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 INFORMATION MEMORANDUM  
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EAM

 TO: The Acting Secretary  
 THROUGH: C - Mr. Wirth  
 FROM: HA - John Shattuck *JS*  
 SUBJECT: My Trip to East and Central Africa
RwandaSUMMARY

By soliciting African leaders' views on the crisis in Rwanda I was able to establish areas of consensus on policy and express our support for their efforts. There was broad agreement that Rwanda is a human rights catastrophe of the first magnitude; that there is a need for an enhanced UN presence with a new mission, centered on assuring unimpeded access to humanitarian assistance and civilian protection; that there should be a UN human rights inquiry as a means, in part, of halting the spiral of retribution; and that a ceasefire is critically important although it is unlikely to end all the killings. My stop in Burundi allowed me to encourage the interim leadership in their efforts to maintain calm. I believe Rwanda is a test of our commitment to universal principles of human rights.

DISCUSSION

My trip to East and Central Africa was an opportunity to outline privately and publicly our major goals in addressing the human rights catastrophe in Rwanda, and to convey U.S. support to Rwanda's neighbors. The African leaders with whom I consulted were feeling somewhat abandoned by the UN and the West in the wake of the UNAMIR drawdown. By soliciting their views on the crisis in Rwanda on a trip designated as a presidential mission, I was able to establish broad areas of consensus on policy and prepare the way for the steps we are now considering taking.

There are important areas of agreement among those with whom I met:

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 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
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• Human Rights Catastrophe: Rwanda is a human rights crisis of the greatest magnitude. OAU Secretary General Salim Salim spoke of how agonizing Rwanda has been to him personally, [redacted] Tanzanian PM Malacela described the massacres as shameful to Africa [redacted] President Museveni of Uganda simply described the killings as genocide. A recent ICRC document said of Rwanda, "Never before in its 131-year history...has the ICRC seen at first hand such unmitigated hatred leading to the extermination of a significant part of the civilian population."

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• Expansion and New Mission for UNAMIR: There is a need for an enhanced UN presence and a new mission for UNAMIR to provide unimpeded access to humanitarian assistance and protection and/or evacuation to affected civilians. Other possible objectives for such a presence could include human rights monitoring (as in Cambodia or El Salvador), ceasefire monitoring, and encouragement of dialogue between the warring parties.

• Human Rights Inquiry: An international human rights inquiry into the responsibility for the massacres must be initiated. President Museveni saw such an investigation as a way of breaking the spiral of retaliation by providing a legal and impartial mechanism to evaluate the facts.

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[redacted] OAU Secretary General Salim described such an effort [redacted]

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[redacted] by showing international concern. He stressed the universality of human rights when he said Rwanda is not just an African problem but a universal one. Human Rights High Commissioner Ayala-Lasso's trip to Rwanda this week, while not meant to launch an investigation as such, will send a strong international message. I have spoken with Ayala Lasso multiple times over the last weeks; I think the USG can take quiet satisfaction for having encouraged his decision to travel to Rwanda, [redacted]

[redacted] In addition to stimulating the Ayala-Lasso mission, we are working closely with other governments to ensure an emergency session on Rwanda of the UN Human Rights Commission by the middle of this month.

• Ceasefire: While a ceasefire between Rwandan government forces and the Rwandan Patriotic Front is of critical importance, it is still unlikely to end all the killings. It would, however, change the dynamic so that further steps might be taken to curtail the dimensions of the human rights catastrophe. Both sides have agreed, in principle, to a

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ceasefire. The best hope of achieving it in the next few days lies with General Dallaire who can convene high-ranking military leaders of both sides to discuss details. I spoke with Dallaire's staff by phone to encourage such a role and also talked to both RPF and government figures to encourage compliance.

• Burundi. My brief stop in Burundi was meant to encourage the interim leadership to continue their efforts to promote calm. All expressed their appreciation for American support, both in the democratization process and during the crisis of the last several months. The interim President and Prime Minister agreed that an expanded UN humanitarian and refugee-protection mission for Rwanda is essential, but cautioned against the destabilizing effect in Burundi of an "intervention force" in Rwanda.

I have come back persuaded that Rwanda is a test of our commitment to universal principles of human rights. I strongly believe the international community must demonstrate the same concern for Rwanda as we show in Bosnia lest we weaken universal standards.

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