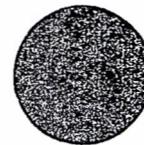
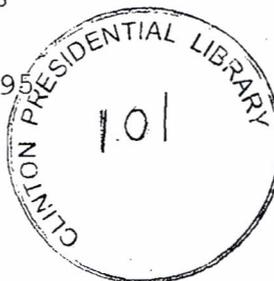


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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 31, 1995



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD CLARKE
DON STEINBERG

FROM: TIMOTHY J. ATKIN/SUSAN PRICE

SUBJECT: Rwanda Update

DECLASSIFIED UNDER AUTHORITY OF THE
INTERAGENCY SECURITY CLASSIFICATION APPEALS PANEL,
E.O. 13526, SECTION 5.3(b)(3)

UN Report on Camp Security

ISCAP APPEAL NO. 2013-040, document no. 1
DECLASSIFICATION DATE: March 18, 2014

The Secretary General released his Second Report on Security in the Rwandan Refugee Camps January 27, 1995. In consultation with Mrs. Ogata, the Secretary General decided the quickest way to improve camp security would be for UNHCR to make appropriate arrangements with Zaire.

The report notes it has traditionally been host country responsibility to provide security for refugees. On January 27, UNHCR and Zairian government representatives signed a security agreement. The agreement covers five months with the option for three month renewals until December 1995. UNHCR will pay soldiers a salary complement and provide uniforms and equipment at an estimated cost of \$13M (raised by voluntary donation). UNHCR will also establish a liaison group to provide training and logistical support. The pact calls for 1500 Zairian troops to:

- maintain law and order in the camps;
- prevent intimidation of refugees who wish to return home and escort returning refugees as far as the Rwandan border; and,
- protect humanitarian agency installations and personnel.

UNHCR is relying on USG backing for and financial support of this proposal. It would be helpful, at an Ad Hoc level, to establish the level of USG assistance.

The Secretary General ruled out peacekeeping, contracted training and monitors, and international police monitors/military observers because of a lack of contributing countries and/or costs.

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Declassify on:

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Operation Retour

As of January 26, over 22,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) have returned to their home communes via transport and unofficial reports estimate another 20,000 have returned on foot. Open Relief Centers (ORCs) are set up in the communes to provide temporary assistance and, in the case of land tenure disputes, shelter. Most ORCs are receiving little use as people return home directly and the majority of land tenure cases are being resolved in a few days.

Refugee Repatriation and the Volcanoes

The likelihood of a volcanic eruption near Goma in February or March provides an opportunity to press refugee repatriation. The present level of activity seen in one volcano has been experienced five times in the last 10 years; the volcano has erupted each time.

Our new Rwanda coordinator, Ambassador Townsend Friedman, met last week with Mrs. Ogata. UNHCR, acutely aware of the potential danger, has stepped up monitoring of the volcanoes' activities and is drawing up evacuation contingency plans. At the same time, UNHCR is exploring the possibility of moving the camps 30 miles north in Zaire. Friedman urged UNHCR to use the volcano threat to encourage repatriation. While he found some receptivity among mid-level UNHCR officials, there seems to be little enthusiasm at high levels for induced repatriation.

We continue to stress to Friedman the importance of repatriation as opposed to camp relocation. He and others in State are focused on the possibility that the international community will be culpable if the volcano erupts and masses of Rwandans and relief workers are killed. Thus, State is more concerned with moving the refugees away from Goma in general rather than back into Rwanda in particular.

State will finish an options paper by noon Thursday for consideration by the Ad Hoc Group. The bureaucracy needs a strong push on this one.

UNAMIR

The Ethiopians indicated they may pull their battalion out of UNAMIR. They are frustrated with the absence of vision and direction for UNAMIR (measured in part by a lack of refugees returning), and with slow payment by the UN. We have pressed the UN and the U/SYG Annan has personally overseen payment to the Ethiopians. We and the UN are stressing to the Ethiopians the

importance of their participation and strongly urging troop rotation in mid-February rather than withdrawal.

International War Crimes Tribunal

Justice Goldstone has a four member team in Kigali to finalize arrangements. We anticipate the permanent seat to be up and running around the end of February in Arusha with a small contingent in Kigali. The USG has already ordered computer equipment for the tribunal headquarters.

While DOJ and FBI have not yet provided any investigators for the Rwandan Tribunal, while talking with Nancy, Jamie Gorelick assured us DOJ is supportive. To address DOJ concerns and help offset USG agency resource demands of the Rwandan tribunal, State has been pressing the UN to reimburse the U.S. for some Yugoslav tribunal detailees and believes we are close to securing that commitment. At DOJ's request in November, we ensured that security for investigators was added in UNAMIR's mandate.

AID Efforts

AID indicates the Kigali mission will be operating this week and should accelerate their efforts. AID has been reluctant to tackle the most critical need in Rwanda's justice system:

- funding foreign jurists to adjudicate criminal cases; and,
- technical assistance to the National Commission charged with making administrative determinations about the appropriateness of detaining the 10,000+ criminals in overcrowded prisons.

AID believes U.S. assistance in resolving criminal cases is problematic and could be a lose-lose proposition. If the criteria for release are interpreted too stringently we could be blamed for stalling reconciliation, and if those released are publicized as legitimate criminals we could be blamed for watering down the justice system.

Furthermore, AID believes there may be a legislative prohibition on helping the National Commission (if it's deemed law enforcement assistance). If so, we could use a legislative exception or presidential waiver to provide the assistance.

The decision regarding appropriateness of USG support for these elements of Rwanda's judicial program is reportedly with Brian Atwood and may need to be discussed at an Ad Hoc meeting.

Military Equipment and Training

State and OSD are researching if amended legislation for **IMET training** will get through Congress or whether a Presidential waiver may be required.

OSD has proposed redrafting the **UNSC arms embargo** to authorize the provision of non-lethal support for the Rwandan military (communications and logistics equipment). State is drafting an issues paper. This will need to be resolved at the Ad Hoc level.

Intelligence indicates around a dozen **APCs missing** from Zairian containment areas are likely in ex-FAR control. State has moved slowly to have the UN press Zaire to control the vehicles, return them to Rwanda or destroy them (with GOR approval). State is developing a review of the options and the impact of the arms embargo and international law.

The **DATT in Kigali** is scheduled to depart next month and no replacement is identified or anticipated. Walt Slocombe and the DIA Administrator hope to resolve this issue Wednesday.

Next Steps

The last Ad Hoc meeting was November 29, 1994. An Ad Hoc meeting this week would help rejuvenate the interagency process and clarify USG direction regarding assistance for the Zairian security force, refugee repatriation, criminal justice system support and the arms embargo.

A U.S. delegation departs February 10th for the regional refugee conference in Bujumbura.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to an Ad Hoc Meeting ^{Wed.} ~~this Friday~~ with the agenda at Tab I.

Approve Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Agenda for Proposed Ad Hoc Meeting

