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ACTION IO-16

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

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00
	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00
	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	RPE-01
	PMB-00	/048W					

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P 272309Z APR 94
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5993
 INFO USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY ACCRA
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 USMISSION GENEVA
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC
 SECDEF WASHDC

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 C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 001776

DEPT FOR AF/C, IO/UNP, IO/PHO AND L/UNA;
 WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND DESHAZER;
 JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
 SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
 PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: MARR, PINS, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, PGOV, RW, UNSC
 SUBJECT: UNSC ACTIVITY ON RWANDA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 27 APR 2016
 DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS INFORMALLY EXPRESSED SOME INTEREST IN PERHAPS URGING ON THE GOR TO CALL FOR AN END TO THE KILLINGS OF CIVILIANS, EITHER IN SUPPORT OF THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM (WFP) SIMILAR REQUEST (REF A), OR ON ITS OWN. THE CZECHS AND ARGENTINES ARE WORKING ON A DRAFT STATEMENT ON GENOCIDE IN RWANDA. THE COUNCIL HINTED THAT IF THERE IS EVER A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RWANDA, AN EVEN LARGER PKO MIGHT BE IN ORDER THAN WAS PREVIOUSLY SENT TO RWANDA. THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT MET WITH REPS OF TANZANIA, UGANDA AND THE OAU. UN BELIEVES FRANCE MAY BE PREPARING TO RECOGNIZE A NEW GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA.

3. SUMMARY CONTD: THE IDEA OF AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA IS BEING FLOATED BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH.

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WHILE AN EMBARGO COULD NOT PREVENT MACHETES (THE WEAPON OF CHOICE OF THE RAMPAGING GANGS SLAUGHTERING CIVILIANS), IT MIGHT BE USED TO PREVENT THE GOR FROM BRINGING WEAPONS ACROSS THE LAKE FROM ZAIRE, THEREBY LEVELING THE PLAYING FIELD. THE AIRPORT WAS HIT BY MORTAR FIRE APRIL 25 BUT IS STILL OPERABLE. THREE HERCULES A/C LANDED WITH HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES APRIL 27. SRSG BOOH-BOOH PRESENTED A CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL TO BOTH SIDES AND IS AWAITING THEIR RESPONSE, AS OF APRIL 27. ABOUT HALF THE CIVILIANS HAVE VOLUNTARILY LEFT THE STADIUM FOR THE RELATIVE SAFETY OF THE NORTH. RPF-CONTROLLED AREAS ARE CALM AND STABLE. END SUMMARY.

4. USUN NOTES THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAS ASKED GOR REPRESENTATIVES TO ISSUE A FIRM CALL FOR AN END TO MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS, AS WELL AS TO ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE AND ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS (REF B). USUN BELIEVES THE SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT BE ABLE TO LEND SUPPORT ON THE FIRST ITEM. THE COUNCIL HAS CALLED FOR THE OTHER TWO ITEMS ALREADY. IF REF C IS CORRECT, AND THE GOR OFFICIALS HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI TO CALL FOR AN END TO THE KILLINGS, THEN THE COUNCIL COULD FIND IT EVEN EASIER TO MAKE A SIMILAR CALL. BASED ON REF A, USUN AMB INDERFURTH ASKED THE SECRETARIAT, DURING SC

INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS APRIL 26, TO PROVIDE AN UPDATE ON WFP ACTIVITIES. SECRETARIAT WAS NOT PREPARED WITH ANY INFORMATION AT THE TIME, BUT WILL BRIEF THE COUNCIL AT OUR NEXT INFORMAL SESSION (THURSDAY). POLOFF INFORMED SEVERAL SC MEMBERS OF THE CONTENT OF REF A, AND FOUND MOST WERE SYMPATHETIC TO THE IDEA OF THE COUNCIL CALLING ON THE GOVERNMENT TO INSTRUCT ITS FORCES TO STOP KILLING

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CIVILIANS. USUN WILL PURSUE THIS APPROACH. SINCE WFP MAY BE SENSITIVE TO THE NEED TO APPEAR NEUTRAL, IT MAY BE BEST IF THE COUNCIL DOES NOT REFER TO THE WFP DEMARCHE ON THE GOR. USUN WOULD APPRECIATE INPUT ON THIS POINT FROM POSTS.

5. [REDACTED] INFORMED POLOFF THAT THE RPF IS WORRIED ABOUT THE GOR DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN PARIS AND AFRICA (REFS B AND D) AND THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH IS ADVOCATING AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE RPF BELIEVES THE GOR IS SCRAMBLING TO CONTRACT FOR ARMS SHIPMENTS WHICH WOULD COME ACROSS LAKE KIVU FROM ZAIRE. [REDACTED] OBSERVED THAT THE LAST TIME THE RPF HAD INFORMED THE UN OF ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE GOR, THEY HAD BEEN CORRECT, AND THE UN HAD BEEN ABLE TO TURN BACK AN AIRCRAFT CARRYING ARMS. COMMENT: IF THE RPF INFORMATION IS CORRECT, IT MIGHT BE WISE FOR THE COUNCIL TO IMPOSE AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST RWANDA. SC RESOLUTION 846 ALREADY PREVENTS MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM UGANDA TO THE RPF. THE RPF HAVE ARGUED FOR ALMOST A YEAR THAT THEY WOULD PREFER TO SEE ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE GOR ALSO FORBIDDEN. AN EMBARGO AGAINST ARMS SHIPMENTS INTO ANY

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 TAGS: MARR, PINS, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, PGOV, RW, UNSC
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PART OF RWANDA WOULD HELP LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD, AND

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PREVENT THE SORT OF SCENARIO NOW PLAYING OUT IN BOSNIA, WHERE ONE SIDE HAS ACCESS TO UNLIMITED ARMS AND THE OTHER SIDE IS EMBARGOED. END COMMENT.

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6. [] ALSO RELAYED A RUMOR THAT THE FRENCH WERE ABOUT TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. IF THIS IS TRUE, IT WOULD MAKE IT MUCH HARDER TO GET THROUGH THE COUNCIL ANYTHING CRITICAL OF THE GOR.

7. U/SYG GHAREKHAN INFORMED THE COUNCIL 4/26 THAT THE AIRPORT WAS HIT BY TWO MORTAR SHELLS ON 4/25, BUT WAS STILL FUNCTIONING. [] TOLD POLOFF 4/27 THAT THREE HERCULES A/C CARRYING HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES HAD LANDED AT THE AIRPORT. 450 UNAMIR TROOPS REMAIN IN KIGALI. HALF THE DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE STADIUM HAVE VOLUNTARILY LEFT FOR NORTHERN RWANDA THROUGH CORRIDORS OPENED UP THROUGH RPF-HELD AREAS. SANITARY AND HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES HAVE BEEN PROVIDED TO THE REST.

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8. THE CZECHS AND ARGENTINES ARE WORKING ON A DRAFT STATEMENT ABOUT GENOCIDE. COMMENT: THE EVENTS IN RWANDA CLEARLY SEEM TO MEET THE DEFINITION OF GENOCIDE IN ARTICLE II OF THE 1948 CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE. HOWEVER, IF THE COUNCIL ACKNOWLEDGES THAT, IT MAY BE FORCED TO "TAKE SUCH ACTION UNDER THE CHARTER AS THEY CONSIDER APPROPRIATE FOR THE PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF ACTS OF GENOCIDE" AS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE VIII. END COMMENT.

9. WHATEVER DRAFT THE CZECHS AND ARGENTINES EVENTUALLY PRODUCE COULD BE USED AS A VEHICLE TO URGE NEIGHBORING STATES TO TAKE STEPS TO ENGAGE IN CROSS-BORDER FEEDING AND ASSISTANCE, AND TO ENCOURAGE THE UNHCR TO ARRANGE ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES ALONG THE BORDERS WITH TANZANIA, UGANDA, BURUNDI AND ZAIRE. [] NOTED TO POLOFF THAT THE JOINT GHANA/TUNISIA PLATOONS AT THE STADIUM, ETC. HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE DETERRENTS. THEY BELIEVE SUCH PLATOONS MIGHT ALSO BE USED TO PROVIDE SECURITY, IF DESIRED, AT REFUGEE CAMPS NEAR THE BORDERS. THEY DO NOT KNOW IF UNARMED UNCIVPOLS OR MILITARY OBSERVERS WOULD BE AS EFFECTIVE AS A DETERRENT. UNAMIR NOW HAS 21 UNCIVPOLS STILL IN RWANDA. THE RPF REP IN NEW YORK INDICATED TO POLOFF THAT RPF WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SC

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CONDEMN THE EVENTS AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE, AND CALL FOR THEIR PUNISHMENT. THE RPF RESENTS BEING PUT ON AN EQUAL PAR WITH THE GOR IN SC RESOLUTIONS, SINCE THEY POINT OUT THAT THE GOR FORCES HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CIVILIANS MASSACRES, NOT THE RPF.

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10. THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT (NEW ZEALAND) INFORMED THE COUNCIL 4/26 OF HIS MEETING WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF UGANDA, TANZANIA AND THE OAU. THE THREE AFRICANS WERE GRATEFUL FOR THE PRESIDENT'S BRIEFING, AND HAD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING AFTER THE MEETING OF WHY THE COUNCIL HAD TAKEN THE DECISION TO SCALE BACK UNAMIR. ALL AGREED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT SHORT-TERM GOAL WAS TO TRY TO ARRANGE A CEASEFIRE IN RWANDA, SINCE NEITHER HUMANITARIAN AID, NOR A RE-ENFORCED PEACEKEEPING PRESENCE COULD BE EFFECTIVE IN THE ABSENCE OF A CEASEFIRE.

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THEY ASKED FOR A FOLLOW-UP MEETING WITH THE SC PRESIDENT. THE SC PRESIDENT MENTIONED THAT IF PEACE DID EVER COME TO RWANDA, THE UN MIGHT NEED TO SEND IN A "DIFFERENT SORT OF OPERATION", AND SUGGESTED THAT THE COUNCIL MIGHT ASK THE SECRETARIAT TO DO CONTINGENCY PLANNING IN THE EVENT THERE WAS A POSITIVE OUTCOME. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THE SECRETARIAT MIGHT PREPARE A DOSSIER ON VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW, SUCH AS IT WAS DOING FOR

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FORMER-YUGOSLAVIA.

11. [REDACTED] INDICATED 4/27 THAT SRSG BOOH-BOOH HAD WORKED OUT A CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL WITH TANZANIAN AND OAU MEDIATORS, AND HAD PRESENTED IT TO BOTH SIDES. GEN. DALLAIRE WAS WAITING FOR REPLIES FROM BOTH SIDES. HE PLANS TO TRAVEL TO MULINDI 4/28. THE UN BELIEVES BOTH SIDES WILL CREATE OBSTACLES TO A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. THE RPF-CONTROLLED AREAS ARE STABLE AND CALM. THERE HAVE BEEN NO REPORTS OF MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS IN RPF-CONTROLLED AREAS.

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