Transcription of Notebook #3 of Prudence Bushnell
The National Security Archive

Edited by Prudence Bushnell and Emily Willard
Editorial Assistance by Claire Dailey & Clara Fisher

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Hang in There

editor’s notes appear in brackets – […]; all other text is directly from the notebook. French language is in italics, and additional annotations by the editors, including French translation to English, are included in the footnotes. Best efforts have been made to replicate organization of the information on the pages of the notebook.

Dates Bushnell was told that the following people would be available for a phone call.

4-27 or 28 – Bagosora
– Bizimungu

4-30- Bizimungu
4-30 Kagame

5-1 Kagame

5- [Bizimungu]

*Prudence Bushnell often wrote in French in her notebooks when talking with French speakers. For example, with Rwandan military officials Théoneste Bagosora (Chef de cabinet of the minister of defense) and Augustin Bizimungu (promoted to Major General at the beginning of the conflict).
- Rwanda

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<tr>
<th>Dead</th>
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<td>- PM</td>
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<td>– Communications</td>
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<td>– Pol. Party leader</td>
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</table>

On plane Min of State for Plan. Dev.
Min of Commun & Gov’t. spokesman
Rw. Chief of Staff of Mil. -3 French crew members
-GEM’s phone call:
  Rejection of Violence-
  Unité Presidential guard

-> Not gens d’armerie
  -> Chef de Cab
  -> Rwandan gens d’armerie

4 Americans in Biumba in orphanage project. Communal violence. UNAMIR

- No. of Americans
  Burundi – 177

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4 The notebook is a steno pad, front pages are on the bottom, and the backs of pages appear on the top when flipped fully open. Often, Bushnell would take notes of telephone conversations on the tops (backs) of the pages, and notes of meetings on the bottoms (fronts) of pages – however, there are several exceptions. The editor has indicated if the page is a “top” or “bottom” page. This is important to know because notes of a telephone call, for example, may continue from one top page to another top page, skipping the bottom page. The editor has attempted to make a note of to where a conversation/meeting continues if not directly the next page in order to assist with ease of reading.

5 See declassified document: April 6, 1994, “Death of Rwandan and Burundi Presidents in Plane Crash Outside Kigali,” from Prudence Bushnell, to The Secretary; Origin: US Department of State

6 “GEM” is short for Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, George Moose

7 Unity

8 Name of Rwandan military police force; variations in spelling and abbreviations throughout notebook

9 UN peacekeeping mission – United Nations Mission for Rwanda, led by UN Force Commander, Canadian General Roméo Dallaire
Rwanda – 205

- Buj\textsuperscript{10}: Calm all night
- Sabena
  - No gun fire
  - Emb opened
  - Traffic lighter
  - Ntibantunganya

Nat’l Crisis Committee, incl. mil.

From B’s perspective, emphasizing accident

[Page 4 – top page of notebook]

\textsuperscript{11}4/6-
R/B
- Yeltsin’s statement in Latvia
- Gallucchi new position – Korea

Grossman:
- Sec concerned re status of Amcits\textsuperscript{12}
- Do memo & consider task force

[Page 5 - bottom]

- Talk to French & Belges\textsuperscript{13}
  - Sit\textsuperscript{14}
    Evacuation

- UN mission\textsuperscript{15}
  - Is it possible to modify mandate
    for protection of foreigners & evacuation
- Bombard w. statements for peace
- Presidential statement
- Mtg. at 2:00 for work. types
- VOA\textsuperscript{16} interview
- See if someone can get to her house\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{10} “Buj” short for Bujumbura, Burundi
\textsuperscript{11} Date: April 6, 1994
\textsuperscript{12} American Citizens
\textsuperscript{13} Short-hand for “Belgians” throughout notebook
\textsuperscript{14} Situation
\textsuperscript{15} The US mission to the UN
\textsuperscript{16} Voice of America
\textsuperscript{17} Most likely referring to Monique Mujawamariya, a human rights activist who met with President Clinton in December 1993; at the outbreak of the genocide, President Clinton took a personal and persistent interest in ensuring the safety of Mujawamariya, who ended up surviving the genocide.
Janet Fleischman […telephone number…]18

-Lisa Alfred –
- France.
  UNAMIR – ask for modification of mandate - 5-10 soldiers taken into custody. Army controls airport
5 platoons caught betw. gens d’armees & army. Thinking of sending Belges to
UNAMIR has released RPF &

[Page 6 - top]

Laura Lane
RPF left installation
openly fighting
UNAMIR not answering phone calls ~ may have been hit
Shooting/ canons
Deteriorating in countryside
  communal violence
Has been in commun.19 w. all Americans
Firefight at airport
Belgian troops fought for
  In touch
pm Belges are considering contingency plans
EU COM –
  Jarell Jeames
Belges/
  2 executed.
  2 Ghanians executed
  Considering reinforced
    UN
    US auspices
  5 platoons surrounded at airport
  Have [continued on page 7]

[Page 7 - bottom]

[continued from page 6] told them to protect themselves.

18 all telephone numbers are redacted to protect personal privacy
19 communication
French no intention to send in troops.

Eric Schwartz

Monique

- What did Joyce Leader say/do re Monique
  - Rita Benish –
  - GEM at hotel 1108-1120
    2 hrs.
    - Log on
  - Buj – EAC meeting today
    ~ seriously consider authorized evac
    ~ is it safe

Convo. w David

1:15
  - evac. = close coordination w. Fr. & Belge
  - wants small presence of 3 people
    Facilitate human. work
    ~ dialog

Jay Sheehan

- What are Belges & French doing?
  - Have 4 C-130s in region
    1 ½ hours away. Cld evacuate
  - If non. permissive, need to own airfield
  - 1 Battalion
  Arriving 1500 mtg. - Have people on alert. More notice the faster.

Have mil/mil contacts

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20 Monique Mujawamariya, a Rwandan human rights activist at the time of the genocide and had met with President Clinton in December 1993.

21 Deputy Chief of Mission to the US Embassy in Rwanda, August 1991 through genocide

22 "Buj" short for Bujumbura, Burundi


24 Humanitarian
Need political.

[Page 9 - top]

4-6 Office Transport
Wk G Charter air
(24 hrs)

- Belges are drawing up contingency plans

[Page 10 - bottom]

-Afternoon
  -David wants 3 to stay behind
  -Stats are 200-350 Americans
    Some Americans will have air lift
    MAF
  -JCS wld plan for the larger #
-> Amt needs -->how many people realistically need
to be evacuated. What other
locations can they be evacuated from
Are there any foreigners - how many?
-> J-3 in EUCOM
  French have 1 bat on alert in
  CAR 3 Jags
  Belges
-> Possibility = convoy thru Burundi

GEM me w. FoMin.  
-Mubarak made statement
-Share Reed's
  -Kampala
  -Tanzania
  - Kenya

[continued on page 11]

[Page 11 - bottom]

25 Date: April 6, 1994
26 Foreign Minister
27 Robert Flatten - US Ambassador to Rwanda, October 1990 through November 1993
28 Editor has noted when the top page of the notebook is blank

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- Need to contact neighboring Africans, French, Belges could do multilateral need to emphasize

4/6

**David:** Spurts of 2 - 3 days then break

Full day today

Expect more tomorrow

Guess is that an evacuation 2 or 3 days would more permissive

There is a command authority

Need control – getting more control

Real ringer = RPF -> limited objectives or all-out war

Not interested in total war

Looking for more reprisals -> to make decisions re total war

Ordered dep. –

Rec. = small team dr sec,

2 AID- GSO/Admin/EconCom, DCM. Amb

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**[Page 12 - top]**

- Need to get the

Ec

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**[Page 13 - bottom]**

Other consideration.

RSO -> Better chance going out over land. Cld have both – airport

French Embassy Pol Counselor

- Meeting of French & Belges tomorrow US military

- info. At end of Paris day = hesitating

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29 Conversation with David Rawson, US Ambassador to Rwanda at the time
no decision. Will assess situation
tomorrow. Some movement
of RPF toward K\textsuperscript{30} – may be
clash betw. military &

[...telephone number...] - Blarel – Jean Francois

Harry Feisel – convo. w. Tony Quianton
There should not be any people left
in K. Defer to us on when,
where & how. Told Sonia that
ordered departure - “Temporarily suspended”
Can give.

-George. Security council statement.
Probably give UN forces blessing to [continued on page 15]

[Page 14 - top]

End of Day 4/6\textsuperscript{31}
- Ordered departure for Kigali (all)
  Buj. (dep/nonessential
- UN Resolution (Fr) authorizing
  militaries to evacuate citizens
- Instituted w. posts commun.\textsuperscript{32} network
  conoff\textsuperscript{33} will call in on regular
  + 1 other basis (at least every
  + Amb. hour)
- Cable to Fr. & Belge re intentions
  re evacuations
- In touch Fr. & Belge in Wash
  as we have from beginning
- 24. Hour working Group as of 1300\textsuperscript{34} 35
- Joint Staff will send warning order
to EUCOM which will execute.
  planning – airlift -> non permissive
  (Rawson believes overland is best)

\textsuperscript{30} Short for “Kigali”
\textsuperscript{31} Date: April 6, 1994
\textsuperscript{32} communication
\textsuperscript{33} Consular officer
\textsuperscript{34} See declassified document: April 1994, “MGRW01- Rwanda Monitoring Group,” US Department of State
\textsuperscript{35} See declassified document: April 8, 1994, “WGRW01: Working group formation to deal with the situation in Kigali,” US Department of State
-Coordinated press w. Barrie\textsuperscript{36}
-DATT in hotel Mille Colline reporting thru his channels
-DAS went VOA English & French 1230 1730
-Spoken Africa Watch & Steinberg re Monique
-In contact w. Gen. Sheehan

[Page 15 - bottom]

govts that want to send forces to evacuate
Hasn’t seen draft yet. Wants to coordinate.

Belge Pol Con – Meeting still on. things more calm. Fr & Belge military tomorrow. Can’t get Amb Conta

Deaths 11 soldiers 5 civilians. Believe all Belges protecting PM killed

Don’t know about C-130
What is RPF doing is what they’re looking at
800 in B can take ind\textsuperscript{37}, 800 wld need airlift

-Call Jack Sheehan – evacuation
- memo went up

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Sheehan […]telephone number…]

[Page 17 - bottom]

\textsuperscript{36} Barrie Walker – the Africa bureau press person at the Department of State
\textsuperscript{37} individually
- Tiny Rowland – Head of Londro. 38 Brit businessman. Wants to see Tony. Need expert to call Don.

Max: That you approve attached Grossman – Itoh 39
PM rep needs to do

- Call Jack Sheehan [...] telephone number [...] 

-Judy -> Brussels
   Meeting of Council to meet
   A) Evacuation
   B) How to get troops in
Have told military to plan & work closely
   1500 Belges 300
French planners are at Jt. 40 operations – have offered jaguar
   lift for troops (800 men w.
transport & weaponry)

[Page 18 - top]

4-8 41 Davis mtg.
   - Bosnia
   - Japanese resignation
   - MidEast. Jesse Jackson
   - Congress returns
   Sec, Davis, Wirth testify

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This is for planning.
Jeanette — so

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38 Londro was the name of Rowland’s international company
39 Names of executive secretaries of State and the National Security Council (NSC); denotes formal memo State to NSC
40 Jt – Joint Operations
41 Date: April 8, 1994
EUCOM would like to send planners but need political decision.

-Call J. Sheehan
-Touch base w. French/Belge Emb
-See Kevin re Joyce/Monique
-See Ed re Dave’s need for help on Somalia
-Pres. may call David if we can get direct contact

Cmdr Wayne – PM DIA Retransmission
JCS wants to find out what.
USDAO Rwanda 081328 ∑
cable: times & dates overland
[...telephone number...]

[Page 20 - bottom]

-Kevin’s Briefing

-Phone calls w. Amb. /Laura

- David’s phone is out – contact through radio Nairobi
- Security – about same as yesterday, better than last night
- RPF – Military still fighting
  Mil – Mil fought, quiet
- PG holds airport
- RPF holds Nat’l Assembly
- MRND Min’s, 2 PL mins & couple others mtg.
- Dallaire trying truce betw. gens d’armerie & RPF
  govt forces
- Amcits safe – still don’t know about Lee Y.
- No evac scheduled for today
  no date or time set
- Confirmed dead
  Info & family Social Affairs & family

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42 Kevin Aiston, the Rwanda/Burundi desk officer at the State Department
43 See declassified document: April 8, 1994, “WGRW01: SITREP1,” from US Secretary of State to US Embassy in Kigali
44 Information Minister
Ag. min                                      PM & husband
candidate for Nat'l Assembly

· Belge UNDP planning evac.
· Communal violence but no details
· UN ob

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Tim Walsh

[Page 22 - bottom]

-Head of *gens d’ar* will provide protection if truce comes about

**Jack Sheehan**
- Diana Call
  · Heard from about overland convoy
  · Heard that French-Belges don’t want to evacuate.
  · Have call to Jim Lehrer who’s managing this.

· EUCOM needs go-ahead w. direct liaison w French & Belges

-Grossman - DOD
  Due to leave 1300 today – Advance team arrive tomorrow

-Jack has fax from
  Request for support
  JCS anticipating [continues on page 23]

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[Page 23 - bottom]

aerial 1 bat. & equipment
helicopter(s) in 1 airlift to seize eventual medical support political decision is pending EUCOM not crazy about idea suspicion of retribution Can fly into Burundi & can do road march Political decision on our side / Fo Min. If non-permissive – Where – Details of -> political & operational details Sec Gen of UN open to idea of enlarging mandate – need new troops Judy- council still meeting will call as soon as they hear 645 am local ~ not spoken since ~ have not been able to send UN- Beth – what time did J - 5 troops University compound in North overrun & looted by civilians. 25 21 Americans 7th day Adv. there – very concerned – 15 other expats. -> missionaries

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[Page 24 - bottom]

- Alan Holmes – heading up – Task Force […]telephone number…]

- German Emb – Wash. want evacuate 175 Germcits - Beck – […]telephone number…]

-Judy – Fo Min called – mtg. over Belgian military say its worsening. They believe waiting 24 hrs -> disaster Want to go now.

__________________________

45Amb. Dip Adv. to

__________________________

45 This is one of the first suggestions re: UNAMIR’s mandate. This is most likely a conversation with Ambassador David Rawson.
Want a qualitative improvement of troops -> more arms -> brought in by battalion
wld leave behind
No increase in #
No in mandate

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[Page 25 - bottom]

~ Max Robinson – […]telephone number…]
Misc
- World Food Program offers use of WFP aircraft.

-Kigali as of 1400
  Emb safe/secure
    Econ – Laura
    GSO – 1
    PC Adm.

Residence
-UNAMIR having problems
-Amb in Res
-200
- 1 American near –
  No Americans injured or killed

UN.

New Head of govt. to be announced on radio
4:00 The Tank

[top page blank]

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Holmes – Getting
  What does Amb. want/recom

\[46\] recommended
Kagame called Am. friends –
RPF going south – go through
the DMZ. Will be in Kigali
tomorrow.
    will not interfere w. expat
departure
    will cooperate w. UNAMIR
Ams at univ have moved into 2
houses

[top page blank]

[Page 27 - bottom page]

Res
-sit. had stabilized
-200 in House
-UNAMIR left – Emb asking for protection
-Amb out of phone contact

-School -
Con off gave advice to 25 Americans
    Get together in central location
    Get valuables, negotiate
    Bought off mob

-UNAMIR troops - no info
    UN trying to negotiate - difficult
to reach (4 - DATT, Admin,
    Con & GSO)
-Sporadic shooting
    no major change in security sit

-Head of gens d’armes now head of
    military
-New

[Page 28 - top]

4 am - 14-1500 pm rep.

47 Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the predominately Tutsi lead rebel group led by Paul Kagame, based in
Uganda, starts to move south toward Kigali into the DMZ (de-militarized zone).
48 Consular Officer
Cm. Wayne Brown […]telephone number…]

[Page 29 - bottom]

- Overland route still viable
- Hotel rooms in Buj.
- If RPF
- *Gens d’armes* very supportive
  - New head = very reassuring
    - once agreement w. RPF
- People know assembly pts.
  - fuel vehicles
    - -> Kanege. D. Fossy
- Problems w. Mudeude, Desenge\(^{49}\)
  - need mil. escort
  - talking to French
- People in North -
  - K Mudeude 25
  - Desenge Mrs. Kyle
  - 3 Care contractors
  - Re Hoard Ronera\(^{50}\) - 3
    - Kanege - 4 Brits
    - ( Fossi 1 Am.
    - 1 Canadian

Night note
  - State is working w DOD

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to make our Amb

New President - Theodore Sindikubwabo
  - 71 from MRND - Pres’ party -
  - Current speaker of Nat’l Assembly

New PM - Jean Kambanda
  - Dismas wing - Hard-liner

FoMin

\(^{49}\) Two Rwandan cities
\(^{50}\) Name of a place

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Announced on radio this evening
Ceasefire until 7am - Dallaire negotiated
calm for 3 hours
3 Belgian civilians killed by mil.
2 French cooperants

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4/8
Tarnoff⁵¹ mtg
-What wld reaction be to official
reques of GOB⁵² to preposition ground
& air assets for use in evacuation?
  Flash Send flash cable
- Contact chargé
-JCS said Belge homologue said
considering sending 1 bat. &
equipment - want our air support
-4500 expats may have to be
evacuated, about ½ Belgians
-US assets:
  \[
  \begin{array}{c}
  \text{special ops} \\
  \text{marg}
  \end{array}
  \quad
  \begin{array}{c}
  4 \text{ C-130 - Kenya} \\
  \text{US Ft. Bragg}
  \end{array}
\]
have not taken off
French - 1500 paratroopers in CAR
  450 in country & 800
4 options
--US evac by road to Buj
-“ “ “ “ “ w. US
  marine escort (size of rifle co)
  go by road
  EUCOM Jaw

[top page blank]

[Page 32 - bottom]

-Belge plan - non-permissive
  US aircraft, helos, need support
-US ranger bat - 24 hr time line

⁵¹ Peter Tarnoff, Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Department of State
⁵² Government of Burundi
taking airfield - or CH 53 helos
from MARG
-How is DATT communicating
  How to communicate
  communicator, Amb.
(see Paris cable)
-Demarche to Uganda re RPF march

-Belge request 15 C-5 loadings
to staging area
Nairobi or
somewhere in
not using 1,000 Tanz.
troops
Want to send
adv. people to
night & start
transporting
asap
(We're talking to French
but not joint plan)
Discussions betw.
Need military here.

[Page 33 - top]

- Do we have charter
- French have list
  have our info.
- Are they going to pick people
  up?

[Page 34 - bottom]

- Paris 09625\(^{53}\)
  10 pm - 100-200 French from CAR
take airport to permit evac. Full coord
w. Belgian forces in Kigali.
- Get Belge & French Emb.

\(^{53}\) See declassified document: April 8, 1994, "WGRW01: French agreement to take control of Kigali airport; April 8, 2030 hrs local time," US Embassy in Paris to Secretary of State (NIACT – night action).
double track. so Belge Commander & French Commander.
Preferred option
-Negotiate a limited cease fire & convoy people out. But we needed to talk
-Marc Grossman
  -Joyce said she spoke to French
Ted McManara
  10 o’clock comes from DATT
  Jawane & Shally calling counting

-Belge request 15 C-5 loads -
  & heliocopter gunshells
-Why & When

[top page blank]

[Page 35 - bottom]

see
  Piazza list -
  Answer question
-> Television

-Frank Wizner54 - We have helos

Have you talked to DATT

Steinberg-
- Tony confirmed that 10 o’clock
- Have coordinated w. Belges on ground
- Have cut deal w. people on ground
- Helos need to be preposition

[Page 36 - top]

SOS
-Convoy will contact DATT
-DATT will contact EUCOM

54 Undersecretary of Department of Defense for Policy, Frank Wizner
convoy
Gen Sheehan:
  Has communicated to EUCOM
  Will arrive in Buj in 1 hr
  Will refuel (1 hr)
  On standby to escort or
  find convoys
    Can they fly up &
  -> locate convoys
  -> If convoy calls for help
  can we have pre-clearance\textsuperscript{55}

- Richard Chappell - Canadian Watch
  […telephone number…] - STU key available

Howard Perlow
- Guy Rigand was asking about
  US military presence as for
  expanded UNAMIR.
    Lauxade - JCS had passed
    to Shally - request had

[between-line note]

Beth Johnson
  […telephone number…]

France does not want to be in
position it was

Beth - Sec & Tarnoff

\textsuperscript{55} Bushnell was concerned about Burundi military firing on the aircraft
Want Amb’s view
- understood Amb wants to
go out quietly. Fear of endangering
- Get Rawson’s view. Is there possibility.

-Two convoys dropped *gens d’armes*
at Guiterama. 4 are returning
to Kw communicator

-No do not want helos
  Have concern re drawing
  Don’t have
- We agree to give pre clearance
  but call for help must come [continued on page 41]

[Page 40 - top]

Egyptians
Indians
Germans
Canadians
Finish
Tan\(^{56}\)
Brits
Burundis
Belges
Americans

[Page 41 - bottom]

[continued from page 39]
from Emb.
  Have not heard from Monique
  Wait to hear from her
  Passed message to UN in person
  J. location passed to UNAMIR
  Africa Watch has other people
  Joyce knows.

\(^{56}\) Tanzanians
-Buj: sent to border RSO, GSO, AID, Med off they will meet
On the way to border
Buj has announced to radio
that “GOB is pleased to be involved in this effort”

All
Beth meeting w. Sec.
Sec will be in 7:30-8:30
to be briefed tomorrow
Wants to say something on convoys. Need latest info.

[top page blank]

[Page 42 - bottom]

-Tarnoff needs to make decision re commercial or military
jet to Nairobi - C- 141s -

-Convoy = 79 Amcits of 129 total

-Beth- Sec. Agrees w. both
Sec. agrees to.

-Leonard - 3rd country nat's ~ Where do we take them
~ can we leave them
-Where are we taking people
-airport problems

- 2 more convoys

-Is unamir running convoys?

-Lange\(^57\) has taken care of problem
Hesitation was that they didn’t have authority - problem

[top page blank]

\(^{57}\) Leonard Lange, chargé d'affaires at US Embassy in Bujumbura, Burundi
We have call from Burundi departees need to be on aircraft tonight. Have sent 4 TDYers. Air France charter coming on Mon. Will put

- Have no info. from GOB to contrary GOB knows

- Need to make statement

- Tony Q. agreed they could defer execution for 24 hours. People who wanted to leave can

- When will [...telephone number...]
  [...telephone number...]
- Steve Jack Adm. Steve Abbott -> Jim Lehrer. Have info that 2 are in Burundi 141’s only have clearance [continued on page 45]

Need precedent
Who pays
Once in Buj:
A few criterion -

[continued from page 43]
to come in & getting them.
  Recommend leaving immediately
- Can lift everyone.
- Will be guided by State on 3rd country nationals
Leonard\textsuperscript{58} - As of 4:30 Comdr said instructions were to process & get them out. Have stand-by

Burundi border is open until midnight. Rwanda closes at 1800. People are with RSO. Plan is to leave at dawn

Been in touch w. missions -
Air France coming Mon.
Sabena- Thurs, Sat, Sun.

-> Military is wary. Security forces have cordoned off road to airport which is down

[top page blank]

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-Had small convoy of missionaries
-military setting -> C- 141
-Civilians are no problem -
Hesitance = military - new to them -sensitivity to brethren in north. Have to be careful moving

-Belgium request - cannot
   Mash   > go back to Brussels, refine it
   Helos
Evacuation - can do it if they follow procedures, approval

Leonard
-Place is calm       Wariness
-Good cooperation   Putting Min\textsuperscript{59}
                     Defense & COS together w.

-Wants to see troops leave “swiftly”

\textsuperscript{58} Leonard Lange
\textsuperscript{59} minister
Which air strip is best -
-Host govt. needs to be asked
GEM/Pres. spoke to David - Whittling down list of strays

4/11
- Cable re use of Mwanza airstrips
- Call Amb re “
- List of names left in R.
- List of people
-> Rwamagana Group
-> 12 German techs at mt. Kininya
-> List of USG people/addresses

Leonard
Trying to arrange meeting w.
Def. Min - will raise issue

- Status of M/MED

4/11\textsuperscript{60}\quad 419-7
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{Today’s Issues} & 12:45\
\hline
\end{tabular}
[...telephone number...]- Mac
[...telephone number...]- P Burleigh
\begin{itemize}
  \item Military
    \begin{itemize}
      \item pull out
      \item Germans
      \item re staging
    \end{itemize}
  \item UN Resolution re UNAMIR\textsuperscript{61}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{60} Date: April 11, 1994
Military
Bill ~> What have we told French/Belge
Bill ~> Do they have transport or are we the only ones.
Arlene Monique - 6:45 Sun - am -
Joyce was going to try to follow-up w ICRC
-> Check w. Laura re Monique status
-> Break Kevin out of group
   What is thinking of Belge & French
-> What is AF's\(^{62}\) position on UNAMIR pullout
-> Military Eutelebe, Nairobi, Mombasa, Mwanza

-Monique is out - heard through UN\(^{63}\)
David
-Evacuation - complete
   military mission is over
-Germans - left message to get foreign ministry
-Looking for instructions -
   Who (plural) do we say thank you
-Admin. setting up system to get guard contract. Will

[Page 51 - bottom]

try to get in touch w. FSNs - get paid
Query = do our needs for further info
Thurs. Sabena.

Thinks there will be stalemate - Govt wants to negotiate - Intentions & role of

\(^{62}\) African Bureau at the Department of State
Museveni. Tanzania facing dip disaster

Sec wants Rwanda night note for Pres.

Pres. Clinton - GEM. me. Arlene. 7:10

7:40

~CA task force part
~ See GEM Bill H. re Janice’s replacement
~ RPardon - didn’t clear w. Andy Sims

Egypt ~> quotes Wirth & Sec.

[top page blank]

[Page 52 - bottom]

Military
- Marines out of Buj
- Germans still stuck
- APCs in Somalia

UN
Support Belge request at UN

Call Leonard
UN Cable
- NSC requested IO\(^{64}\) to draft resolution to pull UNAMIR.
- See Arlene re Kagame & what we say

Burundi
- What ways to reinforce calm & stability

- Call Steinberg re PK mtg
  Have instructions on 1st half on withdrawal
  Decision = mandate.

[top page blank]

[Page 53 - bottom]

\(^{64}\) The State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO)
GW. Ned W. 65 concerned re
-Boutros 66 will withdraw & suspend
- block Unamir Votes aren’t there
to terminate. Ned thinks we may
have to wait til June to terminate.
fear = NAM will come up.
- GW’s point of view = don’t terminate suspend
- Sec. will talk to Boutros

- 2 Americans left
- small # affiliated w. int’l orgs
  (about 10)
Kigali - calm - 48 hr truce
Burundi - 207 - Americans - about 34
  employees
  ~20 ± low 20s will be left
  -34 by

[top page blank]

[Page 54 - bottom]

4/13 67
-Helene: meeting went well. Gave French
facing - saving process. Next step: June
meeting, same level, work on content. French
to work on issues for working groups: long-time
financial support; better plan for being more
proactive on research; global coordination;
financing commodities; long/short goals. 68

USUN- Troop contributions met; support for
drawing down, not pulling out. SC 69 mtg at
5:00; no one will present resolution. Will
discuss R

[Page 55 - top]

65 Ned Walker, Deputy Permanent Representative United States Mission to the United Nations
66 Boutros-Boutros Gali
67 Date: April 13, 1994
68 This conversation with Helene was about AIDs – not related to Rwanda crisis
69 (United Nations) Security Council

Announcement of 6-7-8
-> 3 people called to confirmation hearings
-> will expect something

[Page 56 - bottom]

4/19
-April 29- 3- 5 ~ AID reneg -Wirth trip
-See GEM re Lake trip
-See EPS re ESF
-See GEM re WH Conf. - June 27

-See Larry Garber
  What will be available for non-presence countries
-See GEM/End of day: $72,000 allocated
to AF for commercial libraries. computer
  trees
  tradeshouses > find cite
  Reference lib

- Call Don Steinberg re WH. Africa Conf.
- See Carol Peasley re Lois Riehards & Countries in Transition concept

-White House Conf. 6/27- 6 chairs needed.
  will be responsible
  sustainable dev, conflict res, Southern Af, Zaire, global issues
  (private sector & academics)
-See GEM re humanitarian
  -Sierra
  -Zaire
  -Horn

[top page blank]

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70 Date: April 19, 1994
71 See declassified document: April 19, 1994, “Humanitarian Situation in Rwanda,” to A/S George Moose from AF/C Director Arlene Render
- See GEM re Kigali personnel
- See Bill H. re memorial service
  72  73 4/25 - 10:30
- Clinton mtg. Fri. - Call Don 74
  Steinberg - Work up statement
- See Roger re Hill strategy for budget request
- Meet John Whithers in Talbott’s office
- Work up mtg w Talbott/GEM
  Sat am
- Do we want to call a Deputies’ committee ~
- Rwanda -
  Pres. public statement - 1 read
    2 public statements - 1 posted
    VOA - editorial
    NPR - Flatten & Rawson
    CBC
    McNeil & Lehrer
    House/Senate briefing

-Dip.
  Cable to Don asking Mwine 75 to restart Arusha
  Cable to Museveni 76

73 Date: April 25, 1994
74 Don Steinberg, National Security Council
75 President of Tanzania
called w RPF & Rwandan Amb.
US role in Arusha. cable in
Cable to Addis on OAU 
Cable to Paris & Belge to share & react

Core Grp Issues
-How do we address lives at risk & protection
-Do we want a resolution
-Do we want to hand this off to regional

4/22
650 Bang
450 Ghanians
1100
Talbott mtg.
Bosnia
NATO mtg. to extend Sarajevo approach to other areas.
Haiti
Wed WH mtg w Pres & VP -> press for stiffening sanctions. Th & ST saw Aristide yesterday
Working grp.
Refugees
PrepCon for Pop council
Reactionary Vatican
Possible Pres/Pope call

WH.
Demo
Sust Econ Dev.
Internal Conflict
Global issues
Health, envir, drugs, refs
Southern Af
Zaire

Academics 80 best & brightest
Members in Af. community

76 President of Uganda
77 Organization for African Unity, now African Union (AU)
78 Date: April 22, 1994
79 Bangladeshis
80 refugees
NGOs

[Page 60 - bottom]
- Called in RPF rep & read riot act
- Carson did same in Uganda
  -Who are 4 pres. who want to see Pres
  -Rwanda efforts
-Call Don re Lake trip
-Call John Hicks
  -Swaziland close out by end ’95
  -no indication Amb is aware\(^1\)
  -we heard thru talking pts.
-What other countries
-What’s different betw. phase out & close down
-> Change time for pick up to 1045
-See Pete C re Sierra Leone
-Barney Frank wants May 4-5 briefing on MDBs
-Swaziland - no decision was taken
  it has been sort of discussed in a
  regional context, but no discussion
  outside of bureau.
-See Paris 11023 re Togo
-Don Name specific names?

[Page 61 - top]
-Dos Santos
-Mandela
-Museveni
-Salim - Salim

[Page 62 - bottom]
OAU conflict
- Hank Cohen
-Jim Woods
-Jeff Herbst

\(^1\) aware of plans to close the USAID program
-Larry Diamond
-Charlie
-Iru
-Me
-Scott
What a conflict resolution mechanism at OAU useful to us look like & be doing.

H

· Issue statement that individuals we are in process of finding out who who they are

-Change dental appointment

[Page 63 - top]

We call on the leadership of the

4-2482
Talbott
-Bosnia
     Arms embargo
Gallucci
     Beijing - Seoul - tokyo
Salvador elections
     conserv. won

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Possible
     joint statement: GB, France, Belge, Holland, Switz, Germany, Canada
Alison alerted to possible USG request for joint statement. Future assistance?
     element Alison83 weekend […]telephone number…]

---

82 Date: April 24, 1994
- Rwanda ideas on table
- Purpose: stop fighting enough to permit humanitarian assistance
  - Parallel statements/ radio announcements
  - 3rd parties to put personal pressure
  - Talk to French
  - Radio interview - Shattuck\(^{84}\)? moi?\(^{85}\)

Mark Clark - AF
    [...telephone number...]- Are Rw

- Dr. Rutirayga - Kayan Ghali & myself
  Traditional medecine.\(^{86}\) Follow-up

[Page 65 - top]

[on a yellow sticky note]

PB-
    Alison DesForges
    Africa Watch [...telephone number...]

Add to list of names
    Cmdr. of Presidential Guard
    Col. Mpiranya
    (same commander of Pres Haby -

URGENT call 9 am 4/25/94

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Objectives\(^{87}\)\(^{88}\) 4/26\(^{89}\)

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\(^{83}\) Alison DesForges of Africa Watch (now Human Rights Watch)
\(^{84}\) John Shattuck, Assistant Secretary of State of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs (the title changed a year later to its current form of Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor)
\(^{85}\) me
\(^{86}\) doctor, physician
\(^{87}\) See declassified document: April 26, 1994, “Inter-Agency Strategy Meeting Agenda,” US Department of
-> Stop massacre
-> Achieve Ceasefire w monitoring mechan
-> Begin Launch humanitarian asst.
-> Resume Resume negotiations
-> Mobilized international community
   diplomatic
   call for investigation
- (Demonstration of concern.)
-> Acc Initiate investigation/
   Acn Dem accountability
-> Contain violence/
- (Bolster government of Burundi)
-> manage Create/implement deleg public affairs strategy
-> Halt sales/transfer of arms

[Page 67 - top]

-Stop massacres
  -Demarches to govt, esp. French
  1) -Interpersonal contacts, eg with
     former personnel
     -UN vetoed blockade Economic sanctions
     -Public statements by high level voices
       to include names
     -Arms embargo Halt supply Stop.
     -supply & transfer of arms from Zaire & Uganda
     -Keep UNAMIR
     -Protect 12,000
     -Get parties to negotiating table
     -Mobilize Engage radio/media to talk about peace
     -Demarche parties
     -Open phone lines
  2) -Achieve cease-fire (w. monitoring)
     -Call on foreign govts to pressure parties
     -Find resources for talks

State, Memorandum
88 See declassified documents: April 26, 1994, “U.S. Response to the Crisis in Rwanda,” from Prudence Bushnell to Acting Secretary; and “IWG on Rwanda,” from Lt. Col. Harvin, Department of Defense
89 Date: April 26, 1994
- Continue pressure on parties
- Encourage Support UN
- Keep UNAMIR
- Encourage Tanzania & Uganda & OAU
- Maintain Arusha observer group
- Establish Support Facilitate monitoring mechanism
- Send David R

- Launch Humanitarian Ast.
  - maintain coordination meetings strategies &
  - Get Pres. det. for ERMA
  - Support efforts to transfer funds to Horn food emergency (Title 1 to 2)
  - Follow up & coordinate private contributions
  - Explore DOD assets
  - Count refugees

3) - Resume negotiations
   - Elaborate USG position at talks toward current govt.
   - create alternatives

[continued on page 69]
-demarches to people responsible
doing right thing by Burundi
- Tarnoff meet
  Strobe
Pres
  Strobe
  Glad to have chance

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[continued from page 67]

4)

5) Public affairs strategy
   - Outside beltway
   - Public diplomacy
   - Mobilize radio/media attention
to change
   - Briefing NGOs
   -

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- Tony – Checklist on what we have done & will do
  
  Dick Tier
  - Replace Bill Twadell

- FoMin from Nigeria going to Yorba Linda
  bringing letter from Abacha to
  Clinton. Deliver to State protocol
  person.
    Supporting Africans
    Humanitarian asst.
    Helping UN in reasonable way
make decision on guy in France.
Put final touch on AID package for
Ceremony early next week
Inauguration set.
- Benin will talk
- There is a Nigerian FoMin +5 coming. Reception hosted by Pres.

[Top page blank]

[Page 71 - bottom]

- Mark Johnson: Diouf⁹¹ not going to Wash. flying straight back.

-Rwanda
  Visa group - H. Perlow to see influence UN
  Radio campaign
  * Pres to read statement
    “ call Pope (Mitterand, Mubarak,
    France, Belgium, OAU, Germany, EU, Canada,
    Uganda, Tan, Kenya, Senegal,
    Nigeria, Egypt, Zaire, TGambia,
  - Pru⁹² to call - Min. of Defense
    - General Kagame
  - Cable to France & Belge re principal 4 objectives & put pressure on people.
    Uganda, Tanz, Zaire, Burund hope not transferring arms Comm.
  Tomorrow: meet w. HA & IO re Sec. Res⁹³ on halting arms transfers.

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Cease fire not working⁹⁴ ⁹⁵

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⁹¹ President of Senegal
⁹² Prudence Bushnell, referencing herself
⁹³ (UN) Security Council Resolution
⁹⁴ One of the first and only conversations with Rwandan Colonel Théoneste Bagosora, who was later found guilty of genocide in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Later conversations were with Rwandan Major General Augustin Bizimungu who took over speaking with Ambassador Bushnell after the first conversation with Bagosora.
- We are very concerned - including
  Pres. -
  -From our side / priorities

-Eu taut que leaders nous
  comptons sur vous for
  cease fire

- Will call
  
  Directeur General - Col Bagasora ~ 40 [...telephone number...]
  Def Min - Bizimungu ~ Giteramara
  Gen. Bizimungu

  Speak for Pres.

[continued on page 74]

[Page 73 - bottom]

  Follow up w. EB
  - Drafted strategy on Burundi
  - Deputies: to examine PR
  - Visa issue

  -> letter Abacha to Clinton - Strobe will
  be there.. Strobe to accept? Molly Raiser?

  -See Mike Sneider in Wirth’s office
  re communicating message (use of
  DOD?)
  -Strategy re getting RPF & GOR back to
  table
  -Flag officer to visit
  -Refugees: - Use Uganda to those under RPF
    - Kinshasa to send Ref Off
  - Burundi

  -DA Daily Sitvts mtg.
    Sit reps to 7th fl. &
  -See Don re DC agenda

---

96 Early [Rwandan government] leaders that we counted on for the cease fire
97 US embassy in Kinchasa,
98 Refugee officer
99 Secure Interagency Video Teleconference
- Tim W. to call ERMA package
- Informal w Ambs here.

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[continued from page 72]

100 Cessez le feu ne marche pas RPF
101 Personnellement tres sensible eu sommes pres Je n’ai pas toute la puissance
102 Pres; est alle a Butare Deplace C’est
103 Tell 2 jours 48 hours
104 faire
105 La guerre Plus de massacres in K.
106 Chengugu
107 -> Butare - Pres. S’est rendu ce matin Gitarame.
108
109
110
111
112
113
114

[continued on page 76]

100 Conversation with Rwandan General Bagosora – these are notes of him speaking
102 Ceasefire does not work
103 Personally
104 very sensitive
105 have been almost
106 I do not have the power
107 President went to Butare
108 Moves, or displaced person
109 It is
110 days
111 do
112 The war
113 More massacres in Kigali
114 He (the President) returned this morning.
[Page 75 - bottom]

10-288.01-

-> Pres to speak on Sat. No.
- Rwanda -
-> Can we use C-12
  Shattuck’s trip -
  use military craft
  Dan Phillipe
-DC Meeting
~ Peacekeeping Mandate
~Facilitating Arusha: 115 US role & resources
~Conflict resolution at OAU
~11:00 -

Background & objectives
5 questions: Genocide
In com protection of refugees.
Armes Emb.
Counter -prop
Pressure to punish

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[continued from page 74]

116 Quand FPR fait pression
117 Il faut un cessez-feu
118 FPR ne veut pas negocier
119 avec le gouvernement

- Bunubia & Ravia est
vide. Cessez-de-feu. 120

---

115 Reference to the Arusha Accords – the peace negotiations that took place in 1992 and 1993, resulting in the signing of a peace agreement in August of 1993
116 Conversation with Rwandan Major General Augustin Bizimungu
117 When RPF pressured
118 There should (be) a ceasefire
119 RPF did not want to negotiate with the government
120 Ravia is empty. Ceasefire.
- Problem w. letter re
- Donor contact on SAF\textsuperscript{121}

-See Bill J re Liberian trucks
-Chuck Hughes - SS \[\ldots\text{telephone number}\ldots\]

Parker has call to Kagame
(no direct access - goes to thru Mulindi
Time & date - Somalia

- How to use leverage of possible pullout
to send signal to
troop contributors
Kuyate
regional crisis as way of saying to Adid
we have other places that need help.

-Security at Emb. FAST - revisit on 5/15
-Evacuation UN - DOD to look at plan
before deciding if US will help

-Need
Purpose = Keep Burundi from exploding

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Work through OAU & UN
Aggressive diplomatic effort
~ UN
Arm\`es embargo ~yes
Investigation/War crimes

~ Bi

-Grossman - Itoh
-Dept. asked by deputies committee\textsuperscript{122}
- IO is working on Pres' statement
- Laurie Shestack

\textsuperscript{121} South Africa
\textsuperscript{122} See declassified document: April 29, 1994, “Deputies Committee Meeting on Rwanda - Friday, April 29, 1994,” US Department of State
Ar, genocide ref, aid, Burundi.

Tarnoff Belge Convo: Bel is ready to assume portion of humanitarian $ - food - people. Knew about Buj disarming. Rwanda ready to help any process of reconciliation. People will be available
- No French/Belge agreement

[continued on page 80]

[Page 79 - top]

I -
-> French - Belge - Trilateral Strategy
  Tues. Meeting
  3rd less willing
  - endorse step
  see issues like us - re need for diplomats pressure
  Belge cannot be seen to be out in front
  French less strong
-> Engage
  Germany, Swiss, Canada,
  Vatican, T
  Apply pressure
  Ast. Secr. follows up on cable

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[continued from page 78]

concerned re high level of attention concerned about Fr. intentions “ “ encouraging extremists worried about role of Tanz & Zaire. Uganda on side of RPF. Zaire sending
troops.

- UN Call for investigation

- Go to OAU - This is ridiculous - We have $ but it's your problem.
  OK for Tanzanians -
  How would we do it
UN - OAU Chapter 7 - Arusha -

  When we leave we go back in
  with UNAMIR

- OMB Brunson
  ERMA - $5 mil.
  Strip & extra

[Page 81 - bottom]

4/30\textsuperscript{123} - Refugee strategy - Humanitarian Enclaves
- Madeline\textsuperscript{124} to see Boutros &
  Nigeria
- Paris & Belgium need to be aboard
- USG needs to press OAU
-

Need to do
  - Get DC to approve State
Dept. position
  Paper
  DC mtg

- Redo talking points for Shattuck\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{123} Date: April 30, 1994
\textsuperscript{124} Madeline Albright, Permanent Representative, United States Mission to the United Nations
-SEFOA - 2571

- Peacekeeping Core Group Mtg.\textsuperscript{126}
teleconference.

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10.288.01

Brunson

- Have cut ERMA from 15 to 5
  Craig Johnstone agreed because
  of need to keep good graces w - OMB
  can reprogram $
  (take $ away from admissions
  won’t be on table instantly
  can strip other accounts
  will look at which &
  get $ on table. he doesn’t
  like it.
  at least (will write to Strobe)
  - Should DeVos go up to look at
    Refugees?

Col. Bill Whitlow or
Col. Jim Grant

Need. letter of request
  # of hours
  VOA jam capability >
  override decision

Bob Flaten -

Rwanda

- Stop broadcast - Refugees -
- “ arming civilians reports that your people to block
- Start reigning in people
- People = increasingly concerned that people in authority are not doing maximum

[top page blank]

\textsuperscript{125}See declassified document: April 30, 1994, “Your Visit to Tanzania.” Talking points for Shattuck’s trip to Tanzania
\textsuperscript{126}See declassified document: May 2, 1994, “Memorandum for Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting Re: Summary and Conclusions of 2 May 94 Meeting’
- Bizimungu\textsuperscript{127} went to see *Conseil des Ministres*
tout le monde commence\textsuperscript{128} gave message
Burundi is open
Have you
Has rendez-vous w.

In 12 hrs we have *cessez le feu*
Let me tell: refugees are fleeing
*FPR\textsuperscript{129}*. International investigation
Doing my work. Doing what I can
- Beginning to fight in city
- 1900 *du soir*,\textsuperscript{130} 
*Le problème\textsuperscript{131} = do you see us as responsible*\textsuperscript{132}. See Amb.
Send someone. (Send General Dallaire).
Sauf les tueries\textsuperscript{133}. 80 % ~
Wants
- Investigation
- Look at origin
of problem
- *FPR* stop. We will stop & bring order
- People are dying
no more *medicines*.\textsuperscript{134}

---
\textsuperscript{127} Telephone conversation with Rwandan Major General Augustin Bizimungu
\textsuperscript{128} everyone began, started
\textsuperscript{129} *Front Patriotique Rwandais* (The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in English)
\textsuperscript{130} 7:00 at night
\textsuperscript{131} the problem
\textsuperscript{132} responsible
\textsuperscript{133} Except killings
\textsuperscript{134} doctors

---
-Request to DOD to deploy jamming aircraft\textsuperscript{135}  
  type of station/frequency  
  where would we find people  

**Kagame**\textsuperscript{136}  
Refugee reports - Concern re reports about border  
-Sending John Shattuck  
-Helpful to contact Muwiyi  
to let them know  
-Pete de Vos will represent us - see him  
- A ICAO mtg. will be supportive of plane investigation  
- UN Human rights commission team leaving for Kigali this week  
-Saying that you won't Go over UN res.  
What are views of OAU as intervention  

[top page blank]

[Page 85 - bottom]

Cindy Dalaris -  
-Does he\textsuperscript{137} have direct fax? Will fax the packet of public statement.  

mtg./ IO - HA - AF.  
5/1\textsuperscript{138} ~ Barrie  
- Deeply concerned about situation  
- Understand not US issue  
  Doubt US troops - perhaps other Af nations looking at intervention  
- Until there is consensus, not  

\textsuperscript{135} See declassified document: May 5, 1994, "Memorandum from Under Secretary of Defense for Policy to Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security, National Security Council, "Rwanda: Jamming Civilian Radio Broadcasts."  
\textsuperscript{136} Talking points to give to Kagame  
\textsuperscript{137} Kagame  
\textsuperscript{138} Date: May 1, 1994
- Urging res. leaders to continue discussion
  - Tues: US committed to support talks - Amb
- Pres made radio statement
- DC mtg on Fri.
- UN has come HR team going out
- We are discussing condition of refugees

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- Urged OAU to remain committed
- Sr. officials in contact w.
  GOR & RPF stressing need to end bloodshed
- Working in cooperation - bloodshed must

139/5/140 Kagame -
  Just arrived -
- UN Booh-Booh141 - accurate - will not deal w. him
OAU is fine/ UN-OAU would.
  only problem = talking as civilians are hiding in bushes. Butare & other places. Saved by 2 things gens darmes have been brought & people are fighting.
Families staying in hotel Mille Collines142 are trapped by army
Can’t go
Strong word to GOR & people behind - once they know would will not kill [continued on page 87]

139 Telephone conversation with Paul Kagame, commander of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a predominately Tutsi rebel group. Bushnell is delivering talking points.
140 Date: May 1, 1994
142 Hotel des Mille Collines, where 1,200 people took refuge during the genocide.
with impunity. Name names.
Didn’t know Clinton had said
something.
Fax - Brussels – […]telephone number…]
Have people come investigate

Have been in touch
Mwinye
Removed govt. forces but border
is open. On record for having
contacted GOT to allow people
to cross both ways. After we
discussed followed up & people are moving.
Control 150 km. people who crossed =
carrying out massacres, soldiers,
innocents ready to receive any humanitarian asst.
Continued fighting in Kigali. into RPF territory
Asked Dallaire to ask GOR to
let people out of houses. GOR would
He has not agree
GOR condition tells they need to go
back to where they started
RPF Condition = stop killing
sending people to kill  [continued on page 88]

Commissioner told to go to
Butare, Chengngu, Ngare
GOR should ensure security

143 Continued telephone conversation with Paul Kagame – notes are of Kagame speaking
144 See declassified document: May 3, 1994, “RPF General Kagame Sees UNHCR Team Visit as Fastest
Means to End Massacres." US Department of State cable
145 Continued telephone conversation with Paul Kagame.
UNAMIR is refused access.
Things other side should do.
  Agree if. Focus = saving people’s lives first. Worry = imposition - cease fire will not stop killing.
  Agreed to call at 2300 his time.

[top page blank]

[Page 89 - bottom]

- Leave 6:25 - Park & Ride
  6:15 Beth. 7:00.

-DOD needs greater clarity re
  Gen. Sheehan
See GEM: MOU\textsuperscript{146} - Conflict Res (therefore) Everyone is on board
OAU : Min. 6/6-11
  Summit 13-15
AF 2000 - World Net news & Holt for 2 programs
GEM: GCA - 6/1-3
  Capetown
  ESF for Uganda & Taz.
- Call John Whithers
  Charlie
  Tony
  -Dallaire
  -Arusha
  -Trip
  -UN

- Call Chris Wilson

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Mtg 5-4\textsuperscript{147}
  Refugees $\rightarrow$ Humanitarian intelligence
  - most in Tanzania 250 60+ elsewhere
  - $15$ mil. announced Displaced Burundians
-DOD
$\rightarrow$ expecting cable from UNHCR

\textsuperscript{146} Memorandum of Understanding
\textsuperscript{147} Date: May 4, 1994
to request transport
DHA request that

-> DOD Request for tasker
-> Wants list of medical needs

Biggest problem = what is going on in Rwanda - Need to get people in. may need as much as 40-50 m. - 250 metric tons food

USUN\(^{148}\)

RPF
opposes African PKO
wants to punish criminals
Albright met w. Gambari
may send UN team out. Czech &
Argentine, maybe Djibouti

Team UN. Going out
UN Human rights team

PK

PM -
OSD - JCS -
Do we support or not intervention

Diplomatic
- Follow-up talking points to team
- Follow up w. GOR - RPF.

Jamming
Stop it

Intelligence

[Page 91 - bottom]

- See GEM re jamming
Paris - 12197\(^{149}\)

5/

Humanitarian
- Memo to DOD has gone helping
transport food from Turkey to Tanz
- DHA request is for plane
- Refugees located some distance from

\(^{148}\) See declassified document: May 3, 1994, “Seeking Clarification on Rwanda,” from US mission UN to Secretary of State

\(^{149}\) See declassified document: May 3, 1994, “Discussions with the Quai on May 3: Marlaud Mission; Emergency Aid; Trilaterals,” US Embassy Paris to Secretary of State
airstrip
- People not know coming across border - could not see
- Don’t look to bad on food w. Dan 150
    Problem = logistics - not enough truck to move
- Will probably get request to manage port -
- OFDA mtg. tomorrow

Need to look at how to move stuff - Need food stuff movement

PK
- Thurs. PDD 13 policy, will be unveiled - underscore need to be selective
- Rule out:
    - UN Chap. 7 - explain why. highly unlikely
    - UN Chap. 6 - consent & agreement
        no precondition - may be conducive on border areas
    - Focus on African effort

Dipl.

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L-R. Down -
- Johnston - calls for task force UNHRC
    make clear murders will be held accountable
govt will not be recognized
no visas to military
air drops inside for humanitarian act.
$ & tech. asst. to African troops
Hastings
    supported upgraded UN
denounce those responsible

Where are we -
-Ed -
Rwanda
    - Use David to talk to parties
    - Shattuck to see Tanz. & ask

150 From Dar es Salaam
what happened\textsuperscript{151}
- Yell at GOR & RPF
  Are you prepared to allow
  relief under UN & RPF
  Tanz border

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- GOR to allow into south - UN presence
- Send stuff to Shattuck.
PK - Have mtg. look at options
  It is party, not govt.

- Arlene: Who

See GEM re Moose’s trip to Botswana
- Shattuck -
  Pretty positive developments:
  good mtg w. Salim -> joint
  statement:
Addis condemnation/ need for int’l
03313 presence for hum. act, cross
retransmit borders, security. OAU
USUN has imp. role, when
Geneva under UN direction
Paris int’l investigation -
Brussels visit of UNHRC -
Shattuck to reach Ajello - Laso\textsuperscript{152}

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- Christine Shelley - released at 4:00
  this pm.
- Clear willingness to be recruiter.
  optimistic he can recruit, outside neighbor-
  borhood. Going with our scenario
Security. Even Arusha is not as

\textsuperscript{151}See declassified document: April 30, 1994, “Your Visit to Tanzania,” from AF – Prudence Bushnell, Acting to HA – Mr. Shattuck
\textsuperscript{152} Official at United Nations - UNHCR
negative. Parties have left. Plans to
go on to Dodoma. Control
- Leave 7 am for Dodoma ~ call Emb. don't know where
  10 for Buj.
- With Ajello Laso in gear. take David to
  Geneva & give perhaps accompany team
  back to Kigali. or will go on to Paris -

Provide transport. outfit - APCD.
- principles = humanitarian/ protect civilians

See Scot - Pat Irvin meeting on
  Hum. Ast. - include

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PKO Mtg.
- JCS & OSD back pedaled -
  Didn't think they were signing
  off on “forces” -
- O-I sent out to Shattuck warning
  him
- IO is producing options paper
  for DC meeting
- NSC - VP raises Tanzania.
  mtg. in SAf. w. BBG, Salim

Don
  DC tomorrow
- upset by cable - changed it
  See para 4 = useful so it went
- When VP gets on plane
  here is what US is prepared
  to do in support of a viable
  plan.
- DC decision: What amount of
  resources do we have available
  to support PK & HA effort
  What are questions & criteria
to determine if we support the plan

[top page blank]
- VP needs amount & assets. If he can go
  - Options & PRD 13 scrub.

- IO doing options paper based POD criteria
  3 options
  - Dallaire option
    quasi chap. 7
  - Humanitarian enclaves
  - Protecting humanitarian rights asst. sans\textsuperscript{153} use of force

17 Questions
  Who formulated & for what purpose
  IO does not

- Call Don Steinberg re trucks - Liberia

John. Running behind - Both sides in Eutebbe

- Dan Spiegel ~ update on

VP Meeting - BBG - SS - Mwinyie

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5-5\textsuperscript{154}
- Dan Spiegel: Bounce idea re convening of HRC on Rwanda. Procedure: any UN member can request special mtg - have 53 members who are polled & have to respond in 72 hrs; if 23 say yes. Idea = South Africa request - S. Af & US jointly. Would have to move fast. Takes about 10 days to make it come about. Don’t have
  Arlene = new no problem if willing (Mandela to make statement-

\textsuperscript{153} without
\textsuperscript{154} Date: May 5, 1994
Arlene will ask)
April = if we can’t do it today - can’t
do it till after May 12. Ask Thabo\textsuperscript{155}
to attend. Would.
No nation has come forward yet.
Momentous

Bob Bradtke- Qs\textsuperscript{156} for record to DeJarnette
Sent w/out H clearance.
- Amb. Ka ~~ out of town.
  Shattuck
-

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Mtg.
- Follow up on trucks to offload
  -PK
- UN
  OAU asked for UN operation -
    adjust to provide security
    & PK
    NAM -

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VP Mtg. Boutros, Salim, Mwynie
- Alert J. Dobbins
  J. Whithers
  S/S
- Get word through IO -> UN
  Dar, Addis . See AFs re
  schedule
-> Kanp 3638
- Wants to be briefed by Leon Furth on
  what we can bring to the table (resources
  & plan. Susan\textsuperscript{157} has informal clearances

\textsuperscript{155} Thabo Mbeke
\textsuperscript{156} Questions
\textsuperscript{157} Susan Rice, then Director for International Organizations and Peacekeeping at the National Security Council
across the board.

Sandy to call -

-> John need to clearance

-> JCS balk on committing $ support

Susan Rice - First two 75 not available if assessed. Thinks $ 10 mil from UNAMIR is wrong

If o

* SUSAN ZELLE […telephone number…]*

Jim Dobbins […telephone number…]*

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In Cairo: Had long & good convo w. GOR Min of Transport, RPF Sec Gen. Had called Dallaire - “We’re at moment of truth

RPF points

- HR inquiry

- Will not accept int’l presence in Kigali or one that has any role other than hum. asst.

- Are ready to be convened by Dallaire - Within day or two

GOR

- Ready to meet w. Dallaire.

Skeptical re RPF. (Left message w. Dallaire)

Issued joint communiqué. Bottom line = get to Dallaire.

- Call Ellen Hume […telephone number…]

- Bob Flatten – […telephone number…]

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- Situation

- Humanitarian Act

68 Sandy Berger, Deputy National Security Advisor
Moving dry stuffs ~
Press for US contributions

PK / VP mtg.
- Background cable ~ People from Zaire
- Wed. morning mtg.
  Talk points ~ Find out time ~ UN
- UN planning ~ Cable our talking pts.
  ~ Refined border human. ast.

- Human Rights
Shattuck’s trip
Canadian Eminent Rapporteurs Africans

- Ceasefire
Dallaire convo.

- other Diplomatic initiatives
  Decision memo re Geneva ministerial

- Public Relations
  OSD PA

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- JK List of eminent Africans for Rapporteurs
- Urge support of Canadians -> AF countries on UNHCR
- Fax on Thurs.
- See sim re length of stay
- BPP
- See Bill J. re Liberia/Nigeria
- See Kathleen re Liberia hearing
- AF 2000
- Aubrey brought directly to AF/S.
  Package went to H. Kay Littlejohn Staff Asst.
- Susan Rice - Don needed background
  Kevin - fax or cable. NY contingency planning in NY. Our best gov't-wide assessment on where most need is. Cable to fill holes.
Cld be meeting morning or afternoon tomorrow

Susan Rice
GEM: Does he have talking points

[…personal notes deleted at request of author…]

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mtg

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[…personal notes deleted at request of author…]

- Small interoffice task force
- Draft cable of African Peg Willingham
- Geneva ministerial on Bosnia. Fri.
- host in Spiegal’s house.
  Get Sec. to raise Rwanda in context of problem of accountability of ethnic violence. Will have press conference. come arrived with statement to Press
- See if ministers as group
- Spiegal can arrange
- Lantos

- Regional subgroup - Need to know
  Come
  Do it during absence.
  Tasker =
    • Working through grid HA will bring
    • Work up regional definition of where we most want to
  Budget items
  Country In Transition

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5/11<sup>159</sup> - Strobe mtg
- Haiti
  Purpose of mtg: Get support for
  US plan
- Yemen
- Bosnia - convo -
- Mitchell/ Dole Amendment
  Trying to get close

Wirth mtg
  · Berger

  Sec’s
  Mideast
  Haiti
  Useful bi national mtg.
  South Af.
  Rwanda
  ATT sale

John: Devastation - broadcasts -
  Hulcuon #s, 100-200 tho. - HR inquiry
  Hum R<sup>160</sup> monitoring affect of UNAMIR

Tim Dobbins -
  G-7 Tarnoff

Wendy
  Talk to LMO before going on hill

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Purpose = Understand Role/Task of IWG
  Define Role of Subgroup v. “
  Project Work of “

GEM: VP mtg: Talking Pts., Background, Press release
  Australian troop/modify Dallaire’s #s
  ~~ Interagency met & agreed greatest need in South.

- Susan Rice - “Must Go Tonight"

Staff Meeting

<sup>159</sup> Date: May 11, 1994
<sup>160</sup> Human Rights
- List of Eminent Africans to help Somalia or Burundi
- Cable in works re African countries on Special works

- GEM - Had mtg w. BBG, Mwynie, Salim-Salim. VP was quite forward in presenting proposal, said this is one. Needed to clarify that this would include PK-type mission. Still pushing for Kigali but BBG said wants Chap 6, parties behavior

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- Our idea should be vetted - in NY Is merit in trying to get this moved asap. Acknowledgement of Burundi Hope = if this moves, galvanize broader ceasefire -> consideration of other option. Next step = NY. Make sure people. DoD. Salim said 4 countries said willing to contribute = Ghana, Nigeria, Zimb, Tanzania -

- See GEM: 8 person posts v. closing ~ VP lunch for Diouf - is he - planning one Ron Brown/Kingibe mtg.

- Need to talk to Shattuck -Info memo to Sec.
- See Bill re secure fax

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Rwanda
- Need to carefully manage PK plans HRC inquiry -> Info memo on intervention stop in Geneva efforts
put marker
down re
what to be
sensitive to

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- Barney Frank -
  Letter from U of Mass Dartmouth
  Visa - Rawlings
- GEM Wolf\textsuperscript{161} ~ Exorcised on Sudan Envoy
- Concern for Kuito - WFP pulling out
11:45 Thomas Jefferson Award
  Present at Ben Franklin
Liberia 5/18  2:00

\textsuperscript{162}[…telephone number…]
Bagosora
\textit{En Conge de}\textsuperscript{163}
  Circumstances
  \textit{a perdue son pere}\textsuperscript{164}
\textit{Dans l'apres midi}\textsuperscript{165}
  Eng

- Call Don Steinberg re Nigeria
- See GEM re doing 60 Min.
on Nigeria & seam not Carrington
  but GEM on EG - statement after up

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Eliminate

\textsuperscript{161} Frank Wolf
\textsuperscript{162} Conversation with Bizimungu
\textsuperscript{163} On leave/vacation of
\textsuperscript{164} lost his father
\textsuperscript{165} In the afternoon
Niact\textsuperscript{166} Geneva - [...telephone number..]
- People are still there
- UNAMIR s’organise\textsuperscript{168}.
- Vous me menace. vous v’\textsuperscript{169}
- Pas responsable\textsuperscript{171}
- Nous voulons une solution\textsuperscript{172}
- Vous etes mal renseigner  
- Doesn't know Bagasora -
- GEM UN assessed operation
- If you can have solution for
  people behind lives can woo
  RPF to ceasefire.
VP lunch for Diouf -> GEM to
- EB to do 60 mi
- Call Ruth in Benin re
  issue to ask Soglo to press
Nigeria
Focus in on views
  on env, dev, IFAD speech -
- See Rwandan Amb.
- Core PK mtg. 3-5
  Agenda of Pres’ FP team

\textsuperscript{166} “NIACT” is a cable designation for “night action cable,” a type of cable which requires immediate
attention.
\textsuperscript{167} Telephone conversation with Rwandan Major General Augustin Bizimungu
\textsuperscript{168} UNAMIR organizes itself
\textsuperscript{169} you threaten me. you
\textsuperscript{170} does not know
\textsuperscript{171} Not responsible
\textsuperscript{172} We want one solution
\textsuperscript{173} You are misinformed - I am not
GEM
- Good meeting - All concerned about Burundi -
  -> Constitutional Crisis <- what can we do.
  UN Resolution : Need flexible language to allow different options. Report

Humanitarian Asst.
- C 130 - What is our answer
  Need to get Perry & Talbot

- OFDA
  $ 1 mil. inside Rwanda - 1 + to come

Peacekeeping
- Cable Excised sentence re Chap. 7

- Core PK group
  - UN has ignored request to put our option in report. May have to decide whether to vote
  - C - 130s
  - JCS brief & what to do about UN

UN - Resolution
- We don’t like it = refers to rept we haven’t seen & options are not w it . . SRice wants to vote against
- What is reaction - How do we
  Susan Zelle to come up w. strategy on how to avoid defensive on resolution

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- Burundi doesn’t look good
  Leonard & DATT to go in to GORB

Diplomatic
- GOF & GOB - do something
  - UN dip. efforts - need to be more
  - France

UN -
- Working group still looking at rept
- No one has draft resolution
if our option can get on table may be included but our ideas were not well received.

1) Turn to UN
2) Consult Congress
3) Put Options through PDD 25
4) Flesh out diplomatic strategy

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Democracy
- Closer coordination & control of NGOs
- Control of assessments
- Whether a particular electoral process is worthy of assistance
- Appropriate reaction to elections/results
- AID's approach to implementation democracy contracts
- Lack of supervision of NGOs except auditing
- No Involvement in AID's decision making process decision making not under State's criteria
- Use IWG for budget decisions
- 116 E committee takes too long - cut turn around time

~ Structures under State control & that are respected that allow supervision & coordination of fp. under State control
~ Ultimate control over political judgments
~ Control over distribution of democracy resources
~ Control over program mechanism double jeopardy (eliminates USIA)

[Page 115 - piece of paper on inside back cover]

Questions:

~ Humanitarian
   - What does Dar ConOff say?
- Today’s #'s
- Status needs memo
- Brunson’s trip
  anything more for
  him to say
- AID money
- DoD flights
~ UN/PK (Susan)
- PM needs to
  scrub accounts
  determine mandate
  figure out likely participants
  UN effort w. OAU troops
  assessed operation

~ Diplomatic
- Arusha
- Who showed up
  What are they going to
  accomplish
  What are positions going
  in
- Cease-fire/ Dallaire/Kigali
  Any word?
- GOR teams

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[END]