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ENVELOPE

CDSN = LGX506 MCN = 94217/26447 TOR = 942171615  
OTTCZYUW RUEKJCS0507 2171620-CCCC-RUEALGX.  
ZNY CCCCC

HEADER

O 051620Z AUG 94  
FM SECDEF WASHINGTON DC  
INFO RUEADTS/USDP:DTSA  
RUEKMDT/USDP:CCC  
RUEALGX/SAFE  
O 051601Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5484  
INFO RUEHTO/AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY 6705  
RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 0174  
RUEHJB/AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY 0499  
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 0118  
RUTAKM/AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY 4700  
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0147  
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8790  
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 1056  
RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1070  
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0351  
RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 1381  
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4840  
RUKGNL/DLA CAMERON STA VA  
RHCUAAA/USCINCTrans SCOTT AFB IL  
RUCBSAA/CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA  
RUCJACC/USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3//  
RUSNNOT/COMSOCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N3/N31/N5/N7//  
RHFRAAB/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX/RS//  
RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGE-0//  
RUEHLS/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 0753  
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC//USDP//OASD-PA-DPL//PA//  
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//  
RUSNTCA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ETCC//

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CONTROLS

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.  
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify  
Date 6/10/03 Exemption \_\_\_\_\_

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/\*\*\*\*\* THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE \*\*\*\*\*/

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BODY

TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ  
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE REVIEWS RWANDA AND BURUNDI  
SITUATIONS WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI, AUGUST 5

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN BRIEFING PRESIDENT MWINYI ON HIS TRIPS TO BURUNDI AND RWANDA, A/S MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT A REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES AND REFUGEE-RELATED MATTERS BE CONVENED ON AN URGENT BASIS. REVIEW OF THE MANY ISSUES MADE CRITICAL BY THE REFUGEE CRISIS, HE OFFERED, COULD EVEN LEAD TO MUCH-NEEDED DISCUSSION OF THE COMPLICATED POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH THREATEN THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA AND THE CURRENT BURUNDI REGIME. WITH RESPECT TO BURUNDI, A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED IN STRONG TERMS HIS CONCERN OVER THE FRAGILITY OF THE SITUATION THERE. END SUMMARY.
3. IN HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI AUGUST 5, A/S MOOSE THANKED MWINYI FOR THE GOT'S COOPERATION IN FACILITATING REFUGEE RELIEF FLIGHTS TRANSITTING THROUGH TANZANIA AND BRIEFED THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT ON HIS JUST-CONCLUDED TRIPS TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI (DISCUSSION OF LIBERIA WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL). WITH RESPECT TO CONDITIONS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE, A/S MOOSE NOTED BRIEFLY THAT THE SITUATION, WHILE STILL DIFFICULT, HAS BEGUN TO EASE IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS, LARGELY DUE TO THE AMOUNTS OF ASSISTANCE RECEIVED RECENTLY. DEATH RATES IN THE CAMPS ARE DECLINING. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LIKE UNICEF ARE WORKING TO CONTROL FURTHER DISEASE OUTBREAKS.
4. TURNING TO RWANDA, A/S MOOSE DESCRIBED THE DISTURBING, EERIE VIEW HE HAD RECEIVED FLYING OVER THE COUNTRY. EVERYWHERE ONE CAN SEE HOUSES AND PLANTED

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FIELDS BUT ABSOLUTELY NO PEOPLE--THE COUNTRY APPEARS DEPOPULATED. IN KIGALI, PERHAPS ONLY 5 PER CENT OF THE FORMER POPULATION REMAINS. THE WATER SUPPLY HAS JUST BEEN RESTORED BUT THERE IS STILL NO ELECTRICITY, TELEPHONE SERVICE, BANKS, MONEY OR A FUNCTIONING CIVIL SERVICE.

5. A/S MOOSE INFORMED MWINYI THAT IN MEETINGS WITH GOR OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER, HE CAME AWAY IMPRESSED THAT THEY ARE SINCERE ABOUT ESTABLISHING A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT TO ATTRACT SUPPORT. THEY ALSO RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO INSTILL A SENSE OF SECURITY WITHIN THE COUNTRY TO PERSUADE REFUGEES TO RETURN. AT THE SAME TIME, THE GOR IS SEVERELY HANDICAPPED BY ITS TOTAL LACK OF RESOURCES AND INSTRUMENTS OF GOVERNMENT. GOR RANKS INCLUDE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THE RPF VICTORY SHOULD TRANSLATE INTO THE FORMATION OF AN RPF GOVERNMENT. IN REFUGEE CAMPS OUTSIDE RWANDA, A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION AND TERRORIZATION BY FORMER MILITIA MEMBERS AND MILITARY--NOT ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN DISARMED--CONTINUES. THE DANGER OVER TIME, A/S MOOSE OBSERVED, IS THAT RECRIMINATIONS WILL BE NURTURED AMONG THOSE ELEMENTS HOPING FOR A RETURN. HE POINTED OUT THAT THESE CONSTITUTE PROBLEMS WITH NO EASY SOLUTIONS.

6. ALSO DELICATE, A/S MOOSE CONTINUED, IS THE SITUATION IN THE FRENCH ZONE. THE FRENCH ARE LEAVING AND SHOULD LEAVE BUT IT IS CRITICAL THAT THE

TRANSITION FROM OPERATION TURQUOISE TO UNAMIR PROCEED  
/\*\*\*\*\* BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 \*\*\*\*\*/  
IN AN ORDERLY MANNER. IF NOT, THE FRENCH WITHDRAWAL COULD TRIGGER A MASSIVE REFUGEE EXODUS WHICH COULD OVERWHELM NOT ONLY ZAIRE, BUT EVEN MORE DANGEROUS, DESTABILIZE BURUNDI.

7. A/S MOOSE THEN TOOK UP THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI, WHICH HE DESCRIBED IN SOBERING TERMS. HE INFORMED MWINYI THAT WHILE HE HAD BEEN ANXIOUS ABOUT BURUNDI BEFORE TRAVELLING THERE, HE IS EVEN MORE CONCERNED NOW AFTER HIS BRIEF VISIT. THE BURUNDI SITUATION IS EXTREMELY FRAGILE AND TENSIONS ARE RUNNING VERY HIGH. A/S MOOSE POINTED OUT THIS DANGER IN ALL HIS MEETINGS

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WITH THE GRB AND WITH OTHER POLITICAL PLAYERS. NEVERTHELESS, THE PARTIES REMAIN LOCKED AT THE NOVOTEL HOTEL HAGGLING OVER ARCANE ISSUES WHILE OUTSIDE, A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN SIMILAR TO THE RWANDA EXAMPLE, BEGINS TO MATERIALIZE. MILITIAS ARE EXPANDING AND IN THE INCREASED CLIMATE OF INSECURITY, PEOPLE ARE ARMING THEMSELVES. THE ECONOMY IS PARALYZED BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY; MONEY IS BEING SPENT BUT NO FUNDS ARE COMING IN.

8. A/S MOOSE OFFERED HIS DISTURBING IMPRESSION THAT THE CURRENT BURUNDI SCENE IS ALL TOO REMINISCENT OF RWANDA, PRE-APRIL 6. A VERY SMALL NUMBER OF EXTREMIST ELEMENTS ON BOTH SIDES ARE DOMINATING THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE, BLOCKING RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS AND APPEALING TO THE FEARS OF THE POPULATION. THE MODERATES ARE AFRAID TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THEM. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT SOMETHING NEEDS TO BE DONE URGENTLY TO OVERCOME THE IMPASSE OVER THE ISSUE OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION AND TO ENCOURAGE MODERATE VOICES TO BE HEARD.

9. ANOTHER FACTOR THREATENING THE PEACE IN BURUNDI IS THE REFUGEES IN THE FRENCH ZONE. A/S MOOSE REITERATED THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT THE FRENCH WITHDRAWAL PROCEED IN AN ORDERLY FASHION TO PREVENT AN INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO BURUNDI--A DEVELOPMENT WITH POTENTIALLY OMINOUS CONSEQUENCES. THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES IN ITSELF COULD CONTAIN THE SEEDS OF ANOTHER CYCLE OF VIOLENCE IN THE REGION.

10. THIS LEAD A/S MOOSE TO UNDERScore THAT "ALL OF US HAVE TO EXPEND EVEN MORE ENERGY AND EFFORT" TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS. HE TOLD MWINYI HE IS AWARE THAT TANZANIA IS THINKING OF HOLDING A REGIONAL MEETING ON RWANDA, A DEVELOPMENT HE ENCOURAGED. IN HIS MEETING WITH MUSEVINI, THE UGANDAN LEADER HAD AGREED IT IS URGENT FOR REGIONAL LEADERS TO COME TOGETHER TO DISCUSS WAYS TO MANAGE THESE PROBLEMS. A/S MOOSE NOTED THERE ARE DIFFERENT VIEWS OF HOW SUCH A MEETING COULD BE ORGANIZED. SOME MIGHT CALL FOR A COMING TOGETHER OF NEIGHBORING STATES, THE GOR AND PERHAPS EVEN THE RWANDAN OPPOSITION. A/S MOOSE PREDICTED THE REACTION OF THE GOR TO THIS PROPOSAL COULD BE QUITE NEGATIVE AS PASSIONS IN RWANDA ARE "STILL RUNNING STRONG."

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11. MOOSE HIMSELF OFFERED THAT A MEETING ON REFUGEES AND REFUGEE-RELATED ISSUES (E.G. ON CAMP SECURITY, ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, AND DETENTION OF SUSPECTED /\*\*\*\*\* BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 \*\*\*\*\*/ CRIMINALS) IS URGENTLY NEEDED. A REGIONAL REFUGEE MEETING--INDEED ALREADY PROPOSED BY BURUNDI--CONVENED URGENTLY, PERHAPS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL IN THE NEXT TEN DAYS TO TWO WEEKS, COULD OFFER A MEANS TO ADDRESS EVEN MORE COMPLICATED ISSUES. REFUGEE RECEIVING AND SENDING COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WOULD ATTEND SUCH A SESSION--AS COULD OBSERVER STATES LIKE THE U.S. WHICH ARE INTERESTED IN THESE PROBLEMS.
12. MWINYI CONFIRMED THE GOT IS THINKING OF CONVENING A REGIONAL SESSION. THIS PLANNING WAS INTERRUPTED EARLIER ONLY AFTER MUSEVINI LEFT FOR TRAVEL ABROAD. UPON MUSEVINI'S RETURN, NEGOTIATIONS HAD RESUMED. MWINYI, NEVERTHELESS, CONFESSED THAT "WE ARE STILL GROPING IN THE DARK." THE PROBLEM IN BURUNDI, HE CONTINUED, IS COMPLICATED BECAUSE THE ARMY THERE HOLDS THE GOVERNMENT HOSTAGE SO THAT "WHEN YOU TALK TO A GOVERNMENT PERSON, YOU TALK TO SOMEONE WHO CANNOT MAKE A DECISION." EVEN SO, TANZANIA WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO WORK WITH THE REGIONAL PARTIES. MWINYI ADDED THAT HE LIKED THE IDEA OF A MINISTERIAL MEETING WHICH COULD LEAD I
- NTO A REGIONAL HEADS OF STATE SUMMIT. MOOSE OBSERVED THAT MINISTERS COULD DEFINE AN AGENDA, SOMETHING NEEDED BEFORE SOLUTIONS CAN BE PROPOSED.
13. [OBVIOUSLY STILL TURNING THE IDEA OVER IN HIS MIND, MWINYI COMMENTED THAT "WHILE AT LEAST YOU NOW HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA, IN BURUNDI YOU HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN A SHELL." THE SITUATION THERE IS DELICATE BECAUSE THE ARMY HAS THE GUNS AND CARE NEEDS TO BE TAKEN NOT TO ANTAGONIZE IT.] MOOSE AGREED IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO TAKE ACTIONS THAT MIGHT INCREASE THE ARMY'S LEVEL OF ANXIETY. THE BURUNDIAN ARMY, HE SUGGESTED, COULD EVEN BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REGIONAL REFUGEE MEETING, PERHAPS IN THE CONTEXT OF REFUGEE SECURITY, AS A WAY TO BEGIN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS.
14. MWINYI INFORMED A/S MOOSE THAT IN HIS RECENT

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MEETINGS WITH THE RWANDA PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT, THEY HAD DISCUSSED THE NEED TO PERSUADE REFUGEES TO RETURN TO RWANDA. A WEEK LATER, THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES INTO TANZANIA INCREASED TO 3000 A DAY. THIS WAS CAUSED BY YOUNG TUTSIS TAKING REVENGE AGAINST THE HUTU POPULATION. SO, HE NOTED, TANZANIA IS VERY WELL AWARE OF THE NEED TO CREATE A SECURE ENVIRONMENT IN RWANDA IF REFUGEES ARE TO RETURN. MOOSE AGREED AND SAID HE HAD UNDERSCORED TO GOR LEADERS THE NEED TO CONTROL UNDISCIPLINED ARMY ELEMENTS AND YOUNG TUTSIS SEEKING REVENGE IF REFUGEES ARE EVER TO BE CONFIDENT OF THE DOMESTIC SITUATION. THIS IS YET ANOTHER CRITICAL ISSUE NEEDING TO BE DISCUSSED.

15. REPEATING ASSURANCES HE HAD MADE TO PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU, MWINYI TOLD A/S MOOSE TANZANIAN FORCES ARE DISARMING THOSE ENTERING TANZANIA--UNLIKE ZAIRE. A/S MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT IN ZAIRE THE PROBLEM IS GREATER BECAUSE ALL THE RWANDAN MILITARY AND MILITIA REMNANTS HAD FLED THERE. ALTHOUGH UNHCR REPORTS THAT 80-85 PER /\*\*\*\*\* BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 \*\*\*\*\*/

CENT OF THESE FORCES HAVE BEEN DISARMED, THIS STILL LEAVES A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER WITH GUNS. FURTHER, THE MOVE TO KEEP THE MILITARY TOGETHER AS A SEPARATE REFUGEE GROUP, DESPITE HAVING SOME ADVANTAGES, COULD CONCEIVABLY LEAD TO THE FORMATION OF A NUCLEUS INTENT UPON RETURNING TO RWANDA. THUS THE QUESTION OF WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE MILITARY PRESENTS ANOTHER ISSUE DEMANDING URGENT ATTENTION.

16. IN DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM OF SUSPECTED MURDERERS IN REFUGEE CAMPS, A/S MOOSE CITED ONGOING EFFORTS AT THE U.N. TO PASS A RESOLUTION CREATING AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO TRY ACCUSED CRIMINALS. THIS RESOLUTION MAY BE PASSED NEXT WEEK. IN ADDITION, THE U.N. IS AWARE THAT THERE ARE PRACTICAL ASPECTS TO THE PROBLEM. FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS CLEAR THAT SECURITY NEEDS TO BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CAMPS WITHOUT PROVOKING INSURRECTION. AGAIN, THIS IS ANOTHER URGENT ISSUE REQUIRING ADDRESS.

17. IN ANSWER TO MWINYI'S QUESTION ABOUT CURRENT RPF VIEWS ON CREATING A NEW ARMY, A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT RPF COMMANDER KAGAME HAD CONFIRMED TO HIM THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS PROVISION TO JOIN RPF AND GOVERNMENT

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FORCES TOGETHER STILL STANDS (OF COURSE, THOSE INVOLVED IN MASSACRES WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED INTO THE NEW ARMY). KAGAME IS EVEN CLAIMING THAT 100-150 SOLDIERS HAVE RETURNED, INCLUDING SENIOR OFFICERS. THE GOR HAD HINTED THAT THE 40-60 RATIO OF FORCES AGREED TO UNDER THE ACCORDS MIGHT HAVE TO CHANGE; NEVERTHELESS, THE RPF'S ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF AMALGAMATION IS WELCOME.

18. MWINYI'S NEXT QUESTION CONCERNED PROPAGANDA. MOOSE ANSWERED THAT THE HATE RADIO BROADCASTS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN SILENT FOR ABOUT TWO WEEKS. UNFORTUNATELY, REMNANTS OF THE INTERHAMWE AND MILITIA IN THE CAMPS ARE STILL INTIMIDATING AND PROPAGANDIZING PEOPLE--MAKING THE PROBLEM EVEN MORE INSIDIOUS AND DIFFICULT. THE QUESTION OF HOW TO SEPARATE THESE ELEMENTS IS YET ANOTHER MATTER MERITING URGENT REVIEW.

19. MWINYI THEN RAISED THE ISSUE OF LAND CLAIMS. REFUGEES RETURNING TO RWANDA AFTER MANY YEARS, HE NOTED, ARE REPORTEDLY CLAIMING THEIR FORMER PLOTS. A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT THE GOR HAS ANNOUNCED IT WILL ABIDE BY THE ARUSHA ACCORDS PROVISION STIPULATING THAT THOSE RETURNING AFTER AN ABSENCE OF OVER TEN YEARS ARE NOT ENTITLED TO RECLAIM THEIR LAND. THIS WOULD BE PUBLICLY BROADCAST. WHILE MOOSE SAID HE BELIEVES THE GOR IS SINCERE, IT ALSO NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND THAT ENFORCEMENT OF THIS STRICTURE IS CRITICAL IF REFUGEES ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED TO RETURN HOME.

20. AFTER PRAISING TANZANIA'S EXCELLENT STEWARDSHIP OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS AND URGING THAT IT CONTINUE TO PLAY ITS CRITICAL ROLE AS FACILITATOR, MOOSE TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO SUGGEST BUJUMBURA AS THE SITE OF A REGIONAL MEETING. THIS VENUE COULD HAVE THE ADDED BENEFIT OF BRINGING A SPOTLIGHT ON INTRACTABLE PARTIES IN BURUNDI AND RESTRAIN THEM FROM DESTABILIZING ACTS.

/\*\*\*\*\* BEGINNING OF SECTION 005 \*\*\*\*\*/

PERHAPS TANZANIA COULD SEND AN ENVOY TO NEIGHBORING STATES TO ASCERTAIN IF THEY ARE AMENABLE TO SUCH A PROPOSAL. A/S MOOSE ADDED HE OFFERED THIS AS A SUGGESTION ONLY. MWINYI ASSURED THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY THAT HE AND PRESIDENT MUSEVINI REMAIN IN CLOSE TOUCH AND WILL CONTINUE TO DISCUSS PLANS FOR A

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REGIONAL MEETING.  
21. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED  
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