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ORIGIN AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16
	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SB-00	SNP-00
	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	SA-01	SNIS-00	NISC-02	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-01

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RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON
APPROVED BY: AF: GEMOOSE
AF/FO: PXBUSHNELL
AF/C: RJFENDRICK
EUR/WE: ACARSON

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TO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE
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INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
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AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY HARARE
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 30 JUN 2016
DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 174918

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL MOPS PHUM FR RW

SUBJECT: ANDREANI, A/S MOOSE DISCUSS NEXT STEPS IN RWANDA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ON JUNE 28, FRENCH AMBASSADOR ANDREANI CALLED ON AF A/S MOOSE TO DISCUSS RWANDA. AFTER NOTING THAT THE FRENCH-LED HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION WAS GOING
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WELL, HE SAID FRANCE WAS MOST CONCERNED WITH SPEEDING UP DEPLOYMENT OF EXPANDED UNAMIR AND RESTARTING POLITICAL DIALOGUE TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. HE THEN QUERIED A/S MOOSE ON THE USG'S VIEWS OF RPF INTENTIONS. A/S MOOSE REVIEWED OUR EFFORTS TO EXPEDITE DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR II AND OUTLINED THE RPF POSITION, AS WE UNDERSTOOD IT. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE RPF MAY BE WILLING TO HALT ITS OFFENSIVE AND UNDERTAKE NEGOTIATIONS IF PROTECTION CAN BE BROUGHT TO THREATENED CIVILIAN GROUPS AND IF THE RPF IS SATISFIED THAT THE PERPETRATORS OF THE MASS KILLINGS WILL BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT THE FRENCH DEPLOYMENT ADDRESSES THE FIRST POINT; ON THE LATTER ISSUE, WE ARE AWAITING THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT, SUPPORT THE SPANISH PROPOSAL FOR A COMMISSION OF EXPERTS, AND ARE CURRENTLY CONSIDERING POSSIBLE NEXT STEPS. END SUMMARY

OPERATION PROGRESSING WELL; LOCAL RECEPTION GOOD

3. ON JUNE 28, FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. JACQUES ANDREANI CALLED ON AF A/S MOOSE TO DISCUSS RWANDA, EXPANDED UNAMIR, AND PROSPECTS FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. ANDREANI WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EMBASSY COUNSELOR ALAIN HOLLEVILLE. A/S MOOSE WAS JOINED BY DAS BUSHNELL, WITH FRENCH DESKOFF CARSON AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON ALSO ATTENDING. ANDREANI REPORTED THAT THE FRENCH OPERATION IN RWANDA WAS PROCEEDING WELL AND THAT FRENCH TROOPS HAD MOVED RELATIVELY FAR INTO THE GOVERNMENT-HELD

ZONE, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH. HE SAID THE FRENCH HAD
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THE SITUATION IN THEIR AREA "UNDER CONTROL" AND THEY HAD
SAVED LIVES. HE NOTED THAT THE FRENCH HAD EVACUATED THE
AMERICAN NUN AND THE RWANDAN AND FOREIGN SISTERS IN
KIBUYE. A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED OUR GREAT APPRECIATION FOR
THIS EFFORT.

4. RELATIONS WITH THE RWANDANS ENCOUNTERED BY FRENCH
FORCES HAVE BEEN GOOD. ANDREANI NOTED THAT THE INTERIM
GOVERNMENT HAD TRIED TO MAKE THE FRENCH TROOPS APPEAR TO
BE THEIR DEFENDERS, BUT THE FRENCH HAVE LIMITED THEIR
CONTACTS WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND ACTED IN A NEUTRAL
FASHION TO AVOID THIS TRAP. WHILE DISPLACED TUTSIS
UNDERSTAND THAT THE FRENCH HAVE COME TO PROTECT THEM, THE
FRENCH ARE STILL CONCERNED ABOUT THE RPF'S PUBLIC
OPPOSITION TO THE OPERATION. ANDREANI SAID THAT THE RPF
HAD TAKEN A "FAIRLY NEGATIVE" STANCE IN ITS MEETING WITH
FRENCH AMB. TO RWANDA MARLAUD.

5. A/S MOOSE SAID WE WERE HAPPY TO SEE THAT THE
OPERATION WAS GOING WELL. HE THOUGHT THE ACTIONS OF THE
FRENCH FORCES WERE HELPING TO PERSUADE THE RPF AND OTHER
SKEPTICS THAT THIS WAS IN FACT A PURELY HUMANITARIAN
OPERATION. HE ASKED WHERE THE FRENCH OPERATIONS WOULD BE
MOVING IN THE DAYS AHEAD. MARLAUD SAID HE DID NOT HAVE
THAT INFORMATION AND WOULD HAVE TO CHECK WITH PARIS.

NO NEW TROOP CONTRIBUTORS ON HORIZON

6. FOR NOW, ANDREANI DID NOT SEE ANY ADDITIONAL FORCES
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JOINING THE FRENCH OPERATION, OTHER THAN THE SENEGALESE
AND POSSIBLE A FEW EGYPTIANS AND MAURITANIANS.

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A/S MOOSE SAID WE HAD REACHED THE SAME

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CONCLUSION.

FRENCH WANT TO ACCELERATE UNAMIR II

7. THE FRENCH WANT TO FACILITATE AND ACCELERATE THE DEPLOYMENT OF EXPANDED UNAMIR. ANDREANI SUGGESTED THREE INITIATIVES IN THIS REGARD:

-- CREATING A COORDINATION GROUP IN NEW YORK TO ARRANGE THE NECESSARY SUPPORT FOR DEPLOYMENT;



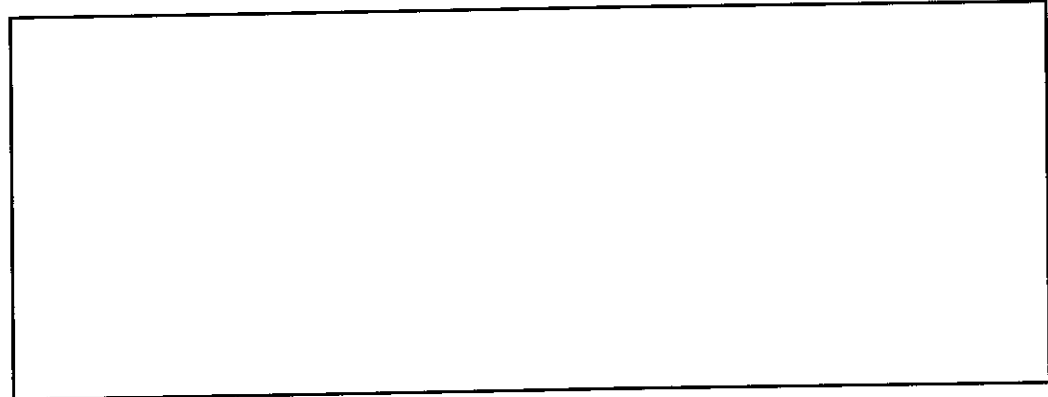
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8. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT OUR FOCUS HAS ALSO BEEN ON NEXT STEPS AND, IN PARTICULAR, ON GETTING UNAMIR II ON THE GROUND AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. IN THIS REGARD, WE ARE
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ASKING THE SYG TO CONVENE A MEETING OF POTENTIAL TROOP CONTRIBUTORS AND OTHER ACTORS WHO CAN BE HELPFUL IN FACILITATING THEIR DEPLOYMENT. THE GOAL WOULD BE TO IDENTIFY AND RESOLVE ANY OBSTACLES TO DEPLOYMENT. ANDREANI SAID HE THOUGHT THIS SORT OF MEETING COULD HAPPEN THIS WEEK. A/S NOTED THAT SALIM SALIM HAD TOLD US THAT SEVERAL COUNTRIES ARE READY TO DEPLOY TO UNAMIR II BUT NEED EQUIPMENT AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT. HE OUTLINED OUR PROPOSAL TO HAVE VARIOUS DONORS "ADOPT" A BATTALION AND NOTED OUR COMMITMENT TO EQUIP THE GHANAIS AND OUR DELIVERY, NOW IN PROGRESS, OF 50 APC'S. A/S MOOSE SAID WE, TOO, WOULD BE INTERESTED TO SEE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] JOIN UNAMIR II AND WOULD BE WILLING TO WORK WITH THE FRENCH TO ENCOURAGE THIS.

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FRENCH WANT TALKS REVIVED, BUT WHAT DOES THE RPF WANT?

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10. ANDREANI HAD FEW IDEAS ON RESTARTING POLITICAL TALKS, OTHER THAN SUGGESTING THAT THE NEW UN SYG SPECIAL REP, SHAHARYAR KHAN, SHOULD MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTACTS AND DO WHAT HE CAN. HE ASKED WHAT THE U.S. VIEWS WERE ON THE CHANCES FOR RESUMING POLITICAL DIALOGUE. IN PARTICULAR, HE WAS INTERESTED IN HEARING OUR VIEWS ON THE ULTIMATE GOALS OF THE RPF, WHETHER THEY WOULD ACCEPT SOME RESULT SHORT OF MILITARY VICTORY, AND WHETHER AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE STEADY ADVANCE OF THE RPF COULD CREATE NEW REFUGEE PROBLEMS AND SPARK MORE MASSACRES.

11. AS A/S MOOSE POINTED OUT, THE RPF HAS REPEATEDLY STATED THAT THEY ARE PURSUING THEIR MILITARY OFFENSIVE TO STOP THE KILLINGS BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES. IN THEIR VIEW, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS FAILED TO PROTECT THREATENED CIVILIANS (TUTSIS AND OPPOSITION HUTUS IN PARTICULAR), AND THE RPF FEELS DUTY BOUND TO TRY TO RESCUE THESE PEOPLE. IN OUR VIEW, THIS WAS THEIR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE. HOWEVER, A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT THEY WERE UNDOUBTEDLY ALSO MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS AND ASSURE THAT THEY DO NOT PLAY A ROLE IN RWANDA'S POLITICAL FUTURE.

12. A/S MOOSE POINTED OUT THAT IF WE CAN ADDRESS THE RPF'S TWO MAIN OBJECTIVES, THERE IS A GREATER LIKELIHOOD THAT THEY WILL BE WILLING TO HALT THEIR OFFENSIVE. HE NOTED THAT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE WILL HELP ADDRESS THE FIRST GOAL OF SAVING THREATENED POPULATIONS BEHIND

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GOVERNMENT LINES, AND HE EXPLAINED THAT WE ARE ACTIVELY DISCUSSING THE SECOND ISSUE OF HOW BEST TO ENSURE ACCOUNTABILITY.

13. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT MANY ANALYSTS BELIEVE THE RPF

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COULD NOT WIN AN OUTRIGHT MILITARY VICTORY EVEN IF THAT WAS THEIR GOAL. THEY MAY SOON BECOME OVEREXTENDED, IF THEY ARE NOT ALREADY.

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ANDREANI

ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD DO THE SAME. A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT WE HAVE BEEN MAKING THESE POINTS TO THE RPF FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, POINTING OUT AS WELL THAT THEIR CONTINUED ADVANCE TO THE SOUTH MAY FUEL MORE MASSACRES AND RISKS DESTABILIZING BURUNDI.

A/S MOOSE STRESSES NEED TO ESTABLISH ACCOUNTABILITY

14. A/S MOOSE EMPHASIZED THAT ESTABLISHING ACCOUNTABILITY WAS A KEY ELEMENT IN THE POLITICAL EQUATION. UNLESS THERE IS A PROCESS FOR DETERMINING RESPONSIBILITY, THE RWANDANS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO REACH CLOSURE AND ACHIEVE REAL RECONCILIATION. THE RPF AND OTHERS WOULD BE DEEPLY TROUBLED IF PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRES WERE GIVEN A SEAT AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE OR ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POST-WAR GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, THE RPF HAS TOLD US THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THEY CANNOT RULE RWANDA ALONE AND WILL NEED TO COLLABORATE

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WITH OTHERS, PARTICULARLY MODERATE HUTUS. THE DOOR HAS EVEN BEEN LEFT OPEN FOR POLITICAL ELEMENTS REPRESENTED IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FUTURE POLITICAL SCENE IN RWANDA, PROVIDED THE INDIVIDUALS IN QUESTION HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE KILLINGS.

15. AS A/S MOOSE EXPLAINED, A MAJOR PROBLEM WILL BE DETERMINING HOW TO ESTABLISH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATROCITIES. THERE ARE SOME WHO FEEL THAT ALL PERSONS IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE AUTOMATICALLY DISQUALIFIED FROM PARTICIPATING IN A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BECAUSE, WHETHER THEY WERE INVOLVED IN THE MASSACRES OR NOT, THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTIONS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE AREAS UNDER THEIR AUTHORITY. THOSE ACTUALLY BEHIND THE KILLINGS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

16. A/S MOOSE POINTED OUT THAT SOME MECHANISM NEEDS TO BE AGREED UPON TO ESTABLISH RESPONSIBILITY. DAS BUSHNELL ADDED THAT THE ANALYSIS SHOULD BE BIFURCATED, WITH A DETERMINATION ON WHO SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN

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THE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AND A SEPARATE PROCEDURE SET UP TO ESTABLISH ACCOUNTABILITY AND BRING TO JUSTICE THOSE INVOLVED IN THE ATROCITIES. SHE NOTED THAT WE HAVE TWO MODELS, AT OPPOSITE ENDS OF THE SPECTRUM, THE YUGOSLAVIA TRIBUNAL AND THE EL SALVADOR TRUTH COMMISSION. ANDREANI REPLIED THAT THE YUGOSLAVIA TRIBUNAL HAS YET TO PRODUCE ANY RESULTS AND THE EL SALVADOR COMMISSION WAS DEPENDENT ON A GENUINE WILL TO REACH RECONCILIATION, WHICH IS LACKING IN THE RWANDA CONTEXT. DAS BUSHNELL SAID WE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO DEVELOP A THIRD MODEL. IN THIS REGARD, SHE NOTED THAT DURING DRL A/S SHATTUCK'S TRIP
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THROUGH THE REGION IN LATE APRIL, AFRICAN REGIONAL LEADERS AGREED ON THE NEED FOR ACCOUNTABILITY; WE NEED TO TALK MORE WITH THEM ON POSSIBLE MODALITIES FOR ACHIEVING THIS GOAL. IN THE MEANTIME, WE AWAIT THE REPORT OF THE UNHRC SPECIAL RAPORTEUR AND ARE SUPPORTING THE SPANISH PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHING A COMMISSION OF EXPERTS.

17. ANDREANI SAID HIS INFORMATION ON GOF VIEWS IN THIS AREA WERE VERY PRELIMINARY. THE GOF WANTED TO LINK THE EFFORTS OF THE SPECIAL RAPORTEUR AND THE PROPOSED COMMISSION OF INQUIRY AND AVOID ANY DUPLICATION OF EFFORT. A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNELL NOTED THAT DISCUSSIONS WERE ALREADY UNDERWAY IN NEW YORK ON THIS LAST POINT. THE FRENCH ALSO WANT TO HEED THE LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE YUGOSLAVIA EXPERIENCE. ANDREANI CONCLUDED THAT ACCOUNTABILITY IS A "TRICKY ISSUE" AND THAT THE RPF ITSELF IS NOT BEYOND REPROACH. DAS BUSHNELL ADDED THAT ACCOUNTABILITY FOR LAST OCTOBER'S ATTEMPTED COUP AND VIOLENCE IN BURUNDI HAS YET TO BE ESTABLISHED AND THAT WE NEED TO BE SENSITIVE TO DESIRES FOR CONSISTENT TREATMENT OF THIS ISSUE IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

RWANDA ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL/STATUS OF INTERIM GOVT

18.

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19. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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