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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON
APPROVED BY: AF/C: AXRENDER

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TO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS PINR PHUM PREL RW
SUBJECT: RPF POSITION ON CEASE-FIRE, EXPANDED UNAMIR OPERATIONS

REF: STATE 138779

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ON MAY 23, AF/C DIRECTOR ARLENE RENDER MET WITH RPF VICE CHAIRMAN PATRICK MAZIMHAKA AND RPF OFFICIAL GERALD GAHIMA. ALSO ATTENDING WERE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA DAVID RAWSON AND RWANDA DESKOFF KEVIN AISTON (NOTETAKER). MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF WOULD NOT AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE AS LONG AS THE KILLINGS CONTINUE BEHIND GOR

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LINES. HE THOUGHT THE EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCE SHOULD BRING PROTECTION TO THREATENED ENCLAVES RATHER THAN CREATING A STATIC LARGE PROTECTION ZONE WHICH THE TRAPPED CIVILIANS WOULD BE UNABLE TO REACH. ACCORDING TO MAZIMHAKA, THE RPF HAD NO PREFERENCE FOR HOW OR WHERE THE UN TROOPS ENTERED RWANDA. WHILE THE RPF MIGHT NOT GIVE THE UN CONTROL OF KIGALI AIRPORT, THEY WOULD ALLOW THE UN TO USE IT. HE DENIED REPORTS OF RPF ATROCITIES AND SAID THE RPF THINKS AS MANY AS ONE MILLION TUTSIS MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED. END SUMMARY

RPF: NO CEASE-FIRE AS LONG AS KILLINGS CONTINUE

3. RENDER REITERATED OUR IMMEDIATE GOAL TO STOP THE KILLING, REVIEWED OUR ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE THE SAFE
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EVACUATION OF TRAPPED CIVILIANS, AND REPEATED OUR DESIRE TO SEE A CEASE-FIRE IN PLACE AND RESUMPTION OF TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES.

4. MAZIMHAKA AND GAHIMA MADE CLEAR THAT THE RPF WAS NOT INTERESTED IN PURSUING A CEASE-FIRE AS LONG AS THE KILLINGS CONTINUED IN GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY. THE RPF WANTS THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO CALL FOR AN END TO THE KILLINGS AND THEN HAVE SOME NEUTRAL PARTIES (EITHER THE UN OR RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS) TO SEEK OUT THE CIVILIANS TRAPPED IN VARIOUS ENCLAVES BEHIND GOR LINES. ONCE THAT HAPPENS, MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS A CEASE-FIRE WITH GOR MILITARY AUTHORITIES. MAZIMHAKA REITERATED THE RPF'S LONG-HELD POSITION THAT IT WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

5. RENDER NOTED THAT CONTINUED FIGHTING BY THE RPF MIGHT ONLY INCITE THE GOR MILITARY AND MILITIAS TO MORE KILLINGS. MAZIMHAKA REJECTED THIS ARGUMENT, SAYING THAT THE KILLINGS WERE PLANNED LONG AGO, STARTED BEFORE THE RPF OFFENSIVE, AND WOULD CONTINUE EVEN IF THE RPF AGREED TO A CEASE-FIRE. GAHIMA ADDED THAT RTLM IS STILL ON THE AIR (BROADCASTING FROM TRUCKS) AND INCITING VIOLENCE.

6. IN THE FACE OF THE RPF'S RELUCTANCE TO DISCUSS A CEASE-FIRE, RENDER URGED A TWO-TRACK APPROACH IN WHICH THE RPF WOULD PURSUE DISCUSSIONS ON A CEASE-FIRE AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WORKED TO STOP THE KILLINGS AND RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THREATENED

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CIVILIAN ENCLAVES. SHE STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE RPF TO
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MAKE COMPROMISES ON THIS POINT. MAZIMHAKA STUCK TO HIS
POSITION AND SAID THE RPF CANNOT NEGOTIATE AS LONG AS THE
KILLING CONTINUES; THEY WILL GO ALL THE WAY TO THE
BURUNDI BORDER IF NECESSARY.

AND AFTER THE CEASE-FIRE?

7. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF THOUGHT THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT
WAS STILL VALID, BUT THAT NOT EVERY CLAUSE CAN BE
IMPLEMENTED GIVEN THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES. (WHEN ASKED
WHAT NEEDED CHANGING, HE CITED ONLY THE PROVISION
REQUIRING HABYARIMANA TO CONTINUE AS PRESIDENT DURING THE
TRANSITION.) HE SAID THAT AS SOON AS THE FIGHTING STOPS
THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE RPF SHOULD PROCEED
DIRECTLY WITH FORMATION OF THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT.
THE ARUSHA ACCORD WOULD BE APPLIED TO EXCLUDE ANY PARTY
THAT HAS VIOLATED THE ACCORD. IN THAT REGARD, THE
PARTIES WOULD "EVALUATE" THE CONDUCT OF THE MRND
(HABYARIMANA'S PARTY). ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT DECLARE
DEFINITIVELY THAT THE RPF WOULD DEMAND THAT THE MRND
WOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE GOVERNMENT, THE INTENTION TO
DO SO WAS IMPLICIT IN HIS STATEMENT.

8. RENDER CAUTIONED AGAINST EXCLUDING GROUPS FROM THE
POLITICAL PROCESS AND ASKED HOW MODERATE MRND SUPPORTERS
WHO OPPOSED THE KILLINGS WOULD BE REPRESENTED IF IT IS
DECIDED THAT THE MRND SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE
GOVERNMENT. MAZIMHAKA SAID IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO
JUDGE THIS ISSUE ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS; THE PARTIES WILL
HAVE TO JUDGE THE MRND AS A WHOLE, BASED ON ITS
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POLICIES. HE STRESSED THAT ANY EXCLUSION WOULD BE DONE
LEGALLY, ACCORDING TO THE RULES SET FORTH IN THE ARUSHA
ACCORDS.

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH ARUSHA?

9. MAZIMHAKA SAID THERE WAS NOTHING THE MATTER WITH THE
DISTRIBUTION OF POWER AMONG THE PARTIES SET FORTH IN
ARUSHA. THE PROBLEM WAS THAT HABYARIMANA AND THE MRND

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NEVER INTENDED TO IMPLEMENT THE ACCORDS. RATHER, HE AND HIS ASSOCIATES HAD LONG PLANNED THE CURRENT EFFORT TO WIPE OUT THE MODERATE OPPOSITION AND TUTSIS.

RPF WILL LET UN USE AIRPORT

10. MAZIMHAKA CONFIRMED THAT THE RPF HAD TAKEN CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT AND THE GOVERNMENT'S KANOMBE MILITARY BASE. WHEN ASKED WHAT HAPPENED TO THE GOR TROOPS THAT HAD HELD THESE TWO POSITIONS, MAZIMHAKA REPLIED THAT 25 GOR SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AND THE REST FLED. HE DID NOT KNOW HOW MANY RPF TROOPS WERE KILLED. HE ADDED THAT AFTER KANOMBE FELL, A STREAM OF MILITIA FROM THE AREA SURRENDERED TO THE UN AND TURNED IN THEIR ARMS.

11. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE AIRPORT WAS NOW "SECURE ENOUGH", AND NOTED THAT TWO HOURS EARLIER A UN FLIGHT LANDED AND TOOK OFF WITHOUT BEING SHOT AT. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF WOULD ALLOW THE UN TO HAVE FULL USE OF THE AIRPORT, BUT WAS NONCOMMITTAL ON THE IDEA OF MAKING THE AIRPORT A

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NEUTRAL ZONE. (COMMENT: WHEN THE GOR HELD THE AIRPORT, THE RPF HAD SAID THEY WERE WILLING TO MAKE THE AIRPORT A UN-CONTROLLED NEUTRAL AREA; NOW THAT THEY CONTROL THE AIRPORT, THEIR POSITION SEEMS TO HAVE CHANGED SOMEWHAT.)

RPF VIEWS ON EXPANDED UNAMIR

12. MAZIMHAKA SAID HE DID NOT THINK THAT IT WOULD BE PRACTICAL TO HAVE STATIC PROTECTIVE ZONES. HE SAID THE UN WOULD NEED A WAY TO GET THE TRAPPED POPULATIONS INTO THE ZONES; THE TRAPPED CIVILIANS COULDN'T BE EXPECTED TO COME TO THE UN ENCLAVE. IN HIS VIEW, IT WAS BETTER TO SEND THE SOLDIERS TO WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE CONGREGATED: THE UN SHOULD FAN OUT INTO THE GOR ZONE AND SEARCH OUT CONCENTRATIONS OF THREATENED CIVILIANS, THEN SET UP A PROTECTED CAMP FOR THEM. RENDER RAISED THE LOGISTICAL DIFFICULTIES OF SUPPORTING NUMEROUS SMALL UN ENCLAVES SPREAD OUT AROUND THE COUNTRY. IF THAT WERE A CONCERN, MAZIMHAKA SAID THE UN MIGHT ESTABLISH A LARGE PROTECTION ZONE AND SEND RESCUE MISSIONS OUT FROM THE ZONE AND TRANSPORT THE TRAPPED CIVILIANS BACK TO THE UN ZONE.

13. RENDER ASKED WHAT THE REACTION OF THE RPF WOULD BE IF THEY THOUGHT GOR TROOPS OR MILITIA HAD FLED INTO A UN

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PROTECTED AREA. MAZIMHAKA SAID THEY WOULD NOT OBJECT AS LONG AS THE FLEEING TROOPS/MILITIA WERE DISARMED BY THE UN AND KEPT ON RWANDAN TERRITORY. THEY DID NOT WANT THESE PEOPLE FLOWN OUT OF RWANDA AND GIVEN ASYLUM ABROAD.

14. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF DID NOT HAVE A PREFERENCE HOW
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THE UN ENTERED RWANDA AND WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO FACILITATE THE EFFORT. WHILE THEY MIGHT NOT GIVE THE UN CONTROL OF KIGALI AIRPORT, THEY WOULD ALLOW THE UN TO USE IT. AISTON NOTED THAT AS LONG AS THE AIRPORT WAS HELD BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER, IT RISKED COMING UNDER FIRE. MAZIMHAKA REPLIED THAT THE RPF COULD MAKE SURE THE UN PLANES WERE NOT SHOT DOWN; HE ADDED THAT THERE ARE OTHER AIRFIELDS (HE MENTIONED THE NORTHEAST) WHERE THE UN COULD COME IN.

ONE MILLION DEAD?

15. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF THINKS THAT CLOSE TO ONE MILLION TUTSIS HAVE BEEN KILLED AND THAT MAYBE 100,000 TO 200,000 TUTSI REMAIN ALIVE. THEY COME TO THIS CONCLUSION BASED ON THE FACT THAT IN THE HALF OF THE COUNTRY THEY NOW CONTROL, THERE ARE PRACTICALLY NO TUTSIS LEFT; THE POPULATION IS ALMOST ALL HUTU.

RPF DENIES ATROCITIES

16. MAZIMHAKA DENIED REPORTS OF RPF ATROCITIES THAT HAVE BEEN COMING OUT OF TANZANIAN REFUGEE CAMPS. HE CLAIMED THAT THOSE MAKING THE REPORTS WERE HUTU MILITIA MEMBERS AND OTHER TUTSI KILLERS. AS PROOF, HE POINTED TO THE HUGE PILE OF MACHETES THAT THE FLEEING REFUGEES HAD DEPOSITED AT THE TANZANIAN BORDER. ACCORDING TO MAZIMHAKA, THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL NGO'S IN RWANDA HAD TRAVELED FREELY IN THE
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RPF ZONE AND NONE OF THESE IMPARTIAL OBSERVERS HAD REPORTED SIGHTING ANY INSTANCES OF RPF ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS.

THE FAILED ORPHAN RESCUE

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17. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF HAD REFUSED TO AGREE TO THE PLANNED RESCUE OF THE ORPHANS BECAUSE THEY THOUGHT THE ORPHANS WERE GOING TO BE TAKEN TO FRANCE AND ADOPTED BY FOREIGNERS. THE RPF DID NOT WANT TO SEE THESE CHILDREN TAKEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY WHEN THEIR FAMILIES MIGHT STILL BE ALIVE SOMEWHERE. THEY ALSO THOUGHT THE MILITIA MEMBERS WHO HAD DEMANDED TO ACCOMPANY THE ORPHANS TO THE AIRPORT WOULD TRY TO ESCAPE ON THE SAME PLANE.

UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION

18. RENDER NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR RAWSON WAS TRAVELING TO GENEVA TO ATTEND THE UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION AND THAT OUR DELEGATION WOULD BE LED BY GERALDINE FERRARO. MAZIMHAKA SAID RPF REP JACQUES BIHOZAGARA WOULD BE IN GENEVA AND THAT THE RPF INTENDED TO ASK THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NOT TO "STICK ITS HEAD IN THE SAND" ON RWANDA. RENDER REPLIED THAT IT WAS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT HAD CALLED THE SESSION, AND THAT WE WOULD BE TAKING STRONG POSITIONS THERE. GAHIMA NOTED THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD BE REPRESENTED AT THE SESSION AND THAT IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD ALLOW THOSE WHO COMMITTED THE ATROCITIES TO BE HEARD, THE RPF SHOULD BE

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HEARD AS WELL. RAWSON REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT THE COMMISSION WOULD WANT TO HEAR FROM ALL SIDES AND EXPRESSED THE U.S. HOPE THAT THAT WOULD HAPPEN.
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