
Clinton Presidential Records

Mandatory Declassification Review

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Documents from this Mandatory Declassification Review were released in full or released in part.

Those documents released with redactions have been restricted under Sections 1.4 (b), (c), (d), and 3.5 (c) of E.O. 13526.

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: OAASZYUW RUEHCAA5819 2710353-SSSS--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH
LINE3: 0 280348Z SEP 93
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 280348Z SEP 93
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: ****
SUBJ: EVENING NOTES 9/27

TEXT:

~~SECRET~~ STATE 295819
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: EVENING NOTES 9/27

1. UNP

MEETINGS

THERE WILL BE AN INFORMAL GATHERING OF SC MEMBERS TO HEAR CROATIAN PRESIDENT TUDJMAN SPEAK AT 9:30. AT 3:30, THE COUNCIL WILL CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS BEGUN TODAY ON THE RENEWAL OF UNPROFOR'S MANDATE IN CROATIA. FOLLOWING THAT, THE COUNCIL INTENDS TO DISCUSS THE PROTECTION OF UN PERSONNEL.

STATE OF PLAY: UNPROFOR EXTENSION

HIGH-LEVEL CONCERN HERE AND AT NSC AND DOD HAVE SLOWED DOWN OUR DEALING WITH A FRENCH DRAFT RESOLUTION ON EXTENSION OF UNPROFOR'S MANDATE. THE CONCERNS MAY NOT BE TOO SERIOUS, BUT THE INCLUSION OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT FOR UNPROFOR IN CROATIA HAS FROMPTED GREATER CAUTION. EVEN IF OUR OWN INTERNAL CONCERNS ARE SATISFIED, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS FOR UNPROFOR EXTENSION, AT LEAST IN CROATIA. THE CROATIANS THREATEN TO REJECT EXTENSION OF UNPROFOR'S MANDATE, AT LEAST UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS. THEY FEEL THAT UNPROFOR HAS SIMPLY CONFIRMED THE CROATIAN SERBS' HOLD OVER THE UN PROTECTED AREAS. IT IS HARD TO ENVISAGE A RESOLUTION THAT WILL REALLY PUT TEETH IN THE VANCE PLAN, AS IT IS HARD TO ENVISAGE THE UN'S INSISTING THAT, DESPITE CROATIAN OPPOSITION, A CH. VII MANDATE LIKE THIS SHALL BE IMPOSED ON THEM.

IN LIEU OF AMB. ALBRIGHT, WE NOW UNDERSTAND THAT TARNOFF AND OXMAN WILL GIVE A DEMARCHE TO GRANIC (CROATIAN FM) TOMORROW OUTLINING THE U.S. POSITION. (CHAMBERLIN)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

RWANDA

LATE ON FRIDAY, THE FRENCH CIRCULATED A DRAFT RESOLUTION TO THE PERM-5 WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN RWANDA. THE MANDATE OF THE PROPOSED PKO (UNAMIR) WOULD INCLUDE SUPERVISING THE CEASE-FIRE, GUARANTEEING OVERALL SECURITY IN THE COUNTRY, CLEARING MINES, GUARANTEEING THE SECURITY OF REPATRIATED REFUGEES, AND SUPERVISING THE POLICE. THE RESOLUTION CALLS FOR AN INITIAL DEPLOYMENT OF 700 MEN TO KIGALI.

MONDAY AFTERNOON WE RECEIVED THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT ON RWANDA, HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT CONTAIN ANY FINANCIAL INFORMATION, A KEY ELEMENT NEEDED FOR THE (AS YET, UNSCHEDULED) DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON RWANDA. USUN SAYS THAT AFTER AN INITIAL ROUND OF REACTIONS AND INFORMALS LATE THIS AFTERNOON, THE FRENCH WILL CIRCULATE THE DRAFT TEXT TO ALL SC MEMBERS, PROBABLY FOLLOWED BY NEW INFORMALS. THAT GIVES THE USG TIME TO REACH A CONSENSUS ON ITS APPROACH TO A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN RWANDA. (ZELLE)

CAMBODIA

A CABLE WITH A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CAMBODIA WAS SENT TO USUN AND CAPITALS TODAY AFTER CONSIDERABLE NEGOTIATING WITH EAP OVER THE WORDING OF THE PARAGRAPH RELATED TO A PROPOSED MILITARY OBSERVER MISSION. THE CABLE ALSO CONTAINED TALKING POINTS FOR DEMARCHE IN CAPITALS OF OTHER SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS IN SUPPORT OF THE RESOLUTION. (RASMUSSEN)

2. PPC

NO REPORT.

3. EX

NO REPORT.

4. PHO

THE NSC ASKS CHRISTOPHER TO BRIEF CONGRESS ON PDD; HE DECLINES

ACCORDING TO MIKE CHAPMAN, THE NSC CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS PEOPLE ASKED OVER THE WEEKEND THAT THE SECRETARY BRIEF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS ON THE PDD ON PEACEKEEPING. THE SECRETARY DECLINED BECAUSE OF THE PRESS OF OTHER BUSINESS. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE TARNOFF HANDLE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR STATE, AND PERHAPS WISNER FOR DEFENSE. FOR YOUR SESSION TOMORROW WITH THE HFAC YOU WILL BE BACKED UP BY DICK CLARKE AND SARAH SEWALL AND PERHAPS SOMEONE FROM OMB. MIKE CHAPMAN WOULD LIKE YOU TO LIMIT TO ONE THE NUMBER ACCOMPANYING YOU FROM IO. (BRIMS)

SYG SUBMITS REPORT ON RWANDA

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

USUN TODAY SENT US A COPY OF THE SYG'S RWANDA REPORT, WHICH WAS SUBMITTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OVER THE WEEKEND. BASED ON THE ASSESSMENT OF THE UN TEAM WHICH VISITED RWANDA AUGUST 19-31, THE SYG RECOMMENDS THE DEPLOYMENT OF A UN INFANTRY BATTALION OF 800 PEACEKEEPERS TO KIGALI BEFORE THE END OF 1993 TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR THE INSTALLATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT, AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF ANOTHER BATTALION IN EARLY 1994 TO ALLOW DEMOBILIZATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE TWO OPPOSING FORCES TO BEGIN. AT MAXIMUM STRENGTH, THE UN FORCE (INCLUDING OFFICERS, TROOPS, AND OBSERVERS) WOULD BE ABOUT 2,500 PERSONNEL. THIS WOULD DECLINE TO 1,200 BY THE END OF 1994, WITH FINAL DEPARTURE SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER, 1995. THE SYG'S REPORT INCLUDED NO COST ESTIMATES. WE ARE REQUESTING COST DATA BEFORE BEGINNING A SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF THIS MISSION WITHIN THE COUNCIL. (JENSEN)

IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITA SANCTIONS BEGINS

EFFECTIVE SEPTEMBER 26, UN SANCTIONS WENT INTO EFFECT PROHIBITING SALES OF ARMS AND PETROLEUM TO UNITA FORCES IN ANGOLA. PRESIDENT CLINTON SIGNED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER YESTERDAY MAKING THESE SANCTIONS EFFECTIVE IN U.S. LAW. A U.S. FEDERAL REGISTER NOTICE IS EXPECTED TO BE PUBLISHED WITHIN A FEW DAYS. (JENSEN)

5. S

FAO FINANCE COMMITTEE

FODAG REPORTS THAT PROCEEDINGS IN THE FINANCE COMMITTEE ARE MOVING SLOWLY. DISCUSSIONS ON THE DIRECTOR GENERAL'S 1994-95 BUDGET PROPOSALS MAY NOT BE CONSIDERED UNTIL TOMORROW. IT APPEARS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME THE FRENCH COUR DES COMPTES WILL PERFORM THE AUDIT OF THE ACCOUNTS FOR FAO AND WFP NEXT YEAR, ALTHOUGH LEBANON "WAS INSTRUCTED" TO SUPPORT THE UK. (HOBGOOD)

GAO'S REPORT ON FAO'S TECHNICAL COOPERATION PROGRAM

GAO REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH THEIR FINAL REPORT ON U.S. PARTICIPATION IN FAO'S TECHNICAL COOPERATION PROGRAM (TCP) WILL BE MORE BALANCED THAN THE DRAFT REPORT IN CITING SOME EXAMPLES OF TCP SUCCESS STORIES, THEY DO NOT INTEND TO GO AS FAR AS USDA HAD PROPOSED IN CHANGING THE TEXT OF THEIR DRAFT REPORT. (HOBGOOD)

UNEP APPOINTMENTS TO BIODIVERSITY CONVENTION SECRETARIAT NAMED

UNEP HAS ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE CONTAINING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR LIZ DOWDESWELL'S APPOINTMENTS TO THE BIODIVERSITY CONVENTION SECRETARIAT. THE TOP FOUR POSTS WERE AS FOLLOWS: EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, A NATIONAL OF TRINIDAD (FEMALE); SENIOR BIOLOGIST, ARGENTIAN NATIONAL (MARTINEZ); LEGAL OFFICER, SUSAN BRAGDON OF THE U.S. (INSIDE CANDIDATE); AND BIOTECHNOLOGIST, A CHINESE NATIONAL. THE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

REMAINING TWO POSTS WENT TO AN AFRICAN AND AN INDIAN. THE ONLY U.S. CANDIDATE FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY SLOT THAT WE KNEW ABOUT WAS RICHARD MEGANCK, UNEP REGIONAL CO-ORDINATOR FOR OCEANS AND COASTAL AREAS IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA. HE WAS INFORMED BY DOWDESWELL THAT HE IS INSTEAD BEING CONSIDERED TO RUN UNEP'S REGIONAL OFFICE IN BANGKOK, WHICH WOULD BE A PROMOTION FOR HIM. HE IS VERY PLEASED. (SPRINGER)

PREPARTIONS FOR HFAC BRIEFING RE PEACEKEEPING PAYMENTS

MUCH OF THE DAY WAS SPENT TRYING TO FIGURE HOW TO PRESENT OUR PLANS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO MAKE THE U.S. CURRENT ON PEACEKEEPING BILLS AND TO KEEP US CURRENT. OMB AND D/P&R ARE VERY NERVOUS ABOUT INDICATING SPECIFIC PLANS FOR THE FUTURE. GORDON ADAMS HAS REQUESTED

A CONFERENCE CALL WITH MR. BENNET TOMORROW MORNING AT 8:30. (FOX)

ACABQ ELECTION

SHENWICH REPORTS THAT THE UK IS GETTING ITS EC PARTNERS TO SOLICIT SUPPORT FOR THE CANDIDATE FROM SWEDEN, RATHER THAN THE U.S. CANDIDATE, WHICH WOULD SERVE TO MAKE VOTES FOR THE UK CANDIDATE COUNT FOR MORE. IF THIS IS TRUE, IT REALLY IS AN UNFRIENDLY ACT BY THE UK AND HARDLY ONE IN KEEPING WITH THE PERMANENT MEMBERS' CONVENTION. USUN WILL BE SENDING A TELEGRAM ON THIS MATTER. (FOX)

NIAZY WITH THE GAO

LEE RICHARDSON REPORTS THAT NIAZY AT HIS MEETING TODAY WITH THE GAO CLEARLY APPEARED TO BE A PROFESSIONALLY VERY WELL QUALIFIED AUDITOR. HOWEVER, HE SPENT HIS TIME TELLING ANECDOTES ABOUT HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO ACHIEVE ANYTHING IN THE UN. LEE GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT NIAZY WAS SEEKING GAO SUPPORT FOR MODERATING OUR FOSITION IN CALLING FOR AN EFFECTIVE IG. THIS IS DISAPPOINTING SINCE AT MY REQUEST SHENWICK HAD SPECIFICALLY WARNED NIAZY TO STAY AWAY FROM EXPLAINING HOW DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED THINGS ARE IN THE UN DURING HIS VISITS IN WASHINGTON SINCE THAT WOULD COULD MAKE IT APPEAR HE WAS TRYING TO MAKE EXCUSES FOR THE UN (SOUND LIKE THE WASHINGTON POST STORY WHICH REPORTED HIM SAYING THAT WASTE IS INEVITABLE IN THE UN). HE HAD STARTED THAT WAY AT OUR LUNCHEON LAST WEEK, BUT ONCE WE GOT HIM OFF THAT COURSE HE WAS REASONABLY IMPRESSIVE. (FOX)

6. OIC

NO REPORT.

7. T

IAEA: GC TAKING UP NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS IN NORTH KOREA

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE (GC) OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC

ENERGY AGENCY OPENED TODAY, SEPTEMBER 27, IN VIENNA. ENERGY SECRETARY HAZEL O'LEARY HEADS THE U.S. DELEGATION WITH NUCLEAR REGULATORY COMMISSION CHAIRMAN SELIN AND AMBASSADOR BECKER AS ALTERNATES. TRACY BROWN (IO/T) REPORTS FROM VIENNA THAT THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, WHICH MET SEPTEMBER 21-24, BROUGHT THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS IN NORTH KOREA TO THE GC AGENDA. A RESOLUTION IS BEING

PROPOSED THAT WOULD REQUIRE THE NORTH KOREANS TO FULLY IMPLEMENT AND COMPLY WITH THE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT. THIS AGREEMENT WOULD PERMIT AD HOC AND REGULAR INSPECTIONS OF NUCLEAR FACILITIES IN NORTH KOREA. (FEATHERSTONE)

UNESCO: MAYOR RE-ELECTION

WITH THE SUPPORT OF 121 OF 176 MEMBER STATES AND 42 OF 51 EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS TO DATE, FEDERICO IS NEARLY CERTAIN TO BE ELECTED TO A SECOND SIX-YEAR TERM AS UNESCO DIRECTOR GENERAL NEXT MONTH. THE EXECUTIVE BOARD WILL MEET IN MID-OCTOBER AND NOMINATE ONE CANDIDATE (MAYOR) FOR ELECTION BY THE GENERAL CONFERENCE WHICH WILL MEET LATER IN THE MONTH. SIX YEARS AGO, IN A HEATED RACE WITH AMADOU M'BOW, YAQUB KHAN AND OTHERS, IT TOOK 5 BALLOTS FOR MAYOR TO OBTAIN THE BOARD NOMINATION. (WANNER)

UNESCO: RUSSIANS WANT U.S. RE-ENTRY NOW.

RUSSIAN PERM-REP TO UNESCO VLADMIR LOMEIKO CALLED FOR THE U.S. TO REJOIN UNESCO IMMEDIATELY AND SAID THAT DELAYS BASED ON BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS SEEMED "DISINGENUOUS" TO MANY MEMBER STATES, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF EASTERN EUROPE. LOMEIKO SAID THAT RUSSIA HAD DEMONSTRATED ITS COMMITMENT TO UNESCO BY PAYING DOLLARS 26.6 MILLION IN ARREARS DURING THE 1992-1993 BIENNIAL. (WANNER)

STATUS OF UNGA HIGH-LEVEL NARCOTICS NEGOTIATIONS

USUN MET WITH OTHER WESTERN GROUP COUNTRIES (CANADA, AUSTRIA, UK, AUSTRALIA, NETHERLANDS) TODAY TO UNIFY THE APPROACH GOING INTO MEXICO'S MEETING TOMORROW ON ITS WORKING PAPER, AND THE PROPOSAL FOR THE FORMATION OF AN EXPERT GROUP. WEOG COUNTRIES (ALL EXCEPT POSSIBLY SWEDEN), AND BAHAMAS AND JAMAICA, WE HEAR, INTEND TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE EXPERT GROUP PLAN IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. OTHER MEXICAN PROPOSALS ARE ALSO UNFALATABLE. WEOG WILL INCORPORATE PIECE-BY-PIECE, ELEMENTS OF THE DUTCH DRAFT WORKED OUT IN VIENNA.

WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT MEXICO'S AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S., MONTANO, WHO WAS INVOLVED IN THE CREATION OF UNDCP AND IS OPPOSED TO HIS OWN GOVERNMENT'S INITIATIVE, WILL BE ABLE TO REASON WITH HIS COLLEAGUES WHILE IN NEW YORK THIS WEEK. FOLLOWING A MEETING WITH A UNDCP OFFICIAL ON FRIDAY, HE ASKED BOB GELBARD TO WORK WITH THE GOM, FIND A WAY OUT (SAVE FACE), AND DEVELOP SOMETHING POSITIVE. ANN BLACKWOOD WILL JOIN DAS SMITH AND USUN STAFF FOR MEXICO'S MEETING TOMORROW. (BLACKWOOD)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

WHO: NAKAJIMA TAKES CREDIT FOR REFORM

WHO DG NAKAJIMA GAVE A LONG SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE PAHO DIRECTING COUNCIL MEETING THIS MORNING. THE ESSENCE WAS THAT HE IS DOING GREAT THINGS IN REFORMING THE ORGANIZATION, AND HE CITED, AND TOOK CREDIT FOR, ALL OF THE ACTIONS AT THE MAY WHA WHICH REQUIRED FIXING.

PAHO DIRECTOR MACEDO (PRIVATELY) SAID HE WAS ASTONISHED THAT NAKAJIMA IS TAKING THIS TACK, WHEN BEHIND THE SCENES HE IS WORKING TO IMPEDE THE REFORM PROCESS. ONE OF NAKAJIMA'S PROPOSALS TO THE PAHO COUNCIL WAS THAT IT CREATE A SUBCOMMITTEE TO STUDY THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE GLOBAL CHANGE WORKING GROUP AND REPORT BACK IN JANUARY OF 1995 (). MACEDO SAID THAT, UNLESS THE SAME PROPOSAL IS MADE BY A PAHO MEMBER STATE, HE INTENDS TO SIMPLY IGNORE IT. (BOYER)

WHO: NAKAJIMA-KIMBLE MEETING EQUALS ?

MELINDA KIMBLE AND ANN VAN DUSEN TRIED FOR ALMOST ONE AND A HALF HOURS TODAY TO HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH NAKAJIMA -- ON VACCINE SUPPLIES FOR THE NIS, ON HEALTH ASSISTANCE TO BOSNIA, ON TROPICAL DISEASE RESEARCH, ON THE WHO SUBMISSION OF THE NUCLEAR WAR ISSUE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. SHOUTING THE SAME POINTS INTO AN ECHO CHAMBER WOULD HAVE PRODUCED A BETTER RESPONSE. NAKAJIMA SIMPLY FILIBUSTERED BY RATTLING OFF IRRELEVANT FACTS AND ESSENTIALLY DODGING ALL OF THE ISSUES.

ON NUCLEAR WAR, NAKAJIMA SIMPLY SAID THAT ALL HE HAD DONE WAS WRITE A LETTER TO THE COURT, BUT HE HAD NOT EVEN RECEIVED AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT. PERHAPS HE HAD NOT SEEN THE COURT'S SEPTEMBER 13 PRESS RELEASE WHICH, IN RESPONSE TO THE WHO REQUEST FOR AN ADVISORY OPINION, ANNOUNCED THAT THE COURT HAD BY ORDER FIXED A JUNE 10, 1994, DEADLINE FOR THE SUBMISSION OF WRITTEN STATEMENT BY MEMBER STATES. IN PROBABLY A BETTER EXPLANATION, HE PUT HIS HAND OVER HIS HEART AND SAID, "NUCLEAR WAR -- WHAT ELSE CAN I DO?" (BOYER)

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH: DHHS DELIGHTED

DHHS, WHICH HAD TRIED AT THE VERY LAST MINUTE TO GET INTERNATIONAL HEALTH INTO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, WAS DELIGHTED AT THE RESULT -- ALMOST A FULL PAGE ON THE

FUTURE OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN AND THE WORK OF WHO AND UNICEF. (BOYER)

NARCOTICS: DEPUTIES COMMITTEE CONFIRMS CHANGE

~~(SECRET)~~ A DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 24 CONFIRMED THAT THE U.S. POLICY ON NARCOTICS WILL SHIFT FROM A FOCUS ON INTERDICTION IN TRANSIT ZONES TO A FOCUS ON SOURCE ZONES. THIS WILL DOWNPLAY BUT NOT END INTERDICTION IN TRANSIT ZONES, AND WILL ADD ASSISTANCE TO

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DEMOCRATICALLY ORIENTED PRODUCING COUNTRIES THAT SEEK TO IMPROVE LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE QUALITY OF THE JUDICIARY. ANOTHER PRONG TO THE NEW APPROACH WILL BE A MORE DIRECT EFFORT TO REDUCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OR EVEN ELIMINATE DRUG CARTELS.

ONE WORRY THE COMMITTEE ADDRESSED WAS THE MANNER OF EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SWITCH IN STRATEGY. ANOTHER WAS THE LACK OF MONEY TO IMPLEMENT THE NEW PLAN, GIVEN THAT THE INM BUDGET HAS BEEN CUT BY ONE-THIRD, AND ESF AND MILITARY DRUG-CONTROL MONEY BY ONE-HALF. TIM WIRTH TOLD THE COMMITTEE THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WAS UNABLE TO ACCOMPLISH WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN ELECTED TO DO. (BOYER)

8. D

UK WANTS TO CONSULT ON FAO DG CAMPAIGN

JOHN MACHIN, UK ODA, CALLED TO ASK IF THE US HAD PICKED A CANDIDATE TO SUPPORT. I TOLD HIM THAT WE WERE CLOSE BUT STILL REQUIRED HIGHER LEVEL APPROVAL. HE OUTLINED A LOW KEY UK STRATEGY VERY SIMILAR TO THE ONE THAT WE HAVE IN MIND. IF WE CHOOSE MILLER HE WOULD LIKE TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE AIM OF DIVIDING THE LABOR IN A SENSIBLE FASHION. JOHN ASKED IF WE HAD A BACKUP G-77 CANDIDATE IN THE EVENT OUR FIRST CHOICES DROPPED OUT. I TOLD HIM THAT WOULD PROVE A MORE DIFFICULT SELECTION PROCESS FOR US BUT SUGGESTED (IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUERY) THAT WE VERY LIKELY WOULD NOT CONSIDER MOUTOO AS A COMPROMISE SOLUTION.

I ASKED JOHN FOR HIS CURRENT THINKING ON ECOSOC REFORM. HE INDICATED THAT THE UK NOW HEWED TO THE VIEW THAT MAINTAINING MOMENTUM WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE SIZE OF THE MANAGEMENT BOARDS. (MONROE)

POSSIBLE FIELD EFFECT OF OPS TRANSFER

UNDP SPONSORED A PROJECT ASSESSMENT TRIP THIS SUMMER TO ALBANIA, ARMENIA, AND UZBEKISTAN. THIS IS A YEARLY EXERCISE IN WHICH DONOR GOVERNMENTS ARE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ON-SITE INSPECTION OF PROJECTING. ACCORDING TO A WESTERN GOVERNMENT PARTICIPANT, THE EFFECT OF THE TRANSFER OF THE OFFICE OF PROJECT SERVICES (OPS) TO THE SECRETARIAT FROM UNDP WAS ALREADY APPARENT IN ALBANIA. THERE APPEARED TO BE A LOSS OF OPS FIELD PERSONNEL, WHICH WAS BLAMED BY THOSE REMAINING ON A FEAR OF THE MODALITIES OF THE TRANSFER WHICH MIGHT NOT GIVE OPS EMPLOYEES CUSTOMARY UN JOB PROTECTION. REPORTEDLY, THE PROBLEM IS SO EVIDENT THAT THE ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT IS CONTEMPLATING WHETHER TO CONTINUE CONTRACTING WITH OPS. (KOBLSKA)

9. DHS

NGO FORUM FOR WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUPATRA MASDIT, FROM THAILAND, HAS BEEN DESIGNATED CONVENER OF THE NGO FORUM IN BEIJING. THIS MEANS THAT PLANS FOR NGO ACTIVITIES WILL SOON GET OFF THE GROUND. WE ARE TRYING TO FIND OUT MORE INFORMATION ABOUT MASDIT--APPARENTLY, SHE IS A FORMER CABINET OFFICIAL AND STUDIED AT HARVARD. (KOTOK)

10. E

SENIOR ADVISORS' MEETING ON AID TO GAZA/WEST BANK

TODAY'S SENIOR ADVISORS MEETING MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN SKETCHING OUT A CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT FOR THE OCTOBER 1 PLEDGING SESSION ON AID TO GAZA/WEST BANK. THE KEY ITEMS WHICH MUST BE COVERED ARE NEEDS, PLEDGES, AND THE COORDINATION MECHANISM. THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL IS PROVING TO BE THE COORDINATION MECHANISM -- THE EC CONTINUES TO ARGUE THAT THE EC-CHAIRIED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE OF THE MADRID PROCESS SHOULD BE GIVEN THE COORDINATING FUNCTION. THE U.S. IS PUSHING FOR THE IBRD TO HAVE PRINCIPAL COORDINATING RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE GENERAL GUIDANCE OF THE MADRID STEERING COMMITTEE.

THE IBRD NOW ESTIMATES TOTAL FINANCING NEEDS AT DOLLARS 2.1 BILLION FOR 1994-98. THE IBRD RECOMMENDS THAT THE DOLLARS 125 MILLION CURRENT LEVEL OF RELIEF ASSISTANCE (MOSTLY UNWRA AND UNDP) BE DOUBLED NEXT YEAR, BUT THAT RELIEF LEVELS THEN DROP AS INVESTMENT FINANCING RISES. THERE APPEARS TO BE GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE IBRD

ASSESSMENT, ALTHOUGH THE PALESTINIANS INDICATED THAT CERTAIN NEEDS WERE NOT COVERED BY THE IBRD ESTIMATE. THE PRELIMINARY BREAKDOWN OF PLEDGES IS: THE US - DOLLARS 500 MILLION, EC - DOLLARS 600 MILLION, NORWAY - DOLLARS 35 MILLION IN THE FIRST YEAR, THEN DOLLARS 150 MILLION OVER THE NEXT FIVE (THE NORWEGIAN REP NOTED THAT THIS FIGURE HAD NOT YET BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THE NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENT), JAPAN - DOLLARS 200 MILLION OVER TWO YEARS, CANADA DOLLARS 40 MILLION OVER FIVE YEARS, DENMARK - DOLLARS 38 MILLION OVER 5 YEARS. THE SAUDIS ARE STILL CONSIDERING THE MATTER. THE SENIOR ADVISORS' GROUP WILL MEET AGAIN THURSDAY EVENING TO WORK OUT FINAL DETAILS. (DEMBSKI)

OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON "INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT"

MEXICO WILL HOST A MEETING OF THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY NEXT FEBRUARY DEVOTED TO "INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT," A LONG-STANDING PROPOSAL ORIGINALLY PUT FORWARD BY ARGENTINA SEVERAL YEARS AGO. THE U.S. HAD RESISTED SUCH A SESSION FOR FEAR OF HAVING IT TURN INTO A PLEDGING CONFERENCE, BUT HATTIE BABBITT DECIDED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD SUPPORT THE MEETING AND SHAPE ITS AGENDA.

A MEETING FRIDAY AMONG IO, USOAS, G AID AND ARA PRODUCED A GENERAL AGREEMENT TO FOCUS DISCUSSIONS ON SUCCESS STORIES IN LATIN AMERICA, WHICH HAS RECENTLY ENJOYED A SIZABLE INFLOW OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT CAPITAL DUE TO ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION AND POLITICAL OPENINGS TOWARD

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DEMOCRACY. PRESUMABLY LESSONS OF GENERAL APPLICABILITY CAN BE DERIVED FROM ANALYSIS OF THESE SUCCESS STORIES. AMBASSADOR BABBITT, HOWEVER, IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THESE SUCCESS STORIES WILL BE RELEVANT TO THESE ISLAND NATIONS. WE WILL WORK TO ENSURE CONFORMITY OF THE HEMISPHERIC MEETING WITH THE UN'S EMERGING AGENDA FOR DEVELOPMENT. (MCGUINNESS) WHARTON

BT

#5819

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5819

TOR: 930928005356 M0628453

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG

SIT: FILE SUM2 VAX

□

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

04-Oct-1993 14:34 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Susan E. Rice
(RICE)

SUBJECT: RWANDA

Sandy--

It seems that State and DOD/JCS have managed to come to agreement on instructions to USUN to support the Rwanda resolution. In short, JCS walked back from the cliff and agreed to more open-ended language about the composition of the force (armed battalions vs. unarmed military observers) in exchange for absolute clarity that this is meant to be a traditional (pacific) Chapter VI operation.

This is a good compromise. We are looking forward to rapidly clearing the x-hatched instruction cable.

I have tried to track down the message from the President to Mitterrand. As far as we can tell, the package went to the President on Saturday evening, but has not yet been signed out. Kathy Millison is checking further for us.

Susan

Distribution:

FOR: Samuel R. Berger	(BERGER)
FOR: Nancy Soderberg	(SODERBERG)
FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
FOR: James W. Reed	(REED)
FOR: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
FOR: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
FOR: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
CC: Records	(RECORDS)
CC: Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)
CC: Randy R. Beers	(BEERS)
CC: Jennifer C. Ward	(WARD)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 04-Oct-1993 13:42

Deletable Flag: Y

DOCNUM: 016991

VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE42:ZUWVKU2TF.WPL

AI Folder: OCT93

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

Message Format:

Message Status: READ

Date Modified: 04-Oct-1993 13:42

Forward Flag: YES

Read-Receipt Requested: NO

Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO

Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

This is old but it didn't look
like you would have seen this yet.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

06-Oct-1993 11:25 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DARBY@A1

FROM:

RICE
(RICE@MRGATE@OEBO)

SUBJECT: Rwanda: Your Question



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

06-Oct-1993 11:27 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Nancy Soderberg (SODERBERG)

FROM:

Susan E. Rice
(RICE)

SUBJECT: Rwanda: Your Question

Nancy--

As you can see from the resolution below, the NYT is technically incorrect: There is no mention anywhere in the resolution of the UN doing disarmament in Rwanda.

But, a clarification of our position: you will recall, as Jennifer and I discussed yesterday in your office, what we were concerned about was the UN disarming the population in Kigali, particularly civilians, by having to establish a weapons secure zone. EO 13526 1.4d

There has always been a separate issue of what will happen in the DMZ outside of Kigali. It is in the DMZ that the combatants will assemble with their weapons temporarily under UN auspices to be integrated into the new unified Rwandan army or be returned to civilian life.

While not explicitly stated in the resolution (which only

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

refers to this process as demobilization), it has always been contemplated that as part of UN demobilization, combatants would be expected willingly and peacefully leave their weapons behind in the assembly places to be subsequently destroyed or used by the new unified army. To this extent, the UN will contribute to the voluntary and orderly disarmament of the combatants in their cantonments sites. We were always fine with this concept. In fact, it makes good sense.

The attached cable relates Ned's approach to the French (but not French reaction), the final text of the resolution, and Ned's explanatory statement after the vote.

The statement was good on costs but perhaps rather clumsy in the last para. There he called upon member states and the UN to help Rwanda begin the process of its own disarmament and demobilization. [redacted] 1.4d [redacted]

[redacted] However, I think this is a very minor quibble.

I will try to learn more today about French reaction to our Somalia points.

CC: Richard A. Clarke
CC: Randy R. Beers

(CLARKER)
(BEERS)

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA4291 2940515-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 210514Z OCT 93 ZFF4
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 210514Z OCT 93
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1757
INFO: RUSNTCC/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0417
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 0414
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0324
RUTAYD/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE IMMEDIATE 0206
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0341
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0321
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 0263
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 0327
RUEIAYD/ATO AFRICA IMMEDIATE 0009
SUBJ: MILITARY REBELLION IN BUJUMBURA
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 04291
DEPT FOR AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF
EUCOM FOR J3
NAIROBI FOR CO CO "F"
YAOUNDE FOR DAO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ASEC, AEMR, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: MILITARY REBELLION IN BUJUMBURA
1. AT 0215, THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER, AT LEAST ONE UNIT OF THE BURUNDIAN MILITARY ROSE IN REBELLION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF MELCHIOR NDADAYE. ALTHOUGH AT PRESENT THE SITUATION IS CONFUSED AND THE OUTCOME UNCERTAIN, THE REBELLION HAS DEFINITELY NOT BEEN PUT DOWN. ALL PHONE LINES HAVE BEEN CUT, AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY THE REBELS, THE HOUSES OF GOVERNMENT MINISTERS HAVE BEEN SURROUNDED, AND ENTRANCE INTO THE U.S. EMBASSY IS BEING CONTROLLED BY SOLDIERS. ALL OFFICIAL U.S. PERSONNEL ARE SAFE AND ACCOUNTED FOR, AND HAVE BEEN TOLD TO REMAIN AT HOME. END SUMMARY.
2. AT 0215 THIS MORNING, 21 OCTOBER, MOST OF BUJUMBURA AWOKE TO THE SOUND OF WEAPONS FIRE COMING FROM THE CENTER OF TOWN, IN THE VICINITY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE AND THE RADIO-TELEVISION STATION. THE FIRING CONTINUED FOR ABOUT 10 MINUTES, AND RECOMMENCED AT VARIOUS INTERVALS THROUGHOUT THE MORNING. ARMORED VEHICLES (PANHARDS) WERE SEEN SCURRYING UP AND DOWN SEVERAL OF BURUNDI'S MAIN STREETS. THROUGHOUT THE MORNING, MILITARY VEHICLES HAVE BEEN VISIBLE IN THE STREETS. (WHEN RSO ARRIVED AT THE

DECLASSIFIED
PER 13526

CHARGE'S RESIDENCE IN THE AMBASSADOR'S VEHICLE TO TAKE HIM TO THE EMBASSY AT ABOUT 0320, A GROUP OF ABOUT 20 SOLDIERS, WHO APPEARED TO BE FROM DIVERSE UNITS, AT FIRST WOULD NOT LET THE VEHICLE ENTER. AFTER A FEW MINUTES DISCUSSION THE VEHICLE WAS ALLOWED TO PROCEED.) THE MSG DETACHMENT, THE RSO, AND THE CHARGE WERE ALL IN THE EMBASSY BY 0330.

3. BEFORE THE PHONE LINES WERE CUT AT ABOUT 0445, WE WERE IN CONTACT WITH VARIOUS GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND OTHERS, AND HAVE PUT TOGETHER THE FOLLOWING, NONE OF WHICH CAN BE CONFIRMED. ACCORDING TO FOREIGN MINISTER SYLVESTRE NTIBANTUNGANYA, RUMORS OF UNAUTHORIZED MILITARY ACTIVITY WERE CIRCULATING BY 1700 WEDNESDAY EVENING, 20 OCTOBER. A RELATED RUMOR HAD A UNIT FROM THE INTERIOR COMING DOWN TO BUJUMBURA ON MONDAY, 18 OCTOBER, WHICH NEVER MADE IT. SHORTLY AFTER 0200 THIS MORNING, A UNIT, REPORTEDLY ELEMENTS OF THE 11TH ARMOR BN, AND MEMBERS OF THE AIRBORNE (NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH THE COMMANDO UNIT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S SECURITY), ATTACKED THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE, AND WAS OPPOSED BY MEMBERS OF THE 2ND COMMANDO BN, THE UNIT PROTECTING THE PALACE. LATER THIS SAME REBEL UNIT MOVED ONTO THE RADIO-TV STATION.

4. ALTHOUGH AT FIRST THE RUMORS WERE THAT THE FORCES LOYAL TO THE GOVERNMENT WERE INFORMED, WAITING, AND ABLE TO PUT DOWN THE REBELLION, BY 0400 IT WAS CLEAR THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR PHONED THE EMBASSY ABOUT 0330 TO SAY THAT HIS HOUSE WAS SURROUNDED AND THAT HE PLANNED TO SEEK REFUGE AT THE U.S. HE NEVER MADE IT. SUBSEQUENT CALLS TO HIS HOUSE WERE BRUSQUELY CUT OFF. ACCORDING TO AN FSN WHO LIVES NEAR SEVERAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, SOLDIERS BROKE INTO THE HOUSE OF THE CHEF DE LA DOCUMENTATION (FORMERLY CALLED DIRECTOR OF STATE SECURITY) RICHARD NDIKUMWAMI, AND TOOK HIM AWAY.

5. CHARGE SPOKE A SECOND AND THIRD TIME WITH FOREIGN MINISTER NTIBANTUNGANYA BETWEEN 0400 AND 0430. THE THIRD TIME, HE WAS DECIDEDLY MORE WORRIED - THE DEFENSE MINISTER WAS NOT IN CONTACT WITH THE CHEF D'ETAT-MAJOR AND COULD NOT VOUCH FOR HIS ACTIVITIES OR WHEREABOUTS. THE ROAD SOUTH TO RUMONGE HAD BEEN CUT, AS WELL AS THE MUSAGA ROAD TO THE INTERIOR. (WE DO NOT KNOW ABOUT THE FEW OTHER ROADS OUT OF TOWN.) FORMIN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ON THE PHONE TO THE PRESIDENT'S WIFE, HEARD A SHOT, AND WAS NO LONGER TALKING TO HER. HE PLEADED FOR A SWIFT AND STRONG REACTION FROM THE USG.

6. RSO SPOKE WITH EMMANUEL BAKIMBAGA, BURUNDI ARMY MAJOR AND DIRECTOR OF AERONAUTICS, WHO TOLD HIM THAT THE AIRPORT WAS CLOSED AND THE RUNWAY BLOCKED BY TRUCKS. WHEN RSO MENTIONED THAT NONE OF THE SOLDIERS WHO HAD GREETED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 04291 DEPT FOR AF/C, DSS/OP, DS/OP/AF

EU COM FOR J3

NAIROBI FOR CO CO "F"

YAOUNDE FOR DAO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: ASEC, AEMR, AMGT, BY

SUBJECT: MILITARY REBELLION IN BUJUMBURA

HIM AT THE CHARGE A.I.'S RESIDENCE WERE ABOVE THE RANK OF SERGEANT, BAKIMBAGA REPLIED THAT OFFICERS WERE SURELY

INVOLVED.

7. SINCE 0445, ALL PHONE LINES HAVE BEEN CUT, AND BOTH CHANNELS OF BURUNDIAN RADIO ARE OFF THE AIR. THE SABENA FLIGHT FROM BRUSSELS (CARRYING CHARGE LEONARD LANGE) WILL NOT, WE ARE TOLD, LAND IN BUJUMBURA BUT WOULD RETURN TO KIGALI. WE RECOMMEND THAT REED FENDRICK'S PLANNED TRIP TO BURUNDI BE CANCELLED. ECONOFF WILL NOT BE DRIVING TO THE RWANDA-BURUNDI BORDER AS PLANNED TO MEET HIM.

8. IT IS NOW 0635 AND ALL IS QUIET. THE MAIN STREET IN FRONT OF THE EMBASSY IS EMPTY EXCEPT FOR SOLDIERS AND MILITARY VEHICLES. THE SOLDIERS OUTSIDE THE EMBASSY ARE COMPOSED OF DIVERSE UNITS - AIRBORNE, DISMOUNTED ARMORED PERSONNEL, AND INFANTRY; NO, REPEAT NO SOLDIERS FROM THE COMMANDO BN HAVE BEEN SEEN. THEY DO NOT SEEM TO SPEAK FRENCH AND ARE NOT DISPOSED TO TELL US ANYTHING. WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED. PATIN

BT

#4291

NNNN

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

SSN: 4291
<^SSN>4291

TOR: 931021021352 M0674457
<^TOR>931021021354 M0674458

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG
SIT: CLARKER FILE GEORGEL SUM2 VAX WARD

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

13-Dec-1993 22:01 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Susan E. Rice
(RICE)

SUBJECT: Upcoming Issues in UNSC

OMNIBUS PEACEKEEPING E-Mail

INFORMATION:

The Security Council is expected within the next week to renew routinely a number of peacekeeping mandates:

Cyprus

The UNSC will vote this week another 6 month renewal of UNFICYP. The last renewal came in the summer as the Canadians were leaving and after the Russians initially vetoed the resolution for procedural reasons. Today, the Argentines have replaced the Canadians, and the Russians seem satisfied on the issue. The U.S. and allies have also succeeded in getting Greece and Cyprus to pick up over 50% of the cost of the operation, thus reducing the U.S. share to roughly \$7 million/pa.

This week's vote should be an easy, pro forma extension. The draft resolution is a good one, stating that the status quo is unacceptable and calls for a thorough review of the future role of the UN in Cyprus in February.

Angola

The UNSC will vote by the 15th to extend UNAVEM's mandate at current strength for 3 months. As Jennifer has informed you, the U.S tabled a draft resolution that has been considered by the P-5. USUN is trying to ensure that it remains balanced to put appropriate political pressure on both sides.

Liberia

We are at the 3 month stage when the UNSC must decide to continue the mission in Liberia for the duration of its seven month mandate. This is very similar to the procedural issue we faced last week on Haiti. Again, this continuation can be achieved without any formal resolution, only a letter from UNSC Pres. to SYG or a statement. Not expected to be a big deal.

Rwanda

There are 2 Rwanda missions-- 80 border monitors looking for arms traffic on the Rwanda/Uganda border and a larger

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

peacekeeping force in Kigali. The upcoming renewal (required by the 22nd) will give the Ugandan border mission its second 6-month mandate. Happily, the two missions, while formally separate for political reasons, are well-integrated in terms of command. Better yet, after Dec. 22 they will have a single budget, allowing us to capture all possible economies of scale.

ACTION:

South Africa: How to authorize and fund the anticipated UN election monitoring mission.

Normally, straight election monitoring (w/o peacekeepers) is a UNGA activity paid for on the regular budget, for which US pays 25%. But according to USUN, the South African parties, the Frontline States and many others want the UNSC to mandate the South Africa mission, because the UNGA can't move quickly and doesn't carry the same political weight.

The problem is that if the UNSC mandates it, the UNGA (which controls the UN purse strings) is likely to insist that it be paid for on the peacekeeping budget (we pay 31.7%). Funding non-peacekeeping on the Peacekeeping budget would set a terrible precedent.

ISSUE: If you agree, Jennifer and I will ask State to draft a cable to USUN, instructing them to submit quickly a strategy for speedy UN action on South Africa paid for on the regular budget. We propose to give them a relatively short time frame in which to implement that strategy.

If USUN fails, I think we will need a DC in early Jan. to decide whether the U.S. wants to work through the UNGA, which may be opposed by the parties and slow down deployment, or; whether we want to pay for this on the peacekeeping budget, which could raise serious questions on the Hill and would set a dangerous precedent.

Distribution:

FOR: W. Anthony K. Lake	(LAKE)
FOR: Samuel R. Berger	(BERGER)
FOR: Nancy Soderberg	(SODERBERG)
FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
FOR: James W. Reed	(REED)
FOR: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
FOR: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
FOR: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
FOR: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
CC: Records	(RECORDS)
CC: Records	(RECORDS)
CC: Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)

CC: Randy R. Beers (BEERS)
CC: Jennifer C. Ward (WARD)
CC: Jane E. Holl (HOLL)
CC: Ernest J. Wilson III (WILSON)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 13-Dec-1993 21:09
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 023167
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE17:ZUZNH3T6.WPL
A1 Folder: DEC93
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 13-Dec-1993 22:01
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA0062 0041545-CCCC--RUEADWW.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 041545Z JAN 94

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 041545Z JAN 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4563

INFO: RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC PRIORITY

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER
DEHAENE AND FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES -- SCENESETTER

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 00062
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPE AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN), PREL, NATO, EEC, ETRD, BE
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER
DEHAENE AND FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES -- SCENESETTER
REF: A) 93 BRUSSELS 14837; B) 93 BRUSSELS 13779
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY. BELGIAN MFA SEES SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER DEHAENE AND FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES AT
STUYVENBERG CHATEAU IN BRUSSELS JANUARY 9 BEFORE PRESIDENT
JOINS MEETING AS OPPORTUNITY TO COVER BILATERAL AGENDAS ON
ZAIRO, RWANDA, BURUNDI; TO BE UPDATED BY THE SECRETARY ON
PROGESS OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS; AND TO GO OVER
LAST-MINUTE PREPARATIONS FOR NATO SUMMIT AS NECESSARY.
END SUMMARY
3. REF A WAS "SCENESETTER" FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S AND
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S MEETING WITH BELGIAN PRIME
MINISTER DEHAENE AND FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES AT STUYVENBERG
CHATEAU JANUARY 9. AS SCHEDULE NOW HAS PRESIDENT CLINTON
GOING TO LAEKEN FOR BRIEF CALL ON KING ALBERT II WHILE
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, PRIME MINISTER DEHAENE AND FOREIGN
MINISTER CLAES PROCEED STRAIGHT TO STUYVENBERG CHATEAU AND
BEGIN THEIR TALKS, BELGIAN MFA HAS PROPOSED ADDING A
COUPLE OF SUBJECTS TO AGENDA AS LAID OUT IN REF A.
BELGIANS SEE THE APPROXIMATELY HALF HOUR BEFORE THE
PRESIDENT ARRIVES AS ALLOWING TIME TO DISCUSS BILATERAL
ISSUES IN ZAIRO, RWANDA, BURUNDI; TO BE UPDATED ON STATUS
OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS; AND TO COVER ANY LAST-MINUTE
NATO PREPARATION ISSUES AS NECESSARY. THIS CABLE THUS
SUPPLEMENTS THE SCENESETTER PROVIDED IN REF A.

BILATERAL ISSUES IN AFRICA

4. IF TIME PERMITS, THE BELGIANS SUGGEST THAT THE FIRST
PART OF THE MEETING WITH DEHAENE AND CLAES, BEFORE THE
PRESIDENT ARRIVES, COULD TOUCH ON SEVERAL BILATERAL ISSUES

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

IN AFRICA. THESE ARE:

A) ZAIRE: CONSIDERATION OF NEXT STEPS FOR US-BELGIUM-FRANCE TROIKA AFTER END OF MISSION OF SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE BRAHIMI. WE NEED TO DECIDE WHETHER TO MAKE ANOTHER PUSH WITH MOBUTU AND THE OPPOSITION OR TO TAKE ANOTHER TACK. THE BELGIANS UNDERSTAND THE USG ENVISAGES ANOTHER TROIKA MEETING SOON TO ANALYSE THE SITUATION IN ZAIRE AND SUGGEST NEXT STEPS.

B) RWANDA: THE BELGIANS HAVE PROVIDED 450 PEACEKEEPERS FOR RWANDA. THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING THE GOVERNMENT AND RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) TO WORK TOGETHER, AND WOULD WELCOME OUR ASSESSMENT.

C) BURUNDI: THE GOB IS PROVIDING APPROXIMATELY TWO MILLION DOLLARS OUT OF THE ESTIMATED THREE MILLION DOLLARS NEEDED TO PUT OAU PEACEKEEPERS INTO BURUNDI FOR SIX MONTHS. THEY ARE CONCERNED TO AVOID A REPRISE OF THE BLOODLETTING AND WOULD LIKE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THIS SITUATION.

MIDDLE EAST

4. IF TIME PERMITS, THE BELGIANS WOULD WELCOME AN UPDATE ON THE STATUS OF THE TALKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO, OUR EXPECTATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MID-JANUARY MEETING WITH ASSAD; PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS ON OTHER TRACKS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR WHAT THE EU CAN DO TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS.

OTHER ISSUES

5. REF A LISTED ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE NATO SUMMIT, DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIA AND IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA AS THE KEY ISSUES FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 00062 DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPE AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN), PREL, NATO, EEC, ETRD, BE SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER DEHAENE AND FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES -- SCENESETTER DEHAENE. THE BELGIANS ALSO SEE THE MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT JOINS THEM AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO GO OVER ANY LAST-MINUTE ISSUES THE SECRETARY MAY WISH TO RAISE ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE NATO SUMMIT OR TO COVER ADDITIONAL POINTS ON THE ABOVE AGENDAS.

6. THE SECRETARY LAST MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES IN EARLY DECEMBER IN BRUSSELS (REF B). THE PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION PASSED FROM BRUSSELS TO ATHENS WITH THE NEW YEAR. AS A COURTESY POINT, THE SECRETARY WILL WISH TO COMPLIMENT PRIME MINISTER DEHAENE AND FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES ON THEIR SUPERB MANAGEMENT OF THE BELGIAN PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION DURING THE SECOND HALF OF 1993. HE WILL WANT TO THANK THEM ESPECIALLY FOR THEIR ROLE IN ENSURING A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE GATT NEGOTIATIONS AND THEIR TIRELESS EFFORTS TO KEEP TRANS-ATLANTIC LINES OF COMMUNICATION OPEN ON EUROPEAN UNION ISSUES DURING THE PRESIDENCY.

BLINKEN

BT
#0062
NNNN

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

SSN: 0062
<^SSN>0062

TOR: 940104104928 M0809004
<^TOR>940104104929 M0809005

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG
SIT: BLEICKEN FILE LEBOURGEOIS SUM2 VAX WALKER
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA3919 0971522-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 071519Z APR 94

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 071519Z APR 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6325

INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 1569

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0059

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7252

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0907

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0401

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0022

RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC//J4//J5//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/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DC/IN// IMMEDIATE

RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC//IMMEDIATE

SUBJ: BELGIAN MFA ON SITUATION IN RWANDA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 03919

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, KDEM, RW, BY, BE

SUBJECT: BELGIAN MFA ON SITUATION IN RWANDA

REF: A) BRUSSELS 3880; B) FENDRICK-JOHNSON TELCON OF 4/7

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. BELGIAN MFA CONFIRMED DEATHS OF RWANDESE MINISTERS OF PUBLIC WORKS AND INFORMATION, SAID THEIR MISSION IN RWANDA REPORTED THAT THE MINISTERS OF FINANCE AND AGRICULTURE HAD DISAPPEARED, AND THAT 5 BELGIAN UNAMIR SOLDIERS PROTECTING THE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN TAKEN BY THE RWANDESE MILITARY. THE BELGIANS ONLY KNEW THE PRIME MINISTER HAD FLED. POLCOUNS PASSED TO THEM OUR INFORMATION THAT SHE HAD BEEN KILLED. THE BELGIAN MFA HAD SENT MESSAGES THROUGH THEIR MISSIONS TO THE UN AND TO WASHINGTON TO ASK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF MODIFYING UN MANDATE TO PROTECT OR EVACUATE EXPATRIATES. BELGIAN MILITARY CONTINGENCY PLANNERS TELL US THE RWANDAN MILITARY CONTROLS THE AIRPORT BUT THE BELGIANS CONTROL A PART OF THE AIRPORT AROUND THEIR C-130. CONTINGENCY PLANNERS ARE LOOKING INTO USING ADDITIONAL TROOPS TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION LOCALLY OR USING SUCH TROOPS IN ORDER TO ASSIST IN A COMPLETE EVACUATION OF ALL UNAMIR FORCES AND OF ALL FOREIGN CIVILIANS WHO WISH TO LEAVE. THEY ARE CONSIDERING THREE APPROACHES: A) USE OF UNAMIR; B) SENDING IN A REINFORCED BATTALION OF 800 BELGIANS DIRECTLY TO RWANDA OR C) STAGING THE BATTALION IN BURUNDI TO BE AVAILABLE FOR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

USE IN RWANDA IF REQUIRED. NO DECISIONS HAVE AS YET BEEN TAKEN, BUT IF THE BELGIANS DECIDE IT IS NECESSARY TO SEND IN A REINFORCED BATTALION, THEY WILL LIKELY COME TO US FOR AIRLIFT. END SUMMARY.

2. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM REF B, POLCOUNS SPOKE TO WIL JAENEN, DIRECTOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS AT BELGIAN MFA. JAENEN SAID SITUATION WAS VERY SERIOUS IN RWANDA, WITH MILITARY KILLING MINISTERS AND OTHER TUTSI POLITICIANS. THE BELGIAN MISSION COULD CONFIRM THAT THE MINISTERS OF INFORMATION AND PUBLIC WORKS HAD BEEN KILLED. THE LATTER WAS TALKING TO UNAMIR WHEN HE WAS KILLED. THE MINISTERS OF FINANCE AND AGRICULTURE HAVE DISAPPEARED. FIVE BELGIAN MEMBERS OF THE UNAMIR MISSION PROTECTING THE PRIME MINISTER AT HER RESIDENCE HAD BEEN TAKEN BY THE RWANDAN MILITARY. THEIR FATE WAS UNKNOWN. THE BELGIANS UNDERSTOOD THE PRIME MINISTER HAD FLED. POLCOUNS TOLD JAENEN THAT OUR INFORMATION WAS THAT UNDP EXPATRIATES HAD WITNESSED THE KILLING OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

3. JAENEN SAID THAT THE BELGIAN MILITARY HAD BEEN ASKED TO DO CONTINGENCY/CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR AN EVACUATION OF EXPATRIATES BUT NO DECISIONS HAD BEEN MADE. HE SAID THE BELGIAN MFA HAD SENT MESSAGES TO THEIR MISSIONS IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON ASKING IF WE SHOULD NOT CONSIDER CONVERTING THE UNAMIR MANDATE TO ALLOW UNAMIR TO PROTECT/EVACUATE EXPATRIATES AS NEEDED.

4. JAENEN SAID THE BELGIANS IN UNAMIR DID NOT/NOT CONTROL THE AIRPORT BUT DID CONTROL A PORTION OF IT AROUND A C-130 THEY HAD ON THE GROUND.

5. SEPARATELY, A JOINT STAFF OPERATIONS OFFICER AT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE TOLD EMBASSY DAO THAT THE MILITARY WAS DEVELOPING CONTINGENCY PLANS. HE CONFIRMED THAT 5 BELGIANS WITH UNAMIR HAD DISAPPEARED. HE ALSO SAID 5 PLATOONS WERE CUT OFF AT THE AIRPORT BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE GENDARMERIE. THEY WERE NOT IN IMMEDIATE DANGER.

6. AMONG THE OPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE MILITARY ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS ARE THE USE OF UNAMIR TROOPS TO EVACUATE CIVILIANS IN RWANDA OR TO SEND UP TO A REINFORCED BATTALION (EITHER DIRECTLY TO RWANDA OR TO BURUNDI TO BE ON STAND-BY IF NEEDED) TO SUPPORT TROOPS ALREADY IN PLACE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 03919

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, KDEM, RW, BY, BE

SUBJECT: BELGIAN MFA ON SITUATION IN RWANDA

IN RWANDA. THE MISSION WOULD BE EITHER TO RESTORE ORDER OR TO FACILITATE A COMPLETE EVACUATION OF UNAMIR MILITARY AND EXPATRIATE CIVILIANS WHO WISH TO LEAVE. IF THE OPTION TO SEND A BATTALION IS CHOSEN, THE BELGIANS WOULD LIKELY COME TO US FOR AIRLIFT SUPPORT.

BLINKEN

BT

#3919

NNNN

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

SSN: 3919
<^SSN>3919

TOR: 940407123417 M0979765
<^TOR>940407123522 M0979767

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BLEICKEN DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX WADDELL WALKER
<^DIST>
SIT: MITCHELL
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA1434 0971542-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 071542Z APR 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 071542Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI NIACT IMMEDIATE 0171
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5527
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0144
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 1076
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0302
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0851
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0407
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0332
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1668
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
SUBJ: RWANDA: TWO UN PEACEKEEPERS EXECUTED
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 001434
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AND AF/C;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND MOZENA;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PINS, PREL, MOPS, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC
SUBJECT: RWANDA: TWO UN PEACEKEEPERS EXECUTED

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNHQ INFO

2. UNHQ SOURCES CONFIRMED THAT TWO UNAMIR PERSONNEL
WERE EXECUTED IN RWANDA APRIL 7. BELGIAN UNAMIR TROOPS
WERE ATTACKED, AND HAVE RETURNED FIRE. THE RPF HAS BEEN
RELEASED FROM THEIR COMPOUND IN ORDER TO DEFEND
THEMSELVES. THE UN REPORTS FIGHTING IN THE STREETS OF
KIGALI, BUT CANNOT CONFIRM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS
BEEN KILLED; THEY HAVE RECEIVED CONFLICTING REPORTS.
THE UN FORCE COMMANDER, GENERAL DELAIRE, WAS PREVENTED
FROM GOING TO THE AREA IN WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER WAS
KILLED TO INVESTIGATE. THE UN DOES NOT HAVE ACCESS TO
THE AIRPORT. THE UN HAS NO PLANS TO EVACUATE AT THIS
POINT.

BELGIAN INFO

3. BELGIAN MISSION SOURCES TOLD USUN THAT BELGIAN
TROOPS WERE PATROLLING THE STREETS OF KIGALI, AND HAVE
SINCE BEEN TRAPPED IN SCATTERED LOCATIONS BY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

ROADBLOCKS. A BELGIAN DETAIL OF 10 SOLDIERS WAS ASSIGNED TO THE PRIME MINISTER. THEY HAVE BEEN DISARMED AND CONFINED. THEIR WHEREABOUTS ARE UNKNOWN. BELGIAN POLOFF SAID 20 UNAMIR SOLDIERS WERE SURROUNDED AT THE AIRPORT; THEY HAD NOT BEEN DISARMED. A BELGIAN C-130 AIRCRAFT IS ALSO AT THE AIRPORT; THE CREW CANNOT GET TO IT.

4. BELGIAN POLOFF NOTED THAT THEIR INFORMATION WAS SKETCHY, SINCE MOST BELGIAN EMBASSY PERSONNEL WERE TRAPPED IN THEIR HOUSES IN KIGALI BY THE FIGHTING, AND COULD NOT GET TO THE EMBASSY- THE BELGIANS HAVE NO PLANS TO EVACUATE THEIR PERSONNEL AT THIS MOMENT. THEY REPORT THAT EUROPEANS ARE NOT PRESENTLY AT RISK. THEY BELIEVE THIS COUP WAS INSTIGATED BY THE RWANDAN ARMY. THE RPF HAS DENIED ANY RESPONSIBILITY, HAS STATED THEY ARE NOT INTERESTED IN PROMOTING VIOLENCE, AND IS MEETING AT THEIR HQ TO PLAN THEIR STRATEGY.

FUTURE UN ACTIONS

5. THE BELGIAN PERMREP WILL MEET WITH UN DPKO U/SYG KOFI ANNAN APRIL 7 TO DISCUSS WHAT STEPS THE UN COULD/SHOULD TAKE. AS OF 10 AM (NYC TIME) 4/7, BELGIAN POLOFF REPORTED THAT BRUSSELS DID NOT WANT TO SEE UNAMIR'S MANDATE MODIFIED, BUT COULD NOT SAY WHETHER THAT POSITION MIGHT CHANGE. HE MENTIONED THAT BELGIUM HAD TWO BATTALIONS OF PARA-COMMANDOS STANDING BY FOR CONTINGENCIES SUCH AS THESE. HE COULD NOT SAY WHAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELGIAN COMMANDOS DEPLOYED BILATERALLY AND BELGIAN COMMANDOS ALREADY IN RWANDA AS PART OF THE UN FORCE MIGHT BE, BUT INDICATED THAT WOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH U/SYG ANNAN. UN DPKO SOURCES NOTED TO USUN POLOFF THAT THE UN WOULD BE VERY RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE IN SOMALIA-LIKE HOSTILITIES. UNAMIR REQUESTED PERMISSION, DURING THE NIGHT OF 4/6-4/7, TO USE ARMS. UNHQ DENIED THAT PERMISSION, TELLING UNAMIR IT WOULD NOT BE PRUDENT TO ATTACK.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1434

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1434

TOR: 940407125113 M0979800

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS BURGOS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

07-Apr-1994 20:09 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Donald K. Steinberg
(STEINBERG)

SUBJECT: Update on Rwanda (8:00 p.m.)

Another update on Rwanda (8:00 EDT)

Our Ambassador in Kigali, David Rawson, reports that things have calmed down somewhat now that night has fallen, but there is still gunfire and occasional shelling in the city. There have been no incidents involving Americans, although at least 11 Belgian military have been killed, along with "vast numbers" of Rwandans. A communication net has been set up for the Americans (who apparently now number 258, with another 30 or so non-American USG contractors), and they are staying hunkered down and in touch every hour. The Army has control of the airport, and have kept it closed. Confirmed dead include the prime minister and the ministers of social affairs, information, and agriculture. Elsewhere in the country, the South is quiet, but there is some fighting in the North.

We have been in touch with the French and the Belgians here and in their capitals to determine their plans. Both apparently are proceeding with planning for possible action in Kigali -- either to evacuate expatriates or stabilize the situation -- but are waiting to see what daylight brings tomorrow. The French have reportedly put their troops in Bangui on alert. There is a meeting tomorrow morning between the French and the Belgians (and possibly EUCOM).

The UNSC is about to have a presidential statement of concern over the violence. ("The Council will remain seized of the matter.") More important is the question of what to do with the U.N. peacekeeping force, especially if the French or Belgians move in. We will have a core group meeting on this question tomorrow.

The State Department is expected to shortly authorize an ordered departure for all American personnel from Kigali. This does not mean that we have yet decided to close everything down, only that preparations are now being made. The Joint Chiefs have ordered Eucom to get ready for a possible evacuation, including an evacuation in which they have to force their way in. The Department has also decided to draw dependents out of Burundi as a precaution, although all remains calm there for now.

President Clinton's statement from this morning has gotten substantial press coverage. He has not been asked about the situation directly. There have been some questions to State Department about the whereabouts of Monique, the human rights monitor. We are still trying to reach her.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Distribution:

FOR: Susan E. Rice	(RICE)
FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
FOR: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
FOR: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
FOR: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
FOR: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
FOR: James W. Reed	(REED)
FOR: Neal S. Wolin	(WOLIN)
FOR: Natalie S. Wozniak	(WOZNIAK)
FOR: Calvin A. Mitchell	(MITCHELL)
FOR: Tara D. Sonenshine	(SONENSHINE)
FOR: Thomas B. Ross	(ROSS)
FOR: Pat A. Battenfield	(BATTENFIELD)
FOR: Jennifer C. Ward	(WARD)
FOR: MacArthur DeShazer	(DESHAZER)
FOR: Dan W. Mozena	(MOZENA)
FOR: Donald K. Steinberg	(STEINBERG)
CC: Non Records	(NONRECORD)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 07-Apr-1994 20:08
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 002183
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE34:ZVDYSSKTV.WPL
A1 Folder: LASTONES
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 07-Apr-1994 20:08
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST CLASS.

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA2077 0980317-CCCC--RHEHNSC.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 080315Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 080315Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 2512
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//ASD:FM&P IMMEDIATE 8695
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8249
RUEHKKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 9128
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 8173
RUEADWD/HQDA//WASHDC//DAPE:MO// IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3:JOD// IMMEDIATE 6951
RUEADWD/HQDA WASHDC//DAPE:MO// IMMEDIATE
RUETIAA/DIRNSA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2659
SUBJ: ORDERED DEPARTURE AND TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF
OPERATIONS IN KIGALI RWANDA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 092077
FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM ACTING UNDER SECRETARY QUAINTON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AMGT, AMER, AFIN, KFLO,
SUBJECT: ORDERED DEPARTURE AND TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF
OPERATIONS IN KIGALI RWANDA

A. EVACUATION AUTHORITY AND DEPARTMENT POLICY

1. EFFECTIVE THE DATE OF THIS MESSAGE, I HEREBY GRANT THE AUTHORITY TO BEGIN ORDERED DEPARTURE OF ALL DEPENDENTS AND ALL USG EMPLOYEES FROM KIGALI. ALL DEPENDENTS AND/OR PERSONNEL SHOULD DEPART POST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS AND PROCEDURES FOR SUSPENSION OF OPERATIONS WILL FOLLOW.

POST IS REQUIRED TO INFORM IMMEDIATELY ALL OFFICIAL AMERICAN EMPLOYEES AND DEPENDENTS OF THIS AUTHORITY. POST MUST ALSO, IF SITUATION WARRANT MAKE PLANS TO NOTIFY AND ASSIST PRIVATE AMCITS WHO WISH TO DEPART.

2. DEPARTMENT'S DETERMINATION IS THAT THE DESIGNATED SAFEHAVEN IS CONUS FOR ALL DEPENDENTS AND WASHINGTON. DC FOR ALL EMPLOYEES. POST IS REMINDED THAT ALTERNATE SAFEHAVEN LOCATIONS OUTSIDE OF CONUS ARE NOT AUTHORIZED WITHOUT PRIOR APPROVAL BY THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR

MANAGEMENT, ARE CONSIDERED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS AND

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

ARE EFFECTIVE THE DATE OF THE REQUEST.

3. DEPARTED DEPENDENTS/EMPLOYEES MAY NOT RETURN TO POST UNTIL THE DEPARTMENT (M) DETERMINES THE CONDITIONS WARRANTING THE REMOVAL IN THE FIRST PLACE HAVE ABATED OR ENDED AND SO AUTHORIZES THE RETURN.

4. DEPENDENTS OUT OF COUNTRY AS OF THE DATE OF THIS CABLE MAY NOT RETURN TO POST AND MUST CONTACT REGIONAL BUREAU EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON SAFEHAVEN.

5. ALL EMPLOYEES OUT OF COUNTRY OR EMPLOYEES RECENTLY ASSIGNED TO POST WHO ARE IN TRANSIT STATUS MUST CONTACT THE REGIONAL BUREAU EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHETHER TO PROCEED TO POST OR REPORT TO AN ALTERNATIVE DUTY STATION. THE DECISION TO PROCEED TO POST WILL BE MADE ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

B. FISCAL AND ALLOWANCES INSTRUCTIONS

1. FISCAL DATA FOR DEPARTURE TRAVEL AND SUBSISTENCE EXPENSE ALLOWANCE PAYMENTS (SEA) IS AS FOLLOWS:

19X0522	2003	454400
APPROPRIATION	(ALLOTMENT)	OBLIGATION)

TRAVEL AUTHORIZATIONS SHOULD BE NUMBERED SEQUENTIALLY BEGINNING WITH OBLIGATION NUMBER 454401.

EVACUEES SHOULD BE ISSUED ROUND TRIP TRAVEL ORDERS; ONLY ONE-WAY TICKETS SHOULD BE PROVIDED, HOWEVER, DUE TO THE UNCERTAINTY OF RETURN TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS.

THIS FISCAL DATA IS TO BE USED FOR STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES/DEPENDENTS, MARINE SECURITY GUARDS/DEPENDENTS AND OTHER AGENCY DEPARTEES/DEPENDENTS, WITH THE FOLLOWING EXCEPTIONS:

-DEPENDENTS/MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY SERVICES SHOULD BE PROCESSED IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHAPTER 6, VOLUME 1 OF THE JOINT FEDERAL TRAVEL REGULATIONS TRAVEL AND SEA PAYMENTS FOR MARINE SECURITY GUARDS/DEPENDENTS AND SEABEES/DEPENDENTS ARE PAID BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN ACCORDANCE WITH VOL. 1 OF THE JOINT FEDERAL TRAVEL REGULATIONS.

-AID DEPENDENTS/EMPLOYEES SHOULD BE PROCESSED USING

NORMAL ALLOTMENTS FOR TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND PER DIEM. CONTRACT EMPLOYEES, INCLUDING THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS (TCN), ARE TO BE TREATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR CONTRACTS. (SEE CHAPTER 12, AID HANDBOOK 23 FOR SPECIFIC INFORMATION.)

USIA DEPENDENTS/EMPLOYEES ARE TO BE PROCESSED USING THE FOLLOWING FISCAL DATA:

WASHINGTON HELD ALLOTMENT 01-1-1006-12000-21511

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 STATE 092077
FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM ACTING UNDER SECRETARY QUAINTON
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AMGT, AMER, AFIN, KFLO,
SUBJECT: ORDERED DEPARTURE AND TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF
OPERATIONS IN KIGALI RWANDA
OBLIGATION NUMBER: M0002117
SEA PAYMENTS AND TRAVEL ADVANCES ARE CHARGED TO THE SAME
FISCAL DATA.

2. SUBSISTENCE EXPENSE ALLOWANCE IS HEREBY APPROVED FOR PAYMENT FOR (30) DAYS FROM DAY FOLLOWING ARRIVAL AT SAFEHAVEN LOCATION. POST IS AUTHORIZED TO ISSUE ADVANCE PAYMENTS FOR AN INITIAL PERIOD OF 15 DAYS ONLY. EVACUEES SHOULD CONTACT FMP/FO/OAC (703-875-6793) OR THEIR APPROPRIATE HEADQUARTERS AGENCY FOR SUBSEQUENT SEA PAYMENTS. M/FLO WILL PROVIDE BY CABLE DETAILED PERSONAL GUIDANCE ON EVACUATION PREPARATION. POST MAY REQUEST EXTENSIONS OF THE AUTHORIZED DEPARTURE STATUS IN 30-DAY INCREMENTS NOT TO EXCEED A TOTAL OF 180 DAYS.

3. INSTRUCTIONS FOR PREPARING EMERGENCY DEPARTURE TRAVEL ORDERS AND GENERAL INFORMATION ON SEA ARE IN CHAPTER 1400 OF THE DEPARTMENT EMERGENCY PLANNING HANDBOOK. ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS ARE IN CHAPTER 600 OF THE STANDARDIZED REGULATIONS AS REVISED 2/24/91.

4. THE CONUS PER DIEM RATE, CURRENTLY USD 66, APPLIES FOR CALCULATING SUBSISTENCE EXPENSE ALLOWANCES.

FOR THE FIRST FIFTEEN DAYS ON ARRIVAL IN THE US A NON-ACCOUNTABLE DAILY RATE OF USD 66 PER DAY FOR EACH EVACUEE IS AUTHORIZED. AFTER THE FIFTEENTH DAY THE AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCE DEPENDS WHETHER EVACUEES ARE IN COMMERCIAL OR NON-COMMERCIAL LODGING. UNDER THE COMMERCIAL RATE (RECEIPTS FOR LODGING REQUIRED) THE FIRST EVACUEE IS REIMBURSED FOR LODGING NOT TO EXCEED 60 PERCENT OF PER DIEM (USDOLS 39.60) AND ON A NON-ACCOUNTABLE BASIS AN ADDITIONAL 40 PERCENT OF PER DIEM (USDOLS 26.40) FOR ALL OTHER EXPENSES PER DAY EACH ADDITIONAL DEPENDENT RECEIVES NO SEPARATE LODGING PORTION BUT ON A NON-ACCOUNTABLE BASIS RECEIVES 20 PERCENT OF PER DIEM (USDOLS 13.20) PER DAY UNDER THE NON-COMMERCIAL RATE THE FIRST EVACUEE IS PAID ON A

NON-ACCOUNTABLE BASIS 50 PERCENT OF PER DIEM (USDOLS 33.00) PER DAY TO ASSIST IN DEFRAYING EXPENSES. EACH ADDITIONAL DEPENDENT IS PAID 10 PERCENT PER DIEM (USDOLS 6.60) PER DAY. THE COMMERCIAL RATE CAN ONLY BE USED FOR COMMERCIAL LODGING. THE NON-COMMERCIAL RATE IS USED FOR THOSE WHO STAY WITH FRIENDS, RELATIVES, OR IN GOVERNMENT OR GOVERNMENT-PROVIDED QUARTERS

C. POST REPORTING REQUIREMENTS:

1. PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR ALL EVACUEES:

--SPONSOR'S NAME

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

--NAME OF EVACUEE
--AGENCY (IF MILITARY INCLUDE BRANCH OF SERVICE)
--SAFEHAVEN ADDRESS
--SAFEHAVEN TELEPHONE NUMBER
--DATE OF DEPARTURE FROM POST AND ETA AT SAFEHAVEN
--AMOUNT OF ANY TRAVEL OR SEA ADVANCE GIVEN TO EACH
EVACUEE

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE TIMELY SUBMISSION OF THIS
INFORMATION IS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO FACILITATING
THE MEETING OF EVACUEES AND THE INITIATION OF SEA
PAYMENTS. THESE MESSAGES SHOULD BE SLUGGED FOR FMP,
M/FLO AND (THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE BUREAU).

CHRISTOPHER

BT

#2077

NNNN

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

SSN: 2077
<^SSN>2077

TOR: 940408002057 M0981136
<^TOR>940408002106 M0981137

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE MITCHELLC REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG
WOLIN
SIT: BELL CLARKER DESHAZER FILE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA3953 0981041-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 081037Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 081037Z APR 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 6354

INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 1572

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0062

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7266

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0910

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALAKIMMEDIATE 0404

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0025

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0424

RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC//J4//J5//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//DC// IMMEDIATE

RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

SUBJ: CLAES ASKS SYG FOR CHANGE IN UNAMIR MANDATE; ASKS
FOR USG VIEWS AND SUPPORT

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BRUSSELS 03953

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PREF, KDEM, RW, BY, BE

SUBJECT: CLAES ASKS SYG FOR CHANGE IN UNAMIR MANDATE; ASKS
FOR USG VIEWS AND SUPPORT

REF: A) JOHNSON MCCULLEY TELCON OF 4/8

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE. URGENT ACTION REQUESTED IN
PARA 4 BELOW.

3. OFFICIAL IN CABINET OF BELGIAN FONMIN CLAES CALLED
EMBASSY MORNING APRIL 8 TO SAY THAT CLAES HAD SPOKEN TO
UNSYG BOUTROS-GHALI MORNING APRIL 8 TO URGE THAT UN
CONSIDER CHANGING/EXTENDING MANDATE OF UNAMIR: A) TO
PROTECT PEOPLE WHO WOULD BE IN DANGER SUCH AS REMAINING
RWANDAN POLITICIANS; AND B) TO ASSIST FOREIGN RESIDENTS
WHO NEED PROTECTION OR WISH TO LEAVE RWANDA IN AN
EVACUATION.

3. CLAES IS PRESSING FOR THIS CHANGE IN UNAMIR MANDATE
BECAUSE HE IS CONSCIOUS OF THE PERNICIOUS PRECEDENT
BELGIUM COULD SET IF IT WERE TO NATIONALIZE ITS TROOPS IN
RWANDA AND TURN THEM TO PERFORMING A NATIONAL MISSION OF
PROTECTION AND EVACUATION. THE BELGIAN MFA OFFICIAL
HINTED AT THE PRECEDENT THAT COULD BE USED BY COUNTRIES
WITH TROOPS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA OR ELSEWHERE.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: THE BELGIAN MFA ASKED FOR A

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

RESPONSE ASAP ON WHAT THE U.S. POSITION WOULD BE ON CLAES' REQUEST. IF POSSIBLE, THE BELGIANS WOULD LIKE US TO SUPPORT THIS REQUEST ASAP WITH THE SYG AND AT THE UN. THE BELGIANS HOPE FOR A RESPONSE FROM THE USG BEFORE THEIR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS AT 3 PM APRIL 7 LOCAL TIME.

5. BUJUMBURA AND KIGALI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BLINKEN

BT

#3953

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3953

TOR: 940408074726 M0981761

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

<^DIST>

SIT: BEERS

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~SECRET~~

LINE1: OAASZYUW RUEHBSA3956 0981051-SSSS--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 081049Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 081049Z APR 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 6358

INFO: RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//OASD/ISP// IMMEDIATE

RUSNTCC/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

RHCUAAA/CINCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL//J3/J4// IMMEDIATE

RHFQAAA/HQUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DC/IN RAMSTEIN AFB GE IMMEDIATE

RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7267

RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 1573

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0063

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0911

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0405

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0026

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0425

SUBJ: WGRW01: INFORMAL BELGIAN REQUEST FOR AIRLIFT FOR
KIGALI

TEXT:

~~SECRET~~ BRUSSELS 03956

PLEASE PASS NSC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY

SUBJECT: WGRW01: INFORMAL BELGIAN REQUEST FOR AIRLIFT FOR
KIGALI1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT. ACTION REQUEST - PARA 3.2. BELGIAN JOINT CHIEFS PLANNERS ASKED DAO INFORMALLY
APRIL 8 AM WHETHER THE U.S. IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN A
COMBINED OPERATION TO PROTECT AND/OR EVACUATE NATIONALS IN
RWANDA. THE PLANNERS SAID THEY ALREADY HAVE INDICATIONS
FROM FRANCE THAT IT IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH AN
OPERATION BY CONTRIBUTING FOUR JAGUAR FIGHTER PLANES. THE
MOST URGENTLY NEEDED CONTRIBUTION FROM THE U.S. WOULD BE
AIRLIFT, ALTHOUGH OTHER SUPPORT COULD BE REQUIRED. UNDER
THE MOST LIKELY BELGIAN INTERVENTION SCENARIO, THE GOB
WOULD ORDER A REINFORCED BATTALION-SIZED CONTINGENT
(APPROX 800 TROOPS) TO KIGALI. THE BELGIANS DO NOT/NOT
HAVE LIFT CAPACITY FOR THE EQUIPMENT REQUIRED BY SUCH A
CONTINGENT.3. ACTION REQUEST: THE GOB COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAS
SCHEDULED AN URGENT MEETING FOR 1500 LOCAL (0900
WASHINGTON) TO DISCUSS MILITARY AND OTHER OPTIONS IN
RWANDA. IN ORDER FOR THE MILITARY PLANNING TO GO FORWARD
THE BELGIANS MUST KNOW WHETHER THEY CAN COUNT ONDECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

GUARANTEED U.S. STRATEGIC AIRLIFT SUPPORT. PLEASE ADVISE URGENTLY WHAT RESPONSE WE CAN GIVE ABOUT U.S. INTENTIONS TO ENGAGE IN COMBINED OPERATIONS TO THE BELGIAN PLANNERS WHO WILL BRIEF THE MINISTERS.

4. KIGALI AND BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BLINKEN

BT

#3956

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3956

TOR: 940408075734 M0981784

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL MOZENA RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2
VAX

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA4002 0981716-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 081715Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 081715Z APR 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6383

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/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DC/IN// IMMEDIATE

RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7275

RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 1577

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0067

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0915

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0407

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0030

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0429

SUBJ: WGRW01: BELGIAN PM REQUESTS U.S. AUTHORIZE
COOPERATIVE CONTINGENCY MILITARY PLANNING FOR
RWANDA EVACUATION

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BRUSSELS 04002

PLEASE PASS NSC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY

SUBJECT: WGRW01: BELGIAN PM REQUESTS U.S. AUTHORIZE
COOPERATIVE CONTINGENCY MILITARY PLANNING FOR
RWANDA EVACUATIONREFS: A) BRUSSELS 3967; B) BRUSSELS 3963;
C) BRUSSELS 3956 AND PREVIOUS1. ~~C~~ ENTIRE TEXT. ACTION REQUEST.2. AT 1845 APRIL 8, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING EMERGENCY
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING ON RWANDA, BELGIAN PM DEHAENE
PHONED AMBASSADOR BLINKEN TO REQUEST U.S. AUTHORIZATION OF
FORMAL COOPERATIVE CONTINGENCY PLANNING BY OUR RESPECTIVE
MILITARIES FOR POSSIBLE EVACUATION OPERATION IN RWANDA.(SEPTEL WILL REPORT DETAILS OF DECISIONS TAKEN AT COUNCIL
OF MINISTERS MEETING.) URGENT ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE
ADVISE IF SUCH AUTHORIZATION IS POSSIBLE PENDING FINAL
DECISIONS ON MILITARY ACTION.

3. BUJUMBURA AND KIGALI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BLINKEN

BT

#4002

NNNN

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4002

TOR: 940408144817 M0982652

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL MOZENA RICE STEINBERG
SUM SUM2 VAX WADDELL

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA4005 0981901-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 081900Z APR 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
OSRI: RUEHBS
DTG: 081900Z APR 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6384
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/HQUSAFFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DC/IN// IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7276
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 1578
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0068
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0916
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0408
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0031
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0430
SUBJ: WGRW01: BELGIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS:
DECIDES ON EVACUATION OF KIGALI FOR AIR;
ASKS FOR US SUPPORT
TEXT:
G O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 04005
PLEASE PASS NSC
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY
SUBJECT: WGRW01: BELGIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS:
DECIDES ON EVACUATION OF KIGALI FOR AIR;
ASKS FOR US SUPPORT
REFS: A) BRUSSELS 3967; B) BRUSSELS 3963;
C) BRUSSELS 3956 AND PREVIOUS
1. G - ENTIRE TEXT
2. BELGIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (CABINET) CONCLUDED ITS
DISCUSSIONS AFTER 6 P.M. APRIL 8. PM DEHAENE CALLED AMB.
BLINKEN. THIS CALL WAS FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER CONVERSATION
WITH DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR TO THE PM, DOMINIQUE STRUYE. BOTH
ADVISED THE FOLLOWING:
-- PM DEHAENE HAD JUST SPOKEN TO BOUTROS-GHALI. DEHAENE
ASKED THAT THE UN CONTINGENT IN RWANDA BE REINFORCED. THE
GOB'S MAIN CONCERN WAS TO OBTAIN A QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT
IN THE SECURITY SITUATION OF THE BELGIAN BLUE HELMETS.
THE QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT DOES NOT/NOT MEAN AN INCREASE
IN BELGIAN BLUE HELMETS BUT RATHER ENHANCED EQUIPMENT
AND/OR FIREPOWER.
-- THE GOB UNDERSTANDS THAT CHANGING THE UNAMIR MANDATE

MAY PROVE TO BE TIME-CONSUMING AND, THEREFORE IS ANXIOUS TO PROCEED WITH THE QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT NOW AND TACKLE THE MANDATE QUESTION LATER.

-- THE GOB WANTS TO SEND A REINFORCED BATTALION (APPROXIMATELY 800 PARACOMMANDOS) WHICH WILL BE USED TO CONDUCT A HUMANITARIAN EVACUATION OPERATION. THIS OPERATION WILL BE KEPT TOTALLY DISTINCT FROM THE UN PKO OPERATION IN WHICH BELGIUM NOW PARTICIPATES.

-- THE GOB ALSO INFORMED THE SYG THAT IF AN EXPANDED UNAMIR MANDATE REQUIRED MORE UN PEACEKEEPING TROOPS, BELGIUM WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL MEN FOR AN EXPANDED UNAMIR. THE UN WOULD HAVE TO LOOK ELSEWHERE FOR ADDITIONAL TROOPS.

-- THE GOB INTENDS TO CONTINUE FULFILLING ITS OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS THE UN AND WILL NOT WITHDRAW ITS MEN FROM UNAMIR AFTER THE REINFORCED BATTALION COMPLETES THE EVACUATION OF EXPATRIATES.

-- DEHAENE TOLD BOUTROS-GHALI THE BELGIANS WANT TO USE THE AIRPORT TO EVACUATE EXPATRIATES.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

-- PM DEHAENE FORMALLY ASKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR HELP FROM THE UNITED STATES. HE ASKED THAT CONSULTATION WITH OUR MILITARY ON EVACUATION PROCEDURES BEGIN IMMEDIATELY (SEPTEL). DEHAENE ALSO ASKED FOR LOGISTICAL AND TRANSPORT HELP FROM THE U.S. FOR THE EVACUATION. US EMBASSY DAO AND ODC WILL WORK WITH THE BELGIAN MILITARY TO DEFINE EXACTLY WHAT SUPPORT THEY ARE REQUESTING. WE ASSUME THIS IS ALONG THE LINES OF THE REQUEST PROVIDED IN BRUSSELS 3967.

3. COMMENT. THE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN PM DEHAENE AND THE AMBASSADOR AND DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR STRUYE AND THE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 04005

PLEASE PASS NSC

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY

SUBJECT: WGRW01: BELGIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS:

DECIDES ON EVACUATION OF KIGALI FOR AIR;

ASKS FOR US SUPPORT

AMBASSADOR IMMEDIATELY PRECEDED A CALL FROM DAS BUSHNELL WHO INFORMED US SEC. CHRISTOPHER HAS GIVEN VERBAL APPROVAL TO COOPERATE ON CONTINGENCY PLANNING ONLY REPEAT ONLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF EVACUATING CIVILIANS FROM RWANDA. POST IMMEDIATELY CONTACTED THE PM'S OFFICE TO TRANSMIT THIS INFORMATION. THE PM'S OFFICE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE QUICK RESPONSE. END COMMENT.

4. OTHER INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE BELGIANS AND PASSED TO THE RWANDA WORKING GROUP AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BY PHONE EARLIER DURING THE DAY APRIL 8 INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

-- BELGIAN NATIONAL/NATIONAL TROOPS IN THE GISENYE DISTRICT OF NORTHWESTERN RWANDA, WHERE THE SITUATION HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN BAD, ESCORTED A GROUP OF SOME 100

EXPATRIATES TO THE RWANDAN BORDER WITH ZAIRE AT GOMA. THE GROUP WAS AT THE BORDER BY AFTERNOON APRIL 8 BUT HAD NOT BEEN ALLOWED BY RWANDAN AUTHORITIES TO CROSS INTO ZAIRE. THE BELGIANS DID NOT KNOW IF THERE WERE ANY AMERICANS IN THIS GROUP.

-- AT 6 P.M. BELGIAN TIME APRIL 8, A BELGIAN MFA OFFICIAL IN THE MINISTER'S CABINET TOLD POLCOUNS THAT BELGIAN MILITARY SOURCES STATED THE SITUATION IN RWANDA WAS WORSENING. IN KIGALI, THE SITUATION VARIED BY NEIGHBORHOOD, BUT RPF FIGHTERS HAD NOW LEFT THE CAMPS AND WERE FIGHTING WITH RWANDAN PRESIDENTIAL GUARD.

EXPATRIATES WERE NOT EXEMPT FROM THE VIOLENCE. THE MILITARY HAD CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT BELGIAN WOMEN HAD BEEN RAPED AND OTHER FOREIGNERS THREATENED IN ADDITION TO THE BELGIAN UNAMIR SOLDIERS KILLED APRIL 7. THE BELGIAN MILITARY HAD ADVISED THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS THAT IT WOULD BE DISASTROUS TO WAIT EVEN 24 HOURS FOR A GO-AHEAD TO START AN EVACUATION.

5. BUJUMBURA AND KIGALI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BLINKEN

BT

#4005

NNNN

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

SSN: 4005
<^SSN>4005

TOR: 940408160553 M0982814
<^TOR>940408160557 M0982815

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL RICE STEINBERG SUM
SUM2 VAX
[]

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHFRA9625 0981925-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 081924Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

OSRI: RUEHFR

DTG: 081924Z APR 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2958

INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI NIACT IMMEDIATE 5601

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA NIACT IMMEDIATE 0393

RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 7105

RUSNNOA/USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

RUEHKKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0922

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 2855

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 6449

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 1577

RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 6490

RUEHCO/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 7906

RUFHGI/AMEMBASSY BANGUI 0524

RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 4156

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/AF//

SUBJ: WGRW01: FRENCH AGREEMENT TO TAKE CONTROL OF
- KIGALI AIRPORT; APRIL 8, 2030 HRS LOCAL TIME

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PARIS 09625

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UN, FR, RW

SUBJECT: WGRW01: FRENCH AGREEMENT TO TAKE CONTROL OF
- KIGALI AIRPORT; APRIL 8, 2030 HRS LOCAL TIME

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE SPOKE WITH COL. MICHEL RIGOT, AFRICAN AFFAIRS
ADVISOR TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, AT 2030 HRS ON
APRIL 8 WHO CONFIRMED TO US THAT FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS
WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM IN BRUSSELS, THE GOF HAS
AGREED TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT IN KIGALI TO
PERMIT THE EVACUATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALS DUE TO THE
DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION. HE STATED THAT THE
OPERATION WOULD BE CONDUCTED IN FULL COORDINATION WITH
THE BELGIAN FORCES IN KIGALI.

3. THE FRENCH TROOPS WILL COME FROM GOF OPERATIONAL
TROOPS STATIONED IN THE C.A.R.; RIGOT EXPECTS THE FORCE
TO NUMBER BETWEEN 100-200. HE STATED THAT THE RWANDAN
MILITARY COMMAND HAS BEEN CONTACTED AND AGREED TO THE
FRENCH OPERATION. THE FRENCH HAVE GIVEN NO INDICATIONS
TO THE RWANDAN ARMY CONCERNING TIMING, METHODS OR SIZE
OF THE CONTINGENT. THE RPF HAS NOT/NOT BEEN NOTIFIED
NOR DO THE FRENCH INTEND TO DO SO UNTIL AFTER THE
AIRPORT HAS BEEN SEIZED.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

4. RIGOT WAS NOT ABLE TO PROVIDE ANY INFORMATION THE EXPECTED ARRIVAL TIME OF THE FRENCH FORCES IN KIGALI SINCE SOME DETAILS OF THE EXPEDITION ARE STILL BEING DEVELOPED. HE ADDED THAT THE SEIZURE WOULD TAKE PLACE "AS QUICKLY AS POSSPBLE."

5. RIGOT STATED THAT HE BELIEVES/BELIEVES THAT THE FRENCH JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, ADMIRAL LANXADE, HAS CONVEYED THIS INFORMATION TO HIS U.S. COUNTERPART. RIGOT ADDED THAT THE FRENCH DEFENSE ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON WILL BE INFORMED SHORTLY.

6. BUJUMBURA AND KIGALI MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

BT

#9625

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9625

TOR: 940408163205 M0982882

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
C

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA4013 0981937-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 081937Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 081937Z APR 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6386

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 PANIS IMMEDIATE 7278

RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 1580

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0070

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0918

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0410

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0033

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0432

SUBJ: WGRW01: BELGIAN MOD FORMALIZES REQUEST FOR U.S.
SUPPORT

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BRUSSELS 04013

PLEASE PASS NSC

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY

SUBJECT: WGRW01: BELGIAN MOD FORMALIZES REQUEST FOR U.S.

SUPPORT

REF: BRUSSELS 3967

1. ~~C~~ ENTIRE TEXT. ACTION REQUEST - PARA 3.

2. AT 2030 APRIL 8, BELGIAN CHIEF OF DEFENSE (CHOD) GEN.

CHARLIER TOLD AIR ATTACHE THAT THE GOB NOW FORMALLY

REQUESTS U.S. MILITARY SUPPORT FOR AN OPERATION TO

EVACUATE CIVILIANS FROM RWANDA. CHARLIER PASSED AN

INFORMAL REQUEST EARLIER IN THE DAY (SENT REFTEL). THE

FORMAL REQUEST RETAINS REFTEL REQUEST FOR "AIRLIFT SUPPORT

OF ONE PARA BN REINFORCED WITH TRACKED VEHICLES PLUS ONE

RECCE SQUADRON ON CVR-T FROM BELGIUM TO A STAGING AREA"

NOW DETERMINED TO BE THE AIRPORT IN KIGALI; "EVENTUAL

MEDICAL SUPPORT"; AND, AS YET UNSPECIFIED LOGISTICAL

SUPPORT TO BE DISCUSSED BY BELGIAN AND U.S. MILITARY

PLANNERS. (NOTE: THE EARLIER INFORMAL REQUEST FOR

HELICOPTER SUPPORT IS NO LONGER APPLICABLE BECAUSE THE

BELGIANS HAVE DECIDED TO ENTER KIGALI DIRECTLY.)

3. ACTION REQUEST: GEN CHARLIER ASKED US FOR THE

QUICKEST POSSIBLE ASSESSMENT OF WHAT U.S. SUPPORT MIGHT BE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

AVAILABLE WITHIN THE NEXT 12-24 HOURS (FROM 1830 ZULU
APRIL 8). PLEASE URGENTLY ADVISE ANSWER BOTH TO THIS
QUESTION AND REQUEST FOR SUPPORT.

BLINKEN

BT

#4013

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4013

TOR: 940408164408 M0982906

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA1460 0981952-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 081952Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 081952Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5561
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0334
INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0174
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0304
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0146
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1671
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0409
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1078
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0853
SUBJ: UN'S EVACUATION PLANS FOR, AND STATEMENT TO
SECURITY COUNCIL ON, RWANDA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 001460
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR SRICE, DMOZENA
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.0.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC, CG
SUBJECT: UN'S EVACUATION PLANS FOR, AND STATEMENT TO
SECURITY COUNCIL ON, RWANDA
REFTEL: STATE 92931

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL, USUN POLOFFS MET WITH UNPKO'S TITOV AND RIVERO TO DISCUSS UN'S EVACUATION PLANS. UN IS BEGINNING TO DEVISE EVACUATION PLANS FOR ALL DEPENDENTS, AND WILL HAVE ITS FIRST MEETING AMONG ALL UN AGENCIES IN NY THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 8. FOR THE TIME BEING, UN OFFICIALS IN RWANDA ARE BEING TOLD TO STAY PUT. UN HAS NOT CONSIDERED THE POSSIBILITY OF EVACUATING UNAMIR TROOPS (NOR HAS THE UN BEGUN TO DEVELOP CONTINGENCY PLANS IF SUCH AN EVACUATION BECOMES NECESSARY); UN OFFICIALS SAY THAT SUCH A REQUEST WOULD HAVE TO COME FROM FC DALLAIRE, WHO IS CONCENTRATING HIS EFFORTS ON NEGOTIATING A CEASE-FIRE AND RE-OPENING THE AIRPORT THROUGH DIPLOMATIC MEANS. USUN POLOFFS ENCOURAGED DPKO TO COORDINATE TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

POSSIBLE WITH THE FRENCH, BELGIAN, AND THE US ON EVACUATION PLANS.

3. UN OFFICIALS ARE QUITE HESITANT ABOUT EXPANDING UNAMIR'S MANDATE FROM A CHAPTER VI TO A CHAPTER VII, FEARING THAT SUCH A MOVE WOULD ONLY ESCALATE THE SITUATION AND THAT UNAMIR DOES NOT HAVE THE CAPABILITY ON THE GROUND TO TAKE AGGRESSIVE MEASURES. ALSO, BECAUSE OF UNAMIR'S LACK OF CAPACITY, IT DOES NOT HAVE THE ABILITY TO BREAK THROUGH THE ROADBLOCKS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE CITY TO REACH FOREIGN NATIONALS; THEREFORE, UNAMIR CAN ONLY PROTECT THEM IF THEY ARE ABLE TO REACH UNAMIR COMPOUNDS.

4. USUN POLOFFS ALSO OBTAINED AN ADVANCE COPY OF U/SYG GHERAKHAN'S STATEMENT ON RWANDA PLANNED FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL INFORMALS AT 3:30 ON APRIL B (PROTECT). THIS STATEMENT READS AS FOLLOWS:

-- THE SECURITY SITUATION IN KIGALI IS PRECARIOUS. A PRELIMINARY CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED BETWEEN A MILITARY COMMITTEE (ARMY AND GENDARMERIE) AND RPF TO TAKE EFFECT FROM 4:00 PM LOCAL TIME (10:00 AM NY TIME), BUT FIRING AND CLASHES STILL CONTINUE, ESPECIALLY BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL GUARD AND RPF, ALTHOUGH AT SOMEWHAT REDUCED LEVEL. THE FORCE COMMANDER IS TRYING TO PERSUADE THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD TO COMMIT ITSELF TO THE CEASE-FIRE.

-- THE RPF HAS TAKEN CONTROL OF THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD IN SOME AREAS, INCLUDING THE APPROACHES TO THE AIRPORT. RPF HAS NOTIFIED UNAMIR OF ITS INTENTION TO MOVE A BATTALION FROM THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE INTO KIGALI. UNAMIR IS DISSUADING THEM FROM THIS INTENTION AS IT WOULD COMPLICATE THE ATTEMPTS TO GET THE CEASE-FIRE TO TAKE HOLD.

-- NO MORE UNAMIR CASUALTIES HAVE BEEN REPORTED, BUT SOME PERSONNEL ARE STILL MISSING.

-- AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL, EFFORTS CONTINUE TO ESTABLISH A "COMMISSION DE CRISE" TO INCLUDE THE POLITICAL PARTIESD AND RPF ALONG WITH THE GENDARMERIE AND ARMY. GENERAL DALLAIRE IS CURRENTLY IN CONSULTATIONS WITH MILITARY AND OTHER AUTHORITIES ABOUT THIS. THESE EFFORTS ARE HINDERED BY THE INSECURE CONDITIONS IN THE STREETS, WHICH PREVENT MOVEMENTS, AS WELL AS THE ABSENCE OF ELECTRICITY WHICH IMPEDES TELEPHONE COMMUNICATIONS. UNAMIR IS TRYING TO BE IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY IN KIGALI.

-- FURTHER REPORTS ARE AWAITED FROM THE SRSG AND FC.

5. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1460

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1460

TOR: 940408165728 M0982934

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE MOZENA RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA1463 0982104-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 082104Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 082104Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5564
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0336
INFO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0175
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0305
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1672
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0854
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0410
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0147
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1079
SUBJ: SITREP ON RWANDA FROM UNAMIR HQ
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 001463
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR SRICE, DMOZENA
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC, CG
SUBJECT: SITREP ON RWANDA FROM UNAMIR HQ
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. USUN POLOFF RECEIVED A SITREP FROM UNAMIR HQ DATED
APRIL 8 AND SENT TO UNDPKO (PROTECT). WHAT FOLLOWS ARE
THE MAJOR POINTS RAISED BY SRSG BOOH-BOOH IN A LETTER TO
UNHQ:
-- A GROUP OF SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE RWANDSE ARMED
FORCES HAVE CONSTITUTED THEMSELVES AS A "CRISIS
COMMITTEE" IN AN ATTEMPT TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION.
THEY HAVE ASKED UNAMIR TO HELP ARRANGE A CEASE-FIRE
BETWEEN THEMSELVES, THE RPF, AND THE PRESIDENTIAL
GUARD. UNAMIR IS SUPPORTING THE CRISIS COMMITTEE'S
EFFORTS.
-- GENERAL KAGAME OF THE RPF HAS INFORMED UNAMIR THAT
HE: WILL ATTEND A MEETING TO FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS;
WILL MOBILIZE AND MOVE ON KIGALI TO PREVENT FURTHER
BLOODSHED; AND WILL PROHIBIT ANY LANDINGS AT THE
AIRPORT. UNAMIR RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT IT WOULD PASS
ON THE OFFER OF TALKS TO THE CRISIS COMMITTEE, BUT

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

ADVISED AGAINST INTRODUCING MORE FORCES INTO KIGALI.

-- IS "THE MANDATE OF UNAMIR STILL VALID?" WHILE THINGS REMAIN RELATIVELY CALM IN THE DMZ, UNAMIR IS GENERALLY INEFFECTIVE IN KIGALI. SPECIFICALLY, UNAMIR IS UNABLE TO PERFORM ITS MANDATE FUNCTIONS OF: SECURING THE WEAPONS OF THE PARTIES; SECURING KIGALI BECAUSE UNAMIR'S FORCES ARE PINNED DOWN AND UNABLE TO REACH EACH OTHER; SECURING THE RPF BEHIND THE AREA IN THE COMPOUND; SURVEILLANCE AND VERIFICATION IS DIFFICULT; INCREASING THE SECURITY OF INDIVIDUALS; SECURE THE AIRPORT; OR PROTECTING THE UN AND EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY. WITH REGARD TO THE FINAL ISSUE OF PROTECTING THE UN AND EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY, UNAMIR IS CONCERNED THAT WHILE AT PRESENT THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE RELATIVELY SAFE IN THEIR HOUSES, ONCE THEIR PROVISIONS RUN OUT UNAMIR WILL BE ASKED TO PERFORM THE DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TASK OF EVACUATING THEM. ANY EVACUATION ATTEMPT WILL BE DEPENDENT ON UNAMIR BEING GRANTED IMMUNITY FROM ATTACK.

-- UNAMIR DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT RESERVES IN WATER, RATIONS, FUEL, AMMUNITION, MEDICAL SUPPLIES, AND SO ON TO EXIST IN A PROLONGED CONFLICT SCENARIO; INDEED, SOME BASIC SUPPLIES MIGHT LAST FOR ONLY A FEW MORE DAYS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL FOR THOSE FORCES IN KIGALI (THOSE OUTSIDE KIGALI CAN MORE EASILY DEPEND ON THE LOCAL ECONOMY).

-- UNAMIR IS ATTEMPTING TO SECURE THE AMOHORO STADIUM AS THE CORE OF ITS OPERATIONS, BUT THUS FAR IT HAS BEEN PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BECAUSE OF BATTLES BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD IN THIS AREA.

-- "THE FC OF UNAMIR NEEDS TO KNOW WHAT THE MAJOR COUNTRIES ARE PLANNING TO DO IN THE AREA OF POSSIBLE EVACUATION, ESPECIALLY OF THE EXPATRIATES AND UN OR UNAMIR. WE HAVE A LIGHT COMPANY (-) AT THE AIRPORT BUT WE DO NOT CONTROL OR HAVE SECURED THE OUTS TO THE AIRPORT. NEITHER IS THE AIRPORT SECURE FOR LANDING."

-- "UNAMIR REMAINS COMMITTED TO ITS MANDATE EVEN THOUGH THE PRESENT SITUATION IS NOT ENABLING THIS MISSION TO FULFILL OUR ASSIGNED...TASKS. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT KIGALI WOULD HAVE BEEN IN A WORSE SITUATION WITHOUT UNAMIR."

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1463

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1463

TOR: 940408181040 M0983108

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT(C2) SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL MOZENA RICE STEINBERG
SUM SUM2 VAX

□

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

08-Apr-1994 10:24 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Eric P. Schwartz
(SCHWARTZ)

SUBJECT: MONIQUE MUJAWAMARIYA OF RWANDA

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS OR
DISCUSSED PUBLICLY AT THIS POINT.

I reported to you yesterday that Monique Mujawamariya, the Rwandan human rights activist who met the President, appeared to have been killed. I characterized the report as unconfirmed.

(The report was based on the fact that Monique had been talking by phone with a friend in the U.S. when soldiers who were killing her neighbors approached her home. The phone went dead and further attempts to reach Monique were unsuccessful, with men answering the phone and hanging up. [There is a Washington Post account of these events on today's Op Ed page.])

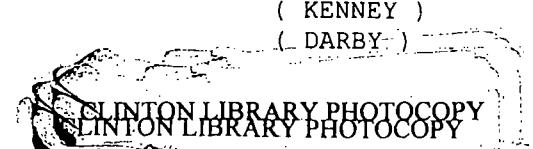
Thankfully, Monique appears not to have been killed. She apparently fled her home and hid in the bush. She is now back at her home and our Embassy if trying to figure out how we might help in getting her to a safe place.

THIS NEW INFORMATION IS NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS OR
DISCUSSED PUBLICLY AT THIS POINT.

Our Embassy's Task Force in Kigali believes strongly that Monique's chances of survival will be increased if she is believed to be dead, as Rwandan soldiers continue to look for her.

Distribution:

FOR: W. Anthony K. Lake	(LAKE)
FOR: Samuel R. Berger	(BERGER)
CC: Records	(RECORDS)
CC: Donald K. Steinberg	(STEINBERG)
CC: MacArthur DeShazer	(DESHAZER)
CC: Nancy Soderberg	(SODERBERG)
CC: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
CC: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
CC: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
CC: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
CC: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
CC: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
CC: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CC: Cathy Millison (MILLISON)
CC: James W. Reed (REED)
CC: Neal S. Wolin (WOLIN)
CC: Richard A. Clarke (CLARKER)
CC: Richard L. Canas (CANAS)
CC: Wanda D. Lindsey (LINDSEY)
CC: Rand R. Beers (BEERS)
CC: Eric P. Schwartz (SCHWARTZ)
CC: Ernest J. Wilson III (WILSON)
CC: Susan E. Rice (RICE)
CC: Marcia G. Norman (NORMAN)
CC: O. Ruth Stalcup (STALCUP)
CC: Sean J. Darragh (DARRAGH)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 08-Apr-1994 10:21
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 035415
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE42:ZVDZEV30F.WPL
A1 Folder: APR94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 08-Apr-1994 10:21
Forward Flag: YES

Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

08-Apr-1994 15:16 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Donald K. Steinberg
(STEINBERG)

SUBJECT: Rwanda Update (3 p.m.)

Things have calmed somewhat in Rwanda as night has fallen. The Ambassador's residence is secure, although the 200 Rwandans remain in the garage/parking area (apparently inside the wall). Unfortunately, it appears that the five UNAMIR soldiers have left. UNAMIR reports that they are having some problems with their own security. At the mission school in Mudendi, things have also calmed somewhat. Still no injuries to Americans.

On the positive side, the Embassy reports that the a General Ndlianya has assumed control of the military and is negotiating with the UNAMIR commander and the RPF at an undisclosed site. The Embassy knows Ndlianya and believes him to be serious and professional, but acknowledges that it is hard to say how seriously we should take this information, given the chaos that continues to reign. Also, there are rumors that a new head of government is about to be announced and that the remining Ministers have met.

There is a report that the Belgians and French views are gelling around having the French troops out of Bangui go in to secure the airport and the Belgians troops arrange the evacuation of the expatriate community. The Belgian Prime Minister has apparently called for a "qualitative improvement" in the equipment of his nation's peacekeepers -- the thought is that if a convoy goes in overland from Burundi to evacuate the expatriates, it should also take in additional arms for the peacekeepers. The Belgians are also apparently pushing strongly for the nationalization of the UNAMIR troops.

Distribution:

FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
FOR: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
FOR: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
FOR: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
FOR: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
FOR: James W. Reed	(REED)
FOR: Neal S. Wolin	(WOLIN)
FOR: Natalie S. Wozniak	(WOZNIAK)
FOR: Calvin A. Mitchell	(MITCHELL)
FOR: Tara D. Sonenshine	(SONENSHINE)
FOR: Thomas B. Ross	(ROSS)

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOR: Pat A. Battenfield	(BATTENFIELD)
FOR: Jennifer C. Ward	(WARD)
FOR: MacArthur DeShazer	(DESHAZER)
FOR: Dan W. Mozena	(MOZENA)
FOR: Donald K. Steinberg	(STEINBERG)
FOR: Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)
FOR: Richard L. Canas	(CANAS)
FOR: Wanda D. Lindsey	(LINDSEY)
FOR: Rand R. Beers	(BEERS)
FOR: Eric P. Schwartz	(SCHWARTZ)
FOR: Ernest J. Wilson III	(WILSON)
FOR: Susan E. Rice	(RICE)
FOR: Marcia G. Norman	(NORMAN)
FOR: O. Ruth Stalcup	(STALCUP)
FOR: Sean J. Darragh	(DARRAGH)
CC: Non Records	(NONRECORD)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 08-Apr-1994 14:58
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 002353
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE53:ZVDZLTH16.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:

Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 08-Apr-1994 14:58
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST CLASS



9408141

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 8, 1994

~~CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS~~

DECL: OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Response to Belgian Request

Secretary of State Christopher and Deputy Secretary of Defense Deutsch have agreed to respond positively to the Belgian Prime Minister's request that the U.S. authorize cooperative emergency planning for the evacuation of American citizens and expatriates from Rwanda providing that the military action pertains to evacuation only.

Marc Grossman
Executive SecretaryDECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526~~CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS~~

Drafted:AF/C:ARender
4/8/94, 7-6614
W-SECA 3512

Clearances:AF:PBushnell
S/S:TFilipek

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA3758 0990117-CCCC--RHEHNSC.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 090115Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC

OSRI: RUEHC

DTG: 090115Z APR 94

ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD NIACI IMMEDIATE 8665

ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS IMMEDIATE

SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM IMMEDIATE

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 2921

RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2673

RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6994

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8745

RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA IMMEDIATE 6997

RUDKHD/AMEMBASSY DUSHANBE IMMEDIATE 6747

RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA IMMEDIATE 4287

RUEHSL/AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA IMMEDIATE 0425

RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 6525

INFO: ****

SUBJ: SITUATION REPORT NO. 7 AS OF 1700 EDT, 04/08/94
ISLAMABAD PLEASE PASS TO DEPSEC TALBOTT

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 093758

EMBASSIES PLEASE PASS CONSULS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL

SUBJECT: SITUATION REPORT NO. 7 AS OF 1700 EDT, 04/08/94
ISLAMABAD PLEASE PASS TO DEPSEC TALBOTT

1. (U) THE SITUATION HAS BEEN RELATIVELY CALM SINCE
2000 PM KIGALI TIME. A CEASEFIRE ARRANGED BY UNAMIR
COMMANDER DALLAIRE IS APPARENTLY IN EFFECT UNTIL 0700
TOMORROW. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE RPF HAS
AGREED TO THE TERMS. NEGOTIATIONS ARE ONGOING. (EMBASSY
TELCON)

2. (U) THE RADIO ANNOUNCED THAT RWANDA'S NEW PRESIDENT
IS 71 YEAR-OLD THEODORE SINDIKUBWABO, SPEAKER OF THE
LAST ASSEMBLY. HE IS A MEMBER OF THE LATE PRESIDENT
HABYARIMANA'S PARTY. THE PRIME MINISTER IS JEAN
KAMBANDA FROM THE MORE HARDLINE (DISMAS) WING OF THE
OPPOSITION MDR PARTY. (EMBASSY TELCON)

3. (U) THE RWANDAN MILITARY KILLED 3 BELGIAN CIVILIANS
MARRIED TO RWANDANS. THERE ARE NEW REPORTS THAT TWO
FRENCH "COOPERANTS" WERE KILLED BY THE RWANDAN
MILITARY. (EMBASSY TELCON)

4. (LOU) THE 200 OR SO RWANDAN CIVILIANS ARE STILL IN
THE AMBASSADOR'S COMPOUND. (EMBASSY TELCON)

5. (LOU) THE UN IS TRYING TO ARRANGE AN EVACUATION

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

SATURDAY MORNING FOR ALL EXPATRIATES WHO ARE ABLE TO GET TO THE MERIDIAN HOTEL IN GISENYI (IN THE NORTH WEST). THE EVACUEES WOULD CROSS THE BORDER TO GOMA, ZAIRE. THE EMBASSY IS NOTIFYING AMERICANS IN THE AREA OF THIS POSSIBLE EVACUATION ROUTE. (EMBASSY TELCON)

6. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

CHRISTOPHER

BT

#3758

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3758

TOR: 94040822225 M0983608

DIST:

PRT: SIT{C2}

SIT: BEERS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER MITCHELL RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
<^DIST>

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER FILE MITCHELL SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA3773 0990142-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O P 090131Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 090131Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 8198
INFO: RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 8274
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 4357
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1225
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 2923
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1069
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 7045
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3162
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 9142
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2032
SUBJ: TANZANIAN REQUEST TO EVACUATE ITS CITIZENS FROM RWANDA AND BURUNDI

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 093773
ROME FOR FODAG, GENEVA FOR RMA, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PINS, AMGT, AEMR, OAU, TZ, RW, BY

SUBJECT: TANZANIAN REQUEST TO EVACUATE ITS CITIZENS FROM RWANDA AND BURUNDI

REF: A) DAR ES SALAAM 2147, B) DAR ES SALAAM 2166

1. POST IS CORRECT IN TELLING GOT OFFICIALS THAT THEY SHOULD CONTACT THE UN AND BELGIAN AUTHORITIES (REF B) TO REQUEST EVACUATION OF TANZANIAN CITIZENS IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI. POST IS ALSO CORRECT IN POINTING OUT THE LOGISTICAL LIMITATIONS OF OUR EMBASSY IN KIGALI (REF A, PARA 4).

2. YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE TO THE GOT THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE USG WILL BE TAKING THE LEAD IN ANY POSSIBLE EVACUATION OF NON-U.S. CITIZENS. FURTHERMORE. THE EMBASSY IN KIGALI WILL PROBABLY NOT BE IN A POSITION TO ASSIST FOREIGN NATIONALS, SINCE IT WILL ONLY HAVE ENOUGH ROOM IN ITS VEHICLES FOR US CITIZENS.

3. FOR YOUR INFORMATION--WHEN AND IF THE U.S. CAN PROVIDE EVACUATION ASSISTANCE TO NATIONALS OF OTHER COUNTRIES A

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

"TRIAGE" PROCESS IS USED. AFTER ALL AMERICANS ARE EVACUATED, OTHERS MAY BE EVACUATED IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER (IF THERE IS ROOM ON THE PLANES OR VEHICLES): CANADIANS, OTHER CITIZENS OF NATO COUNTRIES, CITIZENS OF NON-NATO COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES, ALL OTHERS. TANZANIA WOULD QUALIFY AS A COMMONWEALTH COUNTRY.

4. KIGALI, BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#3773
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3773

TOR: 940408224731 M0983629

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL RICE SCHWARTZ
STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA1476 0990146-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 090146Z APR 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 090146Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI NIACT IMMEDIATE 0180
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5579
INFO: RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0152
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 1084
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0859
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0341
RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1677
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0415
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0310
SUBJ: WGRWOL: UN SYG LETTER TO SC; RPF THREATS;
-- SC INFORMALS; PROVISIONAL GOVT FORMED

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001476
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AND AF/C;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND MOZENA;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PINS, PREL, MOPS, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC
SUBJECT: WGRWOL: UN SYG LETTER TO SC; RPF THREATS;
-- SC INFORMALS; PROVISIONAL GOVT FORMED

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SYG LETTER

2. THE SYG WROTE TO THE SC PRESIDENT TO ADVISE THAT
EVACUATION OF UN CIVILIAN STAFF AND FOREIGN NATIONALS
FROM RWANDA MIGHT BE NECESSARY, IN WHICH CASE UNAMIR
WOULD BE HINDERED UNDER ITS PRESENT MANDATE AND RULES OF
ENGAGEMENT. SHOULD UNAMIR BE REQUIRED TO EFFECT SUCH
EVACUATION, THE FORCE COMMANDER WOULD NEED 2 TO 3
ADDITIONAL BATTALIONS FOR THAT PURPOSE. COMPLETE TEXT
OF SYG'S LETTER BELOW AT PARA 13. THE SYG'S LETTER WAS
NOT MADE AVAILABLE UNTIL HALFWAY THROUGH THE COUNCIL'S
INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS. THE SECRETARIAT INDICATED THAT
THE SYG DID NOT/NOT WANT COUNCIL TO TAKE ACTION NOW, BUT
MERELY BE INFORMED OF THE POSSIBILITY.

SECRETARIAT BRIEFING TO SC

3. THE SECRETARIAT BRIEFED THE COUNCIL APRIL 8 ON THE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SITUATION IN RWANDA. MANY RWANDANS HAVE BEEN KILLED AND THE SITUATION IS PRECARIOUS. FOUR UNAMIR PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN WOUNDED, TWO SERIOUSLY. ONE OF THE SERIOUSLY WOUNDED IS URUGUAYAN. OF THE TWO CAPTURED GHANAIANS, ONE HAS RETURNED SAFELY TO UNAMIR AND THE OTHER WAS STILL IN CUSTODY, BUT UNHARMED. TWO BELGIAN CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN KILLED. THE RPF IS OUT OF THEIR CORDONED AREA, AND NOW CONTROL THE APPROACHES TO THE AIRPORT. THE SRSG IS WORKING TO SECURE AN EFFECTIVE CEASE-FIRE. THE GENDARMERIE ARE THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE, THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARDS THE LEAST. A CEASE-FIRE WAS SUPPOSED TO GO INTO EFFECT AT 2 PM, BUT WAS POSTPONED TO 4 PM (LOCAL KIGALI TIME). (COMMENT: THE UN SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD USUN THAT THE CEASE-FIRE WAS POSTPONED UNTIL 6:30 PM 4/9 AT WHICH TIME ALL TROOPS WOULD RETURN TO THEIR BARRACKS WITH THEIR WEAPONS. END COMMENT.) THE FORCE COMMANDER HAD CONVINCED THE RPF NOT TO MOVE OUT OF THE DMZ. THE REST OF RWANDA, OUTSIDE KIGALI, WAS CALM EXCEPT FOR SOME TENSION AROUND THE DMZ.

4. THE SECRETARIAT CONTINUED THAT SRSG BOOH-BOOH IS TRYING TO CONSTITUTE AN INTERIM POLITICAL AUTHORITY. HOWEVER, COMMUNICATION IS DIFFICULT WITHIN KIGALI; PHONES ARE DOWN AND TRAVEL ALONG THE STREETS IS DANGEROUS. THE RPF WOULD JOIN AN INTERIM AUTHORITY, PROVIDED THE ARMY AND GENDARMERIE PROMISE TO PUNISH WHOMEVER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS. THE GENDARMERIE AND ARMY APPEAR TO BE NOT OPPOSED TO JOINING AN INTERIM AUTHORITY. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE IS SAFE IN UNAMIR HEADQUARTERS.

5. COMMENT: THE UN INFORMED USUN LATER THAT A PROVISIONAL POLITICAL AUTHORITY HAD BEEN FORMED, WITH PRESIDENT THEODORE SINDIKUBWABO OF THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL AND PRIME MINISTER JEAN KAMBANDA OF THE RWANDA DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT PLUS FIVE MINISTERS. THIS WAS NEGOTIATED WITH THE POLITICIANS AND THE ARMY; THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD CONCURRED. END COMMENT.

6. THE SECRETARIAT REVEALED THAT FORCE COMMANDER (FC) GEN. DALLAIRE DURING THE NIGHT OF 4/7-8 HAD SPECIFICALLY ASKED UNHQ WHETHER UNAMIR COULD HELP IN ANY EVENTUAL EVACUATION OF FOREIGN NATIONS. UNHQ TOLD HIM IT WOULD BE OUTSIDE UNAMIR'S PRESENT MANDATE TO ASSIST AN EVACUATION, AND UNAMIR DID NOT HAVE THE REQUIRED ASSETS. EXISTING RULES OF ENGAGEMENT ARE THAT FORCE CAN BE USED ONLY IN SELF-DEFENSE OR IF UNAMIR IS FORCED TO DEFEND MEMBERS OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE SECRETARIAT INDICATED THAT GEN. DALLAIRE HAD GONE A BIT BEYOND THAT AND HAD HIS MEN FIRE INTO THE AIR AS A DETERRENT. DALLAIRE FELT HE DID NOT/NOT NEED REINFORCEMENTS WITH THE PRESENT MANDATE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. IF A CEASE-FIRE HOLDS, IT WOULD BE A PRIORITY OF THE SRSG AND FC TO GET AGREEMENT FROM ALL PARTIES ON THE EVACUATION OF UN CIVILIAN STAFF AND FOREIGN NATIONALS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001476
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AND AF/C;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND MOZENA;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

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

SUBJECT: WGRWOL: UN SYG LETTER TO SC; RPF THREATS;

-- SC INFORMALS; PROVISIONAL GOVT FORMED

FRENCH VIEWS

7. FRENCH AMBASSADOR MERIMEE EMPHASIZED THAT THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF UNAMIR SHOULD BE TO REESTABLISH SOME SORT OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY. TWO FRENCH CIVILIANS HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED, IN ADDITION TO THE TWO BELGIANS MENTIONED BY THE SECRETARIAT. IF THE SITUATION WORSENERED AND EVACUATION WERE NEEDED, THE COUNCIL COULD CONSIDER GIVING UNAMIR A NEW MANDATE TO ALLOW IT TO ASSIST THE EVACUATION AND EVACUATE ITSELF. IF THERE WERE NO DETERIORATION AND A POLITICAL AUTHORITY WAS ESTABLISHED, UNAMIR'S CURRENT MANDATE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. MERIMEE UNDERLINED THAT THE FIRST RESPONSIBILITY OF A GOVERNMENT WAS TO PROTECT ITS NATIONALS. IF FRANCE WERE OBLIGED TO SEND IN A BATTALION, IT WOULD BE EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE PURPOSES OF EVACUATING THEIR NATIONALS, AND WOULD WORK IN COOPERATION WITH UNAMIR.

US REMARKS

8. U.S. DEPUTY PERMREP WALKER CAUTIONED THAT MORE INFORMATION WAS NEEDED BEFORE THE COUNCIL COULD MAKE AN INFORMED DECISION. TAKING A HOSTILE AIRPORT, SECURING ITS PERIMETER, ETC. WOULD BE COMPLICATED. IF THE EVACUATION WERE DONE BY THE UN, INSTEAD OF BY NATIONAL FORCES, A GREAT DEAL OF PLANNING WOULD BE REQUIRED. WALKER ALSO POINTED OUT THAT RESOLUTION 872, OF OCTOBER 5, 1992, GAVE UNAMIR A MANDATE TO "CONTRIBUTE TO THE SECURITY OF THE CITY OF KIGALI INTER ALIA WITHIN A WEAPONS-SECURE AREA ESTABLISHED BY THE PARTIES IN AND AROUND THE CITY" AND TO "ASSIST IN THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES IN CONJUNCTION WITH RELIEF OPERATIONS". DEPENDING ON INTERPRETATION, THIS MANDATE COULD GIVE THE FC A GOOD DEAL OF LATITUDE.

OTHER REMARKS IN SC

9. RUSSIA AND SPAIN SUGGESTED THAT THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT SPEAK TO THE PRESS. IT WAS AGREED SC PRESIDENT KEATING (NEW ZEALAND) WOULD TELL THE PRESS THE COUNCIL HAD RECEIVED A LETTER FROM THE SYG, AND WAS CONTINUING TO CONSIDER NEXT STEPS. ALSO THAT THE COUNCIL SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF THE SRSG AND FC TO ESTABLISH A CEASEFIRE AND A PROVISIONAL POLITICAL AUTHORITY. KEATING WOULD NOT GET INTO DETAILS ON MODALITIES, SUCH AS CHANGING MANDATE, EXPANDING FORCE, ETC.

10. ARGENTINA SUGGESTED THAT THE SYG SHOULD CONTACT THOSE COUNTRIES WITH NATIONALS IN RWANDA WHICH WERE CAPABLE OF UNDERTAKING AN EVACUATION IN ORDER TO COORDINATE. EVACUATION SHOULD NOT BE SELECTIVE. THE CZECH AMBASSADOR ASKED IF TROOP CONTRIBUTORS WERE BEING KEPT INFORMED. SECRETARIAT REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY AND SAID A TROOP CONTRIBUTORS MEETING WOULD BE HELD NEXT WEEK. SPAIN HOPED THE SECRETARIAT WAS DOING CONTINGENCY PLANNING.

11. AMB. KEATING INFORMED THAT COUNCIL THAT RPF REPRESENTATIVE CLAUDE DUSAIDI HAD MET WITH HIM APRIL 8. HE REPORTED THAT DUSAIDI SAID THE RPF HAD SHOWN

RESTRAINT AND MAINTAINED THEIR POSITIONS. THE RPF WOULD PREFER ANY EVACUATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALS TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY UNAMIR. DUSAIDI WAS INSTRUCTED TO REQUEST THAT ALL EVACUATION MOVEMENTS BE FULLY DISCUSSED WITH RPF THROUGH UNAMIR IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY HOSTILE ACTION INADVERTANTLY TAKING PLACE FROM RPF.S SIDE- ANY EVACUATION FORCE REMAINING IN RWANDA LONGER THAN ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR EVACUATION WOULD BE CONSIDERED HOSTILE FORCES. RPF WAS TOTALLY OPPOSED TO ANY CHANGE IN THE UNAMIR MANDATE WHICH WOULD INVOLVE IT IN A COMBAT ROLE. ANY INTERVENTION BY UNAMIR (OR OTHERWISE) IN RPF MOVEMENTS WOULD RESULT IN THE FORCES BEING CONSIDERED AS HOSTILE. THEY RENOUNCED AGAIN RPF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SHOOTING DOWN OF THE PRESIDENT.S PLANE. THE ENTIRE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001476

DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AND AF/C;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND MOZENA;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.0.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PINS, PREL, MOPS, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC
SUBJECT: WGRWOL: UN SYG LETTER TO SC; RPF THREATS;
-- SC INFORMALS; PROVISIONAL GOVT FORMED
POLITICAL CADRE (10-20 LEADING POLITICAL FIGURES) HAD
NOW BEEN ASSASSINATED AND FORMING AN INTERIM
ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE DIFFICULT. HO
WEVER THE RPF
WOULD COOPERATE.

SC NEXT MEETING

12. THE SECRETARIAT WILL GIVE THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT AN UPDATE ON SATURDAY, APRIL 9. THE PRESIDENT WILL PASS THE INFORMATION ON TO ALL COUNCIL MEMBERS. IF NECESSARY, THE COUNCIL WILL MEET IN EMERGENCY SESSION APRIL 9.

13. BEGIN TEXT OF SYG LETTER TO SC PRESIDENT:

8 APRIL 1994

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE AWARE OF THE TRAGIC SITUATION IN RWANDA, AND HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED OF THE REPORTS BEING RECEIVED FROM MY SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND THE FORCE COMMANDER OF UNAMIR. UNAMIR IS ENGAGED IN INTENSIVE EFFORTS TO SECURE AGREEMENT ON A CEASE-FIRE IN KIGALI, AND TO PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM POLITICAL AUTHORITY TO FILL THE PRESENT VACUUM UNTIL SOME NORMALITY CAN BE RESTORED. UNFORTUNATELY, SO FAR THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL, BUT ARE CONTINUING.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN THE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT OF 7 APRIL 1994, HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND OF THE FOREIGN COMMUNITIES LIVING IN RWANDA AS WELL AS OF UNAMIR AND OTHER UNITED NATIONS PERSONNEL,. I FULLY SHARE THIS CONCERN AND HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE FORCE COMMANDER OF UNAMIR IN THIS REGARD.

IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE EVACUATION OF CIVILIAN STAFF FROM THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM, AS WELL AS OTHER FOREIGN NATIONALS, MIGHT BECOME UNAVOIDABLE, IN WHICH EVENT UNAMIR WOULD BE HINDERED IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE

UNDER ITS PRESENT MANDATE AND RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT WISH TO GIVE THIS MATTER THEIR URGENT ATTENTION.

SHOULD UNAMIR BE REQUIRED TO EFFECT SUCH AN EVACUATION, THE FORCE COMMANDER ESTIMATES THAT HE WOULD REQUIRE TWO OR THREE ADDITIONAL BATTALIONS FOR THAT PURPOSE.

PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

(SIGNATURE) BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

END TEXT.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1476

NNNN

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

SSN: 1476
<^SSN>1476
<^SSN>1476

TOR: 940408225301 M0983638
<^TOR>940408225504 M0983641
<^TOR>940408225508 M0983643

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL RICE SCHWARTZ
STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA4015 0991205-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 091204Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 091204Z APR 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6387

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 7279

RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 1581

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0071

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0919

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0411

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0034

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0433

SUBJ: TFRW01: BELGIAN GOVERNMENT REQUEST FOR U.S.

MILITARY SUPPORT FOR EVACUATION OPERATIONS FROM
RWANDA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BRUSSELS 04015

PLEASE PASS NSC

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, BE, RW, BE, FR, BY

SUBJECT: TFRW01: BELGIAN GOVERNMENT REQUEST FOR U.S.

MILITARY SUPPORT FOR EVACUATION OPERATIONS FROM
RWANDA

REF: BRUSSELS 3967 AND PREVIOUS

1. ~~C~~ ENTIRE TEXT. ACTION REQUEST - PARA 3.
2. AT 1330 LOCAL TIME APRIL 9, DOMINIQUE STRUYE OF BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE FORMALLY CONFIRMED TO THE AMBASSADOR THE GOB'S AGREEMENT WITH BELGIAN MILITARY REQUESTS FOR U.S. MILITARY SUPPORT FOR AN OPERATION TO EVACUATE CIVILIANS FROM RWANDA. IN RESPONSE TO EMBASSY'S REQUEST TO DBFINE AGAIN AS OF MIDDAY APRIL 9 WHAT THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT WAS REQUESTING, STRUYE SAID THE REQUEST WAS FOR AIRLIFT SUPPORT OF ONE PARA BN REINFORCED WITH TRACKED VEHICLES PLUS ONE RECCE SQUADRON ON CVR-T FROM BELGIUM TO KIGALI (OR TO A STAGING AREA AS NECESSARY) AND USE OF THESE AIRCRAFT TO BACKLIFT EXPATRIATES BEING EVACUATED FROM RWANDA AS NECESSARY. THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT ASKS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PROVIDE HELICOPTER SUPPORT FOR THE EVACUATION OF CIVILIAN

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

EXPATRIATES AS NECESSARY. THE MEDICAL SUPPORT THE GOB CURRENTLY REQUESTS IS THAT THE U.S. BE PREPARED TO PROVIDE A MASH HOSPITAL UNIT FOR KIGALI TO SUPPORT THE EVACUATION EFFORT. SPECIFIC BELGIAN REQUESTS ARE, UNDERSTANDABLY, SUBJECT TO SOME MODIFICATION AS A RESULT OF THE RAPIDLY EVOLVING SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA AND NEWLY AUTHORISED BELGIAN-U.S. MILITARY PLANNING.

3. ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE CLARIFY FOR US WHAT SUPPORT WASHINGTON IS ABLE AND WILLING TO PROVIDE.

BLINKEN

BT

#4015

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4015

TOR: 940409090757 M0984235

DIST:

PRT: BERGER CLARKER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER FILE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX WALKER

□

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

09-Apr-1994 16:00 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Donald K. Steinberg
(STEINBERG)

SUBJECT: Reporting on Rwanda

Jill Daugherty tells me that CNN from Nairobi is reporting that:

A first convoy of Americans and other Westerners has made it out of Rwanda and to the hotel in Bujumbura. They are scheduled to be taken to Nairobi in C-130 aircraft. Two other convoys are still on the Rwandan side of the border. They will come out tomorrow. All of these convoys include Americans and other Westerners. There is a "fourth" convoy of Embassy officials (sic), but CNN is not informed as to their whereabouts. There are no U.S. troops in Rwanda escorting the convoys.

I told her that I couldn't comment on any of this, but warned her off the fourth convoy story. I also pointed out the danger in CNN trying to provide too many details on what's going on in this sensitive situation.

Don

Distribution:

FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
FOR: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
FOR: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
FOR: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
FOR: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
FOR: James W. Reed	(REED)
FOR: Neal S. Wolin	(WOLIN)
FOR: Natalie S. Wozniak	(WOZNIAK)
FOR: Calvin A. Mitchell	(MITCHELL)
FOR: Tara D. Sonenshine	(SONENSHINE)
FOR: Thomas B. Ross	(ROSS)
FOR: Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)
FOR: Richard L. Canas	(CANAS)
FOR: Wanda D. Lindsey	(LINDSEY)
FOR: Rand R. Beers	(BEERS)
FOR: Eric P. Schwartz	(SCHWARTZ)
FOR: Ernest J. Wilson III	(WILSON)
FOR: Susan E. Rice	(RICE)
FOR: Marcia G. Norman	(NORMAN)
FOR: O. Ruth Stalcup	(STALCUP)
FOR: Sean J. Darragh	(DARRAGH)
CC: Non Records	(NONRECORD)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 09-Apr-1994 15:48
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 002440
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE19:ZVEAMVAKS.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 09-Apr-1994 16:00
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO

Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

A horizontal row of 20 empty square boxes for writing responses.

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA4509 1001000-CCCC--RHEHNSC.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 101000Z APR 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 101000Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS IMMEDIATE
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 2944
SPECIAL EMBASSY PROGRAM IMMEDIATE
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA IMMEDIATE 4320
RUEHSL/AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA IMMEDIATE 0447
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2706
RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7038
RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 6540
INFO: ****
SUBJ: TFRWOL: SITUATION REPORT NO. 19 AS OF 0500
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 094509
EMBASSIES PLEASE PASS CONSULS
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PINS, AEMR, CASC, PREL
SUBJECT: TFRWOL: SITUATION REPORT NO. 19 AS OF 0500
EDT. 04/10/94
1. (LOU) ONE OR TWO CONVOYS CARRYING A TOTAL OF 25
AMERICANS IS SCHEDULED TO DEPART KIGALI THIS MORNING,
PICKING UP AMERICANS IN BUTARE ON ITS TRIP SOUTH. FIFTY
CANADIANS EXPECT TO JOIN THE GROUP, AS WELL AS MANY
GERMANS. UNAMIR EXPECTS TO PROVIDE ESCORT FROM KIGALI
TO THE BORDER, AND HAS A REITERATED PROMISE OF SAFE
CONDUCT FROM THE RPF; EMBASSY KIGALI CONFIRMED THE
RWANDAN ARMY'S PROMISE NOT TO DISTURB THE CONVOY. (TASK
FORCE/EMBASSY KIGALI AND UNAMIR TELCONS)
2. (LOU) ONE AMERICAN ASSOCIATED WITH THE ADVENTIST
UNIVERSITY DECIDED TO REMAIN IN RWANDA. SIX AMERICAN
EMPLOYEES OF UN AGENCIES WILL REMAIN. SEVERAL AMERICAN
FAMILIES (22 PEOPLE) HAVE ELECTED TO DEPART WITH LATER
BELGIAN EVACUATIONS. ONE AMERICAN FAMILY (FOUR PEOPLE)
IS UNACCOUNTED FOR, BUT ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE WITH
BELGIAN UN FORCES TO ACCOMMODATE THIS GROUP IF
POSSIBLE. THE EMBASSY COULD NOT CONTACT 13 AMERICAN
CITIZEN CHILDREN OF RWANDAN PARENTS, WHO REMAIN
UNACCOUNTED FOR. (TASK FORCE/UNAMIR KIGALI AND EMBASSY
KIGALI TELCONS)
3. (LOU) A TOTAL OF 107 AMERICANS WILL HAVE DEPART
RWANDA WITH THE FIVE EMBASSY-ARRANGED CONVOYS.
APPROXIMATELY 75-100 AMERICANS LEFT RWANDA ON THEIR OWN
POWER; EXACT NUMBERS ARE UNCERTAIN BECAUSE SOME OF THESE

**DECLASSIFIED
PER F.O. 13526**

HAD NEVER REGISTERED WITH THE EMBASSY'S CONSULAR SECTION. (TASK FORCE/EMBASSY KIGALI AND EMBASSY BUJUMBURA TELCONS, BUJUMBURA 1209)

4. (U) THE RPF SAYS IT CONTINUES TO MOVE TOWARD KIGALI, WHERE IT WILL "RESTORE ORDER." RPF RADIO ADDED THE SITUATION MAKES IT "IMPOSSIBLE" TO PURSUE APPLICATION OF THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT. RPF FORCES WILL ATTACK ANY FOREIGN TROOPS WHO STAY BEHIND AFTER EVACUATING THEIR NATIONALS FROM RWANDA, ACCORDING TO RPF REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK CLAUDE DUSAIDI. DUSAIDI ADDED EVACUATION SHOULD NOT TAKE LONGER THAN 12 HOURS.

(FBIS/PARIS AFP)

5. (U) NEW RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER JEAN KAMBANDA CALLED APRIL 10 FOR TALKS WITH THE RPF, STATING THERE IS NO OTHER PATH TO PEACE. HE ADDED IN HIS FIRST ADDRESS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD TRY TO SET UP TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS ENVISAGED BY THE ARUSHA AGREEMENTS WITHIN SIX WEEKS' TIME. (FBIS/PARIS AFP)

CHRISTOPHER

BT

#4509

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4509

TOR: 940410070349 M0984657

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

11-Apr-1994 11:12 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Donald K. Steinberg
(STEINBERG)

SUBJECT: Rwanda - Update (11:00 a.m.)

OUR ACTIONS ON RWANDA:

We are planning to ask the Burundian government to allow our Marines in Bujumbura to stay until tomorrow, so that they can fly during daylight hours. Some of the troops will be returning to Kenya, while we are asking the Ugandan government's permission to station others at Entebbe for 3 days in possible support for evacuation operations in Rwanda.

We have been asked by the Germans for helicopter assistance in getting about a dozen of their citizens out of a Deutsche Welle relay station near Kigali. We have indicated that we do not intend to introduce American forces into Rwanda (as we similarly declined requests from the Belgians and French), and are discussing with the Belgians/French what assets they may have available to meet the German request.

We are also following the progress of American "stragglers". Of some concern is a group of Adventists who are east of Kigali. Most of this group intends to continue on to Tanzania, but two elderly members of the group are planning to return to the airport in Kigali for air transport out.

The U.N. Security Council will meet this afternoon on the UNAMIR mission's future. Apparently, the Commander on the ground says that the troops should be pulled out, as he is hard-pressed to see how his troops can support a mission that no longer exists. We will need to work out our position on this soon.

Assistant Secretary Moose has been asked to brief members of the Senate Foreign Relations committee on Rwanda at 1 p.m. today.

We last had contact with Human Rights watcher Monique at 6:45 a.m. yesterday. She was safe. We have asked UNAMIR to pay close attention to her safety.

Distribution:

FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
FOR: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
FOR: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
FOR: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
FOR: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
FOR: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
FOR: James W. Reed	(REED)
FOR: Neal S. Wolin	(WOLIN)
FOR: Pat A. Battenfield	(BATTEENFIELD)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOR: Jennifer C. Ward	(WARD)
FOR: MacArthur DeShazer	(DESHAZER)
FOR: Dan W. Mozena	(MOZENA)
FOR: Donald K. Steinberg	(STEINBERG)
FOR: Natalie S. Wozniak	(WOZNIAK)
FOR: Calvin A. Mitchell	(MITCHELL)
FOR: Tara D. Sonenshine	(SONENSHINE)
FOR: Thomas B. Ross	(ROSS)
FOR: Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)
FOR: Richard L. Canas	(CANAS)
FOR: Wanda D. Lindsey	(LINDSEY)
FOR: Rand R. Beers	(BEERS)
FOR: Eric P. Schwartz	(SCHWARTZ)
FOR: Ernest J. Wilson III	(WILSON)
FOR: Susan E. Rice	(RICE)
FOR: Marcia G. Norman	(NORMAN)
FOR: O. Ruth Stalcup	(STALCUP)
FOR: Sean J. Darragh	(DARRAGH)
CC: Non Records	(NONRECORD)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 11-Apr-1994 10:58
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 002680
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE28:ZVECG0HED.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:

Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 11-Apr-1994 10:58
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

oo

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

11-Apr-1994 17:14 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Mary C. Emery
(EMERY)

SUBJECT: RE: Rwanda - Update (11:00 a.m.)

Tony Lake has read your e-mail and noted as follows:

Paragraph 3: Keep me informed.

Paragraph 4: check mark

Paragraph 5: good

Distribution:

FOR: Donald K. Steinberg	(STEINBERG)
CC: Non Records	(NONRECORD)
CC: Sean J. Darragh	(DARRAGH)
CC: O. Ruth Stalcup	(STALCUP)
CC: Marcia G. Norman	(NORMAN)
CC: Susan E. Rice	(RICE)
CC: Ernest J. Wilson III	(WILSON)
CC: Eric P. Schwartz	(SCHWARTZ)
CC: Rand R. Beers	(BEERS)
CC: Wanda D. Lindsey	(LINDSEY)
CC: Richard L. Canas	(CANAS)
CC: Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)
CC: Thomas B. Ross	(ROSS)
CC: Tara D. Sonenshine	(SONENSHINE)
CC: Calvin A. Mitchell	(MITCHELLC)
CC: Natalie S. Wozniak	(WOZNIAK)
CC: Donald K. Steinberg	(STEINBERG)
CC: Dan W. Mozena	(MOZENA)
CC: MacArthur DeShazer	(DESHAZER)
CC: Jennifer C. Ward	(WARD)
CC: Pat A. Battenfield	(BATTENFIELD)
CC: Neal S. Wolin	(WOLIN)
CC: James W. Reed	(REED)
CC: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
CC: M. Brooke Darby	(DARBY)
CC: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
CC: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
CC: Katherine M. Veit	(VEIT)
CC: Kristen K. Cicio	(CICIO)
CC: Wilma G. Hall	(HALL)

Additional Header Information Follows

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

Date Created: 11-Apr-1994 17:13

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 002823
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE49:ZVECOMX3P.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
□
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 11-Apr-1994 17:13
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA1503 1021738-CCCC--RUEADWW.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 121738Z APR 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

OSRI: RUCNDT

DTG: 121738Z APR 94

ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5612

RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 2377

RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 1092

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0425

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0159

RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC

RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 1687

RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0348

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0317

RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0869

INFO: *****

SUBJ: TFRWOL: FUTURE UNAMIR AND FRENCH ROLES IN RWANDA

TEXT:

~~E O N F I D E N T I A L~~ USUN NEW YORK 001503

DEPT FOR TASK FORCE, P/TARNOFF, IO/WARD, AF/MOOSE

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR SRICE, DMOZENA

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;

SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

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

SUBJECT: TFRWOL: FUTURE UNAMIR AND FRENCH ROLES IN RWANDA

REFTEL: PARIS 9724

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. USUN FORESEES TWO ISSUES THAT DEMAND WASHINGTON'S
IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

3. THE OTHER IMMEDIATE ISSUE IS UNAMIR'S FUTURE. AT PRESENT THE AIRPORT IS STILL OPEN AND UNDER FRENCH-BELGIAN CONTROL. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO SIGNAL THAT THE UN IS NEARING A DECISION BECAUSE RELATIVE CALM HAS DESCENDED ON KIGALI AND UNAMIR TROOPS ARE NOT PRESENTLY THE TARGET OF HOSTILITIES. YET THIS MIGHT BE A WINDOW OF RELATIVE OPPORTUNITY TO EVACUATE UNAMIR FORCES; THERE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY THAT IT MIGHT BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO EVACUATE UNAMIR ONCE THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS LEAVE. IN THIS RESPECT, IT IS WORTH CONSIDERING TAKING THE LEAD IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO AUTHORIZE THE EVACUATION OF THE BULK OF UNAMIR, WHILE LEAVING BEHIND A SKELETAL STAFF THAT MIGHT BE ABLE TO FACILITATE A CEASE-FIRE AND ANY FUTURE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS.

4. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1503

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1503

TOR: 940412134912 M0988740

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE LEBOURGEOIS RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2
VAX WALKER

□

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-Apr-1994 18:48 EDT

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Neal S. Wolin
(WOLIN)

SUBJECT: C-P-L lunch agenda -- 13 April

Below is a tentative agenda for tomorrow's C-P-L lunch. Where indicated, please provide me, by not later than 10:15 a.m. Wednesday, a short background paper (via e-mail) for Tony's use.

Lake:

- o Update on Efforts to Defeat Exxon-Grassley -- will discuss next steps on strategy for FY 95 budget conference. (Jeremy Rosner/Bob Bell please provide background.)
- o Bosnia Authorization Resolution -- will discuss advisability of seeking congressional authorization for use of force in Bosnia. (Alan Kreczko/Jeremy Rosner please provide background.)

Christopher:

- o Revitalizing Nunn-Lugar -- will ask Secretary Perry to become more engaged in seeking additional Nunn-Lugar funds. (Rose Gottemoeller please provide background.)
- o Bosnia Update -- will consult on where we are on Gorazde, discussions in Sarajevo, etc. (Jenonne Walker/Jane Holl please provide background.)
- o Skrunda -- will answer some of Secretary Perry's questions from last week's lunch regarding availability of State funds for Skrunda dismantlement. (John Beyrle please provide background.)

Perry:

- o Peacekeeping Funding -- will discuss next steps on dealing with arrearages and PDD-13 funding issues after Monday's meeting with the President. (Dick Clarke/Susan Rice please provide background as appropriate.)
- o U.S. Support for Evacuation of Allies' Nationals from Rwanda -- will ask what support the USG ought to give the French and Belgians in evacuating their nationals from Rwanda. (Dick Clarke/Dan Steinberg please provide background.)
- o North Korea -- will discuss plans for his impending trip to Asia. (Dan Poneman/Stanley Roth please provide background.)

Distribution:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

FOR: Jane E. Holl (HOLL)
FOR: Daniel Fried (FRIED)
FOR: MacArthur DeShazer (DESHAZER)
FOR: Rose E. Gottemoeller (GOTTEMOELLER)
FOR: Randy R. Beers (BEERS)
FOR: Susan E. Rice (RICE)
FOR: John R. Beyrle (BEYRLE)
FOR: Robert G. Bell (BELL)
FOR: Richard E. Feinberg (FEINBERG)
FOR: R. Nicholas Burns (BURNS)
FOR: Martin S. Indyk (INDYK)
FOR: George J. Tenet (TENET)
FOR: Jenonne R. Walker (WALKER)
FOR: Eileen B. Claussen (CLAUSSEN)
FOR: Richard A. Clarke (CLARKER)
FOR: Kent M. Wiedemann (WIEDEMANN)
FOR: Jennifer C. Ward (WARD)
FOR: Alan J. Kreczko (KRECZKO)
FOR: Jeremy D. Rosner (ROSNER)
FOR: Donald K. Steinberg (STEINBERG)
FOR: Daniel B. Poneman (PONEMAN)
FOR: Richard Schifter (SCHIFTER)
CC: Records (RECORDS)
CC: Nancy Soderberg (SODERBERG)
CC: William H. Itoh (ITOH)
CC: Kristie A. Kenney (KENNEY)
CC: James W. Reed (REED)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 12-Apr-1994 17:27
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 035942
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE5:ZVEDQVNGQ.WPL
A1 Folder: APR94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 12-Apr-1994 18:48
Forward Flag: YES

Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA7950 1032328-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 132327Z APR 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 132327Z APR 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS NIACT IMMEDIATE 4622
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 7226
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 2994
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0997
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 3447
SUBJ: WELFARE AND WHEREABOUTS-JOURNALISTS

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 097950
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: CASC (AMERICAN JOURNALISTS)
SUBJECT: WELFARE AND WHEREABOUTS-JOURNALISTS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. RWANDA TASK FORCE HAS RECEIVED REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FROM NEW YORK TIMES WASHINGTON, D. C. BUREAU ON BEHALF OF SIX OR SEVEN AMCIT JOURNALISTS FOR AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS (NEW YORK TIMES, NEWSWEEK, ASSOCIATED PRESS, NPR, WASHINGTON POST) THAT ARE STRANDED AT THE HOTEL MILLES COLLINES IN KIGALI (ONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS IS IN ROOM 310). THE TELEPHONE NUMBER AT THE HOTEL IS APPARENTLY WORKING, IT IS 259-76530. THE JOURNALISTS ARE WITHOUT TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS (OTHER THAN THE HOTEL TELEPHONE). THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE ISOLATED AND NEED ASSISTANCE IN LEAVING RWANDA.

3. THE JOURNALISTS ENTERED RWANDA FROM BURUNDI WITH THE ICRC AND BELIEVED THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO LEAVE WITH THE BELGIAN TROOPS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE BELGIAN TROOPS WERE NOT IN THE AREA OF THE HOTEL.

4. AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS - EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO APPROACH BELGIAN GOVERNMENT WITH REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE. IT IS HOPED THAT THE BELGIAN TROOPS MAY BE ABLE TO ASSIST THESE INDIVIDUALS IN DEPARTING RWANDA.

USUN NEW YORK MISSION - PLEASE CONTACT UNAMIR ON THE GROUND. ANY ASSISTANCE UN MAY BE ABLE TO PROVIDE WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

5. DEPARTMENT WILL PROVIDE FURTHER DETAILS ON SUBJECT

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

JOURNALISTS AS THEY BECOME AVAILABLE.

6. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#7950
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7950

TOR: 940413194343 M0991959

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER FILE MITCHELL RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA1607 1060143-CCCC--RUEADWW.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 160143Z APR 94

LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

OSRI: RUCNDT

DTG: 160143Z APR 94

ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO: RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 1119
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0180
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5756
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0368
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1559
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0891
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0337
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0447

INFO: ****

SUBJ: TFRWOL: SECURITY COUNCIL AT IMPASSE ON UNAMIR'S
FUTURE

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001607
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR SRICE, DMOZENA
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC, CG
SUBJECT: TFRWOL: SECURITY COUNCIL AT IMPASSE ON UNAMIR'S
FUTURE
REFTEL: USUN 1588
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN DISCUSSIONS PRIOR TO SECURITY COUNCIL
INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON APRIL 15, THE US AGREED TO THE
PROPOSAL OFFERED EARLIER IN THE DAY BY THE UK, WHICH
ENTAILED AN IMMEDIATE DRAWDOWN OF TROOPS WITH A SMALL
PROTECTIVE FORCE FOR THE UN STAFF REMAINING IN RWANDA.
HOWEVER, THE NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS REJECTED THIS
PROPOSAL. THEY AND MANY OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS SUPPORTED
THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S RECOMMENDATION TO KEEP UNAMIR'S
FORCE AS IS FOLLOWING THE DEPARTURE OF THE BELGIANS, AT
LEAST FOR SEVERAL WEEKS. THIS WAS BOLSTERED BY THE
SECRETARIAT'S VIEW THAT RAPID WITHDRAWAL MIGHT ACTUALLY
PLACE THE FORCES IN JEOPARDY WHERE NONE IS PRESENT.
RECOGNIZING THAT IT WOULD BE UNABLE TO AGREE ON A
RESOLUTION, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AGREED TO CONTINUE

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

DISCUSSION OF UNAMIR'S FUTURE NEXT WEEK AND FOR THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT TO BRIEF THE PRESS ON THE COUNCIL'S DELIBERATION. END SUMMARY.

PRE-SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSION

3. PRIOR TO THE AFTERNOON ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS, NEW ZEALAND AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, CALLED A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE UNITED STATES, NIGERIA, FRANCE AND THE UK. AMBASSADOR HANNAY OF THE UK HAD PREPARED LANGUAGE TO IMPLEMENT HIS PROPOSAL MADE IN THE MORNING SESSION (REFTEL), TO SUSPEND UNAMIR OPERATIONS IN RWANDA, WHILE LEAVING AN INTERIM UN PRESENCE. THIS PRESENCE WOULD BE HEADED BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, WOULD INCLUDE SUFFICIENT UN MILITARY PERSONNEL TO ENSURE ITS PROTECTION, AND WOULD CONTINUE THE UNITED NATIONS' EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE RWANDAN CRISIS. ACCORDING TO THE UK, THE SECRETARIAT ESTIMATED THAT APPROXIMATELY 250-300 MILITARY PERSONNEL WOULD BE REQUIRED.

4. FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SECRETARY, AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INFORMED THE GROUP THAT WE COULD ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL OF SUSPENSION. AMBASSADOR GAMBARI OF NIGERIA AGREED TO CONSULT WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NAM CAUCUS. THE NAM, HOWEVER, DECIDED THAT THE BRITISH SUGGESTION FELL SHORT OF WHAT THEY WANTED, THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PREFERRED OPTION FOR ALL OF UNAMIR MINUS THE BELGIANS TO REMAIN FOR SOME DESIGNATED PERIOD OF WEEKS TO ENCOURAGE A CEASE FIRE AND RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES. ON THIS BASIS THE SECURITY COUNCIL MOVED INTO INFORMALS.

SECURITY COUNCIL INFORMALS

5. THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINUED INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF UNAMIR ON THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 15. A/SYG IQBAL RIZA BEGAN BY ADDRESSING ISSUES RAISED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL INFORMALS HELD EARLIER THAT SAME DAY (REFTEL). WHILE THERE IS OVERT HOSTILITY DIRECTED AT BELGIUM, UNAMIR FORCES ARE NOT UNDER IMMEDIATE THREAT. AFTER SOME FIGHTING LAST NIGHT AND EARLY TODAY, THE AIRPORT IS RELATIVELY SECURE AND QUIET. MOREOVER, THE FORCE COMMANDER ASKS THAT NO PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT BE MADE ON EITHER THE PROSPECTS OF BELGIUM LEAVING BEHIND ITS EQUIPMENT OR THE NEUTRALIZATION OF THE AIRPORT, SINCE THIS WOULD MAKE HIS TASK MORE DIFFICULT.

6. UNAMIR HAS SPONSORED TWO-PARTY DIALOGUES BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE GOVERNMENT, THE LATTER IS COMPRISED OF THE COMMANDER OF THE GENDARMERE, WHO HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE SOME ELEMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES (AND POSSIBLY THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD THOUGH ITS COOPERATION WITH THE DEFENSE MINISTER).

7- THE FORCE COMMANDER BELIEVES THAT ABRUPT WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR WOULD NOT BE "FEASIBLE, ADVISABLE, OR WISE," AND THAT ANY HINT OF WITHDRAWAL MIGHT CAUSE PANIC BY THE LOCAL POPULATION AND PLACE THE UNAMIR TROOPS IN HARM'S WAY. AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF A WITHDRAWAL OR SUSPENSION,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001607
DEPT FOR IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C AND L/AF;
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR SRICE, DMOZENA
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MOPS, PREL, MARR, PGOV, KDEM, RW, UNSC, CG
SUBJECT: TFRWOL: SECURITY COUNCIL AT IMPASSE ON UNAMIR'S FUTURE

RIZA CONTINUED, WOULD CAUSE IMMEDIATE MOVES BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF TO TRY TO CAPTURE THE AIRPORT, WHICH MIGHT PLACE UNAMIR TROOPS IN JEOPARDY. AN ORDERLY AND SAFE WITHDRAWAL, HE CONCLUDED, WAS PREDICATED ON A CEASE-FIRE. SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT KEATING LATER COMMENTED THAT "THE RISKS ASSOCIATED TO UNAMIR ARE A FUNCTION OF THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIONS." RIZA ALSO NOTED THAT THE UNEXPECTED ARRIVAL OF THE ITALIAN CONTINGENT HAS POTENTIALLY RAISED THE SECURITY RISKS, SINCE THERE ARE RUMORS THAT THE ITALIAN PLANE IS LOADED WITH MERCENARIES; THE FORCE COMMANDER IS TRYING TO ARRANGE FOR ITS TIMELY DEPARTURE.

8. RIZA THEN ANNOUNCED THAT THE SYG HAS A CLEAR PREFERENCE FOR "OPTION A" - KEEPING UNAMIR FORCE STRUCTURE AS IS, WITH STRICT DEADLINES FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS - WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF MOVING TO "OPTION B" - AN ANGOLA-TYPE SCENARIO THAT INCLUDES IMMEDIATE DRAWDOWN TO A SKELETAL FORCE, IF "OPTION A" BECOMES UNWORKABLE.

9. BOTH SPAIN AND CHINA ANNOUNCED THAT THEY SUPPORTED OPTION A. CHINA ADDED THAT IN ITS COMMUNICATION WITH GHANA AND BANGLADESH, THE TWO LARGEST TROOP CONTRIBUTORS REMAINING AFTER BELGIUM'S DEPARTURE, BOTH INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD REMAIN.

10. KEATING THEN REVIEWED THE PROSPECT OF OBTAINING A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION CONCERNING UNAMIR'S FUTURE: THE SYG PREFERENCES OPTION A; THE NAM PREFERS A MODIFIED OPTION A; AND THE UK AND THE US ARE SETTLED ON A MODIFIED VERSION OF OPTION B. SINCE THE COUNCIL IS UNABLE TO MAKE A DECISION, KEATING CONTINUED, PERHAPS IT IS WISE TO USE UNAMIR TO OUR ADVANTAGE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES; THAT IS, SUGGESTING TO THE PARTIES THAT UNAMIR'S CONTINUED PRESENCE IS PREDICATED ON A CEASE-FIRE AND POLITICAL RECONCILIATION.

11. KEATING THEN CIRCULATED A PAPER THAT BECAME THE BASIS FOR HIS BRIEFING TO THE PRESS ON THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. AFTER SUGGESTED REVISIONS BY COUNCIL MEMBERS, THE FOLLOWING BECAME THE BASIS OF KEATING'S BRIEFING:
-- THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL HAVE HAD A THOROUGH DISCUSSION TODAY ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR UNAMIR.

-- IT TOOK CAREFULLY INTO CONSIDERATION INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE SECRETARIAT AS FORWARDED BY THE UNAMIR FORCE COMMANDER AND THE SRSG, AS WELL AS THAT PROVIDED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF BELGIUM.

-- COUNCIL MEMBERS TOOK NOTE AND FULLY UNDERSTAND BELGIUM'S DECISION TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS IN UNAMIR AT THE SAME TIME THAT IT IS REPATRIATING THE TROOPS THAT HAVE BEEN PROVIDING SECURITY FOR THE EVACUATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALS.

-- THEY ALSO TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION THE WILLINGNESS OF OTHER MAJOR TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES TO MAINTAIN THEIR TROOPS WITH UNAMIR AS LONG AS THERE IS A USEFUL ROLE FOR THEM TO PERFORM.

-- IN THE COUNCIL'S VIEW, THE IMMEDIATE PRIORITY IN RWANDA IS A CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT FORCES AND THE RPF. THE SRSG AND THE FORCE COMMANDER HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH BOTH PARTIES TO TRY TO SECURE THIS OBJECTIVE.

-- THE COUNCIL MEMBERS URGE THE SRSG TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO FACILITATE A CEASE-FIRE. IN THIS REGARD, THE COUNCIL MEMBERS WELCOMED THE WILLINGNESS OF THE OAU TO PROMOTE A CEASEFIRE IN RWANDA.

-- THE COUNCIL DEMANDS THAT BOTH THE GOVERNMENT FORCES AND THE RPF RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE

-- THE MEMBERS REAFFIRMED THAT THE ARUSHA PEACE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001607

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

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR SRICE, DMOZENA

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;

SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

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

SUBJECT: TFRWOL: SECURITY COUNCIL AT IMPASSE ON UNAMIR'S FUTURE

AGREEMENT REMAINS THE ONLY VIABLE FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THE RWANDA CONFLICT AND SERVES AS THE BASIS FOR PEACE, NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION IN THE COUNTRY.

-- COUNCIL MEMBERS COMMEND THE EFFORTS MADE BY THE LEADERS OF THE SUBREGION AT FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS IN RWANDA AND UR

GE THE LEADERS OF THE REGION TO

PERSEVERE AND INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS FOR PEACE, IN COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE OAU.

-- BUT, THE SITUATION IS GRAVE AND THE COUNCIL IS DETERMINED NOT TO ALLOW THE SECURITY OF UNAMIR PERSONNEL TO BE PLACED AT SERIOUS RISK.

-- COUNCIL MEMBERS INTEND TO KEEP UNDER CONSTANT REVIEW THE FORCE LEVELS AND ACTIVITIES OF UNAMIR AND TO TAKE DECISIONS IN THIS REGARD AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1607

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 1607

<^SSN>1607

<^SSN>1607

TOR: 940415214549 M0997479

<^TOR>940415214550 M0997480

<^TOR>940415214551 M0997481

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT{C2} SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

□

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Rwanda/Burundi

Background

The situation in Rwanda continues to deteriorate, with reports of more than 100,000 deaths in largely communal violence. The rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) continues to make gains in fighting, and have taken over parts of Kigali. There are mass flows of refugees towards Zaire, Uganda and Tanzania. UNAMIR is being drawn down to 270 soldiers; we and others have insisted this drawdown not threaten lives of Rwandans under their protection.

Peace talks in Arusha and elsewhere, which we asked Tanzanian President Mwinyi to host, have not gotten off the ground as RPF and Government forces refuse to meet. Our ambassadors in Tanzania and Uganda are deeply involved in these efforts. Ambassador Rawson returns to the region soon to assist this process. On Friday, we issued a tough statement condemning the continued violence and mentioning specific leaders of Rwandan armed forces, thus putting them on notice. We will soon announce \$15 million in new humanitarian assistance funds for Burundi and Rwanda.

Meanwhile, the situation in Burundi remains strangely calm but tense. A coup attempt was nipped in the bud, but the largely Tutsi government is having problems in disarming Hutu militia, who fear a potential massacre if they are left unarmed. Renewed widespread communal violence is clearly a strong possibility.

Talking Points

- We are all shocked by the terrible violence that continues to rage in Rwanda and worried over increasing instability in neighboring Burundi.
- I appreciate the efforts of our ambassadors in Tanzania and Uganda to try to bring together the Government forces and the RPF to reach a ceasefire and a political settlement. I hope we'll continue this diplomatic effort and be alert for other ways to involve regional leaders in resolving this crisis.
- We all recognized the sad reality that the U.N. peacekeepers were sent to Rwanda for a very different kind of mission from the one they face now, and that most had to be removed. But I'm still interested whether you see a role for the U.N. or the OAU in protecting the most vulnerable Rwandan people, especially those refugees that have fled to border regions.
- I'd also like to get your views on what we might do now in Burundi to ensure that it does not face the same kind of ethnic killings we're now seeing in Rwanda.

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON ~~SECRET~~ PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20533

April 29, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. LEON FUERTH
Assistant to the Vice
President for National
Security Affairs

MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL. ROBERT P. MCALLEER
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

AMB. RICK INDERFURTH
Office of the Representative
of the United States
to the United Nations

MR. DOUGLAS F. GARTOFF
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

CAPT. T. R. PATRICK
Secretary
Joint Chiefs of Staff

MR. AARON WILLIAMS
Executive Secretary
Agency for International
Development

SUBJECT: Discussion Paper on Rwanda for the Deputies Committee
Meeting on April 29 ~~(S)~~

Attached at Tab A is the Discussion Paper on Rwanda for the
Deputies Committee meeting scheduled for April 29. ~~(S)~~

Kristie A. Keane
for William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

Attachments
Tab A Discussion Paper

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines,

September 11, 2006

By M NARA Date 12/12/04

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Deputies Committee Discussion Paper

RWANDA

Background

The UN reports that in excess of 100,000 Rwandans have been killed. Fighting between the government and rebel forces continues. Militia led massacres are also continuing, urged on by radio stations calling for more killing.

UNAMIR has drawndown to 270 troops and is attempting to arrange for the safety of Rwandans under its protection at the Kigali Amahoro stadium.

About 500,000 in-country refugees have fled to the border areas with Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire. They are being prevented from crossing the borders and are in need of humanitarian assistance.

The White House issued a statement last Friday, mentioning specific military leaders who human rights groups believe have been implicated in the slaughters (tab 1).

Objectives

The IWG has identified six short-term policy objectives:

1. to stop the on-going massacres as quickly as possible through contacts with GOR and RPF leaders and demarches for similar representations with neighboring states, France, Belgium, and others.
2. to support the UN and others in attempts to achieve a cease fire.
3. to encourage Tanzanian and other attempts to resume negotiations under the Arusha Framework.
4. to seek to prevent the violence from spreading outside Rwanda through contacts with neighboring states.
5. to push in the UN to launch an immediate expanded humanitarian assistance effort.
6. to prevent a similar round of slaughter and disorder in Burundi by closely monitoring the situation there and staying in touch with the various elements in the country to dissuade.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on 04/04/2024

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Issues for Discussion

The Deputies should provide direction to the IWG on the degree of activism that they wish to encourage on further international steps aimed at addressing the slaughter and assisting refugees.

A new UNSC resolution is being co-drafted by the Czechs and Argentines. Among the possible elements in the resolution could be a genocide investigation, a call for UNHCR and border countries to engage in cross border assistance to the trapped in country refugees, limited protection for the refugees, and an arms embargo. In the new UNSCR debate, should the US support:

1. Genocide investigation: language that calls for an international investigation of human rights abuses and possible violations of the genocide convention?

2. In Country Protection of Refugees: language that authorizes the use of UNAMIR military or civilian police to protect in-country refugee camps receiving UNHCR or ICRC relief?

3. Arms embargo: language banning arms exports to Rwanda and would, *inter alia*, sanction the on going Ugandan aid to the rebels?

In addition to the UNSCR, are there additional actions that should be explored aimed at stopping the killing, or punishing those who may have planned it, or at least be seen to be pressuring the Rwandan government to have it punish them.

4. Counter-propaganda: should the US engage in additional propaganda activities to get a message into Rwanda to counter the radio stations that are urging killing?

5. Pressure to Punish Organizers of Killing: should the US work with other nations to explore directed sanctions (no admission on travel status, assets seizures, etc.) aimed at those who may have engineered the slaughter? and/or diplomatic sanctions (down grading relations, termination of non-emergency assistance) against Rwanda until those responsible are tried?

~~SECRET~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
~~SECRET~~

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA1794 1190058-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 290058Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 290058Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6027
INFO: RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC
RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 1510
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0199
SUBJ: SECRETARY GENERAL SHARES CONCERN ABOUT WAR
CRIMES TRIBUNAL, BURUNDI, RELATIONS WITH USG
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 001794
EXDIS
DEPT FOR A/S DOUG BENNET
NSC FOR TONY LAKE
E.O.L2356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, UN, RW, BY, AS
SUBJECT: SECRETARY GENERAL SHARES CONCERN ABOUT WAR
CRIMES TRIBUNAL, BURUNDI, RELATIONS WITH USG
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
2. WHILE VISITING USUN TO EXPRESS HIS CONDOLENCES ON
THE DEATH OF FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON, BOUTROS-GHALI
DISCUSSED WITH ME HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE WAR CRIMES
TRIBUNAL, THE UN'S IMAGE IN AFRICA AFTER RWANDA, AND
INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTIONS OF A POOR US-UN RELATIONSHIP.
3. WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL: THE SYG SAID HE WAS CONSIDERING
APPOINTING DEPUTY PROSECUTOR BLEWITT TO THE POSITION OF
PROSECUTOR NOTWITHSTANDING THE AUSTRALIA'S OBJECTIONS.
4. BURUNDI: REACTING TO AFRICAN CRITICISM OF THE UN
AFTER UNAMIR'S SCALE-DOWN, THE SYG WANTS THE UN TO TAKE
PRO-ACTIVE STEPS IN BURUNDI. HE IS CONSIDERING SENDING
100 TO 200 UN TROOPS LEAVING RWANDA TO BURUNDI AS A
"PREVENTIVE" MEASURE.
5. RELATIONS WITH THE USG: ON HIS TRIPS TO EUROPE AND
ASIA, MANY OF THE SYG'S INTERLOCUTORS EXPRESSED CONCERN
THAT THE UN AND USG ARE PERCEIVED TO BE AT ODDS.
BOUTROS-GHALI WOULD LIKE TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON
AFTER BOUTROS' RETURN TO THE US ON MAY 26. HE HAS NOT
SEEN THE PRESIDENT SINCE THE GA AND HAS NOT HAD A WHITE
HOUSE MEETING IN ALMOST A YEAR. IN ADDITION TO
SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES TO DISCUSS, SUCH A MEETING, HE HOPES,
WOULD HELP ALTER INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTIONS THAT THE S
AND UN ARE WORKING AT CROSS PURPOSES.

ALBRIGHT
BT
#1794

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1794

TOR: 940428210209 M1019962

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA1820 1201124-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 301124Z APR 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 301124Z APR 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6069
INFO: RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0206
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 1160
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHKA/AMEMBASSY DHAKA PRIORITY 0210
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0484
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0399
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0190
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0381
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0937
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 4896
SUBJ: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
ON RWANDA, APRIL 30.

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001820
WHITEHOUSE PASS NSC FOR D. CLARK, S. RICE AND D. STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PINS, PHUM, EAID, PREL, MOPS, UNSC, RW

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
ON RWANDA, APRIL 30.

REF: DEPT/USUN FAX 4/29.

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY. FACED WITH MIDNIGHT DEADLINE FROM
PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL TO AGREE TO PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
OR FACE VOTE IN 24 HOURS ON A RESOLUTION, RECALCITRANT
MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL AGREED TO A TEXT ON RWANDA. USG
AMENDMENTS CONCERNING REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS
WERE ACCEPTED. STICKING POINTS HAD BEEN REFUSAL OF
NIGERIA, AND SOME MEMBER OF THE NAM TO AGREE TO LANGUAGE
INDICATING RWANDA GOVERNMENT FORCES MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY
FOR MASSACRES, ALSO CHINESE OBJECTION TO REFERENCE TO
GENOCIDE. COMBINATION OF LANGUAGE OFFERED BY UK AND
THREATS FROM PRESIDENT OVERCAME BOTH. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(C)~~ THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECONVENED IN INFORMALS ON
FRIDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 29 TO RETURN TO DISCUSSION OF
DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON RWANDA. THE PRESIDENT

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

HAD PREPARED A NEW DRAFT INCORPORATING THE DISCUSSIONS OF THAT MORNING (SEPTEL). DURING THE LONG HOURS OF DISCUSSIONS THAT FOLLOWED, THE USG OFFERED ITS AMENDMENTS (REF A) ON THE PROTECTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES. THESE POSITIONS WERE ACCEPTABLE AND INCORPORATED INTO THE DRAFT. ALSO PRIOR REFERENCES TO THE FORCE LEVEL AND MANDATE OF UNIMIR WERE DELETED AT USG REQUEST.

3. ~~(C)~~ THE POINTS OF CONTENTION THAT HELD UP AGREEMENT ALL INVOLVED THE SECOND PARA WITH ITS REFERENCES TO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOR ARMED FORCES FOR MASSACRES AND THE DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE. NIGERIA LEAD THE OPPOSITION CALLING FOR THE EXTREME OF DELETION OF THE ENTIRE PARA. THEY WERE SUPPORTED BY RWANDA, AND TO LESSER EXTENT THE NAM AND THE FRENCH. THE CHINESE FOCUSED THEIR OBJECTION TO THE SENTENCE DEALING WITH GENOCIDE, TRYING TO LIMIT ITS APPLICATION ONLY TO RWANDA.

4. ~~(C)~~ THE NON-NAM AGREED TO PROCEED WITH A RESOLUTION IF THE PARAGRAPH WAS NOT MAINTAINED. NIGERIA AND CHINA PERSISTED IN OBJECTING LATE INTO THE NIGHT. AT THIS POINT THE CZECH REPUBLIC ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO CO-SPONSOR A RESOLUTION AND FORCE A VOTE. THIS PROPOSAL WAS SUPPORTED BY SPAIN AND NEW ZEALAND.

5. ~~(C)~~ WHEN CHINA AND NIGERIA STILL REFUSED TO JOIN CONSENSUS ON THE DRAFT, NEW ZEALAND ANNOUNCED IN HIS NATIONAL CAPACITY, HIS INTENTION TO CIRCULATE SUCH A DRAFT AS A RESOLUTION IN BLUE AT ONE MINUTE TO MIDNIGHT. PAKISTAN TRIED TO SAY THEY COULD NOT BE READY TO VOTE ON SATURDAY AND THE PRESIDENT TOLD THEM THEN THEY COULD ABSTAIN. (COMMENT. THE TIME BEFORE MIDNIGHT WAS IMPORTANT SINCE THE NEW ZEALAND PRESIDENCY WOULD RUN OUT 30 APRIL. GIVEN THE OBJECTIONS OF NIGERIA, WHO WILL BE THE MAY PRESIDENT, NEW ZEALAND WANTED TO ASSURE HE WOULD STILL BE PRESIDENT AND COULD FORCE THE VOTE. END COMMENT.)

6. ~~(C)~~ THESE THREATS, HIGHLIGHTED BY THE ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION JUST BEFORE MIDNIGHT, HAD THE DESIRED EFFECT- BOTH CHINA AND NIGERIA AGREED TO THE DRAFT STATEMENT WITH VERY MINOR COSMETIC CHANGES. THE FINAL RESULT WAS STRONGER THAN THOUGHT LIKELY BEFORE THE NON-NAM CAUCUS. THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT DELIVERED 30 APRIL FOLLOWS IN PARA 7.

7. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT:
THE SECURITY COUNCIL CS APPALLED AT CONTINUING REPORTS OF THE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS IN KIGALI AND OTHER PARTS OF RWANDA, AND REPORTED PREPARATIONS FOR FURTHER MASSACRES. IT ENDORSES THE CONCERN EXPRESSED BY THE CENTRAL ORGAN FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) THAT THE MASSACRES AND WANTON KILLINGS HAVE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001820
WHITEHOUSE PASS NSC FOR D. CLARK, S. RICE AND D. STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PINS, PHUM, EAID, PREL, MOPS, UNSC, RW

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON RWANDA, APRIL 30.

CONTINUED UNABATED IN A SYSTEMATIC MANNER IN RWANDA. IT RECALLS THAT SUCH KILLINGS HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONDEMNED BY SECURITY COUNCIL IN ITS RESOLUTION 912 (1994) OF 21 APRIL 1994.

ATTACKS ON DEFENSELESS CIVILIANS HAVE OCCURRED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY IN AREAS UNDER THE CONTROL OF MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEMANDS THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT ANY ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS IN AREAS UNDER THEIR CONTROL. IT CALL ON THE LEADERSHIP OF BOTH PARTIES TO CONDEMN PUBLICLY SUCH ATTACKS AND TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ENSURING THAT PERSONS WHO INSTIGATE OR PARTICIPATE IN SUCH ATTACKS ARE PROSECUTED AND PUNISHED.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNED ALL THESE BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN RWANDA, PARTICULARLY THOSE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND RECALLS THAT PERSONS WHO INSTIGATE OR PARTICIPATE IN SUCH ACTS ARE INDIVIDUALLY RESPONSIBLE. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECALLS THAT THE KILLING OF MEMBERS OF AN ETHNIC GROUP WITH THE INTENTION OF DESTROYING SUCH A GROUP IN WHOLE OR IN PART CONSTITUTES A CRIME PUNISHABLE UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL REITERATES THE DEMAND IN ITS RESOLUTION 912 (1994) FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE FORCES OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IT COMMENDS THE EFFORTS BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE FORCE COMMANDER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA (UNAMIR) TO MEDIATE SUCH AN OUTCOME, AND REQUESTS THEM TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS IN LIAISON WITH COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND THE OAU. IT ALSO COMMENDS THE COURAGE AND DETERMINATION OF UNAMIR PERSONNEL IN AFFORDING PROTECTION TO CIVILIANS WHO SOUGHT REFUGE WITH UNAMIR.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL WELCOMES THE EFFORTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE BY COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND KILLING IN RWANDA. IT ALSO COMMENDS THE EFFORTS OF STATES, UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES, AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO PROVIDE EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE SUFFERING PEOPLE OF RWANDA.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE SITUATION OF THE MANY THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO FLEE THE FIGHTING AND KILLINGS IN RWANDA.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL CALLS ON ALL STATES TO ASSIST THE UNHCR AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN AND RELIEF AGENCIES OPERATING IN THE AREA IN MEETING THE URGENT HUMANITARIAN NEEDS IN RWANDA AND ITS BORDERING STATES. THE COUNCIL CALLS ON STATES BORDERING RWANDA, WORKING WITH OAU, TO PROVIDE APPROPRIATE PROTECTION TO REFUGEES AND TO FACILITATE TRANSFER OF GOODS AND SUPPLIES TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS WITH RWANDA.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL CALLS ON ALL RWANDAN PARTIES TO GUARANTEE THE PROTECTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES IN RWANDA AND TO ENSURE SAFE PASSAGE FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNDERLINES THE URGENT NEED FOR COORDINATED INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO HELP BRING PEACE TO RWANDA AND TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERING OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE. IT REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001820 WHITEHOUSE PASS NSC FOR D. CLARK, S. RICE AND D. STEINBERG; JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3; SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PINS, PHUM, EAID, PREL, MOPS, UNSC, RW SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON RWANDA, APRIL 30.

COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, TO TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO ASSIST THE SITUATION IN RWANDA ARE CARRIED OUT IN AN EFFECTIVE AND COORDINATED MANNER, AND TO ENSURE THAT ALL RELEVANT PARTIES ARE EPT FULLY INFORMED.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF KIGALI AIRPORT FOR THE PROVISIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORTS TO RWANDA, AS WELL AS FOR THE REQUIREMENTS OF UNAMIR. IT CALLS ON THE PARTIES TO ALLOW THE AIRPORT TO BE KEPT OPEN AT ALL TIMES FOR SUCH PURPOSES.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE OF ENSURING THAT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA DOES NOT AFFECT ADVERSELY THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL WARNS THAT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA WOULD BE FURTHER SERIOUSLY AGGRAVATED IF EITHER OF THE PARTIES WERE TO HAVE ACCESS TO ADDITIONAL ARMS. IT APPEALS TO ALL STATES TO REFRAIN FROM PROVIDING ARMS OR ANY MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. ITS WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE TO CONSIDER PROMPTLY THE APPLICATION OF AN ARMS EMBARGO TO RWANDA.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL REAFFIRMS ITS COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF RWANDA. IT REITERATES ITS CONVICTION THAT THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT REMAINS THE ONLY VIABLE FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THE RWANDA CONFLICT AND SERVES AS THE BASIS FOR PEACE, NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION IN THE COUNTRY. IT CALLS AGAIN ON THE PARTIES TO RENEW THEIR COMMITMENT TO THIS AGREEMENT.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL:

(A) IN CONSULTATION WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU, TO REPORT FURTHER ON ACTION WHICH MAY BE UNDERTAKEN WITH A VIEW TO ASSISTING IN THE RESTORATION OF LAW AND ORDER IN RWANDA AND IN PROVIDING SECURITY FOR DISPLACED PERSONS;

(B) TO WORK WITH UNHCR, THE OAU AND COUNTRIES OF THE REGION TO TAKE SUCH PREVENTIVE DIPLOMATIC STEPS AS MAYBE NECESSARY TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF VIOLENCE AND ATROCITIES TO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES;

(C) TO EXPLORE URGENTLY WAYS OF EXTENDING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS;

(D) TO CONSULT THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR) ON MEASURES TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THOSE DISPLACED PERSONS CONGREGATED ALONG THE BORDERS WITH TANZANIA, UGANDA, ZAIRE AND BURUNDI.

(E) TO BRING TO ITS ATTENTION ANY INFORMATION THAT HE MIGHT RECEIVE CONCERNING ARMS FLOW INTO RWANDA, AND TO CONSULT THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND THE OAU ABOUT THE PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF AN ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA.

(F) TO MAKE PROPOSALS FOR INVESTIGATION OF THE REPORTS OF SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW DURING THE CONFLICT.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL STATES ITS INTENTION TO CONSIDER URGENTLY THE LETTER OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL DATED 29 APRIL 1994 (S/1994/518) AND FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL MAY PROVIDE.

END TEXT.

8. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#1820

NNNN

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

SSN: 1820
<^SSN>1820
<^SSN>1820

TOR: 940430073108 M1022949
<^TOR>940430073209 M1022950
<^TOR>940430073211 M1022951

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

01-May-1994 18:31 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Donald K. Steinberg
(STEINBERG)

SUBJECT: Additional Actions on Rwanda

Tony/Sandy:

I hope we can meet with Dick early on Monday to review where we are and where we're going with respect to Rwanda. In particular, we need to review our potential support for OAU and regional efforts if/when they act to protect refugees on both sides of the border or take more aggressive action to end the massacre. In addition to the new instructions (State 114636) to the USUN on actions to pursue with respect to a resolution on Rwanda (based on Dick's suggestions), the following actions are being taken:

- The President's message yesterday is being pumped into Rwanda through VOA, BBC, Radio France and Radio Belge. We've already received indications that it is being heard, if not heeded, by the government and RPF leadership. It also received very heavy press play in the United States.
- We are continuing to work with the regional leaders, especially Presidents Mwinyi of Tanzania and Museveni of Uganda, to shore up their efforts at resolving the crisis. New talks are scheduled for Tuesday in Arusha, although it is uncertain whether the RPF (this time) will show up. Our Ambassador to Tanzania, Peter De Vos, will attend and help facilitate the discussions.
- AS John Shattuck and Ambassador Rawson will leave tomorrow (Monday) night to travel to the region, including Uganda, Burundi and Tanzania to shore up the regional leaders' efforts to achieve peace and protect refugees in Rwanda. The UN Commission for Human Rights is sending a team to the region to investigate the current abuses.
- Senior USG officials have been contacting Government and RPF leaders on a daily basis to urge a ceasefire and renewal of negotiations. For example, DAS Bushnell talked with General Bizimungo (RGF) and General Kagame (RPF) today to relate the President's message from yesterday. She also told the RPF that there are reports the RPF is impeding the flow of refugees to Tanzania, which he strongly denied.
- State is assembling a revised package of \$15 million in emergency relief assistance for the region. A team of refugee officials from our Embassy in Tanzania is going to the border with Rwanda to assess the current situation and make recommendations for new assistance.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

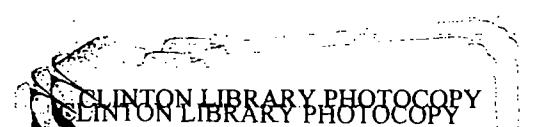
Distribution:

FOR: Mary C. Emery (EMERY)
FOR: Wilma G. Hall (HALL)
FOR: Kristen K. Cicio (CICIO)
FOR: Katherine M. Veit (VEIT)
FOR: William H. Itoh (ITOH)
FOR: Kristie A. Kenney (KENNEY)
FOR: M. Brooke Darby (DARBY)
FOR: Cathy Millison (MILLISON)
FOR: James W. Reed (REED)
FOR: Neal S. Wolin (WOLIN)
FOR: Ardenia R. Hawkins (HAWKINS)
FOR: Richard A. Clarke (CLARKER)
FOR: Richard L. Canas (CANAS)
FOR: Wanda D. Lindsey (LINDSEY)
FOR: Rand R. Beers (BEERS)
FOR: Eric P. Schwartz (SCHWARTZ)
FOR: Ernest J. Wilson III (WILSON)
FOR: Susan E. Rice (RICE)
FOR: Marcia G. Norman (NORMAN)
FOR: O. Ruth Stalcup (STALCUP)
FOR: Sean J. Darragh (DARRAGH)
FOR: Natalie S. Wozniak (WOZNIAK)
FOR: Calvin A. Mitchell (MITCHELL)
FOR: Tara D. Sonenshine (SONENSHINE)
FOR: Thomas B. Ross (ROSS)
CC: Non Records (NONRECORD)
CC: Records (RECORDS)
CC: Pat A. Battenfield (BATTENFIELD)
CC: Jennifer C. Ward (WARD)
CC: MacArthur DeShazer (DESHAZER)
CC: Dan W. Mozena (MOZENA)
CC: Donald K. Steinberg (STEINBERG)
CC: George M. Andricos (ANDRICOS)
CC: Christina L. Funches (FUNCHES)
CC: Jeremy D. Rosner (ROSNER)
CC: Eric Liu (LIU)
CC: William C. Danvers (DANVERS)

Additional Header Information Follows

□

Date Created: 01-May-1994 18:30
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 038358
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE30:ZVEWQGX62.WPL
A1 Folder: MAY94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 01-May-1994 18:30
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

02-May-1994 14:40 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Donald K. Steinberg (STEINBERG)
MacArthur DeShazer (DESHAZER)

FROM: M. Kay LaPlante (LAPLANTE)

SUBJECT: Crosshatches due

Hi! Clearance is requested on two crosshatches:

003473 -- Cable to USUN New York: Rwanda: April 29 Statement. It was due Saturday.

003478 -- Cable to USUN New York: Council Resolution on Rwandan Arms Embargo. It was due Saturday.

Thanks!

CC: Non Records (NONRECORD)
CC: Pat A. Battenfield (BATTENFIELD)
CC: Allison M. Wright (WRIGHT)-----
Additional Header Information Follows
-----Date Created: 02-May-1994 14:38
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 005629
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE8:ZVEXKY38F.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 02-May-1994 14:38
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS
█ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █ █DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By jm NARA, Date 12/2/06

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

02-May-1994 14:42 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: M. Kay LaPlante
(LAPLANTE)

SUBJECT: Crosshatches due today

Hi! Clearance is requested on the following crosshatches:

003473 -- Cable to USUN New York: Rwanda: April 29 Statement. Due 4/30.

003477 -- Cable to USUN New York: Safe Areas: Instructions on Proposed Presidential Statement. Due 4/30.

Thank you.

Distribution:

FOR: Richard A. Clarke	(CLARKER)
FOR: Susan E. Rice	(RICE)
CC: Non Records	(NONRECORD)
CC: Wanda D. Lindsey	(LINDSEY)
CC: Marcia G. Norman	(NORMAN)
CC: Allison M. Wright	(WRIGHT)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 02-May-1994 14:41

Deletable Flag: Y

DOCNUM: 005633

VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE6:ZVEXLONU6.WPL

A1 Folder: READ

Message Format:

Message Status: READ

Date Modified: 02-May-1994 14:41

Forward Flag: YES

Read-Receipt Requested: NO

Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO

Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By M73 NARA, Date 12/12/04

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHROA7211 1241450-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 041450Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ROME
OSRI: RUEHRO
DTG: 041450Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ROME
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5325
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0468
RUEHKB/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0089
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7419
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 2323
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 1742
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 1749
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0699
RUEHPU/AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE 0059
SUBJ: VATICAN CALLS IN U.S., FRANCE, AND BELGIUM ON
RWANDA AND ZAIRE
TEXT:
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ROME 007211
DEPT FOR AF/C, EUR/WE, RP, AND HA
HAITI FOR NIGRO
EMBASSY VATICAN/MESSAGE NO. 273/94
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, CG, VT
SUBJECT: VATICAN CALLS IN U.S., FRANCE, AND BELGIUM ON
RWANDA AND ZAIRE
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

REQUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION ON RWANDA

2. HOLY SEE FOREIGN MINISTER ABP TAURAN CALLED IN THE
AMBASSADORS OF THE U.S., FRANCE, AND BELGIUM TO EXPRESS
THE VATICAN'S CONCERN OVER RWANDA AND ZAIRE. TAURAN
SAID THE NUNCIO FROM KIGALI AND OTHER CHURCH SOURCES
REPORT OVERWHELMING CARNAGE IN RWANDA, INCLUDING THE
DEATHS OF 50 PRIESTS AND THE DESTRUCTION OR DAMAGE OF
MOST CHURCHES. TAURAN SAID HE SPOKE WITH THE POPE ABOUT
THIS AND SAID THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD DO MORE
TO STOP THE KILLING.
3. TAURAN REQUESTED THE THREE AMBASSADORS ASK THEIR
GOVERNMENTS TO AGREE ON AN INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT
NAMING THE RWANDA MASSACRES "GENOCIDE". THE VATICAN
ALSO SAID THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE TO STOP THE
KILLING, AND ASKED FOR CONCERTED ACTION BY THE THREE
COUNTRIES TO BRING THE PARTIES BACK TO THE NEGOTIATING
TABLE, AND WORK TOWARDS SOME SORT OF GOVERNMENT OR
CONFERENCE OF TRANSITION, OR WHATEVER HAS A CHANCE TO
BRING THE SIDES TOGETHER. HE FURTHER ASKED THAT THE

THREE COUNTRIES WORK TO FORM A UN OR OAU FORCE, MANNED BY AFRICAN COUNTRIES, TO OPEN CORRIDORS FOR HUMANITARIAN ACTION.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

TAURAN ADDED THAT HE WILL BE IN BRUSSELS MAY 5 TO MEET WITH THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER (AND JACQUES DELORS) AND SAID WOULD RAISE THE ISSUE DIRECTLY WITH HIM.

5. AMBASSADOR FLYNN REPLIED THAT THE U.S. IS ENGAGED IN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WITH THE COUNTRIES SURROUNDING RWANDA WORKING TO END THE KILLING. HE SAID THAT WE HAVE ALSO DEDICATED \$35 TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS FOR THE REFUGEES. TAURAN REPLIED THAT AID IS IMPORTANT BUT THE DIPLOMATIC PUSH IS ESSENTIAL TO END THE GENOCIDE. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAID PARIS IS SENDING A MISSION TO THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES. THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT BELGIUM IS MAKING SIMILAR EFFORTS AND SAID THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT MAY STILL BE THE ONLY ANSWER.

ZAIRE: NOW THE OPPOSITION IS THE PROBLEM

6. TAURAN SAID THE TRANSITION IN ZAIRE IS NOW BLOCKED BY THE SEVEN OPPOSITION CANDIDATES SEEKING THE PREMIERSHIP, AND THIS IMPASSE ONLY SERVES MOBUTU. TAURAN SAID THE OPPOSITION NOW SAYS NOTHING CAN BE DONE UNTIL ABP. MONSENGWO RETURNS FROM ROME. WHEN MONSENGWO RETURNS TO ZAIRE LATER THIS MONTH HE WILL BE GOING TO HIS DIOCESE, TAURAN STRESSED. THE ANSWER IS NOT WITH MONSENGWO, BUT WITH THE OPPOSITION SORTING OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

7. AMB. FLYNN SAID THAT TAURAN'S ANALYSIS OF THE IMPASSE TRACKS WITH OURS, AND PROMISED TO REPORT TAURAN'S REQUEST TO WASHINGTON. FLYNN

BT

#7211

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7211

TOR: 940504110650 M1028578

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER FILE LEBOURGEOIS STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX WALKER

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDSA3314 1251414-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 051414Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
OSRI: RUEHDS
DTG: 051414Z MAY 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2179
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0101
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 3770
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 1123
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 3136
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL
RUSNDNB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 2512
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0070
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7726
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0095
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0037
RUEIBS/AMEMBASSY ASMARA 1755
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 8796
RUEHDJ/AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI 2780
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 7373
SUBJ: PRESIDENT MELES ON RWANDA [REDACTED] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d
- [REDACTED]
TEXT:
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ADDIS ABABA 003314
DAR ES SALAAM FOR A/S SHATTUCK
LONDON FROM MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
GENEVA FOR RMA
MOSCOW FOR NIBLOCK
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, AORC, ET
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MELES ON RWANDA [REDACTED] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d
- [REDACTED]
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
- [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK MET WITH TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA (TGE) PRESIDENT MELES ZENAWI ON 5 MAY, ACCCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR, RP/DAS MCKINLEY, HA SPECIAL ASSISTANT KAUFMANN, AND POLECONOFF. ONE

ETHIOPIAN NOTETAKER WAS ALSO PRESENT. (ETHIOPIAN TOPICS WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL.)

4. A/S SHATTUCK OPENED THE MEETING BY DESCRIBING THE PURPOSE OF HIS MISSION, NOTING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS EXTREMELY CONCERNED BY THE KILLINGS IN RWANDA AND HAD A STRONG INTEREST IN RECONSTITUTING AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN RWANDA. A/S SHATTUCK NOTED THAT HE HAD JUST MET WITH OAU SYG SALIM (SEPTEL) AND SAID THAT THE OAU WAS IN THE FOREFRONT OF INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH THE RWANDA CRISIS.

5. PRESIDENT MELES ASKED WHAT THE U.S. WAS DOING IN RWANDA. A/S SHATTUCK REPLIED THAT THE USG HAD PROVIDED USD 63 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR THE COMBINED BURUNDI-RWANDA CRISIS SINCE OCTOBER 1993.

MOREOVER THE USG WAS WORKING WITH OTHER STATES TO CRAFT A NEW UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD IMPOSE AN ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA AND RECONSTITUTE UNAMIR'S PRESENCE IN RWANDA. THE KEY GOALS OF U.S. POLICY WERE TO FIND WAYS OF PROTECTING CIVILIANS AND REFUGEES AND TO ENSURE THAT AN INVESTIGATION INTO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS TAKES PLACE. THE USG WAS PREPARED TO OFFER FINANCIAL AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT TO THE OAU, AND WAS CONSULTING WITH REGIONAL LEADERS. A/S SHATTUCK ASKED MELES FOR HIS VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA.

6. MELES SAID HE HAD LITTLE INFORMATION ON WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN RWANDA AND ASKED WHETHER THE USG THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT THE RPF WOULD PREVAIL MILITARILY. A/S SHATTUCK REPLIED THAT THE MILITARY SITUATION WAS UNCERTAIN. WHAT WAS CLEAR WAS THAT IN THE CHAOS LARGE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS WERE BEING KILLED AND THAT NO ONE WAS PROTECTING THEM. THE IMMEDIATE GOAL WAS A CEASE-FIRE TO STOP THE KILLINGS. ONCE THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED, THE ARUSHA PROCESS COULD BE CONTINUED. AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT OAU SYG SALIM HAD TOLD THE RPF THAT EVEN IF IT WON MILITARILY IT WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RULE IN PREDOMINANTLY HUTU RWANDA AND WOULD NEED TO MAKE SOME SORT OF POLITICAL DEAL.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 ADDIS ABABA 003314
DAR ES SALAAM FOR A/S SHATTUCK
LONDON FROM MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR PERLOW
GENEVA FOR RMA
MOSCOW FOR NIBLOCK
E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, AORC, ET

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

8. A/S SHATTUCK SAID THAT STABILITY WAS NEEDED, BUT ALSO MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND INVESTIGATION INTO THE ACTS THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN COMMITTED. IN THAT CONTEXT, THE UN AND THE OAU WERE LOOKING TO RECONSTITUTE THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN RWANDA IN ORDER TO STOP THE MASSACRES. A CEASE-FIRE WAS NECESSARY FOR THIS. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT STOP THE VIOLENCE AT GRASS ROOTS LEVEL, BUT IT COULD PREVENT IT FROM SPREADING INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND REFUGEE CAMPS.

9. DAS MCKINLEY ADDED THAT THE REFUGEE ISSUE WAS RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF STABILITY. THE RPF EXPANSION OUT OF ITS STRONGHOLD IN THE NORTH HAD LED TO ENORMOUS PRESSURE FOR RWANDANS TO LEAVE. IF THE RPF CONTINUED TO ADVANCE TOWARD THE SOUTH, EVEN MORE REFUGEES MAY LEAVE. THE RPF NEEDED TO MAINTAIN A RESPONSIBLE AND COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REGARDING THE ADMISSION OF FOOD AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES. EARLY SIGNS WERE THAT THIS WAS INDEED THE CASE.

10. A/S SHATTUCK THANKED PRESIDENT MELES FOR HIS VIEWS, AND AGREED THAT AN IMPORTANT PART OF ANY SETTLEMENT WAS DETERMINING WHO HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS.

11. AFTER A DISCUSSION OF ETHIOPIAN ISSUES, PRESIDENT MELES RETURNED TO RWANDA SAYING THAT AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE PREPARED TO SEND TROOPS TO RWANDA, AND KNEW THAT THE USG WAS PREPARED TO FINANCE SUCH AN OPERATION, BUT HAD CONCERNs THAT THE MONEY WOULD NOT COME IN TIME AND THAT IT MIGHT STOP BEFORE THE OPERATIONS WERE COMPLETE. THE LIBERIA EXPERIENCE WAS ON EVERYONE'S MIND. A/S SHATTUCK ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE WAS AWARE OF THE PROBLEM.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

13 A/S SHATTUCK LEFT BEFORE REVIEWING THIS MESSAGE.

14 ASMARA/BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BAAS

BT

#3314

NNNN

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

SSN: 3314
<^SSN>3314

TOR: 940505102250 M1030678
<^TOR>940505102252 M1030679

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER FILE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
=

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

06-May-1994 20:45 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Susan E. Rice (RICE)

FROM: Donald K. Steinberg
(STEINBERG)

SUBJECT: Talkers on Rwanda

Talking Points for Vice President's Meeting
with Boutros-Ghali, Salim Salim et. al on Rwanda

- We remain extremely concerned about the on-going tragedy in Rwanda. This is a problem that demands prompt international action.
- The United States wants to play a constructive role in alleviating the suffering in Rwanda and supporting efforts to achieve a lasting political solution.
- There have been a number of proposed responses to the tragedy in Rwanda. We would like to explore these ideas with you further, as well as with representatives of concerned African states and our colleagues in the Security Council.
- We have already taken some important steps. We will continue to support the diplomatic efforts now underway by the UN and regional leaders to reach a cease-fire and return to the Arusha accord process. We want to consider how to implement the UN decision to work with the OAU to ensure the safety of refugees on both sides of the border.
- We are committed to provide humanitarian relief, to implement the arms embargo and to have the U.N. Human Rights Commission fully investigate the on-going situation.
- In addition, there may be another vitally important humanitarian mission that the UN and/or OAU could perform.
- We would be interested in exploring the possibility of an international force to protect populations in the southern portion of Rwanda, where refugees and displaced persons are in the most immediate danger.
 - o Such a force could not only provide protection, assist in refugee repatriation and in the distribution of humanitarian assistance, and serve in a preventive capacity to deter the spread of violence to Burundi.
 - o This mission would require fewer troops and be less complex logistically than some other

proposals now being discussed.

- o It would also require the active support of the Burundi government and, preferably, the assent of the Rwandan parties.
- If the troops were available for such a mission, the U.S. would help by providing financial resources, equipment and lift as well as humanitarian assistance.
- o If the mission were mounted independently by the OAU or by a collection of concerned states with the blessing of the UN Security Council, the U.S. would offer assistance on a voluntary basis.
- o If the mission were funded through UN assessments, the U.S. would pay more than 30 percent of the cost and seek the normal reimbursement for any additional contributions of equipment or services.
- At the same time, we have serious reservations about proposals to establish a large peace enforcement mission, which would operate throughout Rwanda with a mandate to end the fighting, restore law and order and pacify the population.
- While we have not ruled in or out any particular response, in our view, there are several problems with this approach:
 - o [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4d

- o It remains very unclear whether the parties to the conflict would use force to oppose such a mission.
- o Thus far, no country has committed to send troops, and it appears unlikely that there will be sufficient pledges to mount the large force required. The chances of success appear slim, particularly without the participation of a major military power.
- o Logistically, it would be difficult to stage a sizeable force out of Kigali, because all movement of troops and supplies would have to be done by air.
- o It is unclear precisely what the peace enforcement mission would be or when it would end.
- All these serious reservations would have to be fully addressed before we would be prepared to consider this course of action.
- Again, let me say that we hope that we can work together to try to craft a viable diplomatic solution to this tragedy and provide relief to the hundreds of thousands who are

suffering as result of this tragic conflict.

CC: Non Records

(NONRECORD)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 06-May-1994 20:44
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 006563

VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE52:ZVFBTNN6B.WPL

A1 Folder: READ

Message Format:

Message Status: READ

Date Modified: 06-May-1994 20:44

Forward Flag: YES

Read-Receipt Requested: NO

Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO

Message Priority: FIRST CLASS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-May-1994 10:28 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Marion H. Blieberger
(BLIEBERGER)

SUBJECT: Crosshatch 004045, Cable to USUN New York: Rwanda

Susan Rice clears without changes for the office on Crosshatch 004045, Cable to USUN New York: Rwanda, Talking Points for VP Gore. Thanks.

Distribution:

FOR: M. Brooke Darby (DARBY)
FOR: Wendy E. Gray (GRAY)
FOR: Brenda I. Hilliard (HILLIARD)
FOR: M. Kay LaPlante (LAPLANTE)
FOR: Cathy Millison (MILLISON)
FOR: Allison M. Wright (WRIGHT)
FOR: Ardenia R. Hawkins (HAWKINS)
CC: Non Records (NONRECORD)
CC: Leon S. Fuerth (FUERTH)
CC: MacArthur DeShazer (DESHAZER)
CC: Richard A. Clarke (CLARKER)
CC: Susan E. Rice (RICE)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 12-May-1994 10:24
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 007240
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE4:ZVFHEZ55K.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 12-May-1994 10:28
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

0000000000000000

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By M NARA, Date 12/12/07

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12-May-1994 16:45 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Susan E. Rice (RICE)

FROM: Marion H. Blieberger
(BLIEBERGER)

SUBJECT: FRIDAY'S STVS ON RWANDA AND GEORGIA

The STVS is reserved from 2-3 p.m. tomorrow, but we could get it from 3-5. I reserved it. Mr. Clarke can do 3-4:15. He has appt at 4:15. I called everyone and tentatively arranged for 3-4:30 to be on the safe side. Mac DeShazer has meeting and Steinberg returns to office tomorrow afternoon from travel and may be able to attend. If all this is ok with you, I'll reconfirm in the morning with everyone.

Sorry I could not find numbers for Vince Keru and Mike Harris. I'll call them tomorrow morning if you have numbers.

Also, Wanda gave me list for Georgie - please check the others you want to invite.

CC: Non Records

(NONRECORD)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 12-May-1994 16:14
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 007379
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARE48:ZVFHNXNYW.WPL
A1 Folder: READ
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 12-May-1994 16:42
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By MS NARA, Date 12/12/14

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA4608 1381421-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 181421Z MAY 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 181421Z MAY 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9441
INFO: RUEHZJ/HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION COLLECTIVE
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 5330
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0209
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1952
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 2031
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1571
RUEHKG/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0314
SUBJ: HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ON
VISIT TO RWANDA, INTENTIONS FOR UNHRC'S SPECIAL SESSION

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 04608
USUN PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW
SUBJECT: HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ON
VISIT TO RWANDA, INTENTIONS FOR UNHRC'S SPECIAL SESSION
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. IN A MAY 18 MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL, HIGH
COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AYALA LASSO DESCRIBED THE
SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA AS "DRAMATIC AND
TERRIBLE." HE FEARS THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TRAGEDY IS FAR
WORSE THAN THE 200,000 REPORTED DEAD. RWANDAN
GOVERNMENT AND RPF REPRESENTATIVES WELCOMED THE HIGH
COMMISSIONER'S VISIT AND GAVE HIM THEIR COOPERATION.
BOTH SIDES ACCEPT THE IDEA OF AN INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN
RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, ALTHOUGH FOR DIFFERENT REASONS.
AYALA HOPES THE UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION WILL underscore
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S INTEREST AND INTENTION TO
ACT QUICKLY, THAT IT WILL GIVE ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THE
HIGH COMMISSIONER'S PRECEDENT-SETTING VISIT TO RWANDA,
AND THAT IT WILL APPOINT A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR EMPOWERED
TO REPORT PROMPTLY AND REGULARLY. WE PROVIDED AYALA
WITH A COPY OF OUR DRAFT ELEMENTS FOR THE SESSION; HE
EXPRESSED HIS SATISFACTION WITH THEM. AYALA ALSO
COMMENTED ON BURUNDI (SEPTEL). END SUMMARY.

THE HCHR'S VISIT TO RWANDA

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

3. AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL AND POLCOUNS MET WITH HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS JOSE AYALA LASSO MAY 18 FOR A READ-OUT OF HIS TRIP TO RWANDA AND TO ASCERTAIN HIS VIEWS ON THE UPCOMING SPECIAL SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. AYALA BEGAN BY DESCRIBING THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AS "DRAMATIC AND TERRIBLE." LOGISTICS AND COMMUNICATIONS, HE SAID, WERE ALMOST NONEXISTENT. HIS PLANE LANDED IN KIGALI AMID GUNFIRE WHICH FORCED THE OTHER DAILY FLIGHT TO BE CANCELLED. THE ARMORED VEHICLES IN WHICH HE TRAVELED WERE STOPED BY SEEMINGLY UNDISCIPLINED BOY-SOLDIERS WIELDING GRENADES AND SEEKING TUTSIS. OUTSIDE KIGALI, CORPSES LIE ROTTING ALONG THE ROADS AND THE SMELL OF DEATH IS IN THE AIR. REFUGEE CAMPS STAND EMPTY NEAR THE CITY. ALTHOUGH AYALA SAW NO STARVATION, HE WAS BESET BY LARGE GROUPS OF CHILDREN ASKING FOR FOOD. HE FEARS THAT AS MANY AS 600,000 PEOPLE MAY HAVE BEEN MASSACRED.

4. AYALA HAD HIGH PRAISE FOR GENERAL DALLAIRE OF UNAMIR AND A POSITIVE IMPRESSION OF SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOOH BOOH. THE HCHR WAS ABLE TO MEET WITH MILITARY LEADERS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE CONFLICT. HE WAS MUCH IMPRESSED WITH GENERAL KAGAMI OF THE RPF. RPF LEADERS WELCOMED THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S PRESENCE AND THE INTERNATIONAL INTEREST HIS VISIT REPRESENTED. AYALA ASKED THE RPF TO CONCLUDE A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT FORCES IN ORDER TO STOP THE CARNAGE. RPF LEADERS ARGUED THAT THE WORST MASSACRES IN RWANDA HAD OCCURRED DURING PERIODS OF CEASEFIRE. THE RPF WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO A CEASEFIRE ONLY AFTER REACHING AGREEMENT ON AN INVESTIGATION OF THE MASSACRES. AYALA SAID THE RPF APPEARS TO BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE KIGALI ANY TIME IT WISHES.

5. AYALA ALSO MET WITH THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, WHO WAS LESS IMPRESSIVE AND MORE DEFENSIVE THAN THE RPF LEADERS. THE CHIEF OF STAFF INSISTED THAT ARMED GROUPS NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT OR THE ARMY HAD PERPETRATED THE MASSACRES. HE SUGGESTED THE RPF AND ITS SUPPORTERS HAD ALSO ENGAGED IN MASSACRES. AYALA WON GOVERNMENT APPROVAL FOR SAFE PASSAGE OUT OF KIGALI FOR INDIVIDUALS BEING HELD HOSTAGE IN THE HOTEL MILLES COLLINES, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY FOUND THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY IN CONTROL OF ITS TROOPS TO BRING ABOUT THE RELEASE OF THOSE BEING HELD.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 04608

USUN PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE FERRARO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, UNHRC-1, RW

SUBJECT: HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ON

6. RWANDAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES ALSO AGREED TO A UN INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, BUT WANTED THE FOCUS TO BE ON THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE ABUSES. BOTH SIDES, AYALA SAID, ALSO WELCOMED A UN MILITARY PRESENCE IN RWANDA. NEITHER THE GOVERNMENT NOR THE RPF WANTS A PEACEKEEPING FORCE, BUT BOTH WOULD WELCOME UN EFFORTS TO PROTECT REFUGEE CAMPS AND RELIEF OPERATIONS.

7. IN A CHILLING ASIDE, AYALA SAID THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF TOLD HIM THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE SUPPORT OF 80 PERCENT OF RWANDA'S PEOPLE. IF THE RPF CONTINUES THE

WAR, HE SAID, "WE'LL EXTERMINATE ALL TUTSIS."

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNHRC

8. AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL TURNED THE CONVERSATION TO THE UPCOMING SPECIAL SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. HE NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE GERALDINE FERRARO PLANS TO ATTEND AND THAT AMBASSADOR DAVID RAWSON MAY ALSO BE PRESENT. SPIEGEL ASKED WHAT AYALA WOULD RECOMMEND TO THE SPECIAL SESSION.

8. AYALA REPLIED THAT HIS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WILL BE PHRASED IN A MANNER THAT DOES NOT SUGGEST THAT HE IS SEEKING TO INSTRUCT THE COMMISSION. HE HOPES THE SPECIAL SESSION WILL DEMONSTRATE BOTH THE INTEREST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND ITS CAPACITY TO ACT QUICKLY IN THE FACE OF MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HE HOPES THE COMMISSION STATES ITS FULL SUPPORT FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER. (AYALA STRESSED THAT HIS VISIT TO RWANDA HAD ESTABLISHED AN IMPORTANT PRECEDENT FOR WHICH HE WANTS UNHRC ENDORSEMENT.) AYALA ALSO FAVORS THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR WHO WOULD REPORT BACK TO THE COMMISSION WITHIN A LIMITED TIMEFRAME AND WOULD BE ABLE TO KEEP REPORTING ON CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES. HE HOPES THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR WILL BE ABLE TO CALL ON OTHER RAPPORTEURS TO ASSIST AS NECESSARY.

9. SPIEGEL ASKED WHETHER AYALA ENDORSED HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS FOR RWANDA AND WHETHER HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO SEND MONITORS ON HIS OWN AUTHORITY. WE RECALLED THAT THE HCHR'S MANDATE IS BROAD AND DOES NOT PREVENT HIM FROM DOING SO. AYALA REPLIED THAT HE STRONGLY FAVORS THE IDEA OF MONITORS BUT WOULD MUCH PREFER TO HAVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TAKE THE DECISION TO SEND THEM. HE HOPES IN THIS WAY TO AVOID MAKING A CONTROVERSIAL RECOMMENDATION THAT COULD DILUTE SUPPORT FOR HIS OTHER IDEAS.

10. WE PROVIDED AYALA WITH A COPY THE ELEMENTS THE U.S. HOPES TO SEE IN THE SPECIAL SESSION'S RESOLUTION. HE LOOKED OVER THE LIST AND EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH ITS ELEMENTS. HE WAS SOMEWHAT RESERVED ABOUT OUR PROPOSAL THAT THE COMMISSION ASK THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO MAKE THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT AVAILABLE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, EXPLAINING THAT THIS ALSO RISKED AN ELEMENT OF CONTROVERSY. WE POINTED THAT THERE WAS A PRECEDENT FOR THIS IN THE YUGOSLAVIA RESOLUTION. AYALA EXPRESSED STRONG SUPPORT FOR HOLDING INDIVIDUALS ACCOUNTABLE, FOR INCLUDING A HUMAN RIGHTS ELEMENT IN ANY FORTHCOMING UN OPERATION, AND FOR ESTABLISHING AN ADVISORY SERVICES PROGRAM FOR RWANDA. HE ASKED US TO CONSIDER WHETHER WE MIGHT INCLUDE POSITIVE WORDS IN THE RESOLUTION ABOUT RECONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE FOR RWANDA, ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED THIS IS TECHNICALLY BEYOND THE COMPETENCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

10. AYALA AND SPIEGEL AGREED TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH AND TO WORK TOGETHER FOR A SUCCESSFUL SPECIAL SESSION.

SPIEGEL

BT

#4608

NNNN

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

SSN: 4608
<^SSN>4608

TOR: 940518102306 M1053219
<^TOR>940518102408 M1053220

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: ROUTINE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: RAACZYUW RUCNDTA2232 1462049-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: R 262049Z MAY 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

OSRI: RUCNDT

DTG: 262049Z MAY 94

ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 6718

INFO: ****

SUBJ: UN SYG PRESSURED BY EUROPEANS FOR MORE HIGH-
LEVEL UN JOBS FOR THEM, SAYS U.S. LEADERSHIP AT UN IS KEY

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 002232

NODIS

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PINR, UNGA

SUBJECT: UN SYG PRESSURED BY EUROPEANS FOR MORE HIGH-
LEVEL UN JOBS FOR THEM, SAYS U.S. LEADERSHIP AT UN IS KEY
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. I MET WITH UN SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI
ONE-ON-ONE FOR ALMOST AN HOUR ON MAY 23. I HAD
SCHEDULED AN APPOINTMENT TO DISCUSS U.S. HIGH-LEVEL
APPOINTMENTS AT THE UN (SEPTEL), BUT HE PULLED ME AWAY
TO ADDRESS ISSUES WHICH WERE CLEARLY ON HIS MIND AS HE
RETURNED FROM AN EXTENDED TRIP TO EUROPE.

PRESSURE FROM THE EUROPEANS: JOBS

3. BBG WAS IN A CONFRONTATIONAL MODE WHEN I MET HIM.
HE SAID HE HAD RUN INTO A WALL OF HOSTILITY AGAINST THE
U.S. FROM THE EUROPEANS DURING HIS JUST-COMPLETED TRIP
TO EUROPE AND AFRICA. EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d THE U.S. DRIVE FOR
ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL, THE
PRESS BY CONGRESS TO REDUCE THE USG ASSESSMENT ON
PEACEKEEPING, AND THE FACT THAT THE U.S. DID NOT PAY ITS
UN DUES ON TIME OR IN FULL WERE POINTS THAT THE
EUROPEANS REPEATEDLY MADE TO HIM. THESE POINTS HURT US,
ESPECIALLY AS THE OPTIC IN EUROPE WAS THAT THE U.S. WAS
MOVING AWAY FROM THE UN. IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA, THE
EUROPEANS THOUGHT THAT THEIR FINANCIAL MIGHT IN THE UN
SHOULD RESULT IN A GREATER VOICE.
U.S. LEADERSHIP ESSENTIAL IN ALL AREAS

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

5. I REMINDED BBG THAT WE HAD SUPPORTED THE DEPLOYMENT OF A MECHANIZED GHANIAN BATTALION FOR RWANDA, WE HAD UNDER FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION A REQUEST FOR EQUIPMENT, AND WE DID SUPPORT ACTION TO REDUCE THE BLOODSHED. HIS PESSIMISM DID NOT LIFT. BBG WAS STUNG BY THE CRITICISM, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, THE UN HAD COME UNDER DURING HIS TRAVEL AND WAS LOOKING FOR AN OUTLET TO VENT HIS FRUSTRATION THAT THE UN WAS BEING PRESENTED AS INEFFECTUAL AND INEFFICIENT. HIS MEETING WITH ME, AMONG THE FIRST ON HIS RETURN TO NEW YORK, PROVIDED HIM AN OUTLET.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

ALBRIGHT

BT

#2232

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2232

TOR: 940526174725 M1068381

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 TT1 WALKER

WHSR SPECIAL

Q

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA6410 1730113-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 220107Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 220107Z JUN 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 0000
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0000
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITYADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0000
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0000
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0000
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0000
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 0000
RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 0000
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0000
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0000
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0000
RUEHAB/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 0000
SUBJ: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ON FRENCH INITIATIVE FOR
RWANDA; RPF WILL NEITHER RESIST NOR ENDORSE THE FRENCH
EFFORT

TEXT:

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 166410
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PINS, MOPS, UN UG, RW, FR
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI ON FRENCH INITIATIVE FOR
RWANDA; RPF WILL NEITHER RESIST NOR ENDORSE THE FRENCH
EFFORT

REF: STATE 164454

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE MET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI TUESDAY MORNING, JUNE 21, IN A FOLLOW UP TO THEIR CONVERSATION UPON MUSEVENI'S ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON JUNE 18 (REFTEL). MUSEVENI SAID HE HAD NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN SPEAKING WITH THE RPF'S KAGAME ABOUT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE ON RWANDA, BUT PROMISED TO KEEP TRYING DURING THE COURSE OF JUNE 21. HE QUESTIONED THE DESIRABILITY OF A FRENCH INTERVENTION (AS HE DID IN REMARKS TO THE PRESS ON JUNE 20), BUT TOLD A/S MOOSE THAT HE WOULD TRY TO DISSUADE THE RPF FROM UNDERMINING THE FRENCH EFFORT. MUSEVENI'S FOREIGN MINISTER CALLED DEPARTMENT LATER ON JUNE 21 TO REPORT THAT KAGAME HAS TOLD THE GOV THAT THE RPF WILL NOT RESIST A UN-BACKED FRENCH HUMANITARIAN EFFORT; THE RPF

WILL NEITHER PUBLICLY ENDORSE NOR PUBLICLY REJECT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. END SUMMARY.

3. A/S MOOSE MET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI AT THE UGANDAN EMBASSY RESIDENCE FOR 30 MINUTES ON JUNE 21. MOOSE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADORS CARSON AND SHINN AND UGANDA DESKOFF. MUSEVENI WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER SSEMOGERERE, MFA PERMSEC KATSIGAZI, AND AMBASSADOR KATENTA, APULI.

4. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS FOR A FOLLOW-UP TO HIS EARLIER REQUEST THAT MUSEVENI CONTACT THE RPF TO URGE COOPERATION WITH THE FRENCH INITIATIVE ON RWANDA. MUSEVENI RESPONDED THAT HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO REACH KAGAME DUE TO TECHNICAL PROBLEMS. HE HAD HOWEVER SPOKEN WITH "ONE OF OUR MINISTERS" IN KAMPALA AND ASKED THAT A MESSAGE SUPPORTING THE FRENCH EFFORT BE PASSED TO KAGAME. HE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED A READOUT.

5. A/S MOOSE STRESSED TO MUSEVENI THE IMPORTANCE OF GETTING THE RPF ON BOARD WITH THE FRENCH EFFORT. WE WERE DISTURBED BY REPORTS THAT THE RPF REFUSED TO MEET WITH FRANCE'S FORMER AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA, WHO HAD BEEN DISPATCHED TO KAMPALA TO MEET WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVES. DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE RPF IS ESSENTIAL. THE U.S. HOPED THAT MUSEVENI WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO REACH KAGAME WITH THIS MESSAGE.

6. AS HE DID IN A MEETING WITH THE PRESS ON JUNE 20,

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

7. A/S MOOSE RESPONDED THAT, IN FACT, THE FRENCH WERE THE ONLY COUNTRY PREPARED TO LEAD A "HUMANITARIAN BRIDGE OPERATION" UNTIL AN EXPANDED UN FORCE IS ON THE GROUND. THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WHICH WAS SCHEDULED FOR DEBATE JUNE 21 STRESSED THAT THE FRENCH PLAN WAS CONSISTENT WITH PREVIOUS RWANDA RESOLUTIONS AND WAS VERY EXPLICIT IN DESIGNATING THE FRENCH EFFORT AS A SHORT-TERM MEASURE TO HELP PROTECT VULNERABLE POPULATIONS UNTIL A UN FORCE IS IN PLACE. THERE WOULD BE NO/NO POLITICAL COMPONENT REFLECTED IN THE UN RESOLUTION. THE USG BELIEVES THAT THIS EFFORT MUST BE SUPPORTED IN THE INTEREST OF PREVENTING MORE DEATHS AMONG "HOSTAGE POPULATIONS" IN RWANDA. BUT NONE OF THIS WILL WORK IF THE RPF REMAINS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED.

8. MUSEVENI DISCUSSED HIS CONCERN THAT A FRENCH INTERVENTION MIGHT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR SOME OF THE HARD-LINE HUTUS RESPONSIBLE FOR MASS KILLINGS TO BE PART OF AN EVENTUAL POLITICAL SOLUTION IN RWANDA. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT THE U.S. AGREED STRONGLY THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLINGS HAD NO PLACE IN A FUTURE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT. BUT WE WERE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENSURE THAT THE

UN RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THE FRENCH EFFORT WAS STRICTLY FOCUSSSED ONLY ON HUMANITARIAN RELIEF FOR POPULATIONS IN DANGER, NOT A POLITICAL PROCESS. "IF WE HESITATE NOW TO SORT OUT THE POLITICS, MANY MORE PEOPLE WILL DIE," HE SAID. MOOSE NOTED THAT WE ALSO HAD TO CONSIDER THE IMPORTANCE OF DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO KEEP AN INCREASINGLY VOLATILE BURUNDI FROM ERUPTING INTO VIOLENCE. OUR POSITION WAS THAT THE FRENCH PLAN FOR RWANDA WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A CALMING OF TENSION IN BURUNDI.

9. THE MEETING ENDED WITH MUSEVENI PROMISING TO CONTINUE HIS ATTEMPTS TO REACH KAGAME THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF JUNE 21.

10. ADDENDUM: LATER ON JUNE 21, UGANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER PAUL SSEMOGERERE (A MEMBER OF MUSEVENI'S DELEGATION) CALLED DEPARTMENT TO INFORM THAT THE GOU HAD RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING FEEDBACK FROM KAGAME ON THE FRENCH INITIATIVE: THE RPF WILL NOT RESIST THE FRENCH INITIATIVE AS LONG AS IT IS BACKED BY A UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AND IS DEFINED AS STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN. THE RPF DOES NOT INTEND TO ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THE FRENCH EFFORT. RPF RESERVATIONS ARE SUBSTANTIAL ENOUGH TO PREVENT THEM FROM PUBLICLY ENDORSING THE FRENCH INITIATIVE, BUT NEITHER WILL THEY ISSUE A PUBLIC REJECTION. END NOTE

11. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. TALBOTT

BT

#6410

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6410

TOR: 940621211618 M1111883

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BLEICKEN BLEICKENN CLARKER DESHAZER FILE LABOURGEOIS NSC RICE
SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX WALKER

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA2575 1730107-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 220107Z JUN 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 220107Z JUN 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7246
INFO: RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0819
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0304
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0640
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1244
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0049
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0265
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0290
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0506
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0634
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0488
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1049
RUEHVEN/USMISSION USVIENNA 1703
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1778
SUBJ: LATEST DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FRENCH INITIATIVE
FOR RWANDA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002575
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHATRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN
SUBJECT: LATEST DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FRENCH INITIATIVE
FOR RWANDA
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. THE FRENCH RESOLUTION WAS DISCUSSED IN
SECURITY COUNCIL INFORMALS JUNE 21. THE TEXT WILL NOT
BE ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS, AND IS BEING PREPARED AS A
FRENCH DRAFT, NOT A PRESIDENTIAL DRAFT (TEXT BELOW AT
PARA 3). NEW ZEALAND HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY DO NOT
AGREE "WITH ONE WORD" OF THE RESOLUTION. CHINA,
NIGERIA, AND BRAZIL HAVE QUESTIONED HOW THE OPERATION
COULD BE SUCCESSFUL WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF BOTH
PARTIES. THE RPF CIRCULATED A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE SC ASKING THAT UNAMIR BE WITHDRAWN IF THE FRENCH

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

OPERATION IS APPROVED. (TEXT BELOW AT PARA 4). THE SECRETARIAT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SECURITY OF UNAMIR DEPENDS ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE RANK AND FILE OF THE RPF. THE FORCE COMMANDER IS MAKING CONTINGENCY PLANS, INCLUDING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF UNAMIR. TROOP CONTRIBUTOR AND EQUIPMENT DONOR OFFERS ARE BEING HELD UP TO SEE THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. FRANCE HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO INSIST ON A VOTE WEDNESDAY MORNING. OTHER MEMBERS HAVE ASKED THAT THE VOTE BE POSTPONED UNTIL THE AFTERNOON, TO ENABLE THEM TIME TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS. AS A COMPROMISE, THE COUNCIL WILL HOLD INFORMALS IN THE MORNING, AND IF ALL MEMBERS HAVE INSTRUCTIONS, WILL PROCEED TO A VOTE BEFORE LUNCH. END SUMMARY.

3. BEGIN TEXT.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

--REAFFIRMING ALL ITS PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS ON THE SITUATION IN RWANDA, IN PARTICULAR ITS RESOLUTION 912 (1994) OF 21 APRIL 1994, 918 (1994 OF 17 MAY 1994 AND 925 (1994) OF 8 JUNE 1994, WHICH SET OUT THE MANDATE AND FORCE LEVEL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA (UNANIR),

--DETERMINED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL SETTLEMENT UNDER THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT AND ENCOURAGING THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR RWANDA TO CONTINUE AND REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS AT THE NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS TO PROMOTE THESE OBJECTIVES,

--STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COOPERATION OF ALL PARTIES FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RWANDA,

--HAVING CONSIDERED THE LETTER OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF 19 JUNE 1994 (S/1994/...),

--TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE TIME NEEDED TO GATHER THE NECESSARY RESOURCES FOR THE EFFECTIVE DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR AS EXPANDED IN RESOLUTIONS 918 (1994) AND 925 (1994),

--NOTING THE OFFER BY MEMBER STATES TO COOPERATE WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TOWARDS THE FULFILMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RWANDA (S/1994/...), AND STRESSING THE STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN CHARACTER OF THIS OPERATION WHICH SHALL BE CONDUCTED IN AN IMPARTIAL AND NEUTRAL FASHION, AND WHICH SHALL NOT CONSTITUTE AN INTERPOSITION FORCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES,

--WELCOMING THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES TO BRING PEACE TO RWANDA,

--DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUATION OF SYSTEMATIC AND
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002575
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;

JOINT STAFF FOR CHATRMAN, DIR JS, J3;

SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN

SUBJECT: LATEST DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FRENCH INITIATIVE

FOR RWANDA

WIDESPREAD KILLINGS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN RWANDA,

--RECOGNIZING THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA CONSTITUTES A UNIQUE CASE WHICH DEMANDS AN URGENT RESPONSE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,

--DETERMINING THAT THE MAGNITUDE OF THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN RWANDA CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REGION,

-1. WELCOMES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S LETTER DATED 19 JUNE 1994 (S/1994/...) AND AGREES WITH ITS CONCLUSIONS,

-2. WELCOMES ALSO THE OFFER BY MEMBER STATES (S/1994/...) TO COOPERATE WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RWANDA THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TEMPORARY OPERATION UNDER NATIONAL COMMAND AND CONTROL AIMED AT CONTRIBUTING, IN AN IMPARTIAL WAY, TO THE SECURITY AND PROTECTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS, REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS AT RISK IN RWANDA, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE COSTS OF IMPLEMENTING THE OFFER WILL BE BORNE BY THE MEMBER STATES CONCERNED;

-3. ACTING UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AUTHORIZES THE MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO CONDUCT THE OPERATION REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE USING ALL NECESSARY MEANS (COMMENSURATE WITH)/(TO ACHIEVE) THE HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVES SET OUT IN PARAGRAPHS 4 (A) AND (B) OF RESOLUTION 923 (1994),

-4. DECIDES THAT THE MISSION OF MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL BE LIMITED TO A PERIOD OF TWO MONTHS FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION, UNLESS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL DETERMINES EARLIER THAT EXPANDED UNAMIR CAN FULFIL ITS MANDATE,

-5. COMMENDS THE OFFERS ALREADY MADE OF TROOPS FOR EXPANDED UNAMIR;

-6. CALLS UPON ALL MEMBER STATES TO RESPOND URGENTLY TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REQUEST FOR RESOURCES, INCLUDING LOGISTICAL SUPPORT, IN ORDER TO ENABLE EXPANDED UNAMIR TO FULFIL ITS MANDATE EFFECTIVELY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO IDENTIFY AND COORDINATE THE SUPPLY OF THE ESSENTIAL EQUIPMENT REQUIRED BY TROOPS COMMITTED TO EXPANDED UNAMIR;

-7. WELCOMES, IN THIS RESPECT, THE OFFERS ALREADY MADE BY MEMBER STATES OF EQUIPMENT FOR TROOPS CONTRIBUTORS TO UNAMIR AND CALLS ON OTHER MEMBERS TO OFFER SUCH SUPPORT, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF COMPREHENSIVE PROVISION OF EQUIPMENT TO SPECIFIC TROOP CONTRIBUTORS, TO SPEED UNAMIR'S EXPANDED FORCE DEPLOYMENT,

-8. REQUESTS MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH UNAMIR AND ALSO REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SET UP APPROPRIATE MECHANISMS TO THIS END,

-9. DEMANDS THAT ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT AND OTHERS CONCERNED IMMEDIATELY BRING TO AN END ALL KILLINGS OF CIVILIAN POPULATIONS IN AREAS UNDER THEIR CONTROL AND ALLOW MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO IMPLEMENT FULLY THE MISSION SET FORTH IN PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE,

-10. REQUESTS THE STATES CONCERNED AND THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002575

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHATRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN
SUBJECT: LATEST DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FRENCH INITIATIVE
FOR RWANDA
SECRETARY-GENERAL, AS APPROPRIATE, TO REPORT TO THE
COUNCL ON A REGULAR BASIS, THE FIRST SUCH REPORT TO BE
MADE NO LATER THAN FIFTEEN DAYS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF
THIS RESOLUTION, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS OPERATION
AND THE PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS THE FULFILMENT OF THE
OBJECTIVES REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3 ABOVE;
-11. ALSO REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT ON
THE PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS COMPLETED DEPLOYMENT OF
EXPANDED UNAMIR WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF HIS REPORT DUE
ON 9 AUGUST 1994 UNDER PARAGRPH 17 OF RESOLUTION 925
(1994), AS WELL AS ON PROGRESS TOWARD THE RESUMPTION OF
A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORDS;
-12. DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.
END TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF RPF LETTER TO SC PRESIDENT:

MR. PRESIDENT:

I RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS THIS AFTERNOON TO CONVEY TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE REQUEST OF THE
RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THAT IF THE COUNCIL PLANS TO
APPROVE THE PROPOSED FRENCH INTERVENTION, IT SHOULD,
SIMULTANEOUSLY, AUTHORIZE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE EXISTING
CONTINGENT OF UNAMIR.

THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS CONCERNED THAT ITS
PERSONNEL MAY NOT ALWAYS BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A
CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN UNAMIR AND OTHER FOREIGN
FORCES TN THE EVENT OF AN ESCALATION OF HOSTILITIES. WE
HAVE, REGRETTABLY, COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IT IS
NECESSARY THAT UNAMIR PERSONNEL, BE WITHDRAWN TO SAFETY,
AT LEAST ON A TEMPORARY BASIS.

WE WISH TO ASSURE YOUR EXCELLENCY THAT THIS REQUEST IS
MADE IN GOOD FAITH AND DOES NOT, IN ANY WAY, REFLECT A
DESIRE ON OUR PART TO AVOID OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE
SAFETY OF UNITED NATIONS PERSONNEL IN OUR TERRITORY.

FOR THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE RWANDESE PATRIOTIC
FRONT. SIGNED MR. GERALD GAHIMA

END TEXT OF RPF LETTER. ALBRIGHT

BT

#2575

NNNN

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

SSN: 2575
<^SSN>2575
<^SSN>2575

TOR: 940621215643 M1111934
<^TOR>940621215646 M1111936
<^TOR>940621215647 M1111937

DIST:

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BLEICKEN BLEICKENN CLARKER DESHAZER FILE LEBOURGEOIS RICE STEINBERG
SUM SUM2 WALKER
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUFHGLA2202 1731448-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 221448Z JUN 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
OSRI: RUFHGI
DTG: 221448Z JUN 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BANGUI
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACI IMMEDIATE 5579
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 8073
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0193
SUBJ: POSSIBLE FRENCH DEMAND FOR AIRLIFT SUPPORT
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BANGUI 002202
DEPARTMENT FOR P/M, AND AF
PARIS FOR PERLOW
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS, PREL, RW, FR, US
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FRENCH DEMAND FOR AIRLIFT SUPPORT
REF: BANGUI

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. COL. MOREAU, CHIEF OF OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH
FORCES IN C.A.R. (EFAO), REQUESTED A SECOND MEETING
WITH US ON JUNE 22, FOLLOWING CONVERSATION REPORTED
REFTEL. HE RELATED THAT AVAILABLE FRENCH AIRLIFT
CAPACITY FROM FRANCE TO GOMA, ZAIRE WAS PROBLEMATIC,
GIVEN LIMITED RANGE OF AVAILABLE AIRCRAFT AND THE JET
FUEL SITUATION IN GOMA.
3. HE SAID THAT FRENCH MILITARY PLANNERS IN BANGUI
UNDERSTOOD THAT THE U.S. A) WAS FAVORABLE TO A
SHORT-TERM HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN RWANDA AND B)
HAD STATED THAT IT WOULD CONSIDER LENDING A
LOGISTICAL HAND. WE RESPONDED THAT A) THE U.S.
SUPPORTED U.N.-MANDATED EFFORTS TO BRING ORDER TO
RWANDA AND B) HAD PUBLICLY PLEDGED SUPPORT FOR SUCH
EFFORTS, INCLUDING PROVISION OF APC'S TO THE UNAMIR
FORCE.

4. MOREAU SAID THAT HE WAS AWARE OF THE LARGER
POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE OPERATION BUT WAS
SPEAKING ON A STRICTLY LOGISTICAL LEVEL -- IF THE
U.S. WERE ABLE TO PROVIDE AIRLIFT FROM FRANCE
DIRECTLY TO GOMA, ZAIRE IN THE FORM OF C-141'S, THE
HUMANITARIAN OPERATION WOULD HAVE OVERCOME A MAJOR
HURDLE. HE SAID THAT AT THIS TIME HE COULD NOT
QUANTIFY THE ACTUAL AIRLIFT CAPACITY REQUIRED; THE

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

COMMANDER OF FRENCH FORCES HERE (COMELEF) WOULD REQUEST AUTHORITIES IN PARIS TO PRESENT THE REQUEST WITH SPECIFICS (AND, ALTHOUGH UNSTATED, PRESUMABLY THE NECESSARY POLITICAL CLEARANCE) ON A GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT LEVEL. HE CITED TLOSE FRANCO-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN SOMALIA AND THE 1991 EVACUATION OF ZAIRE THROUGH BANGUI AND BRAZZAVILLE. HE ASKED THAT WE INFORM THE APPROPRIATE U.S. OFFICIALS THAT A REQUEST MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING. WE PROMISED TO DO SO AT ONCE.

5. COMMENT. SINCE THE FIRST WAVE OF FRENCH TROOPS IS ALREADY IN BANGUI, WE ASSUME THAT ANY AIRLIFT FROM FRANCE WOULD CONSIST OF A SECOND WAVE OF REINFORCEMENTS. MOREAU ALSO ASKED IF WE WERE IN THE LOOP ON OPERATIONAL MILITARY PLANNING. WE REPLIED THAT WE WERE NOT PRIVY AT THIS LEVEL AND DID NOT KNOW AT WHAT LEVEL OR IN WHAT DETAIL THIS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED ELSEWHERE. WE ARE PREPARED TO ASK FOR ADDITIONAL DETAILS HERE IN BANGUI, IF THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL AT THE POLICY FORMATION LEVEL. PLEASE INSTRUCT IF ADDITIONAL FOLLOW UP IS DESIRED.

GRIBBIN
BT
#2202
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2202

TOR: 940622111625 M1112994

DIST:

SIT: DESHAZER NSC STEINBERG VAX
<^DIST>
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG STEINBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER FILE RICE SUM SUM2
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA2918 1960115-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 150115Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 150115Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7742
INFO: RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0295
RUEHKG/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0317
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0006
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0536
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1087
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5425
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1863
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0067
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0550
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0849
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0332
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0671
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1267
SUBJ: RWANDA: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS STATEMENT JULY
14 CALLING FOR CEASEFIRE
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002918
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN
SUBJECT: RWANDA: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS STATEMENT JULY
14 CALLING FOR CEASEFIRE
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: COUNCIL ADOPTED EVENING OF JULY 14 A
PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT DEMANDING AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE
IN RWANDA AND REAFFIRMING THE HUMANITARIAN NATURE OF THE
SAFE AREAS. TOMORROW THE COUNCIL IS LIKELY TO CONFRONT
THE ISSUE OF RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS
SEEKING SAFE HAVEN IN THE PROTECTED AREAS. COMMENT IN
PARA 5; TEXT OF STATEMENT IN PARA 6. END SUMMARY
3. THE FRENCH CIRCULATED A DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
JULY 14 IN RESPONSE TO REPORTS OF MASSIVE REFUGEE FLOWS
INTO ZAIRE AND THREATS TO THE STABILITY OF THE ENTIRE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

REGION. SUBSEQUENTLY, FRANCE LEARNED, AND INFORMED THE COUNCIL, THAT INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE SEEKING REFUGE IN THE HUMANITARIAN ZONE. FRANCE ASKED THE COUNCIL TO INCLUDE IN THE STATEMENT A WARNING THAT THE ZONE MUST NOT BE USED FOR POLITICAL OR MILITARY PURPOSES.

4. DEBATE OVER THE STATEMENT ITSELF CENTERED AROUND THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT SHOULD ADDRESS THE IMMEDIATE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION OR ALSO WARN OF COUNCIL ACTION SHOULD THE SANCTITY OF THE SAFE AREA NOT BE RESPECTED. ALL MEMBERS AGREED THAT THE ZONE MUST BE KEPT STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN. OTHERS, LED BY FRANCE, ALSO SOUGHT A WARNING OF "APPROPRIATE ACTION" SHOULD THE ZONES NOT BE RESPECTED. THE UK AND ARGENTINA, SUPPORTED BY THE U.S., ARGUED SUCCESSFULLY THAT THE COUNCIL NOT COMMIT ITSELF TO TAKING ANY UNSPECIFIED ACTIONS.

5. COMMENT: TOMORROW, JULY 15, WE EXPECT FRANCE TO SEEK THE COUNCIL'S GUIDANCE ON WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH INTERIM GOVERNMENT LEADERS FOUND IN THE SAFE ZONES. FRENCH POLCOUNS INFORMED U.S. POLOFF THAT SEVERAL HAVE ALREADY TURNED UP. POLCOUNS EXPRESSED NO PREFERRED RESPONSE, SAYING "THEY ARE TOTALLY IN THE COUNCIL'S HANDS." HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE LEADERS ARE EXTREMELY POPULAR AMONG REFUGEES IN THE ZONES, AND THAT FRANCE FEARS ATTACKS ON THEIR FORCES SHOULD THEY BE ARRESTED.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL DRAFT STATEMENT:
THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS ALARMED BY THE CONTINUATION OF THE FIGHTING IN RWANDA, WHICH IS CAUSING A MASSIVE EXODUS OF THE POPULATION. THIS SITUATION MAY LEAD VERY QUICKLY TO A FURTHER HUMANITARIAN DISASTER AND ENDANGER THE STABILITY OF THE REGION, SINCE THE FLOW OF THESE REFUGEES IS SERIOUSLY AFFECTING THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

IN THE LIGHT OF THIS GRAVE SITUATION, THE SECURITY COUNCIL:

- DEMANDS AN IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL CEASE-FIRE AND INVITES THE PARTIES TO REPORT TO THE FORCE COMMANDER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA (UNAMIR) ON THEIR ACTIONS IN THIS RESPECT;
- URGES THE RESUMPTION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT AND CALLS UPON THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO CONTRIBUTE ACTIVELY TO IT;
- REAFFIRMS THE HUMANITARIAN NATURE OF THE SECURE AREA IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF RWANDA AND DEMANDS THAT ALL CONCERNED FULLY RESPECT THIS. IT WILL KEEP THE MATTER UNDER CLOSE REVIEW;
- URGES ALSO MEMBER STATES, UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002918 WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG; JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3; SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN
SUBJECT: RWANDA: SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS STATEMENT JULY 14 CALLING FOR CEASEFIRE
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO MOBILIZE ALL AVAILABLE

RESOURCES IN ORDER URGENTLY TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN
AS
SISTANCE TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN DISTRESS;
- CALLS UPON MEMBER STATES TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY
CONTRIBUTIONS IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE
EXPANDED UNAMIR IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS DETERMINED TO FOLLOW VERY
CLOSELY THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND
REMAINS ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

END TEXT. MINIMIZED CONSIDERED

ALBRIGHT

BT

#2918

NNNN

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

SSN: 2918
<^SSN>2918

TOR: 940714212938 M1151672
<^TOR>940714212941 M1151674

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
<^DIST>
SIT: KRECKO
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHSAA0045 1961514-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCCC ZZH (TAO)
LINE3: O 151514Z JUL 94 ZDK DUE TO NUMEROUS SVCS
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
OSRI: RUEHSA
DTG: 151514Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5184
INFO: RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE 0036
RUEHTVAMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 0027
RUEHKT/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0100
RUEHMB/AMEMBASSY MBABANE IMMEDIATE 2027
RUEHRU/AMEMBASSY MASERU IMMEDIATE 1873
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1341
RUEHLG/AMEMBASSY LILONGWE IMMEDIATE 0322
RUEHWD/AMEMBASSY WINDHOEK IMMEDIATE 2445
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0922
RUEHSB/AMEMBASSY HARARE IMMEDIATE 1486
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 0040
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 1148
RUEHLI/AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE 0037
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0026
RUEHOR/AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE 1327
RUDKLD/AMEMBASSY LUANDA IMMEDIATE 0243
RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE 0847
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE 0026
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE 0927
SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 15 MEETING
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALFRED NZO

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 PRETORIA 010045
PLEASE PASS TO NSC FOR STEINBERG
LUSAKA FOR USDEL, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, SF
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 15 MEETING
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALFRED NZO
REF: A) STATE 188883 (NOTAL)
- B) MAPUTO 4018 (NOTAL)
- C) STATE 187417 (NOTAL)
- D) MAPUTO 4006 (NOTAL)
- E) STATE 188621 (NOTAL)
1. ~~(CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)~~.

SUMMARY

2. DURING A ONE HOUR MEETING IN PRETORIA'S UNION
BUILDINGS JULY 15 WITH THE AMBASSADOR, SOUTH AFRICAN

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ALFRED NZO SAID:

-- HE HAD THAT MORNING SPOKEN WITH PRESIDENT MANDELA, WHO VERY MUCH WOULD LIKE HIS U.S. STATE VISIT TO TAKE PLACE OCTOBER 4-5-6;

-- HE THANKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR HIS WORDS OF PRAISE FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN HUMANITARIAN EFFORT VIS A VIS RWANDA AND ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANCE OF ONGOING INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO RESPOND TO THE TRAGEDY THERE;

-- MANDELA WILL TRAVEL JULY 21 TO MOZAMBIQUE, WHERE HE WILL ENGAGE THE RANGE OF PLAYERS AND REINFORCE PRESIDENT CHIASSANO'S COMMITMENT TO THE TIMELY HOLDING OF ELECTIONS;

-- THE SAG CONTINUES TO WAIT FOR A RESPONSE FROM UNITA PRESIDENT SAVIMBI REGARDING MANDELA'S INVITATION TO COME TO SOUTH AFRICA. NZO WILL BE IN LONDON PART OF THE WEEK OF JULY 18 AND WILL HAVE A WORD ABOUT IT WITH THE LOCAL UNITA REP THERE;

-- HE WILL ALSO TRAVEL TO LESOTHO OVERNIGHT NEXT WEEK TO TRY TO CONVINCE PRIME MINISTER MOKEHLE TO ALLOW THE KING TO PARTICIPATE IN A FUTURE SUMMIT WITH THE HEADS OF STATE OF BOTSWANA ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA;

-- HIS DEPARTMENT WOULD LOOK INTO ALLEGATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT OF THE SUDANESE ARMY IN THAT COUNTRY'S CIVIL WAR;

-- THE U.S. COULD REST ASSURED SOUTH AFRICA'S GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY (GNU) WILL DO WHAT IT CAN TO ENCOURAGE THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. END SUMMARY.

3. FLANKING NZO WERE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DFA) CHIEF DIRECTOR OF MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OSCAR VAN OORDT; DIRECTOR OF U.S. AND CANADA DIRECTORATE J.H. "HENNIE" DE KLERK; DIRECTOR, MINISTER'S OFFICE, VICTOR ZAZERAJ; DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NUCLEAR AND DISARMAMENT SUB-DIRECTORATE PETER GOOSSEN; AND DR. KHULU Z. MBATHA, NZO'S PRIVATE SECRETARY. POLCOUNS CAMPBELL AND POLOFF IRVING (NOTETAKER) ACCOMPANIED THE AMBASSADOR.

STATE VISIT

4. AMBASSADOR LED OFF EXPLAINING THAT THE USG VERY MUCH LOOKED FORWARD TO PRESIDENT MANDELA'S STATE VISIT AND THAT THE POSSIBLE DATES FOR IT WERE STILL UNDER DISCUSSION. HE NOTED THAT RUSSIAN PRESIDENT YELTSIN WAS SCHEDULED FOR A STATE VISIT SEPTEMBER 28-29 AND THE WHITE HOUSE CUSTOMARILY SOUGHT TO PUT SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN SUCH HIGH LEVEL EVENTS AS STATE VISITS BY

~~S O N E F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 PRETORIA 010045
PLEASE PASS TO NSC FOR STEINBERG

LUSAKA FOR USDEL, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, SF

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 15 MEETING

WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALFRED NZO

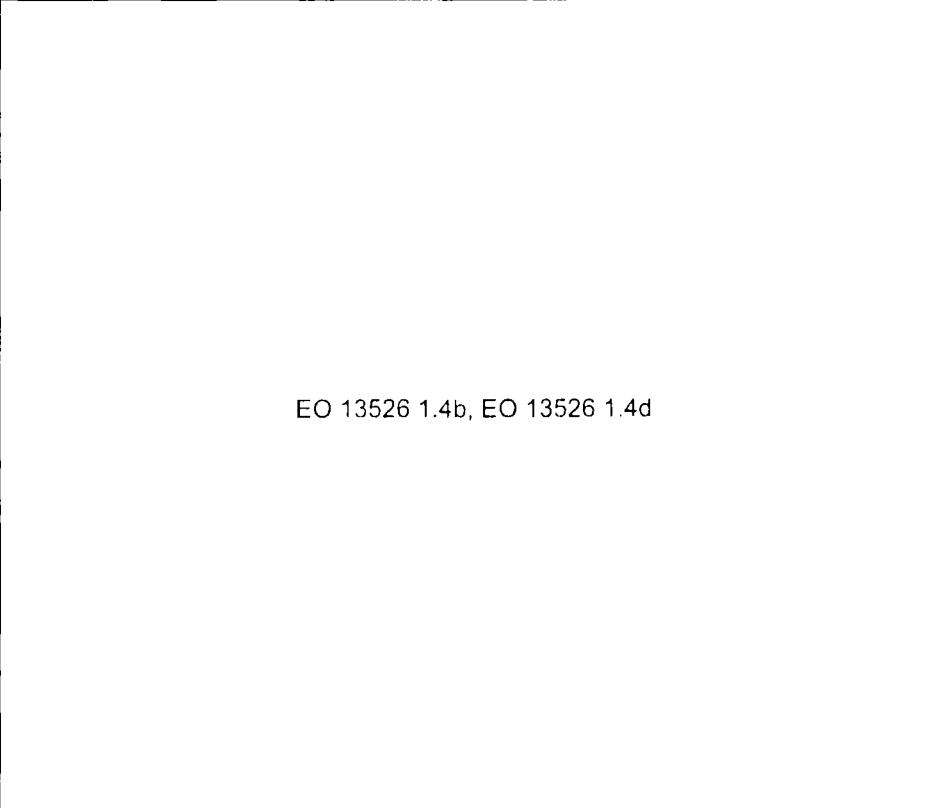
YELTSIN AND MANDELA. IT CURRENTLY WAS LOOKING AT A NOVEMBER DATE, JUST PRIOR TO PRESIDENT MANDELA'S DEPARTURE FOR THE FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT. NZO REPLIED THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED IN DETAIL THE DATES FOR THE STATE VISIT WITH MANDELA. PRESIDENT MANDELA, HE SAID,

EXPRESSED A STRONG PREFERENCE FOR AN OCTOBER 4-6 DATE FOR THE VISIT. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT WOULD ALREADY BE IN NEW YORK FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND CONGRESS WOULD BE IN SESSION. THE AMBASSADOR UNDERTOOK TO REPORT PRESIDENT MANDELA'S PREFERENCE TO WASHINGTON, ADDING HE WAS OPTIMISTIC A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT DATE FOR THE VISIT WOULD BE WORKED OUT.

RWANDA

5. THE AMBASSADOR TOLD NZO HE RESPECTED HIS GOVERNMENT'S WISH NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED MILITARILY IN THE RWANDA CONFLICT, AND CONVEYED USG APPRECIATION FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN RWANDA RELIEF EFFORT. THE AMBASSADOR CONTINUED THAT RWANDA WOULD NEED ONGOING HUMANITARIAN FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTRIBUTION IS IMPORTANT. NZO AGREED.

MOZAMBIQUE



EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

ANGOLA

8. THE MINISTER APPRECIATED THE AMBASSADOR'S WORDS OF THANKS AND PRAISE FOR THE SAG'S SUPPORTING UN MEDIATOR BEYE, PARTICULARLY IN HOSTING THE JULY 7 SUMMIT COMPRISING THE PRESIDENTS OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAIRE. NOTING THAT WE WERE AWARE OF THE RESUMPTION OF HUMANITARIAN FLIGHTS IN AND OUT OF HUAMBO, THE AMBASSADOR ASKED NZO WHAT WAS THE STATUS OF THE SAVIMBI ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 PRETORIA 010045

PLEASE PASS TO NSC FOR STEINBERG
LUSAKA FOR USDEL, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, SF
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 15 MEETING
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALFRED NZO
VISIT. NZO WAS NOT UP TO DATE, SAYING ONLY THAT HE HAD
THOUGHT THAT BY NOW SAVIMBI'S ADVANCE PEOPLE WOULD HAVE
COME TO DISCUSS ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VISIT. ZAZERAJ
EXPLAINED THE SAG WAS HAVING DIFFICULTY GETTING THROUGH
TO SAVIMBI. "WHEN WE TRIED TO GO BACK TO HIM TO
CONFIRM THE SCHEDULE, THE LINE HAD GONE DEAD," HE
ADDED. NZO TURNED TO ZAZERAJ AND ASKED WHETHER UNITA
HAD A REPRESENTATIVE IN LONDON. WHEN TOLD THEY DID,
NZO ASKED HIM TO ARRANGE AN APPOINTMENT WITH UNITA, AS
HE, THE MINISTER, WOULD BE IN LONDON THE WEEK OF JUNE
18. "THEN WE CAN HEAR FOR OURSELVES," NZO REMARKED,
CONCERNING THE DELAY IN RESPONDING TO PRESIDENT
MANDELA'S INVITATION.

LESOCHO

9. THE AMBASSADOR CONVEYED USG CONCERN OVER AMERICAN
CITIZENS WHO MIGHT BE CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF MILITARY
ACTION FROM OUTSIDE, ADDING IT WAS THE USG'S BELIEF
THAT THE SITUATION IN LESOTHO IS BETTER HANDLED
POLITICALLY THAN MILITARILY. THAT SAID, THE AMBASSADOR
NOTED THE USG'S APPRECIATION FOR THE JUDICIOUS MANNER
IN WHICH THE SAG HAD HANDLED THE LESOTHO CRISIS TO
DATE.

10. NZO REPORTED THAT HE WAS CALLED THE EVENING OF
JULY 14 BY COMMONWEALTH REPRESENTATIVE ANAFU, VISITING
IN JOHANNESBURG, TO EXPLAIN A NEWS ITEM HE HAD JUST
HEARD: THAT ZIMBABWE AND BOTSWANA WERE PREPARING TO
MARCH INTO LESOTHO. NZO TOLD ANAFU IT WAS THE FIRST HE
HAD HEARD OF IT. CHECKING WITH DFA DIRECTOR GENERAL
EVANS THE MORNING OF JULY 15, HE LEARNED THE NEWS ITEM
HAD TAKEN THE ZIMBABWEANS, TOO, BY SURPRISE, AND THEY
HAD PROMISED TO ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT DENYING ANY
INVASION PLANS. ALTHOUGH NZO HAD NOT YET SEEN IT, HE
WAS RELIEVED. HE ADDED THAT HE PLANNED TO "PAY AN
OVERNIGHT VISIT" TO LESOTHO THE WEEK OF JULY 18-22. AT
THAT TIME HE WOULD RAISE THE MATTER OF THE ABORTED JULY
8 SUMMIT, WHICH WOULD HAVE COMPRISED THE LESOTHO
LEADERSHIP AND PRESIDENTS OF BOTSWANA, ZIMBABWE AND
SOUTH AFRICA. THE MEETING FAILED BECAUSE THE GOL WAS
"NOT KEEN" TO HAVE THE KING ON ITS DELEGATION. NZO
SAID THAT WHEN SPEAKING WITH PRIME MINISTER MOKELE HE
WOULD ARGUE THAT INCLUSION OF THE KING IN DISCUSSIONS
WAS A WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE. THERE CAN BE NO
STABILITY IF A PART OF THE POPULATION WHICH IS LOYAL TO
THE MONARCH IS NOT HEARD, NZO OBSERVED.

SUDAN

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

THE MIDDLE EAST

~~G O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 PRETORIA 010045

PLEASE PASS TO NSC FOR STEINBERG

LUSAKA FOR USDEL, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, US, SF

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 15 MEETING

WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALFRED NZO

12. REACHING THE FINAL POINT ON HIS AGENDA, AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS WAS AT A VERY DELICATE STAGE. THE PROCESS HAD BEGUN AND THE BITTERNESS IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD WAS GREATER THAN THAT IN SOUTH AFRICA, MAKING RECONCILIATION MORE DIFFICULT. HE PRAISED NZO'S RECENT STATEMENT OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO ISRAEL TO STAY THE COURSE.

13. NZO REPLIED THAT THE SAG WAS VERY SUPPORTIVE OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS AND HAD HAD THE DISTINCTION OF BRINGING TOGETHER ARAFAT AND THE PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL ON SOUTH AFRICAN SOIL AT THE TIME OF THE MANDELA INAUGURATION. HE ASSURED AMBASSADOR THAT THE GNU WOULD ENCOURAGE THAT PROCESS' EVOLUTION.

COMMENT

14. WE WERE STRUCK BY THE CORDIAL TONE OF THE MEETING AND THE COINCIDENCE OF OUR VIEWS ACROSS A BROAD SPECTRUM OF ISSUES. NZO WHO HAS BEEN REPUTED TO BE OUT OF HIS DEPTH IN HIS NEW JOB, WAS CLEARLY MORE FAMILIAR WITH AFRICAN ISZUES THAN ANY OTHERS, BUT SEEMED VERY MUCH IN CHARGE OF HIS MEETING. HIS AFRIKANER HANDLERS BARELY UTTERED A WORD (EXCEPT ON MILITARY SALES ISSUES -- SEPTEL) AND THE MINISTER DID NOT LOOK TO THEM FOR HELP. END COMMENT.

15. LUANDA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

LYMAN

BT

#0045

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 0045
<^SSN>0045
<^SSN>0045
<^SSN>0045

TOR: 940718144316 M1156439
<^TOR>940718144642 M1156448
<^TOR>940718144634 M1156445
<^TOR>940718144636 M1156447

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER FILE NSC STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA6216 1961733-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 151732Z JUL 94 ZFF-4
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 151732Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1442
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:SO-LIC// IMMEDIATE
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0017
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 3934
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 8910
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0405
RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0306
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 2115
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 1674
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 5443
RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS
SUBJ: UNHCR OGATA APPEALS FOR IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE TO
HANDLE MASSIVE INFLUX OF RWANDAN REFUGEES INTO ZAIRE
TEXT:
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 06216
FOR P (P. TARNOFF), PRM (P. OAKLEY, AF (G. MOOSE), PM/ISP
NSC FOR S. BERGER
AID FOR BHR (D. STAFFORD), BHR/OFDA AND BHR/FFP
SECDEF FOR ASD (SO-LIC) A. HOLMES
NAIROBI FOR DART/RWANDA AND REDSO
ROME FOR FODAG
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, EAID, MASS, RW, CG, UNHCR
SUBJECT: UNHCR OGATA APPEALS FOR IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE TO
HANDLE MASSIVE INFLUX OF RWANDAN REFUGEES INTO ZAIRE
REF: GENEVA 6208
SUMMARY

1. UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES OGATA ADDRESSED
AMBASSADORS FROM DONOR GOVERNMENTS ON JULY 15 AT AN
EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN LIAISON WORKING
GROUP, WHICH WAS CALLED AT HER REQUEST. SHE ASKED FOR
IMMEDIATE IN-KIND ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF AIRLIFT OF
UNHCR STOCKS FROM VARIOUS LOCATIONS TO GOMA, ZAIRE, FOR
THE MASSIVE INFLUX OF RWANDANS. MRS. OGATA TOLD THE
HLWG THAT UNHCR CANNOT HANDLE THE INFLUX
SINGLE-HANDEDLY; THE PACE AND SCALE OF THE EMERGENCY IS
UNPRECEDENTED. UNHCR HAS ALREADY PREPARED A
MOBILIZATION PLAN FOR 500,000 REFUGEES IN GOMA, A FIGURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
REF ID: A13526

WHICH MAY PROVE TO BE TOO LOW. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UN DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS ESTIMATED THAT THE GOMA AIRPORT HAD THE CAPACITY TO OFF-LOAD UP TO 24 FLIGHTS PER DAY.

2. AT THE HLWG MEETING, ICRC DELEGATE-GENERAL FOR AFRICA JEAN-DANIEL TAUXE BRIEFED THE GROUP ON ICRC ACTIVITIES IN RWANDA AND ALONG THE ZAIRE-RWANDA BORDER. THE DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES ALSO DESCRIBED RELATED NEEDS OF THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM. DHA ANNOUNCED THAT THE UN CONSOLIDATED APPEAL FOR THE RWANDA CRISIS WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED IN NAIROBI ON JULY 19 AND PRESENTED BY U/SYG HANSEN IN GENEVA ON JULY 22.

3. UNHCR AND DHA DISTRIBUTED DETAILED CHARTS OF AIRLIFT REQUIREMENTS AND GOMA AIRPORT INFORMATION. ALL DOCUMENTS RECEIVED AT THE HLWG HAVE BEEN FAXED TO STATE (P, PRM AND PM), AID/BHR/OFDA AND DART/NAIROBI. END SUMMARY.

UNHCR

4. SADAKO OGATA, UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, ADDRESSED AMBASSADORS FROM DONOR GOVERNMENTS ON JULY 15 AT AN EMERGENCY HLWG MEETING CALLED AT HER REQUEST. SHE HIGHLIGHTED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- UNHCR CANNOT COPE SINGLE-HANDEDLY WITH THE MASSIVE INFLUX OF RWANDANS INTO GOMA, ZAIRE, PARTICULARLY CONSIDERING UNHCR'S STRETCHED CAPACITIES RESPONDING TO NEEDS OF ONE MILLION REFUGEES IN TANZANIA (OGATA JUST RETURNED FROM 9-12 JULY VISIT TO TANZANIA). THE PACE AND SCALE OF THIS NEWEST EMERGENCY IS UNPRECEDENTED.

-- UNHCR HAS DEVELOPED PLANS BASED ON A FIGURE OF 500,000 REFUGEES IN THE GOMA, ZAIRE AREA, ALTHOUGH UNHCR PREDICTS 800,000 COULD BE IN ZAIRE IN A MATTER OF DAYS. IT WILL TAKE A FEW DAYS TO BEEF UP UNHCR'S CAPACITY TO RESPOND TO THESE NUMBERS, AND UNHCR REQUIRES THE URGENT HELP OF GOVERNMENTS. THIS WEEKEND WILL BE A CRITICAL PERIOD. THUS, UNHCR FELT IT SHOULD NOT DELAY IN FORWARDING ITS REQUIREMENTS TO GOVERNMENTS (SEE UNHCR MORRIS' COMMENTS, BELOW, FOR FURTHER DETAILS).

-- ON JULY 11, UNHCR DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF UNHCR'S BRJNCH OFFICE IN KIGALI, DANIEL BELLAMY, PARTICIPATED IN A DHA, UNICEF, AND IOM ASSESSMENT MISSION TO GOMA AND GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED AREAS OF RWANDA.

-- ON JULY 12, BELLAMY WENT INTO THE FRENCH ZONES AND CROSSED IN BUKAVU TO ASSESS THE SITUATION. THERE ARE 600,000 INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE CYANGUGU AREA.

-- UNHCR FORMALLY REOPENED ITS BRANCH OFFICE IN KIGALI ON JULY 14. UNHCR SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE RWANDA/BURUNDI CRISIS, MICHEL MOUSSALI, IS IN KIGALI WORKING WITH SRSG KHAN, WHO IS TRYING TO BROKER A CEASEFIRE TO END THE CONFLICT. OGATA SAID THAT THE ONLY WAY TO CONTAIN THE POPULATION MOVEMENTS AT THIS POINT IS THROUGH POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS AND A PERMANENT PEACE SETTLEMENT.

-- THREE UNHCR PROTECTION OFFICERS HAVE BEEN SENT TO GOMA TO HANDLE THE DELICATE PROTECTION CONCERNs BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS.

5. ERIC MORRIS, UNHCR DIRECTOR OF PROGRAMS AND

OPERATIONAL SUPPORT, PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON UNHCR'S CAPACITY TO RESPOND AND ITS NEED FOR IN-KIND ASSISTANCE FROM GOVERNMENTS:

-- IN-KIND NEEDS ARE DETAILED IN PAPERS DISTRIBUTED (AND FAXED TO P, PRM, PM, AID/BHR/OFDA AND DART/NAIROBI) TO HLWG MEMBERS. UNHCR IS PREPARING FOR 500,000 PERSONS, WHICH UNHCR ADMITS IS A CONSERVATIVE FIGURE -- IT COULD REACH 800,000. UNHCR HAS ALREADY CONTRACTED FOR TRANSPORT TO GOMA TO MEET NEEDS OF 150,000 REFUGEES. PLASTIC SHEETING WILL BE THE MOST URGENT REQUIREMENT. RESOURCING CSB (CORN SOYA BLEND) WILL ALSO BE CRITICAL TO ASSIST THE NUTRITIONALLY-DISTRESSED POPULATION CROSSING THE BORDER. UNHCR REQUIRES AN ADDITIONAL 20 FOUR-BY-FOUR 10 MT TRUCKS IN ADDITION TO THE 20 WHICH WILL ARRIVE IN GOMA ON MONDAY, JULY 18TH. 10-20 WATER TANKERS ARE REQUIRED. PLANES TO DELIVER THE ASSISTANCE ARE ALSO NEEDED.

-- IF NUMBERS CONTINUE TO INCREASE, UNHCR WILL COME BACK TO GOVERNMENTS IN THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS WITH ADDITIONAL REQUESTS FOR IN-KIND CONTRIBUTIONS.

-- UNHCR REQUESTS SECONDMENTS FROM GOVERNMENTS TO ENHANCE OFF-LOADING CAPABILITIES. THERE IS AN ODA LOGISTICS TEAM FROM THE U.K. THAT IS BEING TRANSFERRED FROM TANZANIA TO GOMA TO ASSIST, BUT THE NEED FOR OTHER TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IS GREAT.

6. THE DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, GERALD WALZER, ANNOUNCED THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

-- WFP WILL BEGIN A THREE-MONTH EMERGENCY OPERATION FOR 500,000 BENEFICIARIES IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS (EMOP TO BE ISSUED). WFP WILL APPROACH DHA FOR A LOAN FROM THE CENTRAL EMERGENCY REVOLVING FUND. A TOTAL OF USD 19.6 MILLION WORTH OF CASH AND FOOD WILL BE REQUIRED TO ASSIST THIS POPULATION. 25,000 MT OF FOOD IS REQUIRED. ON JULY 16, 40 MT OF FOOD WILL BE AIRLIFTED FROM MOMBASA TO GOMA. WFP PLANS TO UNDERTAKE TWO AIRLIFTS DAILY FOR A TOTAL OF 160 MT A DAY. WFP WILL LIKELY APPROACH GOVERNMENTS IN THE COMING DAYS FOR AIRLIFT CAPACITY. WFP IS SENDING 14 TRUCKS FROM KAMPALA TO GOMA.

-- IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE AUSTRALIANS ABOUT THE NEW DHA CONSOLIDATED APPEAL TO BE ISSUED NEXT WEEK (IN NAIROBI ON JULY 19 AND BY U/SYG PETER HANSEN IN GENEVA ON JULY 22), WALZER SAID THAT UNHCR'S CHAPTER DOES NOT INCLUDE NEEDS FROM THIS RECENT INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO ZAIRE. UNHCR IS APPEALING FOR USD 143 MILLION FOR 1/1/94 THROUGH 12/31/94. UNHCR PREDICTS THAT ZAIRE NEEDS COULD REQUIRE AN ADDITIONAL USD 29 MILLION. WALZER URGED HLWG MEMBERS TO GIVE UNHCR AS MUCH FLEXIBILITY WITH CONTRIBUTIONS AS POSSIBLE TO ENABLE IT TO RESPOND TO THE MOST URGENT REQUIREMENTS AS THEY ARISE.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

7. ICRC DELEGATE-GENERAL FOR AFRICA, JEAN-DANIEL TAUZE, RELAYED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION TO THE HLWG:

-- ICRC IS ASSISTING 500,000 DISPLACED PERSONS IN EASTERN AND SOUTHERN RWANDA.

-- PRESENT POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN WESTERN RWANDA WERE

FIRST EXPECTED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. ICRC HAS A SUB-DELEGATION IN GOMA WHICH HAS SERVED AS A LOGISTICAL BASE TO GET FOOD AND OTHER SUPPLIES INTO WESTERN RWANDA. ICRC IS PROVIDING THE 1,000 MT OF FOOD IT HAS AVAILABLE IN GOMA TO UNHCR FOR USE WITH THE NEW INFLUX INTO ZAIRE. ICRC WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST UNTIL UNHCR AND WFP'S CAPACITIES ARE PREPARED TO HANDLE THE RAPIDLY GROWING CASELOAD.

-- ICRC ALSO PREDICTS REFUGEES IN GOMA AREA WILL REACH 800,000 (IF NOT MORE). THERE ARE 400,000-500,000 IN THE GOMA AREA NOW. SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE ARE ON THE MOVE BETWEEN RUHENERI AND GOMA.

-- ICRC IS NOW PREOCCUPIED WITH DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE FRENCH ZONE. THERE ARE 800,000 TO ONE MILLION DISPLACED PERSONS IN AND AROUND GIKONGORO AND PEOPLE ARE ON THE MOVE TO CYANGUGU. ICRC HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ASSESS THE SITUATION IN GITARAMA AND KABGAYI. ICRC PREDICTS THAT THERE ARE A TOTAL OF 2-3 MILLION PEOPLE IN NEED.

-- ICRC HIGHLIGHTED PROTECTION NEEDS IN THE GOMA AREA. THE ETHNIC FACTOR COULD BE SIGNIFICANT; THERE HAVE BEEN INCIDENTS IN THIS PART OF ZAIRE IN THE PAST YEAR. THOSE THAT ARE NOW FLEEING RWANDA ARE SOME OF THE SAME PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN THE KILLINGS OF THE LAST MONTHS IN RWANDA.

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

8. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL, THE DHA REPRESENTATIVE SAID THAT THE GOMA AIRSTRIP COULD HANDLE AN-124 AND C-5 GALAXY AIRCRAFT; THE AIRCRAFT HAS AN OFF-LOAD CAPACITY OF ABOUT 24 FLIGHTS PER DAY. LANDING AND OFF-LOADING REQUIREMENTS HAVE BEEN FAXED. THE DHA REP ALSO DESCRIBED THE CONSOLIDATED APPEAL TO BE RELEASED NEXT WEEK (WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE THE NEEDS EMANATING FROM THE CURRENT INFLUX INTO ZAIRE).

9. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SPIEGEL

BT

#6216

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6216

TOR: 940715140248 M1153260

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

<^DIST>

SIT: SCHWARTZ

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA6218 1981521-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 171521Z JUL 94 ZFF-4
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 171521Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1447
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0410
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0022
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0311
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 2120
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 1679
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE 5448
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 8915
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 3299
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 3939
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 2955
RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:SO-LIC// PRIORITY
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
SUBJ: UNHCR FEARS IMMINENT EXPLOSION IN ZAIRE, ASKS
FOR POLITICAL PRESSURE TO STOP FLOW OF RWANDAN REFUGEES
TEXT:
E N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 06218
NAIROBI FOR DART/RWANDA AND REDSO
ROME FOR FODAG
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, EAID, MASS, AORC, RW, CG, UNHCR
SUBJECT: UNHCR FEARS IMMINENT EXPLOSION IN ZAIRE, ASKS
FOR POLITICAL PRESSURE TO STOP FLOW OF RWANDAN REFUGEES
1. (C) SUMMARY. THE DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR
REFUGEES CALLED US MID-DAY 7/17 REGARDING THE MILLION
RWANDAN REFUGEES NOW IN ZAIRE. HE SAID THEY CONTINUE TO
ENTER THE COUNTRY AT THE RATE OF SOME 200,000 PER DAY,
AND UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IS
IMPOSSIBLE TO DELIVER. UNHCR FEARS RIOTING AND A TOTAL
BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER IF NO PROGRESS IS MADE
POLITICALLY IN THE NEXT 24 HOURS OR SO TO STOP AND
REVERSE THE FLOW. EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d
EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d
SUMMARY.
2. (U) MID-DAY ON SUNDAY, GERALD WALZER, THE DEPUTY
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, CALLED US REGARDING THE

MILLION OR SO RWANDAN REFUGEES WHO HAVE NOW REACHED THE AREA AROUND GOMA, ZAIRE. WALZER SAID THAT THE EXODUS FROM RWANDA CONTINUES AT THE RATE OF ABOUT 200,000 PER DAY, THEREBY MAKING ASSISTANCE IMPOSSIBLE TO DELIVER. HE HAD BEEN ON THE PHONE THIS MORNING WITH THE DEPUTY OF THE EU'S HUMANITARIAN OFFICE (ECHO), WHO VIVIDLY DESCRIBED THE CHAOS -- PEOPLE ALL OVER.

3. (U) UNHCR FEARS THAT IF NOTHING HAPPENS POLITICALLY WITHIN THE NEXT DAY OR SO TO STOP AND REVERSE THE FLOW, THE SITUATION (WHICH IS ALREADY OUT OF CONTROL) COULD BECOME A "REGIONAL EXPLOSION": FIGHTING BETWEEN LOCAL ZAIROIS AND THE REFUGEES, RIOTS OVER FOOD, PEOPLE ON A RAMPAGE. (WALZER SAID HE HAD NO INDICATIONS THAT FIGHTING BETWEEN TUTSIS AND HUTUS WAS LIKELY IN ZAIRE.)

4. (LOU) WALZER SAID THAT HE HAD SPOKEN SUNDAY MORNING TO MICHEL MOUSSALLI, HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA'S ENVOY FOR THE RWANDA CRISIS WHO IS NOW IN KIGALI. MOUSSALLI REPORTED THAT THE RPF HAD NOT YET MADE AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF A CEASEFIRE. MOUSSALLI HAS URGED THE RPF TO ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY ON THE RADIO THAT PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR FROM THE RPF AND THEY SHOULD REMAIN IN THEIR COMMUNITIES. THE RPF HAS REFUSED TO DO SO AND SUGGESTED THAT MOUSSALLI DO IT INSTEAD. (APPARENTLY, SRSG KHAN HAS ALREADY MADE SUCH A PUBLIC APPEAL.)

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

6. (LOU) UNHCR HAS MADE A SIMILAR REQUEST THROUGH THE FRENCH MISSION HERE. THEY HAVE ALSO SPOKEN TO U/SYG PETER HANSEN, WHO IS EXPECTED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER TODAY WITH SYG BOUTROS-GHALI AND U/SYG GOULDING. WALZER SAID THAT MRS. OGATA ALSO IS CONSIDERING CALLING OAU SYG SALIM SALIM ON THE MATTER. (NOTE. WE NOW UNDERSTAND THAT THIS AFTERNOON MRS. OGATA SPOKE TO AF A/S GEORGE ~~€ O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 06218 NAIROBI FOR DART/RWANDA AND REDSO ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, EAID, MASS, AORC, RW, CG, UNHCR SUBJECT: UNHCR FEARS IMMINENT EXPLOSION IN ZAIRE, ASKS MOOSE TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION. END NOTE.)

7. (U) THE DIRECTOR OF UNHCR'S DIVISION OF PROGRAMS AND OPERATIONAL SUPPORT, ERIC MORRIS, DEPARTS GENEVA SUNDAY EVENING FOR GOMA (VIA NAIROBI) TO REVIEW UNHCR'S EMERGENCY RESPONSE.

8. (U) ON 7/17, UNHCR ISSUED THE FOLLOWING PRESS RELEASE REGARDING RWANDAN REFUGEES IN ZAIRE. BEGIN TEXT. ONLY URGENT CEASE-FIRE CAN AVERT HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE

AS MANY AS ONE MILLION RWANDESE REFUGEES WHO HAVE FLOODED INTO NEIGHBORING ZAIRE OVER THE PAST FIVE DAYS FACE A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER UNLESS THERE IS AN IMMEDIATE HALT TO HOSTILITIES AND THE HUGE EXODUS IS REVERSED, U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES SADAKO OGATA WARNED SUNDAY.

HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES ARE BEING COMPLETELY OVERWHELMED BY WHAT UNHCR STAFF IN GOMA DESCRIBED AS A "SOLID HUMAN RIVER 25 KILOMETERS LONG" POURING INTO THE GOMA REGION OF ZAIRE.

UNHCR GOMA REPORTED THAT MORE THAN 150,000 PEOPLE WERE ESTIMATED TO HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER INTO ZAIRE ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON, AND THAT THE HUGE INFLUX CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE NIGHT AND INTO SUNDAY. BY SUNDAY MORNING, ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN THE GOMA AREA RANGED FROM 800,000 TO ONE MILLION.

THE SHEER NUMBER OF REFUGEES HAS OUTSTRIPPED EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF SEVERAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS AND AN INTERNATIONAL AIRLIFT THAT WAS TO DELIVER 10 PLANELOADS OF SUPPLIES TO GOMA ON SUNDAY.

"THERE IS NO WAY HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS CAN COPE WITH AN INFLUX OF THIS SIZE AND SPEED UNLESS THERE IS AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND THESE PEOPLE ARE GIVEN ASSURANCES THEY CAN RETURN HOME -- OR REMAIN AT HOME -- IN SAFETY," MRS. OGATA SAID. "THIS IS THE ONLY WAY WE ARE GOING TO AVERT DISASTER. WE NEED A POLITICAL SOLUTION IMMEDIATELY, BECAUSE THERE IS NO HUMANITARIAN SOLUTION TO A CRISIS OF THESE PROPORTIONS. THEREFORE, I SEEK THE SUPPORT OF THE LEADERS IN THE REGION AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ACT NOW."

MRS. OGATA THANKED ZAIREAN AUTHORITIES FOR KEEPING THEIR BORDERS OPEN TO THE REFUGEES.

UNHCR STAFF IN GOMA SAID THE SWELLING REFUGEE POPULATION IN THE REGION REQUIRES AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE AND APPEALED FOR MORE PLANES, TRUCKS, FOOD AND ALL OTHER SUPPLIES. THE REFUGEES REQUIRE AT LEAST 30 MILLION LITERS OF WATER PER DAY IN AN AREA WHERE WATER RESOURCES ARE SCARCE. IN ADDITION, THEY REQUIRE MORE THAN 600 METRIC TONS OF FOOD PER DAY -- ABOUT THREE TIMES MORE THAN UNHCR MUST PROVIDE DAILY FOR SARAJEVO.

END TEXT.

9. (U) MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SPIEGEL

BT

#6218

NNNN

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

SSN: 6218
<^SSN>6218

TOR: 940717112749 M1154985
<^TOR>940717112750 M1154986

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHBSA7949 1990846-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 180845Z JUL 94

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

OSRI: RUEHBS

DTG: 180845Z JUL 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8336

INFO: RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0988

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0003

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0495

RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0725

RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 0040

RUEHOS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY 0608

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0149

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0548

SUBJ: HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN GOMA: JULY 17

CONVERSATIONS WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVE RUEGO IN BRUSSELS

AND BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET WILLEMS

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 07949

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: MOPS, PREL, PHUM, MARR, RW, UN, BE

SUBJECT: HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN GOMA: JULY 17

CONVERSATIONS WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVE RUEGO IN BRUSSELS

AND BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET WILLEMS

REF: A) FENDRICK-JOHNSON TELCONS OF 17/7/94;

B) JOHNSON-MCCULLEY TELCON OF 17/7/94

SUMMARY

1. AS INSTRUCTED REF A, POLCOUNS PASSED THROUGH RPF REPRESENTATIVE RUEGO IN BRUSSELS MESSAGE THAT USG URGED RPF TO DECLARE IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND TAKE OTHER MEASURES TO CALM FEARS AND STAUNCH OVERWHELMING REFUGEE FLOW INTO GOMA. RUEGO PROMISED TO CONVEY MESSAGE TO KIGALI EVENING 6/17. RUEGO THOUGHT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKELY ANNOUNCE A CEASEFIRE 6/18. (POLCOUNS URGED THAT THE RPF DO THIS 6/17.) RUEGO BLAMED HUTU ARMY AND MILITIAS AND THEIR RADIO FOR SPREADING FEAR AND DRIVING PEASANTS BEFORE THEM INTO ZAIRE. HE SAID RPF RADIO WAS ALREADY BROADCASTING MESSAGE OF RECONCILIATION. BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET WILLEMS ALSO VOLUNTEERED TO CALL RPF TO URGE CEASEFIRE AND MEASURES TO CALM SITUATION. WILLEMS LATER PHONED TO REPORT HE HAD DONE SO. RUEGO HAD MENTIONED TO WILLEMS THAT RPF HAD LIST OF 500 PEOPLE IT CONSIDERED RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES IN RWANDA. END SUMMARY.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CONVERSATION WITH BRUSSELS RPF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES RUEGO

2. AS REQUESTED IN REFCON A, POLCOUNS REACHED BRUSSELS RPF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES RUEGO LATE AFTERNOON JULY 17 TO EMPHASIZE HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE DEVELOPING IN GOMA AND TO REQUEST THAT RPF ANNOUNCE AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND PUT OUT A MESSAGE OF RECONCILIATION TO CALM FEARS AND TRY TO STEM MASSIVE FLIGHT INTO GOMA. ALSO AS INSTRUCTED REF A, POLCOUNS NOTED THAT FAILURE TO ACT NOW ON A CEASEFIRE AND MEASURES TO CALM THE SITUATION WOULD AFFECT HOW USG VIEWED NEW STRUCTURES BEING FORMED IN KIGALI.

3. RUEGO, WHO IS LOCAL RPF REPRESENTATIVE, CONFIRMED THAT BIHOZAGARA AND PASTOR BIZIMUNGU WERE IN KIGALI. RUEGO SAID HE EXPECTED TO BE PHONED FROM KIGALI SUNDAY EVENING AND PROMISED TO CONVEY USG MESSAGE. HE WOULD NOT/NOT GIVE POLCOUNS NUMBER OF SATELLITE PHONE CONTACT WITH KIGALI, BUT SAID HE UNDERSTOOD WASHINGTON HAD A NUMBER FOR KAGAME AND HAD USED IT.

4. RUEGO SAID THAT RPF RADIO WAS ALREADY BROADCASTING A MESSAGE OF RECONCILIATION. HE SAID PEASANTS WHO WERE FLEEING HAD NOTHING TO FEAR FROM RPF. RUEGO BLAMED FLIGHT ON HUTU ARMED FORCES AND MILITIAS, WHO WERE DRIVING ORDINARY RWANDANS BEFORE THEM USING THREATS AND GUNFIRE. THEY WANTED THIS EXODUS TO PROVIDE COVER FOR THEMSELVES IN ZAIRE. RUEGO ALSO SAID THAT RADIO MILLE COLLINES HAD CONTINUED TO BROADCAST, EITHER FROM GISENYI OR GOMA.

5. IN RESPONSE TO POLCOUNS' QUESTIONS, RUEGO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE RPF HAD NOT/NOT YET ANNOUNCED A CEASEFIRE. HE BELIEVED THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI WOULD DO SO JULY 18. RUEGO ALSO HELD THAT A CEASEFIRE WAS BECOMING ACADEMIC AS, WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE FAR FORCES INTO ZAIRE, THERE WERE NO LONGER TWO FIGHTING FORCES IN RWANDA. POLCOUNS SAID THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CEASEFIRE WOULD NOT BE ACADEMIC, COULD HELP TO CALM FEARS, AND AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE SHOULD BE EASIER IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES RUEGO DESCRIBED.

WILLEMS ALSO CONVEYS MESSAGE ON BEHALF OF GOB

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BRUSSELS 07949
DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: MOPS, PREL, PHUM, MARR, RW, UN, BE
SUBJECT: HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN GOMA: JULY 17
CONVERSATIONS WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVE RUEGO IN BRUSSELS
AND BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET WILLEMS

6. WHILE SEARCHING FOR NUMBERS FOR RUEGO, POLCOUNS HAD SPOKEN AFTERNOON 6/17 TO BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS. IN ADDITION TO HELPING WITH NUMBER, WILLEMS OFFERED TO MAKE SAME POINTS WITH RPF ON BEHALF OF GOB. HE CALLED BACK EVENING 6/17 TO SAY HE HAD TALKED TO RUEGO AND EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND MEASURES TO STAUNCH THE FLOW OF REFUGEES INTO ZAIRE. WILLEMS TOLD RUEGO EU FOREIGN MINISTERS, MEETING IN BRUSSELS 6/18, WOULD HAVE SEEN THE PICTURES FROM GOMA AND WOULD HOLD THE RPF ACCOUNTABLE FOR DOING EVERYTHING IN ITS

POWER TO REASSURE THE POPULATION AND REVERSE THE FLOW OF REFUGEES OVERWHELMING GOMA. WILLEMS SAID RUEGO ALSO PROMISED TO CONVEY HIS MESSAGE TO KIGALI. RUEGO ALSO TOLD WILLEMS THAT THE PEASANTS WHO WERE FLEEING HAD NOTHING TO FEAR FROM THE RPF. RUEGO ADDED THAT THE RPF HAD A LIST OF 500 NAMES OF PEOPLE IT CONSIDERED RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATROCITIES IN RWANDA. WILLEMS RESPONDED THAT THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH A "LIST" WAS NOT/NOT LIKELY TO CALM FEARS.

7. SUBSTANCE OF THE ABOVE MESSAGE WAS PASSED IN TELEPHONE CALLS TO AF/C'S FENDRICK AND MCCULLEY EVENING 6/17. THIS MESSAGE IS BEING SUBMITTED, AS FENDRICK REQUESTED, FOR THE RECORD.

SCHERMERHORN

BT

#7949

NNNN

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

SSN: 7949
<^SSN>7949

TOR: 940718045553 M1155433
<^TOR>940718045655 M1155435

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE HALPERIN NSC RICE SCHWARTZ SPIRO STEINBERG
SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
LINE1: OAAUZYUW RUEHGVA6221 1991048-UUUU--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH
LINE3: O 181048Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 181048Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1454
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:SO-LIC// IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5/POLAD// IMMEDIATE
RUFNBUT/HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD// PRIORITY
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0412
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0024
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0313
RUFHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 2122
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 1681
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 3305
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 3945
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 8922
SUBJ: UNHCR REQUESTS URGENT USG CONCURRENCE TO EXPAND
USE OF JOINT AIRCELL TO COORDINATE FLIGHTS INTO ZAIRE
TEXT:
UNCLAS GENEVA 06221
DEPT FOR PRM, IO/PHO, AND PM/ISP
NAIROBI FOR DART/RWANDA AND REDSO
ROME FOR FODAG
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PREL, EAID, MASS, AORC, RW, CG, UNHCR
SUBJECT: UNHCR REQUESTS URGENT USG CONCURRENCE TO EXPAND
USE OF JOINT AIRCELL TO COORDINATE FLIGHTS INTO ZAIRE
1. THIS IS AN URGENT ACTION REQUEST. RESPONSE NEEDED
BY 12 NOON EST, JULY 18TH. SEE PARA 5.
2. UNHCR CHEF DE CABINET, FRANCOIS FOUINAT, CALLED
MISSION EARLY JULY 18TH TO REQUEST USG CONCURRENCE TO
EXPAND MANDATE OF UNHCR JOINT AIR OPERATIONS CELL
LOCATED IN GENEVA. THE AIRCELL IS CURRENTLY MANDATED TO
COORDINATE FLIGHTS IN AND OUT OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.
THE AIRCELL IS A UNIQUE OPERATION WITHIN UNHCR SINCE IT
IS STAFFED BY WESTERN GOVERNMENT MILITARY OFFICERS
SECONDED TO UNHCR. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ONE OFFICER
SECONDED TO UNHCR BASED AT THE AIRCELL. THE AIRCELL'S
PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITIES HAVE BEEN TO: A) MAKE DAILY
LOGISTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE UNHCR-COORDINATED
AIRLIFT TO SARAJEVO; B) PROVIDE REQUIRED UNHCR INPUT FOR
U.S.-LED AIRDROP OPERATIONS INTO BOSNIA; AND C) PROVIDE
POLICY GUIDANCE AS REQUIRED TO UNHCR ON ALL ASPECTS OF
THE AIRLIFT, AIRDROP AND MEDEVAC OPERATIONS.
3. GIVEN THE MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY IN AND

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

AROUND RWANDA AND THE NUMBER OF AIRLIFTS NEEDED TO BRING SUPPLIES URGENTLY TO ZAIRE, A COORDINATION SYSTEM FOR AIR MOVEMENTS IS URGENTLY NEEDED. ACCORDING TO U.S. AIRCELL MIL REP JOSE NEGRON, FLIGHTS ARE COMING INTO GOMA FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD WITH NO COORDINATION. THE AIRCELL IS CURRENTLY ANALYZING UNHCR'S ASSETS, INCLUDING WHERE AND HOW TO DISTRIBUTE THOSE SUPPLIES. THE AIRCELL HAS RECOMMENDED TO UNHCR'S SR STAFF THAT THE SARAJEVO AIRLIFT FUNCTIONS COULD BE SCALED BACK TO TAKE ON RWANDA RESPONSIBILITIES. NEGRON SAID THAT THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES FOR THE AIRCELL WOULD BE COMMUNICATION AND DISTANCE.

4. AS A RESULT, UNHCR IS RECOMMENDING THAT THE MANDATE OF THE AIRCELL BE EXPANDED FROM ITS CURRENT YUGOSLAV-SPECIFIC PURPOSE TO INCLUDE ESTABLISHING AND OPERATING AN AIRLIFT OPERATIONS SYSTEM OUT OF GENEVA FOR RELIEF NEEDS FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES. COORDINATION IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL. UNHCR HAS CONSULTED WITH MIL OFFICERS ASSIGNED TO THE AIRCELL AND OFFICERS HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THAT BOTH SARAJEVO (AS IT IS SCALED DOWN) AND RWANDA/ZAIRE TASKS CAN BE COMBINED IN ONE UNIT IF THE MANDATE OF THE AIRCELL IS EXPANDED.

5. ACTION REQUEST. MISSION STRONGLY SUPPORTS UNHCR'S REQUEST. THE AIRCELL IS A UNIQUE ASSET THAT OFFERS UNHCR POSSIBILITIES FOR AIR LOGISTICAL COORDINATION IT COULD NOT HOPE TO DEVELOP ON ITS OWN IN A SHORT TIME FRAME. U.S. PERMISSION FOR EXPANSION OF THE AIRCELL MANDATE WOULD MAKE AN INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO IMPROVING COORDINATION OF RELIEF GOODS DELIVERY TO RWANDESE REFUGEES. UNHCR HOPES TO ANNOUNCE EXPANDED USE OF THE AIRCELL BY LATE AFTERNOON IN GENEVA ON MONDAY, JULY 18TH. DEPARTMENT/AID CONCURRENCE IS URGENTLY REQUESTED BY 12 NOON EST. END ACTION REQUEST.

SPIEGEL

BT

#6221

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 6221

TOR: 940718065254 M1155587

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

<^DIST>

SIT: CLARKER

□

Cable

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: PAASZYUW RUEAIIA0277 2031638-SSSS--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS
LINE3: P 221638Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM CIA
OSRI: RUEAIIA
DTG: 221638Z JUL 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//
RHDLCCN/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
RULYSCC/CTG ONE FIVE SIX PT TWO
RULYSCC/CTG ONE FIVE EIGHT PT TWO
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: PLANS BY RWANDAN HUTUS TO REARM AND REORGANIZE TO BEGIN
OPERATIONS AGAINST THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT
GOVERNMENT

TEXT:

S E C R E T W N I N T E L N O F O R N

EO 13526 1.4c

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T~~ WNINTEL NOFORN-- 1.4c
DIST: 22 JULY 1994
COUNTRY: RWANDA/ZAIRE
SUBJ: PLANS BY RWANDAN HUTUS TO REARM AND REORGANIZE TO BEGIN OPERATIONS AGAINST THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY: NONE.

TEXT:

PLANS ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY BY HUTU LEADERS OF THE HUTU-DOMINATED REPUBLICAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT (MRND) AND THE HUTU-HARDLINE COALITION (CDR) TO ORGANIZE A NEW FORCE WITH WHICH TO CONDUCT OPERATIONS IN RWANDA TO DESTABILIZE THE NEW RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) GOVERNMENT. HUTU LEADERS BELIEVE THAT IF THEY BEGIN NOW, THEY WILL BE ABLE TO LAUNCH MILITARY FORAYS INTO RWANDA WITHIN ONE YEAR. THESE LEADERS PLAN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE DISTRUST THAT HUTUS GENERALLY FEEL TOWARDS TUTSIS TO RECRUIT HUTU SUPPORTERS FROM AMONG REFUGEES IN ZAIRE AND TANZANIA. THE FIRST TARGETS OF THESE HUTU EXTREMISTS WILL BE HUTUS WHO ARE PARTICIPATING IN THE RPF GOVERNMENT. MRND AND CDR LEADERS BELIEVE THAT THE MOST POWERFUL MAN IN THE NEW RPF GOVERNMENT IS MAJOR GENERAL PAUL ((KAGAME)), THE VICE PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE MINISTER. THEY PERCEIVE THE HUTU MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT AS MERE PUPPETS WITH NO CONSTITUENCY OR INFLUENCE AMONG THE MAJORITY HUTUS.

2. THE MRND AND THE CDR LEADERSHIP BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN EXPLOIT THE RPF'S VICTORY EXPECTING THAT RPF CALLS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ON WAR CRIMES WILL RALLY HUTUS AGAINST THE TUTSI. THE MRND AND THE CDR HAVE BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO STRESS AMONG HUTU REFUGEES THAT VIRTUALLY EVERY HUTU IS EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH FAMILY, ASSOCIATED WITH AGGRESSION AGAINST TUTSIS. THE HUTUS ALSO BELIEVE THAT WHAT THEY PERCEIVE AS THE NATURAL ARROGANCE AND INTRANSIGENCE OF THE TUTSIS WILL MANIFEST ITSELF AND WILL MAKE IT EASY FOR THEM TO ORGANIZE SUPPORT FOR AN ANTI-GOVERNMENT FORCE AMONG THE MAJORITY HUTU POPULATION.

3. THE MRND AND THE CDR ARE EXERCISING CAUTION IN SOLICITING ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE LIKELY TO RECEIVE SOME ASSISTANCE FROM ZAIRIAN PRESIDENT ((MOBUTU)) SESE SEKO WHO WILL BE ANXIOUS TO GAIN THEIR COOPERATION IN CONTROLLING THE LARGE NUMBERS OF HUTU REFUGEES NOW IN ZAIRE.

4. **COMMENT:**

OF MID-MAY 1994, THERE WAS A GROUP OF 450 ZAIRIANS KNOWN AS "SDR" (NFI) WHICH WAS INITIATED BY DECEASED RWANDAN PRESIDENT JUVENAL ((HABYARIMANA)) WITH THE MISSION OF DESTROYING THE TUTSI TRIBE. BASED IN GOMA (01-41S, 29-14E), ZAIRE, THE GROUP WAS COMPRISED OF YOUNG ZAIRIANS WHO HAVE RECEIVED SOME TRAINING AND HAVE BEEN ISSUED WEAPONS. THE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP RECEIVED U.S.\$ 500 TO JOIN. THE GROUP RECEIVED FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM HUTU BUSINESSMEN IN THE AREA OF GOMA,

DISSEM:

1.4c [REDACTED] USUN,
USCINCEUR, USCINCCENT, USNMR SHAPE (FOR SACEUR), EUCOM JAC,
CINCUSAREUR, CINCUSAFE, CINCUSNAVEUR, USCINCSOC, JSOC, AIC,
USCINCTRANS, CINCTRANSCOM, CINCUSACOM, COMUSNAVCENT, CTG 156.2,
CTG 158.2.

WARNING: REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ WARNING NOTICE INTELLIGENCE
SOURCES OR METHODS INVOLVED NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN
NATIONALS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
END OF MESSAGE ~~SECRET~~

BT
#0277
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0277

TOR: 940722125306 M1164767

DIST:

PRT: SIT
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER NSC RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX WILSON
<^DIST>
PRT: BEERS BERGER CLARKER DESHAZER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED RICE SIT
SODERBERG STEINBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS FILE SUM SUM2
[REDACTED]

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: SECRET

LINE1: OAASZYUW RUEAIIA0289 2031805-SSSS--RHEHAAA.

LINE2: ZNY SSSSS

LINE3: O 221721Z JUL 94

LINE4: FM CIA

OSRI: RUEAIIA

DTG: 221721Z JUL 94

ORIG: CIA

TO: RUEAIJU/NPIC

RUETIJA/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//

RUFTA/UDITDUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGB-CI-CIS/AEAGB-ID//

RHFQAAA/HQ USAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//IN//

RHDL/CNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//

RULYSCC/CTG ONE FIVE SIX PT TWO

RULYSCC/CTG ONE FIVE EIGHT PT TWO

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: [REDACTED] THE RWANDAN CRISIS AS
OF 19 JULY 1994

TEXT:

S E C R E T W N I N T E L N O F O R M [REDACTED]

SECTION 1 OF 2 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T~~ WNINTEL NOFORN 1.4c
DIST: 22 JULY 1994
COUNTRY: RWANDA/ZAIRE/FRANCE
SUBJ: THE RWANDAN CRISIS AS
OF 19 JULY 1994

SUMMARY:

HUTU-DOMINATED FAR SOLDIERS CONTINUED TO MOVE INTO ZAIRE TRANSPORTING WEAPONS. THE HUTU-DOMINATED FAR HOPED TO OBTAIN FOREIGN AID AND USE ZAIRE AS A REAR BASE FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS INTO RWANDA. GOVERNMENT MINISTERS OF THE HUTU-DOMINATED FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT LODGED IN ZAIRE FEARED FOR THEIR LIVES. THE FORMER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND SOME POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS DENOUNCED THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI. HUTU RADIO BROADCASTS ENCOURAGED THE RWANDANS TO SEEK REFUGE IN ZAIRE.

TEXT:

AS OF 19 JULY 1994 THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS HAD BEEN MADE:

A. MILITARY SITUATION:

1) SINCE THE MORNING OF 19 JULY 1994, THE RWANDAN ARMED FORCES (FAR) WERE IN VEHICLES HEADING TOWARDS A SITE THAT WILL BE THEIR OWN IN THE LOCALITY OF NDOSU (NOT LOCATED), ZAIRE, APPROXIMATELY 20 KILOMETERS TO THE NORTHWEST OF GOMA (01-41S, 29-14E), ZAIRE, ON THE ROAD TO SAKE (01-34S, 29-03E).

COMMENT: BY "A SITE THAT WILL BE THEIR OWN,"

MAY BE REFERRING TO A REFUGEE CAMP THAT WILL BE OCCUPIED ONLY BY THE HUTU-DOMINATED FAR.) THE FAR TROOPS SEEMED TO REMAIN LOYAL TO THEIR COMMANDERS DESPITE THEIR DEFEAT. THE FAR TROOPS SAY THAT THEY ARE READY TO RECOMMENCE COMBAT FOLLOWING AN OFFICIAL DECLARATION TO DO SO BY THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, THERE IS ALSO A GROUP OF WOUNDED FAR SOLDIERS WHO HAVE GATHERED IN A SPORTS CENTER IN GOMA AND ARE IN DISMAL CONDITION. FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF), MANY IN THE FAR SEEK FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO MAKE ZAIRE THEIR REAR BASE FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS INTO RWANDA. FOR THIS REASON THE FAR TRANSPORTED THE MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF ARMS AND MATERIEL INTO ZAIRE.

2) A LIEUTENANT IN THE FAR CAMP KALEMBO, TO THE NORTH OF CYANGUGU (02-29S, 28-54E), NOTED THAT THE CAMP WOULD BE COMPLETELY EMPTY AS OF THE EVENING OF 19 JULY. EVERYTHING WAS TAKEN, EVEN THE CURTAINS FROM HOMES. FUEL AND ARMS WERE STOCKED IN CONVOYS WAITING FOR PASSAGE INTO ZAIRE. ALL THE VEHICLES WERE ON THEIR WAY TO ZAIRE. MOTORS FROM VEHICLES UNABLE TO DRIVE TO RWANDA WERE TAKEN OUT AND LOADED INTO TRUCKS FOR THE VOYAGE. MANY SOLDIERS CROSSED THE BORDER TO BUKAVU (02-30S, 28-52E), ZAIRE, ON THE MORNING OF 19 JULY. MANY INVALIDS AND WOUNDED WERE GROUPED AT THE BORDER POST IN RUIZIZI I. FOR THE MOMENT, 1,500 FAL ASSAULT RIFLES, AK-47 ASSAULT RIFLES, UZI SUBMACHINE GUNS, AND SEVERAL HUNDRED GRENADES HAVE BEEN SEIZED BY THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY. ON THE BORDER THE RWANDAN IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS SERVICES WERE NO LONGER FUNCTIONAL. THE FAR WAS THE ONLY GROUP ATTEMPTING TO APPEAR TO BE MANAGING THE EXODUS.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

B. SECURITY SITUATION:

1) EVEN THOUGH SOME OF THE MINISTERS FROM THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT CURRENTLY RESIDING IN ZAIRE SPEND SOME TIME DURING THE DAY IN THE HUMANITARIAN SAFETY ZONE, DURING DARK HOURS THEY DO NOT DARE TO SET FOOT OUTSIDE OF THEIR HOTELS OR RESIDENCES FOR FEAR THAT THEY WILL FACE REVENGE ATTACKS. PARTICULARLY IN GOMA, MANY GOVERNMENT MINISTERS HAVE LEFT THE HOTELS WHICH ARE OWNED PRIMARILY BY TUTSI TRIBESMEN, AND HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE IN PROTESTANT CENTERS OUT OF FEAR FOR THEIR LIVES. THE PRESIDENT AND MINISTERS OF THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT HOPE TO MEET WITH ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES TO BE GRANTED STATUS OF A GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE AND BENEFIT FROM ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT PROTECTION. THE RWANDAN OFFICIALS ESPECIALLY FEAR KIDNAPPING OR ASSASSINATION.

1.4C

S E C R E T WNINTEL NOFORN

FINAL SECTION OF 2
CITE CIA 745565-----
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE

4) THE HEADS OF POLITICAL PARTIES (MRND, MDR, PSD, PL, PDC), INCLUDED AMONG WHOM ARE SOME OF THE MINISTERS FROM THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT NOW SEEKING REFUGE IN ZAIRE, PLANNED TO PUBLISH THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION: "THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI HAS NO POPULAR LEGITIMACY AND WE REJECT IT TOTALLY. THE ONLY LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT IS THAT WHICH WILL CONFORM TO THE ARUSHA ACCORDS." THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN GOMA FORMED TWO COMMISSIONS: THE COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND THE COMMISSION FOR THE PATRIMONY OF THE STATE. THE RWANDAN INTERIM GOVERNMENT ALSO PLANS TO PROCEED TO PAY CIVIL SERVANT SALARIES IN RWANDAN FRANCS FOR THE MONTHS FROM APRIL TO JULY 1994. THE SALARY PAYMENTS ARE DESIGNED TO MOMENTARILY RETAIN THE LOYALTY OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

5) HUTU RADIO BROADCASTS RECOMMENCED IN THE HUMANITARIAN SAFETY ZONE IN AN EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE THE POPULATION TO SEEK REFUGE IN ZAIRE. THE RADIO BROADCASTS ARE PICKED UP ONLY IN SOUTH KIVU.

1.4C

DISSEM:

USUN,

USNMR SHAPE (FOR SACEUR), USCINCEUR, EUCOM JAC, CINCUSAREUR, CINCUSAFE, CINCUSNAVEUR, USCINCCENT, USCINCSOC, JSOC, COMUSNAVCENT, USCINCTRANS, CINCTRANSCOM, AIC, CINCUSACOM, CTG 156.2, CTG 158.2

WARNING: REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T~~ WARNING NOTICE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES OR METHODS INVOLVED NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

END OF MESSAGE

~~SECRET~~

BT

#0290

NNNN

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

SSN: 0289

<^SSN>0290

TOR: 940722141625 M1164938
<^TOR>940722141830 M1164943

DIST:

PRT: SIT

SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER NSC RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

<^DIST>

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: FILE SUM SUM2

C

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA3043 2040046-CCCC--RUEADWW.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 230046Z JUL 94

LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

OSRI: RUCNDT

DTG: 230046Z JUL 94

ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7933

INFO: RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY

RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY

RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1108

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0563

RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5494

RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1914

RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0862

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0347

RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0076

RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0690

RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1279

RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0311

RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0329

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0033

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0556

SUBJ: RWANDA: INDERFURTH-RIZA JULY 22 MEETING ON
ADAPTING UNAMIR

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 003043

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;

SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN

SUBJECT: RWANDA: INDERFURTH-RIZA JULY 22 MEETING ON

ADAPTING UNAMIR

REF: STATE 1196016

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT; ACTION REQUEST PARA 5

2. DRAWING ON POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL, AMBASSADOR
INDERFURTH MET WITH A/SYG RIZA JULY 22. WORKING WITHIN
ITS CURRENT MANDATE, INDERFURTH SAID THAT UNAMIR SHOULD
BE RECONFIGURED TO FOCUS ITS EFFORTS ON THE RETURN OF
REFUGEES. THIS WOULD REQUIRE GREATER MOBILITY AND
LOGISTICS CAPABILITY THAN CURRENTLY CONTEMPLATED FOR
UNAMIR. HE ADDED THAT THE U.S. WANTS TO MOVE FORWARD
QUICKLY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, BUT IN TANDEM WITH THE UN.
3. RIZA RESPONDED THAT THE UN'S MOST URGENT PRIORITY IS

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

HUMANITARIAN RELIEF IN ZAIRE. TOWARD THAT, THE UN ENVISIONS A UNITAF-LIKE RELIEF OPERATION INVOLVING A SIGNIFICANT COMMITMENT OF RESOURCES FROM COUNTRIES ABLE TO PROVIDE THEM IMMEDIATELY, MUCH LIKE THE USG IS NOW DOING IN ZAIRE. HE ENCOURAGED THE USG TO DIRECT ITS DIPLOMATIC APPROACH TO COUNTRIES, SUCH AS GERMANY AND JAPAN, ALONG THESE LINES. (IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH INDERFURTH, U/SYG ANNAN SAID THAT THE KEY TO RESOLVING THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS RESTS WITH THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR. HE URGED THE U.S. TO FACILITATE THIS BY CALLING ON GOVERNMENTS TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT FOR UNAMIR TROOPS ON AN URGENT BASIS.)

4. RIZA AGREED WITH INDERFURTH THAT UNAMIR'S CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS HAD TO EVOLVE WITH THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THAT, AT THIS STAGE, THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN ITS GIVEN MANDATE. HE INSISTED HOWEVER, THAT UNAMIR CONTINUED TO REQUIRE HEAVY FORCES IN THE WEST AND NORTHWEST WHERE ELEMENTS HOSTILE TO UNAMIR ARE CONCENTRATED.

5. ACTION REQUEST: PURSUANT TO THIS, BARIL ASKED FOR A U.S. INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT OF REPORTS THAT WHOLE RGF UNITS HAD CROSSED INTO ZAIRE WITH THEIR WEAPONS. BARIL SAID THAT THE VALIDITY OF THESE REPORTS WOULD BEAR DIRECTLY ON THE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH UNAMIR OPERATED.

6. SEPTEL WILL REPORT IN DETAIL THE CURRENT STATUS OF TROOPS FOR UNAMIR AND OUTSTANDING EQUIPMENT REQUESTS OF COUNTRIES. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

ALBRIGHT

BT

#3043

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3043

TOR: 940722210547 M1165678

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA3046 2040109-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 230109Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 230109Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7937
INFO: RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0036
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0350
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1917
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0077
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0566
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0863
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0559
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1111
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5497
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0332
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0691
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1282
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0312
SUBJ: RWANDA: 22 JULY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003046
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;

SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN

SUBJECT: RWANDA: 22 JULY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. U/SYG GHAREKHAN INFORMED COUNCIL MEMBERS JULY 22
THAT THE SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR RWANDA HAS
RETURNED TO KIGALI FROM TANZANIA REPORTING THAT THE GOT

WILL RECOGNIZE RWANDA'S NEW GOVERNMENT WITHIN DAYS.

GHAREKHAN ALSO SAID THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL LAUNCHED
AN APPEAL TODAY FOR SOME \$430 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN
RELIEF (SEPTEL WILL REPORT DETAILS OF PLEDGING
CONFERENCE).

3. UNSC PRESIDENT MARKER WAS INFORMED BY RPF REP IN NEW
YORK THAT RWANDAN CABINET MEMBERS INTEND TO TRAVEL IN
THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES SPREADING THE
WORD AMONG REFUGEES THAT IT IS SAFE TO RETURN TO

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

RWANDA. PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU WILL MEET WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU IN ZAIRE TO DISCUSS THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN GOMA.

4. FRENCH DPR LADSOUS REPORTED THAT RWANDA'S GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS THE DEMARCATON OF THE FRENCH SAFE ZONE AND PROMISES TO RESPECT IT. FRANCE CONTINUES TO DISARM INDIVIDUALS AND MILITIA MEMBERS IN THE SAFE AREA WITHOUT INCIDENT, AND WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE RPF. LADSOUS SAID THAT FRENCH WITHDRAWAL FROM RWANDA WILL TAKE PLACE OVER THREE PHASES BEGINNING 31 JULY AND ENDING 21 AUGUST.

5. THE RPF, ACCORDING TO LADSOUS, IS NO LONGER OPPOSED TO CONTINGENTS FROM CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING SENEGAL, PARTICIPATING IN UNAMIR. LADSOUS ADDED THAT THE RPF WISHES TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES INTO THE SAFE AREA TO PERSUADE PEOPLE THEY MAY RETURN TO THEIR HOMES WITHOUT FEAR OF RETRIBUTION. FRANCE IS EXPLORING WAYS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WHILE PROTECTING THE SECURITY OF THE RPF OFFICIALS AND PRESERVING GENERAL CALM IN THE PROTECTED AREAS.

6. FINALLY, LADSOUS ANNOUNCED THAT RADIO MILLES COLLINES HAS BEEN SILENT FOR THE LAST 12 HOURS.

7. DRAWING ON INFORMATION RELEASED EARLIER IN THE DAY BY DOD, AMB. INDERFURTH UPDATED THE COUNCIL ON THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELIEF EFFORT. HE ADDED THAT U.S. PRIORITY REMAINS THE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES, AND THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS IS BY REORIENTING UNAMIR'S FORCES.

8. NEW ZEALAND PERMREP KEATING NOTED THAT UNAMIR STANDS GROSSLY UNDERSTAFFED WHILE COUNTRIES NOW PLEDGE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS TO PROVIDE RELIEF WHICH MAY NOT HAVE BEEN NECESSARY HAD JUST \$20-30 MILLION BEEN COMMITTED A FEW WEEKS AGO. HE REGRETTED THAT THE MONEY SPENT NOW IS BEING DIVERTED FROM MUCH NEEDED DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ELSEWHERE. IN GENERAL, HE FEELS THIS POINTS TO A LARGER FLAW IN THE WAY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND COUNTRIES IN GENERAL, ARE FORCED TO RESPOND TO CRISES.

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

9. IN HIS STATEMENT DURING THE PLEDGING CONFERENCE FOR RWANDA, THE SYG ANNOUNCED THAT THE UNSC WOULD SOON APPROVE THE CREATION OF A COMMISSION OR TRIBUNAL TO EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF GENOCIDE. PURSUANT TO THIS, FRANCE ALSO REPORTED TO THE COUNCIL THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA HAS AGREED THAT AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL MUST BE ESTABLISHED, ALTHOUGH IT WANTS TO RESERVE THE RIGHT TO IDENTIFY THOSE WHO WILL BE CHARGED. LADSOUS SAID THAT FRANCE IS ACTIVELY GATHERING TESTIMONY IN PREPARATION FOR SUCH A TRIBUNAL.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003046
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN
SUBJECT: RWANDA: 22 JULY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

ALBRIGHT
BT
#3046
NNNN

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

SSN: 3046
<^SSN>3046

TOR: 940722212904 M1165709
<^TOR>940722212905 M1165710

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RHEHAAA3983 2040446-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUTAKM RUEKJCS RUFQAAA

LINE2: RUEHTA RUEHAK RUEHTH RUEHSW RUEHOL RUCNTXF RUEHBS RUEHBM RUEHUP

LINE3: RUEHBY RUEHCP RUEHDL RUEHHE RUEHKV RUEHLI RUEHLO RUFHBG RUEHMD

LINE4: RUEHMO RUEHNY RUEHOT RUEHFR RUEHPG RUFHRK RUEHRO RUEHUL RUEHGP

OSRI: RHEHAAA

DTG: 230446Z JUL 94

ORIG: THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO: RUEHTA/AMEMBASSY ALMATY
RUEHAK/AMEMBASSY ANKARA
RUEHTH/AMEMBASSY ATHENS
RUEHSW/AMEMBASSY BERN
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN
RUCNTXF/AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
RUEHBM/AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
RUEHUP/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
RUEHCP/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
RUEHHE/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
RUEHKV/AMEMBASSY KIEV
RUEHLI/AMEMBASSY LISBON
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON
RUFHBG/AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
RUEHNY/AMEMBASSY OSLO
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS
RUEHPG/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
RUFHRK/AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME
RUEHUL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL
RUEHGP/AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
RUEHSF/AMEMBASSY SOFIA
RUEHSM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
RUFHTH/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY USEU BRUSSELS
RUFHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW
RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASH DC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASH DC
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
RUFQAAA/USCINCEUR ALT SHAPE BE//ECCC//

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA
RUCNDT/USMISSION US UN

SUBJ: ***NO SUBJECT FOUND***

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ

SECTION 1 OF 3
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO AMBASSADOR/CHARGE AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

USMISSION GENEVA: PLEASE PASS A COPY TO UNHCR OGATA.

BEGIN TEXT:

DRAFT CABLE TO FOREIGN HEADS OF STATE

--ON JULY 22, PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCED A "MASSIVE" USG RELIEF EFFORT IN SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS EFFORT TO ASSIST VICTIMS OF THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN RWANDA. TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT APPEARS AT PARAGRAPH ____.

--WE ARE EAGER TO ENSURE THAT THE SIZE OF THE USG RELIEF COMMITMENT NOT OBSCURE THE FACT THAT THIS IS AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT THAT REQUIRES THE FINANCIAL AND IN-KIND ASSISTANCE OF ALL NATIONS WITH THE ABILITY TO HELP.

--WE ARE EQUALLY CONCERNED THAT OTHER COUNTRIES SHARE OUR BELIEF IN THE IMPORTANCE OF EXPANDING UNAMIR, SO THAT CONDITIONS CAN BE CREATED INSIDE RWANDA TO PERMIT RETURN OF REFUGEES.

--FOR THIS REASON, EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO TRANSMIT THE TEXT OF THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO THE HEAD OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. EMBASSY IS ALSO REQUESTED TO REAFFIRM THE POINTS IN THE LETTER WITH INTERLOCUTORS AT THE HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

--TO PARIS AND USEU BRUSSELS: EMBASSY SHOULD PROVIDE, AT THE HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL, AN INFORMATION COPY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND INDICATE THAT IT IS BEING SENT TO EUROPEAN AND OTHER HEADS OF STATE FROM POSSIBLE DONOR NATIONS.

--TEXT OF LETTER TO HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT:

I WRITE TO INFORM YOU OF OUR EFFORTS TO ASSIST IN THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CRISIS AND TO URGE YOU TO SUPPORT A GREATLY ENHANCED INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THIS TRAGEDY.

THIS MORNING I ANNOUNCED AN IMMEDIATE AND MASSIVE INCREASE IN THE AMERICAN RESPONSE, INCLUDING AN ADDITIONAL \$75 MILLION IN CASH AND COMMODITIES TO ASSIST IN THE RELIEF EFFORT.

I ALSO ORDERED OUR DEFENSE DEPARTMENT TO ESTABLISH AND MANAGE AN AIRLIFT HUB IN UGANDA, WHICH WILL BE USED AS A STAGING AREA FOR AROUND-THE-CLOCK SHIPMENTS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO THE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

REFUGEES. CONSULTATIONS ARE UNDERWAY NOW WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA.

I DIRECTED OUR MILITARY TO ASSIST IN EXPANDING AIRLIFT OPERATIONS NEAR THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN GOMA AND BUKAVU BY PROVIDING PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT TO ENABLE AIRFIELDS TO OPERATE ON A 24-HOUR BASIS. WE MUST INCREASE THE CAPACITY TO RECEIVE, TRANSFER AND DISTRIBUTE GOODS AT THESE AIRFIELDS, AS OUR AIM IS TO MOVE FOOD, MEDICINE AND OTHER SUPPLIES TO THOSE IN NEED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

FINALLY, I DIRECTED THE MILITARY TO ESTABLISH A SAFE WATER SUPPLY AND TO DISTRIBUTE AS MUCH WATER AS POSSIBLE TO THOSE AT RISK. SAFE WATER IS ESSENTIAL TO STOP THE OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA AND OTHER DISEASES THAT THREATEN THE REFUGEES.

THESE EFFORTS ONLY ADDRESS FOUR OF EIGHT ESSENTIAL "SERVICE PACKAGES" IDENTIFIED BY THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, AND THE OVERALL RELIEF TASK IS MORE THAN THE CIVILIAN RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS AND THE US AND FRENCH MILITARY UNITS CAN HANDLE. IN PARTICULAR, THE UN HAS IDENTIFIED ROAD SERVICING AND ROAD SECURITY, SITE PREPARATION, PROVISION OF DOMESTIC FUEL AND SANITATION FACILITIES AS ADDITIONAL ESSENTIAL "SERVICE PACKAGES." IF YOU HAVE MILITARY UNITS THAT CAN OPERATE WITH OURS AND THE FRENCH TO DELIVER THESE PACKAGES, ASSIST IN PROVIDING AND DELIVERING PARTS OF THE PACKAGES TO WHICH THE US HAS ALREADY COMMITTED, AND/OR PROVIDE OTHER HUMANITARIAN RELIEF (SUCH AS MEDICAL CARE AND ENGINEERING SERVICES), I URGE YOU TO HAVE YOUR MILITARY COMMANDER IMMEDIATELY CONTACT THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND GENERAL GEORGE JOULWAN AT THE US EUROPEAN COMMAND. I ALSO URGE THAT YOU MAKE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE TO THE UN AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE RESPONDING TO THIS CRISIS.

SECOND, WE MUST MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. FOR THEM TO HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT THEY CAN DO SO IN SAFETY, THE UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE UNAMIR MUST BE FULLY FUNCTIONING. UNFORTUNATELY, IT HAS TAKEN MONTHS TO DEPLOY, DUE IN PART TO A LACK OF EQUIPMENT FOR AFRICAN NATIONS THAT HAVE PLEDGED TO JOIN UNAMIR. THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPOSED THE "ADOPT A BATTALION" PLAN WHEREBY NATIONS WOULD PAIR WITH AFRICAN UNITS TO ENSURE THEY ARE EQUIPPED AND CAN DEPLOY. WE HAVE PAIRED WITH THE GHANAIAN BATTALION, AND HAVE DELIVERED 50 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS FOR THAT UNIT LAST MONTH. I URGE YOU -- EITHER ALONE OR IN CONCERT WITH OTHERS -- TO OFFER TO THE UN TO DEPLOY A PEACEKEEPING CONTINGENT OF YOUR OWN FORCES TO UNAMIR OR TO OFFER TO PAIR WITH AND EQUIP ONE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS THAT HAVE OFFERED TO JOIN. EVERY DAY THAT UNAMIR IS NOT YET FULLY FUNCTIONING IS ANOTHER DAY THAT REFUGEES WILL BE UNABLE TO RETURN. AS A RESULT, MANY WILL DIE IN THE TERRIBLE CONDITIONS THEIR EXILE HAS CAUSED.

I DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THESE CONCERNs.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

QQQQ
SECTION 2 OF 3
SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

--TEXT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S JULY 22 ANNOUNCEMENT:

-BEGIN TEXT:

GOOD MORNING. I HAVE JUST MET WITH MY NATIONAL SECURITY TEAM, AND I WANT TO TELL YOU ABOUT THE NEW STEPS I HAVE ORDERED TO RESPOND TO THE SITUATION IN THE BORDER REGIONS NEAR RWANDA.

THE FLOW OF REFUGEES ACROSS RWANDA'S BORDERS HAS NOW CREATED WHAT COULD BE THE WORLD'S WORST HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN A GENERATION. IT IS A DISASTER BORNE OF BRUTAL VIOLENCE AND, ACCORDING TO EXPERTS NOW ON SITE, IT IS NOW CLAIMING ONE LIFE EVERY MINUTE.

TODAY I AM ANNOUNCING AN IMMEDIATE AND MASSIVE INCREASE IN OUR RESPONSE. THESE EFFORTS WILL BE DIRECTED FROM THE WHITE HOUSE THROUGH MY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR ANTHONY LAKE, WORKING WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DEUTSCH, AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD AND GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI; AND BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN NIX OF OUR EUROPEAN COMMAND WILL COMMAND A JOINT TASK FORCE TO HEAD OUR EFFORTS ON THE GROUND.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS TRAGEDY, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE. AS THE CRISIS HAS GOTTEN WORSE, OUR RESPONSE HAS ALSO GROWN.

IN MAY, WHEN THE FIRST WAVE OF RWANDAN REFUGEES FLED TO TANZANIA, I ORDERED THE RELEASE OF \$15 MILLION IN AID. THESE MONIES HELPED TO PREVENT THE KIND OF PROBLEMS IN TANZANIA WE ARE NOW SEEING IN ZAIRE. SINCE THAT TIME, WE HAVE AUTHORIZED AN ADDITIONAL \$135 MILLION IN RELIEF IN THE AREA. BEGINNING IN MAY, I ORDERED AN AIRLIFT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. SINCE THEN, WE HAVE FLOWN OVER 100 MISSIONS.

ON MAY 10TH, THE VICE PRESIDENT MET WITH THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE HEAD OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY IN AN EFFORT TO EXPAND THE U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN RWANDA. THE FOLLOWING WEEK, THE SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THAT EXPANSION. THEN I ORDERED THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TO PROVIDE EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING 50 ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS TO AID THE PEACEKEEPERS.

THROUGHOUT JUNE AND JULY, I ORDERED INCREASES IN OUR RELIEF EFFORTS AS THE CRISIS ESCALATED. I SENT SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS TO THE REGION, INCLUDING BRIAN ATWOOD, THE ADMINISTRATOR OF AID.

TODAY, I HAVE ORDERED AN IMMEDIATE MASSIVE INCREASE IN OUR EFFORTS IN THE REGION IN SUPPORT OF AN APPEAL FROM THE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES. I'VE ORDERED THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT TO ESTABLISH AND MANAGE AN AIRLIFT HUB IN UGANDA, WHICH WILL BE USED AS A STAGING AREA FOR AROUND-THE-CLOCK OPERATIONS FOR SHIPMENTS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO THE REFUGEES IN THE RWANDAN BORDER REGIONS. CONSULTATIONS ARE UNDERWAY NOW WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA.

I HAVE DIRECTED THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT TO ASSIST IN EXPANDING AIRLIFT OPERATIONS NEAR THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN GOMA AND BUKAVU. WE WILL PROVIDE PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT TO ENABLE THESE AIRFIELDS TO OPERATE ON A 24-HOUR BASIS. I'VE ORDERED OUR MILITARY TO INCREASE THE CAPACITY TO RECEIVE, TRANSFER AND DISTRIBUTE GOODS AT THESE AIRFIELDS. OUR AIM IS TO MOVE FOOD, MEDICINE AND OTHER SUPPLIES TO THOSE IN NEED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

I'VE DIRECTED THE PENTAGON TO ESTABLISH A SAFE WATER SUPPLY, AND TO DISTRIBUTE AS MUCH WATER AS POSSIBLE TO THOSE AT RISK. SAFE WATER IS ESSENTIAL TO STOP THE OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA AND OTHER DISEASES THAT THREATEN THE REFUGEES.

TODAY AND TOMORROW, ABOUT 20 MILLION ORAL REHYDRATION THERAPY PACKAGES WILL BE DELIVERED -- PACKAGES THAT WERE PURCHASED THROUGH AID AND DELIVERED ON U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT TO THE REFUGEES IN ORDER TO TRY TO STEM THE CHOLERA OUTBREAK.

OUR TASK IN RWANDA IS TWOFOLD: FIRST, TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERING AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE; SECOND, TO TAKE STEPS TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS THAT WILL ENABLE THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME. TO ACHIEVE THE SECOND OBJECTIVE, I HAVE ORDERED THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND OUR AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WHO IS HERE WITH US TODAY, TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO HELP CREATE THOSE CONDITIONS. THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT AND URGE THE IMMEDIATE DEPLOYMENT OF A FULL CONTINGENT OF UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPERS TO RWANDA TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES.

WE ARE MAKING CLEAR TO THE NEW LEADERS OF RWANDA THAT INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE, INCLUDING AMERICAN RECOGNITION, DEPENDS UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT, THE RULE OF LAW, AND EFFORTS AT NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. WE'RE TAKING ACTION TO COUNTERACT THE PROPAGANDA OF THE EXTREMISTS HUTU ELEMENTS WHO CONTINUE TO URGE RWANDANS TO FLEE. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE STEPS WILL HELP TO RELIEVE THE SUFFERING OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES AND CREATE CONDITIONS FOR THEIR RETURN HOME.

AS I SAID YESTERDAY, WE FACE HERE A GROWING HUMAN CATASTROPHE. THE UNITED STATES NOT ONLY SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, BUT IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN THOSE EFFORTS. IN THE DAYS TO COME AS AMERICANS SEE THIS HEARTBREAKING UNFOLDING TRAGEDY, THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ

FINAL SECTION OF 3

SUFFERING MUST NOT ONLY TOUCH OUR HEARTS, IT MUST MOVE AMERICANS ALL ACROSS OUR NATION TO REACH OUT WITH THEIR OWN

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRIVATE CONTRIBUTION TO RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS. AND IT MUST MOVE US AS A NATION TO TAKE THE PRACTICAL ACTIONS THAT THIS CRISIS DEMANDS.

END TEXT

DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

.

.

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

BT

#3985

NNNN

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

SSN: 3983
<^SSN>3984
<^SSN>3985

TOR: 940723014243 M1165950
<^TOR>940723014136 M1165948
<^TOR>940723014141 M1165949

DIST:
PRT: COMM SIT
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER RICE SCHWARTZ SIGLER STEINBERG SUM SUM2 WHSR_OUT
<^DIST>
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA5872 2041201-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 231201Z JUL 94 ZFF4

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

OSRI: RUTAKM

DTG: 231201Z JUL 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1129

INFO: RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE 0280

RHCUAAA/UNCNCTRANS SCOTT AFB IL

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP/OASD-PA-DPL/PA//

RUEKJCS/Joint STAFF WASHDC//J3-JOD/JS-SOD/J5//

RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0377

RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 2767

RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0475

RUEHKG/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0273

RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1479

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4214

RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0807

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2067

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0481

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6019

RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2601

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0097

SUBJ: RWANDA CRISIS: UGANDA GIVES BLANKET AIR
CLEARANCE FOR U.S. AIRCRAFT

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KAMPALA 005872

DEPT. FOR AF ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

AF/E FOR AMBASSADOR SHINN, MICHAEL SOUTHWICK AND

CHRIS WILSON

AF/C FOR AMB. RAWSON, AMB. RENDER, REED FENDRICK

PARIS FOR DALSIMER

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, RW UG

SUBJECT: RWANDA CRISIS: UGANDA GIVES BLANKET AIR
CLEARANCE FOR U.S. AIRCRAFT

1. UGANDA'S MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEFENSE AMAMA
MBABAZI TELEPHONED THE AMBASSADOR AT 7:00 A.M.,
JULY 23 TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA
WOULD PROVIDE BLANKET AIR CLEARANCES TO ALL U.S.
AIRCRAFT ASSOCIATED WITH THE RWANDAN HUMANITARIAN
RELIEF OPERATION. MBABAZI ASKED THAT THE EMBASSY
PROVIDE THE UGANDA AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLER WITH
APPROXIMATE NUMBERS AND TIMES OF ARRIVAL OF ALL
AIRCRAFT, BUT THAT THERE WILL BE NO/NO FORMAL

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

APPROVAL PROCESS REQUIRED FOR U.S. AIRCRAFT TO USE ENTEBBE AIRPORT OR TO ENTER OR EXIT UGANDAN AIRSPACE.

2. THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEFENSE ALSO RECONFIRMED HIS JULY 22 CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE UGANDAN GOVERNMENT WILL FULLY COOPERATE WITH THE RWANDA RELIEF OPERATION, INCLUDING THE USE OF ENTEBBE AIRPORT. MBABAZI ALSO APPROVED USE OF THE OLD MILITARY AIRSTRIP ADJACENT TO THE NEWER ENTEBBE AIRPORT. (NOTE: WE RECEIVED STATE 197652 AFTER THE AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH THE DEFENSE MINISTER BUT WE WILL CONFIRM USE AND ACQUISITION OF THREE WIDEBODY AIRPORT SLOTS. END NOTE.)

3. COMMENT: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI HAS NOT RETURNED FROM MOZAMBIQUE YET. HE IS EXPECTED IN ENTEBBE ON JULY 23. THE AMBASSADOR SENT PRESIDENT MUSEVENI A LETTER (ON JULY 22) OUTLINING THE PROPOSED RELIEF OPERATIONS AND ALERTING HIM TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S JULY 22 PRESS CONFERENCE. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY MUSEVENI'S SECURITY SERVICE THAT THE MESSAGE WAS DELIVERED TO MUSEVENI AND THAT HE WILL CONTACT THE AMBASSADOR SHORTLY AFTER HE ARRIVES BACK IN KAMPALA. THE AMBASSADOR INTENDS TO ASK PRESIDENT MUSEVENI TO ISSUE A STRONG PUBLIC STATEMENT ENDORSING THE U.S.

EFFORT. CARSON

BT

#5872

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5872

TOR: 940723101856 M1166276

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGV A6403 2041420-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK

LINE3: O 231419Z JUL 94 ZFF-4

LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA

OSRI: RUEHGV

DTG: 231419Z JUL 94

ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1650

INFO: RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHKG/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0438

RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE 1707

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0050

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 8994

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0339

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 2148

RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 5475

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 3366

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 3008

RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY 3723

RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY

RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 3995

RUFHTH/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY 0848

RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 7989

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP:SO-LIC/USDP:HRA// PRIORITY

RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY

RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5/POLAD// PRIORITY

RUFNBUT/HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD// PRIORITY

SUBJ: MGRW02: RWANDAN REFUGEES: OGATA REPORTS WEAK

DONOR RESPONSE TO HER URGENT REQUEST FOR SERVICE PACKAGES

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 06403

NSC FOR LAKE

AID FOR ATWOOD

SECDEF FOR DEUTCH

JCS FOR SHALIKASHVILI

STATE FOR P, PRM, IO, AF, PM/ISP

AID ALSO FOR BHR, BHR/OFDA, BHR/FFP, AFR, PPC

NAIROBI FOR DART/RWANDA AND REDSO

ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREF, EAID, MASS, AORC, RW, CG, UG, UNHCR

SUBJECT: MGRW02: RWANDAN REFUGEES: OGATA REPORTS WEAK

DONOR RESPONSE TO HER URGENT REQUEST FOR SERVICE PACKAGES

REF: (A) STATE 197418, (B) GENEVA 6380,

- (C) STATE 196163, (D) GENEVA 6341

1. SUMMARY. IN A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON 7/23,

UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES SADAKO OGATA SAID THAT
ONLY THE U.S. AND GERMANS HAVE COME FORWARD WITH OFFERSDECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TO PROVIDE THE "SERVICE PACKAGES" REQUESTED BY UNHCR FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES IN EASTERN ZAIRE. SHE BELIEVES THE URGENT TASKS REQUIRED ARE BEYOND THE CAPABILITIES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, CANNOT WAIT A WEEK TO BE SET INTO MOTION, AND CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED QUICKLY BY GOVERNMENTS. SHE ASKED THE U.S. TO TAKE ON ADDITIONAL PACKAGES AND/OR PRESS OTHER DONOR GOVERNMENTS TO DO SO. OGATA ALSO REPORTED THAT IN HER 7/22 MEETING IN PARIS, THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER URGED UNHCR TO BE PRESENT IN THE FRENCH ZONE AND AGREED NOT TO LEAVE A VACUUM UPON WITHDRAWAL. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF QUICKLY ESTABLISHING COORDINATING MECHANISMS BETWEEN UNHCR AND THE USG, PARTICULARLY WITH THE U.S. MILITARY. WE RECOMMEND THAT A POLITICAL-LEVEL MILITARY LIAISON OFFICER BE DETAILED TO UNHCR/GENEVA. END SUMMARY.

2. THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA ON SATURDAY MORNING TO BRIEF HER ON THE USG RESPONSE TO THE EMERGENCY IN EASTERN ZAIRE AND TO INQUIRE ABOUT THE RESPONSE OF OTHER DONOR GOVERNMENTS TO THE UNHCR REQUEST FOR SERVICE PACKAGES (REFTEL D). OGATA AGAIN EXPRESSED HER GRATITUDE FOR THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION. SHE STRESSED THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION AND SAID THAT THE RESPONSE FROM OTHER GOVERNMENTS (BESIDES GERMANY) THUS FAR HAS BEEN INSUFFICIENT. SHE ASKED THAT THE USG TAKE ON MORE SERVICE PACKAGES AND/OR PRESSURE OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO DO SO. (NOTE. REFTEL A, WHICH CALLS FOR EMBASSY DEMARCHEES ON SEVERAL KEY DONORS, WAS RECEIVED SUBSEQUENT TO THE MEETING. WE WILL INFORM OGATA OF OUR EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD. END NOTE.)

3. OTHER THAN THE U.S. (PER REFTEL C) AND THE GERMANS (SEE REFTEL B), NO GOVERNMENT HAS COME FORWARD WITH AN OFFER TO TAKE ON A SERVICE PACKAGE (THOUGH SOME ARE MAKING SMALL OFFERS FOR PARTICULAR PORTIONS OF SERVICES). THERE HAS BEEN NO DONOR RESPONSE AT ALL ON ROAD SERVICING AND ROAD SECURITY, SITE PREPARATION AND PROVISION OF DOMESTIC FUEL, AND ONLY A LIMITED RESPONSE ON SANITATION. DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES GERALD WALZER SAID THE MANAGEMENT CAPACITY REQUIRED TO UNDERTAKE SUCH MASSIVE OPERATIONS WAS BEYOND THAT OF NGO'S. BASED ON HIS FRIDAY EVENING PHONE CONVERSATION WITH WFP'S DAAN EVERTS, HE BELIEVES MANY NGO WORKERS IN GOMA ARE AT THE POINT OF BREAKDOWN DUE TO EXHAUSTION, LACK OF SLEEP AND THE HORRIFIC CONDITIONS. DUE TO THE INSUFFICIENT GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSE, HOWEVER, WALZER QUERIED IF UNHCR SHOULD NOW MAKE CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR NUMEROUS IMPLEMENTING PARTNER AGREEMENTS WITH MAJOR NGO'S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 06403

NSC FOR LAKE

AID FOR ATWOOD

SECDEF FOR DEUTCH

JCS FOR SHALIKASHVILI

STATE FOR P, PRM, IO, AF, PM/ISP

AID ALSO FOR BHR, BHR/OFDA, BHR/FFP, AFR, PPC

NAIROBI FOR DART/RWANDA AND REDSO

ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREF, EAID, MASS, AORC, RW, CG, UG, UNHCR
SUBJECT: MGRW02: RWANDAN REFUGEES: OGATA REPORTS WEAK
4. THE GERMANS STILL PLAN TO PROVIDE THE 17 WATER
PURIFICATION PLANTS AND HAVE CEDED ENTEBBE AIRHEAD
MANAGEMENT TO THE U.S.; UNHCR HAS PROPOSED THAT THE DM
25 MILLION INTENDED FOR ENTEBBE BE USED ELSEWHERE.
OGATA SAID SHE HAD ALREADY CALLED THE JAPANESE FOREIGN
MINISTER AND SHE BELIEVES THEY WILL COME FORWARD WITH
GOODS (RATHER THAN SERVICE PACKAGES), BUT SHE SAID IT
WOULD BE WORTH A TRY FOR THE U.S. TO URGE THEM TO
PROVIDE A PACKAGE. SWEDEN PLANS TO PROVIDE SANITATION
AT ONLY ONE SITE, THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES HAS OFFERED A
50-PERSON OFFLOADING CAPACITY, AND SOME OTHER
GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE SIMILAR IMPORTANT BUT LIMITED
OFFERS. WALZER ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF USING
THE ROAD (IF IT IS NOT OBSTRUCTED) FROM ENTEBBE TO
ZAIRE, SINCE HE CONSIDERED TOO MUCH DEPENDENCE ON THE
GOMA AIRPORT (WHICH ALSO HAS COMMERCIAL AND OPERATION
TURQUOISE USES) TO BE A VULNERABILITY.

5. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED WHAT KINDS OF ACTIONS UNHCR
ENVISONS TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO RETURN TO RWANDA.
WALZER RESPONDED THAT UNHCR HAS CONFIRMED IN WRITING TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE THAT PEOPLE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO
RETURN IF THEY SO CHOOSE, AND THAT UNHCR WILL FACILITATE
RETURNS. UNHCR WILL TRY TO PROVIDE SOME ASSISTANCE OUT
OF KIGALI. WALZER ALSO REPORTED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN THIS
MORNING WITH OGATA'S SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE CRISIS,
MICHEL MOUSSALLI, WHO HAD BEEN TRAVELING WITH GENERAL
DALLAIRE. MOUSSALLI REPORTED THAT RUHENERI AND GISENYI
WERE BOTH COMPLETELY DESERTED. BASED ON ASSURANCES
MOUSSALLI HAS RECEIVED AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL FROM THE
NEW GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI, HE BELIEVES RWANDANS WILL BE
SECURE UPON RETURNING. THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS REQUESTED
UNHCR ASSISTANCE FOR A PLANE TO TRANSPORT THE NEW
PRESIDENT TO TANZANIA, BURUNDI AND ZAIRE TO REASSURE
NEIGHBORING GOVERNMENTS OF ITS INTENTIONS. WHILE UNHCR
IS NOT IN A POSITION TO RESPOND, WALZER LOOKED ON THIS
AS ANOTHER POSITIVE SIGN FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

6. REGARDING HER 7/22 MEETING IN PARIS WITH FRENCH
PRIME MINISTER BALLADUR, OGATA SAID THAT SHE HAD ASKED
FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BUT THE FRENCH SAID THAT THE
AMOUNT THEY CAN PROVIDE IS VERY LIMITED. BALLADUR MADE
IT CLEAR THAT HE WANTED UNHCR'S INPUT (IN THE FORM OF
GOODS AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, PRESENCE) IN THE FRENCH
ZONE. GIVEN THE HIGH LEVEL OF TENSION AND MISTRUST OF
THE RPF IN THE ZONE, THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT RWANDANS
WILL RETURN ONLY IF ACCOMPANIED BY THE UN. OGATA SAID
THE FRENCH VIEW WAS, IN EFFECT, "COME IN SO WE CAN
LEAVE." SHE SAID THAT UNHCR WOULD TRY TO ESTABLISH SOME
PRESENCE IN THE ZONE, AND THAT SHE HAD OBTAINED FRENCH
AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE NOT TO WITHDRAW AND LEAVE A
VACUUM IN THE ZONE. IN HER VIEW, THE MORE THE FRENCH
ARE ASKED TO REMAIN IN RWANDA, THE BETTER (SINCE THEY
FEEL THAT THEY ARE POLITICALLY VULNERABLE AND HAVE NOT
RECEIVED ADEQUATE SUPPORT FOR THEIR INITIATIVE).

7. ON THE CRITICAL NEED FOR CLOSE USG-UNHCR
COORDINATION IN THE OPERATION FOR THE RWANDAN REFUGEES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 06403
NSC FOR LAKE
AID FOR ATWOOD
SECDEF FOR DEUTCH
JCS FOR SHALIKASHVILI
STATE FOR P, PRM, IO, AF, PM/ISP
AID ALSO FOR BHR, BHR/OFDA, BHR/FFP, AFR, PPC
NAIROBI FOR DART/RWANDA AND REDSO
ROME FOR FODAG
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, EAID, MASS, AORC, RW, CG, UG, UNHCR
SUBJECT: MGRW02: RWANDAN REFUGEES: OGATA REPORTS WEAK
IN EASTERN ZAIRE, THE AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT UNHCR
CONSIDER APPOINTING KEY STAFF MEMBERS TO ACT AS LIAISON
WITH THE JOINT TASK FORCE (BOTH IN THE REGION AND AT
GENEVA HEADQUARTERS). OGATA READILY AGREED AND
CONSIDERED APPOINTING STAFF MEMBERS WITH PREVIOUS
EXPERIENCE IN LIAISON WITH THE U.S. MILITARY. SHE
REQUESTED THAT THE JTF PROVIDE SOMEONE IN GENEVA AS
POLITICAL LIAISON.

8. RECOMMENDATION. COORDINATION ISSUES BETWEEN UNHCR
AND THE U.S., PARTICULARLY THE U.S. MILITARY, WILL BE
CRITICAL IN THE COMING DAYS AND WEEKS. WE URGE THAT THE
JOINT TASK FORCE CONSIDER IMMEDIATELY DETAILING AN
OFFICER TO ACT AS LIAISON WITH UNHCR/HEADQUARTERS IN
GENEVA. WE SUGGEST THAT THIS BE A POLITICAL-LEVEL
OFFICIAL WHO WOULD COOPERATE WITH, BUT OPERATE
SEPARATELY FROM, THE JOINT AIR CELL. PLEASE ADVISE.

SPIEGEL
BT
#6403
NNNN

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

SSN: 6403
<^SSN>6403
<^SSN>6403

TOR: 940723101932 M1166278
<^TOR>940723102235 M1166280
<^TOR>940723102236 M1166281

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUTAKMA5873 2050909-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 240909Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 240909Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 1130
INFO: ****
SUBJ: RWANDI: WHAT TO DO NEXT -- SOME BRIEFS
THOUGHTS FROM KAMPALA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 005873

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, DAS PRU BUSHNELL

AF/C - AMB. RENDER, AMB RAWSON, REED FENDRICH

AF/E - AMB. SHINN AND CHRIS WILSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RW, UG

SUBJECT: RWANDI: WHAT TO DO NEXT -- SOME BRIEFS
THOUGHTS FROM KAMPALA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS A CLOSE OBSERVER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA
OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, I WOULD LIKE TO OFFER
SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS ON THE DIRECTION OUR POLICY
SHOULD TAKE AS THE CRISIS IN RWANDA MOVES TO THE NEXT
STAGE. ALL OF THESE SUGGESTIONS ARE WRITTEN FROM A
KAMPALA OPTIC, WHICH IS ADMITTEDLY LIMITED, GIVEN ALL
THE DIFFERENT PLAYERS. HOWEVER, IN FOCUSING TOO
EXCLUSIVELY ON THE CATASTROPHIC REFUGEE PROBLEM IN
EASTERN ZAIRE, WE MAY NOT MOVE RAPIDLY ENOUGH ON SOME
OF THE OTHER POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES THAT
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO BRING ABOUT A LONGER LASTING
SOLUTION. ALTHOUGH I TEND TO BE A REALIST, I KNOW
SOME OF THESE SUGGESTIONS MAY BE IMPRACTICAL AND
OTHERS MAY BE POLITICAL UNTENABLE AT THIS JUNCTURE.
HOWEVER, I HOPE ALL OF THEM WILL BE CONSIDERED IN OUR
ON-GOING SEARCH FOR PEACE IN RWANDA.

-

3. I RECOMMEND THAT:

-- THE U.S. SHOULD MOVE SWIFTLY TO RECOGNIZE THE
CURRENT GOVERNMENT. THE NEW HUTU-LED, RPF DOMINATED
GOVERNMENT IS NOT PERFECT, AND CERTAINLY NOT AS
BROADLY BASED AS WE WOULD LIKE, BUT IT IS NOT LIKELY
TO FALL. EARLY RECOGNITION WILL HELP US ADVANCE OUR
POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVES.

-- EARLY RECOGNITION WOULD PERMIT US TO RE-OPEN OUR
EMBASSY AND TO ENCOURAGE ON A DAILY AND DIRECT BASIS
THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS AND BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT
WE SEEK. WE HAVE MAINTAINED EXCELLENT CONTACTS WITH

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

SOME OF THE RPF LEADERSHIP. THIS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DRIFT OR BE TARNISHED AT THIS EARLY STAGE BY SLOW RECOGNITION. THE NEW RWANDA LEADERSHIP SHOULD KNOW OUR VIEWS QUICKLY AND IMMEDIATELY.

-- RELIEF EFFORTS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD THE INSIDE OF RWANDA TO HELP STABILIZE THE CURRENT SITUATION AND TO ACT AS A MAGNET TO PULL REFUGEES BACK INSIDE THE COUNTRY.

-- ALTHOUGH THERE IS AN IMMEDIATE SHORT TERM NEED (TWO-THREE WEEKS) FOR RELIEF TO THE CAMPS TO START THE CURRENT HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS, EARLY PLANNING SHOULD INCLUDE CLEAR ACTIONS TO SHIFT RELIEF INSIDE RWANDA PROPER. INCENTIVE PACKAGES (FOOD, SEEDS, FARM IMPLEMENTS, TRANSPORT BACK TO VILLAGES) SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO ENCOURAGE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME. IF REFUGEES REALIZE FEEDING AND HEALTH PROGRAMS WILL GO ON INDEFINITELY IN OTHER COUNTRIES, REFUGEE CAMPS WILL BECOME PERMANENT FIXTURES ON THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND BREEDING GROUNDS FOR NEW CROSS BORDER INSURGENT TYPE ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY FROM ZAIRE BY HUTU EXTREMISTS.

-- WE MUST CONTINUE TO LEAN ON MUSEVENI TO DO THE RIGHT THING. MUSEVENI RETAINS SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE WITH KAGAME AND THE RPF ELEMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT.

A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON OR SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER EXHORTING MUSEVENI TO USE HIS INFLUENCE AND POWERS OF PERSUASION TO KEEP THE SITUATION MOVING IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION MIGHT NOT BE A BAD IDEA.

-- DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE NEIGHBORING STATES (UGANDA, TANZANIA, ZAIRE, BURUNDI, KENYA) TO ENCOURAGE INTERNAL RECOGNITION AND TO ESCHEW GRANTING POLITICAL ASYLUM AND SAFEHAVENS TO INDIVIDUALS CLEARLY IDENTIFIED AS PERPETRATORS OF THE MASSACRES. GOVERNMENTS IN THE NEIGHBORING STATES SHOULD MOVE SWIFTLY TO DISARM AND ARREST INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN HARBORING RWANDAN DISSIDENTS. A NEW REGIONAL DECLARATION ASSERTING THE OLD PRINCIPLE OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF RWANDA SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED.

-- IN OUR RUSH TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT, WE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE NEED TO PROPERLY SUPPORT AND EQUIP UNAMIR II. GENERAL DELLAIRE, THE ONLY HERO IN RWANDA, NEEDS OUR FULL SUPPORT TO HELP MAINTAIN THE PEACE, TO POLICE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AMONG RETURNING REFUGEES, TO BACKSTOP THE INTERNAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT AND TO HELP ENSURE THE PERPETRATORS OF THE MASSACRES ARE HANDLED PROPERLY.

-- WE SHOULD STRIDENTLY PRESS THE FRENCH NOT TO UNDERMINE THE NEW RPF GOVERNMENT AND TO ACTIVELY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 005873

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, DAS PRU BUSHNELL

AF/C - AMB. RENDER, AMB RAWSON, REED FENDRICH

AF/E - AMB. SHINN AND CHRIS WILSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RW, UG

SUBJECT: RWANDA: WHAT TO DO NEXT -- SOME BRIEFS
THOUGHTS FROM KAMPALA

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DISCOURAGE PRESIDENT MOBUTU FROM DOING SO. THE
PRESENCE OF THE HUTU MILITIA IN ZAIRE WILL BE A
TEMPTATION FOR WICKED MINDS. CARSON

BT

#5873

NNNN

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

SSN: 5873
<^SSN>5873

TOR: 940724070651 M1166743
<^TOR>940724051814 M1166677

DIST:
PRT: COMM SIT
SIT: DESHAZER RICE SIGLER STEINBERG SUM SUM2 WHSR OUT WILSON
<^DIST>
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: FILE SUM SUM2
<^DIST>
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDA3069 2070027-CCCC--RUEADWW.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 260027Z JUL 94

LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

OSRI: RUCNDT

DTG: 260027Z JUL 94

ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7966

INFO: RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0315
RUEHKG/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0335
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0039
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0562
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1114
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5504
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1920
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0569
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0353
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0079
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0865
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0693
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1284

SUBJ: RWANDA: 25 JULY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 003069
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN

SUBJECT: RWANDA: 25 JULY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. U/SYG GHAREKHAN INFORMED SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS
MORNING OF JULY 25 THAT RWANDAN PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU WILL
MEET WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU IN MAURITIUS SOME TIME IN THE
NEXT FEW DAYS. BIZIMUNGU WILL SUBSEQUENTLY MEET WITH
THE PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA. ON THE SUBJECT OF UNAMIR,
GHAREKHAN SAID THAT WITHOUT IMMEDIATE AND MASSIVE
ASSISTANCE, THE UN WAS DOUBTFUL IT WOULD HAVE THE FORCES
NECESSARY TO FILL THE VACUUM LEFT BY FRANCE WHEN IT
DEPARTS RWANDA AUGUST 21. (SEPTEL WILL REPORT UNAMIR
TROOP CONTRIBUTORS MEETING.) GHAREKHAN ALSO REPORTED
THAT THE BELGIAN AIRLINE SABENA IS WORKING WITH UNHCR TO
OPEN KIGALI AIRPORT TO COMMERCIAL TRAFFIC AS SOON AS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

POSSIBLE.

3. FRENCH CHARGE LADSOUS DETAILED FRANCE'S PLANS FOR WITHDRAWAL. BY THE END OF THIS WEEK, SOME 300 TROOPS WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM WESTERN RWANDA. PHASE TWO WILL CENTER AROUND THE KIBAYE REGION, AND PHASE THREE, THE BORDER WITH ZAIRE. HE REMINDED THE COUNCIL THAT FRANCE'S DECISION WAS FINAL AND THE TROOP WITHDRAWALS INEVITABLE.

4. AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH CALLED ON MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL TO PROVIDE URGENTLY PEACEKEEPING FORCES FOR UNAMIR, AND/OR EQUIPMENT FOR BATTALIONS ALREADY IDENTIFIED. REGARDING THE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATION, HE SAID THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE WOULD ADDRESS ONLY FOUR OF THE EIGHT ESSENTIAL "SERVICE PACKAGES" IDENTIFIED BY UNHCR. HE URGED MEMBERS TO ADDRESS THE UNMET NEEDS, INCLUDING ROAD SERVICING AND ROAD SECURITY, SITE PREPARATION, PROVISION OF DOMESTIC FUEL, AND SANITATION FACILITIES.

5. OMAN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT RWANDA'S DECISION NOT TO HOLD ELECTIONS FOR FIVE YEARS, REMINDING THE COUNCIL THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS PROVIDE FOR ELECTIONS AFTER 18 MONTHS.

6. NEW ZEALAND THANKED THE U.S. FOR COMPILING THE LIST OF EQUIPMENT NEEDED BY UNAMIR WHICH WAS ISSUED IN WASHINGTON OVER THE WEEKEND. KEATING SAID IT WAS THE FIRST TIME HIS GOVERNMENT HAD SEEN SUCH A LIST, AND THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY HELPFUL IN FOCUSING HIS DEFENSE AUTHORITIES ON WHERE THEY COULD BE OF GREATEST ASSISTANCE.

7. FOLLOWING THE COUNCIL MEETING, MISOFF WAS INFORMED BY THE UN DPKO RWANDA/BURUNDI DESK OFFICER THAT GHAREKHAN WOULD BRIEF THE COUNCIL TOMORROW ON THE DETERIORATING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BURUNDI'S INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION PARTY UPRONA. SHE SAID GHAREKHAN IS LIKELY TO REPORT THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS WEAKENING UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE OPPOSITION. SHE SUGGESTED THAT A UNSC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT MIGHT DISCOURAGE UPRONA FROM IMPEDING PROGRESS TOWARD ELECTIONS, AND FURTHER ERODING THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY.

8. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#3069

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3069

TOR: 940725204750 M1168955

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAAMZYUW YEXCABO0001 2071300-MNSH--YEXXWHX.

LINE2: ZNY MMNSH

LINE3: O 261150Z JUL 94

LINE4: FM CABINET OFFICE

OSRI: YEXCABO

DTG: 261150Z JUL 94

ORIG: CABINET OFFICE

TO: WHITE HOUSE

INFO: ****

SUBJ: ***NO SUBJECT FOUND***

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

QQQQ

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

BEGINS

DEAR BILL,

RWANDA

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF 23 JULY. THE AMERICAN RESPONSE
TO THE EMERGENCY IN RWANDA HAS BEEN CHARACTERISTICALLY IMPRESSIVE
IN HELPING TO COPE WITH THE OVERWHELMING HUMANITARIAN NEED.

WE HAVE BEEN ACTIVE ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA FROM THE EARLIEST
DAYS OF THE CRISIS AND HAVE BEEN CONTRIBUTING TO THE UNHCR
AIRBRIDGE AT MWANZA, TANZANIA, SINCE EARLY MAY. WE HAVE COMMITTED
POUNDS 11M IN AID SINCE APRIL 1994 AND ANNOUNCED A FURTHER POUNDS
6.5M OF EMERGENCY AID ON 23 JULY. INCLUDING OUR CONTRIBUTION
THROUGH THE EUROPEAN UNION, WE HAVE COMMITTED A TOTAL OF POUNDS
40M TO RWANDA IN THE PAST FOUR MONTHS.

WE HAD AN AID ASSESSMENT MISSION IN RWANDA THE WEEK BEFORE
LAST. WE HAVE SENT RELIEF FLIGHTS WITH VEHICLES, PERSONNEL,
BLANKETS, PLASTIC SHEETING AND WATER CARRIERS. WE HAVE RECRUITED
AN ADDITIONAL AIR BRIDGE TEAM FOR THE UNHCR AIRHEAD AT ENTEBBE,
AND MADE AVAILABLE TO UNHCR FOR A MONTH TWO LARGE TRANSPORT
PLANES TO COLLECT AND DELIVER PRIORITY FOODS AS PART OF THE GOMA
AIRLIFT.

WE HAVE ALSO GIVEN 2,000 TONNES OF HIGH PROTEIN FOOD TO WFP.
WE ARE ARRANGING THE TRANSPORT OF 500 TONNES AND WFP HAVE
APPROACHED THE US AUTHORITIES FOR HELP TO TRANSPORT THE REMAINING
1500 TONNES FROM THE UK. I HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE.

THE MINISTER FOR OVERSEAS AID, BARONESS CHALKER, IS NOW **DECLASSIFIED**
VISITING UGANDA, RWANDA AND THE REFUGEE CAMPS AT GOMA IN ZAIRE **PER E.O. 13526**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

AND WILL MAKE FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS. I EXPECT THESE TO FOCUS PRINCIPALLY ON THE TASK OF RESETTLING THE REFUGEES BACK IN RWANDA.

I, LIKE YOU, BELIEVE THE KEY LIES IN CREATING A SECURE ENVIRONMENT FOR THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. UNAMIR WILL HAVE AN ESSENTIAL ROLE TO PLAY. THE UN HAS ACCEPTED A BRITISH OFFER OF INITIAL LOGISTIC SUPPORT FOR UNAMIR. WHILE WE ARE NOT PROPOSING TO CONTRIBUTE MILITARY PERSONNEL TO THE HUMANITARIAN OPERATION, I AM LOOKING AT WHAT FURTHER HELP WE CAN OFFER TO GET UNAMIR OFF THE GROUND AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

THIS IS A HUGE AND APPALLING PROBLEM, AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO HELP THE UNITED NATIONS AND RELIEF AGENCIES DEAL WITH IT, AND TRY TO RESTORE NORMAL LIFE IN RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

YOURS EVER,

JOHN
ENDS
BT
DECL: OADR
#0001
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0001

TOR: 940726095302 M1169872

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: FILE HOTLINE_IN SUM2
<^DIST>
SIT: CLARKER STEINBERG VERSHBOW

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA5971 2071413-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O 261413Z JUL 94

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

OSRI: RUTAKM

DTG: 261413Z JUL 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1166

INFO: RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1488

RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0122

RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0283

RUEHLG/USDAO LILONGWE MI

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2077

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4224

RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0816

RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2610

RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0386

RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6026

RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0491

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR CARSON'S MEETING WITH RPF LEADERS
ON JULY 25, 1994

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 005971

DEPT FOR A/S GEORGE MOOSE AND PRIN DAS ED BRYNN

AF/C FOR AMB RENDER, REED FENDRICK

AF/E FOR AMB SHINN

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

PARIS FOR DALSIMER

E.O. 12356: OADR

TAGS: OTRA, PREL, UG

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR CARSON'S MEETING WITH RPF LEADERS
ON JULY 25, 1994

1. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR CARSON MET WITH DR. TEOGEN RUDASINGWA AND COL. KAYIZAKI CAESAR OF THE RPF AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE ON THE EVENING OF JULY 25, 1994. ECON OFFICER (NOTETAKER) WAS ALSO PRESENT.

THE MEETING WAS REQUESTED BY DR. RUDASINGWA, WHO QUIETLY URGED

-- THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO USE KIGALI AS THE BASE FOR ITS HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATIONS FOR RWANDANS, AND

-- THE U.S. TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT. THE AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED THE U.S. POSITION ON BOTH ISSUES AND NOTED AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S PRESENCE IN KIGALI TO HOLD INITIAL TALKS WITH MEMBERS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

RELIEF FOR RWANDA

2. DR. RUDASINGWA REQUESTED THAT THE U.S. CONSIDER

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

LAUNCHING RELIEF OPERATIONS FROM INSIDE RWANDA. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD HELP RWANDANS REGAIN NORMAL LIVELIHOODS AND COULD HELP BEGIN RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AIRPORT, AS WELL OTHER PARTS OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE. IF RELIEF COULD BE BASED IN RWANDA, IT COULD ALSO HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO BRING THE REFUGEES BACK, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE REGION.

3 AMBASSADOR CARSON EXPLAINED THAT THE REASON THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE WAS FOCUSED EXTERNALLY WAS THAT, GIVEN THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CATASTROPHE WE SAW UNFOLDING IN EASTERN ZAIRE, WE COULD NOT SIMPLY STAND BY AND WATCH. OUR DESIRE WAS TO ASSIST THOSE WITH THE GREATEST NEEDS. THOSE PEOPLE WERE IN EASTERN ZAIRE. THE RPF SHOULD REMEMBER THAT WHAT WE ARE DOING TODAY IS AN INITIAL RESPONSE AND OUR PROGRAMS WILL EVOLVE AS TIME PROGRESSES AND THE SITUATION CHANGES. AMBASSADOR CARSON SAID OUR LONG TERM OBJECTIVE IS TO ENCOURAGE ALL RWANDAN REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME.

CONTROL OF RELIEF IN INTERNATIONAL HANDS

4. IN RESPONDING TO DR. RUDASINGWA'S REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE TO BE BASED IN RWANDA, THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED REPEATEDLY THAT IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE RPF TO ASSURE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT ANY ASSISTANCE GOING TO RWANDA BE CONTROLLED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE AIRPORT SHOULD BE IN UN OR UNAMIR HANDS, OR AT LEAST UNDER CLOSE SUPERVISION OF THE UN OR UNAMIR. THIS WOULD REASSURE DONORS OF THE COOPERATION AND GOODWILL OF THE RPF.

RECOGNITION OF THE RPF GOVERNMENT

5. DR. RUDASINGWA NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT RECOGNIZED THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND ASKED AMBASSADOR CARSON WHAT THE RPF COULD DO TO EARN THAT RECOGNITION. AMBASSADOR CARSON RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. IS LOOKING FOR A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT, AND ONE THAT WILL PROMOTE STABILITY AND RECONCILIATION IN THE COUNTRY. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEEK TO HEAL RWANDA'S WOUNDS WITHOUT REVENGE. THE U.S. AGREES THAT THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS MUST BE PUNISHED, BUT THAT THEY SHOULD BE PROSECUTED, NOT SUMMARILY EXECUTED. WE SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND BELIEVE THAT INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE MASSACRES IS ESSENTIAL. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THE PRESENCE OF AMBASSADOR RAWSON IN KIGALI AND SAID RAWSON WILL BE DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT LEADERS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 005971
DEPT FOR A/S GEORGE MOOSE AND PRIN DAS ED BRYNN
AF/C FOR AMB RENDER, REED FENDRICK
AF/E FOR AMB SHINN
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY
PARIS FOR DALSIMER
E.O. 12356: OADR

TAGS: OTRA, PREL, UG

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR CARSON'S MEETING WITH RPF LEADERS
ON JULY 25, 1994
BROADENING THE BASE OF THE GOVERNMENT

6. DR. RUDASINGWA SAID THE RPF HAD MADE A CONCERTED EFFORT
TO BROADEN THE BASE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT. HE
TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE THREE VACANT MINISTERIAL POSITIONS HAD BEEN OFFERED TO MEMBERS OF THE MNRD, BUT THAT THEY HAD REFUSED THE POSITIONS. HE SAID THAT ONE OF THE INDIVIDUALS OFFERED A MINISTERIAL POSITION WAS THE CURRENT RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO UGANDA, CLAVER KANYARUSHOKI. (COMMENT: KANYARUSHOKI, BEFORE BECOMING AN AMBASSADOR, WAS HEAD OF RWANDA'S SECURITY SERVICE UNDER THE LATE PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. END COMMENT.) HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE RPF WOULD BE WIDENING THE BASE IN FILLING POSITIONS BELOW CABINET LEVEL AND THAT THE SUPPOSEDLY "TUTSI LED" GOVERNMENT ACTUALLY HAS ONLY SIX MINISTERS WHO ARE TUTSIS.

OBJECTIVES FOR A NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT

7. THROUGHOUT THE CONVERSATION, THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD RESPECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS. HE DISCUSSED THE IMPORTANCE OF INDEPENDENT COURTS AND A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM THAT COULD EFFECTIVELY ALLOW ALL RWANDANS TO BE REPRESENTED.

8. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT, SAYING IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT, BUT ESSENTIAL. GOOD RELATIONS WOULD HELP PREVENT THE ZAIRIANS FROM PROVIDING NEGATIVE INCENTIVES TO THE REFUGEES TO RETURN TO RWANDA. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE RWANDAN PRESIDENT WAS OPENING DISCUSSIONS WITH MOBUTU IN MARITIUS ON EITHER JULY 25 OR JULY 26.

9. DR. RUDASINGWA ASKED AMBASSADOR CARSON WHAT APPROACH THE RPF SHOULD TAKE TOWARD THE FRENCH, ESPECIALLY TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. AMBASSADOR CARSON SAID THAT GOOD RELATIONS MUST BE ESTABLISHED. RELATIONS WITH FRANCE MIGHT BE DIFFICULT, BUT WORTH WHATEVER EFFORT IT TAKES TO BRING ABOUT A BALANCED RELATIONSHIP.

10. THE AMBASSADOR INDICATED HE BELIEVED THAT THE FRENCH WANTED TO LEAVE RWANDA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, BUT THAT THEIR DEPARTURE MUST BE CONTROLLED SO THAT IT DOES NOT CAUSE A STAMPEDE. THEIR EXIT MUST BE COORDINATED WITH A UNAMIR TAKEOVER THAT WILL REASSURE THE PEOPLE IN THE SECTOR THAT THEY WILL COME TO NO HARM.

11. COMMENT. THE VISIT BY RUDASINGWA WAS CLEARLY INTENDED TO PUSH FOR EARLY RECOGNITION AND FOR A REDIRECTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF INTO KIGALI. HIS CASE WAS GOOD AND REFLECTED FAR MORE OF AN EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT THAN WE HAD KNOWN ABOUT. END COMMENT.

14. BUJUMBURA AND KINSHASA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

CARSON
BT
#5971
NNNN

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

SSN: 5971
<^SSN>5971

TOR: 940726102503 M1169954
<^TOR>940726102617 M1169958

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2
VAX
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHSMA4320 2071446-CCCC--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 261446Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
OSRI: RUEHSM
DTG: 261446Z JUL 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO: RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC IMMEDIATE
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1510
INFO: ****
SUBJ: SWEDISH PM BILDT RESPONDS TO PRESIDENT'S APPEAL:
50 RESCUE PERSONNEL AND USD 10 MILLION MORE
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STOCKHOLM 004320
NSC FOR SANDY VERSHOB
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, PREL, EAID, SW, RW
SUBJECT: SWEDISH PM BILDT RESPONDS TO PRESIDENT'S APPEAL:
50 RESCUE PERSONNEL AND USD 10 MILLION MORE
REF: A) WHITE HOUSE 3987; B) STATE 197418:
C) STOCKHOLM 4311
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A (SWEDISH CONFIDENTIAL) JULY
26 LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER CARL BILDT IN RESPONSE TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON'S APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE TO RWANDAN
REFUGEES (REFS A AND B). THE LETTER CONTAINS DETAILS OF
ADDITIONAL SWEDISH CONTRIBUTIONS PRESAGED IN CONVERSATIONS
WITH MFA UNDER SECRETARY BJORN SKALA (REF C).
3. BEGIN TEXT:
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,
THANK YOU FOR YOUR INFORMATIVE AND ENCOURAGING LETTER ON
AMERICAN ASSISTANCE TO RWANDAN REFUGEES. I SHARE YOUR
CONCERN AND FULLY AGREE WITH YOU THAT A MASSIVE
CONTRIBUTION IS NEEDED TO COPE WITH THE INCREDIBLE
SUFFERING AMONG THE PEOPLE AFFECTED. I ALSO AGREE THAT
ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TASKS AHEAD IS TO MAKE IT
POSSIBLE FOR THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME AS QUICKLY AS
POSSIBLE.
SWEDEN RESPONDED AT AN EARLY STAGE TO THE RWANDAN REFUGEE
CRISIS. BEFORE THE LAST ESCALATION, WHEN REFUGEES FLED TO
ZAIRE, SWEDEN ALLOCATED ALMOST USD 20 MILLION, MAINLY
THROUGH WFP, UNHCR, ICRC, UNICEF AND SWEDISH NGOS.
IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS MY GOVERNMENT WILL INCREASE ITS
RESPONSE AND ALLOCATE ANOTHER USD 10 MILLION. ADDITIONAL
SUPPORT TO WFP, UNHCR, UNICEF AND DHA WILL BE PART OF THE
PACKAGE, AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT THROUGH A SWEDISH
MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION, WHICH HAS BEEN WORKING IN RWANDA
FOR MANY YEARS.
THE SUPPORT TO UNHCR WILL BE IN THE FORM OF A TEAM OF 50

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PERSONS FROM THE SWEDISH RESCUE SERVICES BOARD--WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR RESCUE OPERATIONS AND SWEDISH CIVIL DEFENCE. FOR THREE MONTHS THE BOARD WILL BE ENGAGED IN FOUR "SERVICES PACKAGES" IDENTIFIED BY UNHCR, SUCH AS SITE PREPARATION OF A REFUGEE CAMP FOR 200,000--300,000 REFUGEES, SANITARY INSTALLATIONS AND WATER MANAGEMENT FOR THIS CAMP AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SERVICE/WORKSHOP BASE FOR 50-60 TRUCKS. THE SWEDISH RESCUE SERVICES BOARD WILL SUPPORT DHA WITH MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS IN KIGALI, SUCH AS PREPARATION OF STAFF HOUSING, COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT SERVICES.

I VERY MUCH REGRET TO SAY THAT SWEDEN CANNOT SUPPORT THE UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, UNAMIR. OUR ENGAGEMENT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD IS AT PRESENT OF SUCH MAGNITUDE FROM A SWEDISH PERSPECTIVE THAT FURTHER ENGAGEMENTS ARE IMPOSSIBLE AT THE MOMENT. NOR WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO PAIR WITH AND EQUIP THE FORCES FROM ONE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS THAT HAVE OFFERED TO JOIN THE UNAMIR. SWEDEN HAS INSTEAD FOCUSED ON MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND WILL BE SUPPLYING THE SERVICES OF THE STAFF OF THE SWEDISH RESCUE BOARD.

SINCERELY, CARL BILDT.

END TEXT.

4. COMMENT: THE TEXT OF THIS LETTER HAS NOT BEEN PUBLICLY RELEASED BY THE GOS, AND WE DO NOT KNOW IF IT WILL BE RELEASED. HOWEVER, PM BILDT PLANS A PRESS CONFERENCE FOR THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 26 AT WHICH HE WILL ANNOUNCE THE DETAILS OF SWEDEN'S ASSISTANCE TO RWANDAN REFUGEES. WE PRESUME THAT THE "SWEDISH MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION" PM BILDT REFERS TO IS THE SWEDISH MISSION CHURCH (PMU) DISCUSSED IN REF C. END COMMENT.

OTIS

BT

#4320

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4320

TOR: 940726120550 M1170175

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE GRAY KELLY NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG
SUM SUM2 VAX VERSHBOW

□

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

27-Jul-1994 11:54 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RECORDS (RECORDS@A1@OEBO)
FROM: Wolin, Neal S. (wolinn@NSCSTF@OEBO@MSGATE@VAXB)
SUBJECT: ~~SECRET~~ FW: ~~SECRET~~ C-P-L lunch -- 27

Message Creation Date was at 27-JUL-1994 11:36:00

Attached is the e-mail I have been talking about. Among those I know did not get it are: Kreczko, Steinberg, and Feinberg. Perhaps others.

From: Wolin, Neal S.
To: @SENIORS - Senior Directors; Beers, Rand R; Kerrick, Donald L.; Rocha, Victor M.; Blakeman, Earle C.; Fried at A1
CC: /R, Record at A1; Soderberg, Nancy E.; Itoh, William H.; Kenney, Kristie A.; Reed, James W.; Darby, M. Brooke
Subject: ~~SECRET~~ C-P-L lunch -- 27 July
Date: Tuesday, July 26, 1994 03:44 PM

Below is a tentative agenda for tomorrow's C-P-L lunch. Where indicated, please provide me, by not later than 10.00 am Wednesday, a short background paper (via e-mail) for Tony's use.

Lake:

- o Cuba Democracy Act, Track II -- will discuss implementation of track II as well as Sen. Leahy's request for a license for college students in Vermont to study in Cuba. (Feinberg and Mort Halperin please provide background.)
- o Military Pay Increases -- will discuss the Administration's position on pay raises in the FY96 budget. (Bob Bell has provided background.)
- o FAST Marines off Somalia -- will coordinate with State and Defense on the future status of the Marines off the shore of Somalia. (Randy Beers please provide background.)

Christopher:

- o Haiti -- will raise the role of the USG in training a Haitian police force after the departure of the de facto government. (Dick Clarke and Richard Feinberg please coordinate in providing background.)
- o Rwanda -- will discuss next steps, including a possible 506A drawdown for Rwanda. (Dick Clarke and Don Steinberg please coordinate in providing background.)

Perry:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- o Bosnia -- will report on trip to the region and discuss next steps, including the arms embargo lift amendments. (Sandy Vershbow, Bill Danvers and Alan Kreczko please coordinate in providing background.)
- o Macedonia/Greece -- will raise ideas about next steps after trip to Macedonia. (Sandy Vershbow and Dan Fried please coordinate in providing background.)
- o Security Assistance Funds -- will raise trying to get additional IMET funds in the FY96 budget. (Dick Clarke please provide background.)

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 27-Jul-1994 11:36
Deletable Flag: Y
DOCNUM: 047615
VMS Filename: OA\$SHARA16:ZVIFH0C57.TXT
A1 Folder: JUL94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 27-Jul-1994 11:36
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA6547 2081643-CCCC--RHEHNSC.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 271642Z JUL 94 ZFF-4
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 271642Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1788
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 9036
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: * * * *
SUBJ: MRS. OGATA EXPRESSES CONCERNS ABOUT
PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF WHO IS IN CHARGE OF RWANDAN
REFUGEE RELIEF; PROVIDES VIEWS ON KIGALI AS RELIEF
DEPOT
TEXT:
G O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 06547
EXDIS
DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO OSD SECDEF PERRY
AND AID
DEPT FOR RP OAKLEY, AF/AS MOOSE, AND IO/AS BENNET
NSC FOR TONY LAKE
AID FOR ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD
FROM THE AMBASSADOR
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, EAID, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: MRS. OGATA EXPRESSES CONCERNS ABOUT
PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF WHO IS IN CHARGE OF RWANDAN
REFUGEE RELIEF; PROVIDES VIEWS ON KIGALI AS RELIEF
DEPOT
1. G - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: UNHCR SADAKO OGATA ADVISED ME OF HER
PLANS TO TRAVEL TO KIGALI ON FRIDAY, JULY 29.
SHE HOPES TO BE ABLE TO MEET WITH SECRETARY OF
DEFENSE PERRY, IF HE IS IN THE REGION, IN
PARTICULAR TO DISCUSS THE RELIEF EFFORT AND TO
DISPEL THE GROWING CONCERNS THAT THE HUMANITARIAN
OPERATION IS NO LONGER UNDER UN CIVILIAN CONTROL.
A TELEPHONE CALL POSSIBLY FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON
TO MRS. OGATA TO THANK HER FOR UNHCR'S LEADERSHIP
MIGHT ALSO BE APPROPRIATE BEFORE SHE INITIATES HER
TRAVEL. END SUMMARY.
3. I RECEIVED A CALL FROM UNHCR SADAKO OGATA THIS
AFTERNOON IN WHICH SHE INFORMED ME THAT SHE HAD
DECIDED TO TRAVEL TO KIGALI THIS FRIDAY EVENING
AFTER MEETING WITH DHA'S PETER HANSEN IN GENEVA.
(SHE REGRETS THAT HER TRAVEL PLANS WILL PREVENT
HER FROM MEETING WITH SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WHEN
HE ARRIVES IN GENEVA FOR THE BOSNIA MINISTERIAL.)

HER INTENTION IS TO FLY COMMERCIALLY TO NAIROBI AND THEN TO OBTAIN A UN AIRCRAFT TO GO TO KIGALI. AFTER TALKS IN KIGALI, SHE INTENDS TO TRAVEL BY ROAD TO COMA AND OTHER LOCATIONS IN EASTERN ZAIRE RETURNING TO GENEVA IN TIME FOR THE AUGUST 2 RWANDA PLEDGING CONFERENCE.

4. DURING THE COURSE OF OUR CONVERSATION, I RAISED A NUMBER OF ISSUES CONCERNING TENTATIVE PLANS BY THE US RELIEF EFFORT TO PERHAPS MAKE USE OF KIGALI AS A POSSIBLE JTF HEADQUARTERS AS WELL AS SLOTTING RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO THAT AIRPORT. I ALSO RAISED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND A/S MOOSE MAY ALSO TRAVEL TO THE REGION THIS WEEKEND.

5. MRS. OGATA FELT THAT THE USE OF KIGALI MADE SENSE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FACILITATING THE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO EASTERN ZAIRE AS WELL AS PART OF A REPATRIATION STRATEGY FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES IN ZAIRE. SHE ASKED WHETHER KIGALI WOULD SUPPLANT ENTEBBE AS A LOGISTICS HUB AND I ASSURED HER THAT THIS HAS NOT THE CASE.

6. SHE THEN WENT ON TO INQUIRE WHETHER US OPERATIONS IN KIGALI AND THE JTF ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACH HAS PART OF THE US ACCEPTANCE OF UNHCR'S FOUR SERVICE PACKAGES. I ASSURED HER THAT WE WISHED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH UNHCR AND THAT THE US MILITARY'S USE OF A JTF IN THE REGION HAS THE MOST EFFICIENT WAY TO RESPOND TO THE MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN REQUIREMENTS AND MEET THE OBLIGATIONS WE HAD ASSUMED UNDER UNHCR'S MANDATE.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 06547

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO OSD SECDEF PERRY
AND AID

DEPT FOR RP OAKLEY, AF/AS MOOSE, AND IO/AS BENNET
NSC FOR TONY LAKE

AID FOR ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD
FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, EAID, MOPS, RW

SUBJECT: MRS. OGATA EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT
AIRLIFT COULD LEAD TO THE MISPERCEPTION AMONG SOME
PARTIES THAT UNHCR HAD BEEN PUSHED ASIDE.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

9. SHE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR HER TO MEET WITH SECRETARY PERRY THIS WEEKEND IN KIGALI OR IN SOME OTHER LOCATION TO BOTH DISCUSS THE US RELIEF EFFORT AND TO CORRECT THE VIEW OF UNHCR'S ROLE. SHE SAID THAT SHE WOULD LIKE TO "WELCOME" SECRETARY PERRY TO KIGALI IF HE WERE TO COME THERE OR MEET WITH HIM AT SOME OTHER LOCATION AS A WAY TO INDICATE HER AGENCY'S INVOLVEMENT.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

BT
#6547
NNNN

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

SSN: 6547
<^SSN>6547

TOR: 940727130246 M1172427
<^TOR>940727130247 M1172428

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2
VAX
[]

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA3113 2090136-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 280136Z JUL 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 280136Z JUL 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8026
INFO: RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY
RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0322
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0340
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0046
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0565
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1121
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5524
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1930
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0082
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0572
RUEHIL/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0870
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0356
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0696
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1287
SUBJ: RWANDA: 27 JULY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN NEW YORK 003113

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN

SUBJECT: RWANDA: 27 JULY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. U/SYG GHAREKHAN REPORTED TO THE COUNCIL ON JULY 27 ON THE CONTINUING RWANDAN REFUGEE CRISIS. HE REPORTS THAT THE SITUATION IN GOMA IS STILL DESPARATE, BUT THE POTENTIAL EXISTS FOR EVEN GREAT DISASTER IN BUKAVU ONCE THE FRENCH LEAVE THE UN PROTECTED ZONE. RELIEF EFFORTS MUST BE FOCUSED ON INDUCING REFUGEES TO RETURN. UNAMIR HAS DEPLOYED 3 TEAMS OF MILITARY OBSERVERS AND WILL ASSIST THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IN INCREASING ITS ABILITY TO BROADCAST MESSAGES OF CONCILIATION TO THE REFUGEES. END SUMMARY.

G OMA

3. U/SYG GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT THE SITUATION IN GOMA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IS STILL DESPARATE. THE SPREAD OF CHOLERA CONTINUES TO BE A MAJOR SOURCE OF CONCERN, GHAREKHAN EMPHASIZED THAT INTERNATIONAL, SPECIFICALLY AMERICAN, AIRLIFT TO GOMA WOULD BE OF GREAT HELP.

BUKAVU

4. THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN BUKAVU--APPROXIMATELY 350,000 PEOPLE--IS RELATIVELY MANAGEABLE. BUT THE POTENTIAL EXISTS FOR A CATASTROPHE IF A CRISIS DEVELOPS IN THE UN PROTECTED ZONE AFTER THE FRENCH DEPARTURE.

REVERSING THE EXODUS

5. U/SYG GAREKHAN EMPHASIZED THAT THE BEST SOLUTION RESTS IN AN EARLY RETURN OF REFUGEES TO RWANDA. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE POSITIONING FOOD AND WATER AT WAY STATIONS ALONG THE ROADS BACK. AN ESTIMATED 50,000 HAVE RETURNED FROM GOMA AND 50,000 FROM THE UN PROTECTED ZONE.

6. UNFORTUNATELY, THE GOVERNMENT MESSAGE OF RECONCILIATION IS STILL NOT REACHING THE MAJORITY OF REFUGEES IN GOMA BECAUSE THE SIGNAL IS TOO WEAK. UNAMIR HAS AGREED TO HELP BOOST THE SIGNAL.

7. U/SYG GAREKHAN URGED ALL INTERNATIONAL AND USG EFFORTS TO FOCUS ON KIGALI IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE REFUGEES TO RETURN.

HEIGHTENED MESSAGE OF RPF CONCILIATION NEEDED

8. THE FRENCH CHARGE ADDED THAT IN ADDITION TO A STRENGTHENED RADIO SIGNAL, THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT MUST STATE ITS POSITION MORE CLEARLY. ALSO IT MUST STOP THE INCIDENTS OF HARASSMENT AND VIOLENCE IN THE UN ZONE AND AT THE BORDER.

UNAMIR

9. AS OF TODAY, 3 TEAMS OF MILITARY OBSERVERS HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED.

10. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ALBRIGHT

BT

#3113

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3113

TOR: 940727215834 M1173362

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2

VAX

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA3184 2141947-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 021947Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 021947Z AUG 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8124
INFO: RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHBW/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE 1841
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHTH/AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 0754
RUFHZG/AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE 0662
RUFQAAA/USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
RUEHNO/USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY 1893
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 5553
RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY 0309
RUEHVN/USMISSION USVIENNA PRIORITY 1824
RUEHAK/AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 1754
RUEHSM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY 1878
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY 1904
RUFNBUT/HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
RUCBSAA/USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
SUBJ: SYG DISCUSSES BOSNIA, RWANDA, AND PEACEKEEPING
-- FINANCIAL CRISIS DURING AUGUST 1 MEETING WITH
-- SECURITY COUNCIL AMBASSADORS
TEXT:
E O N S I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003184
WHITE HOUSE PASS TO NSC: JCS FOR DIR, DIR JS, CHAIRMAN,
STOCKHOLM FOR CSCE DEL, USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE; CINCLANT
FOR POLAD, SHAPE FOR POLAD MINISTER PENNER,
VIENNA FOR BOSNIA
E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UNSC, UNHCR, AR, BK, HR, SR, GR,
SUBJECT: SYG DISCUSSES BOSNIA, RWANDA, AND PEACEKEEPING
-- FINANCIAL CRISIS DURING AUGUST 1 MEETING WITH
-- SECURITY COUNCIL AMBASSADORS
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~-- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE SYG CONVENED AN AUGUST 1 MEETING OF
SECURITY COUNCIL AMBASSADORS TO DISCUSS HIS JULY 24
LETTER ON UNPROFOR'S FUTURE, RWANDA, MOZAMBIQUE AND THE
FINANCIAL CRISIS IN PEACEKEEPING. THE SYG SAID THAT THE
COMMUNIQUE WHICH EMERGED FROM THE JULY 31 MINISTERIAL
MEETING ON BOSNIA WAS A CAREFULLY WORDED COMPROMISE
WHICH LEFT THE DOOR OPEN TO FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE
THE COMMUNIQUE MIGHT HAVE BOUGHT SOME TIME, THE SYG
PREDICTED THAT THE COUNCIL WILL HAVE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE

CONCERNS RAISED IN HIS LETTER IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. HE SAID THAT THE PROBLEM OF PAYING FOR PEACEKEEPING WAS NOT NEW, BUT WAS GETTING WORSE. A NUMBER OF PERMREPS AGREED THAT THE SYG SHOULD MOVE DURING THE UPCOMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO PUT PEACEKEEPING ON A FIRMER FINANCIAL FOOTING. TURNING TO RWANDA, THE SYG EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT "FOUR ACTORS" -- THE U.S., FRENCH, UNAMIR, AND THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT -- WERE OPERATING ON THE GROUND WITHOUT COORDINATION. FINALLY, THE SYG EXPRESSED STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE DISPATCH OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION TO MOZAMBIQUE. END SUMMARY.

3. THE SYG FIRST RAISED THE UN'S INCREASING DIFFICULTY IN PAYING FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. HE NOTED THAT THE UN IS CURRENTLY TWO BILLION DOLLARS IN DEBT FOR PEACEKEEPING. THIS REPRESENTED A THIRTY PERCENT INCREASE SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER. SEVENTY FIVE PERCENT OF THAT AMOUNT WAS OWED BY MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL. THE SYG ADDED THAT THE PROBLEM OF FINANCING IN PEACEKEEPING WAS GETTING WORSE AND REPRESENTED A CRISIS FOR THE UN.

4. PAKISTANI PERMREP MARKER SUGGESTED THAT THE SYG CONSIDER DEVOTING ONE OR TWO DAYS OF THE UPCOMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THE PROBLEM OF PEACEKEEPING FINANCING IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE A WIDER SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

EO 13526 1.4b EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH SAID THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD REQUESTED A 670 MILLION DOLLAR SUPPLEMENTAL, AND 533 MILLION DOLLARS IN FY 95 FUNDING TO PAY FOR PEACEKEEPING AND THAT WE ANTICIPATED CONGRESSIONAL ACTION WOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE AUGUST RECESS. WE HOPED THAT CONGRESS WOULD RESPOND FAVORABLY. UK DEPUTY PERMREP GOMERSALL SAID THAT IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT FINANCING OF PEACEKEEPING BE PUT ON A SOUND BASIS. GOMERSALL SUGGESTED THAT THE SYG FOLLOW UP ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE SO-CALLED F16 GROUP CHAIRED BY ARGENTINE PERM REP CARDENAS. AMBASSADOR CARDENAS THEN SAID THAT THE UN FACED TWO CRISES REGARDING FINANCING OF PEACEKEEPING. THERE WAS A SHORT TERM CRISIS WHICH ONLY THE MAJOR DEBTORS COULD SOLVE AND A MEDIUM TERM PROBLEM WHICH REQUIRED THAT THE SYG COME UP WITH A STRATEGY TO BUILD SUPPORT FOR REFORM OF PEACEKEEPING FINANCING. CARDENAS ADDED THAT THE SYG MUST LEAD THE WAY ON REFORM. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE SYG DEVELOP A STRATEGY, DISCUSS IT WITH THE PERM-5 AND OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS, AND THEN TAKE IT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS FALL FOR ACTION.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003184

WHITE HOUSE PASS TO NSC: JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
STOCKHOLM FOR CSCE DEL, USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE; CINCLANT
FOR POLAD, SHAPE FOR POLAD MINISTER PENNER,
VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UNSC, UNHCR, AR, BK, HR, SR, GR,
SUBJECT: SYG DISCUSSES BOSNIA, RWANDA, AND PEACEKEEPING

-- FINANCIAL CRISIS DURING AUGUST 1 MEETING WITH

-- SECURITY COUNCIL AMBASSADORS

1. CONFIDENTIAL-- ENTIRE TEXT.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

6. THE SYG ALSO RAISED RWANDA AND MOZAMBIQUE. ON RWANDA HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT FOUR SEPARATE ACTORS -- THE U.S., FRANCE, THE UN AND THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT -- WERE ALL OPERATING ON THE GROUND WITHOUT COORDINATION (A FIFTH IF YOU COUNTED THE NGOS, SAID THE SYG). REGARDING MOZAMBIQUE, THE SYG EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION. (FURTHER DETAILS OF DISCUSSION ON RWANDA AND MOZAMBIQUE REPORTED SEPTEL.)

ALBRIGHT

BT

#3184

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 3184

<^SSN>3184

TOR: 940802161532 M1182632

<^TOR>940802161533 M1182833

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE KERRICK NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM

SUM2 VAX VERSHBOW

U

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Summary of Conclusions

Ad Hoc Group on Rwandan Relief Operations

DATE: August 5, 1994
LOCATION: White House Situation Room
TIME: 9:45 am - 11:00 am

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions of Ad Hoc Group on Rwandan Relief Operations. ~~(S)~~

PARTICIPANTS:

STATE
Timothy Wirth
Edward Brynn

DOD
Ted Warner

CIA
Charles Snyder

JCS
LTG John Sheehan

AID
Brian Atwood

The White House
Anthony Lake
Nancy Soderberg

NSC
Eric Schwartz
Susan Rice
Don Steinberg

Summary of Conclusions

The Ad Hoc Group agreed on the following:

1. Water Requirement: In view of conflicting estimates of requirements, USAID will provide the Ad Hoc Group with an assessment of water needs in Zaire and options for meeting the needs. USAID will consult with JCS and will distribute a paper on this issue no later than 12 noon, Monday, August 8. (U)
2. Length of US Humanitarian Involvement: While we would like to hand off as much of the humanitarian effort to private relief organizations as possible, we will not at this point announce any target date for an end to US involvement in view of the uncertainty of the situation in Rwanda. ~~(C)~~
3. Organization of the Relief Effort and Repatriation:
 - State will continue to encourage the UN to establish an organized structure for decision-making on humanitarian relief. USUN will urge the UN Secretary General to ensure that he has a representative on the ground to facilitate

~~SECRET~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

Declassify on: OADR

coordination, which should include coordination with NGOs. (U)

-- State will prepare an action plan on repatriation issues that will be interagency cleared and available no later than OOB, Tuesday, August 9. The paper should be coordinated with JCS and include recommendations on implementation of Phase 2 of the relief operation. The paper should be informed by discussions with UNHCR and contain benchmarks to determining how actively we can encourage repatriation. ~~(C)~~

4. Additional Needs: USAID will report on critical gaps in the relief effort, with a focus on anticipating problems (such as an outbreak of dysentery) in the weeks to come. USAID will provide options for meeting such needs. The report should be available no later than COB Monday. (U)

5. RPF Efforts to Create a Safe Environment in Rwanda: State will continue to urge the RPF to discourage acts of retribution and reprisal. State will instruct Ambassador Rawson to urge the RPF to develop radio messages to this effect. ~~(C)~~

6. RPF and UNAMIR: Ambassador Rawson will seek to reaffirm RPF agreements to 1) permit Francophone contingents in French units to operate as UNAMIR II units, 2) avoid an RPF presence in the safe area and 3) undertake joint patrols with UNAMIR elsewhere in Rwanda. ~~(S)~~

7. Moroccans: The Vice President will call King Hassan to encourage him to deploy troops to Zaire to help maintain security. NSC staff/Africa will prepare materials for this phone call. ~~(C)~~

8. Burundi: State, in coordination with OSD/JCS, will implement the "Burundi Strategy", including finding facilitators (and, in particular, outside monitors) who will attempt to identify common ground and will thus help to isolate extremists, replacing French troops in southwest Rwanda with expedited deployment of UNAMIR, continuing high-level visits (and public statements accompanying them) to demonstrate strong US support for Burundi's fragile democracy and remind Burundians that the international community is watching, supporting a refugee conference of regional leaders for Bujumbura, and establishing a US military presence at the Bujumbura Airport to help in getting relief to Rwandan refugees in Bukavu, Zaire, southwest Rwanda and northern Burundi. State will be prepared to report on progress on these fronts at the Ad Hoc meeting on August 9. ~~(C)~~

9. Meetings Next Week: The Ad Hoc Group will meet on Tuesday and Thursday of next week. ~~(C)~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Hawkins, Ardenia R.

From: Clarke, Richard A.
To: @UP - APNSA Special Assistants
Subject: RWANDA- Your 10:30 (Supplement to the Briefing Memo)
Date: Tuesday, August 09, 1994 10:03AM
Priority: High

~~-SECRET~~

TL,

The three things I would urge you to focus on in this meeting are:

–Why DOD is holding back on the water equipment that it has in port in Mombasa. Its still needed.
–Pinning down a transition plan from the French to UNAMIR, including insuring that the Leotard promise not to leave prematurely is honored. STATE RPG UNAMIR in (DOD)

–Really getting things going on the Burundi plan.

After the meeting, George and I would like to talk with you about the Finding.

Dick

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUTAKMA6337 2211329-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 091329Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
OSRI: RUTAKM
DTG: 091329Z AUG 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1353
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0532
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE 0246
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4277
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0340
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0837
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 2099
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 6074
RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0405
SUBJ: INTERIM TRIP REPORT - KIGALI AND GOMA
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 006337
DEPT. FOR U/S WIRTH FROM A/S JOHN SHATTUCK
DEPT. ALSO FOR AF A/S GMOOSE; IO - DBENNET;
L - CHARPER; D-CDALPINO AND P; DRL-TFREEMAN
USAID - BATWOOD
NSC FOR - SBERGER, MHALPERIN, DSTEINBERG
DOD FOR - CFREEMAN
USUN FOR - DSCHEFFER
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RW, CG, UN
SUBJECT: INTERIM TRIP REPORT - KIGALI AND GOMA
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. BEFORE I RETURN TO KIGALI FOR A SECOND ROUND OF
DISCUSSIONS WITH RPF/GOR LEADERS -- AND FOLLOWING A
DAY WITNESSING THE STILL-CRITICAL REFUGEE SITUATION
IN THE CAMPS NEAR GOMA -- I WANTED TO SHARE SOME
INITIAL IMPRESSIONS WITH YOU. AFTER TOMORROW'S VISIT
TO KIGALI AND FOLLOW-ON DISCUSSIONS IN BUJUMBURA AND
PARIS, I WILL OFFER RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO PROCEED
ON ACCOUNTABILITY ISSUES -- WHICH ARE AT THE HEART OF
THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA AND WHICH HAVE
POWERFUL IMPLICATIONS FOR MAINTAINING THE BALANCE IN
BURUNDI.
KIGALI HALTING STEPS TOWARD JUSTICE

3. IN MY FIRST DAY OF MEETINGS, AUGUST 6, IN KIGALI,
I MET WITH RPF LEADER PAUL KAGAME (WHO IS NOW VICE
PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE MINISTER). I ALSO MET WITH THE
MINISTERS OF JUSTICE AND RECONSTRUCTION, BUT IT IS

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

KAGAME WHOSE WORD WILL BE DECISIVE ON HOW JUSTICE IS GOING TO BE DEFINED IN RWANDA IN THE DAYS AHEAD. I TOLD KAGAME THAT THE WORLD WOULD BE WATCHING HOW HE HANDLES THE ACCOUNTABILITY ISSUE AND ASKED HIM IF HE DIDN'T SHARE OUR VIEW THAT THE CHANCES FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA WILL BE CRITICALLY AFFECTED BY HOW HE DECIDED TO IDENTIFY, JUDGE AND PUNISH SUSPECTED WAR CRIMINALS. I TOLD HIM THAT THE U.S. IS CONVINCED THAT JUSTICE CAN BE ACHIEVED AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION FURTHERED ONLY IF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR GENOCIDE AND WAR CRIMES IS REMOVED FROM THE TORN RWANDAN CONTEXT AND MANDATED TO AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. I TOLD HIM THAT WE BELIEVE THAT A TRIBUNAL CAN BE CONSTITUTED AND RUNNING IN A REASONABLY SHORT TIME AND THAT WHILE I UNDERSTOOD THE PRESSURES TO CONTROL THE PROCESS, THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S GOOD STANDING IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE HEALING PROCESS IN RWANDA WOULD BE AT RISK IF THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS SEEN TO BE RESORTING TO A PROCESS OF LEGALIZED SCORE-SETTLING WITH THE HUTU MAJORITY. I ALSO EXPRESSED MY CONCERN OVER ACCUMULATING REPORTS OF NEW ATROCITIES INVOLVING RETURNED REFUGEES.

4. KAGAME'S RESPONSE WAS CAUTIOUSLY ENCOURAGING. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOME VENGEANCE KILLINGS HAD LIKELY OCCURRED (AND THAT GIVEN THE HORRIFIC RECENT HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY WOULD LIKELY CONTINUE TO OCCUR). HOWEVER, HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT AND WOULD NOT LEGITIMIZE SUCH INDIVIDUAL ACTS; IT CERTAINLY HAD NOT ADOPTED A POLICY OF SYSTEMATIC EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTION AND WOULD NOT DO SO. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE RPF HAD CALLED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA AND CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE IDEA. HIS CONCERN, HOWEVER, WAS THAT SUCH A PROCESS WOULD BE FAR TOO LENGTHY TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF JUSTICE. HE CITED THE YUGOSLAVIA EXPERIENCE. THEREFORE, HE WAS OF THE VIEW THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKELY HAVE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE.

5. I TOLD KAGAME I WAS PLEASED THAT HE HAD NO PRINCIPLED OBJECTION TO AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, BUT THAT I BELIEVED THAT INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS ON RWANDA COULD BEGIN MUCH SOONER THAN HE SEEMED TO THINK POSSIBLE. I EXPLAINED TO HIM WHY IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AVOID THE DELAYS THAT HAVE PLAGUED THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA TRIBUNAL AND ASKED HIM TO CONSIDER EXPEDITING THAT PROCESS BY INDICATING HIS SUPPORT IN A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL WHICH WOULD ALSO CONDEMN INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF VENGEANCE. I

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 006337
DEPT. FOR U/S WIRTH FROM A/S JOHN SHATTUCK
DEPT. ALSO FOR AF A/S GMOOSE; IO - DBENNET;
L - CHARPER; D-CDALPINO AND P; DRL-TFREEMAN
USAID - BATWOOD
NSC FOR - SBERGER, MHALPERIN, DSTEINBERG
DOD FOR - CFREEMAN
USUN FOR - DSCHEFFER
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, RW, CG, UN

SUBJECT: INTERIM TRIP REPORT - KIGALI AND GOMA
LEFT HIM WITH A DRAFT TEXT. IN MEETINGS TOMORROW, I
EXPECT A MORE CONSIDERED RESPONSE FROM GOF/RPF
OFFICIALS, AND WOULD HOPE TO BE ABLE TO PROCEED
FURTHER WITH A DIALOGUE ON WHAT WE CAN DO TOGETHER TO
MEET THE BROAD RANGE CHALLENGES THE NEW REGIME FACES
BEGINNING WITH THE JUSTICE/NATIONAL RECONCILIATION
CONUNDRUM.

GOMA: THE DANGER OF A RWANDAN GAZA

6. I SPENT THE DAY IN GOMA AND THE PROXIMATE REFUGEE CAMPS -- HOME TO AN ESTIMATED 800,000 MISERABLE AND SHELL-SHOCKED HUMAN BEINGS WHO ARE NEVERTHELESS NO LONGER ON THE VERGE OF MASS DEATH. THIS IS THANKS TO THE ENORMOUSLY IMPRESSIVE HUMANITARIAN EFFORT UNDERTAKEN BY THE MILITARIES OF SEVERAL NATIONS (WITH THE U.S. AND FRANCE IN THE LEAD), INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND NGOS. I REMAIN EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES AND INTENTIONS OF THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY AND MILITIA WHO ARE LIVING NEAR AND OPERATING IN THE REFUGEE ENCAMPMENTS. THEIR SUCCESS AT ORGANIZING IN THE CAMPS HAVE ENABLED THEM TO INTIMIDATE THE REFUGEES WHO WOULD OTHERWISE CONSIDER RETURNING TO RWANDA; THEY ALSO APPEAR TO BE BRIBING CAMP LEADERS TO THIS END. THERE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY THAT THE FORMER GOR WILL SUCCEED AT CREATING AN ENTRENCHED REFUGEE POPULATION (A LA GAZA) AS A FIRST STEP IN A PROGRAM OF RECONQUEST. THE HEAD OF UNHCR OPERATIONS CHARACTERIZED THE MAJORITY OF HUTU REFUGEES LEADERS AS IMMOBILIZED BY "OLD FEARS AND COLLECTIVE GUILT."

LOOKING AHEAD: HOW TO BREAK THE CYCLE

7. THE CYCLE OF RETRIBUTION AND DEATH IN RWANDA, IF IT IS EVER TO BE BROKEN, REQUIRES IMMEDIATE ACTION ON THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AND A CONCERTED EFFORT WITH RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS (AND MOST CRITICALLY, ZAIRE) TO DEFUSE THE REFUGEE EXPLOSION. IT WILL ALSO REQUIRE CLEAR PROOF THAT REFUGEES CAN SAFELY RETURN HOME. I WILL SUBMIT ON MY RETURN SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTIONS INVOLVING KIGALI, OTHER KEY PLAYERS (RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS, FRANCE AND BELGIUM) AND THE UN. I ALSO BELIEVE THERE ARE A VARIETY OF ACTIONS WE CAN TAKE IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI TO CREATE AND STRENGTHEN, THE NATIONAL EQUILIBRIUM. SHERPER

BT

#6337

NNNN

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

SSN: 6337
<^SSN>6337

TOR: 940809094720 M1193896
<^TOR>940809094936 M1193900

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS BRANSUM CLARKER DESHAZER FILE HALPERIN NSC RICE SCHWARTZ

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Rwandan



10 August 1994

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Burundi: Background to Crisis

Summary

- Recent developments make an ethnic explosion in Burundi likely in the next six months. The crisis could begin with little additional warning. This would trigger massive new flows of refugees, overwhelm international humanitarian capabilities, and add to instability in the region. Fearful of Rwanda's new Tutsi-dominated government, Burundian Hutu refugees probably would head instead for Tanzania or Zaire. 3.5c
- Both Burundi's coup-prone, Tutsi-dominated, military and the civilian Tutsi opposition appear more opposed than ever to Hutu majority rule. The Hutu-dominated government is virtually powerless in the face of Tutsi intransigence. This, in turn, is strengthening hardline Burundian Hutu leaders, who increasingly see conflict as their only means to consolidate their shaky hold on power. 3.5c

Rwandan Developments Polarizing Burundian Hutus and Tutsis. The massive bloodletting in Rwanda has raised the level of mutual distrust between Burundian Hutus and Tutsis. Each side is convinced that it cannot risk sharing power with the other, which is undercutting the influence of the few remaining moderates who favor power sharing. 3.5c

Burundian Tutsi fears of sharing power with the Hutu majority have deepened since the massacres of nearly two-thirds of Rwanda's Tutsis between early April and mid-July, and the group's desire to regain full control of the government appears stronger than ever. The mainly Tutsi UPRONA party and other opposition groups place little stock in the democratic process, saying it would bring to power a Hutu majority government that would by definition be repressive.

- In early August, UPRONA pulled out of power-sharing talks with the "ruling" Hutu FRODEBU party, claiming recent appointments of security and local officials violated the negotiations' ground rules. The Tutsi opposition has demanded near parity in government jobs and the creation of the office of vice president, to be filled by a Tutsi. 3.5c

EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: Burundi: Background to Crisis

The 13,000-strong mostly Tutsi security forces remain the Tutsis' insurance policy. The current Army Chief, the Defense Minister, and other Tutsi military leaders, who were among the instigators of the bloody coup attempt last October, all adamantly reject the idea of sharing power with Hutus. Their willingness to revolt and ability to do so with impunity have highlighted the helplessness of Acting President Ntibantuganya and intimidated many other Hutu politicians.

- Much of Burundi's recent ethnic violence--in which about 1,000 civilians have been killed since April--has stemmed from the Tutsi Army's "cleansing" operations in areas where it suspected Hutu party militias of harboring weapons. 3.5c

Hutus Edging Toward Conflict. Developments in Rwanda have also diminished the commitment of Burundi's Hutu leaders to finding a peaceful outcome to their country's crisis. Some Hutu officials view UPRONA's negotiating strategy as the first step toward a bloodless coup d'état that would restore Tutsi dominance; these officials probably are correct. Consequently, armed conflict is increasingly attractive to Hutu hardliners.

- The radical Hutu PALIPEHUTU movement has been reorganizing and rearming its 5,000 fighters since April.
- Burundian government officials have been recruiting Zairian nationals and Hutu refugees in Zaire's South Kivu Region to fight the Burundian Army. 3.5c

Another Humanitarian Disaster Looming. The hardening attitudes of both Hutus and Tutsis are propelling Burundi toward large-scale ethnic clashes that will create another humanitarian disaster. More than 1.3 million displaced persons and former Burundian refugees who have returned from neighboring countries are already receiving humanitarian assistance. In addition, nearly 220,000 Burundian refugees remain in Zaire, Tanzania, and Rwanda.

- Burundian Hutus would likely stay away from their traditional safehaven in Rwanda, fearing the new Tutsi-dominated government in Kigali. Fear of the Tutsi has prompted many of the 300,000 Burundian refugees who fled to Rwanda last October to return to Burundi; the 53,000 who remain in Rwanda are mostly in the French-designated safehaven.
- New waves of Burundian Hutu refugees probably would head for Tanzania or Zaire. 3.5c

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

APPENDIX

Burundi: A "Cliff Notes" History

Unlike most African states, Rwanda and Burundi were not artificial creations of colonial rule; their existence as political entities goes back several centuries. Between the 15th and 17th centuries, Tutsi herders moved into the area from Ethiopia and established dominance over Hutu farmers. Hutus traditionally were the social inferiors of the Tutsi nobility, who exchanged cattle for personal services. Both groups share social structures and the related Kirundi and Kinyarwanda languages. 3.5c

Rwanda's Tutsi monarchy traditionally was more centralized and authoritarian than in Burundi, where the king's power rested on a shifting set of factional alliances. Rwanda also was marked by sharper social distinctions between Tutsis and Hutus. German and Belgian rule in the 20th century highlighted ethnic differences in both countries, as colonial authorities gave Tutsis disproportionate access to education and government jobs. 3.5c

In Burundi, Tutsis remained in control until last year. The contrast between Hutu rule in Rwanda and the group's oppression in Burundi led to Hutu uprisings--in 1965, 1969, 1972, and 1988--that resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths. Each Hutu attack fueled Tutsi fears of extermination, and each bloody repression reinforced the Hutus' desire for revenge. Periodic ethnic unrest resulted in three successful coups d'état and many failed attempts. The last Tutsi president, Pierre Buyoya, judged the situation was untenable and orchestrated last year's election and transfer of power. 3.5c

In the June 1993 election, Melchoir Ndadaye's pro-Hutu FRODEBU party won with more than 60 percent of the vote. The election results, however, have been subverted by the Tutsi-controlled military. A coup attempt last October resulted in the murder of President Ndadaye--as well as his constitutionally designated direct successors--and set off ethnic bloodletting that killed as many as 50,000, drove another 600,000 into neighboring countries, and displaced about 1 million within the country. This year, Ndadaye's appointed Hutu successor died in the plane crash that also killed Rwandan Hutu President Habyarimana, the Tutsi Army launched another abortive coup, and the Tutsi opposition has blocked Acting President Ntibantunganya's efforts to gain legitimacy and control the government. 3.5c

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: SECRET
LINE1: OAASZYUW RUEAIIA4091 2221709-SSSS--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS
LINE3: O 101709Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM CIA
OSRI: RUEAIIA
DTG: 101709Z AUG 94
ORIG: CIA
TO: RUEAIJU/NPIC
RUETIJA/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 INTEL CEN MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ2-JIW/CCJ2//
RUWSMXI/AMC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL
RUWSMXI/USCINCTRANS INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL
RUWSMXI/AMC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL
RUEOFAA/COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC//J2//
RUFQBBA/US SURVEY SECTION SHAPE BE

INFO: *****

SUBJ:

EO 13526 1.4c

████████ ZAIRE PLANS TO PREVENT RWANDAN HUTU
MILITARY OPERATIONS FROM ZAIRIAN SOIL AND REQUEST FOR
FRENCH DONATION OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS
EQUIPMENT TO RELOCATE HUTU FORCES

TEXT:

S E C R E T W N I N T E L - N O F O R M

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE
REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T~~ WNINTEL NOFORN- [REDACTED] 1.4c

DIST: 10 AUGUST 1994

COUNTRY: ZAIRE/RWANDA/FRANCE

SUBJ: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ZAIRE PLANS TO PREVENT RWANDAN HUTU
MILITARY OPERATIONS FROM ZAIRIAN SOIL AND REQUEST FOR
FRENCH DONATION OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS
EQUIPMENT TO RELOCATE HUTU FORCES

SUMMARY: NONE.

TEXT: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ZAIRE PLANS TO PREVENT THE HUTU-DOMINATED FORMER
RWANDAN ARMED FORCES (FAR) FROM RUNNING CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS
AGAINST THE NEWLY INSTALLED TUTSI-DOMINATED RWANDAN COALITION
GOVERNMENT. IN ORDER TO DENY THE HUTU MILITARY THE USE OF ZAIRIAN
SOIL FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS, THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT PLANS TO
RELOCATE THE HUTU-DOMINATED FORCE AWAY FROM THE RWANDAN-ZAIRIAN
BORDER, AND, IF POSSIBLE, DISPERSE ITS MEMBERS. TO ACCOMPLISH
THIS, SINCE THE ZAIRIANS LACK THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT, THE ZAIRIAN
PRESIDENCY REQUESTED THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AUTHORIZE THE
FRENCH-LED MILITARY FORCES TO LEAVE BEHIND TRANSPORT AND BASIC
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT WHEN THEY BEGIN THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM
ZAIRE. IT IS MOBUTU'S FIRM INTENTION TO DISPERSE AND ISOLATE THE
HUTU RWANDAN MILITARY FORCES, INCLUDING THE MILITIA. THE ZAIRIAN
OFFICIAL SAID THAT APPROXIMATELY 8,000 FORMER FAR SOLDIERS ARE
CURRENTLY IN THE SOUTH KIVU REGION OF ZAIRE, AND ANOTHER 7,000 IN
THE NORTH KIVU REGION.

DISSEM: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 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

NATIONALS- [REDACTED]

END OF MESSAGE

SECRET.

BT

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

#4091
NNNN
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 4091
TOR: 940810132020 M1196335
DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER FILE NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2
VAX
□

Hawkins, Ardenia R.

From: Clarke, Richard A.
To: @AFRICA - African Affairs; @GLOBAL - Global Affairs; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants
Subject: RWANDA - Mr. Lake's Friday Meeting at 11AM on the SVTS
Date: Thursday, August 11, 1994 9:15PM

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to: Mr. Lake

From: Richard Clarke

Subject: Rwanda AHG
12 August 94
11-12 SVTS

- Congress - Byrd, supplemental
- Bukavu - next week
- Panetta, Obey.
- DoD [Inouye, Stevens
Murtha, McDade
Byrd?]
- Burundi - folks to Buj.

The agenda for Friday's follow up meeting is attached.

The Volcano

The key issue is what State calls "the Volcano Initiative," a proposal to use the volcanic eruption as a catalyst for an emergency repatriation. We decided yesterday that we would consult before we proposed an emergency repatriation. Over night, we were to have consulted with the UN, France, and Rwanda.

Several pieces would have to come together for us to be able to do an emergency repatriation:

- the UN will have to shift UNAMIR from the French zone to the northwest
- the French will have to stay on in the southwest
- the Rwandan government will have to accept the continuation of the French presence and at least joint control with UNAMIR of the northwest.

You should ask State for the results of their initial consultations and then ask other agencies if they have had any additional thoughts about the State proposal.

Replacing the Moroccans

State and Defense have yet to respond to the tasker to develop alternatives for the Moroccans in the security role around Goma. One alternative is to expand the mandate of UNAMIR to assist the Zaire Army in security at UNHCR facilities in and around Goma and perhaps Bukavu. Zaire would probably agree. Now that the Ghana, Tunisia, and Ethiopia battalions are en route, expanding UNAMIR's area of responsibility by a few miles might be feasible.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

State is to report on their plan for a high level US team to go to Burundi. A UNSC subcommittee (Rick Inderfurth et al) in Mozambique will divert to Burundi. As soon as the UNHCR identifies a cargo for us to fly in to Bujumbura, a USAF aircraft will be on the way there. Are there other things that we should be doing?

A D V A N C E . C O P Y

11 Aug 94

RWANDA: EXPANDING DIMENSIONS OF THE CRISIS

KEY POINTS

Many of the estimated 2 million Hutu refugees in the countries bordering Rwanda will probably be unwilling to return home for the foreseeable future.

- They fear reprisals by the new, Tutsi-dominated government. Some returning Hutus have in fact been murdered by Tutsis seeking revenge, but these attacks do not appear to have been sanctioned by the new regime. The new government wants Hutus who killed up to a million Rwandans to be prosecuted for genocide and war crimes but does not seek revenge against the Hutu population as a whole.
- Hutu leaders hoping to rekindle the civil war in coming months have been trying to dissuade Hutu refugees from returning by exaggerating the threat of Tutsi reprisals and threatening to kill Hutus who try to go back.

If France withdraws all its troops by late this month, a million or more displaced Hutus who have taken shelter in the French "safe zone" may seek refuge abroad. Paris knows it would be criticized if its withdrawal of troops created a new refugee crisis, so it will probably leave a residual force in the safe zone until UNAMIR can replace them.

- The UN Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) will be unlikely to deploy enough troops to replace the French forces before mid-September. Even then, many displaced Hutus--dubious about the ability and will of the UN troops to protect them--will seek refuge abroad. [redacted]

The Rwandan crisis will continue to have a destabilizing impact on the region, particularly in neighboring Burundi, where Hutus and Tutsis are on the verge of another cycle of mass bloodletting. Moreover, the huge humanitarian relief efforts in Rwanda have depleted the resources available to aid other needy African states. [redacted]

The new government installed last month by the victorious, Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) faces enormous challenges in consolidating power, restoring law and order, reviving the economy, and--most of all--nurturing reconciliation between the majority Hutus and the remaining members of the devastated Tutsi minority.

- Since early April, up to a million Rwandans--mostly Tutsis and moderate Hutus--have died in genocidal bloodletting instigated by officials of the former, extremist Hutu regime.¹ Nearly two-thirds of the remaining population consist of refugees and displaced persons.
- Thousands of former Rwandan Army (FAR) troops and Hutu militiamen are concentrated in eastern Zaire and in the French "safe zone" in southwestern Rwanda--the cornerstone of France's Operation Turquoise mission to protect civilians from further slaughter. There they remain under the influence, if not the full control, of officials from the former Hutu regime. Many are still armed or could get arms quickly. [redacted]

(Side Bar) **Hutus fear Tutsi reprisals**

The new government has been trying to persuade the displaced Rwandans to return to their homes, promising not to exact

¹More than 60 percent of the half-million Tutsis in Rwanda were murdered. Less than 200,000 Tutsis remain in the country. Another 600,000 Tutsis, who have fled during crises over the past three decades, live in neighboring countries. (U)

generalized retribution for the slaughter and saying that Hutus and Tutsis must learn to live together in peace. Even with the promise of large-scale foreign assistance, however, many Hutus will refuse to return for the foreseeable future. Conciliatory statements from Rwanda's new rulers will not dispel their fears of retribution and of the government being run by and for Tutsis, as in Rwanda's feudal past. [redacted]

Some Tutsi reprisals have taken place, though we lack authoritative information about them.

EO 13526 1.4c

- The new government has downplayed the extent of such reprisals and disclaimed direct responsibility for them, saying the perpetrators were new, undisciplined RPF troops and Tutsi youths beyond its control. [redacted] 3.5c

Former Hutu government officials and military leaders, who hope to rekindle the civil war and retake their country, are trying to keep the Hutu refugees from returning home. In sporadic radio broadcasts, they have warned that the RPF will butcher returning Hutus. They have played up reports of RPF reprisals and probably invented many of them. In some areas FAR troops and Hutu militiamen have threatened to kill anyone who leaves the refugee areas in Zaire. [redacted]

(Side Bar) Not much to return to

Apart from concerns about security, the refugees will continue to be skeptical about living conditions in their home areas. Most Rwandan regions are experiencing food shortages. The looting of abandoned homes continues. The 55,000 current residents of Kigali--which had a population of 350,000 before April--lack electricity, running water, sanitation facilities, and trucks and other equipment needed to remove trash and bury the corpses that still lie in the streets. Meanwhile, Tutsis--including thousands of longtime refugees--have been returning from neighboring countries and seizing abandoned property.

[redacted]

-----BEGIN BOX-----

Rwandan Refugees and Displaced Persons

Refugees Outside Rwanda. As of 4 August, the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that since April nearly 2 million Rwandans have taken refuge in four neighboring countries. Most are Hutus, 5,000 in Tanzania, and a few in Burundi and perhaps Zaire. These numbers are exceedingly soft, reflecting the size and speed of the refugee flows, the fact that it was more important to feed and heal the refugees than to count them accurately, and the difficulty of keeping track of groups of refugees that move from site to site within and between countries.

- *Zaire*. In all, more than 1.3 million refugees: 850,000 in the Goma area and more than 500,000 in southern Kivu province (about 300,000 around Bukavu and 200,000 between Kamnyola and Uvira).
- *Tanzania*. Nearly 400,000 refugees: more than 250,000 in the Ngara area and about 100,000 in the Karagwe area.
- *Burundi*. About 200,000 refugees.
- *Uganda*. About 10,500 refugees.

Displaced Persons Inside Rwanda. Based on very loose estimates by relief agencies, about 2.6 million persons are displaced inside Rwanda: more than 700,000 in the northeast and southeast, about 500,000 in the northwest, 1.3 million in the French safe zone. (U)

-----BOX IS UNCLASSIFIED-----

(Side Bar) *Genuine reconciliation unlikely*

In coming months Rwandan factions are likely to cut political deals that ostensibly result in more ethnically representative government structures. The Hutu-Tutsi schism will remain, however, fueled by the desire for vengeance, the fear of retribution, and maneuvers for political dominance.

- The ranks of moderate Hutus--those sincere about participating in a broad-based coalition government--have

been nearly obliterated by the murders and by consequent political polarization.

- The RPF is determined that Hutus it deems guilty of war crimes and genocidal acts be prosecuted. Whether conducted by the new government or by the UN, however, such trials could hamper reconciliation and might even reignite ethnic bloodletting. [redacted]

Growing Threat of a Hutu Insurgency. The Hutu elements that tried to eliminate all Tutsis from Rwanda are not likely to settle for permanent refugee status or a subservient role in a Tutsi-dominated Rwanda (provided they could escape prosecution). Consequently, we judge that Hutu forces are likely to begin mounting attacks inside Rwanda, perhaps by the end of the year.

[redacted]

A Hutu insurgency could become a formidable problem for the new government, especially if many of Rwanda's radical Hutu militiamen--the 10,000 or more irregulars responsible for most of the murders of Tutsis--join with sizable remnants of the FAR. (Originally the Army consisted of 20,000 to 30,000 soldiers, of whom about 10,000 were deemed combat-effective.) While the RPF has been recruiting since the massacres began in April, it has little more than 13,000 combat-effective troops. Although the RPF outfought and outmaneuvered the Hutu forces during the recent civil war, given the massive preponderance of Hutus in the

general population, regime forces may be hard pressed to maintain control of the whole country. [redacted]

(Side Bar) *Hutus preparing to strike back*

Notwithstanding their hasty retreat and the chaotic conditions in western Rwanda and eastern Zaire, the Hutu forces remain largely intact. Following the RPF takeover of Kigali, FAR troops retreated to Zaire but generally resisted integration with other refugees. Entire FAR units are encamped together on the outskirts of both Goma and Bukavu, and many FAR soldiers appear ready to renew combat following a recent declaration of war by the former government. Hutu militiamen, who have already attacked Tutsi refugees and commandeered relief convoys, also appear to be preparing to strike back at the new government. The Zairian Army troops disarmed only some of the FAR troops and Hutu militiamen who crossed into Zaire. Many of their confiscated weapons are stacked in unguarded piles. [redacted]

While Hutu insurgents could count on strong backing from Hutu expatriates and private French business sources, Zairian support probably would be crucial. Zairian President Mobutu, who is eager to build on recent diplomatic gains derived from his support of Operation Turquoise, publicly promised the new Rwandan Government that Kinshasa would disarm Hutu soldiers and prevent incursions from Zairian territory. [redacted]

(Side Bar) *No one should count on Mobutu*

Judging by the poor discipline and military effectiveness of the Zairian troops, Mobutu's past support for the former Hutu regime, and his distrust of Ugandan President Museveni, who has backed the RPF, both Mobutu's willingness and his ability to follow through on his pledge are questionable. Mobutu and his cronies would probably turn a blind eye toward arms smuggling and related activities by Hutu insurgents based in Zaire. Mobutu would likely view any substantial French involvement with the insurgents--whether by the government or private groups--as a "green light" for him to give greater assistance to them. [redacted]

Mobutu's support for a Hutu insurgency, however, will be tempered by the RPF's ability to strike back. The RPF will not hesitate to conduct cross-border strikes if it believes itself threatened by Zairians or Rwandan refugees. The RPF's ability to do so is reinforced by its control of most of the major land routes that are key to the sustained delivery of relief supplies to affected areas in eastern Zaire. Mobutu's continued access to this aid depends in part on his cooperation with the RPF. [redacted]

-----BEGIN BOX-----

The Threat to Western Personnel

No organized or systematic threat to Western relief workers and troops now exists, but the situations in Rwanda and northeastern Zaire are extremely volatile, and attacks against Western personnel could occur at any time. Armed FAR troops, Hutu militiamen, and Zairian soldiers in refugee sites are often

drunk or high on drugs; many have already exhibited highly aggressive behavior. In addition, Zairian civilians hurt by the huge influx of Rwandan refugees are increasingly blaming the French. Attacks against Westerners could spur a sudden withdrawal of relief groups and UN-sanctioned troops, significantly increasing the humanitarian hardship as well as prospects for clashes between competing armed factions.

- RPF elements resent the French for intervening in the Rwandan civil war--in their perspective on behalf of the Hutus--for providing the arms used by Hutu militants in the massacres, and also because Hutus who murdered Tutsis have taken sanctuary in the French safe zone.
- Embittered Hutus are blaming the US, France, and the UN for their defeat. Many local Hutu headmen, who recognize that they could eventually be executed for engaging in or encouraging ethnic slaughter, are now functioning as leaders of refugee groupings.
- The 2,000 to 2,500 undisciplined and predatory Zairian troops in the Kivu area are terrorizing refugees and looting relief convoys. They appear unable to maintain security.

-----BOX IS

Impact of French Troop Withdrawals

In anticipation of handing over their functions to the UN Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), the 2,500 French troops have begun withdrawing from Rwanda and eastern Zaire. Paris had declared that all of them would be gone by 22 August but has indicated more recently that it may leave some troops in the safe zone until UNAMIR is better prepared to take over. Paris is not being explicit about its plans, because it fears that announcing a postponement of its troop withdrawal will encourage UNAMIR to further delay deployment of its forces. As it is, UNAMIR is unlikely to deploy enough troops to replace the French forces before mid-September at the earliest. [redacted]

(Side Bar) *Situation in the safe zone deteriorating*

Meanwhile, security conditions in the safe zone have been deteriorating. Among the 1.3 million displaced Hutus in the zone are several thousand well-armed militiamen--some of whom have skirmished with French troops. In addition, in the wake of allegations by the new government that Hutu war criminals are being sheltered in the safe zone, RPF forces have also clashed with French troops. [redacted]

A residual French force working with inadequate numbers of fresh UNAMIR troops will probably be unable to stabilize the situation in the safe zone. As the security situation continues to worsen, providing humanitarian relief will become even harder, and some of the Hutus in the safe zone may relocate to refugee

areas in neighboring countries, further taxing already overburdened relief efforts in those areas. [redacted]

If France were to pull all of its troops out of safe zone by the end of this month, the consequences would be much worse. Well before the end of the month, panic would ensue among Hutus in the zone afraid that RPF forces would take over the area. More than a million displaced Hutus would flee to refugee camps in Zaire and Burundi, exacerbating conditions there. During the exodus, relief workers and the remaining French troops would be at great risk. Even if thousands of UNAMIR peacekeepers were somehow deployed in the zone before the last French troops departed, the Hutus might flee anyway, doubting both the ability and determination of UNAMIR to protect them. [redacted]

-----BEGIN BOX-----

Rwandan Agriculture Devastated

Refugees who return to Rwanda will remain dependent on foreign assistance for some time. Harvest activities are much below normal in most of the country; crops usually picked in June and July are beginning to wither in the fields. Unless harvested this month, the main midyear crops that provide about one-third of the Rwandan diet will be lost. If most refugees do not return home before October, a large share of next year's crop production will also be lost.

- The next major crops at risk are beans and corn, which provide another 30 percent of the diet; they are normally planted between October and December and harvested between March and May.
- Crops planted at higher elevations in July or August usually provide up to 15 percent of total food production, but little will come from such crops this year.
- This year hungry farmers may eat the seeds that have been or would normally be put aside for the next planting season.

Farmers have generally been unable to harvest or care for coffee and tea plants, the crops that together accounted for nearly 85 percent of Rwanda's export earnings in 1992; in addition, some warehouses and milling plants were destroyed during the fighting. As a result, earnings from coffee and tea will be substantially reduced for at least several years.

-----BOX IS UNCLASSIFIED-----

Regional Repercussions

The Rwandan crisis and the international response to it are having a major, direct impact on neighboring countries. [redacted]

(Side Bar) *Burundi ready to blow up again*

Burundi. Another chapter in Burundi's long-running saga of bloody Hutu-Tutsi strife appears about to open. Centuries of

domination by Tutsis of the Hutus, who compose 85 percent of the population, ended with a democratic presidential election in June 1993 won by Melchior Ndadaye's pro-Hutu party. The Tutsi-controlled military, however, attempted a coup last October that resulted in the murder of President Ndadaye and set off ethnic bloodletting that killed as many as 50,000 Hutu and Tutsi Burundians during the next six months. About a million citizens were displaced within Burundi, and another 600,000 were driven into neighboring countries. [redacted]

Ndadaye's successor, President Ntaryamira, was killed on 6 April along with Rwandan President Habyarimana when the latter's plane was shot down in Rwanda, most likely by militant Hutus angered over Habyarimana's agreement to share power with the RPF and moderate Hutu elements. Since then, perhaps thousands more have died in ethnic strife in Burundi, and there have been repeated clashes between Burundian forces and Hutu militias operating in Burundi and Zaire. [redacted]

The Tutsi opposition has blocked the efforts of Interim President Ntibantunganya to establish his legitimacy and gain control of the government. Earlier this month, the largest Tutsi party pulled out of the UN-sponsored talks on power-sharing and threatened to call strikes--likely to spark additional ethnic violence--unless its demands are met. The success of the RPF in Rwanda has probably stiffened the resolve of Tutsi elements in Burundi to resist any arrangement that would hand predominant political power to Hutus. [redacted]

The recent unrest has been concentrated in the northern and central regions; if it spreads to Bujumbura, it could generate large new flows of refugees in a region already overwhelmed by refugees and interfere with international relief efforts in Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire. Already, food is in such short supply in Burundi that almost a quarter of the country's 6 million citizens depend on international food relief. [redacted]

(Side Bar) *Zaire facing manifold problems*

Zaire. Even before the latest influx of Hutu refugees from Rwanda and Burundi, ethnic tensions were high in the border regions. Late last year, violent clashes between Zairians and Rwandans in northeastern Zaire were triggered by economic privation and a debate over electoral rights; some 6,000 people were killed and 300,000 continue to be dependent on international assistance. (U)

Some Zairians in the area newly inundated by Rwandan refugees have profited by selling them goods and services or by robbing them, but many others have caught diseases such as cholera and dysentery and suffered along with the refugees from the inadequate supplies of food and good water. FAR troops and Hutu militiamen operating from Zaire pose a long-term security problem. A failure to apprehend and punish Hutu war criminals would embolden like-minded Zairian elements in Shaba province to redouble their ethnic-cleansing activities. The nearly 400,000 Zairians already displaced from Shaba province by ethnic

cleansing may react violently if they perceive the Rwandan refugees to be receiving preferential treatment from international aid organizations. [redacted]

The Rwandan crisis will also undercut the efforts of newly-installed Prime Minister Kengo to stabilize the Zairian economy, organize elections, and establish his independence from Mobutu.

- Most of Kivu's contribution to Zaire's economy--perhaps 20 percent of GDP in recent years--is lost for the rest of this year, although income from relief operations will make up for some of the shortfall.
- The crisis also dims prospects for an effective and transparent census and voter registration drive in the Kivu regions, which is vital to the success of the national elections that are to be held by July 1995.
- By permitting Western military and relief operations on Zairian territory, Mobutu has improved his international standing and possibly his ability to interfere with Kengo's efforts to restore effective government. [redacted]

(Side Bar) *Uganda reaping benefits*

Uganda. The RPF victory last month has generally benefited Ugandan President Museveni, a longtime RPF patron. In addition to providing him with a reliable ally in a region where Uganda has few friends, the inauguration of the RPF government offers Kampala an opportunity to:

- Ease societal tensions inside Uganda by encouraging the tens of thousands of Rwandan Tutsi refugees who have long resided in southern Uganda to return home.
- Improve Ugandan internal security by allowing the Army to redeploy troops to northern Uganda where Kampala must deal with an insurgency and an increasingly tense situation along the border with Sudan.
- Bolster the Ugandan economy by allowing the use of its airport and territory for relief operations, by reopening the Rwandan border to trade, and by revitalizing Ugandan agricultural exports to Rwanda and Burundi. [redacted]

The Rwandan crisis has also improved Museveni's image as a regional leader and statesman. He won widespread praise for allowing Washington and international relief agencies to use the Entebbe airport and Ugandan roads. Similarly, by granting Rwandan Hutu refugees safehaven in the south, he has raised his political standing at little cost. Museveni has played up the recent visit of senior US government officials--including the Secretary of Defense--to Kampala to highlight his close ties to Washington. [redacted]

(Side Bar) *Tanzania concerned and cautious*

Tanzania. The Rwandan crisis has raised concerns in Dar es Salaam about Tanzania's internal security. The presence of nearly 400,000 Hutu refugees in the northwestern part of the

country has forced Dar es Salaam to act cautiously in dealing with the new Rwandan Government. Tanzania's decision last month to recognize the RPF government came only after security at the refugee sites had been reinforced. Nevertheless, some militants among the Hutu refugees probably still have access to small arms and may begin staging attacks into Rwanda, thereby inviting retaliatory attacks by RPF forces into Tanzania. The country's poor transportation network has prevented Tanzania from reaping much of the economic benefits that usually accrue from hosting large-scale relief operations. [redacted]

Impact on Relief Programs Elsewhere in Africa

(Side Bar) *Not enough aid to be around*

The allocation of massive humanitarian aid to Rwanda and neighboring regions is straining the resources available to humanitarian relief organizations. Some relief aid originally earmarked for other African countries is being diverted to Rwanda and neighboring regions. The Rwandan relief effort, however, could in turn be disrupted if a need for similar resources were suddenly to develop in another area deemed a higher priority by the major Western aid donors. (U)

More than 19 million people are at risk of serious hunger in the 10 countries of the greater Horn of Africa alone. Several million others in some southern and western African countries are also at grave risk.

- Millions of Angolans, for example, will need international assistance to survive the difficulties stemming from the renewal of the country's civil war in October 1992. The UN Humanitarian Coordination Unit in Angola believes that the potential for mass deaths remains much higher there than in Rwanda and laments the fact that the latter is receiving far greater attention and resources from international aid agencies and donor governments, which have begun diverting resources from Angola to Rwanda.
- In Sudan, more than 2 million southerners will need emergency assistance in the coming year. But congestion in Mombasa, Kenya--where relief shipments for Sudan must compete with those destined for Rwanda and Somalia--will likely impede the flow of goods into the south. [redacted]

~~TOP SECRET CODEWORD/EXDIS~~

11

INR

Rwanda/Zaire: The Gods Are Angry

The Nyiragongo volcano near the refugee camps in Goma, Zaire appears on the verge of erupting, threatening the lives of Rwandan refugees, relief workers, US military personnel, and local Zairians in the area. Moving the refugees out of harm's way will be a political and logistical nightmare.

Since the evening of August 10, Nyiragongo has spewed a plume of steam and ash 15,000 feet into the air, shaken houses in Goma, and projected a red-orange glow in the night sky; yesterday it produced a lava flow 50 feet wide. US Geological Survey experts believe the lava lake in the volcano's caldera is fluctuating dramatically and that a large volume could spill over the rim or through fissures at any time. Nyiragongo's lava lake is dangerously fluid; during a 1977 eruption a 35-mile-per-hour lava flow claimed nearly 1,000 lives and almost reached the Goma airport.

Refugees at risk

Of the 850,000 refugees in the Goma area, more than 600,000 are within a 10-mile radius of Nyiragongo's cone and most of the rest are approximately 22 miles to the northeast. Past lava flows have come from fissures on the southeast side of the volcano even closer to the refugees. Ash emissions could limit or halt relief flights into Goma, pollute water and food supplies, and damage machinery necessary for transport and water filtration efforts.

The sheer number of refugees, their weak condition, and the presence of armed Hutu soldiers limit the prospects for an orderly evacuation. Some 300 US military personnel in Goma and several hundred foreign relief workers, already working at full capacity, may be incapable of planning and implementing an organized mass relocation of refugees. Refugees have not panicked, but this would quickly change should a major lava flow occur; congestion and chaos on the roads would sharply limit vehicle movement.

Back to Rwanda?

Refugee repatriation to northwest Rwanda could decrease the numbers dependent on relief around Goma, ease tensions with local Zairians, and

encourage Rwandans to return to their farms, but the political impediments are daunting. An organized movement away from the volcano would require the cooperation of local Hutu leaders, many of whom were involved in organizing the genocide and almost all of whom fear returning to RPF-controlled Rwanda. These leaders retain their credibility among their people and are far more influential than foreigners or international radio broadcasts; they would not be convinced to return by mere warnings from foreigners, and would insist on protection from the RPF.

Merely beefing up UNAMIR and foreign observers in the northwest probably would have little impact on Hutu perceptions. A haven guaranteed by foreign troops, in which the RPF presence is strictly controlled, would encourage more to return. French troops would be more acceptable to Hutu leaders than UNAMIR, but even the most solid guarantees would probably be insufficient to tempt most Hutu leaders to return quickly with their people.

The new RPF-installed government would oppose the guarantees Hutu leaders would insist upon. Jealous of its sovereignty and keen to consolidate its power, the government will seek to limit UNAMIR deployments and activities in the northwest. It would strongly oppose any French redeployment to the northwest and would protest a French decision to remain in their "secure zone" beyond their scheduled August 22 pullout, though it probably would concede to international pressure and grant the French a brief extension.

The Zaire option

Zaire's President Mobutu, who sees the Rwanda crisis as his ticket back to international respectability, would allow large numbers of foreign troops to deploy on Zairian soil — especially if presidents and prime ministers are the ones seeking

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

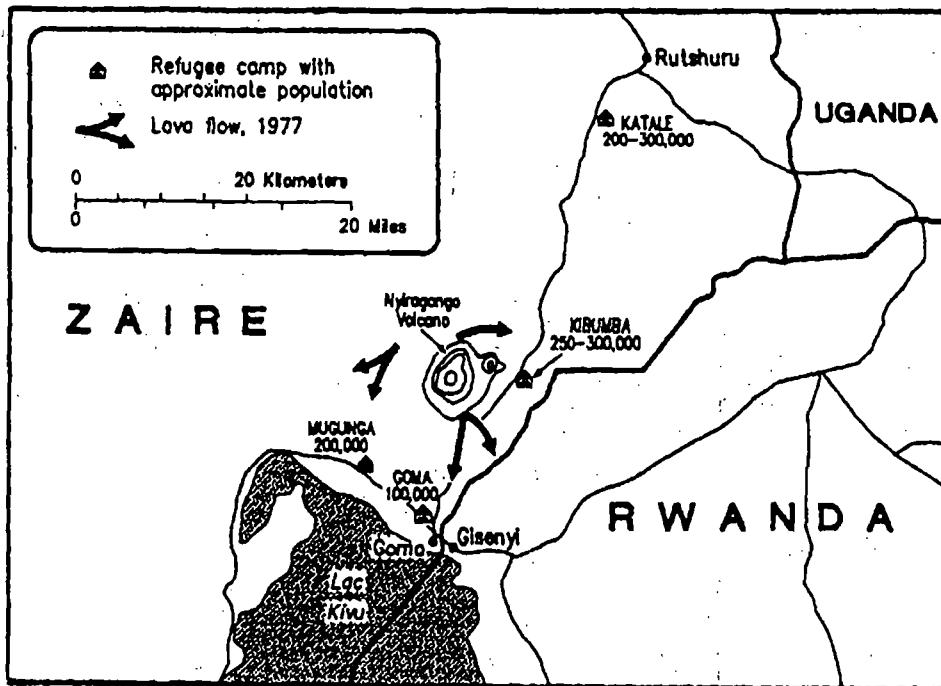
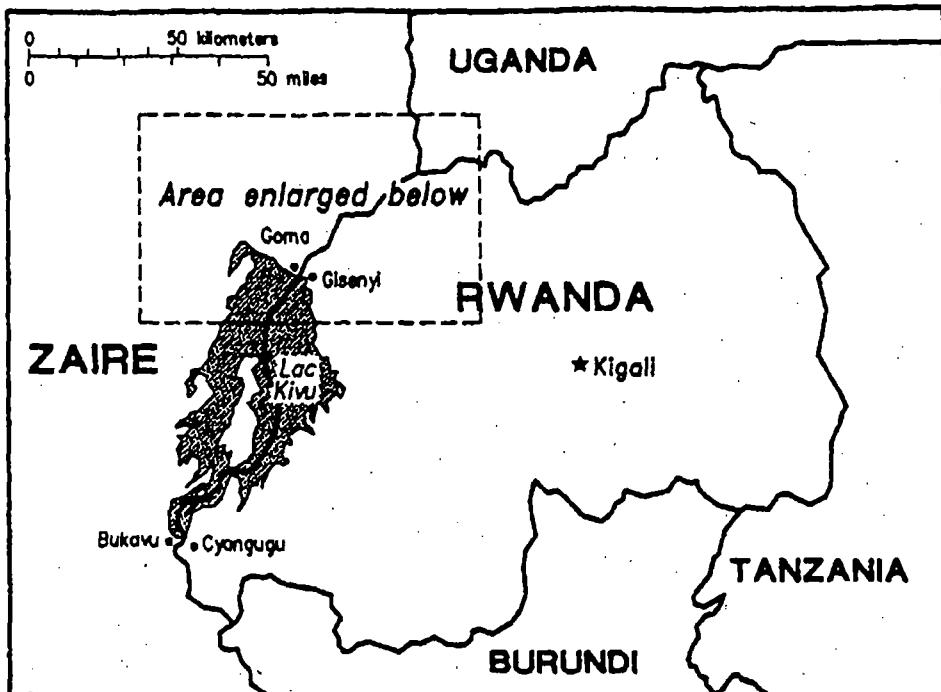
~~TOP SECRET CODEWORD/EXDIS~~

12

INR

his favor. Mobutu probably would approve moving large numbers of refugees to other parts of eastern Zaire, but his ability to follow through would be undermined by corrupt and incompetent Zairian security forces, feckless local officials, and broken social and administrative structures. Moreover,

moving refugees deeper into Zaire, where roads are virtually non-existent and airports far away, would further complicate relief deliveries and exacerbate conflicts between refugees and local Zairians.

~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~

NOTES: THIS DOCUMENT IS UNCLASSIFIED AND NOT NECESSARILY AUTHENTICATIVE

2024 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

SC-12398-94

TOP SECRET CODEWORD/EXDIS CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

August 12, 1994

~~SECRET~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

20976
6636

Int'l Sec Advisor
has seen

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to: Mr. Lake

From: Richard Clarke

Subject: **Rwanda Relief Ad Hoc Group**

17 18 August 1994

10:30 AM SVTS

The following briefing memo is keyed to the agenda that was distributed in advance of the meeting.

1. Sitrep: You may wish to start by asking NIO Charlie Snyder to provide a brief situation report, focusing on the rate of migration into Bukavu and on the internal situation in Burundi.

2. Keeping the French: State has been pushing the French to stay in Rwanda. The Secretary of State was to have called Juppe by now. USUN reports that Boutros-Ghali also called Juppe. The Kigali government has been refusing to issue an invitation to France. George Moose was going to call Kagame.

--Has France agreed yet to stay on?

--Has the UN done the necessary to extend the deadline? ✓

--Has the Kigali government asked the French to stay on? ✓

--What more can we do to persuade Paris and Kigali?

3. Planning for Bukavu: AID send a DART unit and JSC sent a military survey team to Bukavu. Both groups agreed that the Bukavu could not be supplied from the nearby airfield, but should be handled overland from Kigali and Bujumbura.

--Are we ready to help out if the worst happens and a large migration moves in to the Bukavu area?

--What should be the US military presence there, if any?

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON ~~SECRET~~ PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA3414 2292355-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 172355Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 172355Z AUG 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: ****
INFO: RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0391
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8417
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5669
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 1870
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0110
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1316
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0606
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0625
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1166
RUEHBZ/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE 0131
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0377
SUBJ: BURUNDI: SC TEAM REPORTS ON TRIP
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 003414
WHITEHOUSE PLEASE PASS TO NSC; SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA-GA;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3, J5
GENEVA FOR RMA
E.O.12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PREF, PGOV, UNSC, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDI: SC TEAM REPORTS ON TRIP

1. LOU - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE SECURITY COUNCIL TEAM WHICH WENT TO
BURUNDI GAVE AN ORAL BRIEFING TO THE COUNCIL AUGUST 17.
THEY RECOMMENDED THAT THE COUNCIL: TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS
TO ENCOURAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STABLE DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS (INCLUDING PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION),
CONSIDER THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING IN BUJUMBURA AN
OPERATIONAL CENTER FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, WORK WITH
ZAIRE TO GET ARMED ELEMENTS AWAY FROM BORDER AREAS,
CONSIDER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL
TO LOOK INTO VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN
LAW IN BURUNDI, CONSIDER DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS
OBSERVERS INTO BURUNDI WHERE FEASIBLE, HELP REESTABLISH
BURUNDI'S JUDICIAL SYSTEM, ENCOURAGE A REGIONAL
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND REFUGEE ISSUES, STRENGTHEN
THE SRSG'S OFFICE, AND KEEP INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

FOCUSED ON BURUNDI. THE TEAM MEMBERS WILL WORK ON A DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ENCOURAGING THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IMPEDED THE SELECTION OF A PRESIDENT. THE DRAFT MAY BE CONSIDERED THURSDAY. THE TEAM WILL FOLLOWUP THIS ORAL BRIEFING WITH A WRITTEN REPORT NEXT WEEK. SYG BOUTROS-GHALI WILL COME TO THE COUNCIL THURSDAY AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS RWANDA AND BURUNDI. END SUMMARY.

3. RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR SIDOROV BRIEFED THE COUNCIL AUGUST 17 ON THE FACT-FINDING MISSION TO BURUNDI COMPOSED OF NIGERIAN AMB GAMBARI, U.S. AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH, CZECH AMBASSADOR KOVANDA AND HIMSELF. SINCE THE TEAM'S CHAIRMAN, AMB GAMBARI, HAD NOT YET RETURNED TO NEW YORK, THE ROLE OF SPOKESPERSON FELL TO SIDOROV, AS THE RUSSIANS ARE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL THIS MONTH. THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS EXPANDED AFTERWARDS ON SIDOROV'S PRESENTATION. THE MISSION WAS IN BURUNDI FROM AUGUST 13 TO 14, AND MET WITH A WIDE RANGE OF BURUNDIAN LEADERS INCLUDING THE ACTING PRESIDENT, PM, FONMIN, DEFMIN, CHIEF OF ARMED FORCES, MAJOR PARTY LEADERS, OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS, THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY IN BUJUMBURA, AND NGO REPRESENTATIVES. SIDOROV GAVE A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS, THEN DESCRIBED THE MISSION'S FOCUS ON THREE ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION: POLITICAL, SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

4. SIDOROV STATED THE NEED TO BREAK THE CURRENT DEADLOCK ON NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO THE NOMINATION OF A NEW PRESIDENT. A DEADLINE OF AUGUST 26 HAS BEEN SET FOR CONCLUSION OF THOSE TALKS. ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT SHOULD STABILIZE THE SITUATION. THE MAJORITY PARTY WANTS A STRONG PRESIDENCY. THE OPPOSITION PARTIES WANT TO RESTRICT THE POWERS OF THE HEAD OF STATE, AND WANT THE RIGHT TO VETO ANY MAJOR DECISIONS. AMB KOVANDA CLARIFIED THE ROOTS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OVER CHOOSING A NEW PRESIDENT, NOTING THAT PRESIDENT NDADAYE WAS CHOSEN BY A UNIVERSAL ELECTION AS MANDATED IN THE CONSTITUTION, BUT THAT THE SELECTION OF HIS SUCCESSOR BY PARLIAMENT WAS FOUND BY THE COURTS TO BE UNCONSTITUTIONAL. THE PROBLEM NOW IS TO OVERCOME THE PROBLEM OF FINDING A CONSTITUTIONAL WAY TO CHOOSE A POLITICALLY-ACCEPTABLE PRESIDENT WITHOUT RECOURSE TO ANOTHER UNIVERSAL ELECTION.

5. SIDOROV EXPLAINED THAT THERE WERE EXTREMIST ELEMENTS IN ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES. EXTREMISTS HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISTURBANCES WHICH PARALYZED THE MAJOR CITIES. EXTREMISTS DO NOT MAKE UP THE MAJORITY OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, BUT THEY HOLD THE KEY POSTS. THE HUTUS HAVE UNDERGROUND EXTREMIST MILITIAS OPERATING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY EXTENDS ONLY TO THE CAPITAL; THERE IS ANARCHY IN THE RURAL AREAS. FOREIGNERS HAVE BEEN TARGETTED BY THE EXTREMISTS. THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 003414
WHITEHOUSE PLEASE PASS TO NSC; SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA-GA;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3, J5
GENEVA FOR RMA

E.0.12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PREF, PGOV, UNSC, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDI: SC TEAM REPORTS ON TRIP
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD WORK TO ISOLATE THE
EXTREMISTS, SUPPORT THE MODERATE ELEMENTS, AND
STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

6. SIDOROV REPORTED THAT THERE ARE SOME EXTREMIST ELEMENTS IN THE ARMED FORCES, AS WELL, ALTHOUGH THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES CLAIMS IT IS THE MOST STABLE INSTITUTION IN THE COUNTRY AND THAT IT STAYS OUT OF POLITICS. THE ARMED FORCES COMMANDER BELIEVES THEY CAN ENSURE SECURITY IN THE COUNTRY. HOWEVER, THE MAJORITY PARTY SEES THE ARMY AS REPRESENTATIVE OF ONLY THE MINORITY, AND WANTS IT REORGANIZED TO BE MORE INCLUSIVE OF OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS. REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY IS A SENSITIVE SUBJECT. SOME EXPRESSED A WISH TO REINFORCE THE OAU PRESENCE WITH MILITARY OBSERVERS WHO WOULD OBSERVE THE ARMED FORCES. THE OPPOSITION DOES NOT FAVOR THIS.

7. SIDOROV MENTIONED MEDIA REPORTS THAT THE UN WAS CONSIDERING SENDING MILITARY PERSONNEL TO BURUNDI, AND THAT THE IDEA WAS UNWELCOME. SIDOROV CLARIFIED THAT SOME OPPOSITION LEADERS SAY THEY WILL MEET ANY FOREIGN TROOPS WITH ARMED RESISTANCE. THE HEAD OF THE ARMED FORCES DID NOT TAKE SUCH A HARSH STAND, ALTHOUGH HE, TOO, WAS RESISTANT TO THE IDEA. THE MAJORITY PARTY AND THE GOB WANT TO SEE INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION.

8. SIDOROV REMARKED THAT THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM WAS VIRTUALLY NONEXISTENT, AND SUGGESTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD HELP REESTABLISH THE JUDICIARY. HE NOTED THERE IS A GENERAL FEELING IN THE POPULATION THAT SERIOUS CRIMES CAN BE COMMITTED WITH IMPUNITY.

SECURITY

9. SIDOROV STATED THAT ARMED ELEMENTS FROM THE RWANDAN ARMY AND ARMED RWANDAN REFUGEES CAN BE FOUND IN THE BORDER AREAS OF ZAIRE. THIS PRESENTS A DANGER TO BURUNDI. THOSE ARMED ELEMENTS SHOULD BE MOVED FURTHER INTO THE INTERIOR OF ZAIRE AND/OR DISARMED.

10. BOTH SIDES ACCUSE THE OTHER OF ARMS TRANSACTIONS. THE TUTSI OPPOSITION ACCUSES THE HUTU GOVERNMENT OF ARMING UNDERGROUND MILITIAS IN BURUNDI AND RWANDA. THE GOB ACCUSES THE OPPOSITION OF RECEIVING ARMS FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. THE TUTSIS FEAR MASS KILLINGS AS IN RWANDA. THE HUTU FEAR ANOTHER ARMY-LED COUP. RWANDAN REFUGEES SHOULD BE RETURNED TO RWANDA AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. SIDOROV MADE THE POINT THAT EVENTS COULD EXPLODE AT ANY TIME INTO A REPLAY OF THE BRUTALITY IN RWANDA.

HUMANITARIAN

11. SIDOROV TOLD OF THE SEVERE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN BURUNDI. THERE ARE 1.3 MILLION PERSONS WHO NEED ASSISTANCE EITHER IN BURUNDI OR JUST OVER ITS BORDERS. DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID COULD BE HELPED BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OPERATIONAL AIRLIFT CAPABILITY IN BUJUMBURA. SUCH AN OPERATIONAL CENTER WOULD ALSO BE AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY PREVENTIVE ACTION, AS WELL AS A LOGISTICAL HELP TO THE RELIEF EFFORTS. EARLY HUMANITARIAN PRESENCE IN BURUNDI MAY HELP AVERT THE

ENORMOUS COSTS OF THE VAST EMERGENCY OPERATION ORGANIZED FOR GOMA RECENTLY. (COMMENT: SRSG ABDULLAH PROVIDED A PAPER ON THIS ASPECT TO THE TEAM, WHICH HAS BEEN FAXED TO DEPT AND NSC. END COMMENT.)

12. THERE IS A PROBLEM OF SECURITY FOR NGO PERSONNEL. THE MURDER OF A UNHCR EMPLOYEE EARLIER THIS WEEK HAS CAUSED SOME WITHIN THE NGO COMMUNITY TO CONTEMPLATE POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL. DURING DISCUSSION OF THE TEAM'S REPORT, NEW ZEALAND POINTED OUT THAT IT MAY BE RISKY TO SET UP AN OPERATIONAL HUMANITARIAN CENTER IN BUJUMBURA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 003414
WHITEHOUSE PLEASE PASS TO NSC; SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA-GA;

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3, J5

GENEVA FOR RMA

E.0.12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PREF, PGOV, UNSC, BY
SUBJECT: BURUNDI: SC TEAM REPORTS ON TRIP
WITHOUT BLUE HELMETS FOR PROTECTION IF THE SECURITY
SITUATION IS UNSTABLE.

CONCLUSIONS:

13. SIDOROV LAID OUT THE FOLLOWING STEPS, ON BEHALF OF THE TEAM, WHICH THE COUNCIL COULD TAKE:

--CONTINUE TO KEEP THE INTERNATIONAL SPOTLIGHT FOCUSED ON BURUNDI;

--STUDY THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING IN BUJUMBURA AN OPERATIONAL CENTER FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF;

--ENCOURAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STABLE DEMOCRATIC

INSTITUTIONS (INCLUDING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION), THROUGH SC ATTENTION (STATEMENTS, ETC) AND CONTINUED VISITS FROM HIGH-LEVEL INTERNATIONAL VISITORS;

--ASSIST BURUNDI'S COLLAPSING JUDICIAL SYSTEM;

--ENCOURAGE OR ORGANIZE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE REGION;

--WORK WITH ZAIRE TO GET ARMED RWANDAN ELEMENTS AWAY FROM BORDER AREAS;

--CONSIDER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL

TRIBUNAL TO LOOK INTO VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN BURUNDI, TO COUNTER THE FEELING THAT MASSACRES, COUPS, AND OTHER CRIMES CAN BE COMMITTED WITH IMPUNITY;

--CONSIDER DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVERS INTO AREAS OF BURUNDI WHERE THE SECURITY SITUATION ALLOWED FOR THEIR PRESENCE, (AMB GHAREKHAN LATER INFORMED THE COUNCIL THAT UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER AYALA LASSO WOULD BE TRAVELING TO BURUNDI SOON TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS);

--STRENGTHEN THE SRSG'S OFFICE, WHICH CONSISTS OF ONLY 5 STAFF MEMBERS, INCLUDING THE SRSG, AND HAS NO VEHICLES OR OTHER SUPPORT EQUIPMENT.

DISCUSSION

14. USUN AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH SUPPLEMENTED SIDOROV'S REPORT BY HIGHLIGHTING SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ISSUE AND SUGGESTED A

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT AT THE RIGHT MOMENT MIGHT BE A HELP. ESTABLISHING AN OPERATIONAL CENTER FOR HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT IN BUJUMBURA WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT STEP WHICH WOULD PROVIDE SOME STABILITY. THIS MUST BE SEEN AS A HUMANITARIAN, NOT A MILITARY, OPERATION. INDERFURTH INDICATED THAT A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND REFUGEE PROBLEMS TOOK PLACE MONDAY IN ARUSHA (ATTENDED BY THE PRESIDENTS OF BURUNDI, RWANDA, TANZANIA, UGANDA AND ZAMBIA), AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BUILD ON THAT PROCESS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. INTENDED TO SUPPORT FINANCIALLY THE EFFORTS OF THE UN CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS TO TRAIN JUDICIAL AND POLICE OFFICIALS AS PART OF THE REINFORCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. AMB INDERFURTH CORRECTED AN ERRONEOUS NEW YORK TIMES REPORT THAT THE BURUNDIANS HAD REJECTED A UN PROPOSAL TO SEND A PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO BURUNDI. HE CLARIFIED THAT THE TEAM HAD NOT MADE ANY SUCH SPECIFIC PROPOSAL, BUT HAD BEEN A FACT-FINDING MISSION. IN CONCLUSION, HE REMARKED ON THE USEFULNESS OF THE MISSION AS A STRONG SIGNAL OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN TO THE BURUNDIAN PARTIES.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 04 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 003414
WHITEHOUSE PLEASE PASS TO NSC; SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA-GA;

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3, J5

GENEVA FOR RMA

E.0.12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PREF, PGOV, UNSC, BY

SUBJECT: BURUNDI: SC TEAM REPORTS ON TRIP

15. ALL AGREED THE MISSION HAD BEEN USEFUL. FRANCE PICKED UP ON AMB INDERFURTH'S SUGGESTION THAT THE COUNCIL ISSUE A STATEMENT AND RECOMMENDED THAT ONE BE ISSUED AFTER THE SYG'S CONSULTATIONS WITH THE COUNCIL THURSDAY. (COMMENT: AMB KOVANDA WILL WORK WITH OTHER TEAM MEMBERS ON A DRAFT TEXT. NO TEXT IS AVAILABLE YET AS OF COB WEDNESDAY. END COMMENT.) AMB. KOVANDA REQUESTED THAT THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT FACT-FINDING MISSION OF SEVERAL MONTHS AGO BE RELEASED. UK AMB HANNAY WARNED AGAINST FEEDING THE RUMOR MILLS IN BURUNDI BY SPECULATION TO THE PRESS IN NEW YORK, ESPECIALLY ABOUT A HUMANITARIAN BASE WHICH COULD BE MISCONSTRUED AS A MILITARY OPERATION. HANNAY ALSO WONDERED WHETHER HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS WOULD WORSEN THE SITUATION. DJIBOUTI AMB OLHAYE REGRETTED THAT THE MISSION ORIGINALLY SENT LAST YEAR BY THE COUNCIL TO BURUNDI HAD BEEN TOO SMALL AND HAD BEEN RESTRICTED TO STAYING "WITHIN EXISTING RESOURCES."

16. U/SYG GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE COUNCIL ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. A YOUTH MOVEMENT GROUP HAD PLANNED A MARCH AGAINST THE SECURITY COUNCIL PROJECT OF SENDING BLUE HELMETS AND A HUMANITARIAN BASE TO BURUNDI. THE MARCH WAS POSTPONED UNTIL THURSDAY. A "VILLE MORTE" WAS PLANNED BUT POSTPONED. TALKS ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION HAVE BEGUN. A LEADER OF AN OPPOSITION PARTY WAS RELEASED FROM PRISON, LESSENING TENSION. AMB AYALA LASSO WOULD GO TO BURUNDI TO DISCUSS THE DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. GHAREKHAN REMINDED COUNCIL THAT THE PREVIOUS FACT-FINDING MISSION'S REPORT HAD BEEN

WITHHELD BECAUSE THE SRSG BELIEVED ITS PUBLICATION WOULD COMPLICATE THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI.

17. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL INTENDS TO MEET WITH THE COUNCIL THURSDAY AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS THE SITUATIONS IN BURUNDI AND RWANDA. THE NEW ZEALAND DRAFT STATEMENT CALLING ON ZAIRE TO TURN OVER RWANDAN WAR CRIMINALS GOT A VERY COOL RECEPTION FROM SEVERAL COUNCIL MEMBERS. IT SEEMS TO BE ON THE BACK-BURNER FOR NOW.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

ALBRIGHT

BT

#3414

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 3414
<^SSN>3414
<^SSN>3414
<^SSN>3414
TOR: 940817203615 M1208125
<^TOR>940817203716 M1208126
<^TOR>940817203717 M1208127
<^TOR>940817203718 M1208128

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: FILE NSC SARTOR STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
<^DIST>
SIT: CLARKER
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUCNDTA3451 2320004-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC 2ZH
LINE3: O 200004Z AUG 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 200004Z AUG 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8477
INFO: RUSNMHS/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0383
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0397
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 1320
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHGG/UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS 0736
RUEHDK/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0111
RUEHAR/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0363
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0124
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0615
RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 1172
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5688
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2002
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0632
SUBJ: BURUNDI: SYG PROPOSES PREVENTIVE FORCE
STATIONED IN ZAIRE
TEXT:
E O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003451
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW
E-0.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, PREF, MOPS, BY, RW, UN
SUBJECT: BURUNDI: SYG PROPOSES PREVENTIVE FORCE
STATIONED IN ZAIRE
1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT. THIS IS AN ACTION
CABLE, PLEASE SEE PARA 11.
2. SUMMARY: UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI MADE A RARE
APPEARANCE AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO GO OVER OPTIONS
FOR HOW TO PREVENT A REPEAT OF THE CATASTROPHE IN RWANDA
FROM OCCURRING IN BURUNDI. HE PROPOSED POSITIONING A
MILITARY FORCE ON THE ZAIRE SIDE OF THE BORDER, WHICH
COULD INTERVENE QUICKLY IF VIOLENCE Erupted IN BURUNDI.
MANY DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED CAUTION. THIS IDEA WILL BE
DISCUSSED FURTHER ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 23. SYG ALSO SAID
THAT A UN PRESENCE IN RWANDA WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR
YEARS TO COME. DISCUSSION OF HAITI REPORTED SEPTEL.

END SUMMARY.

3. BURUNDI. UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI SPOKE TO THE COUNCIL AUGUST 19 ABOUT RWANDA, BURUNDI AND HAITI. BBG INFORMED PCOUNCIL MEMBERS THAT BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH THE GOB TO PERSUADE THEM TO ALLOW A HUMANITARIAN PRESENCE IN BUJUMBURA HAD FAILED, CREATING A DILEMMA.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d BBG PRESUMED THE COUNCIL WOULD NOT WANT TO TAKE A PREVENTIVE ACTION IN BURUNDI ON THE BASIS OF CHAPTER 7.

4. BBG RAN THROUGH SEVERAL OPTIONS WHICH THE UN HAD CONSIDERED, BUT WHICH HAD BEEN INEFFECTIVE IN PREVENTING THE TRAGEDY IN RWANDA- THESE OPTIONS ARE:

- HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS
- TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
- A GUARD CONTINGENT AS IN IRAQ
- AN INTERAGENCY MISSION
- VISITS BY HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS
- INCREASING THE STAFF OF THE SRSG MISSION
- REGIONAL SUMMIT CONFERENCE

5. BBG PRESENTED, WITH "HESITATION AND HUMILITY", THE ONE IDEA HE COULD ENVISAGE TO BREAK THE DILEMMA -- PLACING A MILITARY PRESENCE IN ZAIRE WHICH WOULD HAVE RAPID INTERVENTION CAPABILITY TO BE USED IF AN OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE SIMILAR TO RWANDA'S WERE TO OCCUR IN BURUNDI.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

HIS CURRENT PRACTICAL SUGGESTION WAS THAT ANY COUNTRY WITH TROOPS NOW IN ZAIRE SHOULD NOT "BE IN A HURRY" TO WITHDRAW. QUESTIONS SUCH AS WHETHER THIS WOULD BE A REGIONAL, A UN, OR A BILATERAL FORCE, AND WHO WOULD CONTRIBUTE TROOPS NEED TO BE DISCUSSED. HE ADVISED THAT THE GOZ WAS PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH THIS ENDEAVOR. BBG NOTED THAT MACEDONIA WAS A PRECEDENT FOR THE UN'S TAKING PREVENTIVE ACTION.

6- REGARDING THE REPORT OF MHE FACT-FINDING COMMISSION TO BURUNDI, BBG RELAYED THAT ALTHOUGH THE SRSG HAD PREVIOUSLY ASKED THAT THE REPORT NOT BE PUBLISHED, THE SRSG HAD RECENTLY SAID THE REPORT COULD BE PUBLISHED IF IT WERE GIVEN FIRST TO THE GOB. SYG ASKED THE POSITION OF SC NENBERS ON PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT.

7. IN RESPONSE TO THE SYG'S IDEA, MANY CONCURRED THAT THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI COULD DETERIORATE RAPIDLY, BUT THEY SOUNDED A NOTE OF CAUTION. U.S. ANB ALBRIGHT SAID THAT THE OTHER OPTIONS MENTIONED BY THE SYG WERE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE AND MIGHT STILL BE HELPFUL AS PREVENTIVE MEASURES. NANY CONCURRED IN THIS SENTIMENT. SHE URGED THE SYG TO CONTINUE PURSUING OPTIONS SUCH AS A REGIONAL SUNNIT. BBG ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THESE OTHER OPTIONS MIGHT STILL BE USEFUL, BUT NOTED THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH IF A CATACLYSN OCCURED. ANB ALBRIGHT

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003451
WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
PARIS FOR PERLOW

E-0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, PREF, MOPS, BY, RW, UN
SUBJECT: BURUNDI: SYG PROPOSES PREVENTIVE FORCE
STATIONED IN ZAIRE
ASKED ABOUT THE COMPOSITION AND NAMDATE OF THE PROPOSED
DEPLOYMENT TO ZAIRE.

8. FRENCH ANB. NERINEE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT FRANCE HAD LOGISTICS TROOPS IN GOMA, ZAIRE, BUT WARNED THAT THEY COULD NOT BE A UNILATERAL PRESENCE THERE. FRANCE WOULD FAVOR COLLECTIVE ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. WHAT THE TROOPS WOULD DO WHILE WAITING FOR POSSIBLE RAPID INTERVENTION IN BURUNDI?

9. OTHER REPS ASKED ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF ARMED ELEMENTS OF THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY IN THE BORDER AREAS OF ZAIRE. THE SYG DISMISSED THE IDEA OF USING THE BURUNDI RAPID INTERVENTION FORCE TO MEDDLE IN ANY RWANDAN ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION, MAKING A PLEA FOR SEPARATING THE TWO ISSUES. HE NOTED THAT DISARMING THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY ELEMENTS WOULD PROMOTE RECONCILIATION, BUT WOULD NECESSITATE MORE UN TROOPS THAN WERE NOW MANDATED.

10. SEVERAL DELEGATES DISAGREED WITH THE SYG'S CLAIM THAT MACEDONIA IS A PRECEDENT, SINCE THE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE VASTLY DIFFERENT. SOME MENTIONED THAT THIS IDEA OPENED UP A WHOLE NEW REALM OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE UNSTABLE NATURE OF ZAIRE ITSELF WAS MENTIONED AS ANOTHER CAUSE FOR CONCERN. CHINA TOOK THE MOST CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO THE SYG'S PROPOSAL, SAYING THE UN MUST HAVE THE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED IN ORDER TO ACT. PAKISTAN WAS THE MOST SUPPORTIVE, SAYING THE PROPOSAL WAS "BOLD AND INNOVATIVE" AND COULD HAVE TRENENDOUS BENEFITS. RUSSIA REMINDED THE COUNCIL OF THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF VICTIMS IN RWANDA, AND WARNED AGAINST REPEATING THE MISTAKE OF BEING UNPREPARED TO REACT. THE COUNCIL WILL TAKE UP THE MATTER AGAIN ON TUESDAY, WHEN THE REPORT OF THE SC TEAM TO BURUNDI SHOULD BE SUBMITTED.

11. RWANDA. BBG ALSO BRIEFLY TOUCHED ON RWANDA. MORE THAN 2560 SOLDIERS, OF THE MANDATED 5500 STRENGTH OF UNAMIR, ARE IN RWANDA NOW. ETHIOPIAN TROOPS SHOULD BE IN PLACE SUNDAY, AUGUST 21. THERE IS A DIFFICULT SITUATION IN THE HUMANITARIAN ZONE. TUTSIS ARE IN THE MIDST OF HUTUS, AND SOME HUTUS ARE ARMED SOLDIERS FROM THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY. ZAIRE HAS CLOSED ITS BORDER WITH RWANDA. THE VISITS TO THE ZONE OF NEW GOR OFFICIALS HAS SENT A POSITIVE SIGNAL, BUT THERE IS STILL A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE. THE SRSG CONTINUES TO TRY TO PROMOTE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND A BALANCE BETWEEN THE HUTU AND TUTSI. THE COMMISSION OF EXPERTS HAS BEGUN ITS WORK. THE SYG WILL ASK THEM TO PRESENT AN INTERIM REPORT SO THAT EITHER A STANDING TRIBUNAL OR AN AD HOC TRIBUNAL CAN BE FORMED. AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL WILL PROMOTE TRUST, SINCE IT WILL NOT BE SEEN AS SEEKING VENGEANCE. UNAMIR HAS A TWO-TIER PLAN TO RESTORE WATER, ELECTRICITY AND OTHER INFRASTRUCTURE IN RWANDA. BBG CAUTIONED THAT THE UN PRESENCE, WHETHER HUMANITARIAN OR MILITARY, WILL BE NEEDED IN RWANDA FOR YEARS TO COME.

12. ACTION REQUESTED DEPT PLEASE INDICATE PRELIMINARY

USG REACTION TO SYG.S SUGGESTION OF PREVENTIVE FORCE IN
ZAIRE BY OOB TUESDAY, AUGUST 23.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

ALBRIGHT

BT

#3451

NNNN

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

SSN: 3451
<^SSN>3451

TOR: 940819204931 M1212421
<^TOR>940819204931 M1212422

DIST:

PRT: SIT

SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA5359 2330120-CCCC--RHEHAXX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 210120Z AUG 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC
OSRI: RUEHC
DTG: 210120Z AUG 94
ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC
TO: RUEHKG/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA NIACT IMMEDIATE 1125
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA NIACT IMMEDIATE 7380
INFO: RWANDA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE ON RWANDAN
REFUGEES

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 225359
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, CG, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE ON RWANDAN
REFUGEES

REF: LANGE-MCKINLEY TELCON 8/20

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. ACTING UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES WALZER CALLED
8/20 TO REQUEST OFFICIALLY THAT THE USG URGE THE ZAIRE
GOVERNMENT TO KEEP ITS BORDER OPEN TO REFUGEES FLEEING
RWANDA, PARTICULARLY AT BUKAVU. WALZER HAD BEEN ADVISED
BY UNHCR AFRICA BUREAU CHIEF KAMAL MORJANE, NOW AT BUKAVU,
THAT THE 15,000 PER DAY INFILUX WAS LIKELY TO BE SUSTAINED
AND WAS MANAGABLE BY THE RELIEF COMMUNITY IN BUKAVU. IN
MORJANE'S JUDGMENT, THOSE FLEEING MIGHT INDEED HAVE A
WELL-FOUNDED FEAR OF HARM, THOUGH HE DID NOT SPECIFY
EXACTLY WHAT IT MIGHT BE. MOREOVER, GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE
ATTEMPTS TO CLOSE THE BORDER LIKELY WOULD CREATE PANIC AND
ADDITIONAL TRAGEDY.

3. FOR KINSHASA: EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO DEMARCHE PRIME
MINISTER KENGO IMMEDIATELY NOTING ZAIRE'S OBLIGATIONS

UNDER INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES TO PROVIDE ASYLUM, AND THAT
UNHCR ASSURES THAT THE CURRENT INFILUX CAN BE MANAGED,
ALTHOUGH OBVIOUSLY WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY.

4. FOR GENEVA: PLEASE ADVISE UNHCR OF OUR ACTION. NOTE
OUR ASSUMPTION THAT UNHCR KINSHASA HAS MADE A PARALLEL
DEMARCHE AND ADVISE WHAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS ARE ALSO BEING
ASKED TO WEIGH IN.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

5. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
TALBOTT

BT
#5359
NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5359

TOR: 940820212944 M1213062

DIST:

PRT: SIT
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
□

Rwanda, 2/30

2 million refugees. 7-1.5 inside country.

25,000 RPF. 10-12,000 in Goma Army

5-7,000 in Bukavu less organized.

Hutu provoked violence. Sanctified at field grade level.

Higher levels saying no to violence. b/c. Americans & others ~~not~~ Southern US.

350-400 deaths a day in Goma. Normal is 1 per 10,000

5-8 in Goma. Food & health care stolen. NGO want private security forces.

Bujumbura - no need b/c of roads, airfield
will take big planes.
no massive outflow.

net + fn supporting Kigali?

N. Burundi; secure zone; Bujumbura \rightarrow not being met.

New mission.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

01-Sep-1994 11:46 EDT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RECORDS (RECORDS@A1@OE0B)

FROM: Deshazer, Macarthur X. (deshazem@NSCSTF@OE0B@MSGATE@V

SUBJECT: RE: Sit Room Weekly Emphasis List ~~SECRET~~

Message Creation Date was at 1-SEP-1994 11:28:00

Jim:

Thanks! You should add Burundi to the list (add it to the Rwanda line).

Significant attention will focus on presidential succession, national reconciliation and the potentially explosive ethnic situation there.

Angola should also be added given the "breakthrough" in the possible agreement between the government and UNITA on the last obstacle to peace in Angola -- the governorship of Huambo.

Mac

From: Reed, James W.
To: @SENIORS - Senior Directors
CC: McGeath, Timothy at cc:Mail; DeShazer, MacArthur; Wolin, Neal S.;
Soderberg, Nancy E.
Subject: Sit Room Weekly Emphasis List
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 09:09 AM

<<Attached File: ELST0901.DOC>>

Attached below is the Situation Room's draft Emphasis List for the week of 5 September. We would again appreciate any additions or comments you may have before we transmit this to our counterpart agencies this evening.

Please provide your comments to myself or Tim McGeath by COB today. Thanks for your help.

Reed

[Double click on the icon.]

Additional Header Information Follows

Date Created: 01-Sep-1994 11:28

Deletable Flag: Y

DOCNUM: 050207

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

VMS Filename: OA\$SHARA8:ZVJPGTDEL.TXT
A1 Folder: SEP94
Message Format:
Message Status: READ
Date Modified: 01-Sep-1994 11:28
Forward Flag: YES
Read-Receipt Requested: NO
Delivery-Receipt Requested: NO
Message Priority: FIRST_CLASS

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA8037 2621309-CCCC--RHEHNSC.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 191309Z SEP 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 191309Z SEP 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3650
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9970
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 1687
INFO: ////
SUBJ: UNHCR OGATA DISCUSSES EVIDENCE OF RPF
DIRECTED KILLINGS IN RWANDA
TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GENEVA 008037

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT FOR IO A/S BENNET, AF A/S MOOSE, PRM A/S
OAKLEY

NSC FOR LAKE

USUN FOR AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF, PREL, PHUM, EAID, RW
SUBJECT: UNHCR OGATA DISCUSSES EVIDENCE OF RPF
DIRECTED KILLINGS IN RWANDA

1. ~~E~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. IN A PRIVATE AND INFORMAL DISCUSSION SATURDAY
EVENING WITH AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL, UNHCR SADAKO OGATA
INDICATED THAT SHE HAD JUST RECEIVED VERY TROUBLING
NEWS OF EXTENSIVE MASS MURDERS OF HUTU CIVILIANS IN
SOUTHEASTERN RWANDA. OGATA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT
THE SOURCE OF HER INFORMATION WAS EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4d

FOR WORK IN RWANDA ON REPATRIATION MATTERS FOR A SIXTY-
DAY PERIOD. ACCORDING TO OGATA, 1.4d HAD TRAVELED
EXTENSIVELY IN RWANDA WITHOUT AN RPF ESCORT IN THE PAST
WEEKS 1.4d

3. 1.4d RETURNED TO GENEVA THIS PAST WEEK WHERE HE
BRIEFED OGATA AND TOLD HER THAT HE BELIEVES THE RPF IN
KIGALI HAD DIRECTED THE MASSACRE OF AT LEAST 5,000 TO
10,000 HUTUS IN ORDER TO CLEAN OUT REMOTE VILLAGES FOR

A RETURN OF LONG-TERM TUTSI REFUGEES FROM UGANDA, TANZANIA, BURUNDI AND ZAIRE. OGATA SAID THAT [REDACTED] 1.4d HAD REPORTED THAT SO MANY CIVILIANS HAD BEEN KILLED THAT BURIAL OF BODIES WAS A MAJOR PROBLEM IN MANY OF THE VILLAGES. SHE BELIEVES THAT THE RPF WAS ABLE TO UNDERTAKE THESE KILLINGS BECAUSE OF REMOTENESS OF THE VILLAGES.

4. OGATA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THESE MURDERS UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE UN AS IT RELATES TO THE WHOLE PUSH FOR EARLY REPATRIATION. SHE INDICATED THAT [REDACTED] 1.4d HAD BRIEFED KOFI ANNAN IN LONDON LAST WEEK AND THAT [REDACTED] 1.4d MAY ALREADY HAVE SEEN BRIAN ATWOOD THIS WEEKEND. SHE WAS INTENDING TO DISCUSS THE MATTER DIRECTLY WITH THE SYG THIS WEEK WITH POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT SOME POINT IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

6. NOTE: [REDACTED] EO 13526 1.4d TOLD REFCOUNS ON 9/19 THAT [REDACTED] 1.4d AND AFRICA BUREAU DIRECTOR KAMEL MORJANE WERE TO LINK UP WITH ANNAN IN NAIROBI THIS MORNING. THEY PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO KIGALI TODAY TO DISCUSS THESE CONCERNS WITH THE GOR. END NOTE. SPIEGEL
BT
#8037

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8037

TOR: 940919091630 M1259597

DIST:

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS CLARKER DESHAZER NSC RICE SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX
[REDACTED]

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: OAASZYUW RUCNGEA0011 2732206-SSSS--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH
LINE3: O 302206Z SEP 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM USDEL SECRETARY
OSRI: RUCNGE
DTG: 302206Z SEP 94
ORIG: USDEL SECRETARY
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0140
INFO: ////
SUBJ: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH UNSC PERM FIVE
SEPTEMBER 29, 1994; UN HEADQUARTERS; NEW YORK
TEXT:

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 SECTO 220011

NODIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN)
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH UNSC PERM FIVE
SEPTEMBER 29, 1994; UN HEADQUARTERS; NEW YORK

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY.

2. ON SEPTEMBER, THE SECRETARY MET WITH THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS (BOUTROS-GHALI) AND
THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE UK (HURD), FRANCE (JUPPE),
RUSSIA (KOZYREV), AND CHINA (QIAN).

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

SOMALIA

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

RWANDA

14. BOUTROS-GHALI ASKED HOW TO DEAL WITH THE RWANDAN REFUGEE SITUATION. HE HIGHLIGHTED THE PROBLEM OF RWANDAN MILITARY IN THE CAMPS AND SAID THAT UN PERSONNEL CANNOT ENTER THE CAMPS. HE DOUBTED THE ZAIRIAN OFFER OF HELP.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d BOUTROS NOTED THE NEED FOR LANDMINE CLEARANCE BUT ASKED HOW TO IMPLEMENT IT, SUGGESTING THAT IT BE DONE AS A HUMANITARIAN OPERATION. THE SECRETARY AND JUPPE BOTH SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF MINE CLEARING.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

THE SECRETARY RECALLED A COMMENT BY JUDGE GOLDSSTONE OF THE YUGOSLAV WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL IN FAVOR OF EXTENDING THAT BODY'S MANDATE TO COVER RWANDA. BOUTROS-GHALI AGREED, NOTING THAT IT WOULD BE QUICKER AND AVOID CONFLICTING STANDARDS AND RULES OF OPERATION. BOUTROS-GHALI STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE TRIBUNAL TO ADDRESS ONLY CRIMES COMMITTED DURING A SPECIFIED PERIOD, TO AVOID ITS BEING USED FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES.

CHRISTOPHER

BT

#0011

NNNN

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

SSN: 0011
<^SSN>0011

TOR: 940930190256 M1282829
<^TOR>940930190257 M1282830

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEERS BEYRLE BURNS CLARKER DARRAGH DESHAZER KERRICK RICE SARTOR
STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW WHSR_SPECIAL
[]

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHCAA8118 2862222-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH

LINE3: O R 132214Z OCT 94

LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC

OSRI: RUEHC

DTG: 132214Z OCT 94

ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE 0000

INFO: RWANDA COLLECTIVE

SUBJ: PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU AND DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT
DISCUSS ASSISTANCE AND BENCHMARKS

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 278118

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, OVIP, RW, US

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU AND DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT
DISCUSS ASSISTANCE AND BENCHMARKS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN AN OCTOBER 5 MEETING WITH THE DEPUTY
SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON, RWANDAN PRESIDENT PASTEUR
BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA (GOR) LACKS
BASIC RESOURCES BUT HAS THE NECESSARY GOOD WILL TO UPHOLD
ITS COMMITMENTS ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND
REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. HE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE
TO USG BENCHMARKS, INCLUDING BROADENING OF THE NEW
GOVERNMENT'S BASE, RESPONDING CONSTRUCTIVELY TO REPORTS OF
REPRISALS BY RPF FORCES (THE RPA), NAMING OF A POINT
PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PURSUING INTEGRATION OF THE
FORMER RWANDAN ARMY (EX-FAR). HE COMPLAINED, HOWEVER,
THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SEEMS AT TIMES TO WANT
THE GOVERNMENT TO "ACCOMMODATE KILLERS." THE DEPUTY
SECRETARY STRESSED THE NEED TO TRANSLATE THE GOR'S
AGREEMENT "IN PRINCIPLE" INTO CONCRETE ACTION. HE ADDED
THAT THE U.S. WANTED TO SEE THE GOR INITIATE MEANINGFUL
CONTACTS WITH HUTUS OUTSIDE RWANDA AND THAT THE GOR MUST

FOCUS AS MUCH ON RECONCILIATION AS ON REPATRIATION. UNDER
SECRETARY WIRTH COMMENDED THE GOR'S PROACTIVE RESPONSE TO
THE UNHCR'S REPORTS OF REPRISALS, AND AF DAS BUSHNELL
STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE GOR TO SAY THE RIGHT THINGS AND
SHOW COURAGE AND TOLERANCE. END SUMMARY

3. BIZIMUNGU WAS ACCCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER
NDAGIJIMANA, JUSTICE MINISTER NKUBITO, THE PRESIDENT'S
DIRECTOR OF CABINET EMMANUEL GASANA, AND PRESIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ADVISOR CHARLES MURIGANDE. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY WAS JOINED BY UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH AND AF DAS BUSHNELL. SPECIAL ASSISTANT JOHN WITHERS AND RWANDA DESKOFF KEVIN AISTON ALSO ATTENDED. (SEPTELS WILL FOLLOW ON BIZIMUNGU'S OTHER WASHINGTON MEETINGS.)

BIZIMUNGU AGREES IN PRINCIPLE TO U.S. BENCHMARKS

4. BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT IN HIS MEETING WITH NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR LAKE, THE GOR WAS OFFERED ASSISTANCE WITH WORLD BANK ARREARS IF THE GOVERNMENT SATISFIED CERTAIN "CONDITIONS", INCLUDING BROADENING ITS BASE, RESPONDING TO THE UNHCR'S ALLEGATIONS OF RPA REPRISALS, NAMING A POINT PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PURSUING INTEGRATION OF EX-FAR ELEMENTS INTO THE RPA. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT AGREED "IN PRINCIPLE" TO THESE POINTS AND DECLARED THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAD MET THE "CONDITIONS." IT HAS ACCOMMODATED ALL PARTIES EXCEPT THE MRND (HABYARIMANA'S PARTY), WHICH, ACCORDING TO BIZIMUNGU, HAD ORGANIZED THE GENOCIDE. THE GOR WAS ATTEMPTING TO BRING IN INDIVIDUAL MRND MEMBERS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH THE MASSACRES. HE ADDED THAT THE GOR IS COMMITTED TO INTEGRATING ELEMENTS OF THE EX-FAR INTO THE NEW RWANDAN ARMY; HOWEVER, THE EX-FAR SOLDIERS HAVE NOT BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT THE GOR'S OFFER. AS FOR OUR SUGGESTION OF NAMING A POINT PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BIZIMUNGU SAID THE GOR WAS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION BUT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO PUT THE COMMISSION IN PLACE DUE TO LACK OF RESOURCES. FINALLY, BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT THE GOR, WORKING WITH UNAMIR, HAD QUICKLY ESTABLISHED A COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE UNHCR REPORTS OR RPA REPRISALS. HE SAID THE INVESTIGATION INDICATED THAT THE ALLEGATIONS WERE UNFOUNDED.

5. SUMMING UP, BIZIMUNGU SAID RWANDA NEEDS FINANCIAL AID TO UPHOLD THE COMMITMENTS THAT THE U.S. AND OTHERS WERE PRESSING. RATHER THAN HOLDING OFF ON AID BECAUSE OF THESE CONCERNS, HE BELIEVED DONORS SHOULD PROVIDE FUNDS SO THAT THE GOR CAN MEET ITS COMMITMENTS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOR HAS THE NECESSARY GOOD WILL AND THAT, RATHER THAN PUTTING THE GOR UNDER CLOSE OBSERVATION, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD RECOGNIZE THIS AND HELP RWANDA ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS.

DEPUTY SECRETARY CALLS FOR CONCRETE ACTIONS

6. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE POINTS CONVEYED TO THE GOR WERE NOT "CONDITIONS"; RATHER, THEY WERE "BENCHMARKS", I.E., CONCRETE STEPS THAT WILL HELP CONVINCE THE GOR'S OWN PEOPLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S VERY IMPORTANT AND REASSURING WORDS WILL BE TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS. HE ADDED THAT AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WAS NOT SUFFICIENT; WE NEEDED TO WORK TOGETHER TO SEE THAT THESE COMMITMENTS WERE UPHELD IN PRACTICE.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

7. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FURTHER NOTED THAT, IN REVIEWING THE U.S. BENCHMARKS, BIZIMUNGU FAILED TO MENTION OUR REQUEST THAT THE GOVERNMENT INITIATE MEANINGFUL CONTACTS WITH HUTU LEADERS OUTSIDE RWANDA. HE POINTED OUT THAT REPATRIATION IS ONLY ONE-HALF OF THE EQUATION AND THAT RECONCILIATION MUST ALSO BE ACHIEVED. THE UNHCR REPORTS OF RPA REPRISALS CONCERNED US NOT ONLY FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT ALL KILLING IS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT RAISES QUESTIONS WHETHER A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION IS BEING PURSUED. HE ADDED THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO PUT AN END TO SUCH REPORTS; FIRST AND FOREMOST, ANY ACTIVITIES THAT GAVE RISE TO THE REPORTS MUST BE STOPPED.

U/S WIRTH COMMENDS RESPONSE TO UNHCR REPORTS, OUTLINES USG PRIORITIES; DAS BUSHNELL STRESSES POWER OF WORDS

8. UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH COMMENDED THE GOR FOR THE WAY IT HAD ADDRESSED THE UNHCR REPORTS OF REPRISALS, AND HE WELCOMED THE RECENT STATEMENTS MADE BY VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME CONDEMNING ACTS OF REVENGE. THE UNDER SECRETARY OUTLINED USG PRIORITIES IN RWANDA, INCLUDING IMPROVING BORDER SECURITY, PURSUING INVESTIGATIONS AND PROSECUTIONS FOR THE ATROCITIES, EXPEDITING DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, AND ASSISTING IN RESOLVING DIFFICULT PROPERTY RIGHTS ISSUES. HE THEN ASKED ABOUT THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE EX-FAR. BIZIMUNGU SAID THEY CONTINUE TO HEAR REPORTS OF AN IMPENDING ATTACK AND THAT THE THREAT OF SUCH AN ATTACK

HAS BEEN USED TO DETER REFUGEES FROM REPATRIATING. THE PRESIDENT SAID THE GOR HAD BEEN TOLD THE EX-FAR HAD SHIFTED FROM GOMA TO BUKAVU.

9. DAS BUSHNELL EXPLAINED THAT OUR STRATEGY IS TO HELP RWANDA ACHIEVE PEACE. THIS WILL TAKE TREMENDOUS EFFORT, COURAGE, AND TOLERANCE. WE ARE WILLING TO ASSIST, BUT THE GOR NEEDS TO DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO SEE THAT REAL PEACE IS ACHIEVED. DAS BUSHNELL RECOGNIZED THAT THE GOR MAY LACK RESOURCES, BUT IT HAS CONTROL OVER ITS WORDS, WHICH CAN BE EXTREMELY POWERFUL. THEY CAN BE USED TO KILL, BUT THEY CAN ALSO BE USED TO DRAW PEOPLE BACK AND BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER. THE GOR NEEDS TO USE ITS WORDS TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION, AND MUST FOLLOW-UP THOSE WORDS WITH ACTIONS.

BIZIMUNGU'S TEMPERATURE RISES

10. AS THE DISCUSSION WORE ON, BIZIMUNGU SEEMED TO GROW IMPATIENT. ABANDONING HIS PRESIDENTIAL DEMEANOR, HE BECAME VISIBLY AGITATED AND LAUNCHED INTO A DIATRIBE OVER INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE LAST MARCH TO GRANT A SEAT IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE HARDLINE CDR PARTY (FYI: UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORD, THE CDR AND OTHER MINOR PARTIES WERE ASSIGNED ONE SEAT EACH IN THE SEVENTY MEMBER MULTIPARTY

PARLIAMENT). BIZIMUNGU SAID THE RPF HAD STRONGLY RESISTED THIS PRESSURE BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THE CDR WAS DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE ALL TUTSIS. THE SUBSEQUENT GENOCIDAL MASSACRES PROVED THE RPF HAD BEEN RIGHT.

11. BIZIMUNGU COMPLAINED THAT THE SAME "MISCONCEPTIONS" ARE DRIVING THE PRESSURE ON THE GOR TO "ACCOMMODATE THE MRND." HE SAID THAT WHILE HIS U.S. INTERLOCUTORS MAY BE CALLING FOR WAR CRIMES TRIALS, UNIDENTIFIED "OTHERS" ARE ASKING THE GOR TO ACCOMMODATE THE KILLERS. IN STARK CONTRAST TO HIS EARLIER STATEMENTS ABOUT REACHING OUT TO MODERATE MRND MEMBERS, BIZIMUNGU SAID FLATLY: "WHO ARE THE INNOCENT MRND MEMBERS WHO ARE WILLING TO COME BACK TO KIGALI? I DON'T KNOW ANY." HE ADDED THAT HE FEARED THAT THE UNHCR'S REPORTS OF RPA REPRISALS ARE INTENDED TO EQUATE THE RPF'S ACTIONS WITH THOSE OF THE GENOCIDAL KILLERS.

KILLERS TO BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, NOT "ACCOMMODATED"

12. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WE ARE URGING THE GOR TO ADOPT A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION; WE ARE NOT/NOT ASKING THE GOR TO ACCOMMODATE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE COMMITTED TO SEE THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS ARE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, BUT WE ARE ALSO URGING THE GOR NOT TO CONDEMN WHOLE GROUPS BASED ON THE ACTS OF INDIVIDUALS. DAS BUSHNELL ADDED THAT NO COUNTRY IS WORKING HARDER THAN THE U.S. ON THE EFFORT TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. IN CLOSING THE MEETING, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY ASSURED BIZIMUNGU THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO HELP RWANDA REACH LASTING PEACE IS UNCONDITIONAL; WE ARE OFFERING THE GOR OUR ADVICE TO HELP ASSURE THAT THE GOR ACHIEVES ITS OWN GOAL OF BEING A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, IN THE FACE OF TRULY DAUNTING ODDS.

23. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

TALBOTT

BT

#8118

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8118

TOR: 941013190915 M1303863

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BRANSUM DESHAZER NSC SARTOR STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

□

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 21 October 94 12:09
FROM Walsh, Helen C.
CLASSIFICATION **** NO CLASSIFICATION ****
SUBJECT Subject: African issues
TO Deshazer, Macarthur X.
Steinberg, Donald K.
CARBON_COPY Battenfield, Pat
Fauver, Robert E.

TEXT_BODY

I hear we're doing an arrears clearing exercise for Rwanda so that it can resume borrowing from the World Bank. Would appreciate being kept in the loop on this.

Also, did anything ever come of the Nigeria exercise? If we decide on any economic steps with this country, especially those which might relate to oil, I want to be sure that Bob Rubin personally has a chance to weigh in.

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~SECRET~~
LINE1: OAASZYUW RUCNDTA4517 2942350-SSSS--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH
LINE3: O 212350Z OCT 94
LINE4: FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
OSRI: RUCNDT
DTG: 212350Z OCT 94
ORIG: USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0010
INFO: ////
SUBJ: AMB ALBRIGHT MEETING WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL
BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI
TEXT:

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 004517

NODIS

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: UN, BK, NATO, PREL, KJUS, RW, SO, HA, ZJ, RS
SUBJECT: AMB ALBRIGHT MEETING WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL
BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

1. SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: IN AN INFORMAL MEETING ON OCTOBER 20,
AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT AND SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS
BOUTROS-GHALI COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF GLOBAL ISSUES. ON
NATO AIRSTRIKES, THE SYG INSISTED THAT THE DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE UN AND NATO WERE MINOR AND WOULD SOON BE
RESOLVED. ON THE RWANDAN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d ON SOMALIA, THE SYG
STRESSED THE NEED FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE WITH UNPROFOR
WITHDRAWAL. ON THE NIS, THE SYG INDICATED THAT HIS
FACT-FINDING TRIP WOULD LEAD TO RECOMMENDATIONS OF
GREATER UN INVOLVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

NATO AIRSTRIKES

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

RWANDA WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

4. PER INSTRUCTIONS, AMB ALBRIGHT PRESENTED THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION ON APPOINTING SOUTH AFRICAN JUDGE RICHARD GOLDSSTONE AS THE JOINT CHIEF PROSECUTOR FOR THE RWANDAN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL AS WELL AS THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. THIS, SHE SAID, WOULD ENSURE THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNIFORM PROCEDURES AND JURISPRUDENCE FOR BOTH TRIBUNALS AND WOULD AVOID REPETITION OF THE PROBLEMS THAT DELAYED THE APPOINTMENT OF A PROSECUTOR FOR THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

THANKING THE SYG FOR HIS AGREEMENT, ALBRIGHT REMINDED HIM THAT GOLDSSTONE HAD AN EXCELLENT REPUTATION FROM HIS DAYS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

HAITI

5. THE SYG EXPRESSED DEEP FRUSTRATION WITH THE OCTOBER 20 WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE BY JULIA PRESTON, IN WHICH AN UNNAMED UN OFFICIAL WAS QUOTED COMPARING HAITI TO SOMALIA. THIS WOULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED, HE SAID, IF THE UN HAD A MORE EFFECTIVE PRESS OFFICER. IN RESPONSE TO AMB ALBRIGHT'S QUERY, HE REITERATED HIS COMMITMENT TO APPOINT A U.S. COMMANDER FOR UNMIH, BUT REFUSED TO SET A DATE AND INDICATED THE APPOINTMENT WAS NOT IMMINENT.

SOMALIA

6. AS IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS, THE SYG AGAIN STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S. MILITARY SUPPORT FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR TROOPS IN SOMALIA. U.S. ASSISTANCE IN THIS EFFORT, HE SUGGESTED, COULD BE CRUCIAL IN ENCOURAGING PROSPECTIVE TROOP CONTRIBUTORS TO PARTICIPATE IN FUTURE UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. FAILURE TO ASSIST WOULD SET A BAD PRECEDENT. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD ALSO RAISE THIS ISSUE IN LONDON AND PARIS.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 004517

NODIS

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: UN, BK, NATO, PREL, KJUS, RW, SO, HA, ZJ, RS

SUBJECT: AMB ALBRIGHT MEETING WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL

BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

IMMIGRATION

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

ALBRIGHT

BT

#4517

NNNN

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

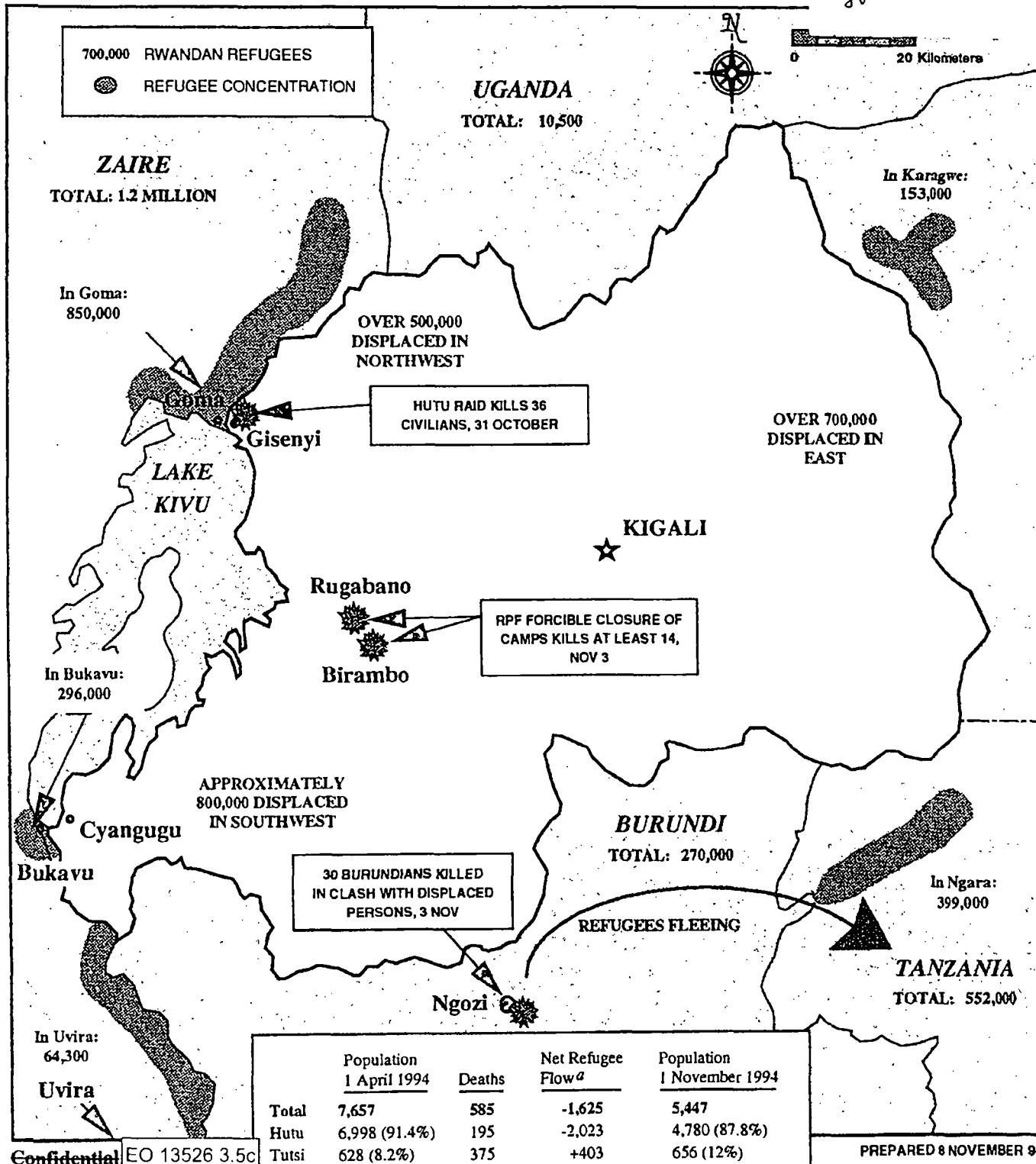
SSN: 4517
<^SSN>4517

TOR: 941021210142 M1319916
<^TOR>941021210144 M1319917

DIST:
PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: RICE SUM SUM2 WHSR_SPECIAL
<^DIST>
SIT: CLARKER
□

Rwanda: Refugees and Displaced Persons, Early November 1994

pls keep
working Rwanda
file



Figures in thousands.

^aA negative number represents a refugee outflow, a positive number an inflow.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

Rwanda Ad hoc 111B
B-1-1 (China)

- start in aid to ministries now, no conditions (\$100,000's), joint ^{\$2.5m available} ^{cont.}
- condition clearing areas etc.

more to come ^{AID} assure unimpeded access (UNAMIC) & name a
yhr.

Reconciliation - approach Carter Center

Security in Camps -

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHGVA9625 3121957-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZZK
LINE3: O 081957Z NOV 94 ZFF4
LINE4: FM USMISSION GENEVA
OSRI: RUEHGV
DTG: 081957Z NOV 94
ORIG: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 0512
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6022
INFO: RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 4407
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0582
RUEHDR/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 2286
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0042
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH UN SYG BOUTROS GHALI
ON RWANDA CRISIS

TEXT:
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ GENEVA 009625

EXDIS

STATE FOR G (U/S WIRTH), IO (A/S BENNET), AF (A/S
MOOSE), PRM (A/S OAKLEY)

PASS NSC FOR LAKE

USUN FOR AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREF, RAID, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, AORC, UN, RW, CG
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH UN SYG BOUTROS GHALI
ON RWANDA CRISIS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL MET 11/8 WITH UN SYG BOUTROS
GHALI TO DISCUSS THE RWANDA CRISIS. THE MEETING CORED
SEVERAL ISSUES:

-- SECURITY IN THE CAMPS IN EASTERN ZAIRE;
-- THE TRUST FUND FOR RWANDA AND WORLD BANK ARREARAGES;
-- PLANS FOR THE FRIENDS OF RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT
GROUP; AND
-- THE PROPOSED OAU-UNHCR REFUGEE CONFERENCE.

3. THE AMBASSADOR BRIEFED THE SYG ON THE HUMANITARIAN
LIAISON WORKING GROUP (HLWG) MEETING ON RWANDA, WHICH
HAD JUST CONCLUDED. THAT MEETING FEATURED SRSG KHAN,
U/SYG HANSEN, SPECIAL ENVOY DILLON, HIGH COMMISSIONER

FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AYALA LASSO, AND DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES WALZER. (HLWG DISCUSSION REPORTED SEPTEL.)

SECURITY IN CAMPS IN EASTERN ZAIRE

4. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT MANY OF THE HLWG MEMBERS (DONOR GOVERNMENT AMBASSADORS) HAD EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR MULTI-TRACK APPROACHES TO SECURITY FOR REASONS OF TIME AND COST. (NOTE. ONE OF THE OPTIONS THAT HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY THE SYG AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE THIS AFTERNOON WAS FORMATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL "RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE" TO NEUTRALIZE THE HUTU MILITARY AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN THE ZAIREAN CAMPS. END NOTE.) SRSG KHAN, MEANWHILE, HAD TOLD THE HLWG THAT AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE IN THE CAMPS WAS AN OPTION UNDER SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. HE OPPOSED AN EXPANSION OF UNAMIR BECAUSE THE HUTUS IN EASTERN ZAIRE CAMPS BELIEVED UNAMIR WAS NOT NEUTRAL.

5. BOUTROS GHALI REJECTED FORCEFULLY THE POLICE FORCE OPTION, HOWEVER: "THE SOLUTION IS NOT THE POLICE FORCE." HE SAID A POLICE FORCE ROLE WOULD BE TOO LIMITED (PRIMARILY HELPING WITH FOOD DISTRIBUTION) AND IT WOULD BE LIKE TAKING ASPIRIN TO FIGHT CANCER-TACTICALLY, HE SAID THAT IF THE UN WERE TO PROPOSE A POLICE FORCE NOW IT WOULD NEVER GET THE UNSC TO APPROVE A STRONGER MILITARY FORCE LATER.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP

8. THE AMBASSADOR INFORMED BOUTROS GHALI THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAD PROPOSED THE FORMATION OF A FRIENDS OF RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP (INCLUDING OAU CHAIRMAN TUNISIA) TO FACILITATE AND SUPPORT UN AND INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO HELP RESOLVE THE CRISIS. THE SYG RESPONDED POSITIVELY, BELIEVED IT COULD HELP, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST WAY TO BRING IN THE AFRICAN DIMENSION WAS TO ADD THE OAU ITSELF (PRESUMABLY HE MEANT SALIM SALIM). HE NOTED THAT THE FRIENDS OF EL SALVADOR HAD PLAYED A GOOD ROLE.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TRUST FUND FOR RWANDA AND WORLD BANK ARREARAGES

9. AT THE HLWG, SRSG KHAN HAD NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF RESOLVING WORLD BANK ARREARAGES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO FREE UP FUNDING FOR CRITICAL PROJECTS IN RWANDA FOR POWER GENERATION, WATER, ETC. U/SYG HANSEN SPOKE OF THE URGENT NEED FOR DONORS TO PROVIDE MONEY TO THE RWANDA TRUST FUND. THE FUND WAS CREATED IN JULY BUT HAS RECEIVED ONLY USD 200,000; DONORS MEANWHILE HAVE SPENT CLOSER TO A BILLION DOLLARS FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. (HANSEN ADMITTED THAT PART OF THE PROBLEM HAD BEEN THE UN'S LACK OF EMPHASIS ON THE TRUST FUND WITH DONORS.)

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

[REDACTED] HE STRESSED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR SUBSTANTIAL TRUST FUNDS TO BE UNDER KHAN'S SUPERVISION, ALMOST AS IF TO CREATE A TRUSTEESHIP FOR A YEAR.

OAU-UNHCR REFUGEE CONFERENCE

11. THE AMBASSADOR STRONGLY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE THE U.S. PLACES ON HAVING AN OAU-UNHCR REFUGEE CONFERENCE, PREFERABLY IN BUJUMBURA. THE SYG HAD TWO OBJECTIONS: HOLDING NUMEROUS REGIONAL CONFERENCES PRESENTS THE WRONG IMAGE FOR THE UN; AND HIS REPRESENTATIVE ON THE GROUND, SRSG KHAN, MUST BE INCLUDED AND SUPPORT SUCH AN EFFORT. (COMMENT. THIS WAS A VEILED REFERENCE TO HIS ANNOYANCE AT UNHCR'S LEADERSHIP ROLE, WITH THE OAU, IN PROPOSING THE CONFERENCE. END COMMENT.) THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT A REGIONAL APPROACH IS NECESSARY AND THIS CONFERENCE COULD BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR HELPING TO ACHIEVE THAT. BOUTROS GHALI AGAIN EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR COORDINATION AMONG UN AGENCIES.

MEETING WITH SPECIAL ENVOY DILLON

12. NOTE. THE AMBASSADOR MET EARLIER IN THE AFTERNOON WITH AMBASSADOR DILLON. DILLON INDICATED THAT A CLEAR MESSAGE FROM BOUTROS GHALI AT THE UN'S TUESDAY MORNING MEETING WAS THAT SRSG KHAN WAS THE PERSON IN CHARGE IN THE RWANDA REGION. DILLON ALSO COMMENTED THAT KHAN'S OPERATION REMAINS UNDERSTAFFED AND HE NEEDS A SENIOR DEPUTY. END NOTE.

COMMENT

13. THE SECRETARY GENERAL DID NOT ATTEMPT TO DISGUISE HIS CURRENT PREFERENCE TO PRESENT THE SECURITY COUNCIL

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

WITH THE SINGLE OPTION OF AUTHORIZING A RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE, WHICH HE BELIEVED COULD BRING STABILITY TO THE CAMPS AND PAVE THE WAY FOR REFUGEE REPATRIATION. SRSG KHAN, DURING THE HLWG, HAD BEEN CAREFUL TO REMAIN OPEN TO VARIOUS OPTIONS TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT ALL WERE UNDER SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. THE SYG TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE WOULD BE DISCUSSING THE RWANDA SITUATION AND OPTIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS UPON HIS RETURN TO NEW YORK ON WEDNESDAY. END COMMENT.

SPIEGEL

BT

#9625

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9625

TOR: 941108151706 M1350760

DIST:

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: CLARKER DESHAZER NSC RICE SARTOR SCHWARTZ STEINBERG SUM SUM2 VAX

[]

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA4355 3391546-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 051546Z DEC 94 ZDK
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 051546Z DEC 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1366
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0118
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4899
SUBJ: TRAVEL TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI BY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS LAKE

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUJUMBURA 004355

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR STEINBERG

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, BY
SUBJECT: TRAVEL TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI BY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
AFFAIRS LAKE

1. EMBASSY WELCOMES PROPOSED VISIT OF MR. LAKE TO BUJUMBURA DECEMBER 16. CONTROL OFFICER FOR THE VISIT WILL BE DCM SUSAN W. ZELLE, (OFFICE: 257-22-34-54, HOME: 257-22-34-54; FAX: 257-22-29-26). PLEASE FAX A BIO OF MR. LAKE FOR OUR INFORMATION. WE LOOK FORWARD TO LEARNING THE MAKEUP OF THE DELEGATION AND ANY REQUESTS THE GROUP MIGHT HAVE.

2. WE HAVE TENTATIVELY RESERVED 20 SINGLE ROOMS AT THE NOVOTEL (RATE IS APPROXIMATELY \$76/DAY DEPENDING ON THE EXCHANGE RATE) FOR THE NIGHT OF DECEMBER 16. AMBASSADOR AND MRS. KRUEGER INVITE MR. LAKE TO STAY AT THE RESIDENCE.

3. HOTEL BILLS MUST BE SETTLED IN US DOLLARS AND ALL VISITORS SHOULD EITHER BRING CASH OR A MAJOR CREDIT CARD TO SETTLE THEIR BILLS. PLEASE NOTE THAT THERE ARE NO/NO US DOLLARS AVAILABLE FROM THE EMBASSY IN BUJUMBURA AND ALL TRAVELERS CHECKS WILL BE CASHED INTO BURUNDI FRANCS.

ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526

Department of State Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By M NARA, Date 12/12/14

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4. BECAUSE OUR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER WILL BE OUT OF COUNTRY DURING THE VISIT, WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY ADVANCE INFORMATION YOU CAN PROVIDE ABOUT LOGISTICS (AIRPLANE CLEARANCES, NUMBER OF FLIGHT CREW, ETC.) AND ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS. PLEASE ADVISE ARRIVAL TIME AND TAIL NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT, AND ANY FUEL REQUIREMENTS. WE WILL OBTAIN AIRPORT CLEARANCES AS SOON AS WE ARE NOTIFIED OF YOUR SCHEDULE.

MALARIA

5. BECAUSE MALARIA IS ENDEMIC IN THE AREA, ALL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP SHOULD START MALARIA PROPHYLAXIS BEFORE COMING TO CENTRAL AFRICA, AND CONTINUE THEM FOR A NUMBER OF WEEKS AFTER COMPLETION OF THE TRIP.

VISAS

6. BURUNDIAN VISAS SHOULD BE OBTAINED BEFORE LEAVING WASHINGTON.

PRESS COVERAGE

7. PLEASE ADVISE IF YOU WISH TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE OR RELEASE A PRESS STATEMENT AT ARRIVAL OR DEPARTURE. IF SO, PLEASE ADVISE IF YOU WOULD LIKE US TO PREPARE A STATEMENT.

THREAT ASSESSMENT

8. THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR BUJUMBURA AND KIGALI WILL BE SENT SEPTEL BY REGIONAL SECURITY OFFICER.

9. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ZELLE
BT
#4355

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4355

TOR: 941205112048 M1396832

DIST:

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER NSC SARTOR STEINBERG SUM SUM2
□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA4357 3400833-CCCC--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 060833Z DEC 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 060833Z DEC 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4900
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0119
SUBJ: JOINT RWANDA/BURUNDI THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR
- ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL
- SECURITY AFFAIRS ANTHONY LAKE

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004357

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC SENIOR DIRECTOR
FOR AFRICA DON STEINBERG & NSC EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT
NEAL WOLIN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ASEC, OVIP, OTRA, RW, BY
SUBJECT: JOINT RWANDA/BURUNDI THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR
- ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL
- SECURITY AFFAIRS ANTHONY LAKE

REF: WHITE HOUSE 050225Z

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY;

- THERE IS NO SPECIFIC THREAT AGAINST AMERICAN
CITIZENS FOR THE PROPOSED VISIT TO KIGALI, RWANDA
AND BUJUMBURA, BURUNDI. THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT
HAS BEEN IN PLACE SINCE JULY AND BURUNDI HAS HAD A
PERMANENT PRESIDENT SINCE OCTOBER.

- RWANDA SUMMARY:

- THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IS INVOLVED IN
REPATRIATION EFFORTS AND ALSO THE REMOVAL OF,
SOMETIMES FORCIBLY, DISPLACED PERSONS INSIDE THE
COUNTRY AND ENCOURAGING THEM TO RETURN TO THE
VILLAGES THEY HAD FLED DURING THE RECENTLY ENDED
CIVIL WAR.

- ALL MAJOR ROADS TO KIGALI FROM BURUNDI, TANZANIA, AND ZAIRE ARE OPEN. RSO HAS RECENTLY TRAVELED THE ROADS FROM RWANDA'S BORDER WITH BURUNDI AND ZAIRE WITHOUT INCIDENT. FRONTIER POSTS CLOSE AT 1800 HOURS. RSO IS NOT AWARE OF ANY CURRENT SECURITY THREAT POSED TO AMERICANS. END SUMMARY

- BURUNDI SUMMARY:

- GRB MILITARY FORCES CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS IN THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN AND PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN PREVIOUSLY TROUBLESOME AREAS MOST NOTABLY IN CIBITOKE PROVINCE WHICH BORDERS RWANDA AND ZAIRE.

- THE MAIN ROADS INTO BUJUMBURA FROM RWANDA, TANZANIA, AND ZAIRE ARE OPEN. FRONTIER POSTS CLOSE AT 1800 HOURS. OFFICIAL AMERICANS ARE PERMITTED PASSAGE THROUGH MILITARY CHECKPOINTS WITHOUT DELAY AND HAVE NOT BEEN HARASSED. RSO IS NOT AWARE OF ANY CURRENT SECURITY THREAT POSED TO AMERICANS. END SUMMARY

SPECIFIC THREAT INFORMATION FOLLOWS:

3. RWANDA

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

RSO ANTICIPATES THE TERRORIST THREAT LEVEL WILL BE DOWNGRADED TO MEDIUM DURING THE NEXT SECURITY REVIEW BY DS. ALTHOUGH MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND RWANDANS WERE KILLED IN VIOLENT ETHNIC MASSACRES IN LESS THAN FOUR MONTHS, RWANDA REMAINS CALM.

- THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA IS TRYING TO REBUILD ITS SHATTERED COUNTRY AND DEAL WITH MORE THAN ONE MILLION OF ITS CITIZENS WHO CURRENTLY LIVE IN CAMPS IN BURUNDI, TANZANIA, AND ZAIRE. ALL OF THESE CAMPS ARE CLOSE TO RWANDAN TERRITORY AND POSE A POTENTIAL SECURITY PROBLEM AS SEVERAL CAMPS ARE KNOWN TO CONTAIN FORMER MEMBERS OF THE MILITIA, AKA THE INTERAHAMWE, WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE RECENT GENOCIDE IN RWANDA.

- IN SPITE OF THIS ENORMOUS POTENTIAL FOR CONTINUED INSTABILITY THERE HAVE BEEN NO/NO SECURITY RELATED INCIDENTS DIRECTED AGAINST AMERICAN CITIZENS. THERE ARE NO KNOWN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST GROUPS OPERATING IN RWANDA.

4. BURUNDI

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 004357

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC SENIOR DIRECTOR
FOR AFRICA DON STEINBERG & NSC EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT
NEAL WOLIN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: ASEC, OVIP, OTRA, RW, BY
SUBJECT: JOINT RWANDA/BURUNDI THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR
- ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL
- SECURITY AFFAIRS ANTHONY LAKE

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

- EARLIER, IN NOVEMBER, 1991, THE HUTU
ORGANIZATION, PALIPEHUTU, ATTACKED SEVERAL MILITARY
BASES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND BRIEFLY ENTERED SOME
SECTIONS OF THE CAPITAL. THERE WERE NO/NO
PALIPEHUTU ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST AMCITS OR
EXPATS. THERE ARE NO KNOWN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST
GROUPS OPERATING IN BURUNDI.

GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION:

- IN BURUNDI, THE SELECTION OF A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
PRESIDENT HAS CREATED THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF
POLITICAL CRISES. ALTHOUGH THE CITY HAS HAD
SEVERAL GRENADE ATTACKS IN RECENT WEEKS, CIVIL
UNREST IN BUJUMBURA HAS SUBSIDED. HOWEVER THE
MAJORITY HUTUS AND MINORITY TUTSIS REMAIN POLARIZED
SINCE THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER, 1993. PROGRESS
TOWARDS NORMALIZATION HAS BEEN SLOW. THIS UNSTABLE
POLITICAL SITUATION TRANSLATES INTO SPORADIC
SECURITY INCIDENTS IN BUJUMBURA AND WITH MORE
FREQUENCY, IN KAYANZA, KIRUNDO, AND MUYINGA, ALL
PROVINCES ADJACENT TO THE RWANDA BORDER.

5. THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE, CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS:

- BURUNDI'S MILITARY CONTINUES TO SEARCH FOR
SUSPECTED EXTREMISTS AND ARMS CACHES IN THE
COUNTRYSIDE. THESE ACTIVITIES HAVE RESULTED IN
OCCASIONAL CLASHES BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND
SUSPECTED HUTU EXTREMISTS. IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT
FOR POST TO DETERMINE ACCURATELY THE NUMBER OF DEAD
AND INJURED RESULTING FROM THESE GOVERNMENT
SANCTIONED OPERATIONS.

- INDISCRIMINATE ACTS OF VIOLENCE CONTINUE IN THE

CITY. MOST RECENTLY, ON 12/5, THERE WERE SEVERAL RANDOM GRENADE EXPLOSIONS REPORTED IN BWIZA QUARTIER, A SECTION OF THE CITY NOT ORDINARILY FREQUENTED BY AMCITS OR EXPATS; AT LEAST FOUR DEATHS WERE REPORTED. EARLIER, ON 11/11, A FORMER OFFICIAL OF EX-PRESIDENT BUYOYA'S GOVERNMENT WAS ASSASSINATED IN FRONT OF HIS OFFICE. THE MOTIVE FOR THE KILLING HAS NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED. IT IS SUSPECTED TO BE THE WORK OF EXTREMISTS. NO ARRESTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN EITHER CASE.

6. SPECIFIC THREAT INFORMATION:

RWANDA

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d STREET CRIME IN THE CITY OF KIGALI HAS DROPPED OFF SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT; DUE IN PART TO THE PRESENCE OF THE MILITARY.

BURUNDI

- AGAIN, THERE IS NO SPECIFIC THREAT TO NSA LAKE AND PARTY. DESPITE THE INCIDENTS LISTED PREVIOUSLY, OFFICIAL VISITORS HAVE NOT EXPERIENCED ANY PROBLEMS IN BURUNDI. STREET CRIME HOWEVER, I.E. THEFTS, PURSE SNATCHINGS ETC. OCCUR DAILY IN BUJUMBURA AND VISITORS ARE URGED NOT TO CARRY LARGE SUMS OF MONEY OR WEAR JEWELRY (ESPECIALLY GOLD CHAINS) WHEN WALKING THROUGH THE CITY STREETS.

- THERE IS SAFETY IN NUMBERS AND OFFICIAL VISITORS MOVING IN GROUPS CAN EXPECT TO HAVE A SAFE AND SECURE STAY IN BUJUMBURA. VISITORS SHOULD CHECK IN WITH THE RSO UPON ARRIVAL IN BUJUMBURA FOR UPDATED SECURITY CONDITIONS.

ZELLE

BT

#4357

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4357

<^SSN>4357

TOR: 941206034223 M1398521

<^TOR>941206034330 M1398526

DIST:

PRT: BERGER DARBY FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: DESHAZER MITCHELL NSC RICE STEINBERG SUM SUM2

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLGB2479 3421553-CCCC--RUEADWW.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCCC ZZH
LINE3: 0 081553Z DEC 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
OSRI: RUEHLGB
DTG: 081553Z DEC 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO: RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0226
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0617
SUBJ: PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR NSC ADVISER LAKE IN RWANDA

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ KIGALI 002479

WHITEHOUSE FOR SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA - DON STEINBERG AND NSC EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT NEAL WOLIN

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: OVIP, OREP, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR NSC ADVISER LAKE IN RWANDA

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. EMBASSY KIGALI WELCOMES THE VISIT OF MR. LAKE AND PARTY. CONTROL OFFICER WILL BE ROBERT KILE. OFFICE PHONE IS 301-985-8036 (US) OR 250-75601/02/03 (RWANDAN). HOME PHONE IS 250-75632. FAX IS 250-72128/27.

2. WE HAVE TENTATIVELY PREPARED THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE. PLEASE CONFIRM IF ADDITIONS/AMENDMENTS ARE DESIRED.

0820 -- ARRIVE KIGALI, DEBARK AND PROCEED DIRECTLY TO
- PRESIDENTIAL COMPLEX IN KANOMBE

0840 -- MEET WITH PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU

0940 -- MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU AT
- MERIDIAN

1040 -- BRIEFING AT UNAMIR WITH SRSG KHAN AND UNAMIR
- COMMANDER TOUSSIGNANT

1200 -- LUNCH WITH NGO'S OR GOVERNMENT PERSONALITIES IF
AVAILABLE

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

Department of State Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By N NARA, Date 12/12/14

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

1400 -- MEET WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA, MINISTER OF
- RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION (RESPONSIBLE
FOR REFUGEE/IDP REINTEGRATION)
1500 -- DEPART FOR AIRPORT

1530 -- WHEELS UP FOR BUJUMBURA

3. PLEASE INFORM US OF THE NEED FOR ICE OR OTHER
SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS. WE ALSO REQUEST A FUND CITE FOR
LANDING FEES.

4. AMBASSADOR BRIEFED FOREIGN MINISTER GASANA DEC 7 ON
POSSIBLE VISIT. FOREIGN MINISTER WARMLY WELCOMED THE
VISIT BUT NOTED THE DIFFICULTIES IN PROGRAMMING MEETINGS
ON FRIDAY, THE DAY OF GOVERNMENT CABINET MEETINGS.
HOWEVER, THE CABINET CONVENES AT 10:30, ALLOWING TIME
FOR TWO MEETINGS IN THE EARLY MORNING. ON DEC 8,
DIRECTOR OF CABINET AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND DIRECTOR
OF THE PRESIDENCY BOTH CONFIRMED THE POSSIBILITY OF A
SCHEDULE AS OUTLINED ABOVE. MINISTER BEHOZAGARA, A KEY
FIGURE IN RWANDAN RECONSTRUCTION INDICATED HIS
AVAILABILITY ON DECEMBER 16 AND HIS DELIGHT IN THE
VISIT. DIRECTOR OF CABINET AT THE PRESIDENCY PROMISED
TO FIRM UP DETAILS OF THE SCHEDULE ON DECEMBER 12 AFTER
PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU RETURNS FROM THE PTA SUMMIT IN
MALAWI.

5. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. RAWSON
BT
#2479

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2479

TOR: 941208105942 M1404339

DIST:

PRT: BERGER DARBY FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER MITCHELL NSC STEINBERG SUM SUM2

□

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHJBA4503 3461613-CCCC--RHEHAAA.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 121613Z DEC 94
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
OSRI: RUEHJB
DTG: 121613Z DEC 94
ORIG: AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO: RHEHAAA/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4951
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1377
INFO: RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0712
RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI 0130
SUBJ: NSA LAKE TRAVEL: PROPOSED Q AND A FOR
BURUNDI PRESS

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 004503

USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSA LAKE

USIA FOR AF - HENNING/WILLIAMS

SECSTATE FOR AF/C

EMBASSIES FOR PAO/DCM

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, BY

SUBJECT: NSA LAKE TRAVEL: PROPOSED Q AND A FOR
BURUNDI PRESS

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE PROPOSED PRESS GUIDANCE
FOR NSA LAKE'S BURUNDI PRESS CONFERENCE. PLEASE
ADVISE IF YOU WOULD LIKE A FRENCH TRANSLATION OF
ALL RESPONSES PREPARED AT POST.

NATURE AND FOCUS OF VISIT

2. WHERE HAVE YOU/WILL YOU VISIT ON YOUR TRIP?

A) WE COME TO BURUNDI AFTER VISITS TO ETHIOPIA AND
RWANDA. OUR OTHER STOPS WILL BE IN MOZAMBIQUE,
ZIMBABWE, ANGOLA, BENIN AND SENEGAL.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

Department of State Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By M NARA, Date 12/2/04

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

3. WHAT IS/WAS THE PURPOSE OF YOUR VISIT?

A) WE WILL BE LOOKING AT SPECIFIC ISSUES IN EACH COUNTRY, BUT IN GENERAL, WE WILL DISCUSS HOW BEST TO ADDRESS THE ISSUES OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION, THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES, GOOD GOVERNANCE, PEACEKEEPING, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, AND DEBT RELIEF.

4. WHAT DO YOU HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH DURING YOUR VISIT?

A) WE HOPE TO SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE MAKING PROGRESS ON DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC REFORM.

B) (IF PRESSED) WE HOPE TO OBSERVE THE POLITICAL PROGRESS BEING MADE IN BURUNDI AND RWANDA, THE PEACE TALKS FOR SUDAN, DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA, THE CONFLICT IN LIBERIA, AND THE LUSAKA PROTOCOL ON ANGOLA.

5. WHO WILL/DID YOU MEET WITH IN BURUNDI?

A) WE WILL MEET/HAVE MET WITH PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA (EN-TEE-BAHN-TUN-GAHN-YA).

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS ON BILATERAL ISSUES

6. WHAT IS THE POSITION OF THE USG ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN BURUNDI?

A) WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ISSUE AND THE PEACEFUL INSTALLATION OF PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA AND THE COALITION GOVERNMENT. WE REALIZE, HOWEVER, THAT THIS IS JUST THE FIRST STEP IN THE LONG AND DIFFICULT PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

7. WHAT IS THE POSITION OF THE USG ON THE ELECTION OF JEAN MINANI AS PRESIDENT OF THE PARLIAMENT?

A) WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT ALL SIDES HAVE URGED PEACEFUL DIALOGUE TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE. THE SOLUTION TO BURUNDI'S PROBLEMS LIES IN CONTINUED DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE, NOT CONFRONTATION.

B) (IF PRESSED) WE AND BURUNDI'S OTHER FRIENDS ARE WORKING TO ENCOURAGE A SOLUTION THROUGH FURTHER DIALOGUE.

8. IF YOUR GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN BURUNDI, WHY HAVE YOU CUT THE LEVEL OF AID?

A) THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT CUT AID TO BURUNDI.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IN FACT, WE HAVE PROVIDED USD 72 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN AID FOR BURUNDI SINCE OCTOBER 1993.

B) (IF PRESSED) BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS THAT BEGAN IN OCTOBER 1993, WE WERE UNABLE TO KEEP UP OUR PREVIOUS LEVEL OF ACTIVITY. SOME PROGRAMS DIRECTLY ADMINISTERED BY USAID WERE SUSPENDED, BUT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 004503

USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSA LAKE

USIA FOR AF - HENNING/WILLIAMS

SECSTATE FOR AF/C

EMBASSIES FOR PAO/DCM

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, BY

SUBJECT: NSA LAKE TRAVEL: PROPOSED Q AND A FOR BURUNDI PRESS

THE WORK THESE PROGRAMS WERE INVOLVED WITH IS NOW COVERED BY OUR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROJECTS.

9. YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY CONDEMNED THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE IN BURUNDI. WHAT WILL YOU DO HELP STOP IT?

A) WE DEPLORE ALL ACTS OF POLITICAL AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE AND HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN URGING ALL SIDES TO REJECT EXTREMISM AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES. IN ADDITION TO SENDING REGULAR AND HIGH LEVEL VISITORS TO DEMONSTRATE OUR SUPPORT, WE HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH U.N. AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH IN HIS IMPORTANT EFFORTS HERE. WE HAVE ALSO PROVIDED USD 250,000 FOR THE OAU MONITORING FORCE AND USD 300,000 TO THE U.N. COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS IS IN ADDITION TO THE USD 5 MILLION IN DEVELOPMENTAL AID WHICH SUPPORTS CONFLICT RESOLUTION, AND DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE PROGRAMS, AND USD 60 MILLION IN REGIONAL HUMANITARIAN AID.

10. IT WAS REPORTED HERE THAT YOUR EMBASSY CONDEMNED RWANDAN REFUGEES IN THE NORTH FOR "WREAKING HAVOC" AND INCREASING VIOLENCE, IS THIS THE BELIEF OF YOUR GOVERNMENT?

A) THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BUJUMBURA MADE NO SUCH STATEMENT. THE REPORT YOU REFER TO WAS IN ERROR AND BURUNDI NATIONAL RADIO AND TELEVISION PUBLICLY APOLOGIZED FOR THE ERROR DURING ITS NEWS BROADCASTS OF DECEMBER 9 AND 10. (NOTE. BACKGROUND TO THIS

QUESTION WILL BE PROVIDED AT POST OR BY SEPTEL IF REQUESTED. END NOTE.)

11. HOW DO YOU RESPOND TO THE OPPOSITION COMPLAINT THAT YOUR EMBASSY IS PRO-FRODEBU?

A. WE ARE PRO-DEMOCRACY AND NOTHING ELSE. WE AND BURUNDI'S OTHER FRIENDS ARE WORKING WITH ALL PARTIES TO COMBAT EXTREMISM AND VIOLENCE IN FAVOR OF MODERATION AND DIALOGUE.

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS ON REGIONAL ISSUES

12. MANY IN THE OPPOSITION SEE THE RUSH TO DEMOCRACY AS THE CAUSE OF BURUNDI'S POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND THE GENOCIDE IN RWANDA. IF THE WEST REALLY WANTS PEACE IN THIS REGION WOULD IT NOT BE BETTER TO SUPPORT MORE STABLE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT?

A) DEMOCRACY IS THE ANSWER TO, NOT THE CAUSE OF, THE PROBLEMS. VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY ARE BEING CAUSED BY THOSE WHO OPPOSE DEMOCRACY NOT DEMOCRACY ITSELF.

13. DOES THE USG SUPPORT A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND REFUGEES AS PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA?

A) WE FULLY SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL.

14. HOW WILL YOU AID/PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A CONFERENCE?

A) WE AWAIT THE FINAL DETAILS OF THE CONFERENCE TO SEE JUST WHERE WE CAN BE MOST SUPPORTIVE.

15. WHAT WERE THE RESULTS OF YOUR TALKS IN RWANDA?

A) RESPONSE TO BE WORKED OUT AT POST.

16. WHEN WILL THE U.S./U.N./WEST MOVE TO HELP BRING THOSE GUILTY OF GENOCIDE IN RWANDA TO JUSTICE?

A) THE U.S. BELIEVES IT IS OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 BUJUMBURA 004503

USIA

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSA LAKE

USIA FOR AF - HENNING/WILLIAMS

SECSTATE FOR AF/C

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

EMBASSIES FOR PAO/DCM

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OVIP, BY
SUBJECT: NSA LAKE TRAVEL: PROPOSED Q AND A FOR
BURUNDI PRESS

TO INSTALL THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL AS VOTED FOR
IN THE U.N. SO THAT THOSE WHO COMMITTED GENOCIDE
CAN BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE BEFORE AN IMPARTIAL
COURT.

17. DID YOU VISIT ANY CAMPS IN RWANDA OR ZAIRE?
WHAT WERE YOUR IMPRESSIONS OF THEM?

A) WE DID NOT VISIT ANY CAMPS ON THIS TRIP.

18. WHAT IS THE U.S. DOING TO HELP PACIFY THE
REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE?

A) THE USG IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE U.N. HIGH
COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES AND ALL GOVERNMENTS OF THE
REGION TO SUPPORT PEACEFUL REPATRIATION OF ALL WHO
WISH TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. SINCE APRIL WE HAVE
PROVIDED OVER USD 60 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN AID TO
HELP THOSE STILL IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS.

19. AT THE FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT IN BIARRITZ,
PRESIDENT NTIBANTUNGANYA COMPLAINED THAT THE WEST
IS ALWAYS READY TO DONATE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AFTER
A CRISIS HAS HAPPENED, BUT NEVER DONATES ENOUGH TO
PREVENT A CRISIS FROM HAPPENING. HOW DO YOU
RESPOND TO THIS CHARGE?

A) THE USG HAS LONG PROVIDED ECONOMIC AID AND HAS
INITIATED DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAMS
THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. WE HAVE WORKED
EARNESTLY AT CONFLICT RESOLUTION, BUT WE CANNOT
GOVERN NOR CAN WE HELP WHERE WE ARE NOT WELCOME OR
WANTED.

20. IS THE U.S. WORKING TO COUNTER THE DESIGNS OF
THE FRENCH TO PERSECUTE TUTSIS IN THE REGION?

A) THE U.S. SUPPORTS ALL EFFORTS TO PEACEFULLY
RESOLVE THE DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THE PEOPLE OF
CENTRAL AFRICA, AND WE ARE READY TO WORK WITH ALL
WHO SHARE THIS DESIRE.

21. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

DUGUID
BT
#4503

NNNN

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

SSN: 4503
<^SSN>4503
<^SSN>4503

TOR: 941212112105 M1409959
<^TOR>941212112107 M1409960
<^TOR>941212112208 M1409961

DIST:
PRT: BERGER DARBY FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER NSC STEINBERG SUM SUM2
□

Cable

PREC: PRIORITY

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHCAA1202 3480153-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH ZEX

LINE3: P R 140150Z DEC 94

LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC

OSRI: RUEHC

DTG: 140150Z DEC 94

ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0000

INFO: RWANDA COLLECTIVE

SUBJ: RWANDAN PM MEETS WITH NSC SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 331202

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, PHUM, EAID, US, RW

SUBJECT: RWANDAN PM MEETS WITH NSC SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU CALLED ON NSC SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA DON STEINBERG ON NOVEMBER 30. IN A WIDE-RANGING INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT, TWAGIRAMUNGU BEGAN BY THANKING THE U.S. FOR ITS EARLY SUPPORT OF HIS GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING DE-RECOGNIZING THE PREVIOUS REGIME, EARLY RECOGNITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT, PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND SERVING AS AN "INTERPRETER" FOR HIS GOVERNMENT VIS-A-VIS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. "IT WAS A PROUD MOMENT FOR US WHEN YOU RAISED THE AMERICAN FLAG IN KIGALI," HE SAID. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE QUESTIONED OUR CURRENT EFFORTS TO REBUILD HIS COUNTRY, INCLUDING OUR WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE ONLY DOLLARS 2.5 MILLION TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF WORLD BANK ARREARAGES WHEN RWANDA NEEDED MUCH MORE. HE CONTRASTED THIS WITH THE CONTINUING MASSIVE SUPPORT PROVIDED FOR THE REFUGEES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, WHOM HE CHARACTERIZED AS HOSTAGES OF THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS. "OUR TOP PRIORITY IS TO GET OUR PEOPLE BACK," HE SAID, BUT THAT REQUIRED FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO

CREATE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF SECURITY AND STABILITY. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WANTED TO CREATE WELCOME CENTERS TO ASSIST THE REINTEGRATION OF THE REFUGEES INTO THEIR VILLAGES, AND MADE A POINT OF STATING THAT THE RETURNEES WOULD BE INSTALLED IN THEIR OWN PROPERTIES. HIS GOVERNMENT WAS AWARE OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN OVER THE OCCUPATION OF HOUSES BY RETURNING TUTSI REFUGEES AND WOULD ENSURE THAT THESE TUTSIS (INCLUDING THE SO-CALLED "FIFTY-NINERS") WOULD BE EVICTED. HOWEVER, THIS REINFORCED THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO BUILD

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

HOUSES FOR RETURNING REFUGEES. OTHER TOP DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES WERE AGRICULTURE SERVICES TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATE EMPLOYMENT TO RETURNEES AND RE-ESTABLISHING COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE TO ALLOW NORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY TO BEGIN.

3. TWAGIRAMUNGU REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT IN LINE WITH THE ARUSHA ACCORD AND THE NEED FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION. HE SAID THAT 2,000 OF THE FORMER FAR AND GENDARMERIE HAD ALREADY BEEN INTEGRATED INTO THE GOVERNMENT FORCES, AND MORE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING.

4. TAKING A BROAD-SIDE AGAINST THE SO-CALLED GERSONY REPORT, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE REPORT WAS DESIGNED TO TARNISH THE IMAGE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT. IN FACT, HIS GOVERNMENT WAS DOING ALL IT COULD TO PREVENT REPRISALS AND REVENGE KILLINGS. ONE IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THIS REGARD WAS THE CREATION OF A RESPECTED JUDICIAL SYSTEM, SO THOSE TEMPTED TO TAKE THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS WOULD HAVE FAITH THAT JUSTICE WOULD BE DONE.

5. STEINBERG SAID THAT THE U.S. IS STRONGLY COMMITTED TO THE RETURN TO NORMALCY IN RWANDA. IN ADDITION TO OUR PLEDGED SUPPORT FOR CLEARING THE IFI ARREARAGES, WE ARE EXPEDITING OUR PROCEDURES TO ALLOW FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO SPECIFIC GOR MINISTRIES, INCLUDING JUSTICE. HE SAID WE SHARE TWAGIRAMUNGU'S BELIEF THAT AN EFFECTIVE JUDICIARY IS ESSENTIAL TO CREATE STABILITY, STRESSING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL WOULD ASSIST THIS EFFORT.

TWAGIRAMUNGU RESPONDED THAT ALTHOUGH HIS GOVERNMENT HAD OPPOSED CREATION OF THE TRIBUNAL FOR REASONS THAT ARE WELL KNOWN, IT HAD PLEDGED TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE TRIBUNAL IN BRINGING WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE. STEINBERG ASKED ABOUT THE NAMING OF A HUMAN RIGHTS POINT PERSON WITHIN THE GOR. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE GOR HAD ALREADY DECIDED TO APPOINT A COORDINATOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN A SEPARATE DIVISION OF THE JUSTICE MINISTRY AND WAS WORKING

WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS TO DEFINE THE TERMS FOR THIS DIVISION. IN ADDITION, HE STRONGLY SUPPORTED A ROLE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN MONITORING LOCAL CONDITIONS, STRESSING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS COOPERATING FULLY WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION'S MONITORS. "WE ARE NOT GIVING THEM ORDERS; THEY CAN GO WHEREVER THEY LIKE." ASKED IF THE SAME WAS TRUE OF THE UNAMIR PEACEKEEPERS, TWAGIRAMUNGU ASSURED US THAT IT WAS. "THEY TOO CAN GO WHEREVER THEY WANT," HE SAID.

6. GIVEN THE NEED FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, STEINBERG SAID THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS CONSIDERING WHETHER THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL MEDIATOR TO ASSIST THE PARTIES TO COME TOGETHER WOULD BE A USEFUL STEP. TWAGIRAMUNGU EXPRESSED DEEP DOUBTS ABOUT HIS INITIATIVE. "WE KNOW WHO THE ACCEPTABLE FORMER GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY LEADERS ARE," HE SAID, " AND WE CAN WORK OUT THE CONDITIONS OF THEIR RETURN." HE ADDED THAT SUCH A MEDIATION EFFORTS MIGHT DEGENERATE INTO THE INTERNATIONAL

COMMUNITY TRYING TO IMPOSE NEW LEADERS ON THE RWANDAN PEOPLE. MORE IMPORTANT WAS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DOING ALL IT COULD TO PERSUADE THE EX-FAR FORCES THAT THERE WAS NO WAY THEY COULD RE-IMPOSE THEIR WILL ON THE RWANDAN PEOPLE. BRIEFLY DISCUSSING SECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO RE-ESTABLISH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF REFUGEES. HE SAID SECURITY IN THE CAMPS IN TANZANIA AND BURUNDI COULD BE ADDRESSED BY THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS, BUT MORE HAD TO BE ZAIRE, WHERE THE LOCAL POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES WERE INEFFECTIVE AT BEST.

7. COMMENT: THERE WAS STRONG RESIDUE OF GRATITUDE AND GOOD WILL FROM TWAGIRAMUNGU FOR OUR EARLY SUPPORT FOR HIS GOVERNMENT. HE COMMENTED ON HAVING BEEN WARMLY RECEIVED AT THE WHITE HOUSE BACK IN JUNE, EVEN WHILE THE CIVIL WAR IN RWANDA WAS RAGING. HE WAS ALSO WELL-AWARE OF OUR CONCERNs REGARDING THE NEED TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS WITHIN RWANDA THAT WILL FACILITATE THE RETURN OF REFUGEES, AND BELIEVES HIS GOVERNMENT IS ACCOMMODATING THOSE CONCERNs WITHIN THE LIMITED RESOURCES THEY HAVE. AT THE SAME TIME, TWAGIRAMUNGU SEES SUCH STEPS AS INTEGRALLY CONNECTED WITH INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR HIS NEW GOVERNMENT AND SEEMED GENUINELY SURPRISED AND DISAPPOINTED BY THE SLOW INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO HIS COUNTRY'S OBVIOUS NEEDS.

8. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER
BT
#1202

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 1202
TOR: 941213205823 M1412998
DIST:
PRT: LAKE SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: DESHAZER NSC STEINBERG SUM SUM2
□

0012



PRIME MINISTER · PREMIER MINISTRE

OTTAWA, K1A 0A2

December 22, 1994

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter of November 3, 1994, reviewing the American commitments to Rwanda, and your kind comments on the Canadian role in helping to alleviate the horrific humanitarian disaster facing that country. I agree entirely with your assessment, and echo your praise of the efforts of Canadians involved, particularly those of Major-General Romeo Dallaire.

The international community must continue the work which we -- and other nations -- have put in motion over the past months. It is of course obvious that a good deal more effort will be required, in both the near and longer terms, to ensure that the returning refugees have a satisfactory and safe home to go back to, and that the Rwandese government is in a position to develop along democratic lines.

I am particularly concerned that the conflicts in Rwanda be contained, and not allowed to spread to Burundi and elsewhere. It can only be in the interests of the international community to be vigilant in the months to come, and to continue the international effort on the military, economic and political fronts simultaneously.

The Canadian contribution has been substantial, and has included a military contribution since the inception of the United Nations mission and continued foreign aid. It is my intention to ensure that our efforts in both of these directions continue at a level commensurate with our domestic situation and the continued improvement in Rwanda itself.

Yours sincerely,

The President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

0433

REPUBLICHE RWANDAISE

Kigali, le

27/12/1994



PRESIDENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE
CABINET DU PRESIDENT

N°

téf. n° :

Annexe :

Objet :

Dear Mr President,

I was delighted to receive Your letter of December 13th 1994 brought to me by your National Security Advisor Anthony LAKE on the occasion of his recent visit to Rwanda. I was encouraged by Your message assuring me of Your continued commitment to the genuine search for peace and security in our region in general and Rwanda in particular.

My government is also grateful to the government of the United States of America under Your leadership for the promised assistance in the area of payment of my country's debts to the World Bank. While I take note with appreciation of Your promise to help in restoring Rwanda's judicial system to help us bring to justice those responsible for genocide in Rwanda. I want to take this opportunity to place on record the appreciation of the Rwandese people to the American people for the compassion demonstrated during the terrible months that befell our country from April to July 1994.

We will continue to remember that the United States of America was among the first countries to condemn the genocidal regime and cut off all relationships with it. We further recall the United States Operation "Support Hope" which contributed greatly to some reconstruction efforts. We have no doubt that given Your personal declared support, the might of Your country will contribute greatly in our common determination to have lasting peace and security in Rwanda.

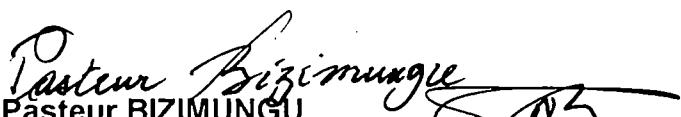
I would like to assure You of my government's unwavering commitment to the principles enshrined in the Arusha Peace Agreement namely; the rule of law and respect of human rights as well as a government and army that are truly representative and national.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

We have done everything in our power and intend to continue doing so to ensure that the spirit of Arusha Agreement continues to inspire our society, it being understood that those who wish to contribute to the building of this nation must be known to respect the sanctity of life.

Lastly, Let me express to You my most sincere best wishes and hope that the year 1995 will be a year in which we will cement further the relations between our two countires.

Sincerely,


Pasteur BIZIMUNGU
President of the Republic of Rwanda

His Excellency Bill Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House - Washington

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY