

8-11-1994

## Press Guidance - August 11, 1994

US Embassy Rwanda

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DRAFTED BY: AF/P:TKURTH  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY  
ALL OECD CAPITALS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL CALGARY PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL DURBAN PRIORITY  
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL JEDDAH PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY LUANDA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY RIYADH PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY  
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USCINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL PRIORITY  
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USOFFICE ABUJA PRIORITY  
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DOD WASHDC 0000  
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 0000

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E.O. 12356: N/A  
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SUBJECT: PRESS BRIEFING - AUGUST 11, 1994

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A/S GEORGE MOOSE'S BRIEFING TO THE  
PRESS REGARDING HIS RECENT TRIP TO AFRICA.

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2. DEPARTMENT OF STATE DAILY PRESS BRIEFING - 8/11/94  
(12:53 P.M. - ON THE RECORD UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)  
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MR. MCCURRY: GOOD AFTERNOON EVERYBODY. SINCE THIS IS MY  
FIRST DAY BACK, I'VE DECIDED I WOULD BRING IN A GUEST STAR  
SO I CAN EASE INTO THE BRIEFING PROCESS A LITTLE BIT. BUT  
I DID WANT TO HAVE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN  
AFFAIRS, GEORGE MOOSE, TELL YOU ABOUT A TRIP HE JUST  
CONCLUDED TO AFRICA.

HE WENT OUT WITH DEFENSE SECRETARY PERRY ON JULY 30. HE  
VISITED RWANDA AND BURUNDI AND THEN CONTINUED TO CONSULT  
WITH KEY OFFICIALS IN RWANDA, BURUNDI, AND ELSEWHERE IN  
THE REGION. THE ITINERARY INCLUDED, I THINK, IF I'M NOT

MISTAKEN, ZAIRE, TANZANIA, KENYA, AND UGANDA. SO I  
THOUGHT IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA FOR HIM TO TALK A LITTLE  
BIT ABOUT SOME OF THE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS UNDERWAY  
THERE. HE'S PREPARED TO TAKE SOME QUESTIONS ON SUBJECTS  
RELATED TO THE TRIP AND THE REGION, GENERALLY.

SO WE'LL START WITH WHAT I THINK WILL BE A VERY WELCOME

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ADDITION TO OUR NORMAL ROUTINE HERE. ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
GEORGE MOOSE.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: THANKS VERY MUCH, MIKE. AS  
MIKE INDICATED, I JUST RETURNED MONDAY EVENING FROM WHAT  
WAS ABOUT AN EIGHT-DAY TRIP TO THE REGION. I WENT OUT  
WITH SECRETARY PERRY.

ONE OF OUR FIRST PRIORITIES, OF COURSE, WAS TO CONFIRM  
THAT THE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF OPERATION WAS, IN FACT,  
GETTING UP AND RUNNING AS WE HAD HOPED AND WISHED AND,  
INDEED, THAT OUR SUPPORT FOR THAT OPERATION WAS EFFECTIVE.

I THINK THE ANSWERS TO THOSE QUESTIONS WERE BOTH  
AFFIRMATIVE. WE ARE ALL AWARE THAT THERE REMAIN  
TREMENDOUS PROBLEMS ON THE RELIEF SIDE. EVEN NOW, WE ARE  
STILL CONFRONTING CHALLENGES WITH REGARD TO BOTH THE  
DELIVERY OF FOOD AND MEDICINES AND OF WATER. MEDICAL  
OFFICIALS IN THE CAMPS ARE FACING A VARIETY OF MEDICAL  
CHALLENGES.

BUT I THINK IN TERMS OF THE RESPONSE ON THE PART OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, GENERALLY, AND IN TERMS OF THE  
UNIQUE CAPACITIES WHICH OUR OWN MILITARY PROVIDED, HAT WE  
HAVE REASON TO BE VERY SATISFIED WITH BOTH THE RAPIDITY OF  
THAT RESPONSE AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THAT RESPONSE.

I STAYED IN THE REGION PRIMARILY, HOWEVER, TO LOOK AT THE  
NEXT PHASE IN HIS OPERATION. I DON'T THINK IT'S --  
"OPERATION" -- I DON'T MEAN BY THAT MILITARY, BUT THE NEXT  
PHASE IN THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REGION. I DON'T THINK IT  
IS TOO EARLY TO BEGIN TO LOOK AT THAT. THERE ARE TWO  
FUNDAMENTAL DIMENSIONS TO THAT. ONE IS, WHAT WILL BE

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REQUIRED IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE RETURN  
OF REFUGEES TO RWANDA.

AND, SECOND, AND VERY MUCH RELATED TO THAT IS THE QUESTION  
OF WHAT IS NEEDED TO BEGIN TO ESTABLISH A BASIS FOR  
LONG-TERM SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA.

I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE  
NEW GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA. FRANKLY, WE WERE ENCOURAGED BY

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THOSE CONVERSATIONS -- ENCOURAGED TO BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS, INDEED, SENSITIVE TO AND RESPONSIVE TO A WHOLE RANGE OF ISSUES WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL BE CRITICAL TO CREATING THE CONDITIONS INSIDE OF RWANDA THAT WILL ENCOURAGE A RETURN AND A PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION. THAT INCLUDES QUESTIONS OF COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES, PARTICULARLY WITH UNAMIR.

ALREADY THERE IS THE BEGINNING OF JOINT PATROLS WITH UNAMIR AND THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES. IT INCLUDES THEIR WILLINGNESS TO SEE DEPLOYED QUICKLY HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS TO HELP BRING A SENSE OF SECURITY TO THE INTERIOR OF THE COUNTRY. IT INCLUDES OUR DISCUSSIONS, WHICH ARE CONTINUING ABOUT THEIR SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL PROCESS; TO BRING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE TO ACCOUNT.

IN FACT, I WILL SIMPLY MENTION HERE THAT MY COLLEAGUE JOHN SHATTUCK OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS BUREAU HAS BEEN IN THE REGION IN KIGALI OVER THE WEEKEND AND HAS HAD FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT ON THOSE ISSUES.

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WITH ALL OF THOSE GOOD INTENTIONS, HOWEVER, I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT FACES ENORMOUS CHALLENGES IN ACTUALLY CREATING THOSE CONDITIONS, NOT LEAST BECAUSE ALL OF THE NORMAL INSTRUMENTALITIES OF GOVERNMENT -- CIVIL SERVICE POLICE FORCE, LOCAL ADMINISTRATION, NOT TO MENTION SERVICES LIKE TELEPHONE, ELECTRICITY, ETC. -- ARE ALL GONE.

MANY OF THE SENIOR ADMINISTRATORS WERE KILLED DURING THE GENOCIDE. MANY OTHERS ARE OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY.

SO WITH THE BEST OF WILL AND INTENT, IT IS GOING TO TAKE AN AWFUL LOT OF EFFORT TO, INDEED, CONCRETIZE THE POLICIES THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT SAYS IT INTENDS TO PUT IN PLACE, AND THAT, IN TURN, IS GOING TO REQUIRE A FAIR AMOUNT OF EFFORT ON THE PART OF U.N. AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, GENERALLY.

THERE IS A FURTHER DIMENSION TO THIS, AS YOU ARE ALL AWARE, AND THAT IS THE SITUATION THAT PREVAILS IN THE REFUGEE CAMP OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. WE HAVE BEEN MADE ALL TOO WELL AWARE OF THE FACT THAT IN THOSE CAMPS THE EFFORTS AT INTIMIDATION AND PROPAGANDIZING CONTINUE. SUCH AS EVEN WITH A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE SITUATION WITHIN RWANDA, IT REMAINS QUESTIONABLE HOW QUICKLY THOSE OBSTACLES TO THE RETURN OF REFUGEES CAN BE OVERCOME.

THAT CONSTITUTES YET ANOTHER DIMENSION TO THIS PROBLEM WHICH WILL REQUIRE EFFORTS ON THE PART OF NEIGHBORING STATE AND THE SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

LET ME JUST MENTION QUICKLY, TOO, THERE IS AN IMMEDIATE  
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PROBLEM IN THE SO-CALLED SAFE HUMANITARIAN ZONE WHICH THE FRENCH AND THEIR ALLIED FORCES HAVE BEEN OCCUPYING IN THE SOUTHWEST OF RWANDA. THAT TRANSITION FROM THE FRENCH FORCE -- THE FRENCH-LED FORCE -- TO UNAMIR IS ALREADY UNDERWAY WITH DEPLOYMENT OF GHANAIAAN TROOPS AND OTHERS INTO TNAT AREA. IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT TRANSITION TAKE PLAC IN AN ORDERLY FASHION SO AS NOT TO PRECIPITATE A FURTHER REFUGEE EXODUS INTO ZAIRE OR INTO BURUNDI.

THEREFORE, WE HAVE BEEN WORKING IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE UNITED NATIONS AND WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO HELP FACILITATE THE MOST RAPID POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT OF THE UNAMIR FORCE.

LASTLY, LET ME JUST TOUCH ON MY VISIT TO BURUNDI. CLEARLY, THE TENSIONS THAT THE VIOLENCE THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN RWANDA OVER THE LAST FOUR MONTHS HAVE GREATLY EXACERBATED A ALREADY TENSE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BURUNDI.

THERE ARE NOW SOME 200,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES IN BURUNDI, MAN OF WHOM, OF COURSE, ARE HIGHLY TRAUMATIZED, HIGHLY POLITICIZED, AND WHO HAVE, THEREFORE, INJECTED THAT ELEMENT INTO BURUNDI'S ALREADY TENSE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT.

WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT, IN THE MILITARY, AND IN SOCIETY IN BURUNDI CAN OVERCOME THE CURRENT POLITICAL IMPASSE IN BURUNDI. BUT WE ARE CONCERNED BY THE PRESENCE OF EXTREMISTS GROUPS AND ELEMENTS WHO SEEM INTENT ON BLOCKING A RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION CRISIS.

OVER THE LAST WEEK OR SO, WE HAVE SEEN SOME ENCOURAGING  
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SIGNS THAT THOSE WHO ARE IN POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY ARE BEGINNING TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE MORE DISRUPTIVE ELEMENTS. FOR OUR PART, AND I THINK ON TNE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IT'S EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT WE CONTINUE BOTH TO SUPPORT THOSE MODERATE ELEMENTS AN TO UNDERSCORE THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF A FEW EXTREMISTS BLOCKING THE TRANSITION AND THEREBY FUELING THE ALREADY

TENSE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN BURUNDI.

I WILL CLOSE SIMPLY BY SAYING I ALSO SPENT TIME TALKING WITH A NUMBER OF REGIONAL LEADERS -- PRESIDENT MWINYI OF TANZANIA WHO HAS SHOWN GREAT LEADERSHIP IN THE PAST IN TERMS OF A

REGIONAL PROCESS OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AND WHO SHOWS GREAT WILLINGNESS TO ASSUME THAT RESPONSIBILITY AGAIN IN THE FUTURE.

I ALSO HAD A CHANCE IN THE COURSE OF THIS TRIP TO TRAVEL TO SOUTH AFRICA WHERE I MET AT THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST WITH PRESIDENT MANDELA, SIMPLY TO BRIEF HIM ON THE SITUATION IN THE REGION AND TO SEEK HIS THOUGHTS AND HIS ADVICE.

I THINK THIS IS AN AREA WHERE AFRICAN LEADERSHIP IS GOING TO BE CRITICAL; THAT PRESIDENT MWINYI WITH THE SUPPORT OF PEOPLE LIKE PRESIDENT MANDELA WILL HAVE A MAJOR ROLE TO PLAY IN TRYING TO ESTABLISH A PROCESS FOR RECONCILIATION IN THE FUTURE.

LET ME END MY COMMENTS THERE, AND I WILL BE HAPPY TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

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Q: SECRETARY MOOSE, WHAT WOULD THIS GOVERNMENT PROPOSE TO DO ABOUT THE AGITATORS AND INTIMIDATORS IN THE REFUGEE CAMP IN BURUNDI AND IN ZAIRE?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: I THINK, GENERALLY SPEAKING, THERE NEEDS TO BE A MANDATE AND AUTHORITY FOR THE ARREST AND DETENTION AND PROSECUTION OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE SUSPECTED OF INSTIGATING, DIRECTING AND ORGANIZING THE VIOLENCE.

WE HAVE SAID ALL ALONG THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THAT SHOULD BE DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. WE BELIEVE THAT AUTHORITY NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TO NEIGHBORING STATES TO ARREST -- DETAIN THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE SO SUSPECTED

I KNOW MY COLLEAGUE, JOHN SHATTUCK, WHO HAS BEEN IN THE REGION HAS BEEN TALKING SPECIFICALLY TO THOSE ISSUES. I EXPECT HIM TO BE BACK HERE ON THURSDAY, AND, WHEN HE RETURNS, WE WILL HAVE A CLEARER IDEA OF EXACTLY HOW THAT CAN BE DONE.

BUT CLEARLY THERE HAS TO BE A PROCESS LAID OUT THAT WILL ALLOW NEIGHBORING STATES TO EXERCISE AUTHORITY TO DETAIN

PEOPLE AND THEN A PROCEDURE WORKED OUT FOR WHAT HAPPENS TO THOSE PEOPLE PENDING THE ACTUAL FUNCTIONING OF THE PROPOSED TRIBUNAL.

Q: DOES THIS HAVE TO COME FROM THE U.N.?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: I BELIEVE IT WOULD. I BELIEVE IT WOULD REQUIRE A DECISION PROBABLY BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ESTABLISH SUCH A BODY.

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Q: AND WE WILL SEEK THAT SOON?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: THAT DISCUSSION IN FACT IS ALREADY UNDERWAY AND FORMAL CONSULTATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE IN NEW YORK.

Q: YOU SAID THE VIOLENCE HAS BEEN IN BURUNDI THE LAST FEW DAYS, AND WHAT CAN BE DONE TO PREVENT THAT SITUATION FROM FALLING APART?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: THERE HAVE BEEN A SERIES OF STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN BUJUMBURA ITSELF OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS, ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION THERE TODAY IS CONSIDERABLY CALMER PRECISELY BECAUSE AGAIN ELEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY HAVE TAKEN DECISIVE ACTION TO PUT AN END TO SOME OF THOSE STRIKES.

I THINK THE SITUATION IS MOST TROUBLESOME AND MOST WORRYING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, PARTLY AGAIN BECAUSE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THESE REFUGEES. BUT THERE WE DO HAVE EVIDENCE THAT OVER THE LAST WEEK OR SO THERE HAVE BEEN CONFRONTATIONS. IT'S NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR THOSE, BUT IT IS A SITUATION WHICH, IF NOT GOTTEN UNDER CONTROL QUICKLY, COULD BE EXPLOSIVE.

I THINK THE MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, AS I SAID EARLIER, IS THE RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ISSUE, BECAUSE IN EFFECT AT THE MOMENT THERE IS NOT A GOVERNMENT IN PLACE IN BURUNDI -- OR NOT A FUNCTIONING ONE. AND UNTIL AND UNLESS THAT ISSUE IS ADDRESSED, THE QUESTIONS OF EFFECTIVE

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SECURITY ACTIVITIES AND EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE WILL NOT BE RESOLVED.



Q: SECRETARY MOOSE, IS THE BURUNDI INSTABILITY PRIMARILY A FUNCTION OF ETHNIC HUTU AND TUTSI RIVALRIES AS IT IS IN RWANDA, AND IS THAT RIVALRY SPILLING OVER TO THE REFUGEES? IS THAT THE SENTIMENT THAT'S STIRRING UP THE TROUBLE AND IS THAT RIVALRY ALSO DANGEROUS TO OTHER COUNTRIES AROUND RWANDA

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: AS YOU KNOW, THE SAME ETHNIC MIXTURE THAT EXISTED IN RWANDA IS MIRRORED IN BURUNDI, AND I THINK

IT'S QUITE CLEAR THERE ARE CERTAINLY OTHER ELEMENTS IN THIS EQUATION. THERE ARE SOME VERY CLEARLY POLITICAL ELEMENTS. THERE WAS AN ELECTION LAST FALL, LAST OCTOBER, A MANY OF YOU MAY RECALL.

THERE WAS AN ATTEMPT AFTER THAT ELECTION TO OVERTHROW THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT WAS ASSASSINATED. THERE ARE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS TO THIS, BUT THERE IS ALSO, I THINK, QUITE CLEARLY AN ETHNIC DIMENSION WHICH IS IMPORTANT, AND THAT ETHNIC DIMENSION HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY THE VIOLENCE THAT WE HAVE SEEN MOST RECENTLY IN RWANDA.

THERE ARE POTENTIAL IMPACTS AS WELL FOR OTHER COUNTRIES. CLEARLY, THE INFLUX OF ALREADY MORE THAN ONE MILLION REFUGEES INTO EASTERN ZAIRE HAS CREATED PROBLEMS OF SECURITY AND INSTABILITY IN THAT PART OF THE REGION AS WELL.

Q: IS THIS PHRASE "TRIBAL DIFFICULTIES" IN ZAIRE AS WELL?  
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ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: THERE IS A CERTAIN PRESENCE, YES, OF THE SAME ETHNIC GROUPS IN ZAIRE, BUT LESS SO. IT'S NOT A DOMINANT FACTOR IN THE ZAIRE SITUATION.

Q: I RECALL READING A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO THAT SOME OF THE AID MONEY USED TO HELP RWANDANS WAS REPROGRAMMED AWAY FROM SUDAN AND ANGOLA, AND OBVIOUSLY THE NEEDS IN THOSE TWO COUNTRIES ARE GREAT; AND WHAT HAS HAPPENED, IF THOSE REPORTS ARE TRUE, TO THESE PEOPLE? WERE THEY LEFT HIGH AND DRY, OR ARE OTHER ACTIONS BEING TAKEN?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: WHAT WAS DONE -- AND THIS WAS DONE PRIMARILY BY THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCIES, WORLD FOOD PROGRAM IN PARTICULAR -- DIVERTED, BORROWED, IF YOU WILL, RESOURCES THAT WERE DESTINED FOR ANGOLA AND FOR SUDAN AND PERHAPS FOR OTHER COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS IN ZAIRE, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING AND

THE PLEDGE THAT THOSE SUPPLIES WOULD BE REPLENISHED WITHIN PERIOD OF A MONTH TO TWO MONTHS.

I DON'T HAVE THE CURRENT UPDATE ON WHAT THE STATUS OF THAT REPLENISHMENT IS, BUT WE WERE ASSURED THAT THE LETTER OF THAT AND THE SPIRIT OF THAT COMMITMENT WOULD BE HONORED.

Q: ON A SLIGHTLY LARGER ISSUE, WITH THE FOREIGN AID BILL ABOUT OR NEARING FINAL PASSAGE -- IT JUST PASSED THE HOUSE -- IS THE AMOUNT OF MONEY APPROPRIATED OR TO BE SPENT ON AFRICA -- IN VIEW OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED AND WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN ON THE CONTINENT, IS THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SET ASID  
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FOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA ANYWHERE NEAR THE AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT'S NECESSARY?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: I THINK THAT WE HAVE IN OUR BUDGET AND COLLECTIVELY IN INTERNATIONAL BUDGETS SUMS OF MONEY WHICH WOULD ALLOW US TO ADDRESS THE MAJOR PROBLEMS, DEVELOPMENTAL PROBLEMS AS WELL AS SECURITY PROBLEMS, IN AFRICA. I THINK, AS I SAID BEFORE, O CONGRESS ON MANY OCCASIONS AS WELL, CLEARLY THIS IS AN AREA WHERE THE DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES ARE SUCH THAT IF WE HAD MORE MONEY AVAILABLE TO US, WE COULD FIND EFFECTIVE WAYS TO SPEND IT.

I THINK ALL OF THE EVENTS OF THE LAST YEAR, AND PARTICULARL THIS ONE, CAUSE US TO REFLECT ON WHAT WE REQUIRE IN THE WAY OF ADDITIONAL CAPACITY -- INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHERS -- AS WELL AS ADDITIONAL RESOURCES IF WE ARE TO TRY TO HAVE A CHANCE, AN OPPORTUNITY TO AVERT SOME OF THESE CRISES IN THE FUTURE.

Q: SO WHAT --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: THAT REFLECTION, AT LEAST ON MY PART, HAS BEEN --

Q: DO YOU SEE THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SHARPLY GOING UP IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS LIKE THOSE IN RWANDA AND THOSE AND NIGERIA, ZAIRE AND ELSEWHERE?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: OBVIOUSLY, I CAN'T SPECULATE. THIS IS A PROCESS THAT INVOLVES NOT ONLY THIS DEPARTMENT OR THIS ADMINISTRATION BUT ALSO THE CONGRESS. I DO THINK,  
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THOUGH, IN MY CONTACTS WITH OTHER PEOPLE IN THE CONGRESS AN  
IN THE PUBLIC THERE IS A GROWING -- I WOULD SIMPLY REFER TO  
BRIAN AWOOD'S RECENT INITIATIVE IN THE HORN, HIS PROPOSALS  
FOR HOW WE AVERT ANOTHER MAJOR FOOD CATASTROPHE, TO BEGIN  
WITH, IN THAT AREA.

I THINK AS WE THINK OUR WAY THROUGH THOSE ISSUES, WE MAY  
INDEED COME UP WITH SOME NEW IDEAS AND NEW PROPOSALS TO  
DISCUSS WITH THE CONGRESS.

Q: (INAUDIBLE) THE BUDGET FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS  
BEEN INCREASINGLY DIRECTED TOWARDS AFRICA, AND WHAT I WOULD  
LIKE TO KNOW IS THIS: THAT THE AID TO REFUGEES SEEMS  
PRIMARILY BASED ON DONATIONS TO THE HCR WHICH ARE BASED IN  
PART AND CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR BUDGETS WHICH SEEM TO BE  
DRIVEN BY MEDIA COVERAGE, AND, IF NOT MEDIA COVERAGE, THEN  
IN OUR COUNTRY DRIVEN BY OUR CONNECTIONS WITH VIETNAMESE OR  
CUBANS OR SOVIET JEWS OR OTHER PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS THAT  
OUR COUNTRY HAS.

IS THERE ANY THOUGHT TO LIBERATE -- AND THIS IS A LONG-TERM  
POLICY CONSIDERATION -- TO LIBERATE REFUGEE AID FROM THESE  
SORT OF CONSTRAINTS, FROM WAITING UNTIL A CATASTROPHE  
DEVELOPS SO THAT THE PURSE STRINGS ARE LOOSENED OR DIRECTIN  
IT ACCORDING TO OUR OLD BUDDIES -- YOU KNOW --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: I THINK I'M REALLY GOING TO HAV  
TO REFER YOUR QUESTION TO MY COLLEAGUE, PHYLLIS OAKLEY. LE  
ME SIMPLY SAY THAT FOR OUR PART, AS WE, THE AFRICA BUREAU,  
HAVE SOUGHT TO ASSIST BOTH AID AND OUR REFUGEE BUREAU IN  
THINKING AHEAD ABOUT PROBLEMS, WE HAVE SOUGHT NOT TO BE  
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DRIVEN EXCLUSIVELY OR EVEN PRIMARILY BY MEDIA COVERAGE, BUT  
RATHER BY WHAT WE UNDERSTAND THE NEED TO BE -- WHETHER IT'S  
IN AN ANGOLA OR A SUDAN.

I DO THINK THAT WE HAVE OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, BECAUS  
OF THE AUTHORITY GRANTED BY CONGRESS -- HAVE HAD GREATER  
FLEXIBILITY AND GREATER CAPACITY TO RESPOND TO CRISES WHEN  
THEY ARISE. BUT WHEN YOU HAVE A CRISIS LIKE RWANDA, WHICH  
TOTALLY OVERWHELMS EITHER OUR EXPECTATIONS OR OUR RESOURCES  
IT'S CLEAR THAT SOME ADDITIONAL AUTHORITY AND RESOURCES ARE  
NEEDED.

Q: THEN FOLLOW UP ONE QUESTION: DO YOU HAVE AN ESTIMATE O  
THE TOTAL COST OF THE RWANDA -- OF ALL THE AID TO RWANDA FO

THE UNITED STATES AT THIS POINT?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: ALL I CAN CITE TO YOU IS AN INDICATION OF WHAT WE ARE PROVIDING IS THE REQUEST OF THE ADMINISTRATION SENT TO CONGRESS FOR ITS EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL, AND THAT FIGURE WAS DOLLARS 320 MILLION. WHETHER THAT WILL BE THE FINAL FIGURE, I THINK AT THIS POINT WE REALLY DON'T KNOW.

Q: HOW MUCH DANGER DO YOU THINK THERE IS ABOUT WIDER REGIONAL CONFLICT DEVELOPING IN CENTRAL AFRICA IF THE

ZAIRIAN ARMY WERE TO HELP THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY REARM THE UGANDANS HELPING THE RPF? IS THAT SOMETHING WHICH YOU'RE ASSESSING SERIOUSLY?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: I DON'T THINK THAT'S REALLY THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PROBLEM. I THINK THE PROBLEM IS ONE IN WHICH WE NOW HAVE MORE THAN A MILLION AND A HALF REFUGEES OUTSIDE OF RWANDA. I THINK UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES WE ARE LIKELY TO SEE A NUMBER OF THEM -- A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THEM REMAIN OUTSIDE OF RWANDA.

THE CONCERN THAT I HAVE IS THAT IF THOSE PEOPLE CANNOT -- I CONDITIONS CAN'T BE CREATED IN RWANDA WHICH ENCOURAGES THEIR RETURN IN A REASONABLY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, THEN ONE HAS THE SEEDS OF A REPETITION OF THE SAME CYCLE OF VIOLENCE THAT WE'VE SEEN; THAT THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO WILL NURTURE, CLEARLY THEIR OWN GRIEVANCES AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO TRY TO PLOT THEIR OWN RETURN.

THEREFORE, I THINK IT IS INCUMBENT, IT IS IMPERATIVE, THAT WE BEGIN NOW TO TRY TO DEFUSE THAT SITUATION BEFORE IT PRODUCES THAT OUTCOME. I DO THINK THAT IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO THAT, BASED IN PART ON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND TO INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS, AND ALSO IN FACT THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THIS CRISIS, THERE IS TREMENDOUS MOBILIZATION INTERESTS/DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DO WHATEVER IT CAN TO TRY TO PREVENT ANOTHER TURN IN THE CYCLE.

ONE MORE?

Q: JUST ONE MORE BRIEFLY ON NIGERIA. WHAT HAVE YOU LEARNED FROM REVEREND JACKSON AND FROM YOUR OWN TRAVELS ABOUT THE

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NIGERIAN -- POTENTIAL NIGERIAN -- OR THE POTENTIAL IN  
NIGERIA FOR CIVIL WAR?

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: I THINK THERE CERTAINLY IS A  
POTENTIAL IN NIGERIA FOR GREATER STRIFE IF IN FACT OUR  
EFFORTS AND THE EFFORTS OF OTHERS TO INFLUENCE THE CURRENT  
COURSE OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL. WE  
HAVE BEEN SAYING FOR SOME TIME THAT THE PATH ON WHICH THE  
GOVERNMENT HAD EMBARKED WAS NOT IN OUR VIEW ONE THAT WOULD  
LEAD EITHER TO SOCIAL PEACE OR TO A RESOLUTION OF THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS.

THE REACTION OF ARRESTING DEMOCRACY LEADERS, INCLUDING

PEOPLE LIKE CHIEF ABIOLA, HAS ONLY CONTRIBUTED TO A  
CRISIS OF POLITICAL CONFIDENCE IN NIGERIA. THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, WE HAVE SAID ALL ALONG, WOULD NO  
BE CREDIBLE IF IT DID NOT DEAL WITH THE ISSUES OF THE JUNE  
12 ELECTION AND RESOLVE THEM.

SO OUR HOPE IS THAT -- AND I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS TILL  
POSSIBLE -- I THINK THE REVEREND JACKSON'S TRIP DEMONSTRATE  
THAT IN FACT THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO UNDERSTAND THE DEPTH OF  
TNAT CRISIS, AND OUR HOPE IS THAT THEY WILL PREVAIL IN THE  
CURRENT DEBATE, CURRENT DISCUSSIONS ON NIGERIA.

THANK YOU.

(ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE CONCLUDED HIS BRIEFING AT 1:15  
P.M.)

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED CHRISTOPHER

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