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O 051644Z AUG 94
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5489
INFO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
USCINCTrans SCOTT AFB IL
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USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CCJ3//
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CINCUSAFE RAMSEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX/RS//
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JOIT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
DATE/CASE ID: 23 JAN 2004 200301564

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GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME ALSO FOR FODAG; NAIROBI FOR DART
AND REFCOORD; DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRMAAA,
PM/ISP, IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
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AID/PPC

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ
SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE'S MEETING WITH GNERAL KAGAME

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. A/S MOOSE MET THE MORNING OF 8/3 WITH
THE VICE PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE MINISTER, GENERAL
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PAUL KAGAME, AT THE VIP LOUNGE OF KIGALI AIRPORT.
MOOSE OUTLINED THE ISSUES OF GREATEST CONCERN TO
THE US, INCLUDING REPORT OF INDISCIPLINE AND
RECRIMINATIONS CARRIED OUT BY RPF SOLDIERS,
REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES, NATIONAL RECONCILIATION,
FRENCH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SAFE ZONE, THE HANDLING
OF PROPERTY CLAIMS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. KAGAME,
IN A BUSINESS-LIKE MANNER RESPONDED BRIEFLY TO EACH
OF THE ISSUES BUT FOCUSED ON THOSE OF PARTICULAR
CONCERN TO HIM, INCLUDING THE EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A
SECURE ENVIRONMENT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND THE
NEED TO PROFESSIONALIZE THE MILITARY AND POLICE.
AS IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS, KAGAME EVIDENCED
SENSITIVITY TO US CONCERNS AND A WILLINGNESS TO
ADDRESS THEM. END SUMMARY.

3. A/S MOOSE BEGAN BY NOTING THAT THE US DECISION
TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW GOVERNMENT REFLECTED OUR HOPE
THAT IT WOULD REMAIN COMMITTED TO ITS STATED
OBJECTIVES. PRINCIPAL AMONG THESE WERE MEANINGFUL
NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, THE FAIR AND TRANSPARENT
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND THE INSTITUTION OF
DEMOCRACY. HE NOTED THAT EARLIER CONVERSATIONS
WITH OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE JUSTICE
AND FOREIGN MINISTERS, PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU
AND PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU HAD BEEN REASSURING.
NEVERTHELESS, GIVEN KAGAME'S CENTRAL ROLE IN THE
RPF AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WE WANTED AN
OPPORTUNITY TO CONFIRM HIS VIEWS ON THESE MATTERS.

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4. MOOSE OUTLINED THE USG'S PRINCIPAL
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PREOCCUPATIONS. WHILE NOTING THAT RPF TROOPS HAD
GENERALLY ENJOYED A REPUTATION FOR DISCIPLINE
THROUGHOUT MUCH OF THE FIGHTING, HE REGISTERED DEEP
CONCERN OVER THE GROWING NUMBER OF REPORTS OF
RECRIMINATIONS AND ABUSES CARRIED OUT BY RPF
SOLDIERS IN RECENT WEEKS. WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THESE
PROBLEMS OF INDISCIPLINE COULD BE EXPLAINED IN PART
BY THE SWELLING OF RPF RANKS BY NEW "RECRUITS" AS
THE FIGHTING EXPANDED, MOOSE WARNED THAT FAILURE TO
BRING THIS PROBLEM UNDER CONTROL WOULD UNDERMINE
THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE REFUGEES TO
RETURN, AS WELL AS ITS INTERNATIONAL IMAGE AND
REPUTATION. MOOSE FURTHER NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF
A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO BROADEN THE GOVERNMENT'S
POLITICAL BASE THROUGH A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO REACH
OUT TO RESPONSIBLE MEMBERS OF ESTABLISHED POLITICAL
PARTIES, INCLUDING THE MRND. HE APPLAUDED THE
GOR'S REAFFIRMATION OF THOSE PROVISIONS OF THE
ARUSHA ACCORDS THAT GRANTED THOSE WHO HAD BEEN OUTSIDE THE
COUNTRY FOR MORE THAN 10 YEARS THE RIGHT TO CLAIM
THEIR FORMER LANDS AND PROPERTIES, NOTING THAT THE
IMPARTIAL ADJUDICATION OF LAND DISPUTES WAS ANOTHER
CRITICAL FACTOR IN ENCOURAGING THE MOST RECENT WAVE
OF REFUGEES TO RETURN. HE STRESSED THE CRITICAL
IMPORTANCE OF HANDLING WITH SENSITIVITY AND
CIRCUMSPECTION THE TRANSITION FROM THE FRENCH-LED
FORCE TO UNAMIR IN THE SAFE ZONE, NOTING THAT A
MISCALCULATION COULD TRIGGER AN EXODUS EVEN MORE
MASSIVE AND CATASTROPHIC THAN THE ONE TO GOMA.

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 FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5490
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TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ
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FINALLY, MOOSE DESCRIBED DEEPENING US CONCERN REGARDING THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI AND SOUGHT KAGAME'S VIEWS ON WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO PREVENT A SIMILAR EXPLOSION OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE THERE.
BURUNDI

5. KAGAME, IN HIS USUAL BUSINESS-LIKE MANNER, RESPONDED TO EACH ISSUE IN TURN. HE STARTED WITH BURUNDI, SAYING THAT HE TOO WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED. HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU'S RECENT VISIT TO
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BUJUMBURA REFLECTED THE GOR'S RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR IMPROVED DIALOG IN ORDER TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT MIGHT HAVE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES. KAGAME SUGGESTED THAT RWANDA'S RECENT HISTORY OUGHT TO SERVE AS AN EYE-OPENER AND A WARNING FOR BURUNDI. HE SUGGESTED THAT THERE MIGHT BE WAYS FOR NEW GOR MEMBERS TO INFLUENCE THE ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS OF THE KEY POLITICAL ACTORS IN BURUNDI. "WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO TALK TO INDIVIDUAL BURUNDIANS TO SHOW THAT THE MISTAKES THAT WERE MADE IN RWANDA CAN HAPPEN TO THEM, IF THEY IGNORE THE EARLY SIGNS." HE SAID THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO CONTINUE EXCHANGES WITH BURUNDI IN HOPES OF HEADING-OFF A REGIONAL DISASTER.

THE FRENCH ZONE

6. KAGAME SAID HE CONSIDERS THE HANDLING OF THE "FRENCH ZONE" ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN THE NEAR TERM. "AS A NEW GOVERNMENT, WE FEEL WE HAVE A RIGHT TO TALK TO OUR PEOPLE," KAGAME SAID. THE GOVERNMENT UNDERSTOOD THAT THE SITUATION WAS INDEED DELICATE. FOR THAT REASON, IT WAS NOT PROPOSING TO SEND ITS TROOPS INTO THE AREA AND SUPPORTED A RAPID TURNOVER TO UNIMIR. THE GOR HAD, HOWEVER, ATTEMPTED TO GAIN FRENCH AND UNAMIR AGREEMENT TO ALLOWING GOR CIVILIAN OFFICIALS TO ENTER THE ZONE WITH FRENCH

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AND UNAMIR ESCORTS, BUT THIS HAD NOT YET BEEN
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ACCEPTED. DISPLAYING SOME EMOTION, KAGAME SAID,
"WE CANNOT CONVINCHE THE PEOPLE TO RETURN IF WE
CANNOT TALK TO THEM." MOOSE AGAIN STRESSED THE
EXTREMELY DELICATE NATURE OF THE SITUATION IN THE
ZONE AND URGED KAGAME TO CONTINUE HIS DISCUSSIONS
WITH UNAMIR COMMANDER GEN. DALLAIRE ON HOW TO
ENSURE AN ORDERLY TRANSITION.

7. IN RESPONSE TO MOOSE'S QUERY, KAGAME ASSERTED
THAT THE ISSUE OF THE SENEGALESE TROOPS REMAINING
AFTER THE FRENCH DEPARTURE WAS NOT THE PROBLEM.
"THIS IS AN UNIMPORTANT ISSUE AND I DO NOT KNOW
WHERE IT STARTED." IF THE UN WISHED THE SENEGALES
TO REMAIN AS A PART OF UNAMIR, THEY NEED ONLY
REQUEST IT IN THENORMAL WAY. THE REAL PROLEM IS
HOW TO HANDLE THE FRENCH ZONE. WE MUST ADOPT A
PROCESS BY WHICH WE CAN HAVE ACCESS AND WHEREBY THE
DISPLACED CAN EVENTUALLY COME HOME. "IF THERE IS A
PROCEDURE IN PLACE THEN WE CAN ALL FOLLOW IT." AT
THE SAME IME, KAGAME EXPRESSED CONERN THAT THE
FRENCH MIGHT OVERSTAY. THE LONGER THEY STAY THE

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CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX/RS//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGE-0//
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JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 DAR ES SALAAM 005024

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MORE THEY LOOK TO JUSTIFY WHY THEY ARE IN THE ZONE,
AND THE MORE REASONS PEOPLE FIND FOR US NOT TO TALK
TO OUR OWN PEOPLE. "THEY ARE ALL LINKED," KAGAME
REASONED.

8. MOOSE EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTION THAT THE FRENCH
DO WANT OUT, BUT THEY WANT TO LEAVE IN A ORDERLY
FASHION. IN SUGGESTING THAT THEY WERE OPEN TO
STAYING LONGER, THEY WERE IN FACT RESPONDING TO
REQUESTS FROM THE USG AND OTHERS THAT THEY WITHDRAW

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IN AN MANNER THAT DOES NOT UPSET THE DELICATE
BALANCE IN THE ZONE. THEY KEY TO AN EARLY FRENCH
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WITHDRAWAL WAS FULL SUPPORT FOR GENERAL DALLAIRE'S
PLAN FOR THE EARLY DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR. KAGAME
AGREED.

9. KAGAME SAID THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN
TALKS WITH ZAIRIAN OFFICIALS ABOUT THE ARMED
REMNANTS OF THE FORMER ARMY NOW LIVING IN AND
ACTIVELY DESTABILIZING THE BORDER CAMPS. "NOT ONLY
ARE THEY MAKE STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS THAT CONTINUE
TO HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCE THERE
ARE STORIES THAT THEY ARE CROSSING THROUGH THE
'FRENCH ZONE' INTO BURUNDI AND JOINING UP WITH
FACTIONS THERE." HE ASKED FOR HELP FROM THE US AND
OTHERS TO KEEP TIGHT CONTROL OVER THIS
ISSUE.

MOOSE SAID THAT THE USG HAD CONTACTED NEIGHBORING
STATES ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF DISARMING THE FORMER
ARMY.

NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

9. KAGAME SAID THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS DOING ITS
BEST TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. "WHAT
CAN I SAY; IT IS A DIFFICULT AND SLOW PROCESS, BUT
WE ARE TRYING TO BUILD ON THE GOODWILL OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY." MOOSE COMMENDED HIM ON
HIS DECLARED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE DEPLOYMENT
OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND INFORMED HIM OF A/S
SHATTUCK'S FORTHCOMING VISIT. RECALLING HIS
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EARLIER DISCUSSION WITH JUSTICE MINISTER
, MOOSE WELCOMED THE GOR'S SUPPORT FOR
AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL AND STRESSED THE
IMPORTANCE OF PUTTING IN PLACE DOMESTIC LEGAL
PROCEDURES THAT WOULD CONFORM WITH UN AND
INTERNATIONAL GUIDELINES. KAGAME SAID HE

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UNDERSTOOD THE CONCERN AND INTENDED TO OBLIGE-

10. KAGAME RETURNED TO HIS EARLIER POINT ON SECURITY, STRESSING THAT NOTHING WOULD BE GUARANTEED UNTIL A SECURE ENVIRONMENT IS ESTABLISHED. CONSISTENT WITH THAT THEME, KAGAME ASKED THAT THE US CONSIDER ASSISTING IN THE TRAINING OF POLICE AND/OR MILITARY IN INTERNAL SECURITY PROCEDURES. HE ADDED THAT "WE HAVE DISCIPLINED SOLDIERS BUT THEY ARE NOT TRAINED IN SUCH INTERNAL SECURITY MATTERS." MOOSE PIONTED OUT THAT THE GROWING NUMBER OF REPORTS OF SUMMARY EXECUTIONS AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE WOULD SUGGEST THAT DISCIPLINE IS BECOMING A SERIOUS PROBLEM. KAGAME ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PROBLEMS EXISTED, BUT INSISTED ON

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CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N3/N31/N5/N7//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/DO/DOX/RS//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGE-0//
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HIS DETERMINATION TO BRING THEM UNDER CONTROL.
MOOSE AND RAWSON EXPLAINED THE LEGAL LIMITS ON THE
USG ABILITY TO PROVIDE POLICE AND MILITARY
TRAINING. THEY SUGGESTED THE GENERAL LOOK TO THE
EUROPEAN UNION FOR ASSISTANCE IN THIS AREA.

11. AMB RAWSON RAISED PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE
THEFT OF PERSONAL AND GOVERNMENT-OWNED ITEMS OUT OF
PREVIOUSLY ABANDONED USG RESIDENCES. THE
AMBASSADOR COMMENDED THE RPF ON ITS RECENT
ASSISTANCE IN HELPING THE EMBASSY RECLAIM THREE

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HOUSES BUT STRESSED THAT IT WOULD REFLECT BADLY ON
THE GOVERNMENT IF LOOTING AND SQUATTING CONTINUED.
KAGAME APOLOGIZED FOR THE PROBLEMS AND PROMISED TO
TAKE ACTION TO STOP THESE ACTIVITIES.

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12. COMMENT: KAGAME WAS, AS ALWAYS, RESERVED BUT NEVERTHELESS APPEARED RELAXED AND SURE OF HIMSELF. HE ALSO SHOWED HIMSELF TO BE FULLY AWARE OF THE DAUNTING TASK AHEAD OF HIM. MANY OF HIS COMMENTS WERE CLEARLY DESIGNED TO ANTICIPATE US CONCERNS, AND HIS RESPONSES TO SPECIFIC AND POINTED QUESTIONS WERE GENERALLY REASSURING. THE ONE ISSUE ON WHICH HE DISPLAYED ANY EMOTION CONCERNED THE CONTINUING FRENCH DENIAL OF ANY GOR ACCESS TO THE SAFE ZONE. IN ADDRESSING ISSUES OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, KAGAME APPEARED MUCH MORE RELAXED AND OPEN MINDED THAN DID PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH MOOSE THE PREVIOUS DAY. KAGAME'S AUQ STERN MANAGEMENT APPROACH (EVIDEN THE WAY HE TREATED HIS STAFF) COME ACROSS AS BUSINESSLIKE RATHER THAN AUTOCRATIC. ONLY TIME WILL TELL HOW HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL APPLY THAT DISCIPLINE TO THEIR NEW LEADERSHIP. END COMMENT.
BROWNING

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