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

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-03	SNP-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	RPE-01	SNIS-00	NISC-02	PMB-00	/043W

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O 281709Z APR 94
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3837
 INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
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 USIA WASHDC 3742

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 11541

PRETORIA FOR A/S MOOSE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, RW, CG, US, FR
 SUBJECT: RWANDA: DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS AT THE QUAI, THE
 - ELYSEE, MSF/FRANCE AND WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR
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REF: A) GENEVA 3957 B) PARIS 10962 C) STATE 110657
 - D) PARIS 11412 E) PARIS 11524

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS WE HAVE MET WITH
 THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO PARIS, MEDECINS SANS
 FRONTIERES/FRANCE (MSF/F) MEMBERS TEAM DEALING WITH THE
 RWANDA REFUGEE SITUATION, AND HELD DISCUSSIONS AT THE
 QUAI AND THE ELYSEE ON THE VISIT OF THE FOREIGN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 28 APR 2016
 DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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MINISTER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE DOWNING OF HABYARIMANA'S PLANE. THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU IN THE RWANDA CRISIS AND A PROPOSED VISIT BY THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOREIGN MINISTER TO WASHINGTON HAVE BEEN REPORTED VIA SEPTELS (REFS D AND E). KEY POINTS IN OUR DISCUSSIONS INCLUDE:

-- THE AMBASSADOR AND MSF/F ARGUED STRONGLY THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE "RANDOM" MASSACRES OF TUTSIS BY HUTU MILITIAS OR INDIVIDUALS, THERE IS AN ORGANIZED, PARALLEL EFFORT OF "ETHNIC PURIFICATION" BEING CARRIED OUT BY THE ARMY TO DESTROY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TUTSI COMMUNITY.

-- MSF/F CLAIMED THAT THE RWANDAN ARMY IS NOT ONLY ATTEMPTING TO PREVENT TUTSI REFUGEES FROM FLEEING RWANDA BUT HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN KILLING REFUGEE GROUPS WHEN FOUND. THE MILITIAS AND GENERAL POPULATION SEEM TO BE WORKING "HAND IN GLOVE" WITH THE ARMY.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED], TWO MISSILES WERE FIRED; THE FIRST MISSED ITS TARGET AND THE SECOND HIT ONE OF THE ENGINES.

-- THE RWANDA INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOREIGN MINISTER WAS RECEIVED AT THE MATIGNON, THE ELYSEE AND THE QUAI. IN ADDITION TO ATTEMPTING TO PLACE BLAME FOR THE MASSACRES ENTIRELY ON THE RPF, THE DELEGATION SOUGHT ARMS SALES, WHICH WERE TURNED DOWN FLAT BY THE GOF. END SUMMARY.

DOWNING OF HABYARIMANA'S PLANE

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT TWO MISSILES WERE FIRED FROM THE GENERAL VICINITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE,

APPROXIMATELY THREE KMS FROM THE AIRPORT. THE FIRST MISSILE MISSED ITS TARGET WHILE THE SECOND STRUCK AN ENGINE AND THE PLANE PLUMMETED TO THE GROUND SOME DISTANCE FROM THE AIRPORT.

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4. THE QUAI DOES NOT/NOT ACCEPT THE HYPOTHESIS MADE BY SOME HUTU HARDLINERS THAT BELGIAN SOLDIERS IN UNAMIR
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WERE SOMEHOW INVOLVED IN THE ATTACK OR DIRECTLY AIDED RPF SOLDIERS TO ENTER THE GENERAL AIRPORT AREA SO THEY COULD FIRE ON THE PLANE. NOR DO THE FRENCH ACCEPT THE HYPOTHESIS THAT THE PLANE WAS DOWNED BY EXTREMIST MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD. CONCERNING REPORTS OF INVOLVEMENT BY "BELGIAN SOLDIERS" IN THE ATTACK, IF SUCH ASSISTANCE WAS GIVEN, BOIVINEAU BELIEVES IT WAS MORE LIKELY THE RESULT OF WHITE MERCENARIES WHO

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REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN SIGHTED FIGHTING WITH THE RWANDAN
ARMY.

RWANDAN AMBASSADOR: CHARGES OF "ETHNIC PURIFICATION"

5. ON APRIL 27 WE MET WITH THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO
FRANCE, JEAN-MARIE NDAGIJIMANA (REF D), WHO IS
ASSOCIATED WITH THE MODERATE HUTU OPPOSITION. HE
STRESSED THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN ALMOST TOTAL ABSENCE OF
OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND
HE WAS SPEAKING ON A PERSONAL BASIS. NDAGIJIMANA
STATED THAT HE KEEPS ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS THROUGH
JOURNALIST CONTACTS, CALLS FROM COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS
IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, AND REPORTS BY NGOS AND UN
AGENCIES.

6. ON THOSE FEW INSTANCES WHEN HE WAS CONTACTED BY THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY, THE INSTRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN TO DENY
THE ALLEGATIONS OF AN ORGANIZED HUTU EFFORT TO DESTROY
THE TUTSI PEOPLE AND THE ROLE OF A DIRECT INVOLVEMENT
BY RWANDAN ARMY ELEMENTS IN SUCH ACTIVITIES.
NDAGIJIMANA STATED THAT HE HAS REFUSED TO CARRY OUT
THESE INSTRUCTIONS SINCE HE BELIEVES THEM TO BE

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7. IN A SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION THE FOLLOWING DAY, THE NDAGIJIMANA STATED THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS INSTRUCTED HIM TO RETURN TO RWANDA TO TAKE UP OTHER DUTIES. HE STATED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF A RECOGNIZED

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 PRESIDENT OF RWANDA, HE INTENDS TO REMAIN AT HIS POST
 IN PARIS.

THE HABYARIMANA FAMILY IN PARIS

8. ALTHOUGH THE FAMILY OF THE LATE PRESIDENT IS IN PARIS, MRS. HABYARIMANA AND HER RELATIVES (WHO HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH VERY HARDLINE HUTU ELEMENTS), HAVE AVOIDED CONTACT WITH THE RWANDAN EMBASSY. HOWEVER, BASED ON INFORMATION FROM RWANDANS WHO HAVE MET WITH HER, NDAGIJIMANA UNDERSTANDS THAT THE INFLUENCE OF HER BROTHERS HAS GROWN DRAMATICALLY SINCE THE DEATH OF HABYARIMANA. HE CHARACTERIZED THE FAMILY AS EXTREMELY HARDLINE AND ACTIVELY ENCOURAGING SOME OF THE MOST RADICAL HUTUS WHO ARGUE THAT NOW IS TIME TO END FOREVER THE TUTSI PRESENCE IN RWANDA. HE OPINED THAT THE HABYARIMANA FAMILY CAN NOT BE COUNTED UPON TO URGE AN END TO THE MASSACRES OR TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN A LONGER-TERM POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

DEATH OF HABYARIMANA AND THE START OF THE MASSACRES

9. NDAGIJIMANA STATED THAT HE HAS TRIED TO GATHER INFORMATION ON THE DOWNING OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLANE, INCLUDING THROUGH CONTACTS WITH RWANDAN ARMY OFFICERS PRESENT IN KIGALI. NDAGIJIMANA REJECTED CLAIMS OF UNAMIR INVOLVEMENT. HE ADDED THAT CHARGES OF RPF INVOLVEMENT ARE NOT CREDIBLE SINCE THE SITE FROM WHICH THE MISSILE ATTACK TOOK PLACE WAS IN THE VICINITY OF

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 THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE AND SECURED BY FORCES LOYAL

TO HABYARIMANA. NDAGIJIMANA ARGUED STRONGLY THAT THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT WAS THE SIGNAL FOR A PREPLANNED ETHNIC MASSACRE TO BEGIN. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE RPF OFFENSIVE TOWARD KIGALI BEGAN ONLY AFTER THE MASSACRES OF TUTSIS HAD STARTED.

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10. NDAGIJIMANA STATED THAT THE FIRST KILLINGS OF TUTSIS WERE NEITHER RANDOM NOR CARRIED OUT IN THE HEAT OF REVENGE. RATHER, THE INITIAL ATTACKS WERE AGAINST TUTSI OFFICIALS, POLITICAL FIGURES AND COMMUNITY LEADERS IN KIGALI AND AROUND THE COUNTRY, AS WELL AS AGAINST SOME MODERATE HUTU OFFICIALS AND POLITICAL LEADERS WHO HAD WORKED FOR RECONCILIATION. NDAGIJIMANA GAVE EXAMPLES OF A NUMBER OF INSTANCES WHERE "SPONTANEOUS" MASSACRES WERE ENCOURAGED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS IN AREAS FAR FROM THE COMBAT OR REFUGEE FLOWS. NDAGIJIMANA CLAIMED THAT INTERWOVEN WITH THE "RANDOM" ETHNIC CONFRONTATIONS, THERE IS AN "ETHNIC PURIFICATION" CAMPAIGN UNDERWAY INTENDED TO DESTROY THE EDUCATED LEADERSHIP OF THE TUTSI COMMUNITY.

GETTING THE TALKS STARTED

11. NDAGIJIMANA ARGUED STATED THAT FOREIGN STATES INVOLVED IN TALKS AT ARUSHA SHOULD STRESS THE NEED FOR BOTH SIDES TO AVOID PRECONDITIONS FOR A CEASEFIRE, HOWEVER DIFFICULT THAT MAY BE FOR THE RPF OR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT. HE SUGGESTED THAT A SCENARIO THAT CALLED FOR BOTH SIDES TO AGREE TO A 48-HOUR CEASEFIRE, TO ALLOW THE GENDARMERIE AND CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES TO SEE IF THEY CAN STOP THE MASSACRES. IF PEACE CAN BE RE-ESTABLISHED, FURTHER TALKS CAN BE HELD ON MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THAT THE A POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE MODERATE SOUTHERN HUTUS AND THE RPF IS NOT
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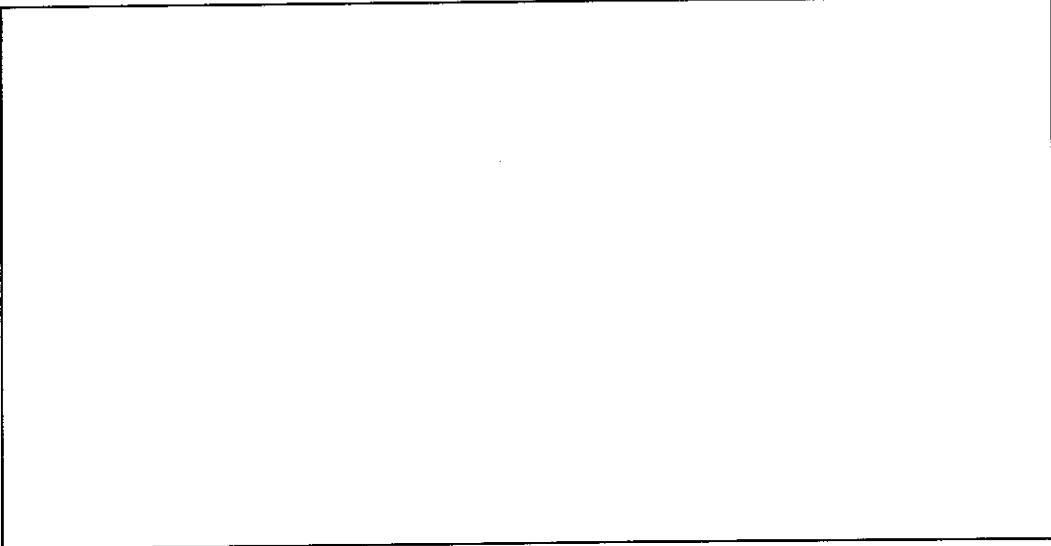
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ONLY NECESSARY BUT DESIRABLE.

AN INVESTIGATION FOR CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY?

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12. NDAGIJIMANA URGED THAT THE UN CONSIDER THE CREATION OF A TRIBUNAL TO INVESTIGATE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AS A WAY TO PROVIDE THE RPF LEADERSHIP WITH AN ALTERNATIVE TO RETRIBUTION AND A NEW CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. THAT SAID, HE URGED THAT IF SUCH A BODY IS CREATED, IT SHOULD MOVE WITH GREAT CAUTION AND FOCUS ON INDIVIDUALS, NOT RWANDAN INSTITUTIONS, TO AVOID GIVING THE HUTUS THE (FALSE) IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE "UNDER ATTACK" BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.



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BASED ON FIRST HAND ACCOUNTS, THEY CONFIRMED THAT THE

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RWANDAN ARMY IS TAKING ACTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT THE
 FLIGHT OF REFUGEES TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING
 POSITIONING TROOPS CLOSE TO INTERNATIONAL BORDERS AND
 FIRING ON FLEEING REFUGEES. BASED ON REPORT FROM
 REFUGEES AND BELIEVE THAT THE ARMY IS

B1

WORKING "HAND IN GLOVE" WITH THE MILITIAS AND THE
GENERAL POPULATION IN COORDINATING ATTACKS ON TUTSI
CIVILIANS.

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CHARGES OF ETHNIC "PURIFICATION"

15. [REDACTED] (IN TERMS NEARLY IDENTICAL TO
THOSE OF AMBASSADOR NDAGIJIMANA) CLAIMED THAT AN
"ETHNIC PURIFICATION" CAMPAIGN IS UNDERWAY IN ADDITION
TO THE LARGER-SCALE MASSACRES. THEY ADDED THAT THE
EVENTS SEEM TO BE COORDINATED RATHER THAN SPONTANEOUS.

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[REDACTED] ADDED THAT TO THE BEST OF ITS INFORMATION,
MASSACRES OF TUTSI CEASE WHEN THE RPF FORCES MOVE INTO
AN AREA. WHILE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT COULD BE EXPECTED,
THE RPF DOES NOT HAVE THE MANPOWER TO OCCUPY EVERY
VILLAGE -- BUT THE MASSACRES STOP ANYWAY. [REDACTED]

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

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VISIT OF THE RWANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER

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

17. THE FRENCH EXPRESSED DISMAY TO BICAMUMPAKA OVER
THE ABSENCE OF HUTU MODERATES IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT
AND URGED THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE BE DONE TO BRING AN
END TO THE ETHNIC STRIFE. THE FRENCH ALSO URGED THE

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RWANDANS TO SEND A SERIOUS DELEGATION TO ARUSHA WITH THE POWER TO NEGOTIATE. UNCLASSIFIED

HARRIMAN

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