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INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16
	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	PMB-00	/039R	

DRAFTED BY: AF/C: TPMCCULLEY
APPROVED BY: AF/FO: PXBUSHNELL
AF/C: AXRENDER
EUR/WE: ACARSON
EUR/NE: EBROCKING
AF/C: RJFENDRICK
AF/C: KAISTON (INFO)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 117944

ADDIS/DAR PLEASE PASS ALSO TO A/S SHATTUCK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PGOV RW BY CG FR BE
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS ON RWANDA/BURUNDI: A/S MOOSE MEETS FRENCH
AND BELGIAN DIPLOMATS
REF: (A) 94 STATE 111391, (B) 94 STATE 115014, (C) 94 PARIS 12197,
(D) 94 BRUSSELS 04753

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY: A/S GEORGE MOOSE AND DAS PRUDENCE BUSHNELL

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MET TUESDAY, MAY 3 WITH THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH DCM TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI. MOOSE REVIEWED U.S. INITIATIVES TO DATE, AND ASKED FOR FRENCH AND BELGIAN VIEWS ON THE CRISIS. THE BELGIANS INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO BE HELPFUL IN RWANDA, BUT ASKED THE U.S. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN EFFORTS TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND REACH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE FRENCH ENVOY EMPHASIZED THAT ANY UN OPERATION SHOULD FOCUS EXCLUSIVELY ON HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, AND EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT UNDER THE ARUSHA FRAMEWORK. THE FRENCH STRESSED THAT ALL RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING ZAIRE, MUST BE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS. ON BURUNDI, ALL AGREED ON THE NEED TO SUPPORT THE CURRENT RELATIVE CALM, AND ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ENCOURAGING THE ONGOING DIALOG BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN BUJUMBURA. MOOSE NOTED THAT THE

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DISCUSSIONS ON ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI WOULD CONTINUE AT THE TRILATERAL MEETING AT THE A/S LEVEL IN BRUSSELS ON MAY 13. END SUMMARY.

U.S. EFFORTS:

3. AT HIS MAY 3 MEETING WITH FRENCH AND BELGIAN DIPLOMATS A/S MOOSE SOUGHT A RESPONSE TO U.S. THOUGHTS ON THE REGIONAL CRISIS DISCUSSED IN LAST WEEK AT THE WORKING LEVEL (AND TRANSMITTED REFTELS), AND OUTLINED U.S. DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES TO HALT THE VIOLENCE AND BRING ABOUT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. MOOSE SAID THAT HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MWINYI'S EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE ARUSHA PROCESS, MENTIONED THE VARIOUS U.S. STATEMENTS ON RWANDA (INCLUDING TWO BY THE PRESIDENT), OUR SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO ENGAGE THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TRIP TO THE REGION BY HA ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHATTUCK, RP DAS MCKINLEY, AND AMBASSADOR RAWSON. HE ALSO RAISED THE DISCUSSION AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE QUESTION OF HUMANITARIAN ENCLAVES ON BOTH SIDES OF RWANDA'S BORDERS, AND ASKED FOR FRENCH AND BELGIAN VIEWS AS TO HOW THE UN OR THE OAU MIGHT BEST RESPOND TO THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

4. DAS BUSHNELL EMPHASIZED THAT THE SITUATION WAS NOT GETTING BETTER. SHE SAID THAT THE RPF HAD RULED OUT INTERVENTION BY OAU TROOPS, WHICH WOULD, IN THEIR VIEW, LEGITIMIZE THE "ILLEGAL" GOR. BUSHNELL NOTED THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WERE DIM IF THE HARD-LINE POSITIONS ADOPTED BY BOTH SIDES CONTINUED.

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LATER IN THE MEETING SHE SUGGESTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
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COMMUNITY WAS FACED IN RWANDA WITH TWO UNATTRACTIVE
OPTIONS: DO NOTHING, OR PURSUE INITIATIVES WHICH HAVE
RISKS.

OPTIONS FOR INTERVENTION:

5. THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR AGREED ON THE NEED TO STOP THE
VIOLENCE, AND SAID THE GOB WAS PREPARED TO SUPPORT UN
EFFORTS. BELGIUM, HOWEVER, COULD NOT ACT ALONE AND WOULD
NOT ASSUME A LEADERSHIP ROLE, SINCE THE GOB IS NOT
REGARDED AS A NEUTRAL BY THE WARRING PARTIES. THE GOB
WAS INTERESTED IN THE NOTION OF HUMANITARIAN ENCLAVES,
BUT EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN ABOUT THE LIKELY REACTION OF
THE BURUNDI AUTHORITIES, AND QUESTIONED THE TYPE OF FORCE
ENVISAGED FOR THE OPERATION. MOOSE REPLIED THAT THE
TALKS AT THE UNSC WERE AT A VERY PRELIMINARY STAGE, AND
THAT THE U.S. RECOGNIZED THAT A LARGE FORCE TO
RE-ESTABLISH ORDER WAS "MORE THAN PROBLEMATIC." HE SAID
THAT AFRICAN STATES HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO HELP,
AND THAT SOME TYPE OF JOINT UN/OAU OPERATION MIGHT EMERGE
FROM THE DISCUSSIONS. THE URGENT NEED AT PRESENT WAS TO
PROTECT REFUGEES AND THOSE DISPLACED INTERNALLY BY THE
VIOLENCE. THE RPF, HE NOTED, HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT
WOULD NOT ACCEPT A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION.

6. THE FRENCH DCM SAID THAT THE GOF BELIEVED THE WEST
SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO THE HUMANITARIAN SIDE OF THE
RWANDA PROBLEM, AND THAT BROKERING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
SHOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NEIGHBORING STATES,
ESPECIALLY TANZANIA (ALTHOUGH HE EMPHASIZED THAT ZAIRE
MUST PLAY A ROLE). THE GOF HAD NOT CONCLUDED INTERNAL
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DISCUSSIONS ON THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN
RWANDA; AT A MINIMUM THE GOF WANTED A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE,
AGREEMENT BY ALL THE PARTIES FOR SUCH A PRESENCE, AND A
CLEAR IDEA OF THE UN/OAU MANDATE BEFORE MAKING A
COMMITMENT.

BELGIUM QUESTIONS GOR LEGITIMACY...

7. DAS BUSHNELL RAISED THE RECENT VISIT TO PARIS BY THE
INTERIM RWANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER, AND ASKED WHAT THE GOF

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HAD SAID TO HIM. THE FRENCH SAID THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN RECEIVED AT A POLICY LEVEL, CHARACTERIZED HIS STAY AS A "PRIVATE VISIT," AND NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF USING EVERY AVAILABLE CHANNEL TO SEND MESSAGES. THIS WAS APPARENTLY TOO MUCH FOR THE BELGIAN ENVOY, WHO INTERJECTED THAT THE INTERIM FM ONLY REPRESENTED A "FACTION," THAT THE GOB DID NOT RECOGNIZE HIM, THAT HE AND HIS "SO-CALLED GOVERNMENT" CONTINUED TO INSULT BELGIUM, "INCLUDING IN PARIS." MOOSE AGREED THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT SEEMED VERY FRAGMENTED, WITH POLES OF APPARENT AUTHORITY PRESENT IN PARIS, ARUSHA, AND GITARAMA. HE SAID THAT WE HAD NO CLEAR IDEA OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RWANDAN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE THREE LOCALES, AND PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, NO CLEAR IDEA OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CIVILIAN AUTHORITY AND THE RWANDAN MILITARY.

...AND ASKS U.S. TO TAKE THE LEAD

8. THE BELGIAN SUMMED UP THE GOB'S POSITION BY EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. APPROACH, AND ASKED THE U.S. TO ASSUME A LEADERSHIP ROLE AT THE UN AND

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ELSEWHERE. MOOSE NOTED THAT WE WERE SOMEWHAT CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS, AND THAT IN TERMS OF RESOURCES AND MATERIALS, OTHERS MUST BE THERE TO ASSUME THEIR FAIR SHARE. MOOSE SAID THAT IT WAS WORTHWHILE TO PURSUE INITIATIVES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE UNSC, AND CRUCIAL TO FORESTALL UNILATERAL ACTIONS. ANY OPERATION IN RWANDA REQUIRED THE BLESSING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

BURUNDI: DU CALME

9. ON BURUNDI, THE BELGIANS AGREED WITH THE U.S. POSITION ON THE NEED TO MAINTAIN CALM AND TO ENCOURAGE THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT TO EXERT ITS AUTHORITY. FOR BELGIUM, THE ROLE OF THE ARMY WAS THE CENTRAL PROBLEM, BUT THE GOB WAS "READY TO START THINKING ABOUT" HELPING THE BURUNDIANS WITH MILITARY REFORM, INCLUDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THE BELGIAN ENVOY THEN ASKED ABOUT THE GOF'S POSITION AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO HELP. THE FRENCH DCM RESPONDED THAT SINCE OCTOBER 1993, PARIS HAS SUPPORTED "MODERATE" ELEMENTS WITHIN THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION, AND BACKED THE EFFORTS OF AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH, THE UNSYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO BURUNDI. IN TERMS OF CONCRETE MEASURES, THE FRENCH DIPLOMAT SAID THAT THE GOF WAS CONTRIBUTING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A

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REPUBLICAN GUARD TO PROTECT CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES AND INSTITUTIONS (HE HASTENED TO ADD THAT THE MODEL FOR THIS WAS FRANCE'S RATHER THAN SADDAM'S REPUBLICAN GUARD). THE BELGIAN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SIZE OF THE PROPOSED GUARD, AND ITS RELATION TO THE BURUNDIAN ARMY, AND MOOSE ADDED THAT WE NEEDED A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE

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PROPOSAL.

10. MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE CONSENSUS IN WASHINGTON, PARIS, AND BRUSSELS ON THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT IN BURUNDI, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT GETTING INVOLVED IN THE ONGOING DIALOG BETWEEN THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY. MOOSE NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF AMBASSADOR ABDULLAH'S ROLE IN BURUNDI: THE UNSYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE KNOWS THE SITUATION, AND IS TRUSTED BY BOTH SIDES. THE U.S. REMAINED CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR SPILLOVER FROM THE CARNAGE IN RWANDA, BUT WAS SENSITIVE TO THE IMPACT IN BURUNDI OF A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION. MOOSE WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI IN GREATER DETAIL AT THE TRILATERAL MEETING IN BRUSSELS ON MAY 13.

11. BUJUMBURA, MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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