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B1, 1.5(D), 1.5(B)**

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DRAFTED BY: AF/C:KAISTON:KCA
APPROVED BY: AF:GEMOOSE
AF:PBUSHNELL
AF/C:RFENDRICK

AF/C:ARENDER

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O P 170048Z DEC 94
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 334575

Classified by Dept. of State. E. Machak, DAS, A/RP
Reason _____ Date _____
Declassify on 12/17/2019 auth X.5

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL' PREF, PHUM, PGOV, EAID, US, RW
SUBJECT: AF MEETS WITH RWANDAN VP KAGAME

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN A DECEMBER 13 MEETING, AF A/S MOOSE
ASSURED RWANDAN VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME THAT THE USG WAS
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DETERMINED TO ASSIST RWANDA ON A RANGE OF KEY ISSUES, FROM
CAMP SECURITY TO BILATERAL AID. DAS BUSHNELL REVIEWED
AREAS OF KEY CONCERN, AND A/S MOOSE OUTLINED THE ELEMENTS
OF A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE CAMP SECURITY PROBLEM:
KAGAME STRESSED THE NEED TO PRIORITIZE: FIRST, TAKE BACK
CONTROL OF THE CAMPS, THEN IDENTIFY AND BRING TO JUSTICE
THE CRIMINAL LEADERS, THEN CONSIDER HOW TO HANDLE THE LESS
CULPABLE GROUP THAT WAS INCITED TO VIOLENCE. A/S MOOSE
EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT UNCERTAINTY OVER THE GOR'S PLANS
FOR METING OUT JUSTICE WOULD NEGATIVELY AFFECT
RECONCILIATION,

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R. MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 4 MAY 2000 199501642

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DEPT OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)

FOIA/PA	Mandatory
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Exemptions B1
ARP Action Cert. [Signature] Date 07/15/02

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KAGAME SAID SECURITY WITHIN RWANDA WAS IMPROVING, BUT THE GOR STILL NEEDED URGENT ASSISTANCE FOR ITS JUDICIAL SYSTEM. A/S MOOSE ASSURED THAT WE WOULD HELP. ON LAND TENURE, KAGAME SAID LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS WERE RESOLVING DISPUTES ON A CASE-BY-CASE

BASIS, WITH DIFFICULT CASES BEING REFERRED TO A NATIONAL COMMISSION. A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNELL STRESSED THE NEED TO PUT IN PLACE STRUCTURES THAT WOULD CORRECT ANY MISPERCEPTION OF MINORITY CONTROL IN THE GOVERNMENT.

SUMMARY

3. RWANDAN VICE PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE MINISTER PAUL KAGAME VISITED WASHINGTON FROM DECEMBER 9-14 AT THE INVITATION OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT. IN HIS MEETING WITH AF, HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY HEALTH MINISTER JOSEPH KAREMERA, PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT CHARLES MURIGANDE, RWANDAN CHARGE JOSEPH MUTABOBA, AND AN AIDE. A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNELL

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WERE JOINED BY OSD VINCE KERN AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON.
(KAGAME'S OTHER MEETINGS ARE REPORTED SEPTTEL.)

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USG WILL HELP; AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN
-----"

4. A/S MOOSE SAID WE MUST SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHANGE THE DYNAMIC AND PUT AN END TO THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE THAT HAS PLAGUED RWANDA AND THE SUBREGION. THE USG HAS ORGANIZED A FRIENDS GROUP TO BOLSTER THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT IN SEVERAL KEY AREAS' SUCH AS CAMP SECURITY, REGIONAL REFUGEE ISSUES, THE TRIBUNAL, HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, ASSISTANCE TO THE GOR, AND BURUNDI. HE NOTED THAT WORLD BANK DIRECTOR FOR SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA AND HE INDIAN OCEAN FRANCISCO AGUIRRE-SACASA HAD CALLED TO REITERATE THE BANK'S FULL COMMITMENT TO ASSISTING THE GOR, INCLUDING DOLLARS 50 MILLION IN BUDGET SUPPORT IN 1995. THE BANK HAS RECEIVED PLEDGES FOR NEARLY ALL OF THE DOLLARS 9.5 MILLION IN ARREARS AND WILL NOT HOLD UP THE CREDIT WAITING FOR THE SMALL AMOUNT REMAINING. THEY WILL, HOWEVER, NEED BOARD APPROVAL IN JANUARY. A/S MOOSE TOLD KAGAME THAT SACASA WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO MEET WITH HIM BEFORE HE LEFT WASHINGTON, AND A/S MOOSE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED THE MEETING. (FYI: SCHEDULING PROBLEMS HAD

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CAUSED THE RWANDAN DELEGATION TO CANCEL A TENTATIVE WORLD BANK MEETING SET FOR EARLIER THAT DAY.)

5. DAS BUSHNELL OUTLINED THE FOLLOWING MAIN AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN AND SAID WORK NEEDED TO PROCEED ON ALL ISSUES SIMULTANEOUSLY:

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- SECURITY IN AND OUTSIDE RWANDA
- ACCOUNTABILITY FOR ALL/ALL FORMS OF KILLINGS
- RETURN OF REFUGEES FROM ALL ERAS
- BEGINNING RECONCILIATION
- FOSTERING DIALOGUE TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION
- BROAD-BASED, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

SNE UNDERSTOOD KAGAME'S FRUSTRATION WITH THE LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY COMMITTED TO RELIEF EFFORTS OUTSIDE RWANDA BUT ASSURED HIM THAT WE WERE DOING MORE THAN HE REALIZED INSIDE RWANDA, INCLUDING OVER DOLLARS 70 MILLION IN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION PLUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE INSIDE RWANDA.

SECURITY IN THE CAMPS AND ACCOUNTABILITY

6. DAS BUSHNELL REVIEWED KAGAME'S POSITION THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD NOT BE INTIMIDATED BY THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS; THAT THESE FORCES CAN BE TAKEN ON AND SEPARATED FROM THE REFUGEES; AND THAT THE ZAIRIANS MUST BE ENGAGED IN THIS EFFORT. A/S MOOSE NOTED THE OBVIOUS RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS AND SAID THAT A SEVERAL-THOUSAND-MAN PEACE ENFORCEMENT MISSION WAS NOT REALISTIC, OR EVEN REQUIRED. THE ELEMENTS FOR A POSSIBLE APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM WERE ALREADY TAKING SHAPE:

- RESPONSIBLE SUPPORT TO THE ZAIRIAN SECURITY FORCES;
- SOME TEMPORARY POLICE OR CONTRACT GUARD FORCE;

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-- A UN PRESENCE OF SOME KIND, MAYBE 2000-3000, O CHANGE THE DYNAMIC AND MAKE CLEAR TO THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS HAT THEY ARE NOT ALL-POWERFUL.

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THIS ISSUE WILL REQUIRE A GREAT DEAL OF FURTNER DISCUSSION.

7. DAS BUSHNELL NOTED THAT WHEN DISCUSSING OPTIONS FOR ENDING THE INTIMIDATION IN THE CAMPS, THE QUESTION IS INEVITABLY RAISED: WOULD THE REFUGEES COME BACK? KAGAME SAID HE THOUGHT "MOST OF THEM" WOULD COME BACK BUT THA WE WOULD HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE HOW THINGS DEVELOP. IN HIS VIEW, WE NEED TO TAKE FIRST THINGS FIRST, WITH THE PRIORITY AS FOLLOWS:

-- TAKE CONTROL OF THE CAMPS AWAY FROM THE EX-FAR AND MILITIAS AND SEPARATE THEM FROM THE REFUGEES. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS AN INDEPENDENT RESPONSIBILITY TO PREVENT ARMED FORCES FROM CONTROLLING THE RELIEF SUPPLIES, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THIS WILL RESULT IN REFUGEE RETURN. KAGAME SAID WE COULD WORRY LATER ABOUT WHAT TO DO WITH THE FORCES THAT HAVE BEEN SEPARATED OU.

-- WITH THE INTIMIDATION ENDED, THOSE WHO WISH TO RETURN TO RWANDA WILL BE FREE TO DO SO.

WITH THE GROUPS NOW SEPARATED IDENTIFY AND DEAL WITH THOSE FEW WHO MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. KAGAME CLAIMED THIS WOULD BE EASY BECAUSE SOME HAVE EVEN BOASTED TO THE PRESS OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE KILLINGS.

ONCE THE MAIN EVILDOERS ARE IDENTIFIED AND BROUGHT TO JUSTICE WE CAN CONSIDER WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE PEASANTS AND

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OTHER LITTLE GUYS WHO WERE FORCED OR INCITED TO KILL

KAGAME WANTS JUSTICE

8. A/S MOOSE SAID HE AGREED WITH MUCH OF KAGAME'S ANALYSIS BUT THAT THE CONVERSE IS ALSO IN SOME SENSE TRUE. THE UNCERTAINTY OF WAITING UNTIL THE END TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO WITH THE SMALL FISH WAS A DETERRENT TO REFUGEE RETURN AND AFFECTED RECONCILIATION. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE USEFUL TO BETTER DEFINE THE PROCESS OF JUSTICE AND DIFFERENTIATE AT THE OUTSET BETWEEN THE LEADERS AND THOSE MERELY CAUGHT UP IN THE VIOLENCE.

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9. KAGAME SAID THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO MAKE SURE NO ONE IS "UNEQUALLY TREATED." HE DID NOT WANT TO MAKE IT EASIER ON THE LITTLE FISH NOW BECAUSE HE WANTS THEM TO UNDERSTAND FIRST THAT KILLING IS UNACCEPTABLE. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IF THE GOR STARTS TALKING OF FORGIVING THE LITTLE FISH NOW THE BANNERS OF THE GENOCIDE MIGHT END UP GOING UNPUNISHED. A/S MOOSE NOTED THAT THE UN TRIBUNAL AND RWANDA'S COURTS WILL HAVE TO FACE THE ISSUE OF A PROSECUTION STRATEGY. HE ENCOURAGED KAGAME TO MEET WITH JUSTICE GOLDSTONE WHEN HE WAS IN NEW YORK.

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SECURITY INSIDE RWANDA

10. A/S MOOSE ASKED ABOUT THE CONDITIONS FACED BY RETURNEES AND THE FATE OF DETAINEES AND THOSE WHO ARE ARRESTED BUT NEVER MAKE IT TO FORMAL DETENTION SITES. KAGAME SAID THAT INTERNAL INSECURITY PROBLEMS HAVE

DIMINISHED, WITH A MARKED IMPROVEMENT SINCE MID-OCTOBER.

HE SAID THE GOR WAS NOT TRYING TO JUSTIFY PAST ABUSES, ONLY EXPLAIN THEM. THE AID THE GOR SEEKS IS INTENDED TO HELP IT ADDRESS REPRISALS, DISAPPEARANCES, AND SIMILAR PROBLEMS. KAGAME NOTED THAT THE RPA HAS ARRESTED MANY OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR REPRISALS, BUT THE GOR HAS NO JUSTICE SYSTEM TO PROCESS THEM. HE ADDED THAT RPA SOLDIERS WERE NOT TRAINED TO DO POLICE WORK AND DID NOT KNOW HOW TO MAKE ARRESTS, WHICH LED TO OCCASIONAL ABUSES.

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11. KAGAME SAID THERE WERE "THOUSANDS" OF DETAINEES AND THAT, ALTHOUGH THE ICRC MONITORED CONDITIONS AND SOMETIMES PROVIDED FOOD, BLANKETS, AND MEDICINE, THE AID WAS NOT ADEQUATE. THE GOR HAS BEEN TALKING TO THE POPULATION AND THE RPA TO EXPLAIN THAT THEY CANNOT TAKE JUSTICE IN THEIR OWN HANDS. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS A LEGACY TO THIS PROBLEM AND IT WILL TAKE A LONG TIME TO SOLVE.

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KAGAME SAID LOCAL TRIALS HAD NOT YET STARTED AND THE JUSTICE MINISTRY HAD NO JUDGES AND A SHORTAGE OF DETENTION SPACE. A/S MOOSE SAID THE USG WILL TRY TO SOLIDIFY COMMITMENTS ON JUDICIAL ASSISTANCE AT THE DEC. 16 FRIENDS OF RWANDA MEETING. WE ALL AGREE THAT THIS ISSUE IS URGENT.

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LAND TENURE

12. KAGAME SAID THE GOR HAD MADE CLEAR HAT IT WILL RESPECT PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP.

HE OUTFITTED THREE COMMON SCENARIOS FOR PROBLEMS:

- SURVIVORS OF GENOCIDE WHOSE PROPERTY WAS DESTROYED MOVING ON TO LANDS OWNED BY OTHERS (EVEN THE KILLERS).
- OLD REFUGEES (15 YEARS OR MORE OUT) RETURNING TO PROPERTY THEY ONCE OWNED, WHICH LEGALLY THEY MAY STILL OWN BUT WHICH POLITICALLY THEY CAN BE REQUIRED TO GIVE UP FOR COMPENSATION (EYL: ARUSHA PREVENTS REFUGEES WHO HAVE BEEN OUT MORE THAN TEN YEARS FROM RECLAIMING THEIR ORIGINAL LANDS).
- SQUATTERS ON LANDS ABANDONED BY THE NEW WAVE OF REFUGEES. THIS GROUP IS ADMINISTRATIVELY REMOVED FROM THE LAND AND THE PROPERTY IS RETURNED TO THE OWNERS.

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13. KAGAME SAID LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS HAVE BEEN RESOLVING THE DISPUTES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, RETURNING PROPERTY TO THE RIGHTFUL OWNER. THE MOST DIFFICULT CASES ARE REFERRED TO A NATIONAL COMMISSION SET UP BY THE GOR. A/S MOOSE ENCOURAGED THE GOR TO ELABORATE ON THE STRUCTURES NECESSARY TO RESOLVE HESE DISPUTES AND TO PUBLICIZE HOW

THE PROCESS OPERATES SO ALL RWANDANS UNDERSTAND.

GOVERNANCE ISSUES

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14. KAGAME SAID LOCAL PREFECTS WERE CHOSEN FROM VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES (NOT THE MRND) REPRESENTED IN THE GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND THAT SELECTIONS WERE MADE BY CONSENSUS. AT LOWER LEVELS, LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS WERE OFTEN ELECTED, PARTICULARLY IN AREAS OF STABILITY.

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DAS BUSHNELL RAISED THE LONG HISTORICAL CONCERN OF A MINORITY CONTROLLING A MAJORITY. KAGAME SAID THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT HAS REPRESENTATIVES OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS.

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WORKING TOGETHER, WHICH IS THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF GOVERNMENT. HE RECOGNIZED THAT SOME SAY TUTSIS DOMINATE THE GOR, BUT IT'S A QUESTION OF PERCEPTION WHICH WILL TAKE TIME TO CHANGE. A/S MOOSE AND DAS BUSHNEEL SAID WE ARE LOOKING AT THE FOUNDATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT IN PLACE. THEY ENCOURAGED THE GOR TO DISCUSS THESE FOUNDATIONS AND ARTICULATE ITS VISION TO CORRECT ANY MISPERCEPTIONS.

TETE-A-TETE

15. AT THE END OF THE MEETING, A/S MOOSE AND DASUSHNEEL SPOKE ALONE WITH KAGAME. IN HIS PRIVATE CONVERSATION, A/S MOOSE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF UNDERSTANDING THE DOMESTIC REALITIES KAGAME FEELS MAY IMPACT ON THE EXPECTATIONS THE USG AND OTHER DONORS HAVE OF THE GOR AND URGED KAGAME TO ENGAGE US IN CANDID DIALOGUE.

16. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER

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