPECT FOR PEACE, HOWEVER SLIM, SHOULD BE PURSUED. THE WG DECIDED NOT TO RECOMMEND FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE IGADD PROCESS, BUT TO ASK THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO TALK TO THE MEDIATING GOVERNMENTS TO SEE IF THE PROCESS COULD BE SUPPORTED POLITICALLY OR TECHNICALLY. THE GROUP ALSO RECOMMENDED THE EXISTING COMMUNICATION CHANNEL BETWEEN THE EU MISSION AND SUDAN BE MAINTAINED, BUT SUDAN SHOULD BE OFFERED NO FINANCIAL INCENTIVES AT THIS POINT.

-- CHAD: THE WG DISCUSSED THE STATEMENT ENCOURAGING DEMOCRATIZATION IN CHAD THAT WAS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH, GERMAN, AND U.S. AMBASSADORS TO CHAD BUT SUBSEQUENTLY DISAVOWED BY FRANCE. MOST OF THE PARTNERS FAVORED ISSUING AN EU STATEMENT ON THE GROUND THAT THE LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES THOUGHT IT APPROPRIATE. BUT FRANCE ARGUED THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHAD WAS "AMBIGUOUS AND FRAGILE," AND THAT A STATEMENT NOW WOULD JEOPARDIZE RECONCILIATION EFFORTS. THE PARTNERS DEFERRED TO FRANCE AND NO STATEMENT WAS ISSUED.

-- MALI: THE WORKING GROUP RECOMMENDED THE PREPARATION OF A CONFIDENTIAL DEMARCHE ON THE RECENT MURDER OF A SWISS AID AGENCY PROJECT LEADER. BECAUSE MALI HAS ONE OF THE BEST RECORDS OF ANY AFRICAN DEMOCRACY, THE DEMARCHE WILL BE DELICATELY WORDED AND FOCUS ON THE EU'S DESIRE TO HELP.

-- NIGERIA: THE UK ADVISED THE WORKING GROUP THAT THE CONCLUSION OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WILL PROBABLY NOT LEAD TO SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL CHANGE. THE EU

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 26638

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, EUN, EAID, ETRD, ECIN, GM
SUBJECT: REPORT ON OCTOBER 19 EU AFRICA WORKING GROUP MEETING

SHOULD START THINKING NOW OF HOW TO REACT.

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-- GAMBIA: THE EU DECLARATION CONDEMING THE COUP IN GAMBIA WAS ADOPTED AND DELIVERED TWO WEEKS AGO. THE EU DELEGATION RECEIVED A FROSTY RECEPTION, AND THE ONLY OFFICIAL RESPONSE WAS A STATEMENT EMPHASIZING GAMBIA'S SOVEREIGNTY. EU SOURCES REPORTED ON THE GROWING CIVIL/MILITARY SPLIT IN THE GOVERNMENT, A DISILLUSIONED POPULACE AND LOW MORALE IN THE CIVILIAN BUREAUCRACY. THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS SINCE THE COUP, AND THE RED CROSS REPORTS ITS ACCESS TO POLITICAL PRISONERS HAS BEEN HINDERED, WHICH IS NOT A GAMBIAN TRADITION. THE WORKING GROUP ASKED THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE DETAINEES' SITUATION AND REQUEST REGULAR VISITATIONS BY AN EU REP.

-- LIBERIA: THE WG ASKED MEMBERS TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE DETERIORATING SITUATION AND ITS IMPACT ON LIBERIA'S NEIGHBORS. THE TOPIC WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE NEXT MEETING.

-- TOGO: THE TOGO GOVERNMENT HAS CONTACTED THE EU ASKING FOR CLOSER RELATIONS. THE POSSIBLE NATURE OF SUCH RELATIONS WAS DISCUSSED, BUT NO RECOMMENDATIONS WERE MADE.

-- SAO TOME: PORTUGAL CHARACTERIZED THE RECENT ELECTIONS AS CALM, FREE AND FAIR. IT WILL PROPOSE AN EU STATEMENT ONCE THE RESULTS ARE FINALIZED.

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 6638
<^SSN>6638
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SIT: DESHAZER LEBOURGEOIS NSC SARTOR VAX
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	Visit to FAR/RPA Reintegration Camp [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	11/01/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[10/26/1994 - 11/04/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch146

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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2011-0262-M-5 (5.73)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: P 010854Z NOV 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 010854Z NOV 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0362
INFO: RUEHLGB/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: VISIT TO FAR/RPA REINTEGRATION CAMP
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ KIGALI 002039

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, MOPS, MASS, PGOV, PHUM, RW
SUBJECT: VISIT TO FAR/RPA REINTEGRATION CAMP

REF: [redacted (b)(3)] ----------[10 U.S.C. 424]

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CHARGE, [redacted (b)(3)] VISITED THE GAKO MILITARY CAMP AT RPA INVITATION ON OCTOBER 31. AS REPORTED REFTEL, THE CAMP WAS IN GOOD CONDITION AND ITS OCCUPANTS -- BOTH RPA ELEMENTS AND THE APPROXIMATELY 2,000 EX-FAR SOLDIERS -- APPEARED IN GOOD CONDITION. ALL WERE BETTER DRESSED THAN THE RAGTAG RPA SOLDIERS WHO MANNED ROADBLOCKS ALONG THE WAY, AND OUR ESCORT POINTED OUT A GROUP OF PEOPLE BUTCHERING CATTLE (FOR OUR BENEFIT?) TO SUPPLY THE CAMP MESS WITH MEAT. THERE WAS NO PALPABLE TENSION, ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE RPA CARRIED ARMS AND NONE OF THE EX-FAR DID.

3. CAMP OFFICIALS, WHO SAID THAT THEY EXPECTED THE REINTEGRATION PROCESS TO TAKE A TOTAL OF TWO TO THREE MONTHS, INVITED THE VISITORS TO MINGLE WITH THE COMBINED FORCES FOLLOWING A CLASSROOM INTRODUCTION. THE EX-FAR OFFICERS WITH WHOM THE CHARGE MET SPOKE FREELY AND EXPRESSED DIVERGENT OPINIONS. THEY DESCRIBED THEIR "POLITICAL EDUCATION" MORE IN TERMS OF DISCUSSION AND DIALOGUE THAN INDOCTRINATION.

4. THE EX-FAR, MOST OF WHOM HAD COME FROM GOMA, AGREED THAT MOST OF THE EXILES NOW THERE WANTED TO RETURN TO RWANDA. THEY CITED INTIMIDATION BY EXTREMIST ELEMENTS IN THE CAMPS AS THE MAJOR DISINCENTIVE TO REFUGEE RETURN. SEVERAL FELT THAT WIDESPREAD PUBLICITY ABOUT THE PROGRAM IN GAKO WOULD ATTRACT MANY BACK ACROSS THE BORDER. (COMMENT. THE PROPOSED UN RADIO STATION, WHICH IS STILL NOT OPERATIONAL, COULD PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE HERE. END COMMENT.) THE EX-

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FAR SOLDIERS EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM THEIR ERSTWHILE COMRADES STILL IN ZAIRE THAT THE LATTER WOULD RETURN TO THE BATTLEFIELD SOON. A FEW EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE GAKO PROGRAM AND SAID THEY WOULD MAKE A FINAL JUDGEMENT WHEN THEY HAD BEEN REASSIGNED TO ACTIVE DUTY STATUS.

5. THEY POSED NUMEROUS QUESTIONS ABOUT A POSSIBLE U.S. ROLE IN TRAINING THE NEW ARMY. CHARGE OBSERVED THAT THEIR COLLECTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD UNAMIR PARALLELED THAT OF RPA (NON-GAKO) SOLDIERS HE HAD MET. ONE DISMISSED UNAMIR SOLDIERS AS "TOURISTS WHO DROVE AROUND ALL DAY AND NEVER GOT OUT OF THEIR CARS TO GO INTO THE HILLS TO SEE WHAT WAS GOING ON". A SECOND SAID THAT THE U.N. NEEDED TO RECRUIT CONTINENTS WITH BETTER CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE RWANDAN SITUATION. THEY EXPRESSED NEARLY UNIVERSAL DISPLEASURE WITH THE U.N. ROLE DURING THE MASSACRES, AND IN THE AFTERMATH. (COMMENT. COLLECTIVELY, THE U.N. HAS NOT WON THE INFORMATION WAR. END COMMENT.)

6. FINAL COMMENT. WE CAME AWAY WITH A POSITIVE IMPRESSION OF WHAT THE RPA IS ATTEMPTING TO DO. THIS LOOKS TO BE AN HONEST ATTEMPT AT RECONCILIATION. THE RPA HID NOTHING AND EVEN INVITED US TO PHOTOGRAPH THE CAMP, IN OUR EXPERIENCE A RARITY IN AFRICAN MILITARY FACILITIES. UNDERLYING PROBLEMS REMAIN, OF COURSE. FIRST, THE RPA SCREENED THE EX-FAR IN THE CAMPS AND CERTAINLY CHOSE THOSE WHO FOR VARIOUS REASONS HAD NOT BEEN SWEPT UP IN THE GENOCIDE. THIS IS CLEARLY NOT THE CASE WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF EX-FAR SOLDIERS NOW IN ZAIRE. SECOND, EVENTUAL RPA INTEGRATION OF THE GRADUATES OF THIS "POLITICAL EDUCATION" INTO ACTIVE DUTY RANKS CAN BE THE TRUE TEST OF ITS SUCCESS. AND FINALLY, DESPITE THE CONGENIAL ATMOSPHERE THAT REIGNED AT GAKO, IT WAS NOT DIFFICULT TO TELL WHO HAD LOST THE WAR, AND WHO HAD WON.

WHITEHEAD
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2039
TOR: 941101052148 M1336949
DIST:
SIT: ATKIN DESHAZER NSC VAX
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 5195
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7953
SUBJ: TRENDS IN FRENCH ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA: GHANA
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 ACCRA 009530

FOR AF/RA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, FR, GH
SUBJECT: TRENDS IN FRENCH ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA: GHANA

REF: STATE 291289

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: FRENCH ENGAGEMENT IN GHANA IS AIMED AT REMINDING THEIR HOSTS THAT FRANCE IS A POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PARTNER. FRENCH BUSINESS SEES GHANA'S GROWING ECONOMY AND STABLE ENVIRONMENT AS PROMISING TERRAIN. WHILE FRANCE OFFERED LAST SUMMER TO EQUIP GHANAIAN PEACEKEEPERS IF THEY WOULD INTERVENE IN RWANDA ALONG SIDE FRENCH TROOPS, THE GHANAIAN MILITARY DECLINED TO TAKE UP THE OFFER OUT OF SUSPICION OF FRENCH MOTIVES. GHANA'S LEADERS TEND TO LOOK ASKANCE AT WHAT THEY VIEW AS FRENCH MANIPULATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN COUNTRIES. FRENCH INTEREST IN TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT SUPPORTED BY ANYTHING APPROACHING AN ACTIVE POLICY IN GHANA. END SUMMARY.

3. IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL, THE FOLLOWING ARE EMBASSY'S COMMENTS ON FRANCE'S ENGAGEMENT IN GHANA

-- FRENCH ENGAGEMENT IN GHANA -- A COUNTRY WHERE GOVERNMENT SUSPICION OF FRENCH MOTIVES IN AFRICA IS HIGH -- IS AIMED AT MAINTAINING A DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC PRESENCE WHICH IF NOT EQUAL TO THAT OF THE U.S. OR THE

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UK, AT LEAST REMINDS THEIR HOSTS THAT FRANCE IS A POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT PARTNER. THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED IN GHANA IN WAYS THAT ARE AIMED AT UNDERSCORING FRENCH STRENGTHS AND DEMONSTRATING A WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. OVER THE LAST YEAR THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF VERY SUCCESSFUL CULTURAL EVENTS ORGANIZED AND SUPPORTED BY THE FRENCH EMBASSY. THE ACCRA OFFICE OF THE CAISSE FRANCAISE DE DEVELOPPEMENT (FORMERLY THE CAISSE CENTRALE), UNDER DYNAMIC LEADERSHIP, HAS MAINTAINED IF NOT AUGMENTED ITS LEVEL OF ACTIVITY IN SUPPORT OF WORTHY INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS OF VARIOUS SIZES. FURTHER, WE BELIEVE FRENCH BUSINESS INTERESTS INCREASINGLY SEE GHANA'S GROWING ECONOMY AND STABLE ENVIRONMENT (IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE DECLINE OF NEIGHBORING TOGO) AS FERTILE GROUND FOR INVESTMENT. FRENCH PRODUCTS, TECHNOLOGY AND SERVICES ENJOY EXCELLENT REPUTATIONS AND ARE OFTEN VERY PRICE COMPETITIVE. WE EXPECT FRENCH EMBASSY AND FOREIGN AID INSTITUTIONS TO CONTINUE TO SEEK INROADS IN SUPPORT OF FRENCH INDUSTRY.

-- AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE CONTINUING MOSTLY POSITIVE EVOLUTION OF THE GHANAIAN ECONOMY HAS CREATED A PROPITIOUS TERRAIN FOR FRENCH ECONOMIC INTERESTS. AMONG OTHERS, FRENCH TELECOMMUNICATIONS, AUTOMOBILE, AND HOTEL INDUSTRY REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN AMONG THE MOST ACTIVE, AND ASSUMING CONTINUED STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS WE EXPECT THEM TO CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR INTEREST IN THIS MARKET. AT THE SAME TIME, FRENCH DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN MORE ACTIVE -- MOST NOTABLY LAST JULY AND AUGUST DURING THE RWANDAN CRISIS -- IN APPROACHES TO THE GHANA ARMED FORCES IN AN EFFORT TO IDENTIFY POINTS OF CONVERGENCE BETWEEN FRENCH POLICY AND GHANAIAN PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES. AT THE HEIGHT OF THE CRISIS, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO HELP EQUIP GHANAIAN PEACEKEEPERS (ACCRA 5288). IT IS LIKELY THE FRENCH OFFER WAS A UNIQUE EVENT TIED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A SPECIFIC MILITARY INTERVENTION. IN ANY CASE, IT WAS OBVIOUS IN THIS INSTANCE THAT THE GHANAIAN MILITARY'S STRONG DESIRE FOR MORE AND BETTER EQUIPMENT WAS EVENTUALLY OVERCOME BY THEIR EXTREME SUSPICION OF FRENCH MOTIVES AND BY THE HOPE THAT ALL THEIR MATERIAL NEEDS WOULD BE PROVIDED FOR BY THE U.S. GHANA, MOREOVER, DID NOT WANT TO BE USED BY THE FRENCH FOR WHAT IT CONSIDERED TO BE PARTISAN PURPOSES IN RWANDA. IT WOULD HAVE PREFERRED FOR FRANCE NOT TO TAKE THE LEAD IN AN AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING EFFORT AND THUS ENHANCE ITS INFLUENCE. GHANAIAN SUSPICION OF FRENCH MOTIVES, EXPRESSED IN SOMETIMES VEHEMENT TERMS BY RAWLINGS AND OTHERS, TAKES THE FORM OF RESENTMENT AT WHAT GHANA'S LEADERS SEE AS AN OVERLY CLOSE RELIANCE BY FRANCOPHONE COUNTRIES ON FRANCE, AND IN PARTICULAR FRENCH MILITARY CAPACITY TO PRESERVE THEM IN POWER. THEY BELIEVE THAT THIS RELIANCE RESULTS IN MANIPULATION BY FRANCE OF AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICIES AND UNDERCUTS SUBREGIONAL EFFORTS AT ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND JOINT PEACEKEEPING.

-- ABSENT ANOTHER SIMILAR CRISIS WHERE GHANAIAN

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PEACEKEEPING COULD POSSIBLY BUTTRESS FRENCH ACTIONS IN A FRANCOPHONE COUNTRY, WE DO NOT VIEW AS LIKELY ANOTHER OFFER SOON OF FRENCH MILITARY SUPPORT. HOWEVER, EVEN IF IT WERE TO HAPPEN, IT WOULD NOT NECESSARILY CONFLICT WITH U.S. INTERESTS IN GHANA WHERE WE SEEK TO STRENGTHEN
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 ACCRA 009530

FOR AF/RA

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, FR, GH
SUBJECT: TRENDS IN FRENCH ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA: GHANA

THE COUNTRY'S RESOLVE TO BE ACTIVE PEACEKEEPERS IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE. OTHER KEY U.S. OBJECTIVES IN GHANA -- TO SEE RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW CONSOLIDATED, TO SEE POLITICAL DIALOGUE EXPAND, TO ENHANCE GHANA'S COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC REFORM, AND TO ASSURE FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IN 1996 -- ARE NOT AT ODDS WITH FRENCH OBJECTIVES HERE AS WE SEE THEM. INDEED, FRENCH ACTIONS REVEAL A SIMILAR COMMITMENT TO A DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION OF GHANAIAN SOCIETY, WITH THE DIFFERENCE IN OUR APPROACHES BEING THE UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY OF THE FRENCH TO COMMIT THE SAME RESOURCES TO THESE OBJECTIVES AS THE U.S. IS ABLE TO DO. CERTAINLY FRANCE HAS A STAKE IN SEEING GHANA CONTINUE TO ENJOY STABILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE EXPECT THAT FRENCH ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO REFLECT THOSE DESIRES.

-- WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS (MOST NOTABLY THE FRENCH DONATION OF COMPUTER EQUIPMENT TO THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION IN ANTICIPATION OF PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 1992) FRENCH INTEREST IN TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IS NOT SUPPORTED BY ANYTHING APPROACHING AN ACTIVE POLICY IN GHANA. IF AT TIMES THE LACK OF FRENCH INITIATIVES WOULD APPEAR TO BE MOTIVATED OUT OF A CYNICAL VIEW OF THE POSSIBILITY OF GREAT PROGRESS ON THESE FRONTS, AT LEAST U.S. EFFORTS IN SUPPORT OF THEM HAVE NOT BEEN IMPEDED BY FRENCH ACTIONS. GENERALLY SPEAKING, FRENCH REPRESENTATION IS ABSENT AMONG GROUPS INTERESTED IN PURSUING TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE. THUS, OUR DIPLOMATIC PARTNERS IN THESE AREAS HAVE TENDED TO BE MORE OFTEN THAN NOT THE BRITISH, GERMAN, CANADIAN, SWISS, AND DANISH MISSIONS.
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

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2011-0262-M-S (9,76)
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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUEHKM
DTG: 011155Z NOV 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2295
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4376
RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 0002
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 0224
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6196
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 0625
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0065
RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0805
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0566
RUCJACC/USCINCENT MACDILL AFB FL
RUEHMV/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 0349
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0121
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0396
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0392
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0460
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2167
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2745
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 2835
SUBJ: MUSEVENI ON SUDAN, THE KONY REBELS, AND THE ECONOMY
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 05 KAMPALA 008841

LONDON FOR YOUNG

PARIS FOR MORAN

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: UG SU LI PREL MASS EAID PHUM PINS ECON
SUBJECT: MUSEVENI ON SUDAN, THE KONY REBELS, AND THE ECONOMY

REF: KAMPALA 06328 (NOTAL)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MAINTAINS A LIVELY INTEREST IN SUDAN AND BELIEVES THE TIME IS AT HAND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO INSIST THAT THE GOS DEAL SERIOUSLY WITH THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES DEVELOPED AT

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THE IGADD TALKS IN NAIROBI. COERCION WILL PROBABLY BE NECESSARY. ON LIBERIA, HE REMAINS PESSIMISTIC. ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, MUSEVENI DISPLAYED CONFIDENCE IN THE GOU'S ABILITY TO SUBDUE THE KONY REBELS AND AIRED SOME FRUSTRATION WITH DIE HARDS WITHIN THE GOU WHO OPPOSE ECONOMIC REFORM. END SUMMARY.

3. THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI OCT 28 FOR OVER AN HOUR TO CONDUCT A TOUR D'HORIZON OF SEVERAL REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES. THE PRESIDENT LOOKED AND BEHAVED IN FINE FORM. HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM SEVERAL DAYS IN GULU, AND PLANNED TO LEAVE THE NEXT DAY FOR A CONFERENCE OF CEOS IN ARGENTINA. THE PRESIDENT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MFA PS KATSIGAZI, MFA AMERICAS OFFICER ROSEMARY SEMAFUMU, AND A STATE HOUSE NOTETAKER.

SUDAN: THE WORLD MUST INSIST

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4. MUSEVENI SEES THE SOUTHERN SUDAN PROBLEM AS COMING TO A HEAD. HE EVINCED SATISFATION THAT THE IGADD PROCESS HAS AT LEAST FRAMED THE ISSUE CORRECTLY IN THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (DOP). IT IS NOW UP TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO "INSIST" THAT THE GOS DEAL WITH THE DOP. IT IS NOT JUST SOUTHERN SUDAN WHICH IS AT STAKE. THE KHARTOUM GOVERNMENT POSES A THREAT TO ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS. AT THE HEART OF THE MATTER IS WHETHER SUDAN WILL BE A PROGRESSIVE OR A BACKWARD STATE.

5. THE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO DISCUSS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FUNDAMENTALISTS AND ISLAMICISTS. HE HAS NO PROBLEM WITH FUNDAMENTALISTS OF ANY RELIGION, HE INDICATED, CITING HIS MOTHER AS SOMEONE TOTALLY WRAPPED UP IN CHRISTIANITY. BUT ISLAMICISTS WANT TO PROPOGATE THEIR FAITH THROUGH FORCE. THIS IS UNACCEPTABLE.

6. RESPONDING TO THIS THEME, THE AMBASSADOR OBSERVED THAT TURABI SEEMS TO LIVE IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY. FURTHERMORE, SAID THE AMBASSADOR, ACCORDING TO USG ANALYSIS, THE ALTERNATIVES TO THE NIF GOVERNMENT LOOK NEITHER PROMISING NOR LIKELY TO SUPPLANT THE NIF. A GOOD HARVEST IN SUDAN WILL LIKELY EASE POPULAR PRESSURE FOR CHANGE.

7. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED MUSEVENI WHAT HE MEANT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY "INSISTING" THAT THE GOS DEAL WITH THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. FOR ITS PART, THE AMBASSADOR SAID, THE USG HAS A DEEP INTEREST IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN PROBLEM AND CONTINUES TO MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION -- TOTALLING WELL OVER A BILLION DOLLARS SO FAR -- TO THE RELIEF EFFORT THERE. DIPLOMATICALLY, THE USG SEEKS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND SUPPORTS IGADD AS OFFERING THE BEST HOPE OF EVENTUAL SUCCESS. THE USG FURTHERMORE BELIEVES IT IS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE THAT IGADD EXERT LEADERSHIP AND NOT DEPEND ON OTHERS TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE. OTHERWISE THE PROBLEM WOULD TAKE ON OVERTONES AND DIMENSIONS WHICH WOULD

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COMPLICATE THE PEACE PROCESS. MUSEVENI APPRECIATED THIS POINT, AND ASKED PS KATSIGAZI TO UPDATE HIM ON THE DIPLOMATIC STATE OF PLAY.

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8. PS KATSIGAZI RELALATED THAT PRESIDENT MOI HAD WRITTEN TO UNSYG BOUTROS GHALI TO ADVISE HIM THAT THE IGAAD PROCESS HAD REACHED AN IMPASSE. ACCORDING TO KATSIGAZI, THE SYG HAD ADVISED MOI THAT INTERNTIONAL OPINION WAS AGAINST THE GOS AND HAD ASKED WHETHER THE MOI LETTER SHOULD BE CIRCULATED TO SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES. MOI HAD SAID NO. MUSEVENI OBSERVED THAT THE LETTER SHOULD BE CIRCULATED, AND STATED THAT HE WOULD PHONE "MR. MOI" TO SUGGEST THIS COURSE OF ACTION.

9. THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS THE KEY TO UN CONSIDERATION OF SUDAN BUT THAT THE CHINESE SO FAR SEEM TO HAVE LITTLE APPRECIATION FOR THE WIDER DIMENSIONS OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN PROBLEM. THE IGADD PARTNERS COULD BE ACTIVE IN THIS REGARD, SUGGESTED THE AMBASSADOR. MUSEVENI, NEITHER AGREEING NOR DISAGREEING, OFFERED THE THOUGHT THAT THE OAU SHOULD ALSO BE BROUGHT FORMALLY INTO THE PICTURE. KATSIGAZI ADVISED THAT THIS COULD NOT BE DONE UNTIL THE NEXT SUMMIT IN JUN UNLESS A SPECIAL MEETING WERE CALLED. MUSEVENI PONDERED THIS PROSPECT.

10. MUSEVENI WAS AWARE THAT KENYAN ENVOY ONYONKA PLANS TO VISIT KHARTOUM SOON BUT HE EVINCED NO SIGN THAT HE EXPECTS ONYONKA TO MAKE PROGRESS. MUSEVENI LAMENTED THAT THE GOS HAS LITTLE REGARD FOR AFRICANS AND HAS RECENTLY ENGAGED IN A CAMPAIGN TO BRIBE VARIOUS OFFICIALS IN THE IGADD GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING HIS OWN FOREIGN MINISTER. MUSEVENI ALSO CONDEMNED GOS EFFORTS TO SET UP ALTERNATIVES TO IGADD, E.G., THE NORWEGIANS, AS A DISTRACTION TO BUY TIME.

11. CONCLUDING THE DISCUSSION OF THESE OPTIONS, MUSEVENI SAID THAT SHOULD THEY COME TO NOUGHT, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST APPLY DIRECT PRESSURE ON THE GOS. A BLOCKADE OF PORT SUDAN WOULD BE EASY TO IMPLEMENT. THIS SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE PROVISION OF ARMS AND MATERIEL TO GARANG. THE AMBASSADOR STATED THAT THE USG WOULD NOT/NOT SUPPLY ARMS TO GARANG.

12. THIS LED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE INTERNAL BICKERING

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AMONG THE SOUTHERN SUDANESE. MUSEVENI EXPRESSED CONTEMPT FOR RIEK MACHAR AND THE OTHER RIVALS TO GARANG; THEY WERE TOOLS OF THE KHARTOUM GOVERNMENT. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR OFFERED THE PERSONAL OPINION THAT RIEK COULD BE CONSIDERED SINCERE BUT CONFUSED, MUSEVENI SHOT BACK THAT CONFUSION COULD STILL BE DAMAGING. MUSEVENI SAID HE APPLIED A LITMUS TEST TO REBEL MOVEMENTS, I.E., WHAT ARE THEY FIGHTING FOR, WHOM ARE THEY FIGHTING, ARE THEY CONSISTENT? IN THE CASE OF GARANG'S RIVALS, THE ANSWER WAS DISTURBING. HE RECALLED THAT THE SPLIT IN THE SPLM IN 1991 CAME JUST AT THE MOMENT WHEN GARANG SEEMED POISED TO ACHIEVE MILITARY SUCCESS. GARANG'S RIVALS SHOULD AT LEAST COOPERATE IN FIGHTING AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY BUT HAD CHOSEN NOT TO DO SO. THE AMBASSADOR DID NOT DISPUTE THIS VIEW, BUT SAID THAT IN HIS PERSONAL OPINION GARANG HAD NOT DONE ENOUGH TO FOSTER RECONCILIATION. MUSEVENI, WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL, SAID THAT GARANG INDEED HAS HIS LIMITATIONS BUT THAT GARANG NONETHELESS CONTINUES TO FIGHT.

THE NORTH: KONY ON THE RUN BUT WILL RETURN

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13. MUSEVENI EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH HIS JUST-CONCLUDED STAY IN GULU FOR SEVERAL DAYS. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S OBSERVATION THAT THE TIDE SEEMS TO BE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 KAMPALA 008841

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TURNING AGAINST THE REBELS, MUSEVENI IN GOOD HUMOR RESPONDED THAT THE TIDE HAS ALWAYS BEEN WITH THE GOVERNMENT. TO THE EXTENT THAT DIFFICULTIES HAVE BEEN ENCOUNTERED, MUSEVENI ADMITTED, THE GOVERNMENT IS CULPABLE THROUGH ITS OWN NEGLIGENCE. "SOME OF MY TROOPS," MUSEVENI SAID, "SAT UNDER TREES DRINKING." NOW, WITH A NEW COMMANDER AND BETTER TACTICS, "WE ARE CHASING KONY," SAID MUSEVENI. ASKED TO CONFIRM A PRESS REPORT THAT KONY HAD FLED TO SUDAN OR ZAIRE, MUSEVENI SAID IT APPEARS TO BE SO (SUDAN), BUT THAT HE EXPECTS KONY TO RETURN.

US DATT TO VISIT NORTH

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14. THE AMBASSADOR ADVISED THE PRESIDENT THAT DATT KELLER HAD JUST ARRIVED FROM MALAWI TO VISIT THE NORTH AND REVIEW THE KONY SITUATION WITH GOU MILITARY AUTHORITIES. MUSEVENI WELCOMED US INTEREST AND PROMISE

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FULL COOPERATION. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE USG MAY/MAY BE ABLE TO PROVIDE SOME MODEST SUPPORT AND THAT KELLER'S VISIT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD. AT THIS POINT MUSEVENI RECALLED HIS REQUEST FOR NIGHT VISION GOGGLES (REFTEL), SAYING THAT THEY WOULD MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE BECAUSE HIS FORCES CANNOT OPERATE EFFECTIVELY AT NIGHT WITHOUT THEM. (COMMENT: BEFORE LEAVING FOR THE NORTH DATT KELLER HAD DOUBTS ABOUT WHETHER NVG ARE ADVISABLE GIVEN OTHER LIMITATIONS IN NRA EQUIPMENT AND TACTICS. DESPITE MUSEVENI'S KEEN INTEREST IN NVG, HE WOULD PROBABLY BE PLEASED WITH SOMETHING ELSE, E.G., REFOCUSSING THE JCET PROGRAM. END COMMENT).

MUSEVENI AWAITS REPORT ON LIBERIA

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15. THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE GOU DECISION TO KEEP ITS FORCES IN LIBERIA FOR THE TIME BEING. THIS IS ADVISABLE DESPITE THE ODDS AGAINST PROGRESS, THE AMBASSADOR SAID, NOTING RECENT REPORTS OF FIGHTING. MUSEVENI SIGHED. REFERRING TO THE CURRENT VISIT TO LIBERIA OF GOU DEFENSE MINISTER MBABAZI, MUSEVENI INDICATED THAT HE WOULD AWAIT MBABAZI'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS BEFORE MAKING ANY FURTHER DECISION. THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT THE DEPT IS ACTIVELY SEEKING A MORE DIRECT METHOD OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE UGANDAN OPERATION. COMMENT: MUSEVENI LEFT NO DOUBT HE REGARDS INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS IN LIBERIA AS FUTILE. END COMMENT.

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RWANDA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

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16. IN A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF RWANDA, THE AMBASSADOR HIGHLIGHTED UNSC EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND REVIEWED THE ARGUMENTS FOR JURISDICTION TO INCLUDE THE FOUR NEIGHBORING STATES. BURUNDI AND TANZANIA HAD AGREED TO THIS. WITHOUT DISCLOSING A GOU DECISION ON THE JURISDICTION ISSUE, MUSEVENI INDICATED THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE TRIBUNAL TO BE CONSTITUTED AND BEGIN ITS WORK. THE IMPORTANT THING, HE SAID, IS TO BRING THE RINGLEADERS TO BOOK. ASKED WHAT HE MEANS BY RINGLEADERS, GIVEN THAT THE GOR HAS IMPRISONED THOUSAND OF SUSPECTS, MUSEVENI SAID THAT HE HAS A MUCH SMALLER NUMBER IN MIND. THE AMBASSADOR OBSERVED THAT EVEN THE BEST JUDICIARY IN THE WORLD WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY DEALING WITH THOUSANDS OF CASES. MUSEVENI NODDED AGREEMENT.

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FLAK ON ECONOMIC REFORM
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17. THE AMBASSADOR CONGRATULATED MUSEVENI ON THE TONE AND THRUST OF HIS RECENT SPEECHES ON ECONOMIC REFORM. OBVIOUSLY PLEASED, MUSEVENI SAID THAT HE IS CURRENTLY INCURRING A GREAT DEAL OF CRITICISM OF HIS ECONOMIC POLICIES FROM WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO THE CRITICS, MUSEVENI SAID, "I AM MAKING THE TABLE SMALLER" THROUGH PRIVATIZATION. THE AMBASSADOR JOKINGLY OBSERVED THAT EVEN IF THERE WERE ONLY ONE CHICKEN BONE ON THE TABLE, SOME PEOPLE WOULD WANT TO FIGHT OVER THAT RATHER THAN WONDER WHY THE TABLE IS PRACTICALLY BARE. BACKWARD THINKING, MUSEVENI SAID, IS THE CULPRIT; TOO MANY PEOPLE STILL DON'T UNDERSTAND HOW AN ECONOMY GROWS. THEIR THINKING IS MIRED IN THE PAST. LIKE OTHERS, MUSEVENI SAID, HE HAS COME TO LEARN THAT CAPITALISM RELEASES ENERGY AND CREATIVITY. STILL, EXPLAINED MUSEVENI, CAPITALISM IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, BUT A MEANS TO PROVIDE THE NATION WITH SOCIAL SERVICES AND IN GENERAL A DECENT LIFE. MODERN ECONOMIES, HE OBSERVED, HAVE A FAIR AMOUNT OF REGULATION TO CURB THE EXCESSES OF CAPITALISM.

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OF RESTRAINT, AND SHAKESPEARE
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18. AS THE MEETING ENDED MUSEVENI REVERTED TO DESCRIBING HIS STAY IN GULU, SAYING THAT HE HAD MET WITH SOME ITALIAN RELIGIOUS WORKERS WHO HAD PRAISED THE NRM WAY OF DOING THINGS. ONE ITALIAN, A LONG TIME RESIDENT OF UGANDA, WAS ABOUT TO GIVE UP IN DESPAIR WHEN THE NRA TOOK POWER IN 1986. BUT THEN HE SAW HOW THE NRA TROOPS BEHAVED. WHEN THEY ARRIVED AT HIS COMPOUND, THEY DISTURBED NOTHING BUT SIMPLY MARCHED ON. THE AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO ENGENDER CONFIDENCE AND THAT WHEN TROOPS ARE INDISCIPLINED, THEY MUST BE PUNISHED. MUSEVENI STRONGLY AGREED, PROUDLY INDICATING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS A GOOD RECORD, EVEN PUNISHING NRM LOYALISTS WHEN NECESSARY. THE AMBASSADOR RECALLED THE EPISODE IN SHAKESPEARE'S HENRY V WHEN HENRY HAS TO HANG AN OLD CRONY. MUCH INTRIGUED BY THIS EXAMPLE, MUSEVENI ENTERED INTO A DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS SHAKESPEARE PLAYS WHICH HAVE INFLUENCED HIM. (COMMENT: TO MAKE A LONG STORY SHORT, BOTH STATE HOUSE AND EMBASSY STAFFS ARE NOW COMBING LOCAL VIDEO LIBRARIES FOR A COPY OF THE KENNETH BRANAGH FILM OF HENRY V. END COMMENT).

COMMENT

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19. MUSEVENI LIVED UP TO HIS BILLING AS AN ENGAGING CONVERSATIONALIST, AN OCCASIONAL TONE OF SELF-CONGRATULATION NOTWITHSTANDING. HE SPEAKS AND LISTENS WELL. HIS COMMENTS ON THE SUDAN PEACE PROCESS SUGGEST THE SAME AGGRESSIVE STANCE TAKEN BY MESSRS ISAIAS AND MELES, BUT HE IS LESS CLEAR ABOUT DAY TO DAY TACTICS. ON THE PLUS SIDE, MUSEVENI SEEMS WILLING TO SUPPORT CONCRETE STEPS TO INVOLVE THE UN AND POSSIBLY THE OAU WHICH WOULD INCREASE PRESSURE ON KHARTOUM. WITH REGARD TO RWANDA, PERHAPS MUSEVENI WAS JUST BEING COY BY NOT INDICATING WHICH WAY THE GOU WOULD GO ON THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL JURISDICTION ISSUE. POST SPECULATES THAT MUSEVENI, BECAUSE OF RECENT HISTORY, SIMPLY DOES NOT WANT TO SHOW TOO CLOSE AN IDENTITY WITH THE GOR. ON THE ECONOMY, MUSEVENI'S COMMENTS BEAR CLOSER SCRUTINY. OVER
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THE COMING MONTHS THE POST WILL ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY AND ANALYZE THE VARIOUS IMPEDIMENTS TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN UGANDA. "OLD THINKING," A MASK FOR VESTED INTERESTS, IS CLEARLY ONE OF THEM. OTHER PARTS OF THE BILATERAL AGENDA, PARTICULARLY HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL REFORM ISSUES, MUST AWAIT A SUBSEQUENT MEETING. END COMMENT.
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INFO: ////
SUBJ: THE FRENCH IN ZAIRE

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PARIS FOR MORAN
LONDON FOR YOUNG
VAIHINGEN FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, FR, CG
SUBJECT: THE FRENCH IN ZAIRE

REF: (A) STATE 291289

1. THIS REPORT RESPONDS TO THE REQUEST MADE IN REFTEL.

2. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE U.S. AND BELGIUM FORM THE "TROIKA" OF COUNTRIES THAT HAVE TAKEN THE LEAD IN ZAIRE'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST -- A REFLECTION OF THE FACT THAT FOR HISTORICAL, ECONOMIC, GEOGRAPHICAL AND STRATEGIC REASONS, THESE THREE ARE THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WITH MAJOR INTERESTS HERE. AFTER THE ARMED FORCES MUTINY OF 1991, FRANCE, LIKE ALL OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES AFFECTED, SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED ITS PRESENCE IN ZAIRE AND CUT ASSISTANCE LEVELS DRAMATICALLY. THERE IS NO ONGOING MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AND WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE "HUMANITARIAN" AID PACKAGE FOR 1994 WAS A MERE 8 MILLION FRANCS. IN THAT SENSE, FRANCE IS LESS ENGAGED THAN EARLIER, BUT THIS IS A DIMINUTION FORCED BY ZAIRIAN EVENTS MORE THAN BY A RECALCULATION OF FRENCH INTEREST.

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3. FRENCH RELATIONS WITH MOBUTU AND ZAIRE ARE IN PART BASED ON THE APPRECIATION THAT ZAIRE IS, GEOGRAPHICALLY, THE LARGEST OF THE FRANCOPHONE COUNTRIES -- EVEN IF WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THE TRUE NUMBER OF FRENCH SPEAKERS IS PROBABLY SHRINKING.

4. FRENCH INTERESTS ARE TO SOME DEGREE COMMERCIAL, AND MOBUTU IN PARTICULAR AND THE ZAIRIANS IN GENERAL LIKE TO THINK THAT THEY CAN PLAY FRANCE AGAINST BELGIUM IN THIS REGARD. IN FACT, IT APPEARS THAT THE RIVALRY HAS MUCH LESS OF A BASIS NOW THAN IN THE PAST. FRENCH INVESTORS ARE NOW MAJOR SHAREHOLDERS IN SOCIETE GENERALE (THE TRADITIONAL BELGIAN CONGLOMERATE OPERATING IN ZAIRE) AND THERE IS NOT MUCH MEAT LEFT ON THE ZAIRIAN BONES TO FIGHT OVER AT THIS POINT. BELGIAN FEARS OF FRENCH COMPETITION ARE OVER-BLOWN AND ZAIRIAN LEVERAGE HERE OF LITTLE EFFECT.

5. OF GREATER IMPORTANCE IS THE ZAIRIAN ROLE AS THE KEY ELEMENT IN CENTRAL AFRICAN STABILITY. FRENCH INTERESTS IN THE CONGO, GABON AND CAR WOULD ALL BE THREATENED IF ZAIRE SLIPPED INTO CHAOS. FURTHER, IN DEALING WITH CENTRAL AFRICAN TROUBLE-SPOTS, ZAIRIAN COOPERATION REMAINS ESSENTIAL. THE FRENCH, WHATEVER THEY THINK OF MOBUTU'S DOMESTIC TRACK RECORD, ACKNOWLEDGE HIS SKILL AND CONTINUING UTILITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE AREA. HIS COOPERATION WAS NEEDED WHEN FRANCE LAUNCHED "OPERATION TURQUOISE" TO CREATE A SAFE ZONE IN RWANDA. IN DOING SO, PARIS WAS REQUIRED TO FLATTER MOBUTU MORE THAN WE OR THE BELGIANS ARE PREPARED TO DO. MOBUTU RESPONDED BY PROVIDING THE FRENCH WITH CARTE BLANCHE ACCESS TO KISANGANI, GOMA, AND BUKAVU AS STAGING CENTERS.

6. THAT SAID, THE GOF ADHERES TO THE TROIKA POLICY OF PRESSURING MOBUTU THROUGH RESTRICTING VISAS AND THROUGH WITHHOLDING MOST ASSISTANCE IN ORDER TO KEEP THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS ON TRACK -- EVEN IF, FOR REASONS NOTED, FRANCE IS GENERALLY PERCEIVED AS THE MOST LENIENT MEMBER OF THE TROIKA. OVER THE LAST YEAR, THE GOF HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT EXCEPTIONS TO ITS RESTRICTIVE VISA POLICY, AND THE POLICY OF MAINTAINING MOBUTU'S DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION. MOBUTU RECEIVED AN INVITATION TO THE 1993 FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT IN MAURITIUS; MONTHS LATER, MOBUTU'S ELDEST SON AND THEN MOBUTU'S WIFE WERE GRANTED FRENCH VISAS ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS. (THE SON WAS ILL WITH AIDS; HE DIED IN ERANCE IN SEPTEMBER, 1994.) MOBUTU HIMSELF WILL ATTEND THE 1994 FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT IN FRANCE.

7. OF NATIONAL SELF INTEREST, BUT THE FACT THAT IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN THE FRENCH POLITICAL SYSTEM REMAIN REMARKABLY FAVORABLE TOWARDS MOBUTU. CHIRAC, FOR EXAMPLE, OFTEN SENDS ROBERT BOURGUI TO CONSULT WITH MOBUTU AT GBADOLITE. (WE SUSPECT THAT TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT THESE TIES REFLECT MOBUTU'S FINANCIAL WATERING OF VARIOUS FRENCH POLITICIANS

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AND MOVEMENTS OVER THE YEARS.) SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL, MOST OF THESE CONTACTS TAKE PLACE WITHOUT ANY PARTICIPATION BY THE FRENCH EMBASSY HERE.

8. WE SHOULD NOTE THAT AMBASSADOR DEPAIGNE AND DCM COULONT IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS DO NOT MINCE WORDS CONCERNING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MOBUTU FOR THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY. THEY WOULD ARGUE, HOWEVER, THAT THE FRENCH APPLICATION OF THE VISA POLICY IS, IN PART, DESIGNED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN MOBUTU THE PRESIDENT AND MOST OF HIS FORMAL AND INFORMAL ENTOURAGE, AND SUPPORTING MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL CLASS. THE OBJECT OF THIS DISTINCTION IS TO ENCOURAGE MOBUTU TO SEE HIS INTERESTS AS DIFFERENT FROM, E.G., THOSE MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR MILITARY WHOSE REMOVAL OR REDUCTION IN POWER IS ULTIMATELY NECESSARY IF ZAIRE IS TO AVOID FALLING (FURTHER) INTO CHAOS. THIS DISTINCTION MAKES SOME SENSE AND PERMITS MITTERAND TO CONDUCT A SOMETIMES FRUITFUL DIALOGUE WITH MOBUTU ON A LEVEL WHICH IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE USG AND IMPOSSIBLE FOR BELGIUM.

9. RELATIONS WITH THE PRIME-MINISTERIAL LEVEL HAVE WARMED SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE THE INSTALLATION OF THE KENGO GOVERNMENT ON JUNE 14, 1994. THE FRENCH NEVER LIKED ETIENNE TSHISEKEDI AND WERE DISGUSTED BY HIS INEFFECTIVENESS FOLLOWING THE KILLING OF THEIR AMBASSADOR DURING THE RIOTS AND PILLAGING OF JANUARY, 1993. KENGO PRONOUNCED HIMSELF SATISFIED WITH HIS OCTOBER 11-12 VISIT TO FRANCE (SUBSEQUENT TO A SIMILARLY SATISFACTORY VISIT TO THE U.S.) KENGO MEETINGS WITH TOP OFFICIALS IN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT BOLSTERED HIS CLAIM THAT ZAIRE'S DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION WAS OVER. PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT, HE OBTAINED A PROMISE OF FRENCH SUPPORT FOR ZAIRIAN REQUESTS IN THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK, A COMMITMENT FOR AN INCREASE IN "HUMANITARIAN" ASSSISTANCE (DEFINED AS AID TO TRANSPORTATION, EDUCATION, AND BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE) TO 50 MILLION FRANCS IN 1956, AND A GIFT OF 40 RENAULT BUSES FOR THE SOTRAZ URBAN TRANSPORTATION COMPANY.

10. ON THE WHOLE, WE FIND NO CONFLICT WITH THE GOF IN ZAIRE, AND GENERALLY A PARALLEL APPROACH. UNLIKE THE BELGIANS, GOF POLICIES ARE CENTERED ON CALCULATIONS OF FRENCH INTEREST -- IF GENERALLY GENEROUSLY CONCEIVED. (AS ONE FRENCH DIPLOMAT PUT IT: BELGIUM DOES NOT HAVE A POLICY TOWARDS ZAIRE; IT HAS AN EMOTION.) WITH DUE EXCEPTIONS MADE FOR THE SPECIAL VISITORS TO MOBUTU THAT COME TO GBADOLITE FROM PARIS AND RETURN WITHOUT CONTACT HERE IN KINSHASA, THE FRENCH AND WE SHARE THE SAME OVER-ALL GOALS AND ANALYSES. THEY ARE LESS ENGAGED ON OUR TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES, BUT HERE THIS IS PERHAPS TO SOME DEGREE BECAUSE THE GRAVITY OF THE ZAIRIAN CRISIS DOES NOT FOSTER CONCENTRATED ACTIVITY ON MUCH BESIDES THE IMMEDIATE.
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~~001. cable~~	~~Meeting with PS Kimalat on Clashes, Refugees, Security (4 pages)~~	~~11/04/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. cable~~	~~Kongo to New York (2 pages)~~	~~11/29/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~003. cable~~	~~President Ntibantunganya Discusses Regional Refugee Conference (3 pages)~~	~~11/29/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~004. cable~~	~~Burundi Minister of Youth Analyzes Political Situation (4 pages)~~	~~11/29/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~005. cable~~	~~Regional Refugee Conference (5 pages)~~	~~12/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~006. cable~~	~~Political Impasse Continues (4 pages)~~	~~12/09/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~007. cable~~	~~Scene Setter for Your Visit to Zambia, December 18-19 (5 pages)~~	~~12/15/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~008. cable~~	~~[Camp Security] (2 pages)~~	~~12/16/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~009. cable~~	~~Insecurity in Bujumbura: All AMCITS Safe (2 pages)~~	~~12/19/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~010. cable~~	~~Further Insecurity Incidents in Bujumbura (2 pages)~~	~~12/20/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
011. cable	[Unstable Situation] (5 pages)	12/22/1994	P1/b(1)
~~012. cable~~	~~On the Wings of a Dove: UNESCO Peace Forum in the Congo (6 pages)~~	~~12/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[11/04/1994 - 12/29/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh147

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~013. cable~~	~~Rwanda/Burundi: Regional Conference Plans; Latest UN Thinking on Camp Security; Food Distribution (6 pages)~~	~~12/22/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
014. cable	Highlights... (3 pages)	12/22/1994	P1/b(1)
~~015. cable~~	~~Minani "Assigned" to Other Duties as Bujumbura Remains Calm (3 pages)~~	~~12/28/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
016. cable	[Refugees] (3 pages)	12/28/1994	P1/b(1)
017. cable	Former Rwandan Ambassador to Canada Reports on Effort by Senior GOR Officials to Obtain U.S. Visas [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	12/29/1994	P1/b(1) VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[11/04/1994 - 12/29/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch147

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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b(8) Release would disclose Information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0762-M-5 (5.83)
VR 10/20/2023

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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1191
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1162
SUBJ: MEETING WITH PS KIMALAT ON CLASHES, REFUGEES, SECURITY

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 NAIROBI 20300

LONDON FOR YOUNG
PARIS FOR PERLOW
GENEVA FOR RMA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREF, PHUM, PINR, KE
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PS KIMALAT ON CLASHES, REFUGEES, SECURITY

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT'S PERMANENT SECRETARY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION WILFRED KIMALAT IN AN OCTOBER 27 MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR GAVE HIS VIEWS ON THE CLASHES, REFUGEES, AND SECURITY. KIMALAT SAID THE SECURITY ZONE ESTABLISHED IN MOLO WOULD SOON BE LIFTED BUT GAVE NO TIMETABLE. HE REITERATED THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT REFUGEES ON THE COAST WERE A SECURITY CONCERN AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT WANTED THE CAMPS CLOSED, BUT DID NOT GIVE A DATE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING DIPLOMATIC SECURITY, KIMALAT NOTED THE ISSUE WAS BEING WORKED ON. HE WAS UPBEAT ABOUT KENYA'S PROGRESS ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FRONTS BUT NONETHELESS MADE A STRONG APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ENABLE KENYA TO PATROL ITS BORDER WITH SOMALIA. END SUMMARY.

3. ON OCTOBER 27, THE AMBASSADOR, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM

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AND REFCOORD (NOTETAKER), CALLED ON PERMANENT SECRETARY FOR PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND INTERNAL SECURITY IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE WILFRED KIMALAT. KIMALAT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY TILITEEI, AND FOREIGN MINISTRY AMERICAS DIVISION DEPUTY BEN OGUTU.

4. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUERY ON THE CLASHES, KIMALAT SAID THAT THE SITUATION HAD IMPROVED AND NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD INSTRUCTED THE RESETTLEMENT OF ENOOSUPUKIA CLASH VICTIMS WHO WERE DISPLACED IN MAELA. ASKED ABOUT RECENT COMMENTS BY MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT WILLIAM OLE NTIMAMA AND FORD-A MP NJEHU GATABAKI WHICH APPEARED LIKELY TO INCREASE ETHNIC TENSIONS, KIMALAT EXPLAINED THAT NTIMAMA, WHO HAD REPORTEDLY THREATENED KIKUYUS IN NAROK, WAS REACTING TO GATABAKI'S REMARK THAT MASAAI SHOULD BE INFECTED WITH SMALLPOX AND EXTERMINATED THE WAY AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS HAD TREATED NATIVE AMERICANS. KIMALAT ADDED THAT NTIMAMA AND GATABAKI HAD A PATHOLOGICAL HATRED FOR EACH OTHER, AND SINCE THEIR COMMENTS WERE MADE IN PARLIAMENT, THEY WOULD NOT BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

5. THE AMBASSADOR, NOTING THAT PRESIDENT MOI HAD SUGGESTED PUBLICLY THAT THE GOK WOULD CREATE A COMMISSION TO REVIEW LAND ISSUES, ASKED KIMALAT FOR DETAILS. KIMALAT RESPONDED THAT THE PATTERN OF LAND OWNERSHIP AND FARMING IN KENYA WAS VERY INEFFICIENT. LARGE LANDOWNERS LET THEIR LAND GO FALLOW, WHILE SMALL FARMERS CULTIVATED PLOTS TOO SMALL TO ALLOW FOR EFFICIENT SHARING OF RESOURCES. THE IDEA WAS NOT THAT EVERYONE SHOULD OWN LAND BUT TO CONSIDER HOW LAND CAN BE ECONOMICALLY USED MORE EFFICIENTLY ALONG WITH OTHER RESOURCES SUCH AS WATER AND FORESTS.

6. KIMALAT WELCOMED THE AMBASSADOR'S VISIT TO CLASH AREAS IN MOLO ON OCTOBER 28. ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR IF THE SECURITY ZONE IN THE MOLO AREA WOULD BE LIFTED, KIMALAT SAID IT WOULD BE LIFTED EVENTUALLY BUT THAT NO TIMETABLE HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED. HE SAID THERE WAS A LOT OF GOODWILL BETWEEN THE VARIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE AREA. HE NOTED THAT MUCH OF THE RECENT VIOLENCE IN THE AREA WAS CRIME-RELATED AND NOT ETHNICALLY-BASED. THE DCM POINTED OUT THAT GIVEN THE REPORTED RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE AREA, IT WOULD SEEM TO BE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST TO ALLOW MORE PRESS ACCESS SO THAT THE GOOD NEWS MIGHT BE SPREAD. KIMALAT RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD PREFER NOT TO ALLOW THE LOCAL PRESS INTO THE AREA BECAUSE THE PRESS HAD ITS OWN AGENDA. AFTER FURTHER REFLECTION, CONSULTING WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AND PRODDING BY THE AMBASSADOR, KIMALAT SAID THAT HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO ALLOW VISITS BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS.

7. KIMALAT CATEGORICALLY SAID THAT REFUGEES WOULD BE MOVED FROM THE COAST. HE SAID SOMALI REFUGEES WERE DIFFICULT AND TENDED TO BUILD A CULT AROUND THEMSELVES. HE NOTED THERE HAD BEEN PROBLEMS ALONG

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LONDON FOR YOUNG
PARIS FOR PERLOW
GENEVA FOR RMA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREF, PHUM, PINR, KE
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PS KIMALAT ON CLASHES,

THE COAST IN LAMU AND IN DADAAB AREAS, WHERE FOUR POLICEMEN WERE KILLED THE WEEK OF OCTOBER 17 IN AN AMBUSH. HE ADDED THAT UNHCR MOMBASA WAS NOT SUPPORTIVE, SAYING THAT THE STAFF THERE DID NOT WANT TO WORK THEMSELVES OUT OF CUSHY JOBS BY CLOSING THE COASTAL CAMPS AND WIND UP IN LESS COMFORTABLE SURROUNDINGS IN DADAAB. KIMALAT DID NOT GIVE A DEADLINE FOR CLOSURE OF THE CAMPS. HE SAID HE WAS AWARE THAT WITH THE DEPARTURE OF UNOSOM, THERE COULD BE ANOTHER INFLUX OF REFUGEES. ANY NEW REFUGEES WOULD BE SENT TO DADAAB, HE SAID.

8. KIMALAT APPEALED FOR US SUPPORT IN PROVIDING SECURITY ALONG THE NORTHEAST BORDER, NOTING THAT KENYA ONLY WANTED A SMALL SLICE OF THE ASSISTANCE THAT WENT TO RWANDA. HE RECALLED THE VISIT OF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR DEFENSE PAT IRVIN, NOTING THAT KENYA HAD BEEN PROMISED THE POSSIBILITY OF ASSISTANCE SUCH AS TRUCKS AND ROAD GRADERS.

9. KIMALAT ASSERTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD HAVE PREVENTED THE SITUATION IN RWANDA BUT HAD REACTED TOO SLOWLY. HE SAID THAT MUSEVENI HAD INTERVENED EARLY IN THE CRISIS AND DESCRIBED THIS INTERVENTION AS PART OF A CONSPIRACY BY MUSEVENI TO TAKE OVER RWANDA. HE WONDERED IF MUSEVENI NEXT WOULD WANT TO TAKE OVER BURUNDI.

10. ON SECURITY, KIMALAT REFERRED TO THE RECENT LETTER SENT BY PERMANENT SECRETARY]BITHI SAYING THAT KENYA WOULD ESTABLISH A SPECIAL SECURITY UNIT TO PROTET DIPLOMATS. HE SAID AS AN ASIDE THAT THE POLICE KNOW WHERE DIPLOMATS LIVE, AND IT WAS JUST A MATTER OF GETTING MORE POLICEMEN AND BETTER EQUIPMENT. HE NOTED THAT THE MAIN CONTACT FOR THE EMBASSY ON THIS ISSUE WAS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.

11. KIMALAT ASSERTED THAT KENYA HAD MADE PROGRESS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS. HE GAVE AS AN EXAMPLE THE PRESIDENT'S MEETINGS WITH KIKUYU ELDERS AND HIS VISIT TO CENTRAL PROVINCE. HE SAID KENYA WAS STABLE AND THE SHILLING DOING WELL BECAUSE OF THE AVAILABILITY OF DOLLARS IN THE COUNTRY. THE AMBASSADOR CAUTIONED THAT KENYA BE CAREFUL SINCE THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE COULD BE "HOT MONEY" BROUGHT IN TO TAKE ADVANTAGES OF HIGH INTEREST RATES. THE SHILLING'S STRENGTH NOTWITHSTANDING, KIMALAT MADE A STRONG APPEAL FOR

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FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ENABLE KENYA TO PATROL ITS BORDER WITH SOMALIA.

12. COMMENT: THE MERCURIAL KIMALAT WAS IN RARE FORM DURING THIS MEETING, HOSPITABLE, SEEMINGLY OPEN AND UPBEAT, CHARACTERISTICS FOR WHICH HE IS NOT KNOWN. HE WAS RESPONSIVE TO OUR QUESTIONS ON CLASHES, REFUGEES, AND SECURITY -- ALL SENSITIVE ISSUES IN KENYA. KIMALAT PRIDES HIMSELF ON BEING A REGULAR USER OF THE USIS LIBRARY HERE, AND IS A READER OF SUCH AMERICAN PERIODICALS AS THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW. DESPITE DISPARAGING REMARKS ABOUT US-HAITI POLICY AND OUR TREATMENT OF AMERICAN INDIANS, KIMALAT WAS ON THE WHOLE FRIENDLY AND RESPONSIVE. END COMMENT. BRAZEAL

BT
#0300

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

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RUEHRB/AMEMBASSY RABAT 0034
SUBJ: KENGO TO NEW YORK

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0762-M-S (5.84)
VR 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~ KINSHASA 06997

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UN, OVIP (KENGO WA DONDO) RW, CG
SUBJECT: KENGO TO NEW YORK

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. PRIME MINISTER KENGO'S DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR HAS INFORMED US THAT KENGO INTENDS TO TRAVEL TO NEW YORK TO PARTICIPATE IN DECEMBER 16 SECURITY COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS ON RWANDA. KENGO WAS INVITED, ACCORDING TO BUKETI, BY SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI WHO FIRST BROACHED HIS PARTICIPATION DURING THEIR OCTOBER 5 MEETING AT THE UNGA. AT THAT TIME THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS SAID TO HAVE INDICATED TO KENGO IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE ZAIRIAN COULD EXPLAIN DIRECTLY TO THE SC MEMBERS THE BURDENS OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES IN EASTERN ZAIRE AND POSSIBLE MEASURES FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM.

3. BUKETI AND FOREIGN MINISTER LUNDA BULULU REPORTEDLY WILL ACCOMPANY.

4. SEPARATELY MAX MUNGA, KENGO'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET, CONFIRMED KENGO'S INTENTIONS TO TRAVEL TO NEW YORK ADDING THAT KENGO WOULD STOP OVER IN RABAT EN ROUTE TO PURSUE DISCUSSIONS ON MOROCCAN ASSISTANCE TO RETRAINING ZAIRE'S MILITARY. MUNGA HAS KENGO DEPARTING ZAIRE DECEMBER 11 AND ARRIVING IN NEW YORK IN TIME TO MEET THE SECRETARY GENERAL DECEMBER 15.

5. KIGALI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
YATES

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BT
#6997

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6997
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4850
INFO: RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA DISCUSSES REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (S.85)
VZ 10/27/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004218

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA DISCUSSES REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE

REFS: A) STATE 297649 B) STATE 304837 C) ADDIS 8397

1. SUMMARY. AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, BURUNDI'S PRESIDENT CONCLUDES THE REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE MUST ADDRESS REFUGEE SECURITY PROBLEMS MORE PROMPTLY THAN THE LATE MARCH DATE PROPOSED BY THE OAU. HE CONSIDERS BURUNDI THE ORIGINATOR OF THE REFUGEE CONFERENCE IDEA AND SAID HE IS PREPARING A PROPOSAL FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE IN BUJUMBURA IN EARLY JANUARY. END SUMMARY.

MARCH IS TOO LATE
---

2. ON HIS RECENT RETURN FROM REGIONAL MEETINGS IN GBADOLITE AND TANZANIA, PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA OUTLINED HIS PLAN FOR A REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE WITH AMBASSADOR KRUEGER, NOVEMBER 28. THE PRESIDENT SHARED CONCERNS THAT THE REFUGEE ISSUE IS TOO URGENT A PROBLEM TO KEEP UNTIL A MARCH CONFERENCE DATE. HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE GRB WAS PREPARING A CONFERENCE PROPOSAL AND AGENDA WHICH WOULD BE PRESENTED TO LOCAL DIPLOMATIC (DONOR) MISSIONS IN MID-DECEMBER WITH A TARGET CONFERENCE DATE OF THE FIRST HALF OF JANUARY.

THE PLAN

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3. NTIBANTUNGANYA SAID THE CONFERENCE WOULD INCLUDE A TECHNICAL WORKING SESSION TO BE FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE OF THE AFFECTED COUNTRIES (RWANDA, BURUNDI, ZAIRE, TANZANIA AND POSSIBLY UGANDA) WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, OVER A MINIMUM FOUR-DAY PERIOD.

4. THE PRESIDENT'S GENERAL OBJECTIVES WERE:
- FOR RWANDA AND BURUNDI: TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR CONCRETE EFFORTS TOWARD ESTABLISHING PHYSICAL SECURITY FOR RETURNING REFUGEES AND DISPLACED WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES; TO EQUITABLY SETTLE LAND DISPUTES AND DAMAGE COMPENSATION WHICH WILL ENABLE RETURNEES TO RESETTLE; AND TO REINTRODUCE THE RETURNING POPULATIONS INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

- FOR REFUGEE RECEIVING COUNTRIES: TO RECOGNIZE THEIR NEED TO FACILITATE CONSTRUCTIVE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE REFUGEES WITHIN THEIR TERRITORIES AND THOSE REFUGEES' HOME GOVERNMENT. TO ASSIST THE HOME GOVERNMENTS' EFFORTS TO TALK WITH REFUGEES AND ASSURE THEM THAT THEY CAN RETURN IN SECURITY.

- FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: TO INSURE THE SECURITY OF RETURNING REFUGEES THROUGH OBSERVER TEAMS AND UN FORCES. TO FINANCE ALL OF THE ABOVE EFFORTS.

THE REGIONAL STARTING POINT
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5. THE PRESIDENT SUMMARIZED THE PRIMARY CONCLUSION OF THE GBADOLITE MEETING WITH MOBUTU AND BIZIMUNGU AS AN AGREEMENT THAT "SAFE ZONES" CONTROLLED BY UN FORCES MUST BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN RWANDA AS A STAGE IN THE PROMPT REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. AFTER SEPARATION OF THE REFUGEES INTO FORMER GOVERNMENT LEADERS, FORMER ARMY AND MILITIA MEMBERS, AND THE REST OF THE POPULATION (PRESUMABLY BY UN FORCES), THE LATTER GROUP SHOULD BE ASSISTED TO RETURN TO THE SAFE ZONES PRIOR TO RETURNING TO THEIR OWN COMMUNES. THOSE WHO DECLINE TO RETURN ARE TO BE MOVED TO CAMPS FURTHER FROM THE RWANDAN OR BURUNDIAN BORDERS. THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THAT BIZIMUNGU OF RWANDA WAS IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH THIS PLAN (THOUGH HE DID NOT ADDRESS THE FACT OF THE RPA'S CURRENT DEMAND FOR THE DISMANTLING OF EXISTING TRANSIT CAMPS). PRESUMABLY THIS PLAN WILL BE THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR NTIBANTUNGANYA'S REFUGEE CONFERENCE PROPOSAL.

TEAMWORK?
---

6. WHEN ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION, THE PRESIDENT STATED THE CONFERENCE HE IS ORGANIZING IS THE ONE BURUNDI PROPOSED UNDER OAU SPONSORSHIP AT THE TUNIS SUMMIT THIS

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SPRING, AND NOT AN ADDITIONAL CONFERENCE. HE SAID BOTH THE OAU EFFORT AND HIS PLANNED CONFERENCE WERE USING "THE SAME BUDGET" THOUGH HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE AWARE OF NORDIC FUND S
OURCES (REF C). THE PRESIDENT ASSURED
AMB HE WAS COORDINATING HIS EFFORT WITH THE OAU PLANNING GROUP.
~~C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004218

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA DISCUSSES REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE

COMMENT
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7. POST WOULD WELCOME ADDIS ABABA'S OPINION WHETHER OAU HEADQUARTERS IS AS AWARE OF THE BURUNDI EFFORTS AS THE PRESIDENT SEEMS TO FEEL. NTIBANTUNGANYA CLEARLY CONSIDERS BURUNDI THE ORIGINATOR OF THE IDEA OF A REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE AND TO HAVE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT. HE WAS UNUSUALLY DIRECT AND CONCRETE IN THIS MEETING (THE FIRST IN WHICH HE DID NOT BEGIN HIS CONVERSATION AT OCTOBER 21, 1993), AND CLEARLY SEEMS TO REALIZE THE NEED FOR EFFECTIVE SOLUTIONS TO THE GRAVE SECURITY PROBLEMS POSED BY THE REFUGEES OF BOTH COUNTRIES. POST WILL ADVISE AS SOON AS THE BURUNDI CONFERENCE PROPOSAL IS AVAILABL. IF THE PROPOSAL IS WORKABLE, LATE, NOT EARLY, JANUARY IS PROBABLY THE EARLIEST REALIZABLE DATE BY WHICH BURUNDI CAN ORGANIZE THE CONFERENCE. STILL, IT'S SOONER THAN MARCH.
KRUEGER
BT
#4218

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0242-M-S (5.86)
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RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1234
INFO: ////
SUBJ: BURUNDI MINISTER OF YOUTH ANALYZES POLITICAL SITUATION

INTRODUCTION

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004224

USIA

USIA FOR AF - HENNING/WHITAMN

SECSTATE FOR AF/C

EMBASSIES FOR POL/PAO

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PINP, SCUL, PHUM
SUBJECT: BURUNDI MINISTER OF YOUTH ANALYZES POLITICAL SITUATION

INTRODUCTION
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1. SUMMARY. AS PART OF A SERIES OF GET-ACQUAINTED LUNCHES WITH MEMBERS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AMBASSADOR KRUEGER INVITED DR. ALPHONSE RUGAMBARARA, MINISTER FOR YOUTH, SPORT AND CULTURE (TUTSI; INKINZO, OPPOSITION PARTY) TO HIS RESIDENCE RECENTLY. THE PAO WAS ALSO INVITED. THE DISCUSSION CENTERED ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND POSSIBLEAREAS OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE MINISTRY AND THE MISSION.

2. REGARDING THE POLITICAL SITUATION, THE MINISTER

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SAID THAT NATIONAL SECURITY IS BETTER NOW THAN AT ANYTIME DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS BECAUSE THE ENEMIES OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AND ISOLATED. HE IDENTIFIED THOSE ENEMIES AS BEING LED BY LEONARD NYANGOMA ON THE HUTU SIDE AND JEAN BAPTISTE BAGAZA ON THE TUTSI SIDE. HE FELT THAT A SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WOULD BE ELECTED SOON. IN DISCUSSION WITH THE PAO, HE OUTLINED SEVERAL REQUESTS FOR CO-OPERATION IN THE AREAS OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING, SPORTS AND CULTURE. END SUMMARY.

3. DR. RUGAMBARARA, A DERMATOLOGIST BY PROFESSION, STUDIED MEDICINE (AND ENGLISH AT USIS) IN SENEGAL AND ALGERIA. HE CLAIMED HE BECAME POLITICALLY ACTIVE AS A STUDENT EVEN THOUGH HE DID NOT JOIN UPRONA WHEN HE RETURNED FROM DAKAR. HIS POLITICAL LIFE SEEMS TO HAVE BEGUNDURING FORMERPRESIDENTBUYOYA'SDEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS. HE IS PRESIDENT OF THE INKINZO PARTY AND IS KNOWN TO HOLD EXTREME POLITICAL VIEWS.

THE ENEMIES OF PEACE

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4. DISCUSSION WITH THE AMBASSADOR FIRST CENTERED ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BURUNDI. RUGAMBARARA SAID THAT SECURITY IS BETTER NOW THAN BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT WAS IN PLACE BECAUSE THE OPPONENTS OF THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ARE KNOWN. HE SAID THIS WAS NOT THE CASE WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE BEING CONDUCTED: "WE NOW KNOW THE ENEMIES ARE (FORMER MINISTER OF INTERIOR LEONARD) NYANGOMA AND (FORMER PRESIDENT AND LEADER OF PARENA JEAN BAPTISTE) BAGAZA."

5. THE MINISTER CLAIMED THAT NYANGOMA IS CURRENTLY IN BELGIUM, BUT STILL CONTROLLING EFFORTS TO DE-STABILIZE THE GOVERNMENT. NYANGOMA DOES THIS BECAUSE HE OBJECTS TO NTIBANTUNGANYA'S POLITICAL COMPROMISES WITH THE OPPOSITION. THE MINISTER CLAIMED THAT NYANGOMA WAS ORIGINALLY ABLE TO FINANCE HIS OPERATIONS FROM GOVERNMENT FUNDS STOLEN WHILE IN OFFICE. HE USED THIS MONEY TO BUY ARMS FOR HIS SUPPORTERS. THE MINISTER SAID THAT NOW, HOWEVER, NYANGOMA IS "FINANCIALLY SUPPORTED BY BELGIAN MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT INTERNATIONAL."

6. RUGAMBARARA SAID THAT NYANGOMA WAS WORKING WITH RWANDANS FROM THE EX-FAR AND THE SO-CALLED GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, BUT HE HAD NO DESIGNS ON RWANDA. NYANGOMA IS USING THEIR SUPPORT TO MAKE HIMSELF THE CENTRAL FIGURE FOR ALL OF THE ARMED HUTU OPPOSITION, HE CLAIMED.

7. RUGAMBARARA HAD MUCH LESS TO SAY ABOUT EX-PRESIDENT BAGAZA. BAGAZA IS ALSO TRYING TO DE-STABILIZE THE GOVERNMENT, BUT IS WORKING MORE THROUGH PERSONAL INFLUENCE AND THE JUDICIOUS EXPENDITURE OF HIS MONEY TO MAKE TROUBLE (UNSPECIFIED BY THE

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MINISTER) FOR THE GRB.

THE GRB WILL GOVERN
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8. IN PARLIAMENT, RUGAMBARARA CLAIMED THAT A SPEAKER WILL BE ELECTED "SOON," BUT WAS VAGUE ON HOW SOON. HE SAID THAT DR. JEAN MINANI, FORMER MINISTER OF PUBLIC HEALTH, WILL BE ELECTED AS EITHER SPEAKER OR VICE-

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004224

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EMBASSIES FOR POL/PAO

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PINP, SCUL, PHUM
SUBJECT: BURUNDI MINISTER OF YOUTH ANALYZES POLITICAL SITUATION

SPEAKER. ALTHOUGH UPRONA OBJECTED TO HIS ELECTION AS SPEAKER, BOTH PARTY LEADERS CHARLES MUKASI AND NICHOLAS MAYUGI HAD AGREED TO IT DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. BECAUSE THEY HAD NOW CHANGED THEIR POSITIONS THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT FEEL THE NEED TO COMPROMISE, BUT WILL ACCEPT THE LOWER POSITION FOR MINANI IF A SUITABLE FRODEBU CANDIDATE CAN BE FOUND FOR THE SPEAKER'S POSITION.

9. IN ANY EVENT, THE MINISTER CLAIMED THAT FRODEBU WILL GOVERN, COME WHAT MAY. HE CLAIMED THAT DESPITE UPRONA THREATS TO WALK OUT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, MANY OPPOSITION MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WOULD REMAIN AND THE GOVERNMENT WOULD, THEREFORE, HOLD. (COMMENT. THIS STATEMENT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT A UPRONA WALK-OUT WOULD, NONETHELESS, CRIPPLE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. END COMMENT.)

THE NEEDS OF THE MINISTRY
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10. THE PAO AND THE MINISTER DISCUSSED THE VARIOUS FUNCTIONS AND NEEDS OF HIS MINISTRY. RUGAMBARARA SAID THAT HIS MOST PRESSING NEEDS WERE IN THE AREA OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING. ONLY SEVEN PER CENT OF SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN ACTUALLY REACH SECONDARY SCHOOL IN BURUNDI. THIS LEAVES HIS MINISTRY WITH CHARGE OF JUST OVER A MILLION TEENAGERS WHO NEED VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN THE COMING YEAR. HIS TRAINING CENTERS ARE, HOWEVER, WOEFULLY SHORT OF TEACHERS, TOOLS AND

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EQUIPMENT AND TRANSPORT.

11. BURUNDI'S SPORTS PROGRAMS HAVE INADEQUATE FACILITIES AND COACHING, AND NO FUNDING FOR INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION. HE SAID THAT ALL THREE WERE PRESSING NEEDS. THE MINISTRY'S CULTURAL PROGRAMS ARE UNABLE TO ADEQUATELY EXPOSE BURUNDIAN ARTISTS TO FOREIGN AUDIENCES OR PUT ON LOCAL EXHIBITIONS. HE ASKED FOR HELP FROM USIS IN ALL AREAS.

12. THE MINISTER AND THE PAO AGREED TO FOLLOW UP ON SEVERAL OF THE ISSUES RAISED.

A) THE PAO WILL FIRST MEET WITH THE MINISTER AGAIN TO ASSESS THOSE NEEDS OF THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTER WHICH USIS CAN ADDRESS.

B) THE PAO WILL WORK WITH THE MINISTRY TO DEVELOP A NATIONAL DRAMA COMPETITION ON THE SUBJECT OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION. IT IS HOPED THAT THIS PROJECT WILL BE HELD IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PROGRAM PROPOSED BY MR. JOHN MARKS OF THE WASHINGTON-BASED NGO "SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND."

C) THE PAO WILL PURSUE STATUS OF SPORTS COACHING OPPORTUNITIES FOR BURUNDI WITH SPORTS AMERICA.

13. KIGALI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. DUGUID
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 7695
SUBJ: REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.87)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 ADDIS ABABA 009123

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, RW, ET
SUBJECT: REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE

REF: (A) ADDIS 8397 (B) ADDIS 9020 (C) BUJUMBURA 4218

1. SUMMARY: THE OAU HAS REVISED ITS ORIGINAL AIDE MEMOIRE ON THE REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE. THE OAU AND THE AMBASSADOR OF BURUNDI ARE COORDINATING ON A DRAFT CONFERENCE AGENDA AND PROPOSE THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 12-17 TO BEGIN THE PREPCOM AND A JANUARY PLENARY. THE OAU NEEDS HELP IN DRAFTING PLANS OF ACTION TO ADDRESS SPECIFIC PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

2. REF C QUERIES WHETHER OAU HEADQUARTERS IS AS AWARE OF THE BURUNDI EFFORTS ON THE REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE AS THE PRESIDENT OF BURUNDI FEELS. COORDINATION IS TAKING PLACE BETWEEN THE OAU BUREAU OF REFUGEES AND THE AMBASSADOR OF BURUNDI HERE IN ADDIS. BOTH PARTIES AGREE THE PREPCOM SHOULD BE CONVENED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, WORKING ON THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 12 TO 17 AS THE TARGET DATES. THE OAU AND THE AMBASSADOR OF BURUNDI AGREE THE PLENARY SESSION SHOULD BE HELD IN BUJUMBURA SOMETIME IN JANUARY. APPARENTLY THERE HAS NOT BEEN DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF BURUNDI AND THE OAU SECRETARY GENERAL REGARDING THE CONFERENCE.

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3. THE OAU IS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT BURUNDI IS WORKING FROM THE NEWLY REVISED OAU DRAFT CONFERENCE PROPOSAL AND AGENDA, AND DOES NOT BELIEVE BURUNDI IS PREPARING A SEPARATE DOCUMENT. UNHCR, THE BURUNDI EMBASSY, THIS EMBASSY, AND BELGIAN SPECIAL ENVOY SWINNEN HAVE ALL RECEIVED THE SAME DOCUMENT. THE TEXT OF THE LATEST ITERATION OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION AIDE MEMOIRE

I. INTRODUCTION

1. FOLLOWING THE SUCCESSION OF DRAMATIC EVENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN HITTING BOTH RWANDA AND BURUNDI FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS, CENTRAL AND EASTERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE NOW FACING THE WORST REFUGEE PROBLEM IN THE WHOLE CONTINENT. IT WAS WITH THIS BACKGROUND THAT THE 59TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING IN TUNIS, TUNISIA IN JUNE 1994 ADOPTED RESOLUTION CM/RES/1527 WHICH CALLED FOR THE HOLDING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON REFUGEES, RETURNEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION.

II. SPONSORSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

2. A PREPARATORY COMMITTEE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO ORGANIZE THE CONFERENCE. IT CONSISTS OF THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS: OAU, UNHCR, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, NAMELY, BURUNDI, RWANDA, ZAIRE, TANZANIA, UGANDA, ZAMBIA, KENYA. OTHER MEMBERS WOULD COME FROM EUROPEAN UNION, OBSERVERS TO THE ARUSHA PEACE PROCESS (I.E. U.S.A, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND BELGIUM) AND NORDIC COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE SECRETARIAT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF COUNTRIES OF GREAT LAKES.

3. THE OVERALL COORDINATION ROLE WOULD BE ASSUMED BY OAU AND UNHCR WHO WOULD APPOINT FOCAL POINTS.

III. OBJECTIVES

A) TO EXAMINE THE IMPACT OF ARMED AND MILITARY ATTACKS ON REFUGEE CAMPS, SETTLEMENTS, AND CIVILIAN POPULATIONS AND FORMULATE STRATEGIES FOR THEIR PROTECTION,

B) TO ADDRESS THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS AND FIND DURABLE SOLUTIONS FOR SOLVING THEM;

C) REPATRIATION AND SAFETY OF RETURNEES.

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- HOW TO GUARANTEE SECURITY AND ORDER WITHIN THE CAMPS
- HOW CAN SAFE RETURN PLANS BEST BE PUT INTO PRACTICE
- DUTIES OF THE HOST COUNTRIES

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 ADDIS ABABA 009123

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, RW, ET
SUBJECT: REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE

- DUTIES OF THE COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

D) TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES IN SUPPORT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURES OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

IV. DOCUMENTATION

THIS WILL BE DECIDED BY THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE BUT MAY COVER THE FOLLOWING:

1) COMPREHENSIVE DOCUMENT ON THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE REGION. (BY UNHCR).

2) A REPORT ON THE IMPACT OF ARMED AND MILITARY ATTACKS ON REFUGEE CAMPS AND SETTLEMENTS. (BY RED CROSS).

3) REPORT ON MEASURES TAKEN FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. (BY GOVERNMENTS OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI).

(4) ROLE OF THE OAU IN THE REGION. (BY OAU).

(5) UN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN THE REGION (BY UN).

V. PARTICIPATION

IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE FOLLOWING MAY BE INVITED TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE:
1) ALL OAU MEMBER STATES WHICH SHOULD BE REPRESENTED BY THE MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR REFUGEE MATTERS.

2) COUNTRIES FROM EUROPEAN UNION.

3) COUNTRIES OBSERVERS TO THE ARUSHA PEACE PROCESS.

4) NORDIC COUNTRIES.

5) ALL UN AGENCIES.

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6) ALL VOLUNTARY AGENCIES INVOLVED IN REFUGEE WORK IN THE REGION.

VI. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

THE OAU HAS BEEN INFORMED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BURUNDI THAT THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES WILL BE PREPARED TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE CONFERENCE: SWEDEN, FINLAND, DENMARK AND NORWAY. HOWEVER, NO PLEDGE HAS BEEN MADE SO FAR. A MEETING WILL HAVE TO BE ORGANIZED BETWEEN THE OAU, UNHCR, EMBASSY OF BURUNDI AND NORDIC COUNTRIES IN ADDIS ABABA TO FIND OUT THE TRUTH ABOUT FUNDING. OAU AND UNHCR HAVE NO PROVISIONS IN THEIR BUDGETS TOWARDS THE PREPARATION OF THE SAID CONFERENCE.

VII. DATE AND VENUE

DATE: 20-22 MARCH 1995
VENUE: BUJUMBURA

END TEXT

4. THE OAU IS COMMITTED TO HOLDING THE PLENARY SESSION AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, BUT WANTS CONSENSUS OF THE PREPCOM PARTICIPANTS ON THE PRECISE DATE. DESPITE THE MARCH DATE ON THE DOCUMENT, THE OAU FAVORS A DATE IN JANUARY AS DOES BURUNDI. THE OAU RECOGNIZES THERE MIGHT BE TOO MANY PARTICIPANTS IDENTIFIED IN THE AIDE MEMOIRE, BUT PREFERS FOR THE PREPCOM TO DECIDE THIS ISSUE. SIMILARLY, THE BUDGET WILL BECOME A PREPCOM AGENDA ITEM.

5. OAU ACTING SG HAGGAD IS SENDING A FAX TO UNHCR'S MRS. OGATA URGING EXPEDITIOUS RESPONSE TO THE AIDE MEMOIRE. (COMMENT: EMBASSY SUGGESTED DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN THE HIGHEST OAU/UNHCR LEVELS AND OAU FOLLOWED THROUGH. IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR DIRECT OAU CONTACT WITH LEADERSHIP IN THE AFFECTED COUNTRIES, TO ENGAGE HIGH LEVEL INTEREST/PARTICIPATION EARLY ON. EMBASSY WOULD PRESS THE OAU FOR THIS IF ADDRESSEES WOULD THINK IT USEFUL. END COMMENT.)
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, RW, ET
SUBJECT: REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE

6. COMMENT: THE OAU IS STIMULATED BY THE INTERNATIONAL INTEREST IN THE CONFERENCE (EMBASSY BRIEFED OAU ON RECENT SECURITY COUNCIL, EU, AND "FRIENDS OF RWANDAT REFERENCES TO THE CONFERENCE). THE OAU WILL BE VERY MORALLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE WHOLE PROCESS. HOWEVER, EMBASSY IS CONCERNED THAT THE OAU DOES NOT HAVE THE TECHNICAL MASTERY OF THE

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RWANDA/BURUNDI AND RELATED ISSUES NECESSARY TO
DIRECT A COMPREHENSIVE PREPCOM PROJECT. THE OAU
HOPES FOR SIGNIFICANT U.S. INPUT INTO DRAFTING PLANS
OF ACTIONS. DEPT MIGHT CONSIDER PROVIDING EMBASSY
WITH NON-ATTRIBUTABLE DRAFTS OR OUTLINES WHICH COULD
BE GIVEN TO THE OAU TO USE AS POINTS OF REFERENCE.
END COMMENT.

7. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. HICKS
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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SUBJ: POLITICAL IMPASSE CONTINUES

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (5.88)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004461

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ASEC, PINR, BY
SUBJECT: POLITICAL IMPASSE CONTINUES

REF: BUJUMBURA 4401

----------QATIC ACTIVITY
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1. THE AMBASSADOR HELD MEETINGS ON DECEMBER 8 WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARLIAMENT, UPRONA LEADER MUKASI AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER MINANI TO PRESS BOTH SIDES TO CONTINUE WORKING ON A COMPROMISE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL.

2. IN A NOON BRIEFING OF WESTERN AMBASSADORS ON DECEMBER 9, UNSGSR ABDULLAH TOLD OF THE LATEST NEGOTIATIONS TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS POSED BY UPRONA'S THREATENED WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOVERNMENT IF MINANI DOES NOT RESIGN AS PARLIAMENTARY PRESIDENT. IN A LATE NIGHT MEETING ON DECEMBER 8, ABDULLAH JOINED THE PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN SECRETARY, MINANI, MUKASI AND MAMEZ TO SEEK A RESOLUTION.

3. ABDULLAH TOLD THEM THAT FRODEBU CLEARLY HAS A RIGHT TO ELECT WHOMEVER IT PLEASES. MOREOVER, UPRONA AGREED TO MINANI IN LAST SUMMER'S DISCUSSIONS AS PARLIAMENTARY PRESIDENT. TUTSIS MUST ACCEPT THAT THEY NOW HAVE A HUTU PRESIDENT AND WILL HAVE A HUTU VICE PRESIDENT.
4. NEVERTHELESS, MINANI HAD BECOME SUCH A SYMBOL OF HUTU VENGEANCE FOLLOWING NDADAYE'S

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ASSASSINATION, THROUGH HIS RADIO BROADCAST FROM KIGALI, THAT STABILITY WOULD BE MORE EASILY MAINTAINED BY MINANI RESIGNING AS PARLIAMENTARY PRESIDENT AND ACCEPTING A CABINET MINISTER'S POST (REFTEL). THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER AGREED, AS DID MAMEZ. MINANI AND FOREIGN MINISTER NGENDAHAYO, WHO SERVED AS FRODEBU'S TWO PRINCIPAL NEGOTIATORS LAST SUMMER, BOTH OPPOSED THE PLAN. THEY BELIEVED FRODEBU HAD GIVEN AWAY CONSIDERABLE EXECUTIVE POWER IN THE NEW CONVENTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. THE LEGISLATURE WAS THE ONE SECURE PLACE LEFT TO HUTUS. TUTSIS HAVE HALF THE EXECUTIVE POWER AND CONTROL THE ARMY; FOR BALANCE, FRODEBU NEEDS FULL PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTH.

5. MINANI'S OBJECTION IS THAT HARDLINE RADICAL FRODEBIST NYANGOMA (PROBABLY WITH BAGAZA'S BACKING) HAS PETITIONED THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT TO DECLARE THE CONVENTIONS OF GOVERNMENT INVALID. THE COMPLETELY TUTSI COURT HAS NOT YET RULED ON THIS ISSUE. IF IT RULES THE CONVENTIONS INVALID, THEN SYLVESTRE WOULD NO LONGER BE PRESIDENT. IF MINANI IN THE INTERIM HAD RESIGNED, LEAVING THE POSITION VACANT, THERE WOULD BE A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS. ABDULLAH BELIEVES THE POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE EXCLUDED.

6. ONE SURPRISE WAS FOREIGN MINISTER NGENDAHAYO'S HARSHNESS TO PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA. PERHAPS AS ONE OF THE FEW GANWA (TUTSI) IN FRODEBU, HE NEEDS TO PROVE HIS HUTU LOYALTIES, JUST AS HUTU UPRONIST PRESIDENT MUKASI MUST LOOK MORE TUTSI THAN HIS TUTSI UPRONIST FOLLOWERS. NGENDAHAYO AND MINANI CLAIM THAT IF MINANI RESIGNS HIS POSITION, THERE WILL BE ANGER IN THE HILLSIDES AND POSSIBLE HUTU PEASANT REACTION.

7. AT THIS POINT, NEITHER SIDE IS WILLING TO BUDGE. MINANI EARLIER OFFERED TO STEP ASIDE, BUT ONLY IF UPRONIST MINISTERS BELIEVED TO BE PUTCHISTS ALSO DO SO. THE MILITARY DOES NOT EXPECT VIOLENCE AT THIS TIME, BUT THE DEFENSE MINISTER SEES A POSSIBLE CHAIN OF EVENTS THAT COULD, OVER TIME, LEAD TO GREATER CIVIL UNREST. HIS FEAR THEN IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MIGHT INTERVENE, AND THAT BURUNDI'S MILITARY WOULD AFTER THAT NEVER BE THE SAME.

8. SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS WERE MADE AT THE END OF THE TWO HOUR MEETING:

(A) MANY PEOPLE FEAR THE INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION OF EVENTS SURROUNDING THE OCTOBER 21, 1993 ASSASSINATIONS CALLED FOR IN ARTICLE 36 OF THE CONVENTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD BE TO THEIR ADVANTAGE TO UNDERMINE THE CONVENTIONS WHETHER THROUGH THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, BY RESIGNATION OF ALL UPRONISTS (THEREBY INVALIDATING

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THE CONVENTIONS), BY REMOVAL OF THE PRESIDEN
T OR
PRIME MINISTER, OR SOME OTHER DESTABILIZING EVENT.
THE MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR THE WEST AT THIS
TIME, IT WAS AGREED, IS TO MAINTAIN THE VALIDITY
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004461

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ASEC, PINR, BY
SUBJECT: POLITICAL IMPASSE CONTINUES

OF THE CONVENTIONS WHICH HAVE ALLOWED THE
PERPETUATION OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES.

(B) THE CLIMATE OF FEAR CONTINUES UNABATED. IN
ADDITION TO FIVE RECENT ASSASSINATIONS OF
PROMINENT HUTUS, TUTSI MODERATES ARE BEING
THREATENED BY ANONYMOUS PHONE CALLS, PRESUMABLY
FROM HARDLINE TUTSIS. ABDULLAH SAYS THAT EVEN
HIGH-LEVEL MILITARY LEADERS RECEIVE PHONE CALLS
THREATENING THEM OR THEIR FAMILIES.

(C) DIVISIONS ARE EVIDENT WITHIN BOTH PARTIES.
MINANI AND NGENDAHAYO HAVE FOLLOWERS, AS DO THE
PRESIDENT AND MAMEZ AND, OF COURSE, NYANGOMA AND
HIS EXTREMISTS. THUS, ON THIS ISSUE, FRODEBU HAS
THREE CAMPS. MEANWHILE, UPRONISTS ARE DIVIDED
BETWEEN THOSE WHO WANT GOVERNMENT TO WORK AND
THOSE WHO WANT IT TO FAIL.

(D) THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS AGREED TO WORK
TOGETHER TO TALK WITH UPRONA LEADERS AND MAKE TWO
POINTS:

I. UPRONA HAS PRECIPITATED THE PRESENT PROBLEMS BY
ITS PUBLIC STATEMENTS OPPOSING A PARLIAMENTARY
LEADER DULY ELECTED BY AN 80& MAJORITY.
II. TIME IS NEEDED FOR ALL PARTIES TO RESOLVE THE
PRESENT PROBLEMS. THAT MEANS THAT UPRONISTS
SHOULD REMAIN IN THEIR.GOVERNMENTAL POSITIONS.
(UNTIL NOW, IN SPITE OF THREATS, NO RESIGNATIONS
HAVE ACTUALLY OCCURRED.)

E. A WEEK IN BURUNDI WITHOUT SOME APPARENT
POLITICAL CRISIS IS LIKE A WEEK WITHOUT SUNSHINE.
THE RAINY SEASON CONTINUES.

9. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 1229
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0065
SUBJ: SCENE-SETTER FOR YOUR VISIT TO ZAMBIA, DECEMBER 18-19

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5(5.89)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A~~L SECTION 01 OF 03 LUSAKA 007614

ADDIS PLEASE PASS TO DR. LAKE'S PARTY

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OVIP (LAKE, ANTHONY), PGOV, ECON, EAID, ZA
SUBJECT: SCENE-SETTER FOR YOUR VISIT TO ZAMBIA, DECEMBER 18-19

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

POLITICAL/ECONOMIC OVERVIEW
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2. THE PAST THREE YEARS HAVE WITNESSED A PROFOUND AND OFTEN WRENCHING TRANSFORMATION IN ZAMBIAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE. FOR 27 YEARS UP TO NOVEMBER 1991 UNDER THE RULE OF KENNETH KAUNDA, ZAMBIA ENJOYED INTERNATIONAL STATURE AS A LEADING FOE OF COLONIALISM, A PROMINENT ADVOCATE OF NON-ALIGNMENT, A KEY MEMBER OF THE FRONT LINE STATES, AND THE HOST OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND MANY OTHER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. ALTHOUGH KAUNDA'S ZAMBIA WAS SEEN BY MANY AS A DYNAMIC AND PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPING COUNTRY, THE DOMESTIC REALITY WAS MUCH DIFFERENT. KAUNDA'S HUMANIST-SOCIALIST ECONOMIC POLICIES PRODUCED SERIOUS DISTORTIONS IN THE ECONOMY, INCLUDING A BLOATED PUBLIC SECTOR AND CIVIL SERVICE, MONEY-LOSING PARASTATALS, AN ARTIFICIALLY STRONG CURRENCY, AND LARGE SUBSIDIES ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, INCLUDING THE STAPLE FOOD, MAIZE. A COUNTRY THAT HAD ONE OF THE HIGHEST PER CAPITA INCOMES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD AT INDEPENDENCE IN 1964 HAD, BY 1991, ONE OF THE

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LOWEST. IN ADDITION, ZAMBIANS ENDURED 20 YEARS OF ONE-PARTY AUTHORITARIAN RULE, WITH RESTRICTED CIVIL LIBERTIES AND SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. TO HIS CREDIT, KAUNDA BOWED TO PRESSURE TO ALLOW MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS AND, WHEN HE LOST THE PRESIDENCY IN A LANDSLIDE TO LABOR LEADER FREDERICK CHILUBA, AGREED TO RELINQUISH POWER.

3. ON TAKING OFFICE IN NOVEMBER 1991, CHILUBA AND THE MOVEMENT FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD), A COALITION OF DISPARATE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS UNITED PRINCIPALLY BY THEIR OPPOSITION TO KAUNDA, INHERITED AN ATROPHIED POLITICAL SYSTEM AND AN ECONOMY ON THE BRINK OF COLLAPSE. ZAMBIA'S PER CAPITA DEBT WAS THE HIGHEST IN THE WORLD. BILATERAL DONORS AND THE IFIS QUICKLY RALLIED BEHIND THE MMD'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION PROGRAM TO THE TUNE OF ONE BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR.

4. ON THE LEVEL OF MACRO-ECONOMIC POLICY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN POLITICALLY COURAGEOUS STEPS TO RESTORE STABILITY: IT HAS REMOVED ALL SUBSIDIES FROM AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND OPENED UP THE MARKETING SYSTEM; IT HAS REDUCED INFLATION FROM 400 PERCENT YEARLY TO A CURRENT LEVEL OF ABOUT 30 PERCENT; IT HAS ELIMINATED FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS; AND IT HAS REINED IN GOVERNMENT SPENDING. THE GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED SLOWLY, HOWEVER, ON CRITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORMS SUCH AS PRIVATIZATION AND REDUCING THE SIZE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

5. THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT HAS ALSO OPENED UP, EVEN THOUGH MANY OF THE UNDEMOCRATIC HABITS AND VESTIGES OF 27 YEARS OF ONE-PARTY RULE REMAIN. THE MMD GOVERNMENT HAS GENERALLY RESPECTED BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES. OPPOSITION PARTIES OPERATE WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. THE PRESS IS RELATIVELY FREE, ALTHOUGH INDEPENDENT PAPERS HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO POLICE HARASSMENT AND ARRESTS, INCLUDING TWO SUCH INCIDENTS IN THE PAST 10 DAYS. SINCE THE MMD CAME TO POWER NATIONWIDE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS, AS WELL AS SOME TWO DOZEN PARLIAMENTARY BY-ELECTIONS, HAVE BEEN HELD. MOST HAVE BEEN FREE AND FAIR. PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 1996.

6. THE CHILUBA GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE IN THE AREA OF "GOVERNANCE" HAS BEEN SPOTTY AND IS A CAUSE OF CONTINUING CONCERN TO ZAMBIANS AND DONORS ALIKE. TWO MINISTERS IMPLICATED IN DRUG TRAFFICKING RESIGNED IN LATE 1993 UNDER PRESSURE FROM DONORS, BUT MANY ZAMBIANS STILL BELIEVE THAT CORRUPTION -- BOTH NARCO-RELATED AND TRADITIONAL BRIBE-TAKING AND SKIMMING -- IS RIFE IN THE GOVERNMENT. THE GRZ HAS MOVED HALTINGLY TO STRENGTHEN THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND LAW ENFORCEMENT INSTITUTIONS NEEDED TO FIGHT CORRUPTION.

7. WITH THE CHILUBA GOVERNMENT HAVING TURNED ITS ATTENTION INWARD TO DEAL WITH PRESSING DOMESTIC PROBLEMS, ZAMBIA HAS NOT PLAYED A LEADING REGIONAL ROLE

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IN THE 1990S, ALTHOUGH IT HAS GAINED STATURE BY HOSTING THE ANGOLA PEACE TALKS AND CONTRIBUTING TO REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS. PART OF THE PROBLEM IS THAT KAUNDA GOT ON WELL WITH HIS COUNTERPARTS, INCLUDING MUGABE AND MANDELA, WHO MAY HAVE RESENTED CHILUBA'S 1991 ELECTION VICTORY. AS A RESULT, ZAMBIA'S RELATIONS WITH MANY OF ITS EIGHT NEIGHBORS, WHILE CORRECT, ARE NOT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LUSAKA 007614

ADDIS PLEASE PASS TO DR. LAKE'S PARTY

E.O. 12356DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OVIP (LAKE, ANTHONY), PGOV, ECON, EAID, ZA
SUBJECT: SCENE-SETTER FOR YOUR VISIT TO ZAMBIA, DECEMBER 18-19

WARM. FOR HIS PART, CHILUBA MAY PERCEIVE HIMSELF AN OUTSIDER, AND THUS HE HAS NOT BEEN RECEPTIVE TO AN INCREASED REGIONAL ROLE FOR SADC, PREFERRING INSTEAD TO SUPPORT PTA/COMESA.

WHERE ARE WE NOW?

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8. ZAMBIA HAS JUST EMERGED FROM A CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETING IN PARIS THAT FOCUSED ON THE NEED FOR THE GRZ TO BUILD ON THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST THREE YEARS. DONORS URGED THE CHILUBA GOVERNMENT TO MOVE MORE QUICKLY ON GOVERNANCE/TRANSPARENCY REFORMS AND ON STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT. SPECIFICALLY, WE WANT TO SEE THE GRZ SPEED UP THE PACE OF PRIVATIZATION, REMOVE SUBSIDIES TO LOSS-MAKING PARASTATALS, AND REACH AN EARLY DECISION TO RESTRUCTURE AND PRIVATIZE THE COPPER-MINING INDUSTRY, WHICH CONTINUES TO DOMINATE THE ECONOMY AND PROVIDES 90 PERCENT OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS. THE GRZ'S RECENT DECISION -- UNDER INTENSE DONOR PRESSURE -- TO CLOSE ZAMBIA AIRWAYS WAS POLITICALLY DIFFICULT BUT A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. THE PROMISED NEXT STEP IS TO CLOSE BY MARCH 31 THE GRZ'S PARASTATAL HOLDING COMPANY ("ZIMCO"), A BASTION OF FOOTDRAGGING VESTED INTERESTS.

YOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CHILUBA

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9. IN ADDITION TO CONGRATULATING CHILUBA ON ZAMBIA'S ROLE IN THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED ANGOLA PEACE TALKS, YOU MAY WISH TO PROVIDE HIM WITH AN OVERVIEW OF U.S. AFRICA POLICY, UNDERLINING OUR INTEREST IN REGIONAL COOPERATION AND SOLICITING CHILUBA'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE SAME. IN THIS CONNECTION, YOU MAY WISH TO ACKNOWLEDGE ZAMBIA'S COMMITMENT TO REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING. (THE GRZ HAS DEPLOYED BATTALIONS TO MOZAMBIQUE AND RWANDA AND WILL CONTRIBUTE ANOTHER BATTALION TO ANGOLA.)

10. WITH RESPECT TO BILATERAL ISSUES, WE SUGGEST YOU FOCUS ON THE KEY ISSUES NOTED ABOVE: THE NEED TO MOVE

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FORWARD RESOLUTELY ON RESTRUCTURING THE ECONOMY AND PRIVATIZING STATE FIRMS; AND THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN GOVERNANCE REFORMS AND ENHANCE TRANSPARENCY. YOU MIGHT PLACE YOUR REMARKS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INTENSE GLOBAL COMPETITION FOR SCARCE AID RESOURCES.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE RECOGNIZE YOUR ECONOMIC REFORM ACHIEVEMENTS AND THE MANY POLITICALLY UNPALATABLE DECISION YOU HAVE BRAVELY MADE: RESTORING ORDER TO THE BUDGET, LIBERALIZING THE AGRICULTURE SECTOR (ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE DISASTROUS 1991-92 DROUGHT), REMOVING SUBSIDIES, AND CLOSING ZAMBIA AIRWAYS.

-- THE U.S. SEEKS TO SUPPORT COUNTRIES SUCH AS ZAMBIA THAT ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO POLITICAL PLURALISM AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION.

-- AID LEVELS IN THE EXISTING HIGHLY COMPETITIVE RESOURCE ENVIRONMENT DEPEND ON PERFORMANCE. WE HAVE TO MAKE THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE CASE TO OUR CONGRESS AND WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION TO JUSTIFY FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

-- THEREFORE, WE URGE YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT TO STAY THE COURSE, NOT TO BE DISHEARTENED BY THE DIFFICULT DECISIONS YOU WILL CONTINUE TO FACE, AND TO REDOUBLE YOUR EFFORTS TO CLOSE ZIMCO, PRIVATIZE STATE FIRMS AND RESTRUCTURE THE ECONOMY. THIS IS CRITICAL IF ALL OF THE GOOD WORK DONE SO FAR IS TO HAVE ITS PAYOFF IN ECONOMIC GROWTH, MORE JOBS, AND BETTER SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE ZAMBIAN PEOPLE.

- AT THE SAME TIME WE URGE YOU TO CONTINUE YOUR EFFORTS TO MAKE ZAMBIA'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PERMANENT. IN PARTICULAR, THE 1996 ELECTIONS WILL BE CRITICAL AND MUST BE PERCEIVED BY ZAMBIANS TO BE FREE AND FAIR. THE U.S. STANDS READY TO CONSULT WITH YOU ON WAYS WE MIGHT ASSIST.

-- IN ANY DEMOCRACY, THERE IS UNENDING TENSION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FREE PRESS. WE URGE YOU TO LOOK TO THE GREATER GOOD AND CONTINUE TO SAFEGUARD THIS BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM, SO ESSENTIAL TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LUSAKA 007614

ADDIS PLEASE PASS TO DR. LAKE'S PARTY

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, OVIP (LAKE, ANTHONY), PGOV, ECON, EAID, ZA
SUBJECT: SCENE-SETTER FOR YOUR VISIT TO ZAMBIA, DECEMBER 18-19

-- WITH RESPECT TO GOVERNANCE, THE TRANSPARENCY OF

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GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS IS ESSENTIAL IN A DEMOCRACY. WE URGE YOU TO CONTINUE TO MOVE FORWARD WITH REFORMS IN THIS AREA, INCLUDING THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CODE OF CONDUCT ACT, THE STRENGTHENING OF THE CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT, AND STEPS TO ENSURE THE INDEPENDENCE OF INVESTIGATIVE AGENCIES FROM POLITICAL INTERFERENCE.
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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SSN: 7614
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5,90)
VZ 10/20/2023

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHNEA9874 3501317-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 161317Z DEC 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
OSRI: RUEHNE
DTG: 161317Z DEC 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2874
INFO: RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:ISA//
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 7096
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0816
SUBJ: RWANDA/ZAIRE - RECRUITNG TROOPS FOR CAMP SECURITY

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NEW DELHI 019874

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, UN, MARR, MOPS, UNSC, RW, IN
SUBJECT: RWANDA/ZAIRE - RECRUITNG TROOPS FOR CAMP SECURITY

REF: (A) ISLAMABAD 11699 (DTG 081129Z DEC 94), (B) SECSTATE 323818 (DTG 060041Z DEC 94)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DRAWING ON TALKING POINTS CONTAINED IN REF A, POLMILOFF ON DECEMBER 8 DISCUSSED WITH MEA UN-POLITICAL DIRECTOR DINKAR SRIVASTAVA THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S RECOMMENDATION FOR A NEW PEACKEEPING OPERATION IN EASTERN ZAIRE. SRIVASTAVA WAS NONCOMMITAL AT THAT TIME. POLMILOFF FOLLOWED UP ON DECEMBER 14; SRIVASTAVA SAID THE ISSUE IS RECEIVING SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BUT A DECISION HAS NOT BEEN REACHED.

3. THE INDIANS ARE (JUSTIFIABLY) PROUD OF THEIR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE UN AND HAVE TOLD US REPEATEDLY THEY REMAIN COMMITTED. ON THIS BASIS ALONE WE THINK THEY WOULD BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO A HIGH LEVEL DEMARCHE. PAKISTAN'S NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO THE SYG'S RECOMMENDATION (REF B -- REMOVING POTENTIAL INDO-PAKISTANI COORDINATION PROBLEMS FOR A ZAIRE MISSION), THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE INDIAN BRIGADE FROM SOMALIA, AND THE PROMISE OF ONLY MODEST NUMBERS OF PERSONNEL TO HAITI SUGGEST INDIA HAS THE MEANS TO SUPPORT A MISSION IN ZAIRE. ASIDE FROM THE

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AVAILABILITY OF INDIAN TROOPS, THE INDIANS WILL
LIKELY SEEK DETAILS AND COMMITMENTS FROM THE UN THAT
IN ADVANCE ADDRESS SOME OF THE CONCERNS THAT
DEVELOPED OVER THE COURSE OF UNOSOM II: TERMS OF
SUPPORT AND COMPENSATION, LOGISTICS SUPPORT,
WITHDRAWAL PLANNING, EFFECTIVE COMMAND AND CONTROL.

WISNER
BT
#9874

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 9874
TOR: 941216083139 M1418798
DIST:
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER NSC
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2011-0262-M-S (5.91)
VL 10/20/2011

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 191315Z DEC 94
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INFO: RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK PRIORITY
SUBJ: INSECURITY IN BUJUMBURA: ALL AMCITS SAFE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ BUJUMBURA 004589

E.O. 12356: DECL : OADR
TAGS: ASEC, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, BY
SUBJECT: INSECURITY IN BUJUMBURA: ALL AMCITS SAFE

1. RESIDENTS OF BUJUMBURA HEARD BOTH SMALL ARMS AND AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FIRE THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 18 WHICH SEEMED TO BE FOCUSED IN 4 NEIGHBORHOODS, KINANIRA, KININDO, KANYOSHA AND MUSAGA (ALL SOUTHERN SUBURBS). THE VIOLENCE WAS REPORTED ON THE 5:45 ENGLISH RADIO NEWS, AND AGAIN AT NOON ON THE FRENCH AND KIRUNDI BROADCASTS. THE NOON BROADCAST SAID THAT EBOUT 10 DIED, INCLUDING FIVE IN MUSAGA. THE ATTACKS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN PREDOMINANTLY AGAINST TUTSI RESIDENTS, AND TUTSIS WE SPOKE WITH SAID THE CASUALTY COUNT IS LOW. WE HAVE CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT AT LEAST ONE OF THE BODIES WAS BEHEADED.

2. SPECULATION WAS RIFE ABOUT THE CAUSES OF THE GUNFIRE. ONE POSSIBILITY IS THAT MILITANT HUTUS DECIDED TO DISRUPT THE CITY AFTER HUTU LEADERS CANCELED A DEMONSTRATION SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 18 TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR BELEAGURED NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER JEAN MINANI. ANOTHER IS THAT BOTH MILITANT HUTUS AND TUTSIS ARE USING MINANI AS AN EXCUSE TO CAUSE TROUBLE. BOTH THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF FRODEBU AND THE PRESIDENT OF UPRONA HAVE BEEN ON THE RADIO CALLING ON ALL PARTIES TO DISCUSS A WAY TO END THE CURRENT IMPASSE.

3. ALL US CITIZENS ARE SAFE. WE HAVE CALLED AN EAC MEETING FOR DECEMBER 20 TO REVIEW SECURITY STATUS AND OUR WARDEN SYSTEM.

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4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

KRUEGER
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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4589
TOR: 941219081839 M1422220
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4979
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RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
SUBJ: FURTHER INSECURITY INCIDENTS IN BUJUMBURA

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (592)
VL 10/20/2023

SECURITY RELATED INCIDENTS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BUJUMBURA 004595

E.O. 12356: DECL : N/A
TAGS: ASEC, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, BY
SUBJECT: FURTHER INSECURITY INCIDENTS IN BUJUMBURA

SECURITY RELATED INCIDENTS
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1. LAST NIGHT WAS CALM IN BUJUMBURA BUT WE HAVE RECEIVED AN UNCONFIRMED REPORT THAT A FORMER MINISTER OF TRANSPORTATION AND MILITANT HUTU, SCHADRACK NIYONKURU WAS ARRESTED ABOUT 11 THIS MORNING IN THE CITY AFTER HAVING DRIVEN AROUND TOWN IN A CAR WHILE HIS 2 BODYGUARDS FIRED WEAPONS.

2. RTNB RADIO DIRECTOR (PLEASE PROTECT) TOLD USIS FSN THAT HIS REPORTERS HAVE COUNTED 12 DEAD IN THE CITY; A FAMILY OF 3 IN JABE, A BODY IN KININDO, 3 BODIES DOWNTOWN, AND 6 BETWEEN MUTANGA AND ROHERO (NOTE: THIS ADDS UP TO 13).

3. UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ABDULLAH TOLD US THAT HE SPOKE WITH MILITARY LEADERS AND TOLD THEM THAT THEY NEEDED TO CONTROL THE TUTSI YOUTHS WHO WERE RUNNING UNCHECKED IN THE CITY. HE FELT THAT THE ARMY HAD TAKEN ACTION AND THE SITUATION IS UNDER CONTROL. THE UN IS NOT CLOSING OFFICES. A DRIVE THROUGH THE CITY ABOUT 10 AM SHOWED THAT

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SOME SCHOOLS WERE LETTING OUT EARLY, BUT THAT TRAFFIC WAS CIRCULATING NORMALLY.

4. WE HAVE ACTIVATED THE WARDEN SYTEM TO ADVISE AMERICANS THAT GUNSHOTS HAVE BEEN HEARD IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA THIS MORNING AND THAT THE CENTRAL MARKET CLOSED EARLY (IT MAY REOPEN THIS AFTERNOON). THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT GENDARME AND MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE AREA. WE HAVE ADVISED PEOPLE TO AVOID DOWNTOWN BUJUMBURA AT THIS TIME AND TO BE PREPARED FOR SOME CHECKPOINTS AND TRAFFIC DELAYS.

5. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

KRUEGER
BT
#4595

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4595
TOR: 941220051432 M1424322
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC
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Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
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RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA 0001
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RUEHMA/AMEMBASSY MALABO 0001
RUTAND/AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA 0001
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0005
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0001
RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: ON THE WINGS OF A DOVE: UNESCO PEACE FORUM IN THE CONGO

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.94)
VL 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BRAZZAVILLE 003882

PARIS FOR MORAN
LONDON FOR YOUNG
VAIHINGEN AND MOLESWORTH FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PHUM, PINR, ECON, UNESCO, CF
SUBJECT: ON THE WINGS OF A DOVE: UNESCO PEACE FORUM IN THE CONGO

REF: BRAZZAVILLE 3800 PARA 10

1. PARAGRAPHS CLASSIFIED AS MARKED

2. (LOU) SUMMARY. DEFYING ALL LOGIC, THE CONGOLESE MANAGED TO ASSEMBLE 7 HEADS OF STATE, A PRIME MINISTER, A VICE FOREIGN MINISTER AND A LONELY ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR FOR THE JOINT UNESCO/CONGO SPONSORED FORUM FOR THE CULTURE OF PEACE. THE PRESIDENTS OF RWANDA, BURUNDI, THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, THE GABON, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE AND EQUATORIAL GUINEA PLUS HOST PRESIDENT LISSOUBA, WERE JOINED BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CHAD AND JOAO MIRANDA, VICE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ANGOLA. EX PRESIDENTS BUYOYA OF RWANDA, AMANI TOURE

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OF MALI AND SASSOU NGUESSO OF THE CONGO ALSO ATTENDED. PRESIDENT BIYA CONTRIBUTED A PLANELOAD OF FOOD FOR CONFEREES TO HELP DEFRAY COSTS. CONTROVERSIALLY ABSENT WAS MARECHAL MOBUTU WHO DID LITTLE TO IMPROVE HIS IMAGE BY HIS DIPLOMATIC ILLNESS. THE FORUM FOR THE CULTURE OF PEACE WAS A DOMESTIC PUBLIC RELATIONS SUCCESS FOR THE CONGO, AN ADMINSTRATIVE NIGHTMARE AND A SUBSTANTIVE DRAW. THE CONGO WILL BENEFIT INTERNALLY BY THE INAUGURAL PUBLIC REAPPEARANCE OF FORMER PRESIDENT DENIS SASSOU-NGUESSO. EXTERNALLY, THE CONGO BENEFITS BY HAVING MADE THE VISIT AS PAINLESS AND POLITICALLY COST-FREE AS POSSIBLE FOR CHIEFS OF STATE WHO HAD LITTLE TO GAIN BY THE FORUM EXCEPT THE REINFORCEMENT OF CENTRAL AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE COOPERATION. END SUMMARY.

3. (LOU) FOREIGN MINISTER BOUNKOULOU WAS DISPATCHED ON THE MISSION IMPOSSIBLE OF ROUNDING UP HEADS OF STATE FOR THE FORUM. THE CAMPAIGN STARTED IN EARNEST DURING THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS IN BANGUI EARLIER THIS MONTH. MOST ILLUSIVE DURING THAT MEETING AND SINCE WAS MARECHAL MOBUTU WHO HAD BEEN CHOSEN, AS DEAN OF CENTRAL AFRICAN PRESIDENTS, TO SPONSOR THE EVENT AND INVITE OTHER HEADS OF STATE. MOBUTU WAS NOT EVERYONE'S FIRST CHOICE TO SPONSOR A UNESCO FORUM TO TALK ABOUT PEACE, DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. BOUNKOULOU REFLECTED ON HOW THIS HAD COMPLICATED BOUNKOULOU'S SALES PITCH WITH ANGOLAN PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS WHO SAID HE WOULD NOT ATTEND SUCH A FORUM SPONSORED BY MOBUTU. IN THE END, MOBUTU BEGGED OFF SAYING HE WANTED TO COME, BUT HIS DOCTORS FORBID BECAUSE OF A FLU AND A BOUT WITH MALARIA SINCE THE BANGUI APPEARANCE.

4. (S) LESS CHARITABLE SOULS HAVE PROVIDED OTHER AUTHORITATIVE REASONS WHY MOBUTU DID NOT PARTICIPATE, E.G. CONGOLESE CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT ANTI MOBUTU ELEMENTS WILL NOT TRY TO ASSASSINATE HIM ON THE STREETS OF BRAZZAVILLE; ANOTHER MOBUTU SON HAD DIED; MOBUTU WAS AFRAID THE FATE OF THE PREVIOUS RWANDAN PRESIDENT MIGHT AWAIT HIM, OR; THE THEMES OF THE FORUM MIGHT BLOW BACK ON HIM EMBARASSING HIM RATHER THAN CONTRIBUTING TO HIS IMPROVING IMAGE. AS A LAST EFFORT, MOBUTU OFFERED KENGO WA DONDO WHO COULD RACE BACK FROM THE U.S. AND FINALLY ON THE MORNING OF THE FORUM WHEN SEVEN OTHER HEADS OF STATE WERE WAITING FOR HIM TO PRESIDE OVER A TEN O'CLOCK CEREMONY, MOBUTU ASKED IF THE FORUM COULDN'T BE DELAYED SEVERAL DAYS. INFORMED THAT IT COULD NOT, HE PROMISED TO VISIT PRESIDENT LISSOUBA IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS AND A LONELY ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR SAR ON THE DAIS AND WAS IGNORED BY EVERYONE.

5. (S) PRESIDENT BONGO BECAME THE DEAN OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN GROUP ABSENT MOBUTU AND IN A CLOSED SESSION, THE PRESIDENTS AGREED THAT FELIX ANGE PATASSE WOULD PRESIDE OVER THE INAUGURAL SESSION. BONGO RETAINED THE POSITION OF HONOR IN SEATING AT ALL FUNCTIONS, BUT

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PATASSE DID THE WORK. BONGO'S RETICENCE TO PRESIDE WAS SAID BY SOME TO REFLECT THE SAME CONCERNS MOBUTU HAD ABOUT LEGITIMACY.

6. (LOU) BONGO TAKING A BACK SEAT ON THE PRESIDENCY DID NOT DETER FROM HIS REAL ROLE, WHICH WAS TO BE THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BRAZZAVILLE 003882

PARIS FOR MORAN
LONDON FOR YOUNG
VAIHINGEN AND MOLESWORTH FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PHUM, PINR, ECON, UNESCO, CF
SUBJECT: ON THE WINGS OF A DOVE: UNESCO PEACE FORUM IN THE CONGO

GODFATHER TO SASSOU'S INAUGURAL RETURN TO BRAZZAVILLE, A FIRST CONCRETE STEP IN HIS EMERGENCE FROM HIS SELF-IMPOSED EXILE TO OYO.

7. (LOU) BONGO ARRIVED SUNDAY BEFORE THE FORUM IN THE COMPANY OF HIS 28 YEAR OLD WIFE WHO IS THE DAUGHTER OF FORMER PRESIDENT DENIS SASSOU NGUESSO. CONSCIOUS OF HER ROLE AS THE SYMBOLIC LINK BETWEEN LISSOUBA VIA BONGO TO SASSOU, MME BONGO EMERGED FROM THE MYSTERE IN A BRILLIANT YELLOW DRESS COMPLETELY ECLIPSING THE DIMINUTIVE PRESIDENT. MME BONGO JOINED MME LISSOUBA ON THE DIAS OF THE INAUGURAL SESSION AND WAS ACCORDED CAREFUL ATTENTION THROUGHOUT HER STAY.

8. (LOU) FORMER PRESIDENT DENIS SASSOU-NGUESSO PUBLICLY PLAYED HARD TO GET RIGHT UP TO SUNDAY AFTERNOON WHEN HE SET OUT FROM OYO BY MOTORCADE WHICH USED SECONDARY ROUTES AND BACKTRACKS TO COME TO BRAZZAVILLE. THE NORTH ROAD TO BRAZZAVILLE WAS LINED WITH RED BERET SOLDIERS FROM UNITS FAMILAR TO THE FORMER PRESIDENT. HE STAYED AT HIS COMPOUND AT MPILA UNTIL HIS AUDIENCE WITH PRESIDENT LISSOUBA MONDAY MORNING.

9. (U) SASSOU JOINED THE OTHER TWO FORMER PRESIDENTS IN THE AUDIENCE OF THE INAUGURAL SESSION IN WHICH HE HAD NO ACTIVE ROLE. IN AN RFI INTERVIEW REBROADCAST MONDAY MORNING, SASSOU SPOKE AS A PROPONENT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CRITICIZED THE CONTINUING INSECURITY IN THE COUNTRY AND ON BRAZZAVILLE'S STREETS. HE REGRETTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT AGEED TO HIS PROPOSED ROUND TABLE FOR DISCUSSING NATIONAL SECURITY PROBLEMS, BUT AVOIDED ANSWERING WHETHER HE WOULD ATTEND THE FORUM. BY THE TIME THE INTERVIEW WAS AIRED, SASSOU WAS ALREADY IN BRAZZAVILLE.

10. ~~(C)~~ IF NOTHING ELSE COMES OF THE FORUM, DISLODGING SASSOU FROM OYO AND BEGINNING THE PROCESS OF RETURNING HIM TO THE MAINSTREAM OF CONGOLESE POLITICS WILL HAVE BEEN REASON ENOUGH TO HOLD THE FORUM. SURROUNDED BY

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PRESIDENTS, THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF UNESCO AND OAUS SAHNOUN, SASSOU HAS BEEN&CONSTRAINED TO ADOPT A CONSTRUCTIVE POSTURE AT HIS COMING OUT. HOW HIS SUBSEQUENT STRATEGY WILL UNFOLD REMAINS TO BE SEEN, BUT HIS INVISIBILITY IN OYO WAS PROVOKING FERTILE CONGOLESE IMAGINATIONS TO IMPUTE TO HIM ALL MANNER OF POLITICAL INTRIGUE, TOO MUCH OF WHICH WAS COMPELLING TO PRESIDENT LISSOUBA.

SPEAKERS AT THE INAUGURAL SESSION:

11. (U) BERNARD KOLELAS - DEPUTY OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND MAYOR OF BRAZZAVILLE. IN A SHARP INDICTMENT OF THE CONGOLESE POLITICAL CLASS, KOLELAS REMINDED THE GROUP OF THE INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE IN BRAZZAVILLE DURING 1993 AND INTO 1994, CHARACTERIZING IT AS DISGRACEFUL AND HUMILIATING TO THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE. HE WELCOMED THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN RETURNING TO A PEACEFUL FOOTING BUT WARNED THAT MUCH NEEDED TO BE DONE. THE YOUTH OF BRAZZAVILLE ARE DESPAIRING OF EVER GETTING AN EDUCATION, THERE IS RAMPANT BANDITRY AND ARMED ASSAULT, MANY ARE STILL UNABLE TO RETURN TO THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS AND THE ECONOMY OF THE CITY AND COUNTRY IS IN A SHAMBLES. KOLELAS ARGUED THAT THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE HAD DONE ABOUT AS MUCH AS IT COULD AND ONLY IF PEACE WERE REALLY IN THE HEARTS OF BRAZZAVILLOIS AND ITS POLITICAL LEADERS, COULD CONGO HOPE TO OVERCOME THE REMAINING OBSTACLES.

12. (U) FEDERICO MAYOR - DIRECTOR GENERAL OF UNESCO. MAYOR WAS COMING FROM DUBROVNIK AND REFLECTED ON THE RAVAGES OF INTERETHNIC WAR. HE CITED A RECENT STATEMENT AT A MEETING OF FIFTEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS REJECTING ANY JUSTIFICATION IN ANY OF THE RELIGIONS FOR GENOCIDE IN THE NAME OF RELIGION. SURELY THE SAME MUST BE TRUE OF USING ETHNICITY AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BRAZZAVILLE 003882

PARIS FOR MORAN
LONDON FOR YOUNG
VAIHINGEN AND MOLESWORTH FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PHUM, PINR, ECON, UNESCO, CF
SUBJECT: ON THE WINGS OF A DOVE: UNESCO PEACE FORUM IN THE CONGO

MURDER. MAYOR STAYED OUT OF THE CONGOLESE EXAMPLE DRAWING ON OTHER REGIONAL EXAMPLES TO MAKE HIS POINTS. HE TOOK A SWIPE AT THOSE MEMBERS OF THE UN WHO ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT THE COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH PEACEKEEPING BUT WENT ON TO POSIT THAT MOST UN PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES WERE A FORM OF INVESTING IN OUR FAILURES.

13. (U) FELIX-ANGE PATASSE - PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC. STANDING IN FOR MOBUTU, PATASSE

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SAID MOBUTU HAD ASKED HIM TO PASS ALONG A MESSAGE AND THAT MOBUTU WOULD SEND A DELEGATION TO THE FORUM. PATAASE WAS BEING POLITE SINCE THERE WAS NEITHER MESSAGE NOR DELEGATION FROM ZAIRE. SPEAKING FOR HIMSELF, PATASSE CONGRATULATED PRESIDENT LISSOUBA, DEPUTY MAYOR KOLELAS AND EX PRESIDENT SASSOU BECAUSE IT WAS CLEAR VICTORY WAS AT THEIR FINGERTIPS. CONFIDENCE IS THE KEY TO DURABLE PEACE AND THE CURRENT DIALOGUE WAS THE BEST WAY TO BUILD THAT CONFIDENCE. THE CONGOLESE MUST BE WILLING TO FORGIVE EACH OTHER. WE IN CENTRAL AFRICA ARE THE VICTIMS OF OUR EGOS. WHY IS IT WEST AFRICA, WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF OUR RESOURCES IS DOING SO MUCH BETTER? WHAT ARE WE DOING WRONG? WE ARE DESTROYING EACH OTHER. WHILE YOU FIGHT ON THE STREETS OF BRAZZAVILLE, WE IN THE C.A.R. SUFFOCATE. TRANSPORT IS BLOCKED AND OUR ECONOMY SUFFERS.

14. (U) PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU - PRESIDENT OF RWANDA. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE WHERE THERE IS DESPAIR. THE U.N. CANNOT MAKE OR KEEP PEACE THAT THE POPULATIONS DON'T WANT. THE U.N. IS CLEANING UP AFTER FAILURES. WE AFRICANS HAVE NOT CREATED THE PRECONDITIONS FOR PEACE. DON'T THINK FOR A MOMENT THAT WHAT HAPPENED IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI CANNOT HAPPEN IN YOUR COUNTRY. BIZIMUNGU ARGUES THAT MOST CONFLICTS IN AFRICA ARE WITHIN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES BUT ARE STIMULATED FROM THE EXTERIOR. HE SAYS AFRICA IS NOT AFRICAN, WE HAVE UNIFORMLY ADOPTED THE PRACTICES OF OUR FORMER COLONIZERS. FOR THIRTY YEARS WE HAVE TRIED THEIR SYSTEMS AND WHEN THEY DIDN'T WORK, WE ARMED OUR CHILDREN. RWANDA IS NOT UNIQUE IN THIS. OUR HOPE IS TO START ANEW TO BUILD AN AFRICAN AFRICA.

15. (U) TODAY'S PLENARY SESSIONS ARE DEVOTED TO PREPARED STATEMENTS BY THE LEADERS OF CONGO'S RELIGIOUS BODIES, REGIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES. JEAN-PIERRE THYSTERE TCHICAYA SPOKE FOR THE URD-FDU IN A LENGTHY CALL FOR COOPERATIVE EFFORT TO RESTORE PEACE AND CONFIDENCE TO THE CONGO. HE RETURNED TO THE THEMES AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO SHOW HOW THEY REMAINED ELUSIVE. HE TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO RUB THE GOVERNMENT'S NOSE IN ITS AS YET UNKEPT PROMISE OF FIVE MONTHS OF CIVIL SERVICE SALARIES BY THE END OF THE YEAR AND COMMITTED TO PLAY THE ROLE OF THE FAITHFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION IN THE CONGOLESE POLITICAL PROCESS.

16. (U) DENIS-SASSOU NGUESSO ATTENDED THE FORUM THROUGHOUT THE DAY BREAKING ONLY TO GIVE A SCHEDULED PRESS CONFERENCE. SINCE THE PRECEEDING PARAGRAPHS ARE PROBABLY ALREADY MORE THAN ANYONE EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT THE FORUM FOR THE CULTURE OF PEACE, WE WILL SAVE THE FINAL WORK OF THE PLENARY AND COMMISSIONS FOR REPORTING AFTER THE CLOSING SESSIONS THURSDAY, DEC 22.
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SUBJ: RWANDA/BURUNDI: REGIONAL CONFERENCE PLANS;
LATEST UN THINKING ON CAMP SECURITY; FOOD DISTRIBUTION

TEXT:

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 010922

STATE FOR G, PRM, IO, AF, DRL, PM/ISP
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E.O. 12356: N/A
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SUBJECT: RWANDA/BURUNDI: REGIONAL CONFERENCE PLANS;
LATEST UN THINKING ON CAMP SECURITY; FOOD DISTRIBUTION

1. SUMMARY. UNHCR'S AFRICA BUREAU DIRECTOR ANNOUNCED THAT UNHCR AND OAU HAVE AGREED TO CO-HOST THE REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE IN BUJUMBURA ON FEBRUARY 15 OR 17, AND THAT THE AGENDA WILL INCLUDE CAMP SECURITY, REPATRIATION, EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE, AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED IN THE REGION. A PREPARATORY MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN ADDIS ABABA ON JANUARY 9 OR 10. INVITATIONS TO BOTH EVENTS WILL BE ISSUED IN ADDIS. THE JOINT UNDPKO/UNHCR SECURITY ASSESSMENT MISSION, WHICH VISITED EASTERN ZAIRE IN MID-DECEMBER, RECOMMENDED THE DEPLOYMENT OF A 4,000-STRONG RAPID REACTION FORCE TO DISARM AND PATROL REFUGEE CAMPS IN EASTERN ZAIRE. THE MISSION ALSO RECOMMENDED A PARALLEL EFFORT TO TRAIN ZAIRIAN FORCES, WHICH WOULD GRADUALLY REPLACE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. WHETHER THESE INITIATIVES WILL EVENTUALLY BE IMPLEMENTED IS UNCERTAIN. A RECENT UNHCR/WFP FOOD MISSION TO EASTERN ZAIRE CONCLUDED THAT FOOD DISTRIBUTION IN THE CAMPS IS NO LONGER THREATENED BY THE SECURITY PROBLEM AS THE REFUGEE LEADERS HAVE BETTER COMMUNICATIONS WITH CAMP MANAGEMENT. END SUMMARY.

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OAU/UNHCR REGIONAL CONFERENCE PLANS
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2. DURING THE DECEMBER 12 WEEKLY MEETING, CHAIRMAN KAMEL MORJANE, UNHCR'S AFRICA BUREAU DIRECTOR, GAVE A BRIEFING ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO ADDIS ABABA TO ARRANGE FOR THE REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE. HE MET WITH THE OAU SECRETARIAT, OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM, AND THE BURUNDIAN AMBASSADOR,. MORJANE DESCRIBED THE PLANS AS FOLLOWS:

VENUE AND DATE

BUJUMBURA, BEGINNING EITHER FEBRUARY 15 OR 17 (DECISION WILL DEPEND ON AVAILABILITY OF FLIGHTS).

OBJECTIVES

-- HIGHLIGHT THE PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES, RETURNEES, AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED (R/R/IDPS) IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION.

-- ADDRESS THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE R/R/IDPS AND FIND DURABLE SOLUTIONS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEM.

-- SENSITIZE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF R/R/IDPS.

-- CONSIDER HOW TO GUARANTEE SECURITY AND ORDER IN THE CAMPS.

-- HOW TO DEVISE AND IMPLEMENT THE SAFE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED.

-- REVIEW THE IMPACT ON THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE PRESENCE OF EX-FAR AND INTERHAMWE MILITIA IN THE CAMPS.

-- HOW TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES IN SUPPORT OF THE AFFECTED COUNTRIES.

-- PREPARE AN APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO CONTINUE PROVIDING MATERIAL ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT FOR THE AFFECTED COUNTRIES.

DOCUMENTS (DRAFTER)

-- STATUS AND BACKGROUND REPORT ON REFUGEES (UNHCR)

-- STATUS AND BACKGROUND REPORT ON INTERNALLY DISPLACED (UN/DHA)

-- IMPACT OF EX-FAR AND INTERHAMWE PRESENCE IN THE CAMPS (UNHCR)

-- HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE REGION:

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CONTRIBUTIONS AND ACTIVITIES TO DATE AND FUTURE REQUIREMENTS (UN/DHA)

-- THE ROLE OF THE OAU IN THE REGION (OAU)

-- ACTIVITIES, STEPS AND EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION (GOVERNMENTS OF BURUNDI AND RWANDA)
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

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E.O. 12356: N/A
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SUBJECT: RWANDA/BURUNDI: REGIONAL CONFERENCE PLANS; LATEST UN THINKING ON CAMP SECURITY; FOOD DISTRIBUTION

-- REPATRIATION POLICY AND PLAN OF ACTION (UNHCR)

-- SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION OF AFFECTED COUNTRIES (AFFECTED COUNTRIES IN THE REGION)

PARTICIPATION (INVITATIONS TO BE ISSUED BY THE OAU)

-- ALL OAU MEMBERS.

-- ALL UNHCR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS (48 COUNTRIES).

-- OTHER INTERESTED DONORS.

-- ALL RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS.

-- REPRESENTATION OF RELEVANT NGOS.

-- PAN-AFRICAN AND SUB-REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

PREPARATORY MEETING

THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE, WHICH WILL MEET IN ADDIS ABABA ON JANUARY 9 OR 10, WILL DISCUSS AND FINALIZE THE CONFERENCE'S OBJECTIVES, DOCUMENTS REQUIRED, AND BUDGET. THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE IS COMPOSED OF THE OAU, UNHCR, RWANDA, BURUNDI, SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, AND OBSERVERS AT THE ARUSHA ACCORD. INVITATIONS TO THIS EETING WILL ALSO BE ISSUED BY THE OAU. AN OAU/UNHCR MISSION WILL TRAVEL TO BUJUMBURA ON DECEMBER 27 TO PREPARE A BUDGET FOR THE CONFERENCE.

SECURITY ASSESSMENT MISSION: ANOTHER OPTION EMERGES

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3. THE COORDINATOR OF UNHCR'S SPECIAL UNIT FOR RWANDA AND BURUNDI, AUGUSTINE MAHIGA, PROVIDED A BRIEFING ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOINT UNDPKO/UNHCR SECURITY ASSESSMENT MISSION THAT RECENTLY VISITED EASTERN ZAIRE AND KIGALI. THE MISSION WAS COMPOSED OF TWO MILITARY AND ONE CIVILIAN REPRESENTATIVE FROM DPKO, THREE MEMBERS OF UNAMIR, AND TWO REPRESENTATIVES FROM UNHCR. THE PURPOSE OF THE MISSION WAS TO ASSESS: HOW TO SECURE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS; HOW TO ENHANCE SECURITY FOR RELIEF WORKERS; AND HOW TO MAKE REPATRIATION CONVOYS FEASIBLE. THE TEAM MADE THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS:

PHASE I

DEPLOY A 4,000-STRONG RAPID REACTION FORCE TO EASTERN ZAIRE WITH TWO OBJECTIVES. A "TACTICAL" OBJECTIVE WOULD INVOLVE GOING INTO THE CAMPS AND, AS NEEDED, NEUTRALIZE AND COLLECT POTENTIALLY HARMFUL ELEMENTS (WEAPONS) FROM THE CAMPS. A "STATIC" OBJECTIVE WOULD INVOLVE ESTABLISHING A PRESENCE AND PATROLLING THE CAMPS. THIS OPERATION WOULD REQUIRE UNSC APPROVAL AS IT WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN UNDER A CHAPTER VI MANDATE; IT WOULD INVOLVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FORCE AND THE REFUGEE LEADERSHIP IN THE CAMPS.

PHASE II

A PARALLEL OPERATION TO TRAIN ZAIRIAN FORCES WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN FOR A THREE TO FOUR MONTH PERIOD. ONCE TRAINED, THE ZAIRIAN FORCES WOULD REPLACE THE MILITARY FORCE GRADUALLY. THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WOULD PROVIDE SOME OF THE TRAINING WITH LOGISTICAL AND COMMUNICATIONS SUPPORT FROM UNAMIR. NO UNSC APPROVAL IS REQUIRED FOR THIS PHASE.

WILL THE OPERATION FLY IN NEW YORK?
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4. DURING THE BRIEFING, MAHIGA ASKED THE RHETORICAL QUESTION, IS PHASE I NECESSARY FOR PHASE II? AND HE ALSO PROVIDED HIS OWN ANSWER: THEORETICALLY, NO, BUT ANY POLICE TRAINING ACTIVITY WOULD REQUIRE SECURITY WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE PROVIDED BY THE MILITARY, WHICH IN TURN WOULD REQUIRE UNSC APPROVAL. MAHIGA WENT ON TO

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SUBJECT: RWANDA/BURUNDI: REGIONAL CONFERENCE PLANS; LATEST UN THINKING ON CAMP SECURITY; FOOD DISTRIBUTION

SAY THAT SOME MEMBERS OF DPKO BELIEVE THAT PHASE I WILL NOT FLY POLITICALLY IN NEW YORK AND AS A RESULT, HE CONCLUDED, PHASE II MAY NOT TAKE OFF THE GROUND. HE ADDED THAT U/SYG ANNAN WILL PRESENT HIS REPORT TO THE SYG, IN TURN THE SYG WILL PROVIDE HIS RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE UNSC, AND THE UNSC RESPONSE IS UNCERTAIN.

5. APOLOGIZING FOR "ADDING CONFUSION TO CONFUSION," MAHIGA REVEALED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE OFFERED 1,500 TROOPS TO PROVIDE SECURITY IN THE CAMPS, AND THAT ZAIRIAN AUTHORITIES ASKED THAT A HIGH LEVEL UN DELEGATION VISIT KINSHASA BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR TO DISCUSS UN MATERIAL AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF ZAIRIAN FORCES. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ZAIRIAN OFFER AND THE ASSESSMENT MISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS, OR WHETHER THE SYG WILL INCORPORATE THESE ELEMENTS INTO HIS UPCOMING REPORT TO THE UNSC. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE PROPOSAL PREPARED BY THE PRIVATE SECURITY FIRM DSL HAS NOT BEEN INCORPORATED INTO ANY OF DPKO PLANS.

UNHCR/WFP MISSION ON FOOD DISTRIBUTION
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6. MAHIGA SAID THAT A RECENT UNHCR/WFP MISSION TO EASTERN ZAIRE HAD CONCLUDED THAT FOOD DISTRIBUTION MAY NOT BE A SECURITY PROBLEM BECAUSE THERE IS BETTER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CAMP LEADERSHIP AND CAMP MANAGEMENT (RELIEF AGENCIES AND NGO'S). AS A RESULT THERE HAS BEEN LESSER DIVERSION OF FOOD AND ITS DISTRIBUTION HAS BEEN MORE EQUITABLE. THE CAMP LEADERSHIP HAS ASKED UNHCR TO UNDERTAKE A REGISTRATION EXERCISE, AS THEY BELIEVE THAT THEIR NUMBERS ARE HIGHER THAN UNHCR ESTIMATES. THIS REQUEST IS AN ABOUT FACE FROM PREVIOUS RESISTANCE TO REGISTRATION.
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RUEHXR/RWANDA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
SUBJ: MINANI "ASSIGNED" TO OTHER DUTIES
AS BUJUMBURA REMAINS CALM

TEXT:

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, AMGT, ASEC, CASC, PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: MINANI "ASSIGNED" TO OTHER DUTIES
AS BUJUMBURA REMAINS CALM

REF: BUJUMBURA 004647

SUMMARY
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1. IN A TELEVISION ADDRESS, THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THAT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER JEAN MINANI HAD BEEN "ASSIGNED" TO OTHER DUTIES. CURFEW REMAINS IN EFFECT AND WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE THROUGH THE NEW YEAR'S WEEKEND. IN A TELEVISION ADDRESS LAST NIGHT, THE DEFENSE MINISTER SAID HE HAD DIRECTED THE ARMY TO TAKE SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO RESCUE HUTUS CORNERED BY TUTSI YOUTHS IN THE MARKETPLACE LAST WEEK. END SUMMARY.

PRESIDENT: MINANI WILL BE ASSIGNED OTHER DUTIES
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2. THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED ON NATIONAL TELEVISION LAST NIGHT THAT THE CONTROVERSIAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER JEAN MINANI WOULD BE "REASSIGNED TO OTHER DUTIES." IN DELIBERATLY VAGUE COMMENTS, THE PRESIDENT DID NOT SPECIFICALLY SAY THAT MINANI HAD RESIGNED OR THAT HE WILL RESIGN, ALTHOUGH THAT WAS THE IMPLICATION. (FYI: AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH

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EARLIER IN THE DAY TOLD THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS THAT MINANI DEFINITELY WOULD RESIGN, BUT THAT FRODEBU FIRST WISHED TO INFORM ITS PARTY LEADERS BEFORE MAKING SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT. IT HAS BEEN WIDEL]ASSUMED FOR AT LEAST A WEEK THAT MINANI WILL RESIGN, BUT HE HAS NOT YET DONE SO. AND FRODEBU HAS A WAY OF DELAYING THE INEVITABLE.)

BUJUMBURA CALM AS THE CURFEW CONTINUES

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3. THE CURFEW IS STILL IN EFFECT AND WE EXPECT IT TO CONTINUE THROUGH NEW YEAR'S WEEKEND. THE CITY REMAINS CALM (ONLY TWO GRENADES LAST NIGHT WHICH CAUSED NO INJURIES) AND TENSION IS SUBSIDING FOR THE MOMENT. THE MAYOR OF BUJUMBURA ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY THAT THE CURFEW HAD BEEN "EFFECTIVE" IN CONTROLLING THE INSECURITY, AND SAID THAT 208 PEOPLE HAD BEEN ARRESTED SO FAR FOR CURFEW VIOLATIONS. THERE IS A 5,000 BURUNDI FRANC FINE FOR THE VIOLATION.

FORTHRIGHT TALK FROM THE DEFENSE MINISTER

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4. IN A REMARKABLE INTERVIEW ON TELEVISION LAST NIGHT, THE DEFENSE MINISTER REPORTED THAT LAST WEEK YOUNG TUTSIS HAD CORNERED A GROUP OF HUTUS IN THE CENTRAL MARKETPLACE AND ATTACKED THEM. THE MINISTER THEN ORDERED MEMBERS OF AN ARMY BATTALION TO FORM A PROTECTIVE CORRIDOR THROUGH WHICH THE HUTUS COULD ESCAPE TO SAFETY. BECAUSE NO BUSES WERE AVAILABLE, HE ORDERED MILITARY TRANSPORT TO CONVEY THEM HOME. THE ARMY PROCEEDED TO ARREST SOME OF THE TUTSI PERPETRATORS. ALTHOUGH SOME HAVE SINCE BEEN RELEASED, SOME ARE STILL IN CUSTODY.

5. THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S REPORT WAS ENCOURAGING IN TWO WAYS. FIRST, IT IS THE FIRST TIME IN AT LEAST 6 MONTHS THAT THE MILITARY HAS BEEN SPECIFIC ABOUT ITS ACTIONS, AND MORE IMPORTANT, THAT IT WAS PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE MILITARY DEFENDED HUTUS AGAINST TUTSIS. EVEN THE FACT THAT THE TWO ETHNICITIES WERE MENTIONED IS UNUSUAL FOR A MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON RADIO OR TV. SECOND, THE MINISTER'S PROTECTION OF HUTUS FOLLOWS A STRONG DEMARCHE BY THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS TO THE MINISTER IN WHICH IT WAS UNEQUIVOCALLY STATED THAT THE MILITARY HAS BEEN WELL KNOWN TO BE PARTIAL TO TUTSIS, AND RELUCTANT TO ARREST THEM (REFTEL).

URPONA COMMUNIQUE

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6. A COMMUNIQUE ISSUED DECEMBER 27 SAID THAT UPRONA HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THE GOVERNMENT BUT THAT THE PARTY HAD ASKED ITS MINISTERS TO CONTINUE

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SERVING IN AN "ACTING CAPACITY." CHARLES MUKASI, LEADER OF UPRONA, ANNOUNCED THAT UPRONA LEADERS WOULD BE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON DECEMBER 28.

OTHER TV-RADIO APPEARANCES
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
017. cable	Former Rwandan Ambassador to Canada Reports on Effort by Senior GOR Officials to Obtain U.S. Visas [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	12/29/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 505000

FOLDER TITLE:
[11/04/1994 - 12/29/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh147

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHOTA6564 3632151-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 292151Z DEC 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
OSRI: RUEHOT
DTG: 292151Z DEC 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1702
INFO: RUEHMT/AMCONSUL MONTREAL 4799
RUEHKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0064
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0015
SUBJ: FORMER RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO CANADA REPORTS ON EFFORT BY SENIOR FORMER GOR OFFICIALS TO OBTAIN U.S. VISAS

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (5.99)
VZ 10/20/2023

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ OTTAWA 006564

NOFORN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, RW, CA
SUBJECT: FORMER RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO CANADA REPORTS ON EFFORT BY SENIOR FORMER GOR OFFICIALS TO OBTAIN U.S. VISAS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: FORMER RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO CANADA HAS PROVIDED INFORMATION CONCERNING REPORTED EFFORT OF U.S. ORGANIZATION TO ARRANGE U.S. VISIT BY FORMER SENIOR GOR OFFICIALS. END SUMMARY.

3. IN CURIOUS DEMARCHE ON 29 DECEMBER, FORMER RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO CANADA SEGASAYO MAXIMIN MET WITH POLMINCOUNS TO CONVEY INFORMATION ABOUT REPORTED EFFORT BY A U.S. ORGANIZATION TO BRING SEVERAL RANKING OFFICIALS OF THE PREVIOUS RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO THE U.S.

4. MAXIMIN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN TELEPHONED BY FORMER RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT PRIME MINISTER JEAN KAMBANDA ON 26 DECEMBER. KAMBANDA AND TWO OTHER FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, JEROME BICAMUMPAKA (EXTERNAL AFFAIRS) AND MR (NO AVAILABLE FIRST NAME) KABILIGI (A DEFENSE MINISTRY OFFICIAL) REPORTEDLY ARRIVED IN NAIROBI ON 22 DECEMBER AND ARE SEEKING VISAS FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY, ALLEGEDLY AT THE INVITATION OF THE "INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL ORGANIZATION", 1620 RHODE ISLAND AVE, WASHINGTON 20036).

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MAXIMIN SAID THAT THE "ISTO" INTENDS TO ARRANGE MEETINGS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS, INCLUDING AST SEC GEORGE MOOSE, SENATOR DON NICKELS, E.O. 13526 1.4(c) 1.4(c) AND UN SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL "GINGER G DAVIS". MAXIMIN PROVIDED ALLEGED STATEMENTS/OPINIONS/ANALYSES (IN FRENCH) BY THESE INDIVIDUALS SUGGESTING SUPPORT/SYMPATHY FOR THE POSITIONS AND/OR CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT. (COPIES FAXED TO RWANDA DESK)

5. KAMBANDA PROVIDED MAXIMIN WITH A POINT OF CONTACT FOR "ISTO" IN MONTREAL (VICTOR MHERERA, PHONE NUMBER 514-444-2558). MAXIMIN SAID HE HAD SPOKEN WITH MHERERA WHO CLAIMED TO BE ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS IN THE U.S. EARLY IN 1995.

6. POLMINCOUNS TOLD MAXIMIN THAT HE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF "ISTO" AND THAT ANY DECISIONS ON VISAS FOR FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WOULD BE TAKEN IN WASHINGTON.

COMMENT
---

7. MAXIMIN SAID THAT HE WAS ACTING FROM SYMPATHY WITH THE REPORTED DESIRE BY KAMBANDA, BICAMUMPAKA AND KABILIGI EVENTUALLY TO RETURN PEACEFULLY TO RWANDA. FOR HIS PART, MAXIMIN SAID HE HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED BY THE CURRENT RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE TO ACT AS AMBASSADOR UNTIL REPLACED. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAS NOT INFORMED THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT THAT HE IS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO OFFICIALS OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. MAXIMIN SAID THAT HE HAS BEEN OFFERED THE POSITION AS GOR AMBASSADOR IN KAMPALA, BUT WOULD PREFER TO RETURN TO THE UNIVERSITY OF RWANDA WHERE HE TAUGHT PRIOR TO BECOMING AMBASSADOR TO CANADA. WALSH
BT
#6564

NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 6564
TOR: 941229170030 M1438852
DIST:
SIT: DESHAZER NSC
□

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. email~~	~~DeShazer, Macarthur X. to Sandy/Nancy, re: Meeting with Members of t (2 pages)~~	~~08/30/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. email~~	~~DeShazer, Macarthur X. to Tony/Sandy/Nancy, re: Presidential Mission (3 pages)~~	~~08/31/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~003. email~~	~~DeShazer, Macarthur X. to Reed, George A., re: Ghana Paper… (3 pages)~~	~~09/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~004. email~~	~~Veit, Katherine M. to Senior Directors; Kerrick, Donald L.; DeShazer, MacArthur, re: [Lunch Meeting - Wed 9/7] (2 pages)~~	~~09/07/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
A1-Record (Jan 93-Sept 94) ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 570000

FOLDER TITLE:
[06/13/1994 - 09/09/1994]

2006-0192-F
ch148

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

30-Aug-1994 21:54 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:
RECORDS (RECORDS@A1@OEOB)

FROM: Deshazer, Macarthur X. (deshazem@NSCSTF@OEOB@MSGATE@V

SUBJECT: ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~Meeting with Members of t

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VZ NARA, Date 10/20/2023
2011-0262-M-5 (6.00)

Message Creation Date was at 30-AUG-1994 21:32:00

Sandy/Nancy:

Members of the Presidential Mission to Brundi/Rwanda/Zaire will arrive at Andrews Air Force Base tomorrow morning at approximately 1045 a.m. They will assemble in the Roosevelt Room at 12: 00 noon for a debriefing; you are scheduled to "drop by" for 15 minutes between 12:00 -- 12:00. We have invited Assistant Secretary Moose and OFDA Director Nan Borton to attend the debriefing as well -- they were present at the send-off.

The three day trip,which took them to Bujumbura, Burundi, Kigali, Rwanda and Goma, Zaire, was important in that it continued to signal high level interest by the United States and the International Community in this very fragile environment. This is especially true for Burundi as they struggle with reconciliation and presidential succession. Congressman Payne said during a Bujumbura press conference that "they had met with the President, Prime Minister, and leaders from across the political and social spectrum and was encouraged by the progress made thus far." C. Payne Lucas, President of AFRICARE made a similar observation. Press coverage has also been positive.

The mission delivered massive amounts of relief supplies to the region on their C-5 aircraft. There were 20 members on the mission, including:

Representative Don Payne
C. Payne Lucas, President, AFRICARE
Vivian Derryck, President, African American INstitute
Fred Starr, President, Aspen Institute
Bill Lucy, AFSCME
Charles Brimmer, National Black Caucus of State Legislators
Lonnie Turniseed, Church World Service
Charles Helton, Methodist Episcopal Church
Niara Sudarkasa, President, Lincoln University
Mel Foote, Executive Director, Constituency for Africa
Four Administration officials
Six Congressional Staffers (including four staffers for Pell, Helms, Jeffords, Simon, Johnston and Gillman)

Don will proceed on to Nigeria and points west -- we were able to work out the details of his travel using commercial resources. His trip, however, will extend into early next week. I'll have more on this tomorrow.

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The following are talking points for your "drop-by" tomorrow:

TALKING POINTS:

-- First, let me say as I said before you departed on this mission that the President appreciates what you've done. Your presence in Goma, Kigali and Bujumbura sent a powerful message and underscored our strong support for peace and stability in this very fragile region.

-- I read with tremendous interest Congressman Payne's and C Payne Lucas' encouraging statements in Burundi on their efforts to bring the issue of presidential succession to a successful conclusion and the need for national reconciliation. This mission has done much to foster peace and stability in Burundi and the region.

-- Let me stop here and hear briefly some of the highlights of your trip. Again, thank you for your willingness to sacrifice your valuable time to travel on this important mission.

Mac

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 30-Aug-1994 21:32
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 050005
VMS Filename: OA$SHARA25:ZVJNVAKQ9.TXT
A1 Folder: AUG94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 30-Aug-1994 21:32
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

31-Aug-1994 20:31 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:
RECORDS (RECORDS@A1@OEOB)

FROM: Deshazer, Macarthur X. (deshazem@NSCSTF@OEOB@MSGATE@V

SUBJECT: ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~ Presidential Mission -

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (6.01)
VZ 10/20/2023

Message Creation Date was at 31-AUG-1994 20:08:00

Tony/Sandy/Nancy:

This is a quick read out of the immediate feedback from the Presidential Mission just back from Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi. They will submit a full report within seven days.

Appearing tired and clearly moved by their experience Congressman Payne, C. Payne Lucas and members of the mission debriefed George Moose and me this afternoon in the Roosevelt Room. Leading with Payne and Lucas, each of the 22 members provided their key observations from the visit. A summary of those observations follows:

OBSERVATIONS:

-- Congressman Payne and others were very complimentary of the Administration for its "foresight" (mentioned several times) in sending the mission and for the "creative mix" of its members.

-- Payne was also complimentary of the role that Ambassador (former Senator) Bob Kreuger is playing in Burundi. He said, "Kreuger is the right person for this difficult job and is representing the U.S. there very well.

-- The U.S. efforts (particularly our military personnel and NGO's) in the regions have made a significant difference and have generated great respect for the American people --- the story needs to be told! Members committed to telling the story at every opportunity when they returned to their locations (most had timed media events with their return home). All feel that we must keep America focused on this problem because it is far from over.

-- As mission members interacted with government and civilian citizens in Rwanda and Burundi , they were astounded by the lack remorse by almost everyone. This signals the need to move the War Crimes Tribunal forward as quickly as possible. This , they believe, must use this to serve notice to neighboring countries that they cannot kill their citizens with impunity. Urged the U.S. to do what it could to push this.

-- Repatriation is a big problem! Payne suggested that we communicate to Mobutu or someone responsible in the government that the Zairian soldiers in the region are impeding progress. The number of repatriated refugees could be higher if these soldiers were not present in the region.

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-- Broadcasts from the radio station are still having an impact, not only in Rwanda but in Burundi as well. Payne and all members echoed the sentiment that something must be done to silence this station. (FYI: at the Ad Hoc meeting yesterday, it was concluded that following location/evaluation of the station by our National Security Agency personnel there, OSD will provide equipment and/or contract information to the UN to enable it to block receipt of the radio broadcasts in the camps. State will also talk to the French about their willingness to block transmission of the broadcasts, if the U.S. provided the required technical information. The U.S. is also seeking clarification from the UN about its request for equipment and support for a UNAMIR radio station. State will then ask USIA if VOA can make available a transmitter and other assets for lease to UNAMIR under the UN participation Act.)

-- Unaccompanied children is a very serious problem! Shelter is the most immediate need particularly since the rains and colder weather will arrive soon. The children, however, are doing will and are the basis for hope.

-- We must somehow separate out from the civilian refugees from the government militia and officials, many of whom are still carrying weapons. These Hutus are organizing systems that are contributing to instability.

-- Both Rwanda and Burundi need to be strengthened in order to survive. Suggested that the World Bank, African Development Bank or someone needs to provide financial help to get these countries on their feet.

-- Human Rights Monitors must be beefed up as quickly as possible. The Burundian Defense Minister said he would welcome monitors. Many members indicated that they are connected with organizations that are willing to provide monitors if a system is developed to facilitate their involvement.

-- Genocide must be taken more seriously in the U.S. -- if we do not do this and move more quickly with the War Crimes Tribunal the evidence will disappear because (unlike in Cambodia) there are no records of the atrocities except in peoples memories.

-- A major conference must be organized to help countries in the region address their problems.

-- The new government in Rwanda was praised for pursuing an effective policy of diffusing ethnic tension -- this is not happening in neighboring Burundi.

Some members have asked for a brief audience with the President -- a schedule proposal will follow soon.

Mac DeShazer

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 31-Aug-1994 20:08
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 050141
VMS Filename: OA$SHARA22:ZVJOTBGHH.TXT
A1 Folder: AUG94

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 31-Aug-1994 20:08
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

01-Sep-1994 19:48 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:
RECORDS (RECORDS@A1@OEOB)

FROM: Deshazer, Macarthur X. (deshazem@NSCSTF@OEOB@MSGATE@V

SUBJECT: RE: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore ~~[CONFIDENTI~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0762-M-5 (L.02)
VZ 10/20/2023

Message Creation Date was at 1-SEP-1994 19:27:00

George:

This looks okay to me!

I added a bullet to "Sojourn to the United States." We heard back today from our embassy in Ghana that owing to prior commitments in southern Africa, President Rawlings would not be able to accept the President's invitation for an official visit to the White House on September 14. Upon learning that no other dates would be possible until early next year, Mrs. Rawlings is quoted as saying, "that would work better, in any event, because she would then be able to travel with him -- whereas on September 14 she could not."

All the best

Mac

From: Reed, George A.
To: DeShazer, MacArthur
Subject: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 02:41 PM

Mac:

Here's the draft paper from State on the Mrs Gore meeting in Cairo. Pls make any changes you think are necessary and e-mail back. Would like by OOB tomorrow if possible. Thanks for your help

Cheers--

George Reed/54223

UNCLASSIFIED

MEETING WITH NANA KONADU AGYEMAN RAWLINGS,
FIRST LADY OF GHANA

CONTEXT OF MEETING

You met Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, the wife of President Jerry Rawlings

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of Ghana, at the Mandela inauguration. A forceful personality in her own right, Mrs. Rawlings is president of the December 31st Women's Movement, which is engaged in social welfare and women's empowerment projects. She is a longtime supporter of family planning. In Cairo she joins a Ghanaian delegation which includes the distinguished Dr. Fred Sai, chairman of the 1984 Mexico City Conference and candidate for chairmanship of the Cairo conference.

From October 9 through November 26, Mrs. Rawlings will visit the United States for a program, arranged by the Johns Hopkins University and the African American Institute, focusing on private voluntary organizations and citizen participation in American life. The State Department has recommended that you and Mrs. Clinton see Mrs. Rawlings during her U.S. visit.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

o Compliment Mrs. Rawlings on Ghana's strong participation in the population conference. Emphasize the renewed U.S. commitment to international population programs.

o Compliment Ghana's steadfast contribution to international peacekeeping in Rwanda and Liberia.

o Congratulate Mrs. Rawlings on her husband's election as the new chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In that capacity, President Rawlings has launched several initiatives to reinvigorate the peace process in Liberia.

o Encourage Mrs. Rawlings to make the most of her program in the U.S. with The Johns Hopkins University and the African American Institute.

TALKING POINTS

U.S. Population Policy/Leadership:

o Under the Clinton Administration, the United States is again openly and enthusiastically supporting and encouraging others to support international population programs.

o Our approach to population policy goes beyond traditional family planning programs to emphasize the rights of women, the health of mothers and children, females' access to education, and environmental consequences of population growth and resource consumption.

International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD):

o The conference can create a consensus for improving access to family planning services, improving the health of mothers and children, strengthening girls' educational opportunities, and helping women attain greater social status and benefit from development.

-- Women and the non-governmental community are central to realizing social, economic and environmental objectives.

o We are deeply appreciative of Ghana's efforts to achieve consensus at the Conference.

o We have great admiration for Ghana's Dr. Fred Sai and the leadership he has provided during this process.

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ECOWAS Chairmanship:

o Congratulations to President Rawlings on his election as chairman of ECOWAS.

o Already President Rawlings has redoubled efforts to revive the peace process in Liberia. We want to keep up a dialogue with him on Liberia.

Rwanda:

o Ghana deserves the highest praise for the courage and dedication of its peacekeeping troops with the UN in Rwanda.

o We are pleased the Ghanaian contingent was able to deploy fully in advance of the French withdrawal. This helped reassure Rwandans and avert another refugee exodus.

Sojourn in the United States:

o You must be excited about your upcoming visit to the U.S. Johns Hopkins and the African American Institute are working hard in cooperation with the Embassy of Ghana and the State Department to make your program a success.

o I look forward to seeing you during your visit.
??

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 01-Sep-1994 19:27
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 050326
VMS Filename: OA$SHARA9:ZVJPSAN2V.TXT
A1 Folder: SEP94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 01-Sep-1994 19:27
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

07-Sep-1994 18:29 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:
RECORDS (RECORDS@A1@OEOB)

FROM: Veit, Katherine M. (veitk@NSCSTF@OEOB@MSGATE@VAXB)

SUBJECT: FW: ~~(SECRET)~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (6.03)
NL 10/20/2023

Message Creation Date was at 6-SEP-1994 16:27:00

FYI - see below

From: Veit, Katherine M.
To: @SENIORS - Senior Directors; Kerrick, Donald L.; DeShazer, MacArthur
CC: /R, Record at A1; Wolin, Neal S.; Emery, Mary C.; Cicio, Kristen K.
Subject: ~~(SECRET)~~C-P-L lunch meeting - Wed 9/7
Date: Tuesday, September 06, 1994 04:15 PM

Below is a tentative agenda for tomorrow's C-P-L lunch. Please provide to Neal Wolin NO LATER THAN 9:30 AM WEDNESDAY, 9/7 a short background paper (via E-Mail and separately for each topic please) for Tony's use.

(I apologize for this late notification, Neal is out today and I'm just trying to cover "all the bases!")

Lake:

1. Successor to NATO SecGen Woerner

2. Rwanda - pace of withdrawal

3. Somalia - where we are on USLO and the marines

4. Christopher/Perry/Lake speeches that are scheduled

Christopher and Perry: (these were basically identical from Jeff Price/Nick Rasmussen)

1. Candidates for NATO SecGen

2. Update on talks w/Cubans in New York

3. Contact group meeting on Bosnia

THANKS FOR YOUR SPEEDY ASSISTANCE!!!

Additional Header Information Follows

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Date Created: 06-Sep-1994 16:27
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 050632
VMS Filename: OA$SHARA10:ZVJVQF014.TXT
A1 Folder: SEP94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 06-Sep-1994 16:27
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001. email~~	~~M. Kay LaPlante to Richard A. Clarke, et. al., Subject: Crosshatches due today (1 page)~~	~~03/30/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~002. email~~	~~M. Kay LaPlante to MacArthur DeShazer, Subject: Oops, one more CH! (1 page)~~	~~05/25/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~003. email~~	~~Reed, George A. to DeShazer, MacArthur, RE: Ghana Paper... (4 pages)~~	~~09/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~
~~004. email~~	~~DeShazer, MacArthur to Reed, George A., RE: Ghana Paper... (4 pages)~~	~~09/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Emails
A1-Non-Record (Apr 94-Sept 94) ([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 580000

FOLDER TITLE:
[03/30/1994 - 09/02/1994]

2006-0192-F
eh149

RESTRICTION CODES

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

30-Mar-1994 14:22 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VZ NARA, Date 10/26/2023
2011-0202-M-5

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: M. Kay LaPlante
(LAPLANTE)

SUBJECT: Crosshatches due today

Hi Dick and Mac! I'm looking for clearance on two crosshatches due today:

001694 -- Cable to USUN New York: Draft Security Council Resolution on Rwanda.

001708 -- Cable to USUN New York: Draft Presidential Statement on Liberia - March.

Thank you.

Distribution:

FOR:	Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)
FOR:	MacArthur DeShazer	(DESHAZER)
CC:	Non Records	(NONRECORD)
CC:	Wanda D. Lindsey	(LINDSEY)
CC:	Pat A. Battenfield	(BATTENFIELD)
CC:	Allison M. Wright	(WRIGHT)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 30-Mar-1994 14:20
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 000780
VMS Filename: OA$SHARE40:ZVDQKJ4AG.WPL
A1 Folder: LASTONES
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 30-Mar-1994 14:20
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

25-May-1994 17:18 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MacArthur DeShazer (DESHAZER)

FROM: M. Kay LaPlante
(LAPLANTE)

SUBJECT: Oops, one more CH!

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By YZ NARA, Date 10/20/2023
2011-0262-M-S

Hi! There's one more crosshatch needing clearance:

004045 -- Cable to USUN New York: Rwanda: Talking Points for Vice President Gore. It was due 5/12.

Thank you.

CC: Non Records (NONRECORD)
CC: Pat A. Battenfield (BATTENFIELD)
CC: Allison M. Wright (WRIGHT)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 25-May-1994 17:17
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 009332
VMS Filename: OA$SHARA10:ZVFUOQRIT.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 25-May-1994 17:17
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS
□□□□□□□□□□□□□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

01-Sep-1994 20:18 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:
NONRECORD (NONRECORD@A1@OEOB)

FROM: reedg
(reedg@NSCSTF@OEOB@MSGATE@VAXB)

SUBJECT: RE: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore ~~[CONFIDENTI~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (6.04)
VL 10/20/2023

Message Creation Date was at 1-SEP-1994 20:05:00

Mac: Sorry to bother you again. I checked yours against the original and I don't see the added bullet--I just want to make sure I've got your comment in the sojourn section. Do the two question marks at the bottom of the file mean anything?

From: DeShazer, MacArthur
To: Reed, George A.
CC: /R, Record at A1; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 07:27 PM

George:

This looks okay to me!

I added a bullet to "Sojourn to the United States." We heard back today from our embassy in Ghana that owing to prior commitments in southern Africa, President Rawlings would not be able to accept the President's invitation for an official visit to the White House on September 14. Upon learning that no other dates would be possible until early next year, Mrs. Rawlings is quoted as saying, "that would work better, in any event, because she would then be able to travel with him -- whereas on September 14 she could not."

All the best

Mac

From: Reed, George A.
To: DeShazer, MacArthur
Subject: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 02:41 PM

Mac:

Here's the draft paper from State on the Mrs Gore meeting in Cairo. Pls make any changes you think are necessary and e-mail back. Would like by OOB tomorrow if possible. Thanks for your help

Cheers--

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George Reed/54223

UNCLASSIFIED

MEETING WITH NANA KONADU AGYEMAN RAWLINGS,
FIRST LADY OF GHANA

CONTEXT OF MEETING

You met Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, the wife of President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, at the Mandela inauguration. A forceful personality in her own right, Mrs. Rawlings is president of the December 31st Women's Movement, which is engaged in social welfare and women's empowerment projects. She is a longtime supporter of family planning. In Cairo she joins a Ghanaian delegation which includes the distinguished Dr. Fred Sai, chairman of the 1984 Mexico City Conference and candidate for chairmanship of the Cairo conference.

From October 9 through November 26, Mrs. Rawlings will visit the United States for a program, arranged by the Johns Hopkins University and the African American Institute, focusing on private voluntary organizations and citizen participation in American life. The State Department has recommended that you and Mrs. Clinton see Mrs. Rawlings during her U.S. visit.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

o Compliment Mrs. Rawlings on Ghana's strong participation in the population conference. Emphasize the renewed U.S. commitment to international population programs.

o Compliment Ghana's steadfast contribution to international peacekeeping in Rwanda and Liberia.

o Congratulate Mrs. Rawlings on her husband's election as the new chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In that capacity, President Rawlings has launched several initiatives to reinvigorate the peace process in Liberia.

o Encourage Mrs. Rawlings to make the most of her program in the U.S. with The Johns Hopkins University and the African American Institute.

TALKING POINTS

U.S. Population Policy/Leadership:

o Under the Clinton Administration, the United States is again openly and enthusiastically supporting and encouraging others to support international population programs.

o Our approach to population policy goes beyond traditional family planning programs to emphasize the rights of women, the health of mothers and children, females' access to education, and environmental consequences of population growth and resource consumption.

International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD):

o The conference can create a consensus for improving access to family

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planning services, improving the health of mothers and children, strengthening girls' educational opportunities, and helping women attain greater social status and benefit from development.

-- Women and the non-governmental community are central to realizing social, economic and environmental objectives.

o We are deeply appreciative of Ghana's efforts to achieve consensus at the Conference.

o We have great admiration for Ghana's Dr. Fred Sai and the leadership he has provided during this process.

ECOWAS Chairmanship:

o Congratulations to President Rawlings on his election as chairman of ECOWAS.

o Already President Rawlings has redoubled efforts to revive the peace process in Liberia. We want to keep up a dialogue with him on Liberia.

Rwanda:

o Ghana deserves the highest praise for the courage and dedication of its peacekeeping troops with the UN in Rwanda.

o We are pleased the Ghanaian contingent was able to deploy fully in advance of the French withdrawal. This helped reassure Rwandans and avert another refugee exodus.

Sojourn in the United States:

o You must be excited about your upcoming visit to the U.S. Johns Hopkins and the African American Institute are working hard in cooperation with the Embassy of Ghana and the State Department to make your program a success.

o I look forward to seeing you during your visit.
??

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 01-Sep-1994 20:05
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 021111
VMS Filename: OA$SHARA11:ZVJPT0D11.TXT
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 01-Sep-1994 20:05
Forward Flag: YES

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

02-Sep-1994 09:22 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:
NONRECORD (NONRECORD@A1@OEOB)

FROM: deshazem
(deshazem@NSCSTF@OEOB@MSGATE@VAXB)

SUBJECT: RE: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore ~~[CONFIDENTI~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (6.05)
NL 10/20/2023

Message Creation Date was at 2-SEP-1994 09:03:00

George:

Sorry, I guess my additions were not saved somehow. In any case, I added it again. In the event that it fails again, the bullet I added is as follows:

o I regret that President Rawling's travel plans will not permit him to come to Washington for an official visit on September 14. I understand though that a later visit would provide you an opportunity to visit again too.

o I changed visit to plural.

Mac

From: Reed, George A.
To: DeShazer, MacArthur
CC: /N, NonRecord at A1
Subject: RE: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 08:05 PM

Mac: Sorry to bother you again. I checked yours against the original and I don't see the added bullet--I just want to make sure I've got your comment in the sojourn section. Do the two question marks at the bottom of the file mean anything?

From: DeShazer, MacArthur
To: Reed, George A.
CC: /R, Record at A1; @AFRICA - African Affairs
Subject: RE: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 07:27 PM

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learning that no other dates would be possible until early next year, Mrs. Rawlings is quoted as saying, "that would work better, in any event, because she would then be able to travel with him -- whereas on September 14 she could not."

All the best

Mac

From: Reed, George A.
To: DeShazer, MacArthur
Subject: Ghana Paper for Mrs Gore
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 02:41 PM

Mac:

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George Reed/54223

UNCLASSIFIED

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FIRST LADY OF GHANA

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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-- Women and the non-governmental community are central to realizing social, economic and environmental objectives.

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o I look forward to seeing you during your visit.
??

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Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 02-Sep-1994 09:03
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 021142
VMS Filename: OA$SHARA27:ZVJQDDYCJ.TXT
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 02-Sep-1994 09:03
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS
□□□

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	William Itoh to Marc Grossman & Robert McAleer; re: Evacuation of Rwanda (1 page)	04/08/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001b. memo	Marc Grossman to William Itoh; re: Department of Defense & Rwanda (1 page)	04/08/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001c. memo	William Itoh to Marc Grossman & Robert McAleer; re: Evacuation of Rwanda (1 page)	04/08/1994	P1/b(1) VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 191

FOLDER TITLE:
9402704

2006-0192-F
jp1870

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 8, 1994

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0862-M-5 (6.06)
VR 10/20/2023

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

SUBJECT: Request for Defense Participation in Joint U.S.-Belgian-French Evacuation from Rwanda (S)

As requested in the Grossman-Itoh memorandum of April 8, 1994, the NSC staff supports the Department of State request that the Department of Defense participate in planning for a joint U.S.-Belgium-France operation to evacuate our respective nationals from Rwanda. (S)

When specific needs are identified and funding issues (reimbursable or non-reimbursable) are ascertained, those issues should be addressed in a separate memorandum to me. (U)

William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0762-M-5(6.07)
VL 10/20/2013

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9408116

2704

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

April 8, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Request for Department of Defense participation in joint U.S.-Belgian-French evacuation of expatriates from Rwanda and for Department of Defense provision of appropriate air support on a non-reimbursable basis

The situation on the ground in Kigali remains chaotic and violent. The French and Belgian Governments share our concern over the security of our respective nationals, and have suggested informally that we coordinate our efforts in any evacuation.

Belgium may be prepared to dispatch approximately 800 troops to Rwanda to assist in any evacuation, but may require U.S. airlift assistance to move these forces and their equipment. France may be prepared to contribute four Jaguar fighter planes in support of an evacuation operation.

The Department of State requests that the Department of Defense participate in planning for a joint U.S.-Belgium-France operation to evacuate our respective nationals from Rwanda. The Department of State also requests that the Department of Defense be prepared to provide all appropriate airlift support to such an operation.

Department of State will reimburse the Department of Defense for airlift of U. S. citizens. The Department of State will consult the Department of Defense and the National Security Council on other funding issues, including whether reimbursement should be sought from the French and Belgians, and/or whether the President should be asked to order a drawdown of defense services under the Foreign Assistance Act.

Thank you for your assistance in this important matter.

for Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (1.08)
NL 10/20/2023

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

SUBJECT: Request for Defense Participation in Joint U.S.-Belgian-French Evacuation from Rwanda

THE ~~STATE DEPARTMENT~~ GROSSMAN - ITOH

As requested in ~~your~~ memorandum of April 8, 1994, the NSC staff supports the Department of State request that the Department of Defense participate in planning for a joint U.S.-Belgium-France operation to evacuate our respective nationals from Rwanda.

When specific needs are identified and funding issues (reimbursable or non-reimbursable) are ascertained, those issues should be addressed in a separate memorandum to me.

William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001a. memo~~	~~Marc Grossman to William Itoh; re: Operation Support Hope in High Gear (1 page)~~	~~07/29/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~001b. report~~	~~re: Rwanda - High Level Visits Highlight Crisis (1 page)~~	~~07/29/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 478

FOLDER TITLE:
9406195

2006-0192-F
jp1871

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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S/S 9417641

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (6.09)
FC 10/20/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

July 29, 1994

6195

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Operation Support Hope in High Gear

Operation Support Hope, the U.S. humanitarian mission to central Africa, continues to land relief supplies into the region. Purified water and ground transport continue to be the highest priorities, but the supply of aviation fuel is also described as "fragile," and could reduce aircraft operations. The U.S. European Command has begun to apportion its existing fuel according to need and priority (and without reference to nationality), and four tanker aircraft have been sent to the region. The refugee numbers have remained fairly constant, but the cholera epidemic has not yet peaked. The latest report on the situation in eastern Zaire and Rwanda is attached.

Thank you for your assistance.

for Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

Attachment: Rwanda: High Level Visits Highlight Crisis

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (6,10)
VL 10/24/2023

Rwanda: High Level Visits Highlight Crisis

A number of high level visits this weekend to central Africa will highlight the crisis in eastern Zaire and Rwanda. In addition to Defense Secretary Perry (who will be accompanied by Assistant Secretary Moose, Assistant Secretary-designate Phyllis Oakley and Nan Borton from USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance), French Prime Minister Balladur, American Red Cross President Elizabeth Dole, and Congressman Mel Reynolds will visit Goma between July 31 and August 2. Rev. Al Sharpton from New York told the Department Friday that he plans to travel to Goma on August 4.

In the last 24 hours Operation Support Hope has expanded delivery of vital relief supplies, with priority given to water, transport, food and medicine. The Department is coordinating with the British, the UN, and DoD for an airlift of 50 trucks to the region from Great Britain. Additionally, we have asked DoD for airlift support for 66 metric tons of OXFAM water purification/distribution equipment, four to ten tanker trucks which the Finns have donated to UNICEF, and 230 metric tons of UNICEF supplies from Frankfurt. Aviation fuel to support U.S., UN and private voluntary organization missions to Goma is in short supply. The U.S. European Command has begun to apportion existing fuel in the region based on need and priority, without reference to nationality. Four tanker aircraft are now based in Harare to relieve the fuel shortage. The planes will orbit Goma for in-flight refueling, and will also likely serve as "mobile gas stations" as airfields in the region run short of fuel. Still, fuel shortages could reduce aircraft operations

Embassy Kinshasa Charge John Yates is in Goma and reports that the city itself is much recovered from the initial refugee influx two weeks ago, but deaths continue to mount from the cholera epidemic, especially in the camps north of Goma. The refugee numbers around Goma have stabilized, and ICRC has set up a new camp just across the border in Rwanda at Gisenyi.

There are reports from around Bukavu that elements of the former Rwandan army or militia continue to circulate in Zaire with their weapons. We have asked Embassy Kinshasa to urge the Zairian authorities to disarm the Rwandans, and we continue to work the notion of asking the Moroccans to deploy to Zaire to provide security for relief workers in the refugee camps. Ambassador Ginsberg has an audience with King Hassan on Monday, August 1.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001a. memo~~	~~Marc Robinson to William Itoh; re: Operation Support Hope to Kigali (1 page)~~	~~08/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
~~001b. report~~	~~re: Rwanda - Advancing the Bridgehead to Kigali (1 page)~~	~~08/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 479

FOLDER TITLE:
9406275

2006-0192-F
jp1872

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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9417846

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5(6.11)
VR 10/20/2023

August 2, 1994

6275

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Operation Support Hope to Kigali

The initial contingent of 63 U.S. troops arrived in Kigali over the weekend, just ahead of the visit of Secretary Perry. The troops have begun to secure the Kigali airport and make it 24-hour operational. As a result of the U.S. mission, the capacity of Goma airport has nearly doubled and relief supplies continue to pour in. Under Secretary Moose approved July 29 the resumption of operations at Embassy Kigali. Ambassador Rawson and a skeleton staff will work with the RPF-led government to facilitate the work of Operation Support Hope and to encourage the new Rwandan authorities to create conditions to encourage a return of refugees. The latest report on the situation in eastern Zaire and Rwanda is attached.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Max Robinson
Acting Executive Secretary

Attachment: Rwanda: Advancing the Bridgehead to Kigali

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-S (6.12)
VL 10/20/2023

Rwanda: Advancing the Bridgehead to Kigali

The approval by the President July 29 for the use of Kigali as an additional forward airbridge opens the way for the U.S. to expand the reach of Operation Support Hope. The initial contingent of 63 U.S. military personnel arrived in Kigali over the weekend to secure the airport and make it 24-hour operational. The U.S. European Command estimates that Kigali can handle 25-30 aircraft daily. As of Sunday, 1499 American troops have been deployed to the region in support of the U.S. humanitarian operation.

Secretary Perry's delegation held productive meetings with Rwandan President Bizimungu and Vice President (and Defense Minister) Kagame in Kigali on July 31. The two Rwandan leaders offered full cooperation with the U.S. mission, and guaranteed the security of our forces. The Rwandans also promised that returning refugees would face no retribution. Prime Minister Twagiramungu told General Dallaire, the commander of UNAMIR, that the new Rwandan government will accept African units associated with the French intervention as part of a UNAMIR II contingent -- a major shift in the RPF's position. Perry also had a useful exchange in Entebbe with UN High Commissioner for Refugees Ogata.

In Goma, the U.S. humanitarian operation priorities remain the support of UNHCR and increasing the production of potable water. Water production in the area is increasing, as is the ability to deliver it to the camps. U.S. equipment produced 157,000 gallons of water yesterday, and we delivered 155,000 gallons. Refugees continue to cross back into Rwanda: UNHCR estimates that 10,000 returned on July 27, and an additional 15,000 returned on July 28. The senior UNHCR representative in Goma believes that the total number of refugees in the Goma area has been closer to 700,000 than the widely-employed figure of 1.2 million. Refugees continue to leave the French "safe zone" in southwestern Rwanda for Bukavu. Following Prime Minister Balladur's trip to the region over the weekend, however, the French position on withdrawal of their forces before August 22 has become more supple and less categorical. Recent statements by Balladur and French Defense Minister Leotard indicate that the French withdrawal will be coordinated with UNAMIR in order to minimize the fragile calm in the "safe zone."

Ambassador Ginsberg met August 1 with King Hassan to discuss the possible deployment of Moroccan troops to Zaire to provide security in the refugee camps. The King evinced some concerns about the use of his troops in Zaire, but did not give a clear refusal. Assistant Secretary Moose may travel to Rabat following his trip to central Africa to weigh in with the Moroccans if this could help speed the dispatch of Hassan's troops to Zaire.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
~~001a. memo~~	~~MacArthur DeShazer to Anthony Lake; re: Your Meeting with President Pasteur Bizimungu of Rwanda (3 pages)~~	~~10/03/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
001b. report	re: U.S. Government Report (1 page)	07/22/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 216

FOLDER TITLE:
9408030

2006-0192-F
jp1873

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 3, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: DON STEINBERG

FROM: MACARTHUR DESHAZER

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with President Pasteur Bizimungu of Rwanda, 5:30 p.m., October 4, 1994, Grand Hotel

You are scheduled to meet with Rwandan President Pasteur Bizumungu, 5:30 p.m., Tuesday, October 4, at the Grand Hotel in Georgetown, 2350 M Street, N. W., Suite #810. Our proposed talking points are below. A list of participants and Bizimungu's bio are at Tabs I & II, respectively.

BACKGROUND

President Bizimungu's two-day visit to Washington comes amid persistent UNHCR reports that for the first time since mid-July, Rwandan refugees are crossing into Goma from Rwanda, reportedly because of alleged RPA reprisals against the returning Hutu population. Recently, President Bizimungu held a press conference during which he strongly denounced allegations of mass killings committed by the RPA. He has also made statements emphasizing the need for refugee repatriation.

In Paris on September 27, the World Bank held an informal donors meeting on Rwanda and concluded that it wants to assist Rwanda but cannot do so without the payment of Rwandan arrears. The donor community expressed apprehension about committing funds until the new government demonstrates tangible results to support its rhetoric. The Bank has asked the donor community to determine what conditions must be met before the donor community will provide financial assistance.

TALKING POINTS

-- First Mr. President, let me welcome you to the United States and express our deep regret over the tremendous loss of life in your country.

-- We appreciate the role you have played in national reconciliation and reconstitution of your government.

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NSC 0262-pm-5 (6.13)
VL 10/20/2023

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-- We are proud to have played a role in helping your country through this difficult period and I want you to know that we are committed to working with you to restore stability and prosperity to Rwanda.

-- We welcome your recent statements emphasizing the need for refugee repatriation, and we urge you to establish the necessary conditions in Rwanda that will promote and permit the safe voluntary return of the refugees.

-- We understand that your government and your country will need assistance to create these conditions, including reestablishing basic government services, judicial and financial systems, infrastructure and other essentials.

-- We know that you also have substantial arrears to the World Bank (FYI: over $4 million now, growing to $7 million in 1995) and that these arrears have prevented you from benefiting from $250 million in IFIs' pipeline funding.

-- We are looking seriously at assistance in these areas, but we need to see concrete action from your government to foster refugee return and, ultimately, national reconciliation.

-- Examples of actions your government should take immediately include:

  -- Public reaffirmation of your commitment to the principles of the ~~Arusha Accord~~, including a promise to broaden the base of the government and integrate ex-FAR soldiers.

  -- A constructive response to the UNHCR reports of RPA atrocities, including public statements reassuring the population as opposed to counterproductive statement criticizing UNHCR.

  -- Naming a point person in your government on all human rights matters; the official should have full authority to investigate abuses and ensure appropriate action to end them.

  -- Meaningful contacts with responsible Hutu leaders in the camps concerning repatriation and reconciliation.

  -- Integrating elements of the ex-FAR into the new Rwandan Army, including naming moderate ex-FAR officers to responsible positions in the new Army.

-- UNHCR

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Concurrences by: Robert Fauver, Richard Clarke SR
(copy provided)

Attachments
Tab I List of Participants
Tab II Bio of President Bizimungu

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. cable	Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. to American Embassy, Tokyo; re: Reply from President Clinton to Prime Minister Murayama on Increased Japanese Emergency Assistance to Rwanda (3 pages)	08/16/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001b. letter	Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama to POTUS; re: Refugee Crisis in Rwanda (2 pages)	08/03/1994	P1/b(1) VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 222

FOLDER TITLE:
9409184

2006-0192-F
jp1875

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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	P-01	SR-00	SSC-01	SSO-00	SS-00	USIE-00	PRME-01
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DRAFTED BY: EAP/J:JHNUTTER:JJH
APPROVED BY: EAP:SECTON, ACTING
AID/PPC:PBAGASAO PRM:POAKLEY P:ESWICKER
S/S-O: RSROBINSON,NSCS:ASENS, S/S:MNROBINSON
S/S-C:TFILIPEK AF:MOOSE
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O 161517Z AUG 94
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE
UNCLAS STATE 220192
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, JA
SUBJECT: REPLY FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PM MURAYAMA ON INCREASED JAPANESE EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA (9418306)
1. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE. SEE END OF PARA 2.
2. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON ACKNOWLEDGING PRIME MINISTER MURAYAMA'S REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE OF JULY 22 ON RWANDA. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER MURAYAMA

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PAGE 02 STATE 220192 162011Z

AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
3. BEGIN TEXT:
DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:
THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF AUGUST 3 INFORMING ME OF ADDITIONAL MEASURES TAKEN OR TO BE TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN IN RESPONSE TO THE DISASTROUS REFUGEE SITUATION IN RWANDA. I AGREE THAT THIS TRAGEDY IS THE MOST URGENT HUMANITARIAN CHALLENGE FACING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. YOUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE COMMENDED FOR ITS ROLE IN THIS EFFORT.
OUR COUNTRIES HAVE ENJOYED VERY EFFECTIVE COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN CRISES, SUCH AS THAT IN RWANDA AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF AFRICA. I AM PLEASED THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FOSTER THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE WORLD'S TWO LARGEST AID DONORS. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE, USAID ADMINISTRATOR BRIAN ATWOOD, IS IN CONTACT WITH MR. HIROSHI HIRABAYASHI OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS REGARDING FUTURE COORDINATED EFFORTS IN RWANDA.
IN CLOSING, LET ME AGAIN EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT'S GENEROSITY, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUED COOPERATION IN SUCH EMERGENCY SITUATIONS.

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SINCERELY,
WILLIAM J. CLTON

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PAGE 03 STATE 220192 162011Z
HIS EXCELLENCY
TOMIICHI MURAYAMA
PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN
TOKYO
4. BEGIN TEXT OF INCOMING LETTER:
AUGUST 3, 1994
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF JULY 22 INFORMING ME OF ADDITIONAL MEASURES TAKEN OR TO BE TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES TO ADDRESS THE WORSENING REFUGEE CRISIS IN RWANDA, A CRISIS OF QUITE UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS.
WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THAT THIS TRAGIC CRISIS IS THE MOST URGENT HUMANITARIAN CHALLENGE FACING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. JAPAN WILL CONTINUE TO BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN EVERY POSSIBLE ASPECT OF THE RELIEF EFFORT.
EARLY LAST MONTH, THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN PLEDGED USDOL 9 MILLION IN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED IN THE RELIEF EFFORT. FOLLOWING INTENSIVE DELIBERATION ON FURTHER MEASURES TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ONGOING INTERNATIONAL EFFORT, ON JULY 26TH, I INSTRUCTED THE CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY TO ANNOUNCE AN ADDITIONAL RELIEF PACKAGE OF USDOL 32.3 MILLION. THIS PACKAGE WAS DECIDED UPON IN RESPONSE TO APPEALS FROM THE UNHCR AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CURRENTLY

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PAGE 04 STATE 220192 162011Z
OPERATING IN THE AFFECTED AREAS. I BELIEVE THAT THIS ASSISTANCE WILL SIGNIFICANTLY HELP HOST ORGANIZATIONS TO ENSURE THAT URGENTLY NEEDED RELIEF GOODS AND SERVICES WILL REACH THOSE WHO NEED THEM.
I FULLY APPRECIATE THAT OUR EFFORTS SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, BUT SHOULD ALSO ADDRESS THE DIVERSE NEEDS IN THE AFFECTED AREAS IN OHER WAYS. I HAVE, THEREFORE, DIRECTED THE RELEVANT GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO LOOK INTO THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PROVIDING OTHER FORMS OF RELIEF, INCLUDING PROVISION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES AND DISPATCH OF RELIEF PERSONNEL, UTILIZING TO THE FULL THE VARIOUS EXISTING DISASTER-RELIEF SCHEMES AVAILABLE.
THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT IS TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE AMOUNT OF YEN 70 MILLION FOR NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE SENT THEIR RELIEF STAFF TO THE REFUGEE CAMPS, WITH A VIEW TO ASSISTING THEIR HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES. ADDITIONALLY, PROVISION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES AND THE DISPATCH OF PERSONNEL ARE ALSO UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE GOVERNMENT AGENCIES CONCERNED. FOR THIS PURPOSE,

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THE GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY SENT A FACT-FINDING MISSION, CONSISTING OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND A MEDICAL DOCTOR WHO IS EXPERIENCED IN THE RELIEF OPERATION OF THIS KIND, TO RWANDA AND ITS SURROUNDING COUNTRIES. ARDENTLY DESIRING THAT THOSE DISPLACED MAY BE ABLE TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES IN SAFETY AND DIGNITY AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT, I AM DETERMINED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO ENDING THIS TRAGIC CRISIS, WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE

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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
YOURS SINCERELY,
/SIGNED/
TOMIICHI MURAYAMA
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. CHRISTOPHER

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94183(

August 3, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your message of July 22 informing me of additional measures taken or to be taken by the United States to address the worsening refugee crisis in Rwanda, a crisis of quite unprecedented proportions.

We fully recognize that this tragic crisis is the most urgent humanitarian challenge facing the international community. Japan will continue to be actively involved in every possible aspect of the relief effort.

Early last month, the Government of Japan pledged $9 million in financial assistance to international organizations concerned in the relief effort. Following intensive deliberation on further measures to contribute to the ongoing international effort, on July 26th, I instructed the Chief Cabinet Secretary to announce an additional relief package of $32.3 million. This package was decided upon in response to appeals from the UNHCR and other international organizations currently operating in the affected areas. I believe that that assistance will significantly help those organizations to ensure that urgently needed relief goods and services will reach those who need them.

I fully appreciate that our efforts should not be limited to financial assistance, but should also address the diverse needs in the affected areas in other ways. I have, therefore, directed the relevant government agencies to look into the

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possibilities for providing other forms of relief, including provision of relief supplies and dispatch of relief personnel, utilizing to the full the various existing disaster-relief schemes available.

The Japanese Government is to provide financial assistance in the amount of ¥70 million for non-governmental organizations which have sent their relief staff to the refugee camps, with a view to assisting their humanitarian activities. Additionally, provision of relief supplies and the dispatch of personnel are also under consideration by the government agencies concerned. For this purpose, the Government yesterday sent a fact-finding mission, consisting of government officials and a medical doctor who is experienced in the relief operation of this kind, to Rwanda and its surrounding countries.

Ardently desiring that those displaced may be able to return to their homes in safety and dignity at the earliest possible moment, I am determined to do everything possible to contribute to ending this tragic crisis, working closely with the other members of the international community.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)
Tomiichi Murayama

His Excellency
The President of the United States
Washington D.C.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Susan Rice to Anthony Lake; re: Briefing for Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	09/06/1994	P1/b(1), ~~P5~~ VZ
~~001b. memo~~	~~William Itoh to Leon Fuerth et al; re: Meeting on Rwanda (1 page)~~	~~09/01/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ
001c. list	re: Summary of Conclusions of the Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	08/30/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001d. paper	Point Paper: U.S. Role in Supressing or Promoting Radio Broadcasts in and around Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1), b(6) VZ
~~001e. memo~~	~~Rene Lemarchand to Susan Rice; re: Burundi Situation (3 pages)~~	~~n.d.~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ VZ

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
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([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 3918

FOLDER TITLE:
9421038

2006-0192-F
jp1876

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Susan Rice to Anthony Lake; re: Briefing for Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (4 pages)	09/06/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
([DeShazer and Rwanda...])
OA/Box Number: 3918

FOLDER TITLE:
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2006-0192-F
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Per E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (6.18)
VZ 10/20/2023

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

21038

September 6, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

Natl Sec Advisor has seen
NOTED

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE

FROM: SUSAN E. RICE

SUBJECT: Briefing Memo for Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda, Sept. 7, 1994, 10:30 am.

Security in the **Zairian refugee camps** continues to deteriorate, while the international community wrings its hands over what to do about it. Violence may increase once the French complete their pull-out from Goma, scheduled for today. Hutu militias, former FAR forces, and ill-disciplined Zairian soldiers remain the principal security threat.

In Rwanda, reports of atrocities in the southeast are mounting, indicating that the RPF or its sympathizers *may* be engaged in a deliberate campaign of violence. U.S. officials and human rights activists repeatedly have expressed concern to the Kigali government. The government admits some renegades may be involved in retribution but deny any concerted campaign. Meanwhile, clashes are increasingly likely in the former French zone where the Interhamwe is again active and the RPF plans to move in to "restore security". **UNAMIR** has reached a strength of over 4,000. The long-awaited Zambian battalion is now fully deploying, but the Tunisian battalion is still awaiting a green light from UN HQ.

In **Burundi**, the succession issue may be near resolution, but the country remains on the brink of disaster.

I. Operation Support Hope

Withdrawal on "Auto-Pilot": At the Ad Hoc Meeting last Tuesday, JCS briefed that there were approximately 200 U.S. servicemen still in Kigali and several hundred more in Entebbe. Despite assurances last week that U.S. forces would complete a gradual withdrawal from Kigali and Entebbe by September 30 and that the military would halt further movements until State has consulted with UNHCR, the military has since withdrawn all but 5 U.S. servicemen in Kigali (all to be out by Sept. 15) and 685 in Entebbe. State has not yet heard from UNHCR on whether our withdrawal schedule poses any problems. Meanwhile, JCS will *not* commit to put further withdrawals on hold.

Taskings "Up in the Air": At the last AHG meeting, State/AID were tasked to recommend what further assistance the USG should provide UNHCR before departing the region.

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

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(See Tab I: Summary of Conclusions of August 30 AHG meeting). State has not produced that paper because it lacks needed input from UNHCR. Nor has OSD prepared a press strategy explaining our accomplishments, withdrawal plans, and the future of U.S. assistance in the region (i.e. equipment loans, additional support during September, etc.). OSD claims they do not know what we will offer UNHCR or what our agreed withdrawal plan is.

Your Goal: **After asking JCS to brief its withdrawal schedule and plans for leaving behind equipment and contractual arrangements for UNHCR, *you should tell the Pentagon to halt all further withdrawals from the region until we hear from UNHCR and decide what additional responsibilities we will assume prior to withdrawal.* You should ask State to brief on UNHCR's remaining requirements and AID recommendations for additional USG assistance (e.g. airport support, vehicles, forklifts, plastic sheeting, long-haul transport, etc.). You should try to gain agreement from the Pentagon to meet as many of those needs as possible. Finally, you should press OSD to submit a press strategy by Friday.**

II. Security in the Zaire Camps

There is no promising solution to this potentially explosive situation. The Zairians continue to plan for the removal of 20,000 ex-FAR troops and 100 former Rwandan government officials from the Zaire border camps to the interior. They have asked the UN, U.S. and others for financial assistance. Following discussions with UN officials in New York and Zairian officials in Kinshasa, it remains unclear how the Zairians intend to move the troops, if, as is likely, they are unwilling to move voluntarily. Hence, there is cause for considerable skepticism.

The UN Secretariat has responded coolly to the notion of expanding UNAMIR's area of responsibility (AOR) and mandate to cover the camps in Zaire, arguing that additional troops will be hard to find, the UNSC may be reluctant to change the mandate, and it would be several months before the UN could expand across the border. The UN is equally dubious (as we are) of finding capable private contractors to provide security and training the Zairians to provide security themselves.

Faced with no palatable remedies, no one is doing anything. Yet, we cannot afford continued inertia. E.O. 13526 1.4(c) E.O. 13526 1.4(c) In addition, DOD has will produce an estimate of the force requirements for restoring order to the camps.

Your goal: **You should instruct State to draft a cable to UNSC capitals *recommending* the temporary expansion of UNAMIR's AOR and mandate to include providing security to the camps in Zaire. This could be accomplished by shifting some UNAMIR troops into Zaire long enough to assist Zaire with moving out the ex-FAR forces. In making this proposal, State should acknowledge that we see this as the least bad outcome-- although far preferable to doing nothing-- and that we remain open to better solutions.**

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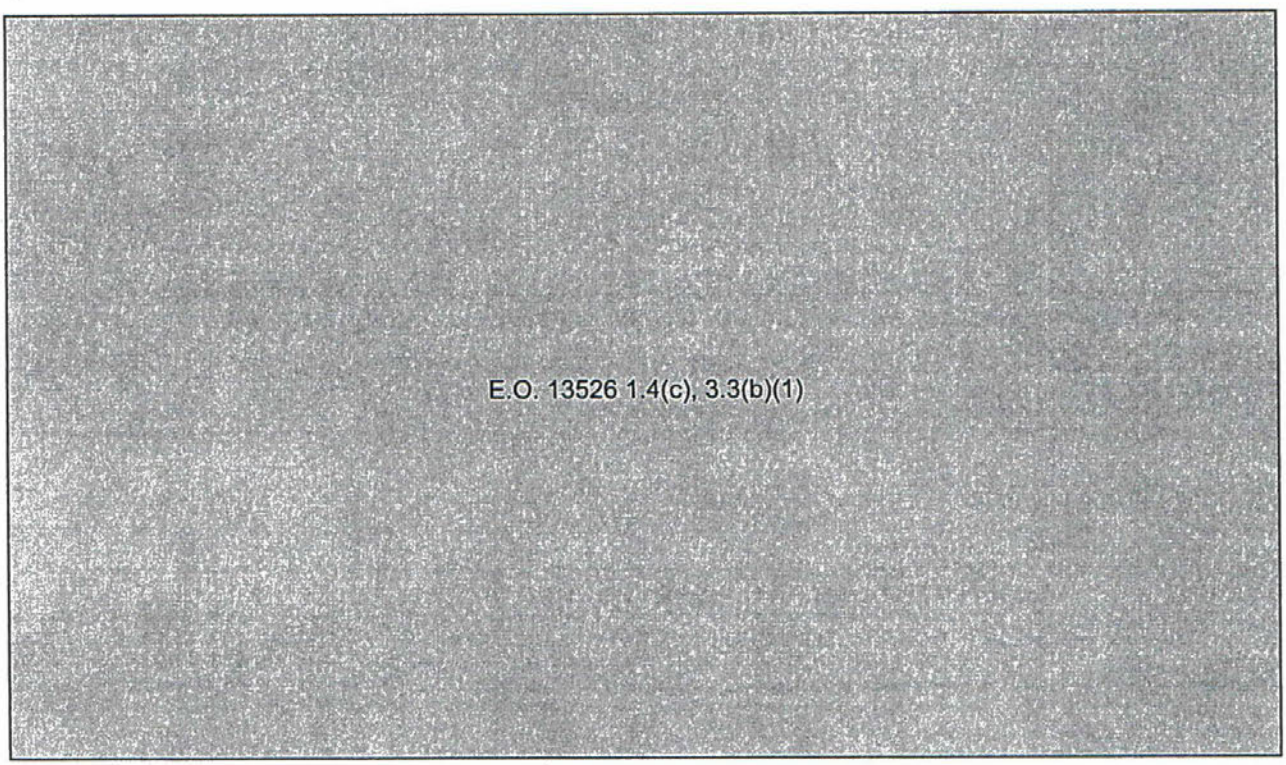
III. UNAMIR Deployment

UNAMIR augmentation is on track except for the Tunisian battalion, which the UN is holding back, despite the Tunisians' readiness to deploy. The UN now anticipates deployment at the end of the month, claiming that they are awaiting USG-supplied equipment in Germany to arrive in Kigali. DOD will not move the equipment until we have formal legal assurances that the UN will accept the terms of the lease. In addition, UN officials claim that UNAMIR presently lacks the logistics infrastructure to integrate the Tunisian battalion into the force. DOD's once energetic commitment to UNAMIR deployment seems to be waning, as does the UN's.

Your goal: You should urge DOD to move the equipment from Germany immediately, even if on the basis of a letter (received from the UN) rather than the usual formal documentation, which is still pending in a UN committee. In addition, USUN should seek clarification of UNAMIR's purported logistical problems and again press the UN to deploy the Tunisians soonest.

IV. Radios

An OSD paper on the status of the radios is at Tab II. In short, the UN requested U.S. and UK assistance in setting up an independent Radio UNAMIR. State, OSD and USIA will try to meet the equipment requirements by lease arrangements. USG representatives will travel to the UN on Wednesday to discuss the UN's specific requirements. Depending on the outcome of that meeting, *we may soon face the issue of whether to supply the UN with approximately 26 USG civilian engineers to run the radio in Kigali.*



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V. Burundi

While progress is being made on the presidential succession issue in Burundi, there is a high risk that any agreement could be scuttled by extremists on either side. Moreover, an agreement in itself will not end the crisis in Burundi. Most recently, 9 civilians were killed and 17 wounded over the weekend in an attack by the armed forces in northern Burundi. In addition, both sides are drawing up lists of opponents, a step that preceded the killings in Rwanda.

While at something of loss as to what more we can do, State continues its strategy of gentle persuasion in Burundi along with a proposal for a regional refugee crisis in Burundi, which has only tepid support. The U.S. supports the dispatch of UN human rights monitors to Burundi, but Embassy Bujumbura remains concerned they may have a destabilizing or nugatory effect. State has agreed to work with other donor governments to warn the Burundi parties that future assistance will depend on a peaceful resolution of the current crisis.

In addition, at Tab III is a proposal from Professor Rene Lemarchand (a world expert on Burundi and currently a consultant to AID in Abidjan) and two other leading international experts for a EU-U.S.-UN-sponsored roundtable among the principal parties in Burundi. The goal would be to provide a forum for dialogue among the key political actors as well as a detailed agenda and the active consultative support of the sponsors.

Finally, OSD and JCS continue to resist use of Bujumbura airport as a secondary airhead to Kigali and will take no action without a high-level instruction from the White House.

<u>Your goal</u>: You should ask State for an update on their efforts with respect to Burundi, particularly the status of the human rights monitors and discussions with donors on withholding aid. You should also ask State to consider the possibility of pursuing the roundtable concept proposed by Lemarchand and report back to the next AHG. (NB: George Moose has received this proposal).

Concurrences by: Mac Deshazer N/A (info.)

Attachments

Tab I	Agenda
Tab II	Summary of Conclusions, Ad Hoc Meeting of August 30
Tab III	OSD Paper on Radios
Tab IV	Prof. Lemarchand's Proposal on Burundi

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 1, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. ROBERT P. MCALEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

AMB. RICK INDERFURTH
Office of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTHOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

COL T. R. PATRICK
Secretary
Joint Chiefs of Staff

MR. AARON WILLIAMS
Executive Secretary
Agency for International Development

DR. GORDON M. ADAMS
Associate Director for National Security & International Affairs
Office of Management and Budget

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda ~~(S)~~

Attached at Tab A is the Summary of Conclusions of the Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda, held Tuesday, August 30, 1994 at 2:30 p.m. in the White House Situation Room. ~~(S)~~

for William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Summary of Conclusions

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By NARA, Date 10/20/2023
2011-0262-M-5

~~SECRET~~
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001c. list	re: Summary of Conclusions of the Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (3 pages)	08/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:
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2006-0192-F
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2011-0262-M-5 (6.22)
VZ 10/20/2023

Summary of Conclusions
Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda
DATE: August 30, 1994
LOCATION: Situation Room
TIME: 2:30-4:30 pm.

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of the Ad Hoc Meeting on Rwanda ~~(S)~~

PARTICIPANTS:

The Vice President's Office
David Rhodes

STATE
George Moose
Phyllis Oakley

AID
Brian Atwood
Richard McCall

CIA
E.O. 13526 3.5(c)

JSC
Jared Bates
David McIlvoy

OSD
Ted Warner
Vincent Kern
Timothy Connolly

OMB
Gordon Adams
Bruce Sasser

The White House
Nancy Soderberg

NSC
Dick Clarke
Susan Rice
Mac DeShazer

Summary of Conclusions

1) U.S. Assistance to UN Relief Efforts

-- State/RPM will consult with UNHCR on JCS plans to complete the hand-over and withdrawal of U.S. forces from Kigali and Entebbe by September 30. State will report the results to the Ad Hoc Group at its next meeting, scheduled for Wednesday, September 7. At the same meeting, JCS will report on its plans for leaving behind equipment in the region and on the status of relevant commercial contracts to be taken over by the UN. ~~(C)~~

-- Next week, upon interagency agreement to the proposed withdrawal schedule, OSD/JCS will implement a press strategy that summarizes U.S. accomplishments in Operation Support Hope and announces the timetable for the U.S. withdrawal and plans for handing over equal or better capabilities to UNHCR. ~~(C)~~

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-- State/AID will draft and clear interagency a paper proposing additional U.S. contributions of goods and services to UNHCR, e.g. plastic sheeting, forklifts, airport equipment, etc. The paper will be ready for decision at the next Ad Hoc Meeting. ~~(C)~~

2) Dealing with the Rwandan Army in Zaire

-- State will consult with the Government of Zaire to determine more precisely the Zairian plan for moving FAR forces and ex-government officials from the camps in Goma and Bukavu. Based on the outcome of these discussions, we may encourage the Zairians to seek the voluntary agreement of the Rwandan forces to move westward. State will consult with the UN, French and Belgians on their willingness to assist Zaire in this effort. ~~(S)~~

-- USUN will request that the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations conduct an estimate of the security requirements in the refugee camps in Zaire and assess the option of expanding UNAMIR to meet those requirements. USUN will also begin low-key consultations with UNAMIR troop contributors and others in New York about the possibility of expanding UNAMIR's mandate and AOR to improve security in the refugee camps in Zaire. ~~(C)~~

-- In addition, OSD will draft its own estimate of the security requirements in the refugee camps in Zaire. The paper will be ready by the next Ad Hoc Meeting. ~~(C)~~

3) Accelerating UNAMIR Deployment

-- OSD, working with other agencies, will continue to lead efforts to facilitate and accelerate UNAMIR's deployment. ~~(C)~~

-- USUN will press the UN to deploy the Tunisians immediately, emphasizing the urgency of the requirement for additional troops in the South East, Northwest and possibly in Zaire. USUN should inform UN officials that the U. S. will make a payment of $335 mill. to the UN this week. ~~(C)~~

4) Reported RPF Atrocities in S.E. Rwanda

-- The U.S. will continue to monitor closely allegations of RPF atrocities in S.E. Rwanda in order to evaluate their veracity and effect any necessary policy adjustments. ~~(S)~~

5) Radios

-- The U.S. will provide no additional support for Radio Kigali (AM), which is now broadcasting into Zaire. ~~(S)~~

-- The U.S. will seek clarification from the UN about its request for equipment and support for a UNAMIR radio station, in particular whether the specifications provided are an absolute or notional requirement. State will then ask USIA if VOA can make

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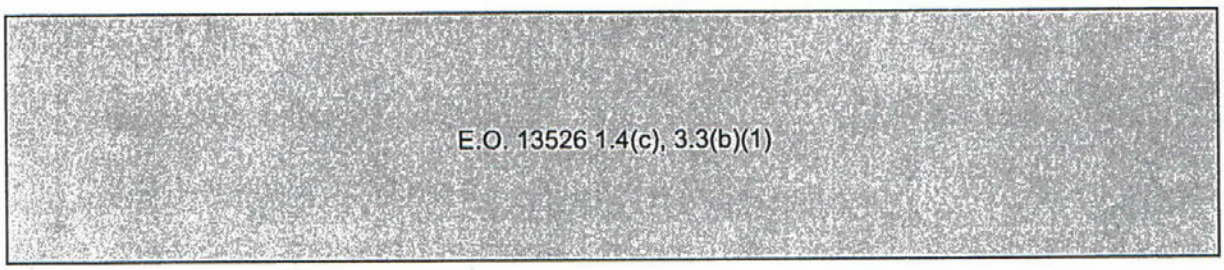
available a transmitter and other assets for lease to UNAMIR under the UN Participation Act. (~~S~~)



6) Burundi

-- State will continue to pressure the Burundi military to resist coup plots. (~~C~~)

-- State will work with the Europeans to deliver a common message to Burundi stressing that future development assistance will depend on a peaceful resolution to the current crisis. (~~C~~)

-- State will proceed carefully with proposals for human rights monitors in Burundi to ensure that the personnel for any such mission are well-chosen and provided a realistic mandate. (~~C~~)

-- State will continue to explore the possibility of organizing an international conference on regional issues to be held inside Burundi. (~~C~~)

7) Bujumbura Airport

-- JCS has completed its assessment of Bujumbura airport and estimates that the needs of Rwandan refugees in Burundi can be satisfactorily met from Kigali. Moreover, the Bujumbura airport does not have as large through-put capacity as the airport in Kigali. (~~C~~)

-- To open Bujumbura airport to U.S. relief flights, JCS estimates that it will be necessary to establish an airhead comparable to that in Kigali with approximately 200 U.S. personnel on the ground. (~~S~~)

-- If the decision is made to open Bujumbura Airport for political reasons, DOD will present options for establishing an viable airhead. The Ad Hoc Group will discuss at its next meeting whether to pursue this possibility. (~~S~~)

8) Congressional Relations

-- Agencies will complete the reports to Congress due September 1, by the middle of next week. OMB will consult with appropriations committee staff, informing them that we anticipate a slight delay in transmission. (U)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001d. paper	Point Paper: U.S. Role in Supressing or Promoting Radio Broadcasts in and around Rwanda [Released in Part, Per E.O. 13526] (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1), b(6)

COLLECTION:
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FOLDER TITLE:
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2006-0192-F
jp1876

RESTRICTION CODES

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POINT PAPER

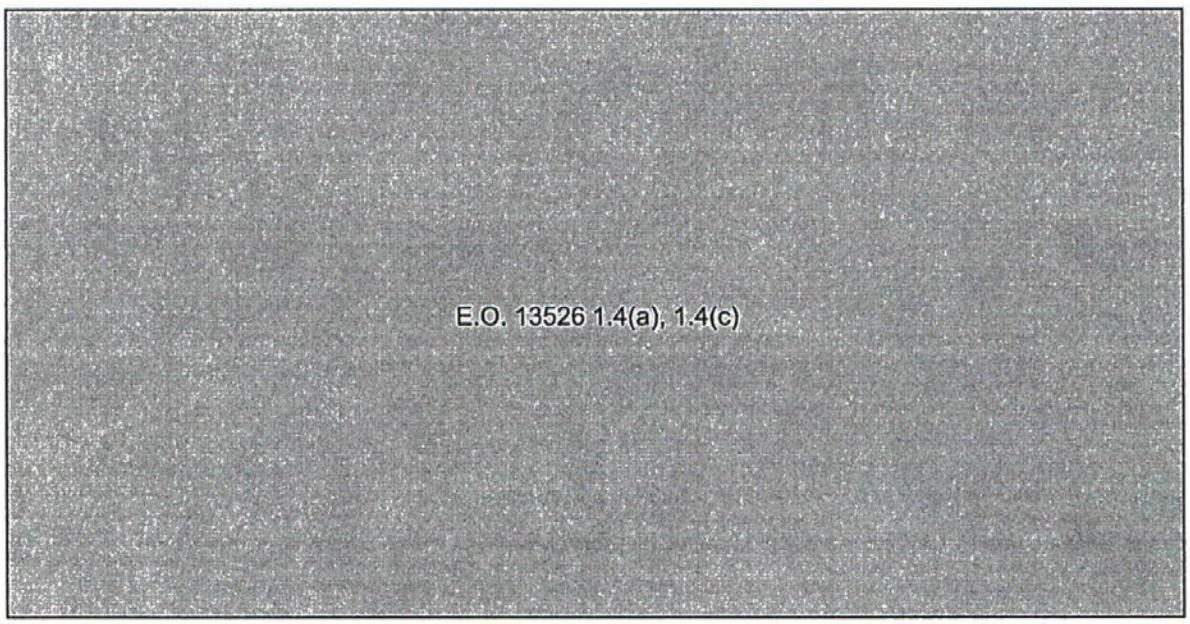
SUBJECT: U.S. Role in Suppressing or Promoting Radio Broadcasts in and around Rwanda

DISCUSSION: Broadcasts by extremist Hutu radio stations were influential in causing the massacre of Tutsis during the civil war and the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Hutus to Zaire. We continue to receive sporadic reports of hate messages being broadcast by these stations to Hutu refugees in camps across the Rwandan border.

- Radio Kigali/Radio Rwanda (now operated by the new RPF government) has broadcast appeals for the Hutu refugees to return home, but these broadcasts have been largely ineffective for a variety of reasons: technical, program content, and the influence of former Hutu officials and the ex-FAR in the refugee camps.

- At the request of the NSC, DoD formed an Interagency Working Group (IWG) chaired by the PDASD(SO/LIC) to address Rwanda radio broadcast issues.

CURRENT STATUS: In order to provide the basis for a policy decision on the appropriate U.S. role in either suppressing extremist Hutu radio broadcasts, promoting Rwandan government broadcasting and/or supporting UNHCR/UNAMIR broadcast requirements, the working group engaged in several tasks:



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2010-0639-M-1 (3.02)
RDS 10/17/2012
[2011-0262-M-5 (6.25)]

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- On 26 August, USUN received a request from the UN for assistance in "leasing a mobile radio station" for Rwanda on an "extremely urgent basis." The request stated a requirement for five 2KW FM transmitters, a broadcast studio, a program distribution system and other miscellaneous supplies.

- Further discussions on 31 August among USUN Amb Inderfurth, UN Asst SYG Rizza, UK Amb Hannay and UN DPKO representive Beissel clarified the request.

  - A recent UN DPKO mission to Rwanda returned with the recommendation that UNAMIR establish an independent broadcast capability in order to maintain a perception of neutrality.

  - E.O. 13526 1.4(b) The UN confirmed that money is not the issue, but rather that the UN had no broadcast engineers to set up and run a station, and that procurement would take 4-6 months. What the UN wants is for U.S. and UK to provide the equipment and expertise through donation, lease or purchase through an LOA.

  - The preferred UN option is that the U.S. provide all studio production equipment and 26 broadcast engineers while the UK provides the transmitters; backup option is the same except the U.S. also provides a base transmitter on a reimbursable basis.

- USUN requested a meeting at the UN on 2 September where DoD and USIA/VOA representatives with radio expertise could provide a coordinated position on what the USG could offer. That meeting has been rescheduled for 7 September.

- E.O. 13526 1.4(a) E.O. 13526 1.4(a) AFRTS has indicated they have some excess studio production equipment that could be provided to the UN; VOA may also have equipment that could be used and may be able to offer suggestions to the UN as to a source of non-U.S. technical personnel . Per agreement of the Ad Hoc Group, U.S. personnel should not be deployed to Rwanda to support broadcast operations.

- These and other related support issues will be resolved at a PDASD(SO/LIC) chaired IWG on 6 September to prepare for the meeting with the UN on 7 September.

Prepared by: (b)(6) OASD(SO/LIC) (b)(6)

Approved by Director, Special Support

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Memo

To: Susan Rice, National Security Council
Fax: 202 456 9360
From: Rene Lemarchand, DG/REDSO/USAID/Abidjan
Re: Burundi situation

cc. George Moose, Assistant Secretary of State
Carol Lancaster, Assistant to the Administrator, USAID
Larry Garber, Center for Democracy Global Office AID/W
Myron Golden, Chief of Mission, Bujumbura
Bill Pearson, Director, REDSO/Abidjan

Dear Ms. Rice: By way of a follow-up to our phone conversation of yesterday, and in response to your request, I enclose copy of a draft proposal for a conference on Burundi designed to save the Barundi from themselves. This is the result of an informal session I had in Brussels recently with other Burundi specialists. Our hope is that such a conference might be jointly sponsored by the European Communities and USAID/Bujumbura. It reflects my concern and that of several other observers of the Burundi scene that we might end up having another Rwanda on our hands unless we move quickly to come to terms with the crisis. The agenda outlined below was hammered out in the course of a broad-ranging tour d'horizon I have had in Brussels on August 24 with Professor Filip Reyntjens, of the University of Antwerp, and Brigitte Erler, President of a German Human Rights Association. The French version is in the process of being finalized, along with the German version. Bear in mind, however, that this is only a draft, submitted for your consideration, and comments.

PROJECTED ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE ON BURUNDI

1. Context and Purpose of the Conference

The rapidly deteriorating situation in Burundi has been largely overshadowed in public attention by the Rwanda disaster: the country is on the brink of civil war, and is being pushed ever closer towards the abyss by extremists at both ends of the ethnic spectrum. The emergent alliance between elements (Tutsi) of the army with smaller opposition parties (also Tutsi-dominated), the continuing constitutional impasse, the widening gap between the capital city and countryside, the ongoing ethnic cleansing operations, along with the pressures towards polarization originating from Rwanda -- such are the harbingers of disaster looming on the horizon.

In order to avoid another Rwanda, the logic of self-generating violence must be replaced by the logic of a political dialogue among all parties concerned. It is a matter of urgency, therefore, that the principal diplomatic missions in Bujumbura (Germany, France, Belgium, US, the European Communities), together with the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the UN, take the

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initiative in inviting the key political actors to take part in negotiations. Along with the Frodebu and the army, these actors are the constitutive elements of the civil society, including Churches. The engagement of diplomatic missions in this effort is of critical importance: their role is to provide a framework of interaction, a catalyst as it were for getting a dialogue under way. In the last analysis, of course, it will be for the Barundi themselves to solve their problems with the means of their own choosing.

Unlike previous seminars and conferences, this experiment aims at getting a genuine political dialogue underway, which would go beyond the exchange of views and instead pave the way for solutions.

Hence the need to identify issues and problems, clarify the position of key political actors on such issues, suggest possible solutions and see how these can be translated into more technical (e.g. juridical) language.

2. Implementation

As noted earlier, such a round-table (or "national dialogue") could conceivably be organized under the joint-auspices of the Special Representative of the UN, Mr. Ould Abdallah, and the Embassies of Germany, France, Belgium, the US and the European Union.

The functions of such a meeting would be purely consultative. The aim is to provide the government and parliament with advisory opinions on issues. It is for the authorities concerned -- parliamentary and governmental -- to assume their own responsibilities in giving substance to such recommendations through appropriate constitutional, legislative, budgetary and administrative instruments.

The conclusions of the debate would be formulated in the form of consensus, insofar as it is feasible. If not, both the majority position and that of the minority would be officially registered in the minutes of the conference.

The Chairmanship of the conference will be assumed by one or several Burundi personalities enjoying sufficient trust to carry out their functions effectively. Possible choices might be Msgr. Ntamwana or Msgr. Bududira serving as joint-Chairmen.

3. Participants

Participants to the conference would include:

* Political parties registered as of January 1st 1994 (3 representatives for each party represented in parliament, one for each of the others)
* Three representatives from the army
* One representative for each of the organizations of the civil society (human rights organizations, women's organizations, youth groups, trade-unions, etc.)
* One representative for each of the Churches
* Five provincial governors

Even though numbers alone are not of crucial importance since decisions will not be taken by a vote, it is important to aim at a balanced representation opf the interests at stake, without, however, seeking "ethnic parity" at every level. The

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political field must be maximally included in the debates.

At certain points in the discussion it will be necessary to involve national and foreign "experts", as for example when the time will come to translate political solutions into technical terms.

4. Agenda

It will be up to the participants to determine the agenda of the conference. Yet, without prejudging their choice, it is possible to make some suggestions as to what issues might conceivably be discussed. For each of the items on the agenda it will be useful to proceed in three steps: we need to identify the issues, to formulate a political solution, and explore the technical aspects of its implementation.

(a) Institutional/Constitutional Issues

* What should be the appropriate constitutional framework for promoting national reconciliation and consolidating democracy?

* What kinds of institutions should be specifically designed, within or outside the constitution, to ensure the protection of minorities, the emergence of a democratic consensus, the institutionalization of abritration procedures, and a genuine division of powers at the national, provincial and local levels?

(b) Security Issues

* How to establish effective institutional controls over the army and widen the scope of recruitment into the military and the police

* How to redefine the relationships between the army, the gendarmerie and diverse police forces

* How to stem the flow of weapons into the country and bring private militias under control

* How to maintain a modicum of peace and order in the countryside

* What kinds of external military assistance is needed, including an international police force, in order to deal effectively with each of the above?

(c) Administrative and Judicial Issues

* Public and para-public administration: the issues range from the promotion of a competent and politically neutral civil service, to the reorganization of recruitment procedures, and the search for efficiency and representativeness

* Justice and Rule of Law: key issues include how to raise the credibility of the judicial apparatus, the training of jurists and auxiliaries, mechanisms for the protection of human rights; in short, how does one convert a judicial system based on patronage and ethnic favoritism to one based on merit?

* Refugees and the Land Problem: how to establish appropriate procedures for the repatriation of refugees, for the financing of resettlement and the adjudication

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	POTUS to Mary Robinson, President of Ireland; re: International Efforts to Rebuild Rwanda (1 page)	04/26/1995	P1/b(1) VZ
001b. letter	Mary Robinson to POTUS; re: Consequences of Atrocities Committed in Rwanda (2 pages)	12/05/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001c. report	re: Aide Memoire - Outline of Visit of President of Ireland to Rwanda & Goma (12-13 October, 1994) (3 pages)	10/27/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001d. letter	Mary Robinson to POTUS; re: Consequences of Atrocities Committed in Rwanda (2 pages)	12/05/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001e. report	re: Aide Memoire - Outline of Visit of President of Ireland to Rwanda & Goma (12-13 October, 1994) (3 pages)	10/27/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
001f. letter	POTUS to Mary Robinson; re: International Efforts to Rebuild Rwanda (1 page)	04/26/1995	P1/b(1) VZ

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1995

Dear Madam President:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter regarding international efforts to help the Rwandan people rebuild their country.

I share your conviction that international support for both the Rwandan War Crimes Tribunal and the United Nations Human Rights Field Monitors must continue. The United States has offered substantial funding and staffing in support of these critical activities. It is imperative that the international community bring to justice the perpetrators of the genocide committed in Rwanda. This is a vital part of reconciliation. We have contributed nearly $1,000,000 to the Tribunal and are working closely with Justice Goldstone to help the Tribunal begin its work.

The return of refugees and the successful recovery of Rwanda also rest on a foundation of respect for human rights, and we continue to support the United Nations Human Rights Field Monitors. To date the United States has contributed $1,000,000 and about 25 monitors to this program. In addition, and equally important, the United States Agency for International Development mission in Kigali is helping the Rwandan Government reestablish its justice system.

Many obstacles remain on the path to peace in Rwanda, as the recent killings and violence in the Kibeho camp reminds us. Your leadership and work are important to the international effort to assist the Rwandans in their pursuit of peace.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Her Excellency Mary B. Robinson
President of Ireland
Dublin

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UACHTARÁN NA hÉIREANN
PRESIDENT OF IRELAND

5 December 1994

His Excellency Mr. William Clinton
President of the United States of America

Dear President Clinton,

Accompanied by the Minister of State at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Tom Kitt, T.D., I had the opportunity recently to visit Kigali in Rwanda and refugee camps near Goma in Zaire and Ngara in Tanzania. Additionally I was able to receive at first hand the views of the authorities in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe in relation to the terrible atrocities committed earlier this year in Rwanda and their consequences.

Those consequences have placed an unprecedented burden upon the resources of the international community. The continuing refugee problem alone gives rise to many difficulties and the physical circumstances of the refugees are worsening despite the huge humanitarian response that the crisis has evoked.

Minister Kitt and I have since met the U.N. Under Secretary General, Mr. Chinmaya R. Gharekan, and appraised him of what we have learned and experienced. At the same time an aide memoire from the Government of Ireland was presented to Mr. Gharekan by the Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations, Ambassador Mahon Hayes, and I am enclosing a copy for your information.

The scale and multi-faceted nature of the crisis have created very serious difficulties which the United Nations agencies concerned are seeking to resolve but I am particularly concerned about the issue of human rights violations which must be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Those affected by the genocide attach great importance to the commitment of the international community to the principle of accountability and to their willingness to defend that principle. In turn, adherence to that principle is an essential first step in the process of healing and

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reconciliation that is so desperately needed if the cycle of violence in Rwanda is to be broken and if the necessary measures are to be instituted to encourage the refugees to return and to provide guarantees for their safety.

For this reason I welcome the recent decision of the Security Council to establish an international tribunal to investigate the genocide and to prosecute those responsible. The scale and very nature of the atrocities require the strongest commitment that those who instigated them be held accountable and that adequate resources, especially personnel with the necessary expertise and professional skills, be made available to the tribunal as soon as possible.

The establishment of an adequately resourced tribunal, in addition to the deployment of sufficient numbers of human rights monitors, will help to restore the confidence that is needed for the process of healing and reconciliation to commence and will provide greater assurances of safety to encourage refugees to return to Rwanda. I believe that this process is deserving of, and needs, the highest level of support from the international community in the period ahead.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Robinson

Mary Robinson,
President of Ireland

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TELEPHONE 421-6934
FAX: 752-4726

PERMANENT MISSION OF
IRELAND TO THE UNITED NATIONS
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885 SECOND AVENUE, 19TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

AIDE MEMOIRE

27 OCTOBER 1994

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Outline of Visit of President of Ireland to Rwanda and Goma

(12-13 October, 1994)

The President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, accompanied by Mr. Robinson, the Minister of State for Development Cooperation Mr. Tom Kitt T.D. and officials, visited Kigali on 12th October and Goma on 13th October. The President met with President Bizimungu, Vice-President Paul Kagame, the UN Special Envoy Ambassador Khan, the UNAMIR Force Commander General Tousignant, the NGOs and international aid agencies.

As well as her meetings in Rwanda, the President had a number of discussions in the course of State Visits which she paid over the past month to Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania where Rwanda was touched on. She met President Museveni of Uganda on 14 October and also met the Prime Minister and Defence Minister of Burundi on 15 October. The President also paid a visit to the refugee camps at Ngara in Tanzania.

The purpose of the President's visits to Rwanda and Goma was twofold: to pay tribute to and show solidarity with the humanitarian efforts being undertaken by Irish and international personnel; and to be briefed as fully as possible on all aspects of the Rwandan problem as seen by those directly involved and indirectly affected.

The range of meetings made it possible to get a good overview of the Rwandan problem and to draw some tentative conclusions. These might be summarised as follows:

- Although a semblance of normality is returning to Kigali the situation remains precarious. The Government contrasts the conditions being placed by the international community on assistance to them with slowness to act to bring those responsible for the genocide to justice. The ousted forces could regroup and attack them;

- Government representatives stressed that they have a pressing need for direct cash assistance. The army are not being paid and the potential is there for trouble. The impact of the killings runs very deep; whole cadres of professional people in Rwandan society have been killed or have fled leaving enormous gaps;

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- The refugee problem is complicated by the circumstances in which many people fled. The ousted army and military have a grip on the camps and are manipulating the refugees for their own ends. There is the additional problem of the old as well as the new refugees. Accurate figures are hard to come by but it is clear that some refugees are still leaving and - while some are returning - many as yet lack sufficient confidence in the RPF Government to return;

- As many as 2 million people are displaced internally and this is putting a very severe strain on the Government's meagre resources;

- It may be necessary to separate ordinary refugees in the camps from the army and militia leaders. This will be a delicate, difficult task;

- the international community has responded well to appeals for humanitarian assistance for the refugees and there is a good supply line in place. Nevertheless, conditions in the camps are awful and cannot be sustained for long. The danger of a recurrence of cholera must be great;

- It would seem to be essential to get the International Tribunal in place without delay. There is a real danger that those responsible for the massacres earlier this year will go unpunished if immediate action is not taken on this. It is not only important that those culpable be brought to justice but that the cycle of carrying out killings with impunity, which has been a feature of the Rwandan scene over the years, be broken. This would also form a vital part of the Rwandan people coming to terms with the scale of the massacres;

- The deployment of human rights monitors should be speeded up so as to give refugees confidence to return;

- It would seem essential to involve regional powers in the future of Rwanda in the spirit of the Arusha Accords. Tanzania would seem to have an important role to play as an honest broker.

Ireland has informed its partners in the European Union about the visit and is arguing that the scale of what has happened in Rwanda is so great that it should be an urgent priority for the international community to seek ways of avoiding further bloodshed and finding a long term solution to the country's problems. Ireland is urging its EU partners to assist in restoring the institutions of civil administration. Ireland is allocating $400,000 for this purpose and is considering further assistance in the field of training.

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