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 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE
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 WHITEHOUSE PASS NSC FOR D. CLARK, S. RICE AND D. STEINBERG;
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PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: MARR, PINS, PHUM, EAID, PREL, MOPS, UNSC, RW
 SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON RWANDA - APRIL 29

REF: A) USUN/DEPT FAX 4/28, B) USUN/DEPT FAX 4/29, C)

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STATE 112362, D) STATE 112320

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ACTION REQUEST: SEE PARA 14 FOR A LIST OF THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS WASHINGTON MUST ADDRESS MOST URGENTLY.
3. SUMMARY: THE SECURITY COUNCIL MET APRIL 28 AND 29 TO DISCUSS WHAT TO DO ABOUT RWANDA. THE CZECHS PUT FORWARD A DRAFT STATEMENT BLAMING THE GOR FOR GENOCIDE (REF A). THIS WAS SUBSTANTIALLY TONED DOWN, AND OTHER ELEMENTS WERE ADDED (REF B). DISCUSSION WILL CONTINUE AT 4 PM APRIL 29 ON THAT TEXT. SOME MEMBERS (FRANCE, DJIBOUTI, CHINA) ARE OPPOSED TO A STATEMENT AND TO POINTING THE FINGER AT THE GOR. THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT WANTS TO ISSUE THE STATEMENT APRIL 29, AS THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL PASSES FROM NEW ZEALAND TO NIGERIA ON MAY 1, AND MOMENTUM WILL BE LOST DURING THE SWITCH.
4. SUMMARY CONTINUED: THE AFRICAN GROUP AT THE UN IS
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SETTING UP A "CONTACT GROUP" TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE ACTIONS. THEY HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE OAU MIGHT SEND A CONTINGENT OF POLICE AND TROOPS TO RWANDA, IF THEY COULD GET FINANCIAL AND LOGISTIC SUPPORT. THEY ALSO SUGGEST A PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT TO BURUNDI. THE IDEA OF AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA RECEIVED A GOOD DEAL OF SUPPORT, BUT QUESTIONS OF HOW TO ENFORCE IT AROSE. END SUMMARY.

DRAFT STATEMENT

5. THE COUNCIL HELD DISCUSSIONS THURSDAY AFTERNOON AND FRIDAY MORNING ON A DRAFT STATEMENT FOR RWANDA, AND WILL CONTINUE FRIDAY AFTERNOON. THE FIRST TWO DRAFTS WERE FAXED TO IO/UNP, IO/PHO AND AF/C (REFS A AND B). SUBSEQUENT DRAFTS WILL BE FAXED TO DEPT, AND FINAL TEXT (IF ANY) WILL BE CABLED TO ALL ADDRESSEES. THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF CONTROVERSY ABOUT WHETHER, AND TO WHAT EXTENT, TO ATTRIBUTE BLAME TO RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES FOR THE MASSACRES AGAINST CIVILIANS. IF A COMPROMISE ON THIS POINT CANNOT BE REACHED, THE ENTIRE STATEMENT MIGHT BE SCUTTLED. SOME DELEGATIONS HAVE SUGGESTED REWORKING THE STATEMENT INTO A RESOLUTION. (COMMENT: STATEMENTS CAN ONLY BE ISSUED WITH THE CONSENSUS OF THE COUNCIL. RWANDA, AS A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL, ALONG WITH FRANCE,

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ITS PATRON, CAN BLOCK CONSENSUS. A RESOLUTION REQUIRES A VOTE. RWANDA WOULD HAVE TO VOTE AGAINST OR ABSTAIN, REVEALING ITS DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION. FRANCE WOULD LIKELY BE SHAMED INTO VOTING IN FAVOR OF A RESOLUTION. END COMMENT.) THE ARMS EMBARGO PARAGRAPH WILL PROBABLY BE STRENGTHENED TO INCLUDE AN IMMEDIATE CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO REFRAIN FROM ARMS TRANSFERS TO RWANDA. THE RWANDAN

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PERMREP, AMB BIZIMANA, SPOKE UP IN APRIL 29
CONSULTATIONS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN DAYS, TO ARGUE
AGAINST BLAMING THE RGF FOR CIVILIAN MASSACRES AND
AGAINST AN ARMS EMBARGO.

AFRICAN IDEAS

6. IN APRIL 28 INFORMALS, NIGERIAN AMB. GAMBARI RELAYED THAT THE REGIONAL AFRICA GROUP AT THE UN HELD A MEETING THAT MORNING, AND SUPPORTED SEVERAL STEPS THAT COULD BE TAKEN ON RWANDA. A) THEY WILL RECOMMEND TO THE OAU DEPLOYMENT OF A MIXED CONTINGENT OF POLICE AND TROOPS. NIGERIA POINTED OUT THAT ANY SUCH OAU DEPLOYMENT WOULD REQUIRE OUTSIDE SUPPORT, SINCE THE OAU HAS FEW RESOURCES. B) BURUNDI IS TENSE, AND THEY RECOMMEND A PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT, AS WAS DONE IN MACEDONIA. C) THEY RECOMMEND AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE OAU CENTRAL MECHANISM FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION (CMCR) AT THE FONMIN LEVEL. D) THEY SUGGEST THE OAU CMCR COORDINATE THE PEACEMAKING EFFORTS OF REGIONAL LEADERS. E) THEY AGREE A CEASEFIRE IS THE HIGHEST PRIORITY, SINCE IT WOULD CREATE THE NECESSARY ATMOSPHERE FOR A HALT TO THE

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SLAUGHTER AND A RETURN TO LAW AND ORDER. F) THEY WILL
 SET UP A SMALL "CONTACT GROUP" IN NEW YORK TO EXPLORE

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FURTHER ISSUES.

7. GAMBARI ALSO STRESSED THAT THERE WERE TWO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF FIGHTING IN RWANDA. ONE WAS THE MILITARY HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE RGF AND THE RPF, WHICH COULD BE ADDRESSED THROUGH AN EVENTUAL CEASEFIRE. THE OTHER WAS THE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS, WHICH WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY A CEASEFIRE. THE SECOND LEVEL OF VIOLENCE ALSO NEEDED COUNCIL ATTENTION. ALTHOUGH NOT MENTIONED DURING THE COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS, NIGERIAN COUNSELOR INFORMED USUN POLOFF THAT THEY WOULD LIKE A FULL-SCALE, FORMAL SC DEBATE INVOLVING AFRICAN AND OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS, ON THE ISSUE OF RWANDA, SIMILAR TO THE RECENT EXTENDED DEBATE ON BOSNIA.

REACTIONS

8. USUN DEPUTY PERMREP WALKER FOLLOWED UP ON SOME OF THESE IDEAS APRIL 29. WALKER INQUIRED WHETHER A
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PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT IN BURUNDI WOULD BE AN EXPANSION OF THE EXISTING OAU FORCE OF 47 MEN, OR WHETHER IT WOULD BE A SEPARATE UN FORCE. HE ALSO ASKED WHETHER THE GOB'S OBJECTION TO A LARGER FORCE HAS BEEN REMOVED. NIGERIAN AMB. GAMBARI IMPLIED THAT THE "CONTACT GROUP" MEETING LATER APRIL 29 WOULD LOOK INTO THAT QUESTION. FOLLOWING THE MEETING, NIGERIAN COUNSELOR INDICATED THAT THEY HAD NOT/NOT YET BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE GOB TO SEE IF PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT THAT THEY WOULD PURSUE THIS QUESTION IMMEDIATELY. HE ALSO CLARIFIED THAT AN AFRICAN DEPLOYMENT OF TROOPS AND POLICE TO RWANDA TO PROTECT POCKETS OF CIVILIANS AND HELP RESTORE LAW AND ORDER WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE UNDER UNAMIR AUSPICES. THEREFORE NO REDEFINITION OF UNAMIR'S MANDATE WOULD BE REQUIRED.

9. RUSSIAN AMB. VORONTSOV STRONGLY CRITICIZED THE "TIMID LITTLE STEPS" THE COUNCIL HAS TAKEN SO FAR. HE POINTEDLY MENTIONED THAT THE COUNCIL WAS PREPARED TO GO SO FAR AS TO USE AIR POWER TO PROTECT CIVILIANS IN ONE REGION, WHEREAS IT DID NOTHING IN ANOTHER. HE LAMENTED THAT NO COLLECTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL ACTION TO STOP THE SLAUGHTER WAS BEING CONTEMPLATED. SPANISH AMB. BAR NUEVO SUGGESTED THE SECRETARIAT SHOULD BE COMPILING INFORMATION SYSTEMATICALLY ON WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR

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VIOLATIONS OF HUMANITARIAN LAW. CZECH PERMREP SAID HE SPOKE WITH UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHT AYALA LASSO APRIL 28, AND THAT HCHR WAS FOCUSING ON RWANDA. OMAN RECOMMENDED SETTING UP SAFE AREAS FOR CIVILIANS. THERE WAS VIRTUAL UNANIMITY THAT WHATEVER EFFORTS WERE MADE BY THE UN, THE OAU, AND VARIOUS REGIONAL LEADERS

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NEEDED TO BE BETTER COORDINATED.

ARMS SHIPMENTS

10. POLOFF MENTIONED THE POINTS IN REF C TO UN DPKO OFFICIALS AND FRENCH POLOFF. DPKO OFFICIAL RIVERO SAID SHE WOULD ENERGIZE UNOMUR, ON THE UGANDA BORDER, TO INVESTIGATE. FRENCH POLOFF SAID FRENCH AMBASSADOR MERIMEE HAD QUERIED PARIS ABOUT ALLEGATIONS OF FRENCH ARMS SALES TO RWANDA. PARIS UNEQUIVOCALLY DENIED HAVING SOLD "A SINGLE BULLET" TO RWANDA DURING THE PAST FOUR YEARS, SINCE 1990.

MEETING WITH RPF

11. AMB WALKER MET APRIL 28 WITH RPF NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE CLAUDE DUSAIDI, AT THE LATTER'S REQUEST. DUSAIDI THANKED THE USG FOR ALL THE ASSISTANCE IT HAS GIVEN SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT. HE NOTED THAT THE CURRENT CONFLICT HAS TWO DIMENSIONS: A) THE MILITARY CONFLICT BETWEEN THE RGF AND RPF WHICH HAS RESULTED IN INSIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF CASUALTIES, AND B)

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THE RGF MASSACRES OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS. THE
 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS CALLED FOR A CEASEFIRE,
 FOCUSING ONLY ON THE FIRST DIMENSION, SINCE INNOCENT

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CIVILIANS WOULD NOT BE SAVED BY A CEASEFIRE. HE TERMED THE KILLINGS "GENOCIDE", AND INDICATED THAT THE RPF KNEW THE IDENTITY OF THE PERSONS RESPONSIBLE. (COMMENT: THE RPF HAS ALREADY CONVEYED THAT INFORMATION TO UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AYALA LASSO. END COMMENT) DUSAIDI ASKED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SET UP AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO CONDEMN THE RESPONSIBLE PARTIES BY NAME AND TAKE PUNITIVE ACTION. HE REALIZED THIS COULD BE TIME-CONSUMING AND DIFFICULT, BUT STRESSED THAT GENOCIDE SHOULD NOT BE COMMITTED WITH IMPUNITY.

12. DUSAIDI RELAYED THAT THE RPF SUPPORTS AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD NOT KEEP MACHETES OUT, AND MIGHT NOT BE VERY EFFECTIVE AGAINST OTHER WEAPONS EITHER. NEVERTHELESS, AN ARMS EMBARGO IS LONG OVERDUE. AREAS SUCH AS THE STADIUMS, HOTELS AND CHURCHES WHERE CIVILIANS WERE HIDING SHOULD BE DECLARED UN SAFE AREAS, AND THOSE CIVILIANS PROTECTED. FINALLY,

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THE RPF WOULD PREFER A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION TO A STATEMENT. AMB WALKER INFORMED DUSAIDI THAT THE USG WAS CALLING ON GOR OFFICIALS TO BRING AN END TO MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS, AND REITERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF A CEASEFIRE. DUSAIDI EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR THE RPF, AFTER DECLARING A UNILATERAL CEASEFIRE IN ARUSHA EVEN THOUGH THEIR INTERLOCUTORS DID NOT SHOW UP, TO DECLARE ANOTHER CEASEFIRE. ON APRIL 30, DUSAIDI ADVISED POLOFF THAT THE RPF WOULD CALL FOR SRSG BOOH-BOOH'S RECALL. THEY FIND BOOH-BOOH TO BE PARTIAL TO THE GOR. HOWEVER, THEY ARE PLEASED WITH FORCE COMMANDER GEN. DALLAIRE.

13. REF D CONTAINED TALKING POINTS TO BE USED WITH GOR OFFICIALS VISITING PARIS. USUN COULD MAKE THE SAME POINTS TO RWANDA PERMREP BIZIMANA IN NEW YORK, WHO APPEARS TO BE PARROTING THE EXTREMIST HUTU POSITION, BUT WHO ACTS AS THOUGH HE IS REMOVED FROM THE EVENTS IN HIS COUNTRY.

ISSUES FOR FOLLOW-UP

14. THE DEPARTMENT AND INTERAGENCY GROUP MIGHT WISH TO FOCUS SOME OF ITS DISCUSSIONS ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY NEED ANSWERS IN NEW YORK:

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-- DOES THE POLITICAL WILL EXIST IN WASHINGTON TO PROVIDE RESOURCES FOR AFRICAN TROOPS WHICH THE OAU MIGHT DEPLOY TO RWANDA?

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-- SHOULD SAFE AREAS BE DECLARED FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS? IF SO, DO WE APPROVE OF AN OAU FORCE PROTECTING THOSE SAFE AREAS?

-- DOES THE POLITICAL WILL EXIST TO PUT SOME TEETH INTO AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA (E.G. AUTHORIZING OAU-PROVIDED BOATS, IF SUCH MIGHT BE MADE AVAILABLE, TO PATROL LAKE KIVU AND INTERDICT SUSPECTED ARMS SHIPMENTS, OR AUTHORIZING OAU PATROLS OF THE ZAIRE-RWANDA BORDER)?

-- IS THE USG IN FAVOR OF A PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT OF 100-200 TROOPS TO BURUNDI? DOES THE USG PREFER EXPANDING THE OAU FORCE TO ESTABLISHING A UN FORCE?

-- HOW FAR DOES THE USG WISH TO GO IN ADVOCATING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/UN IDENTIFY AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATROCITIES?

-- ARE WE IN FAVOR OF A FORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON RWANDA, AT WHICH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS COULD EXPRESS THEIR OUTRAGE AND HORROR AT THE ATROCITIES?

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-- SHOULD USUN DEMARCHE AMB BIZIMANA, AS A
 REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOR, THAT HE HAS A RESPONSIBILITY
 TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING AN IMMEDIATE END TO
 THE KILLINGS?

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