

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

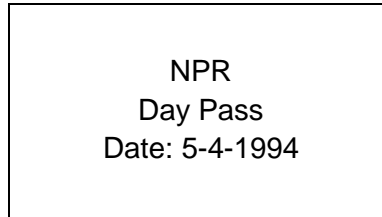
Edited by Prudence Bushnell and Emily Willard
Editorial Assistance by Claire Dailey & Clara Fisher

© 2014 Prudence Bushnell - Reproduction Prohibited without Permission

[Page 1 - front cover]¹

Hang in There

[sticker]



[sticky note]

#3

4/6/94 to

c. 5/15/94

[Page 2 - Inside front cover - sticky note paper]

²4-27 or 28 –Bagosora
– Bizimungu

4-30- Bizimungu

4-30 Kagame

5-1 Kagame

5- [Bizimungu]

en

congé³

¹ 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.

² Dates Bushnell was told that the following people would be available for a phone call.

³ On leave/vacation

^{3*} 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).

[Page 3 – bottom page of notebook]⁴

-Rwanda⁵

Dead

- PM

- Agr

– ConstitCrt

– Communications

– Pol. Party leader

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's⁶ phone call:

Rejection of Violence-

Unité⁷ - Presidential guard

Missing

Social Aff.

Alive

PM designate

-> Not *gens d'armirie*⁸

-> Chef de Cab

-> Rwandan *gens d'armirie*

4 Americans in Biumba in
orphanage project. Communal
violence. UNAMIR⁹

- No. of Americans

Burundi – 177

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

- Buj¹⁰: 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]

- ¹¹4/6- R/B
- Yeltsin's statement in Latvia
- Gallucchi new position – Korea

Grossman:

- Sec concerned re status of Amcits¹²
- Do memo & consider task force

[Page 5 - bottom]

- Talk to French & Belges¹³
- Sit¹⁴
- Evacuation
- UN mission¹⁵
- 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
- VOA¹⁶ interview
- See if someone can get to her house¹⁷

¹⁰ "Buj" short for Bujumbura, Burundi

¹¹ Date: April 6, 1994

¹² American Citizens

¹³ Short-hand for "Belgians" throughout notebook

¹⁴ Situation

¹⁵ The US mission to the UN

¹⁶ Voice of America

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
EUCOM –
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.

¹⁸all telephone numbers are redacted to protect personal privacy

¹⁹ communication

French no intention to send in troops.

Eric Schwartz

Monique²⁰

-What did Joyce Leader²¹ say/do

re Monique

- Rita Benish –

-GEM at hotel 1108-1120

2 hrs.

-Log on

-

Buj²² – EAC meeting today

~ seriously consider authorized evac

~ is it safe

Convo. w David²³

1:15

-evac. = close coordination w.

Fr. & Belge

-wants small presence of 3 people

Facilitate human.²⁴ work

~ dialog

[Page 8 - top]

[...telephone number...]

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

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

²³ David Rawson, US Ambassador to Rwanda, November 1993 through January 1996

²⁴ Humanitarian

Need political.

[Page 9 - top]

²⁵4-6
Wk G

Office Transport
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.²⁶

- Mubarak made statement
- Share Reed's
 - Kampala
 - Tanzania
 - Kenya

Bob Flatten²⁷

[continued on page 11]

[top blank page]²⁸

[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

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

4/6

David:²⁹ 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

[Page 12 - top]

- Need to get the
Ec

[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

²⁹ Conversation with David Rawson, US Ambassador to Rwanda at the time

no decision. Will assess situation
tomorrow. Some movement
of RPF toward K³⁰ – 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 4/6³¹
- Ordered departure for Kigali (all)
Buj. (dep/nonessential)
-UN Resolution (Fr) authorizing
militaries to evacuate citizens
- Instituted w. posts commun.³² network
conoff³³ 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^{34 35}
- Joint Staff will send warning order
to EUCOM which will execute.
planning – airlift -> non permissive
(Rawson believes overland is best)

³⁰ Short for “Kigali”

³¹ Date: April 6, 1994

³² communication

³³ Consular officer

³⁴ See declassified document: April 1994, “MGRW01- Rwanda Monitoring Group,” US Department of State

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. Barrie³⁶
- 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 . Believe all
5 civilians 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 ind³⁷, 800 wld need
airlift

- Call Jack Sheehan – evacuation
- memo went up

[Page 16 - top]

Sheehan
[...telephone number...]

[Page 17 - bottom]

³⁶ Barrie Walker – the Africa bureau press person at the Department of State

³⁷ individually

-Tiny Rowland – Head of Londo.³⁸ Brit businessman. Wants to see Tony. Need expert to call Don.

Max: That you approve attached
Grossman – Itoh³⁹
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.
trucks CURT
transport & weaponry)

[Page 18 - top]

4-8⁴¹ Davis mtg.
 -Bosnia
 - Japanese resignation
 -MidEast. Jesse Jackson
 -Congress returns
 Sec, Davis, Wirth testify

[Page 19 - bottom]

 This is for planning.
Jeanette. — so

³⁸ Londo 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 Σ
cable: times & dates overland
[...telephone number...]

[Page 20 - bottom]

- Kevin's⁴² Briefing
- Phone calls⁴³ 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* govt forces & RPF
- Amcits safe – still don't know about Lee Y.
- No evac scheduled for today
no date or time set
- Confirmed dead
Info⁴⁴ & family
- Social Affairs & family

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
candidate for Nat'l Assembly

PM & husband

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

[Page 21 - top]

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]**

[blank top page]

[Page 23 - bottom]

airlift 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

[blank top page]

[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

[blank top page]

[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]

[Page 26 - bottom]

Holmes – Getting

What does Amb. want/recom⁴⁶

⁴⁶ recommended

Kagame called Am. friends –
RPF going south – go through
the DMZ.⁴⁷ 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 off⁴⁸ 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, Desenge⁴⁹
need mil. escort
talking to French
- People in North -
 - K Mudeude 25
 - Desenge Mrs. Kyle
 - 3 Care contractors
 - Re Hoard Ronera⁵⁰ - 3
 - Kanege - 4 Brits
 - (Fossi 1 Am.
 - 1 Canadian

Night note

State is working w DOD

[Page 30 - bottom]

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

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

[Page 31 - bottom]

4/8

Tarnoff⁵¹ mtg

-What wld reaction be to official
reqes 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:

{ special ops	4 C-130 - Kenya
{ marg	US Ft. Bragg

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
troops

Tanz.
Want to send
adv. people to
night & start
transporting
asap

(Were 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 09625⁵³

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 -
& helicopter 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

[Page 37 - bottom]

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-clearance⁵⁵

-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

[Page 38 - top]

[on yellow sticky note]

Beth Johnson

[...telephone number...]

[Page 39 - bottom]

France does not want to be in

position it was

Beth - Sec & Tarnoff

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 K w 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
Tan⁵⁶
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?

-Lange⁵⁷ 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

[Page 43 - bottom page]

~~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]**

[Page 44 - top]

Need precedent

Who pays

Once in Buj:

A few criterion -

[Page 45 - bottom]

[continued from page 43]

to come in & getting them.

Recommend leaving immediately

-Can lift everyone.

-Will be guided by State on

3rd country nationals

Leonard⁵⁸ - 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]

[Page 46 - bottom]

-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 Min⁵⁹
 Defense & COS
 together w.

-Wants to see troops leave "swiftly"

⁵⁸ Leonard Lange

⁵⁹ minister

[Page 47 - top]

[...telephone number...]

[Page 48 - bottom]

Military

- Mwanza
 - Boukavu
 - Entebbe
- } -Tanz
-Zaire
-Uganda

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

[Page 49 - top]

4/11⁶⁰

Today's Issues

419-7

12:45

[...telephone number...]- Mac
[...telephone number...]- P Burleigh

- Military
 - pull out
 - re staging
- Germans
- UN Resolution re UNAMIR⁶¹

⁶⁰ Date: April 11, 1994

⁶¹ See declassified document: April 11, 1994, "WGRWOL: Update from UN 4/11," US mission UN to Secretary of State (NIACT – night action)

-Monique
-Stragglers
Noon -Ramagana

[Page 50 - bottom]

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's⁶² position on UNAMIR pullout

-> Military Eutelebe, Nairobi, Mombasa, Mwanza

-Monique is out - heard through UN⁶³

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

[top page blank]

[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

⁶³ See declassified document: April 13, 1994, "Situation Report No. 37, Situation as of 1800 EDT 4/13/94," from Executive Secretariat, US 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 Turn papers
~ 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 IO⁶⁴ 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
-Boutros⁶⁶ 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]

4/13⁶⁷

-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. SC⁶⁹ 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]

4/19⁷⁰

- April 29- 3- 5 ~ Fairwell to Jack Bryant
- See Arlene re human act. mtg on Rwanda⁷¹
 - Burundi day? French/Belges trilat.
- See EPS re ESF
 - AID reneg -With trip
- See GEM re Lake trip
 - VP trip
- Call Bob Bradtke. re being point person
- 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]

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

[Page 57 - bottom]

-PM -IO /ICRC
-RP -NSC
-OFDA

[hand-drawn map]

[top page blank]

[Page 58 - bottom]

- See GEM re Kigali personnel
- See Bill H. re memorial service
 ^{72 73}4/25 - 10:30
- Clinton mtg. Fri. - Call Don⁷⁴
 Steinberg - Work up state-
 ment
- See Roger re Hill strategy for
 budget request
- Meet John Withers 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 Mwinye⁷⁵ to
 restart Arusha
 - Cable to Museveni⁷⁶

⁷² See declassified document: April 25, 1994, "Update on U.S. Response to the Crisis in Rwanda."
References to Bushnell's phone calls and US diplomatic pressure for a ceasefire.

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 OAU⁷⁷
Cable to Paris & Belge to share & react

[Page 59 top]

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

4/22⁷⁸ 650 Bang⁷⁹
450 Ghanians
Talbot mtg. 1100

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, refs⁸⁰
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 aware⁸¹
 - 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

⁸¹ aware of plans to close the USAID program

[on a sticky note]

Lynn Munn
-GSO

CPO
Military – 3 TDYers

RSO

CA-1 TDYer
Adminoff
Econoff

-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

[Page 64 - bottom]

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 - Shattuck⁸⁴? *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

[Page 66 - bottom]

Objectives⁸⁷ ⁸⁸

4/26⁸⁹

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/~~
 — Acc-Dem accountability
- > Contain violence/
 -> (Bolster government of Burundi)
- > ~~manage~~ Create/implement deleg public affairs strategy
- > Halt sales/transfer of arms

[Page 67 - top]

- Stop massacres⁹⁰
 - Demarches to govt, esp. French
 - 1) -Interpersonal contacts, eg with former personnel
 - ~~UN-voted 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

⁹⁰ See declassified documents: April 26, 1994, "Inter-Agency Strategy Meeting (Short-term USG Policy Objectives)," and "Inter-Agency Strategy Meeting (Current Situation Report - INR)." US government policy positions as delivered by Bushnell

- 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
 - Formulate Elaborate USG position at talks toward current govt.
 - create alternatives

[continued on page 69]

[Page 68 - bottom]

State

109131

- .See GEM: Kofi Anan testifying
5/2 at 1030
- Talbot
 - Sec. = good mtg w. Hurd
 - Rwanda
 - Pres. & South Af.
 - Mog & removal
 - Japan
 - Haiti
 - PDD 13 at Press Club
 - Rwanda Press guidance on casualty #s

9:00

- Rwanda - Strobe tasked everyone to think -
 - checklist of action
 - media blitz

- demarches* to people responsible
- doing right thing by Burundi
- Tarnoff meet
- Strobe

Pres

- Strobe
- Glad to have chance

[Page 69 - top]

[continued from page 67]

4)

5) Public affairs strategy

- Outside beltway
- Public diplomacy
- Mobilize radio/media attention
- to change
- Briefing NGOs
-

[Page 70 - bottom]

- 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.

[Page 72 - top]

Cease fire not working^{94 95}

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.

⁹⁵ See declassified document: April 27, 1994, “DAS Bushnell tells Rwanda army leader killings must stop,” US Department of State cable.

- We are very concerned - including
Pres. -
- From our side / priorities

-*Eu taut que leaders nous
comptons sur vous* for
cease fire⁹⁶

- Will call

Directeur General - Col Bagasora ~ 40 [...telephone number...]
Def Min - Bizimungu ~ Giteramara 61
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
 - Kinshasa⁹⁷ to send Ref Off⁹⁸
 - Burundi
 -
- DA Daily Sitvts⁹⁹ 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 Kinshasa,

⁹⁸ Refugee officer

⁹⁹ Secure Interagency Video Teleconference

-Tim W. to call ERMA package
-Informal w Ambs here.

[Page 74 - top]

[continued from page 72]

¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ *Cessez le feu ne marche*
*pas*¹⁰²

RPF

*Personnellement*¹⁰³

*tres sensible*¹⁰⁴

*eu sommes pres*¹⁰⁵

*Je n'ai pas toute la puissance*¹⁰⁶

*Pres; est alle a Butare*¹⁰⁷

*Deplace*¹⁰⁸

*C'est*¹⁰⁹

Tell

*2 jours*¹¹⁰

48 hours

*faire*¹¹¹

*La guerre*¹¹²

*Plus de massacres in K.*¹¹³

Chengugu

-> Butare - Pres. S'est

*rendu ce matin*¹¹⁴

Gitarama.

[continued on page 76]

¹⁰⁰ Conversation with Rwandan General Bagosora – these are notes of him speaking

¹⁰¹ See declassified document: April 29, 1994, "Das Bushnell Tells Col. Bagosora to Stop the Killings," US

Department of State

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 Phillippe
-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

[Page 76 - top]

[continued from page 74]

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

-*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.

[Page 77 - bottom]

- Problem w. letter re
- ~~Donor~~ contact on SAF¹²¹

- See Bill J re Liberian trucks
- Chuck Hughes - SS [...telephone number...]

- 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

[Page 78 - bottom]

Work through OAU & UN
Aggressive diplomatic effort
 ~ UN
 Armes embargo ~yes
Investigation/War crimes

 ~ Bi

- Grossman - Itoh
- Dept. asked by deputies committee¹²²
- IO is working on Pres' statement
- Laurie Shestack

¹²¹ South Africa

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

[Page 80 - top]

[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]

4/30¹²³ - Refugee strategy - Humanitarian Enclaves

- Madeline¹²⁴ 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 Shattuck¹²⁵

¹²³ Date: April 30, 1994

¹²⁴ Madeline Albright, Permanent Representative, United States Mission to the United Nations

-SEFOA - 2571

- Peacekeeping Core Group Mtg.¹²⁶
teleconference.

[top page blank]

[Page 82 - bottom]

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]

¹²⁵ See declassified document: April 30, 1994, "Your Visit to Tanzania." Talking points for Shattuck's trip to Tanzania

¹²⁶ See declassified document: May 2, 1994, "Memorandum for Peacekeeping Core Group Meeting Re: Summary and Conclusions of 2 May 94 Meeting"

[Page 83 - bottom]

(Kagame)

- Bizimungu¹²⁷
 - went to see *Conseil des Ministres*
 - tout le monde commence*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*¹²⁹. International investigation
Doing my work. Doing what I can
- Beginning to fight in city
- 1900 *du soir*¹³⁰
*Le probleme*¹³¹ = do you see us as
*responsable*¹³². See Amb.
Send someone. (Send General
Dallaire).
*Sauf les tueries*¹³³. 80 % ~
Wants
- Investigation
- Look at origin
of problem
- *FPR* stop. We will stop & bring order
- People are dying
no more *medicines*.¹³⁴

[top page blank]

[Page 84 - bottom]

Call ICRC

¹²⁷ Telephone conversation with Rwandan Major General Augustin Bizimungu

¹²⁸ everyone began, started

¹²⁹ *Front Patriotique Rwandais* (The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in English)

¹³⁰ 7:00 at night

¹³¹ the problem

¹³² responsible

¹³³ Except killings

¹³⁴ doctors

- Request to DOD to deploy jamming aircraft¹³⁵
 - type of station/frequency
 - where would we find people

Kagame¹³⁶

- 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 he¹³⁷ have direct fax? Will fax the packet of public statement.

mtg./ IO - HA - AF.

5/1¹³⁸ ~ Barrie

- Deeply concerned about situation
- Understand not US issue
 - Doubt US troops - perhaps other
 - Af nations looking at intervention
- Until there is consensus, not

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."

¹³⁶ Talking points to give to Kagame

¹³⁷ Kagame

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

[top page blank]

[Page 86 - bottom]

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

¹³⁹5/1 ¹⁴⁰ 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

¹⁴¹ United Nations Special Representative to the United Nations Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) from November 1993 through May 1994 - Jacques-Rogers Booh-Booh a former Cameroonian diplomat and foreign minister.

¹⁴² Hotel des Mille Collines, where 1,200 people took refuge during the genocide.

[top page blank]

[Page 87 - bottom]

[continued from page 86]

¹⁴³with impunity. Name names.

Didn't know Clinton had said something.

Fax - Brussels – [...telephone number...]

Have people come investigate¹⁴⁴

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]**

[top page blank]

[Page 88 - bottom]

[continued from page 87]

¹⁴⁵Commissioner 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: MOU¹⁴⁶ - 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

[Page 90 - top]

Mtg 5-4¹⁴⁷

Refugees [~> Humanitarian intelligence]

- most in Tanzania 250 60+ elsewhere

- \$15 mil. announced Displaced Burundians

-DOD

[~> expecting cable from UNHCR]

¹⁴⁶ Memorandum of Understanding

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

USUN¹⁴⁸

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

PK

Team UN. Going out
UN Human rights team

-> 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 - 12197¹⁴⁹

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
- Read Options Paper

Dipl.

[top page blank]

[Page 92 - bottom]

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 happened¹⁵¹
- Yell at GOR & RPF
Are you prepared to allow
relief under UN & RPF
Tanz border

[top page blank]

[Page 93 - bottom]

- 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 - Laso¹⁵²

[top page blank]

[Page 94 - bottom]

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

¹⁵¹ See declassified document: April 30, 1994, "Your Visit to Tanzania," from AF – Prudence Bushnell, Acting to HA – Mr. Shattuck

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

[top page blank]

[Page 95 -bottom]

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]

[Page 96 - bottom]

- 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*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

[top page blank]

[Page 97 - bottom]

5-5¹⁵⁴

- 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-

¹⁵³ without

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 Thabo¹⁵⁵
to attend. Would.

No nation has come forward yet.

Momentous

Bob Bradtke- Qs¹⁵⁶ for record to DeJarnette
Sent w/out H clearance.

- Amb. Ka ~~ out of town.

Shattuck

-

[Page 98 - top]

Mtg.

- Follow up on trucks to offload

-PK

- UN

OAU asked for UN operation -
adjust to provide security
& PK
NAM -

[Page 99 - bottom]

VP Mtg. Boutros, Salim, Mwynyie

- 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. Susan¹⁵⁷ has informal clearances

¹⁵⁵ Thabo Mbeke

¹⁵⁶ Questions

¹⁵⁷ Susan Rice, then Director for International Organizations and Peacekeeping at the National Security Council

across the board.

Sandy¹⁵⁸ 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...]

[top page blank]

[Page 100 - bottom]

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...]

[Page 101 - top]

- Situation

- Humanitarian Act.

¹⁵⁸ Sandy Berger, Deputy National Security Advisor

- > · Moving dry stuffs ~
- > · Press for US contributions

- PK / VP mtg.
 - Background cable ~ Tues ~ 5:45
 - Wed. morning mtg. ~ People from Zaire
 - Talk points ~ Emb. to
 - UN planning ~ Find out time ~ UN
 - ~ 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

[Page 102 - bottom]

- 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 govt-
wide assessment on where most
need is. Cable to fill holes.

Clid be meeting morning or afternoon tomorrow
Susan Rice
GEM: Does he have talking points

[...personal notes deleted at request of author...]

[Page 103 - top]

mtg

[Page 104 - bottom]

[...personal notes deleted at request of author...]

- ~~Small interoffice task force~~
- > Draft cable of African Peg Willingham
- Geneva ministerial on Bosnia. Fri.
- > - hosted in Spiegel'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
- Spiegel 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 toBudget items
Country In Transition

[Page 105 - top]

5/11¹⁵⁹ - 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 R¹⁶⁰ monitoring affect of UNAMIR

Tim Dobbins -

G-7 Tarnoff

Wendy

Talk to LMO before going on hill

[Page 106 - bottom]

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

¹⁵⁹ Date: May 11, 1994

¹⁶⁰ 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, Mwynyie,
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

[Page 107 - bottom]

- 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

[Page 108 - top]

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

[Page 109 -bottom]

- Barney Frank -
 Letter from U of Mass Dartmouth
 Visa - Rawlings
- GEM Wolf¹⁶¹ ~ Exorcised on Sudan Envoy
- Concern for Kuito - WFP pulling out
- 11:45 Thomas Jefferson Award
 Present at Ben Franklin
- Liberia 5/18 2:00

¹⁶²[...telephone number...]
Bagosora
*En Conge de*¹⁶³
 Circumstances
 *a perdue son pere*¹⁶⁴
*Dans l'apres midi*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

[top page blank]

[Page 110 - bottom]

Eliminate

[on a yellow sticky note]

Rwanda
General Fax?
Bizimungu
[...telephone number...]*
Col Bagosora
 Ministry of Defense
[...telephone number...]
also Minister of Defense

¹⁶¹ Frank Wolf

¹⁶² Conversation with Bizimungu

¹⁶³ On leave/vacation of

¹⁶⁴ lost his father

¹⁶⁵ In the afternoon

[drawing/map]

[top page blank]

[Page 111 - bottom]

Niact¹⁶⁶ Geneva

- People are still there

¹⁶⁷- UNAMIR s'organize¹⁶⁸.

- Vous me menace. vous v¹⁶⁹

- Pas responsable¹⁷¹

- Nous voulons une solution¹⁷²

- Vous etes mal renseigner .je ne suis pas¹⁷³

- Doesn't know Bagasora -

- [...telephone number..]

- Bagasora -

ne connait

pas. Pret¹⁷⁰

a

- 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

[top page blank]

[Page 112 - bottom]

¹⁶⁶ "NIACT" is a cable designation for "night action cable," a type of cable which requires immediate attention.

¹⁶⁷ Telephone conversation with Rwandan Major General Augustin Bizimungu

¹⁶⁸ UNAMIR organizes itself

¹⁶⁹ you threaten me. you

¹⁷⁰ does not know

¹⁷¹ Not responsible

¹⁷² We want one solution

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

[top page blank]

[Page 113 - bottom]

- 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

[top page blank]

[Page 114 - bottom]

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~~ Shattuck Trip -

[Page 116 - back cover]

[END]