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IMMEDIATE
O 131729Z MAY 94
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7050
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7356
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE 0110
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE 0580
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0981 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 0451
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY 0958
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 0496
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY 9483

AFRICA, WIL JAENEN, BELGIAN AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA, JOHAN SWINEN, AND BAUDOUIH FONTAINE, COUNSELOR FOR CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS. THE FRENCH DELEGATION CONSISTED OF JEAN MARC DE LA SABLIERE, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, CLAIRE LIGNIERES, QUAI DESK OFFICER AT THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AND CECILE POZZO DI BORGIO, FIRST SECRETARY, FRENCH EMBASSY IN BRUSSELS. THE USG SIDE WAS REPRESENTED BY A/S MOOSE, AMB. DAVID RAWSON, ZAIRE DESK OFFICER TERRY MCCULLEY, EMBASSY PARIS AFRICA WATCHER HOWARD PERLOW, AND EMBASSY BRUSSELS POLOFF JEANNETTE P. DUBROW

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 05 BRUSSELS 05369

DEPARTMENT FOR AF, AF/C, AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, PREF, EAID, BE, FR, UN, RW, BY
SUBJECT: RWANDA PORTION OF MAY 13 TRILATERAL MEETING

REF: KINSHASA 2683

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY

2. MAY 13 TRILATERAL DISCUSSION MEETING REVEALED BROAD AGREEMENT ON CONDITIONS ON THE GROUND, ON NEED TO ESTABLISH A DURABLE AND MEANINGFUL CEASE FIRE AND STOP THE MASSACRES, ON URGENCY OF STOPPING ARMS FLOW TO BOTH SIDES, AND ON INVOLVING RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

3. THE MAY 13 TRILATERALS WERE ATTENDED BY BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET, LODE WILLEMS, DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARAN

JOINT STAFF V1

ACTION (U) 15
INFO SJS-N(1) J3:CSR-J(1) CMAS(1) NIDS(1) J4(5)
J5(1) SHAPE LMO(1) J5:NUC-J(1) J5:AFRICA-J(1)
J5:WCEURNATO-J(1) J5:WTCNP-J(1)
+NACEMEAF
+USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL

SECDEF V2

ACTION (U,6) 18
INFO SECDEF-N(1) SECDEF-C(1) USDAT:PL(1)
USDAT:IP(2) ATSD:PA(1) ASD:PA&E/EPF(1)
USDP:DASDEUR(1) USDP:AFR(1) USDP:DSAA(1) USDP:CIS(1)
USDP:PK/PE(1) USDP:FCMA(1) USDP:CP(1)
USDP:AFR POL(1) USDP:EW ECON(1) USDP:EUR POL(1)
USDP:NATOPOL(1)
+USDP:D TSA

DIA V3

ACTION (U,6,7) 2
INFO USDP:ISA(1) DIA/MNRB(1)
+CSAF WASHINGTON DC
+USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
+US SURVEY SHAPE BE
+CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//INZ//MZZ//
+NAIC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//SCIR//
+CDRPSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//AORC-POG-S6//
+CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA//J2//
+UDITUSAREUR HEIDELBERG
+MARCORINTACT DET QUANTICO VA
+USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
+UCIRF AUGSBURG GE
+SAFE

BELGIAN APPRAISAL OF SITUATION

4. CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS OPENED THE SESSION BY PRESENTING THE GOB'S ANALYSIS OF THE GROUND SITUATION, EFFORTS TO INSTITUTE A CEASEFIRE, UNSC AND REGIONAL ENDEAVORS TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS, AND BELGIAN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE REGION.

5. THE GOB, WILLEMS SAID, CONSIDERS THE SITUATION IN KIGALI PARTICULARLY WORRISOME. THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE VULNERABLE POPULATIONS THAT MUST BE PROTECTED: AT AMHORO STADIUM, KING FAISAL HOSPITAL AND AT THE MILLES COLLINES HOTEL. THE FATE OF SABENA EMPLOYEES AT THE MILLES COLLINES IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN. THERE MAY BE OTHER GROUPS, AS YET UNIDENTIFIED, NEEDING PROTECTION.

6. UNILATERAL CEASEFIRES HAVE NOT BEEN RESPECTED, WILLEMS SAID. THE QUESTION NOW WAS HOW TO BRING ABOUT AN EFFECTIVE END TO THE VIOLENCE.

7. THE UNSC HAD HELD INFORMAL DISCUSSION ON 5/12 AND THE GOB IS INTERESTED IN CLARIFYING THE TREND OF UN EFFORTS. WILLEMS ASKED IF THE USG AND FRANCE HAD A SENSE OF THE SUPPORT THAT WILL BE FORTHCOMING AND OF THE CONTENTS OF THE RESOLUTION NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION? WILLEMS SAID THAT IF WE ENCOURAGED RESUMPTION OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS, WE SHOULD AGREE BEFOREHAND ON THE APPROACH AND ROLES OF THE TRILATERAL.

8. FINALLY, WILLEMS QUICKLY REVIEWED BELGIUM'S HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO DATE. THE GOB, HE SAID, HAD PROVIDED A TRANCHE OF BF 100 MILLION (APPROXIMATELY USDOLS 3 MILLION) AND MIGHT BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AIR

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LIFT. NO FINAL DECISION HAS BEEN MADE BY THE GOB YET, HOWEVER.

FRANCE AGREES BUT WANTS ZAIRE INVOLVED IN REGIONAL EFFORT

9. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED WITH WILLEMS' ANALYSIS OF THE GROUND SITUATION.

CINC/SVC CHF V5

ACTION (U,6) 0
INFO +OCSA WASHINGTON DC
+PTC WASH DC

MCN=94133/09391

TOR=94133/18172

TAD=94133/18192

CDSN=MAU415

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BEHIND THE LINES. WITH NO QUICK CEASEFIRE IN SIGHT, CROSS BORDER OPERATIONS, PROTECTION OF BORDER ENCLAVES AROUND UGANDA, TANZANIA, BURUNDI, AND OF POCKETS AROUND BUTARE, CYANGULU, AND CITIES IN SW RWANDA MUST BE IMPLEMENTED. WE HAVE INDICATIONS FROM BOTH THE RWANDAN MILITARY AND THE RPF THAT THESE PROPOSALS MAY BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. FURTHERMORE, SUCH AN INITIATIVE COULD ACTUALLY INCREASE THE CHANCES OF A DURABLE CEASEFIRE. THE RPF MAY BE MORE AMENABLE TO A CEASEFIRE IF IT IS REASONABLY SURE PEOPLE BEHIND THE LINES ARE PROTECTED.

15. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT A CEASEFIRE RISKED INCREASING THE THREAT TO BURUNDI. ADDITIONAL REFUGEES FLEEING INTO BURUNDI, AS WELL AS CONTINUED FIGHTING IN RWANDA, COULD PROVOKE BOTH SIDES IN BURUNDI. ANY OPERATIONS UNDERTAKEN IN RWANDA WOULD HAVE TO BE HANDLED VERY CAREFULLY. DURING OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH BURUNDI GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, IT HAS BECOME EVIDENT THE BURUNDI MILITARY IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE INTRODUCTION OF ANY FORCES TO WHICH THE RPF OBJECTS.

16. THE USG AGREES THE REGION'S STATES NEED TO BE ENGAGED IN PRESSURING BOTH SIDES TO END THE KILLINGS. WE THUS SEE THE MERITS OF A REGIONAL SUMMIT AND HOPE IT WILL PRESSURE RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS TO REFRAIN FROM PROVIDING ARMS TO THE COMBATANTS. IN THAT REGARD, WE SEE THE MERIT OF ~~--- huh?~~ IMPLICATING ZAIRE IN THE PROCESS. THE TANZANIANS, HOWEVER, REMAIN THE BEST PLACED TO FURTHER THE EFFORT TO RESUME ARUSHA, OR ITS EQUIVALENT. (COMMENT)

Agree

11. TURNING TO THE ONGOING UN DELIBERATIONS ON ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION, DE LA SABLIERE EXPRESSED GOF SKEPTICISM OVER THE MANDATE'S CONCEPT OF USING "LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE" AS JUSTIFICATION FOR ALLOWING USE OF FORCE TO PROTECT PERSONS. IN ADDITION TO THIS CONCERN, FRANCE WANTS ANY RESOLUTION TO INCLUDE AN OPTION TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, LAUNCH AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CRASH, AND ESTABLISH AN ARMS EMBARGO.

12. ON THE HUMANITARIAN FRONT, FRANCE WAS HEAVILY ENGAGED IN AIDING REGIONAL EFFORTS IN BURUNDI AND TANZANIA, AS WELL AS SUPPORTING ICRC AND THE WFP. APPROXIMATELY F20 MILLION HAD BEEN CONTRIBUTED SO FAR AND FRANCE HAD LAUNCHED AIR LIFT OPERATIONS, AS WELL AS PUT A BOEING 707 AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE HCR.

US PROPOSES CROSS BORDER OPERATION TO INCREASE CHANCES OF OBTAINING MEANINGFUL CEASEFIRE AND RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL PROCESS

13. IN RESPONSE TO REQUESTS FOR THE USG ANALYSIS, A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT WITH THE ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY SITUATION. HE SAID IT WAS POSSIBLE THE RPF HAD REACHED THE LIMIT OF ITS MILITARY CAPABILITIES. THE USG DID NOT HAVE, HOWEVER, A CLEAR IDEA OF THE RWANDAN MILITARY'S REMAINING CAPABILITY. IT IS OUR IMPRESSION ALSO, A/S MOOSE STATED, THAT THE RPF IS NOT SERIOUSLY COMMITTED TO A CEASEFIRE NOW. THE RPF DOES NOT WANT TO LEGITIMIZE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND IT FEARS THAT INSTITUTING A CEASEFIRE WILL ALLOW CREATION OF A LINE BEHIND WHICH THE MASSACRES WILL CONTINUE UNABATED. THE FIGHTING CONTINUES AND SEEMS TO HAVE WORSEMED. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT SEEMS TO US HIGHLY IMPROBABLE THAT POSSIBLE TROOP CONTRIBUTORS WOULD AGREE TO SEND PEOPLE IN

17. IN RESPONSE TO WILLEMS' APPEAL FOR ACTION TO PROTECT THE THREE GROUPS IN KIGALI, ANB. MOOSE ACKNOWLEDGED THE USG PLAN DID NOT DEAL WITH THESE THREE SITES. WE HAVE BEEN IN REPEATED CONTACT WITH BIZIMUNGU AND HAVE INSTISED HE PASS A MESSAGE TO THE RWANDA PRESIDENT AND THE ARMY TO FACILITATE THE EVACUATION OF THESE THREE GROUPS. ANB. MOOSE ASKED THE TRILATERAL CONSIDER A JOINT APPROACH TO BOTH SIDES URGING THE EVACUATION OF THE THREATENED.

18. THE USG UNDERSTANDS AND AGREES THAT THE UNSC RESOLUTION SHOULD CONTAIN A REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS. OUR VIEW IS THAT THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IS THE APPROPRIATE FORUM TO TAKE UP THIS MATTER. WE SHOULD ALLOW AYALA LASSO TO ADVISE US FURTHER.

BELGIUM ENDORSES SESSION OF UNHCR, URGES EVACUATION OF THREATENED GROUPS, AND ADVOCATES EVENHANDED APPROACH TO BOTH SIDES

19. WILLEMS ADDED THE G08 FULLY ENDORSED THE CANADIAN REQUEST FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND INCLUSION, IN THE UNSC RESOLUTION, OF A

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TO RWANDA - UNLESS AN AGREED UPON AND MEANINGFUL CEASEFIRE IS IMPLEMENTED. ALTHOUGH GHANA, ZIMBABWE, TANZANIA, AND NIGERIA HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN CONTRIBUTING TROOPS, GHANA AND ZIMBABWE HAVE EXPRESSLY RULED OUT A PEACE ENFORCEMENT OPERATION.

14. THE REASONING BEHIND THE USG PROPOSAL FOR A UN OPERATION WITH A HUMANITARIAN COMPONENT IS THE FACT THAT THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF PEOPLE STILL AT RISK

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REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. WILLEMS SAID IT WAS HARD TO OVERESTIMATE THE IMPACT OF THE MURDER OF 10 BELGIAN PEACEKEEPERS ON BELGIAN PUBLIC OPINION. IN ADDITION, HE ASKED THAT FRANCE AND THE US APPEAL, DURING ITS CONTACTS WITH MEMBERS OF THE SELF-PROCLAIMED INTERIM RWANDAN GOVERNMENT, IT STOP MAKING RIDICULOUS STATEMENTS

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ACCUSING BELGIUM OF NOT PROTECTING THE AIRPORT AND SHOOTING DOWN THE PRESIDENTIAL PLANE. BELGIUM, HE SAID, WOULD REQUEST THAT ANY RESOLUTION INCLUDE AN INQUIRY INTO THE MURDERS OF THE PARAS.

20. BELGIUM, HE SAID, SUPPORTS THE USG IDEA OF JOINT APPROACHES TO THE GOR AND THE RWANDAN ARMY TO FACILITATE THE EVACUATION OF THE THREE THREATENED GROUPS IN KIGALI. THESE THREE GROUPS WERE BECOMING A SYMBOL OF EVERYTHING THAT HAD GONE WRONG IN RWANDA. WE COULD NOT ALLOW THEM TO BE MASSACRED.

21. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE SAYING "EVERY LIFE WAS WORTH SAVING" BUT ADDED THE THREE SIGHTS BUT NOT BE ALLOWED TO SYMBOLIZE THE ENTIRE RWANDAN PROBLEM. THE MASSACRES ARE INTOLERABLE TO THE GOF. IT WILL THUS BE VERY IMPORTANT TO TRY TO DETERMINE WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH AND THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE KILLINGS. ALTHOUGH THE GOF HAS MADE CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS, IT HAS NO PROOF.

CAPABLE OF MOUNTING SUCH AN OPERATION. IT WILL, THEREFORE, HAVE TO BE A UN EFFORT.

MUST CULTIVATE ANY SURVIVING MODERATES

26. THE TRILATERAL AGREED AN EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO GET BOTH SIDES TO TALK TO EACH OTHER. DE LA SABLIERE SAID THEY HAD RECEIVED REPORTS THERE WERE SOME MODERATES IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THEY, PLUS ANY MODERATES WHO HAD SURVIVED, SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE RECONCILIATION. IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHO HAD MANAGED TO ESCAPE. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PURSUE, THROUGH ANY MEANS STILL AVAILABLE, CONTACTS WITH MODERATES IN THE ARMY AND THE GOVERNMENT WHO WOULD BE WILLING TO TALK.

COMMENT

27. E THE MEETING PRODUCED REMARKABLE CONSENSUS ON WHAT OUR EVENTUAL GOALS SHOULD BE IN RWANDA: STOPPING THE KILLINGS, OBTAINING A CEASEFIRE, MOUNTING AND PROTECTING LARGE-SCALE HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS, AND EVENTUALLY RESTARTING THE POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT PROCESS. END COMMENT.

28. THIS MESSAGE WAS CLEARED BY A/S MOOSE BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE.

29. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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23. AMB. MOOSE CONFIRMED OUR INFORMATION ON THE MASSACRES TALLIED WITH THAT OF THE GOF. WE HAVE RECEIVED CREDIBLE TESTIMONIES OF SUMMARY EXECUTIONS. THIS IS DIFFERENT FROM THE KILLINGS PERPETRATED BY THE MILITIAS AND THE RWANDAN MILITARY. IT IS IMPORTANT WE EXPRESS TO BOTH SIDES OUR PROFOUND OBJECTIONS TO EITHER TYPE OF INCIDENT. AS FOR AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PLANE CRASH, IT IS DOUBTFUL WE WILL UNCOVER THE TRUTH. BUT THE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE.

ANY ARMS EMBARGO MUST BE MONITORED ON BOTH SIDES

24. IMPOSITION OF AN EFFECTIVE ARMS EMBARGO IS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO THE GOF, DE LA SABLIERE SAID. IT IS IMPORTANT BOTH UGANDA AND ZAIRE BE CONTROLLED. THE GOF HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION FRM ICRC THAT THE RPF AND THE UGANDAN ARMY ARE PREVENTING ACCESS TO THE BORDER AT KABITUMBA. IT WAS ESSENTIAL UGANDA KNOW THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY KNOWS.

25. AMB. MOOSE AGREED, SAYING EVERYTHING IS RELATED IN OUR EFFORTS TO GET A CEASEFIRE IMPLEMENTED. THE ABILITY TO PROTECT THOSE BEHIND THE LINES WILL HELP CONVINCE MUSEVENI TO RESPECT THE ARMS EMBARGO. AMB. MOOSE CONFIRMED GEN. DALLAIRE HAD BEEN TRYING TO OBTAIN THE COOPERATION OF THE FIELD COMMANDERS TO INSTITUTE A CEASEFIRE. HE HAD NOT

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SUCCEEDED YET, HOWEVER. IN RESPONSE TO WILLEMS' QUESTION ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE OAU, AMB. MOOSE REPLIED SALIM SALIM HAD ACKNOWLEDGED DURING THEIR MEETING THE OAU IS NOT

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MCN=94133/09391 TOR=94133/1817Z TAD=94133/1819Z

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