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 INFO JOINT STAFF WASHDC
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 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY ACCRA
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 USUN NEW YORK 002589

WHITEHOUSE PASS TO NSC FOR RICE AND STEINBERG;
 JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J3;
 SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA
 PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, MOPS, FR, RW, UN

SUBJECT: COUNCIL BARELY DELIVERS ENOUGH VOTES TO BACK
FRENCH MOVE INTO RWANDA

1. UNCLASSIFIED - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE FRENCH INITIATIVE ON RWANDA SQUEAKED BY THE COUNCIL JUNE 22 WITH A VOTE OF 10 IN FAVOR, 0 OPPOSED, AND 5 ABSTENTIONS FOR RESOLUTION 929 AUTHORIZING A FRENCH-LED CHAPTER VII HUMANITARIAN OPERATION. THE RWANDAN PERMREP EXPRESSED ENTHUSIASM FOR THE OPERATION. THOSE ABSTAINING (CHINA, NIGERIA, NEW ZEALAND, PAKISTAN AND BRAZIL) EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH ACTION ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF UNAMIR. THE RPF REITERATED TO THE PRESS THEIR OPPOSITION, AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO USE "ALL NECESSARY MEANS" TO OPPOSE THE FRENCH. THE UN HAS REMOVED 48 OF ITS 125 OBSERVERS FROM RWANDA, AFTER THE RPF INSISTED THAT THE OBSERVERS FROM SENEGAL, TOGO AND CONGO WERE "FRENCH SPIES". PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE WILL BE EXAMINED SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

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2. IN A VOTE OF 10 APPROVALS AND 5 ABSTENTIONS, THE COUNCIL DECIDED JUNE 22 TO APPROVE THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY THE FRENCH. ALL COUNCIL MEMBERS EXCEPT PAKISTAN SPOKE IN EXPLANATION OF VOTE. THE FRENCH WELCOMED THE ADOPTION OF THEIR RESOLUTION, REPEATING THAT THEIR ACTIONS WERE PURELY HUMANITARIAN AND THAT THEY WOULD NOT INTERPOSE THEMSELVES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. THE FRENCH ONCE AGAIN ASSURED THE COUNCIL THAT THEY WERE NOT ATTEMPTING TO REPLACE UNAMIR, ONLY TO FILL THE GAP OF TIME. THE FRENCH THANKED THE SENEGALESE FOR JOINING THE FRENCH MISSION, AS WELL AS THE EU FOR THEIR SUPPORT.

3. THOSE WHO ABSTAINED OFFERED SIMILAR REASONS FOR THEIR DECISIONS. CHINA, NIGERIA, NEW ZEALAND AND BRAZIL EACH STATED THAT THOUGH THEY WERE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE TRAGTC SITUATION IN RWANDA, THEY HAD NUMEROUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. EACH OF THEM WERE CONVINCED THAT UNAMIR WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL IF THE FINANCES, LOGISTICAL SUPPORT AND TROOPS WERE SPEEDILY MADE AVAILABLE. THERE IS CONCERN THAT MEMBER STATES WILL HOLD OFF ON CONTRIBUTING TO AN EXPANDED UNAMIR IN LIEU OF THE FRENCH RESOLUTION. EACH ALSO BELIEVES THAT

WITH THE RPF'S REFUSAL TO ENDORSE THE FRENCH RESOLUTION, THE FRENCH MISSION COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO THE HUMANITARIAN GOAL THEY ARE AIMING FOR.

4. ALSO, EACH ABSTAINING COUNTRY RAISED SOME SEPARATE ISSUES TO EXPLAIN THEIR VOTE. BRAZIL STATED THAT THEY WERE UNCERTAIN ABOUT TAKING TWO DIFFERENT TRACKS IN

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RWANDA, THAT OF THE FRENCH AND UNAMIR. CHINA BELIEVED THAT THE TWO PARTIES IN RWANDA SHOULD ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE CRISIS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT, AND THAT THEY AGREED WITH THE OAU'S PROPOSALS THAT ANY SINGLE OR COLLECTIVE ACTION SHOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN UNAMIR. NEW ZEALAND NOTED THAT PRIVATE HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS AND NGO'S QUESTION THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE FRENCH OPERATION TO STOP THE SLAUGHTER, POINTING TO SOMALIA AS AN EXAMPLE OF BEST INTENTIONS GOING AWRY. NIGERIA SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA WAS AN AFRICAN CRISIS WHICH REQUIRED AN AFRICAN SOLUTION.

5. THOSE WHO VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION COMMENDED FRANCE ON ITS INITIATIVE. EACH STATED THAT THEIR DECISION WAS GREATLY INFLUENCED BY THE FACT THAT THE SYG HAD SAID THAT UNAMIR FORCES COULD NOT BE DEPLOYED FOR AT LEAST THREE MONTHS, AND ALSO THAT THE FRENCH HAD CLEARLY STATED THE PARAMETERS OF THEIR INITIATIVE AND THE TIME FRAME, AS YET, ONLY SPAIN HAS PLEDGED TO CONTRIBUTE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH MISSION, ALONG WITH ITS CONSIDERATION OF CONTRIBUTING TO AN EXPANDED UNAMIR. RWANDA EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR THE "LAUDABLE"

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FRENCH MOVE INTO RWANDA

INITIATIVE, CALLING THE INITIATIVE TIMELY AS IT TAKES PLACE AT A TIME WHEN UNAMIR HAD "NOT YET COME INTO COMPLETE FRUITION". RWANDA ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR HOPES THAT MEMBER STATES WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT AND CONTRIBUTE TO AN EXPANDED UNAMIR.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF U.S. EO:V:

-MR. PRESIDENT, SO MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE TRAGEDY IN RWANDA, IN THIS ROOM, IN THE PRESS, IN OUR CAPITALS. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO CATALOGUE ONCE AGAIN THE HORRORS OF WHAT HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE THERE. THE TALES OF BUTCHERY -- OF SLAIN ORPHANS, NUNS, MOTHERS, HOSPITAL PATIENTS, INNOCENT VICTIMS -- BECOME ALMOST MIND-NUMBING. BUT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BECOME NUMB TO THIS TRAGEDY, FOR IT IS STILL UNFOLDING BEFORE OUR EYES. DESPITE THE DEMANDS THAT THE KILLINGS STOP,

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DESPITE THE EXPRESSIONS OF OUTRAGE, REPORTS OF CONTINUING ATROCITIES STILL REACH OUR EARS. MR. PRESIDENT, I NEED NOT REMIND YOU OF THE HOURS UPON HOURS THAT THE COUNCIL HAS SPENT DELIBERATING ON HOW TO BEST HANDLE THIS CRISIS OF APPALLING PROPORTIONS. OUR DECISIONS HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT ONES, MADE IN THE FACE OF A DIFFICULT, AND FLUID, SITUATION. WE STAND BEHIND THOSE DECISIONS, AND BELIEVE THAT THE UN AND UNAMIR HAVE A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY. BUT THE ENORMITY OF THE TRAGEDY CAUSES US ALSO TO WELCOME THE BOLD FRENCH INITIATIVE.

-IN SUPPORTING THIS RESOLUTION, THE UNITED STATES WISHES TO EMPHASIZE OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH INITIATIVE AND THE EFFORT THE COOPERATING FORCE WILL UNDERTAKE TO GUARANTEE THE SECURITY AND PROTECTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS, REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS IN RWANDA. THE GRAVE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN THAT COUNTRY DEMANDS A SWIFT RESPONSE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND WE COMMEND THE FRENCH FOR ACTING TO ADDRESS THIS NEED.

-WE WISH TO UNDERLINE AS WELL THE MANDATE THE COOPERATING FORCE HAS RECEIVED TO PLAY A TRULY IMPARTIAL ROLE IN RWANDA. WE RECOGNIZE THAT SKEPTICISM REMAINS IN SOME QUARTERS ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE COOPERATING FORCE. WE WANT TO POINT OUT THAT THE SCOPE OF THE RESOLUTION

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HAS BEEN NARROWED TO ADDRESS EXACTLY THAT CONCERN, AND THAT THE MANDATE OF THE FORCE IS LIMITED TO ADDRESSING HUMANITARIAN NEEDS AS CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 925, SUB-PARAGRAPHS 4(A) AND (B).

-IN LIGHT OF THIS SITUATION, WE ENCOURAGE THE FORCE UPON
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ITS ARRIVAL AND THROUGH ITS ACTIONS TO DEMONSTRATE ITS IMPARTIALITY AND EVEN-HANDEDNESS IN DEALING WITH THE PARTIES IN RWANDA. THIS WILL CLARIFY FOR ALL THAT THE FORCE HAS A HUMANITARIAN MANDATE, DESIGNED TO PROTECT INNOCENT CIVILIANS, AND NOT TO INTERVENE IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

-IN A SIMILAR MANNER, WE WISH TO CALL UPON THE PARTIES IN RWANDA TO RECOGNIZE THE HUMANITARIAN ROLE THE COOPERATING FORCE HAS BEEN CALLED UPON TO PLAY. WE FURTHER CALL UPON THE PARTIES TO ASSIST THE FORCE IN FACILITATING THE PROVISION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THOSE WHO SO DESPERATELY REQUIRE IT.

-THE FRENCH DECISION TO SEND TROOPS TO RWANDA REFLECTS THE CONTINUED NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS. OWN PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITIES AND THE NEED FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION BY MEMBER STATES WHO ARE WILLING AND ABLE TO SUPPLEMENT UN PEACE OPERATIONS IN PARTICULAR SITUATIONS. EXAMPLES OF SUCH ACTION IN THE RECENT PAST INCLUDE ALLIED COALITIONS THAT RESPONDED TO IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT AND TO THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN

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SOMALIA, THE EFFORTS OF ECOWAS IN LIBERIA, AND NATO ACTION TO ENFORCE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS IN BOSNIA.

-THE POINT HERE IS THAT IF WE ARE TO RESPOND EFFECTIVELY TO THE VARIETY OF CONFLICTS WE SEE IN THE WORLD TODAY, WE MUST BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ACCEPT IMPERFECT SOLUTIONS WHEN NO PERFECT SOLUTIONS ARE AVAILABLE TO US. WE MUST CONTINUALLY MAKE JUDGEMENTS, ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, OF WHAT IS APPROPRIATE, WHAT IS CONSISTENT WITH PRINCIPLE, AND WHAT WILL WORK.

-IN CLOSING, WE ONCE AGAIN COMMEND THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, WHICH HAS MADE A NOBLE OFFER TO LEAD THE WORLD COMMUNITY IN DEALING WITH THE TRAGEDY IN RWANDA. THIS EFFORT DEMANDS THE COOPERATION OF ALL.
END TEXT EOV

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7. BEGIN TEXT OF RESOLUTION 929:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

--REAFFIRMING ALL ITS PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS ON THE SITUATION IN RWANDA, IN PARTICULAR ITS RESOLUTION 912 (1994) OF 21 APRIL 1994, 918 (1994) OF 17 MAY 1994 AND 925 (1994) OF 8 JUNE 1994, WHICH SET OUT THE MANDATE AND FORCE LEVEL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA (UNAMIR),

--DETERMINED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL SETTLEMENT UNDER THE ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT AND ENCOURAGING THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR RWANDA TO CONTINUE AND REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS AT THE NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS TO PROMOTE THESE OBJECTIVES,

--STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COOPERATION OF ALL PARTIES FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RWANDA,

--HAVING CONSIDERED THE LETTER OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF 19 JUNE 1994 (S/1994/728),

--TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE TIME NEEDED TO GATHER THE

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NECESSARY RESOURCES FOR THE EFFECTIVE DEPLOYMENT OF
UNAMIR, AS EXPANDED IN RESOLUTIONS 918 (1994) AND 925
(1994),

--NOTING THE OFFER BY MEMBER STATES TO COOPERATE WITH
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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TOWARDS THE FULFILMENT OF THE
OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RWANDA (S/1994/734),
AND STRESSING THE STRICTED HUMANITARIAN CHARACTER OF
THIS OPERATION WHICH SHALL BE CONDUCTED IN AN IMPARTIAL
AND NEUTRAL FASHION, AND SHALL NOT CONSTITUTE AN
INTER-POSITION FORCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES,

--WELCOMING THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS,
THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) AND NEIGHBORING
STATES TO BRING PEACE TO RWANDA,

--DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUATION OF SYSTEMATIC AND
WIDESPREAD KILLINGS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN RWANDA,

--RECOGNIZING THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA
CONSTITUTES A UNIQUE CASE WHICH DEMANDS AN URGENT
RESPONSE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,

--DETERMINING THAT THE MAGNITUDE OF THE HUMANITARIAN
CRISIS IN RWANDA CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO PEACE AND
SECURITY IN THE REGION,

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-1. WELCOMES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S LETTER DATED 19 JUNE 1994 (S/1994/728) AND AGREES THAT A MULTINATIONAL OPERATION MAY BE SET UP FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES IN RWANDA UNTIL UNAMIR IS BROUGHT UP TO THE NECESSARY STRENGTH;

-2. WELCOMES ALSO THE OFFER BY MEMBER STATES (S/1994/734) TO COOPERATE WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN RWANDA THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TEMPORARY OPERATION UNDER NATIONAL COMMAND AND CONTROL AIMED AT CONTRIBUTING, IN AN IMPARTIAL WAY, TO THE SECURITY AND PROTECTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS, REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS AT RISK IN RWANDA, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE COSTS OF IMPLEMENTING THE OFFER WILL BE BORNE BY THE MEMBER STATES CONCERNED,

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-3. ACTING UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AUTHORIZES THE MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, TO CONDUCT THE OPERATION REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE USING ALL NECESSARY MEANS TO ACHIEVE THE HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVES SET OUT IN PARAGRAPHS 4 (A) AND (B) OF RESOLUTION 925 (1994),

-4. DECIDES THAT THE MISSION OF MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WILL BE LIMITED TO A PERIOD OF TWO MONTHS FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION, UNLESS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL DETERMINES AT AN EARLIER DATE THAT THE EXPANDED UNAMIR IS ABLE TO CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE,

-5. COMMENDS THE OFFERS ALREADY MADE BY MEMBER STATES OF TROOPS FOR THE EXPANDED UNAMIR;

-6. CALLS UPON ALL MEMBER STATES TO RESPOND URGENTLY TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REQUEST FOR RESOURCES, INCLUDING LOGISTICAL SUPPORT, IN ORDER TO ENABLE EXPANDED UNAMIR TO FULFIL ITS MANDATE EFFECTIVELY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO IDENTIFY AND COORDINATE THE SUPPLY OF THE ESSENTIAL EQUIPMENT REQUIRED BY TROOPS COMMITTED TO THE EXPANDED UNAMIR;

-7. WELCOMES, IN THIS RESPECT, THE OFFERS ALREADY MADE BY MEMBER STATES OF EQUIPMENT FOR TROOPS CONTRIBUTORS TO

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UNAMIR AND CALLS ON OTHER MEMBERS TO OFFER SUCH SUPPORT,
INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF COMPREHENSIVE PROVISION OF
EQUIPMENT TO SPECIFIC TROOP CONTRIBUTORS, TO SPEED
UNAMIR'S EXPANDED FORCE DEPLOYMENT;
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-8. REQUESTS MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH UNAMIR AND
ALSO REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SET UP
APPROPRIATE MECHANISMS TO THIS END;

-9. DEMANDS THAT ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT AND OTHERS
CONCERNED IMMEDIATELY BRING TO AN END ALL KILLINGS OF
CIVILIAN POPULATIONS IN AREAS UNDER THEIR CONTROL AND
ALLOW MEMBER STATES COOPERATING WITH THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL TO IMPLEMENT FULLY THE MISSION SET
FORTH TN PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE;

-10. REQUESTS THE STATES CONCERNED AND THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL, AS APPROPRIATE, TO REPORT TO THE
COUNCIL ON A REGULAR BASIS, THE FIRST SUCH REPORT TO BE
MADE NO LATER THAN FIFTEEN DAYS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF
THIS RESOLUTION, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS OPERATION
AND THE PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS THE FULFILMENT OF THE
OBJECTIVES REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3 ABOVE,

-11. ALSO REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT ON

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THE PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS COMPLETING THE DEPLOYMENT OF

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THE EXPANDED UNAMIR WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE REPORT
DUE NO LATER THAN 9 AUGUST 1994 UNDER PARAGRAPH 17 OF
RESOLUTION 925 (1994), AS WELL AS ON PROGRESS TOWARDS
THE RESUMPTION OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT UNDER THE
ARUSHA PEACE AGREEMENT,

-12. DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

END TEXT OF RESOLUTION. ALBRIGHT

CONFIDENTIAL

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