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June 7, 1994	
	du
AF - Mr. Moose	AV 1
AF - Mr. Brynke	1
AF/C - Arlene Render	V

SUBJECT:

THROUGH:

TO:

FROM:

Decisions on Strategy on Rwanda for OAU Summit

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#### ISSUES

(1) Whether to ask Salim Salim to call a meeting of regional leaders on the margins of the OAU summit to discuss Rwanda.

(2) Whether to meet with representatives of the Rwandan interim government and RPF in Tunis and, if so, under what circumstances.

#### ESSENTIAL FACTORS

We understand that Rwanda will be high on the agenda at the upcoming OAU summit in Tunis. In addition to formal deliberations, the subject will undoubtedly be discussed in the corridors on the margins and probably in regional sub-groups. The summit presents a unique opportunity for us to push our principal goals in Rwanda to stop the killings, achieve a cease-fire, and return the parties to the negotiating table within the Arusha framework. We should seek to make the most of that opportunity.

#### Regional Sub-Group Meeting

As an operational matter, we would hope that the regional leaders (Mwinyi, Museveni, Mobutu, Moi, et al.) would meet on the margins under OAU auspices to discuss reviving the Arusha process. If these leaders attend (which remains unclear), it would provide an opportunity to have them meet without haggling over who should host -- a dispute that led to the cancellation of the June 6 Nairobi summit and previous efforts. To increase the likelihood of such a meeting, we recommend asking Salim Salim prior to the summit to call such a meeting. We would indicate to him your willingness to participate, if he and the other leaders agree.

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We would hope to achieve the following with such a meeting:

- o Outline the actions that the U.S. has taken to resolve the crisis, pointing out that we have been in the lead in trying to expedite the expansion on UNAMIR.
- Reach some regional consensus on meeting to press the parties to agree to a cease-fire.
- Obtain the agreement of the neighbors to provide their full<sup>\*</sup> support to the UNAMIR expansion, including, if necessary, allowing their territories to be used as a logistical base,<sup>\*</sup>
- Make it clear that we and the international community expect all Rwanda's neighbors to respect the UN arms embargo.
- Obtain an agreement to resume the Arusha process, with Tanzania in its usual role as host and Facilitator, pointing out that whatever the military outcome, some form, of power-sharing is inevitable, given the ethnic realities.

#### Bilateral Meetings with GOR and RPF

Ambassador Uwimana informed us that interim Foreign Minister Jerome Bicamumpaka (whom we refused to receive in Washington) will attend the summit. We understand that Commerce Minister Justin Mugenzi (PL-Hutu wing) and Amb. Mathieu Ngirumpatse (head of Habyarimana's MRND party) will be in Tunis, as well. RPF rep Gahima informed us that Pasteur Bizimungu, who led the RPF negotiating team at Arusha, and Dr. Jean-Bosco Butera, RPF shadow Minister of Health, will represent the RPF at the summit. The RPF has just written Boutros Ghali calling for the Security Council to suspend the credentials of the interim government at the UN, and a similar credentials challenge may occur at the OAU summit.

It is highly likely that either or both delegations will request a bilateral meeting with you, and almost inevitable that you will encounter them in the hall or at a reception.

Treatment of GOR. Given the interim government's possible complicity in the atrocities behind GOR lines, we recommend that you not meet one-on-one with representatives of the interim government. Instead, a larger meeting, either with Salim Salim present or with other Western Arusha observers (French, Belgians, Germans) in attendance, would be preferable. This will allow us to make a strong demarche at a high level on our key points (stop the killing, immediate cease-fire, and full cooperation with UNAMIR and relief

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efforts), while avoiding an unintentional political endorsement that a high-level one-on-one meeting might produce. If that is not possible, OAU watcher Steve Schwartz and Ed Brown, in the interest of maintaining a dialogue with both sides, should meet with the interim government representatives. While this may deprive us of the opportunity to make a high-level one-on-one demand to the interim government to stop the killing, previous such demarches have produced only disengenuous statements that the killings have ended. (In this regard, we note a press report today that Hutu militia, sensing an RPF victory, have started delivering Tutsis to safe havens rather than killing them, no doubt to earn a reprieve from the RPF.)

Treatment of RPF. If possible, we recommend you meet with the RPF in the presence of Salim Salim or Western Arusha observers, as suggested for the interim government. However, if such a meeting is not possible, we recommend that you agree to meet one-on-one with the RPF. The RPF holds the Kigali airport and more than half the country; we need their full cooperation with the UNAMIR deployment and their agreement to a cease-fire, and must make these points at the highest level. While this may result in unequal treatment of the two delegations, we believe the evolving situation on the ground and the differing human rights concerns merit the difference in treatment.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

That you approve a demarche to Salim Salim asking him to call a meeting of regional leaders on the margins of the OAU summit to discuss Rwanda.

Approved

Disapproved \_\_\_\_

That you seek to meet with the interim government and the RPF in a multilateral context; if that is not possible, that you meet with the RPF bilaterally and have Schwartz and Brown Well what come meet with the interim government.

Approved \_\_\_\_\_

Disapproved (

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