

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

28-Sep-1993 19:28 EDT

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX\_MAIL@OEOB  
RICE@A1@OEOB  
RAGLE@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room  
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: RWANDA AND CRITERIA FOR NEW UN PKO

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SIT: RAGLE RICE VAX

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NFO RUEHLGB/AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY 0090

UEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY

UEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

UEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY

UFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1466

SUBJ>

RWANDA AND CRITERIA FOR NEW UN PKO

TEXT>

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 004735

PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY'S DELEGATION

FOR AF-MOOSE, IO-BENNET, EUR-OXMAN,

LSO IO/UNP, IO/PHO, AF/C, L/UNA, L/AF

WHITE HOUSE PLEASE PASS NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J5, J3

.0.12356: DECL:OADR

AGS: MOPS, MARR, PREL, UNSC

SUBJECT: RWANDA AND CRITERIA FOR NEW UN PKO

REF: A) USUN 4653, B) USUN 4690, C) USUN 4720

. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE, SEE

PARA 4.

. SUMMARY: FRENCH FONMIN JUPPE MAY RAISE WITH THE

*(see para 5 onward)*

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

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SECRETARY TOMORROW THE QUESTION OF A UN PKO IN RWANDA. THE FRENCH PLAN TO CALL FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30 ON THE RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING THE RWANDA PEACEKEEPING OPERATION. FOLLOWING IN PARAS 5 THROUGH 11 IS AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROPOSED UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN RWANDA (REFTELS) IN RELATION TO THE PRD-13 CRITERIA CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION, AND TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S SEPTEMBER 27 SPEECH TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IN OUR ANALYSIS, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE PROPOSED PKO FOR RWANDA MEETS THE DRAFT CRITERIA SUBJECT TO FINAL SUBMISSION OF A FINANCIAL STATEMENT WHICH IS EXPECTED IMMEDIATELY. END SUMMARY.

3. FRENCH PERMREP MERIMEE WARNED USUN DEPUTY PERMREP WALKER THAT FRENCH FONMIN JUPPE MAY RAISE THE ISSUE OF A NEW UN PKO (REFTELS) WITH SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SEPTEMBER 29. THE FRENCH WANT TO CONSIDER THE DRAFT RESOLUTION (REFTEL B) TUESDAY, REFINE THE TEXT WEDNESDAY, PUT IT INTO ITS FINAL DRAFT VERSION WEDNESDAY NIGHT, AND VOTE THURSDAY. MERIMEE WANTS TO CONCLUDE THIS MATTER DURING SEPTEMBER, SO AS TO AVOID THE DELAYS THAT ARE INEVITABLE WHEN A NEW PERSON ASSUMES THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENCY ON THE FIRST OF OCTOBER. THE FRENCH KNOW THEY HAVE AT LEAST TEN POSITIVE VOTES (ONE MORE THAN NEEDED TO PASS A RESOLUTION IN THE ABSENCE OF A VETO). THE FRENCH BELIEVE THE RWANDA OPERATION MEETS THE CRITERIA SPELLED OUT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON IN HIS SPEECH TO THE UNGA. MERIMEE POINTED OUT THAT THE FRENCH COOPERATED ON THE RECENT LIBERIA AND HAITI RESOLUTIONS ESTABLISHING NEW PKO'S. USUN HAS NEVER INDICATED THAT WE ACKNOWLEDGE A LINKAGE. COMMENT: IF WE TAKE THE STEP OF VETOING THE FRENCH DRAFT RESOLUTION, THEREBY FORCING THE FRENCH TO MAINTAIN THEIR BATTALION IN KIGALI, WE CAN ALMOST CERTAINLY WRITE OFF THE POSSIBILITY OF FRENCH TROOPS REMAINING IN SOMALIA. END COMMENT.

. THE ONLY WAY WE COULD STOP THE RWANDA PKO IS BY THREATENING TO VETO A RESOLUTION THURSDAY. WE MUST, THEREFORE, RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS TO EITHER VOTE YES, ABSTAIN, OR VETO BY 10 AM THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30. INSTRUCTIONS ON THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL HAVE THE MOST EFFECT ON THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE TEXT IF RECEIVED BY OOB WEDNESDAY. IF INSTRUCTED TO VETO, USUN WILL REQUIRE AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE (EOV) FROM THE DEPARTMENT.

. DURING THE PROCESS OF DEFINING USG FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED BEFORE VOTING ON NEW UN PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE ENFORCEMENT OPERATIONS, SIX FACTORS HAVE EMERGED AS PART OF THE LATEST PRD-13 DRAFT. TO AID THE USG REVIEW PROCESS, WE WILL APPLY THESE STANDARDS TO THE PROPOSED OPERATION FOR RWANDA.

. IS THERE A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY? YES. INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSION OCCURRED WHEN PF TROOPS INVADDED RWANDA FROM UGANDAN TERRITORY IN 1990. ALSO, ALMOST 1 MILLION DISPLACED PERSONS AND

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REFUGEES FLED THEIR FARMS DURING THE FIGHTING, CONSTITUTING A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER REQUIRING URGENT ACTION, COUPLED WITH VIOLENCE.

7. IS THERE AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF INTEREST FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS? YES. AT LEAST TEN SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS HAVE VOICED SUPPORT FOR THE PKO PROPOSED BY THE SYG. THE OAU AND THE OBSERVERS TO THE PEACE TALKS IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA ALSO FAVOR THE MULTILATERAL APPROACH CALLED FOR IN THE PEACE AGREEMENT.

8. ARE THERE CLEAR OBJECTIVES, INCLUDING AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHERE THE MISSION FITS ON THE SPECTRUM BETWEEN TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE ENFORCEMENT? YES. THIS WOULD BE A CLASSIC PEACEKEEPING OPERATION OPERATING UNDER CHAPTER VI WHERE THE CEASEFIRE,

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SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA

JOINT STAFF FOR CHAIRMAN, DIR JS, J5, J3

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: MOPS, MARR, PREL, UNSC

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DEMobilIZATION AND OTHER AGREEMENTS REACHED BETWEEN THE PARTIES WOULD BE MONITORED BY THE UN. NO PEACE ENFORCEMENT POWERS WOULD BE INVOLVED, ALTHOUGH THE FORCE WOULD HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF ACTING IN SELF-DEFENSE IF NEEDED. THE OPERATION HAS A CLEAR 22-25 MONTH PERIOD FOR EXECUTION, WITH PRECISE MILEPOSTS ON THE WAY, AT THE END OF WHICH TIME THE MANDATE AND MISSION EXPIRES. THIS IS ONE OF THE BETTER-ORGANIZED AND PLANNED PKO'S WE HAVE SEEN.

9. FOR CHAPTER VI PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, IS A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE AND HAVE THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT CONSENTED BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL VOTES TO DEPLOY THE PEACEKEEPING MISSION. YES. THE CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN HOLDING WELL FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT SIGNED AN AGREEMENT IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA IN WHICH THEY REQUESTED THAT A PEACEKEEPING MISSION BE DEPLOYED AS PART OF THE TRANSITION PROCESS TO PEACEFUL ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY.

10. ARE THE MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THE MISSION AVAILABLE, INCLUDING (A) FORCES (REGIONAL OR UN) APPROPRIATE TO THE MISSION? YES. THE UN HAS INFORMALLY CONTACTED SEVERAL FRANCOPHONE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE PRELIMINARILY EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER CONTRIBUTING THE TWO BATTALIONS RECOMMENDED FOR THE RWANDA PKO. THE SIZE OF THE FORCE WILL VARY BETWEEN APPROXIMATELY 700 AND 2,500 DEPENDING ON THE NEEDS AT ANY GIVEN TIME IN ORDER TO SAVE ON COSTS. (B) MANDATE: THE MANDATE WOULD BE TO FACILITATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT, CONTRIBUTING TO THE DISENGAGEMENT, DEMOBILIZATION AND INTEGRATION

PHASE, WHILE PROVIDING AN ADEQUATE LEVEL OF SECURITY. SOME OF THE SPECIFICS OF THE MANDATE, AS SPELLED OUT IN A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, WOULD BE TO: A) CONTRIBUTE TO THE SECURITY OF THE TOWN OF KIGALI, B) SUPERVISE THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CANTONMENT AND ASSEMBLY ZONES AND THE DEFINING OF DEMILITARIZATION PROCEDURES, C) OVERSEE THE CONDITIONS OF SECURITY IN THE COUNTRY DURING THE FINAL STAGE OF THE MANDATE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT UNTIL THE ELECTIONS, D) CONTRIBUTE TO MINE CLEARING EFFORTS RELATED TO THE OPERATION, IN PARTICULAR BY MEANS OF TRAINING PROGRAMS, E) EXAMINE AT THE REQUEST OF THE PARTIES OR ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE, INSTANCES OF NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROTOCOL OF AGREEMENT ON THE INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND DETERMINE THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE, F) OVERSEE THE SECURITY OF THE PROCESS OF REPATRIATION OF RWANDESE REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS, G) SUPERVISE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GENDARMERIE AND POLICE. (C) FINANCE: THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN SUBMITTED BY THE SECRETARIAT AND THE COUNCIL WILL NOT ACT UNTIL IT HAS BEEN PUBLISHED. THE COUNCIL HAS ACTED, HOWEVER, AS IN THE CASE OF HAITI, IMMEDIATELY ON PUBLICATION OF THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT. 11. FINALLY, CAN AN END-POINT TO UN INVOLVEMENT BE IDENTIFIED? YES. THE INSTALLATION OF A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT AT THE END OF THE TRANSITION AND ELECTORAL PROCESS (APPROXIMATELY 22-25 MONTHS AFTER ADOPTION OF A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION).

ALBRIGHT

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