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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 191114

E.O. 1235&: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: RW, CG, PHUM, EAID, PGOV, PREL, SOCI, PREF
 SUBJECT: RWANDA/ZAIRE: INTO THE ABYSS

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"LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, PARIS FOR PERLOW, USNATO FOR FOX, USCINCEUR AND HQ US CENTRAL COMMAND FOR POLADS, HQ USEUCOM FOR EC J-5, COMMANDER USASSETAF FOR G-2"

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. INR'S JULY 15 ASSESSMENT ENTITLED "RWANDA/ZAIRE: INTO THE ABYSS" IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND COMMENT, AS APPROPRIATE.

BEGIN TEXT

3. THE FLOOD OF SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND RWANDAN REFUGEES INTO ZAIRE HAS OVERWHELMED FRENCH, UN AND NGO RELIEF OPERATIONS AND THREATENS TO BRING RWANDA'S TURMOIL TO ZAIRE. THE PROVISION OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE REFUGEES, VIRTUALLY ALL HUTUS, DEPENDS IN PART ON

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THE COOPERATION OF THE TUTSI-DOMINATED RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF).

4. PANICKED BY RPF MOVEMENTS TOWARD THE RUMP GOVERNMENT'S FORMER ENCLAVE IN NORTHWEST RWANDA, REFUGEES--INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE RUMP GOVERNMENT--YESTERDAY FLED ACROSS THE BORDER INTO ZAIRE AT THE RATE OF UP TO 14,000 AN HOUR; AS MANY AS 800,000 MAY CROSS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. THE REGION OF ZAIRE TO WHICH THEY ARE FLEEING IS ITSELF DENSELY POPULATED AND COULD QUICKLY BECOME ENGULFED IN VIOLENCE INDUCED BY THE INFUX AND THE PRESENCE OF MILITIAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE MASSACRES IN RWANDA.

5. RESOURCES OVERWHELMED. THE REFUGEES WERE PROBABLY DRAWN IN PART BY THE PRESENCE OF FRENCH TROOPS, SEEN BY RWANDANS AS CAPABLE OF PROVIDING SECURITY AGAINST POSSIBLE REPRISALS FROM LOCAL ZAIRIANS. NGOS REPORT THAT FOOD STOCKS WILL LAST ONLY THREE DAYS, THOUGH SOME LOCAL FOOD SHOULD BE AVAILABLE IN A REGION THAT NORMALLY RUNS A FOOD SURPLUS. FACED WITH POLITICAL CHAOS AND SHORTAGES OF FOOD AND MEDICINE, RELIEF AGENCIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO CONCENTRATE ON IMMEDIATE LIFE-SAVING REQUIREMENTS.

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6. THE LOGISTICAL NETWORK FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES WILL STEM FROM KENYA'S AND TANZANIA'S MAIN PORTS, MOMBASA AND DAR ES SALAAM. AN AGREEMENT ON A HUMANITARIAN RELIEF CORRIDOR MAY BE NEEDED WITH THE RPF AND THE PRO-RPF REGIME IN UGANDA TO ALLOW SHIPMENT OF SUFFICIENT SUPPLIES FROM THE COAST.

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7. RPF IN DRIVER'S SEAT. ON THE VERGE OF VICTORY, THE RPF NOW CONTROLS ALMOST ALL RWANDA OUTSIDE THE FRENCH SECURE ZONE IN SOUTHWESTERN RWANDA, INCLUDING THE ROADS NECESSARY FOR THE LAND TRANSPORT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO EASTERN ZAIRE. FORMER REFUGEES THEMSELVES, RPF LEADERS WILL NOT EASILY BE MOVED BY THE PLIGHT OF HUTUS, SOME OF

WHOM THEY BLAME FOR GENOCIDE, NOR BY THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THE FRENCH AND ZAIRIANS, WHOM THEY DEEPLY DISTRUST.

8. THE RPF WILL PROFESS COOPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL DONORS BUT IMPLEMENTATION WILL FREQUENTLY BE FITFUL, ESPECIALLY IN AREAS OF RPF MILITARY ACTIVITY. THE REPORTED ARRIVAL YESTERDAY, OVER FRENCH OBJECTIONS, OF RUMP GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN THE FRENCH SECURE ZONE WILL HEIGHTEN DISTRUST OF THE FRENCH EFFORT. THOUGH MANY HUTUS WILL REMAIN IN ZAIRE INDEFINITELY, THE EXTENT OF THE REFUGEE CRISIS WILL DEPEND IN LARGE PART ON THE POLICIES OF THE RPF, WHICH PROFFESSES A COMMITMENT TO BUILDING A SOCIETY IN WHICH ETHNICITY DOES NOT MATTER.

9. INTERNATIONAL ROLES. FRENCH OFFICIALS STATED YESTERDAY THEY WOULD RETAIN FORCES IN EASTERN ZAIRE AFTER THE UN MANDATE AUTHORIZING THEIR RWANDA INTERVENTION EXPIRES AUGUST 22. FRENCH EFFORTS TO COPE WITH THE CRISIS IN EASTERN ZAIRE PROBABLY WILL DIVERT SCARCE RESOURCES FROM THEIR SECURE ZONE, WHERE THERE ARE PERHAPS A MILLION DISPLACED PERSONS. THE FRENCH HAVE REDOUBLED EFFORTS TO INVOLVE THE UN, OTHER COUNTRIES,

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AND NGOS IN SHARING THE RELIEF BURDEN; THEY PROBABLY WILL INTENSIFY THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RPF TO LIMIT THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW POPULATION SURGE INTO ZAIRE FROM THE SECURE ZONE WHEN THEY WITHDRAW, BUT THE RPF THRUST TOWARD THE BORDER GIVES LITTLE CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM.

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10. THE UNAMIR FORCE NOW IN KIGALI COULD FILL THE VOID CREATED WHEN THE THE FRENCH DEPART - IF THE RPF PERMITS IT. ALTERNATIVELY, UNAMIR COULD FACILITATE RELIEF AND REPATRIATION EFFORTS ALONG THE RWANDA-ZAIRE BORDER. THE FORCE NOW NUMBERS OVER 100, BOOSTED BY THE RECENT REINFORCEMENT OF THE GHANIAN CONTINGENT. THOUGH ZIMBABWE, SENEGAL, TUNISIA, NIGERIA AND ETHIOPIA CLAIM TO BE READY TO DEPLOY OVER 3,000 MORE TROOPS, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS THUS FAR NOT FOUND THE RESOURCES TO EQUIP AND TRANSPORT THEM.

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