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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 009639

FOR CHARGE FROM AF/C - MCCULLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. WHAT FOLLOWS IS THE TEXT OF A DRAFT BRIEFING
MEMORANDUM FOR A/S MOOSE'S MEETING IN PARIS ON ZAIRE WITH
THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS. LET US KNOW IF YOU HAVE
SUGGESTIONS ON FORM AND CONTENT; REGRET THE SHORT FUSE.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

TO: AF - MR. MOOSE

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THROUGH: AF - ED BRYNN

FROM: AF/C - ARLENE RENDER

SUBJECT: PARIS TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE
11:30 A.M., JANUARY 16, 1995, QUAI D'ORSAY

THE PARIS TRILATERAL MEETING ON ZAIRE COMES AT A CRITICAL

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R. MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 29 JAN 2001 199501706

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JUNCTURE: CRISIS (OR NOT) OVER KENGO'S NOMINATIONS TO HEAD THE CENTRAL BANK, RUMORS OF A MOBUTU-TSHISEKEDI ENTENTE, UNCERTAINTY OVER THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY IN THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS, AND FINALLY, THE "GUIDE'S" RENEWED PRESSURE FOR EARLY ELECTIONS. THE MEETING WILL BEGIN AT 11:30, AND THEN WILL CONTINUE OVER A WORKING LUNCH. JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE WILL HEAD THE FRENCH SIDE, AND HE WILL BE ASSISTED BY OFFICE DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA BERNADETTE LE FORT AND NATHALIE DU COLOUMBIER, SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR AFRICA IN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S OFFICE. FRANS VAN DAELE WILL LEAD THE BELGIAN DELEGATION. WIL JAENEN, WHO RETURNS TO DUTY AFTER A LONG ILLNESS, WILL LIKELY ACCOMPANY VAN DAELE. SHOULD JAENEN NOT MAKE THE PARIS TRIP, RIK COOLSAET, THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S DEPUTY CHEF DE CABINET, WILL ATTEND.

CRISIS AT THE CENTRAL BANK

THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS OVER KENGO'S CHOICE TO HEAD ZAIRE'S CENTRAL BANK APPEARS TO HAVE PASSED. A COMPLEX SERIES OF
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NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER'S CAMP AND THE PRESIDENCY, BROKERED BY ARCHBISHOP MONSENGWO, HAS MOVED THE KENGO NOMINATIONS FOR GOVERNOR AND VICE GOVERNOR OF THE CENTRAL BANK FORWARD. KENGO'S CHOICE FOR GOVERNOR IS A UDI PARTY ALLY AND TECHNOCRAT; THE VICE GOVERNOR IS A MOBUTUIST PARTY HACK. A COMMITTEE OF THE TRANSITION PARLIAMENT (HCR-PT) VETTED THE NOMINATIONS OVER THE WEEKEND, AND THE FULL HCR-PT MAY MOVE ON THE ISSUE THIS WEEK. IN THE INTERIM, THE MOBUTUIST ACTING GOVERNOR REMAINS ENSCONCED AT THE BANK -- BUT WITH LITTLE EFFECTIVE CONTROL. SINCE IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT ANTI-KENGO ELEMENTS IN MOBUTU'S ENTOURAGE WILL CONTINUE EFFORTS TO UNDERCUT THE GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE INSTRUCTED EMBASSY KINSHASA TO COORDINATE A TRILATERAL DEMARCHE WITH THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS TO THE ZAIRIAN PRESIDENCY.

AS OF JANUARY 12, THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN AMBASSADORS HAD NOT RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS TO PARTICIPATE. WORD FROM PARIS IS THAT THE FRENCH AGREE WITH THE BROAD OUTLINES OF A DEMARCHE ON THE PRESIDENCY, BUT PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL THE TRILATERAL ON JANUARY 16 TO DISCUSS. THE BELGIANS HAVE

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GIVEN NO INDICATION THEY WILL PARTICIPATE, BUT THE DECISION COULD BE CAUGHT UP IN THE GENERAL BELGIAN POLICY REVIEW OF AFRICA. WE ARE NOT WEDDED TO THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF THE DEMARCHE, AND IT WOULD BE HELPFUL AT THE PARIS 'TRILATERAL TO SECURE OUR PARTNERS' AGREEMENT TO WEIGH IN "A TROIS" IN KINSHASA TO LET MOBUTU AND HIS ENTOURAGE KNOW THAT THE TROIKA IS WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS CAREFULLY.

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MOBUTU AND TSHISEKEDI: SMOKE AND MIRRORS

THE RUMORS OF AN "ENTENTE CORDIALE" BETWEEN MOBUTU AND TSHISEKEDI SEEM TO HAVE LESS SUBSTANCE THAT NEWS REPORTS WOULD SUGGEST. TSHISEKEDI DID INDEED MEET WITH PRESIDENTIAL CHIEF OF STAFF VUNDUAWA AND BEMBA SALAONA (THE LATTER IS A NOTORIOUS MOBUTU CRONY WHO HEADS THE "FRIENDS OF MARSHAL MOBUTU" PLATFORM AT THE HCR-PT), AND THEY MAY HAVE DISCUSSED A RETURN OF THE UDPS LEADER TO THE PRIMATURE. AS FAR AS WE CAN GLEAN, THAT IS IT. BOTH SIDES EMERGED FROM THE MEETING BLATHERING ABOUT A "RETURN TO LEGALITY," BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT EACH PARTY INTENDS SOMETHING VERY DIFFERENT BY THIS PHRASE: FOR TSHISEKEDI, A RETURN TO LEGALITY MEANS RETURNING AB INITIO TO JANUARY 1993, WITH HIMSELF AS PRIME MINISTER AND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE AGAIN "SOVEREIGN." FOR VUNDUAWA AND BEMBA, THE "ENTENTE" IS A MEANS TO DUMP KENGO AND INSTALL TSHISEKEDI AS THE HEAD OF COALITION GOVERNMENT DOMINATED BY THE MPR. THE ONLY COMMON THREAD IN ALL OF THIS IS OPPOSITION TO KENGO AND A DESIRE TO TOPPLE HIS GOVERNMENT. MOBUTU AND THE MPR LEADERSHIP IN THE TRANSITION PARLIAMENT HAVE EXPRESSED CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR KENGO. THE "GUIDE" MAY BE PLAYING A DOUBLE GAME, BUT EVEN IF HE IS TACITLY SUPPORTING VUNDUAWA, THE LONGSTANDING ANIMOSITY BETWEEN MOBUTU AND TSHISEKEDI WOULD ARGUE AGAINST THE LATTER'S RETURN AS PRIME MINISTER FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME.

IN ANY EVENT, IT WOULD BE USEFUL AT THE TRILATERAL MEETING TO SEEK FRENCH AND BELGIAN VIEWS ON THE
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MANEUVERING IN KINSHASA, AND WE SHOULD USE RECENT EVENTS TO RENEW CONTACT WITH TSHISEKEDI IN ORDER TO ENHANCE HIS SENSE OF IMPORTANCE. REUNIFICATION OF THE OPPOSITION TO MOBUTU MAY BE CHIMERIC AT THIS POINT, BUT SOME FORM OF COOPERATION BETWEEN KENGO AND THE UDPS HARDLINE WOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE. KENGO MADE IT CLEAR DURING HIS MEETING WITH YOU IN NEW YORK ON DECEMBER 16 THAT HE BELIEVES HE HAS DONE HIS UTMOST TO RECONCILE WITH THE TSHISEKEDI-LED OPPOSITION. IT MAY BE TIME FOR THE TROIKA TO WEIGH IN. YOU MAY WISH TO BUILD ON BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER VANDENBROUCKE'S RECENT CONCILIATORY COMMENTS ON KENGO ("IT WOULD BE MUCH BETTER IF A SITUATION AROSE IN WHICH TSHISEKEDI AND KENGO WERE ABLE TO SHAKE HANDS") TO SUGGEST AN APPROACH TO THE UDPS LEADER (AGAIN) ON PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS. A REBUFF FROM THE "INTRANSIGENT OF LIMETE" IS LIKELY, BUT IT WOULD AT LEAST DEMONSTRATE THAT THE TROIKA STILL CONSIDERS HIM TO BE AN IMPORTANT PLAYER. WE COULD USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE TSHISEKEDI'S VIEWS ON THE ELECTION, AND URGE THE UDPS TO TAKE PART IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE FORMATION OF AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

ELECTION PROSPECTS

IT WOULD BE USEFUL AT THE TRILATERAL TO EXPLORE CURRENT FRENCH AND BELGIAN VIEWS ON THE PROSPECT OF ELECTIONS IN ZAIRE IN 1995. AS YOU KNOW, MOBUTU CONTINUES TO PRESS IN PUBLIC FOR ELECTIONS IN JULY (ALTHOUGH HE BACKTRACKED ON THIS IN A PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH FORMER ASSISTANT

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SECRETARY COHEN); KENGO, FOR HIS PART, HAS URGED THE TRILATERAL PARTNERS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE WILL NOT SUPPORT JULY ELECTIONS. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SUCH A DECLARATION BY THE THREE WOULD BE WISE, SINCE IT MIGHT BE SEEN TO CONTRADICT OVERALL U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION. IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THAT MOBUTU, TSHISEKEDI AND OTHER KEY OPPOSITION LEADERS AGREE ON ELECTIONS IN JULY, A TROIKA POSITION AGAINST THE PROCESS WOULD PROVE EMBARRASSING. WE CAN, HOWEVER, URGE FRANCE AND BELGIUM TO AGREE ON A COMMON (AND PUBLIC) SET OF CRITERIA FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR AN ELECTION IN

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ZAIRE. THIS WOULD INCLUDE THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF A BROAD-BASED AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION, FREE ACCESS TO THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA BY ALL PARTIES, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIABLE VOTER ROLLS, AND OTHER MEASURES. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE FRENCH (AT LEAST MITTERRAND'S AFRICA ADVISORS) BELIEVE THAT ELECTIONS ARE HOPELESS AND THAT PARIS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON SHORING UP KENGO.

KENGO HAS THREATENED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO RESIGN IF MOBUTU BLOCKS HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM, OR IF THE TRANSITION PARLIAMENT FAILS TO IMPLEMENT HIS POLICIES. HE HAS ALSO SAID THAT UNLESS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY PROVIDES HIS GOVERNMENT WITH MEASURABLE SUPPORT, HE MAY RESIGN IN MARCH. U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE REMAINS PROBLEMATIC: THE COUNTRY WILL LIKELY REMAIN UNDER BROOKE AMENDMENT SANCTIONS, AND AID HAS NO PLANS TO REOPEN ITS MISSION IN KINSHASA. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR MEMO TO AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD, HOWEVER, THERE APPEARS TO BE MOVEMENT ON THE DISPATCH OF AN ASSESSMENT

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TEAM TO CONSIDER HOW AID MIGHT -- THROUGH NGOS -- SUPPORT GRASSROOTS DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CIVIL SOCIETY IN ZAIRE. THE SCOPE OF WORK FOR THE ASSESSMENT MISSION IS NEARLY COMPLETE, AND AID REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE CONCEPT. THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, AND IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO EXPLORE WITH THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS A TROIKA "DIVISION OF LABOR" ON ASSISTANCE, BASED UPON EACH COUNTRY'S ABILITY AND LEGISLATIVE CONSTRAINTS. IT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO KNOW IF THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS HAVE ANY THOUGHTS ON HOW THE TROIKA SHOULD PROCEED IN ZAIRE IF KENGO RESIGNS OR IS OUSTED.

SECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS

DISCUSSION OF THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS, AND THE UN RESPONSE, MAY BEST BE ADDRESSED AT THE FRIENDS OF RWANDA MEETING IN GENEVA. IT IS INEVITABLE, HOWEVER, THAT THE FRENCH (OR MORE LIKELY THE BELGIANS) WILL RAISE THE ISSUE IN PARIS. THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE CAMPS CONTINUES TO PREOCCUPY THE UNHCR AND NGOS WORKING IN THE REGION. THE RECENT DECISION BY

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THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE THE NATIONAL CURRENCY MAY EXACERBATE THE PROBLEM OF CONVINCING REFUGEES TO RETURN WHEN CONDITIONS WARRANT (SINCE ANY MONEY SAVED MAY PROVE WORTHLESS). AT THE SAME TIME, THE DELAYS IN CLEARING FOOD RELIEF ON THE RWANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER SEEMS TO HAVE ACCELERATED A RETURN OF SOME REFUGEES.

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COMPLICATING THE ISSUE IS THE CONTINUING ABSENCE OF CONSENSUS OVER HOW BEST TO ASSURE SECURITY IN THE CAMPS. THE UN APPEARS TO HAVE BACKED AWAY FROM THE NOTION OF USING ZAIRIAN TROOPS -- UNDER UN COMMAND -- TO PROVIDE SECURITY (NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, WE HAVE REPORTS THAT 1,700 DSP HAVE BEEN DISPATCHED TO EASTERN ZAIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MISSION). INSTEAD, BOUTROS-GHALI NOW SEEMS TO SUPPORT THE IDEA OF A CONTRACT GUARD FORCE FOR THE REFUGEE CAMPS -- SOMETHING WHICH THE ZAIRIANS HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED AND WHICH MAY NOT HAVE ENOUGH SUPPORT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. FINALLY, SKETCHY REPORTS OF CROSS-BORDER INCURSIONS BY THE EX-FAR INTO WESTERN RWANDA PROVIDE A PICTURE OF A CRISIS WHICH CONTINUES TO RESIST INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO CONTAIN.

I HAVE ATTACHED A CHECKLIST OF ISSUES WHICH YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON DURING YOUR DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS WITH YOUR FRENCH AND BELGIAN COUNTERPARTS.

ATTACHMENT:
AS STATED.

ZAIRE CHECKLIST OF ISSUES

CENTRAL BANK:

-- ALTHOUGH THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS OVER KENGO'S NOMINATIONS TO THE CENTRAL BANK APPEARS TO HAVE PASSED, THERE REMAINS A DANGER THAT THE MOBUTU ENTOURAGE WILL CONTINUE EFFORTS TO TOPPLE THE PRIME MINISTER.

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-- THE U.S. SUPPORTS A TRILATERAL DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENCY, AND PERHAPS TO MOBUTU, TO MAKE CLEAR OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR KENGO'S PROGRAM AND TO SIGNAL THAT WE ARE AWARE OF ATTEMPTS TO DESTABILIZE THE PRIME MINISTER.

-- WE ARE NOT WEDDED TO SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FOR THE DEMARCHE TO VUNDUAWA/MOBUTU, AND IT MIGHT BE BEST TO AGREE ON THE BROAD OUTLINES AND THEN PERMIT OUR ENVOYS IN KINSHASA WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF THE DEMARCHE.

-- THE MOST IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO MOBUTU AND HIS ENTOURAGE REMAINS THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO SOUND MANAGEMENT OF THE CENTRAL BANK.

MOBUTU-TSHISEKEDI ENTENTE:

-- PRESS REPORTS OF RETURN OF TSHISEKEDI AS PRIME MINISTER APPEAR EXAGGERATED. WE NOTE THAT MOBUTU'S AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT IN THE NAME OF THE ZAIRIAN PRESIDENT THAT HE CONTINUES TO SUPPORT KENGO.

-- THE REPORTS DEMONSTRATE THAT THE RADICAL OPPOSITION AND AT LEAST SOME IN MOBUTU'S ENTOURAGE SEE A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE AS A MEANS OF DESTABILIZING THE KENGO GOVERNMENT:

-- THIS UNDERSCORES THE IMPORTANCE OF A MESSAGE TO
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THE PRESIDENCY, BUT ALSO SUGGESTS THE TROIKA SHOULD ACT TOGETHER TO RENEW CONTACT WITH TSHISEKEDI.

-- TSHISEKEDI'S INTRANSIGENCE IS LEGENDARY, AND A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO TROIKA OVERTURES ON PARTICIPATION MAY BE ELUSIVE, BUT AN APPROACH TO THE UDPS LEADER WOULD PROVIDE A PUBLIC AFFIRMATION THAT WE CONSIDER HIM STILL TO BE A KEY PLAYER.

ELECTIONS:

-- KENGO CLEARLY HOPES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL TAKE A STAND AGAINST EARLY ELECTIONS IN

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ZAIRE. THE PRIME MINISTER BELIEVES JULY ELECTIONS TO BE UNREALISTIC, BUT ASSERTS THAT HE IS "MANDATED BY THE TRANSITION CONSTITUTION" TO MOVE ON ELECTIONS THIS YEAR.

-- THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT BELIEVE THE TROIKA SHOULD TAKE A PUBLIC STANCE AGAINST ELECTIONS -- THIS WOULD RUN COUNTER TO OUR SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN ZAIRE AND OUR REPEATED INSISTENCE THAT ZAIRIANS MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADVANCING THE PROCESS.

-- IT WOULD BE USEFUL, HOWEVER, TO AGREE ON COMMON CRITERIA FOR SUPPORT FOR ELECTIONS IN ZAIRE, AND TO MAKE SUCH BENCHMARKS PUBLIC. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT AND BROAD-BASED ELECTORAL COMMISSION IS KEY, BUT OTHER CRITERIA MIGHT

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INCLUDE GREATER ACCESS BY THE RADICAL OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA, AN ATTEMPT TO DRAW UP RELIABLE VOTER ROLLS, AND A REALISTIC ELECTORAL BUDGET.

ASSISTANCE TO KENGO:

-- U.S. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONSTRAINED BY BOTH BROOKE AMENDMENT SANCTIONS AND THE NEW BUDGETARY REALITIES RELATED TO FOREIGN AID.

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN RELIEF -- WORKING THROUGH NGOS -- IN EASTERN ZAIRE, IN SHABA AND THE KASAIS, AND IN GREATER KINSHASA. THE U.S. PROVIDED 12 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE IN 1994, IN ADDITION TO THE 257 MILLION DEVOTED TO THE REGION TO COPE WITH THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CRISIS.

-- WE ARE ALSO WORKING WITH USAID TO SEND AN ASSESSMENT TEAM TO ZAIRE TO EXPLORE HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN EXPAND ASSISTANCE TO NGOS WORKING IN THE AREAS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, GRASSROOTS DEMOCRATIZATION, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

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-- THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO THE
KENGO GOVERNMENT IS ESSENTIAL, AND WE ARE
EXPLORING WAYS WHERE WE MIGHT BE HELPFUL. WE HOPE
THAT FRANCE AND BELGIUM WILL ALSO SEEK WAYS TO
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EXPAND ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE.

SECURITY IN THE CAMPS:

-- SECURITY IN THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN EASTERN
ZAIRE REMAINS AN IMPORTANT U.S. CONCERN. WE
UNDERSTAND THAT THE UN MAY BE BACKING AWAY FROM
THE NOTION OF USING THE DSP -- UNDER UN COMMAND --
TO ASSURE SECURITY IN THE CAMPS, AND THAT
BOUTROS-GHALI PREFERS THE IDEA OF A CONTRACT
SECURITY FORCE.

-- THE U.S. HAD MAJOR CONCERNS WITH THE USE OF
ZAIRIAN FORCES AS A PKO IN AND AROUND GOMA AND
BUKAVU, BUT WE ARE UNCERTAIN THAT A CONTRACT FORCE
HAS INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE,
THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE HAS NEVER SUPPORTED THE
IDEA OF A CONTRACT GUARD FORCE.

-- THE U.S. HOPES THAT THE UN PARTICIPANTS AT THE
GENEVA MEETING OF THE RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT
GROUP WILL PRESENT A COMPREHENSIVE UN PLAN TO DEAL
WITH THE SECURITY SITUATION IN EASTERN ZAIRE.

4. REGARDS.
CHRISTOPHER

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