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INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 HA-09 H-01TEDE-00 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02 INR-00 IO-19 OMB-01PM-02 PRS-01 PA-01 P-01 RPCS-01 SNP-00 SP-00 TRSE-00 T-00 SS-00 USIE-00 CORE-00 /043W -----D6E867 141951Z /38

O 141944Z JUL 93
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8161
INFO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
CJCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir. (M) Release () Excise () Deny (M) Declassify Date 7/18/98 Exemption

SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003423

STATE FOR AF DAS BUSHNELL AND IO/UNP SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA AND DAS SEWELL JCS FOR J3, J5 WHITE HOUSE PLEASE PASS NSC

E.0.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, MARR, UN, RW

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE PEACEKEPING OPERATION IN RWANDA

REF: A) STATE 210975, B) USUN 2899, C) USUN 3028, D)

USUN 3046, E) KIGALI 2414

1.

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2. SUMMARY: IN ANSWER TO REF A, THERE ARE PROS AND CONS BEING DISCUSSED WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REGARDING A UN INTERPOSITIONAL FORCE IN RWANDA, REFERRED TO IN THE (PENDING) ARUSHA ACCORD AS A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF). PROBABLY, THE BEST WAY FORWARD WILE, BE TO DEVISE AN IMAGINATIVE WAY FOR THE UN TO HELP THE OAU UNDERTAKE THE MAJOR PART OF THE PEACEKEEPING TASK, ALLOWING THE OAU TO TAP INTO UN EXPERTISE, BUT AVOIDING PAYING FOR THE PKO THROUGH



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ASSESSMENTS ON UN MEMBER STATES. THIS NIF IS SEPARATE FROM, BUT COMPLEMENTARY TO, UNOMUR (THE OBSERVER AND MONITORING GROUP ON THE UGANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER). END SUMMARY.

HISTORY

3. THIS CABLE WILL DISCUSS THE SECOND STAGE OF MULTILATERAL ACTION IN RWANDA. AS DOD AND STATE WILL RECALL, THE MANDATE AND OPERATING PRINCIPLES FOR THE FIRST STAGE--A BORDER MONITORING GROUP--WAS NEGOTIATED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF DOD/OSD/ISA, JCS, AND STATE'S AF AND IO BUREAUS WITH A HIGH LEVEL FRENCH DELEGATION IN NEW YORK JUNE 11 (REF B). ONCE THE USG AND FRENCH HAD REACHED A CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS, THE FRENCH PRESENTED A TEXT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WHICH WAS TAKEN UP IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS (REF C) AND ADOPTED (REF D).

4. THE SECOND STAGE OF MULTILATERAL ACTION IN RWANDA CANNOT BE THOROUGHLY ANALYZED UNTIL AN AGREEMENT



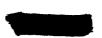
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BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT IS FINALIZED AND
SIGNED AT ARUSHA, TANZANIA. THE ARUSHA ACCORD MAY BE
SIGNED BY THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDAN
PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) AS EARLY AS JULY 15. REPORTEDLY,
THE ACCORD WILL CALL FOR THE UN TO SEND A NEUTRAL
INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF) TO INTERPOSE ITSELF IN THE
70-MILE WIDE BUFFER ZONE BETWEEN THE TWO FORCES' FRONT
LINES. THIS WILL CREATE THE ATMOSPHERE OF STABILITY
WHICH WILL ENABLE THE ALMOST ONE MILLION DISPLACED
PERSONS TO RETURN SAFELY TO THEIR HOMES. THE OAU IS
CURRENTLY IN THE BUFFER ZONE WITH A NEUTRAL MONITORING
AND OBSERVING GROUP (NMOG), WHICH BY ALL ACCOUNTS IS
NOT/NOT DOING A VERY GOOD JOB.

PRD-13

5. THE PROPOSED NIF (ALTHOUGH NOT FULLY FLESHED OUT) SEEMS TO GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS FULFILLING THE CRITERIA IN PRD-13. A) THE THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL ORDER INCLUDES INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSION BY REBEL FORCES LOCATED ACROSS THE BORDER IN UGANDA AND A HUMANITARIAN



DISASTER INVOLVING ALMOST ONE MILLION DISPLACED WHO HAVE FLED THEIR HOMES IN THE FACE OF VIOLENCE. B) THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF INTEREST IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE PRESENCE OF OAU FORCES IN RWANDA, SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 846 ESTABLISHING A BORDER MONITORING GROUP, AND THE TANZANIAN-FACILITATED PEACE TALKS IN ARUSHA WHICH ARE OBSERVED BY SEVERAL CONCERNED COUNTRIES INCLUDING THE U.S. C) THE CLEAR OBJECTIVES, WHICH SHOULD BE CLARIFIED BY THE ARUSHA ACCORD, SEEM TO BE



USUN N 03423 01 OF 02 141950Z PAGE 04 THOSE OF A CLASSICAL PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN WHICH A CEASEFIRE EXISTS AND BOTH SIDES ACCEPT THE PKO. THIS PROPOSED FORCE DOES NOT APPEAR TO SPILL OVER INTO PEACE ENFORCEMENT. THE PEACEMAKING HAS ALREADY BEEN (ALMOST) ACCOMPLISHED BY THE TANZANIANS. D) THIS IS THE AREA WHERE SOME QUESTIONS REMAIN. PARTICULARLY, THE OUESTIONS OF FINANCING AND WHETHER THE MANDATE SHOULD BE TAKEN UP BY THE UN OR OAU ARE STILL AT ISSUE.

PRO

6. (U) THE SECRETARIAT, AS WELL AS SOME MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE DONOR COMMUNITY, ARE WILLING TO ACCEDE TO THE ANTICIPATED REQUEST FOR A UN-LED NIF. THEY SAY THERE IS A MORAL OBLIGATIO N FOR THE UN TO HELP BRING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO CONFLICTS WHEN ASKED. IS ONE CASE WHERE BOTH PARTIES ACTUALLY SEEM TO BE DISPLAYING THE WILL TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND MOVE TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AS OPPOSED TO OTHER AREAS



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SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003423

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(E.G. ANGOLA, BOSNIA, GEORGIA) WHERE THE GOODWILL OF THE PROTAGONISTS IS QUESTIONABLE. THE CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN HOLDING FOR OUITE SOME TIME. UN PEACEKEEPERS IN RWANDA WOULD HAVE A REASONABLY GOOD CHANCE OF EFFECTIVELY



PAGE 02 USUN N 03423 02 OF 02 141950Z BRINGING PEACE TO MILLIONS OF SUFFERING PEOPLE. AWAY FROM THIS CALL FOR HELP COULD HAVE TRAGIC HUMAN CONSEQUENCES.

7. (U) FINANCIALLY, THE SECRETARIAT REALIZES IT WILL COST LESS TO PUT A PKO IN PLACE FOR A LIMITED TIME ALLOWING THE POPULATION TO RETURN TO ITS VILLAGES, THAN TO PAY FOR THE FEEDING AND UPKEEP OF ONE MILLION PEOPLE IN REFUGEE CAMPS.



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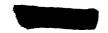
8. SUPPORTING THE NEED FOR A UN ROLE, THIS POINT OF VIEW CITES THE POOR JOB THE OAU HAS BEEN DOING TO DATE. THE OAU HAS BEEN DRAGGING ITS FEET IN PROPOSING CONCRETE WAYS TO SHORE UP ITS OPERATION, DESPITE A VISIT BY A SECONDED OFFICER FROM UN DPKO. THERE ARE COMPLAINTS THAT THE OAU IS INEXPERIENCED, CORRUPT, INCOMPETENT, LACKING IN FUNDS, ETC. THE UN HAS THE EXPERTISE TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE. UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI EXPRESSED THIS POINT OF VIEW TO THE PERMREPS OF FRANCE, BELGIUM AND THE U.S. IN THE SPRING. OF THE P-5, THE FRENCH ARE MOSTLY

STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF HAVING A UN-LED PKO, SINCE THEY ARE STAUNCHLY AGAINST THE OAU, WHICH IS ALSO OUT OF FAVOR

CON

WITH THE GOR.

9. ARGUING ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, RUSSLA AND THE UK ARE LEARY OF UNDERWRITING ANOTHER COSTLY PKO. BOTH HAVE SAID THEY DO NOT HAVE PROBLEMS WITH THE MERITS OF THE FORCE, ONLY WITH THE FINANCING. HOWEVER,



PAGE 03 USUN N 03423 02 OF 02 141950Z RUSSIA MIGHT GO SO FAR AS TO VETO A RESOLUTION PUTTING THE BURDEN ON THE UN. ALSO, THE SECRETARIAT FEARS THE ARUSHA ACCORD'S REQUEST MAY BE FOR A BIGGER (READ "MORE EXPENSIVE") PKO THAN IS FEASIBLE. THEY MAY NOT BE ABLE TO RUSTLE UP THE REQUISITE NUMBER OF TROOP CONTRIBUTORS.

10. PRD-13 DISCUSSES THE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION THAT REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CAN POTENTIALLY MAKE TO PEACEKEEPING ONCE THEY ENHANCE THEIR COMPETENE AND EXPERIENCE. BY HANDING THE RWANDA NIF TO THE UN, THE OAU LOSES AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN ON THE GROUND HOW PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS SHOULD AND SHOULD NOT BE DONE. FAILURE TO LEARN QUICKLY, OF COURSE, RUNS THE RISK OF DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LIVES AND WELL-BEING OF MILLIONS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

IMAGINATIVE ALTERNATIVES NEEDED

11. IF THE UN AND THE OAU CAN FIND A WAY TO RUN AN



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OPERATION JOINTLY, MUCH LIKE THE OAS AND UN HAVE DONE IN HAITI, THERE MAY BE THE POSSIBILITY OF FUNDING SUCH AN OPERATION THROUGH VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS, OR THROUGH CONTRIBUTIONS IN KIND. THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS, WHO HAVE THE KEENEST NATIONAL INTERESTS IN RWANDA, HAVE EXPRESSED RELUCTANCE TO CONTRIBUTE, BUT SHOULD BE PRESSED TO DO SO. OTHERS SUCH AS THE SCANDINAVIANS MAY BE WILING TO CONTRIBUTE. AFRICAN MILITARY CONTINGENTS WITH PRIOR UN PEACEKEEPING EXPERIENCE COULD BE SOUGHT, AND PLACED UNDER SOME TYPE OF JOINT COMMAND TO TAKE

PAGE 04 USUN N 03423 02 OF 02 141950Z ADVANTAGE OF THE UN'S PRIOR EXPERIENCE. MILITARY OFFICERS FROM NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES COULD BE RECRUITED BY THE UN AND SECONDED TO THE RWANDA OPERATION. ANY OR ALL OF THE ABOVE WOULD GO AGAINST PRECEDENT FOR UN PKO'S, AND WOULD REQUIRE IMAGINATIVE INNOVATIONS.

ALBR IGHT

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a *** Current Classification ***

