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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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	H-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-01	L-01
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	DRL-09	G-00	/052W				

-----68D168 171711Z /38

O 171712Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5575  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 07 DAR ES SALAAM 005244

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, BY, RW, TZ  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA SUMMIT ON RWANDA AND BURUNDI  
ENDS WITH NO CONCLUSIVE PLAN OF ACTION

REF: 94 DAR ES SALAAM 05173

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. THE HASTILY-CALLED SUMMIT OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI'S NEIGHBORS IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA, ON AUGUST 16, PROVIDED A FORUM FOR  
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REGIONAL LEADERS TO VOICE THEIR OPINIONS ON CONFLICT IN THE SUB-REGION BUT ACHIEVED LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE. IN BARELY-VEILED CRITICISM OF ZAIRE, THE NEIGHBORS AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD HELP END THE HATE RADIO BROADCASTS AND INTIMIDATION OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES WHO WANT TO RETURN HOME -- A RETURN WHICH SHOULD COMMENCE IMMEDIATELY. THEY AGREED THAT BOTH BURUNDI AND RWANDA MUST REACH INTERNAL AGREEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF POWER SHARING AND THAT THEIR ARMIES MUST BE RESTRUCTURED TO

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 17 AUG 2016  
DATE/CASE ID: 29 JUL 2011 201005065

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BECOME REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE THEY ARE TO PROTECT. THE SUMMIT UNANIMOUSLY CALLED FOR BRINGING TO JUSTICE THOSE GUILTY OF GENOCIDE. HOWEVER, THEY DECLARED THAT IT WAS TIME FOR THE FRENCH TO LEAVE RWANDA, A WORRISOME SENTIMENT. PRESIDENT MWINYI OF TANZANIA MAY NOW FEEL THAT THIS CONFERENCE HAS FULFILLED THE 'REGIONAL CONFERENCE' NEED FOR HE DID NOT TAKE UP THE RWANDAN, BURUNDI AND UNHCR CALLS FOR SEPARATE, FOLLOW-ON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES. END SUMMARY.

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 MWINYI'S OPENING REMARKS  
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3. PRESIDENT MWINYI OPENED THE MEETING BY WELCOMING THE ASSEMBLED DIGNITARIES: THE PRESIDENTS OF BURUNDI, RWANDA, UGANDA AND ZAMBIA; THE OAU SECGYN SALIM; FOREIGN MINISTER  
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 MUSYOKA OF KENYA; TUNISIAN MINISTER OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS FAYALI; AND UNHCR SPECIAL ENVOY TO BURUNDI AND RWANDA MOUSSALLI. INVITED AS OBSERVERS WERE REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE EMBASSIES OF GERMANY, BELGIUM, FRANCE (WHO DID NOT ATTEND), UK, US, AND THE UN. (NOTE: PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE STARTED ONLY FRIDAY AFTERNOON BEFORE THE TUESDAY MEETING. THE ORIGINAL PLAN HAD BEEN TO START AT 10:00, BUT RWANDAN PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU DID NOT ARRIVE UNTIL 12:30. THE HEADS OF STATE AGREED TO WAIT FOR HIM. THE MEETING CONCLUDED AT 3:30 WITH NO BREAKS AND FEW MEETINGS ON THE MARGINS.)

4. STARTING WITH BURUNDI, MWINYI EXPRESSED HIS FEAR OF THE "DARK CLOUDS GATHERING OVER BURUNDI, SIMILAR TO THOSE THAT HAVE DARKENED RWANDI." HE STRESSED THREE MAJOR POINTS: THE ETHNIC KILLING MUST STOP; THE ARMY MUST BE TRANSFORMED INTO A TRULY NATIONAL FORCE; AND, THE BURUNDI REFUGEES MUST BE ALLOWED TO RETURN HOME.

5. TURNING TO RWANDA, MWINYI PLEADED WITH THE

PEOPLE OF RWANDA TO END THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. HE DECLARED THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF ARUSHA WERE STILL VALID. THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA NEEDED HELP IN CREATING THE CONDITIONS REQUIRED BEFORE THE REFUGEES WOULD RETURN HOME: ESSENTIAL SERVICES MUST BE REESTABLISHED; DISCIPLINE MUST BE INSTILLED IN THE RPF MILITARY; AND, THE

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REFUGEES NEED TO FEEL CONFIDENT ABOUT THEIR SAFE RETURN. THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT COMMENDED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, NGO'S, AND UN FOR ASSISTANCE PROVIDED TO THE REFUGEES. NOW WAS THE TIME TO STEP UP THEIR INVOLVEMENT TO ENCOURAGE THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME.

6. AFTER ASKING THE PRESS TO LEAVE THE CONFERENCE HALL, MWINYI TURNED TO THE RWANDAN PRESIDENT AND ASKED HIM "WHAT CAN YOUR NEIGHBORS DO TO SPEED UP THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES?"

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RWANDAN PRESIDENT SPEAKS  
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7. PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU REPLIED THAT HIS COUNTRY WAS "FACED WITH EMOTIONAL, PHYSICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT ARE BEYOND OUR SKILLS AND ABILITIES TO SOLVE ALONE." WHAT CAUSED THE HOROR IN RWANDA WAS THE "IDEA OF EXCLUSION, APARTHEID, WHICH BECAME INSTITUTIONALIZED, WHICH LED TO THE

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O 171712Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5576  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 07 DAR ES SALAAM 005244

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MASSACRES." THE PRESIDENT ADDED THAT THE  
EXODUS CONTINUES TODAY. REFERRING TO THE  
OUTFLOW FROM THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONE, HE  
SAID THAT RWANDANS WERE BEING "PUSHED BEYOND  
OUR BORDERS BY A PROPAGANDA PLOY THAT WE WILL  
KILL THEM." IT WAS NOT THE GOVERNMENT OR ITS  
TROOPS WHICH TRIGGERED THIS EXODUS, RATHER THE  
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"GUILTY WHO DO NOT WANT TO FEEL ISOLATED."

8. BIZIMUNGU SAID THAT THE MILITIA AND FORMER  
GOVERNMENT WERE ACTIVELY PROHIBITING THE RETURN  
OF THE REFUGEES. "THEY ARE VERY ACTIVE IN THE  
COUNTRIES WHERE THEY ARE." ALLUDING TO THE  
COOPERATION OF ZAIRE, HE ADDED THAT "EVEN THE  
POLICE BAR THEIR (REFUGEES) WAY" AND THE  
PROPAGANDA RADIO" WHICH HAD BEEN SILENCED HAD  
BEEN ALLOWED TO START UP AGAIN.

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9. BIZIMUNGU SAID THAT RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS COULD NOT HELP RWANDA UNLESS THE "PHILOSOPHY OF DIVISION" WAS DESTROYED. THOSE WHO ADVOCATED IDEAS THAT LED TO THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS COULD NOT REMAIN ACTIVE. THE MILITIA SHELTERED IN BUKAVU AND GOMA WERE THE MAIN OBSTACLES TO PEACE AND THE PRESIDENT APPEALED FOR HIS NEIGHBORS' HELP IN SILENCING THEM. "THEY ARE AN ETERNAL RUNNING SORE. HOW CAN THERE BE PEACE AS LONG AS THE MILITIA REMAINS ACTIVE? THOSE WHO ADVOCATE DIVISION, APARTHEID, ARE HELPED BY OUR NEIGHBORS. AS LONG AS OUR NEIGHBORS HELP THEM WE WILL NEVER HAVE PEACE, WE WILL NEVER BE UNITED."

10. THE RWANDAN ALSO CRITICIZED THE FRENCH SECURITY ZONE.

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HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ALLOWED FRENCH TROOPS TO ESTABLISH THE DISTRICT FOR SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES. WHEN THE GOR ASKED FOR ACCESS TO THE ZONE THEY WERE TURNED DOWN. THE FRENCH TROOPS AND GOVERNMENT HAD CHOSEN TO ISOLATE THOSE PEOPLE IN THE ZONE. BIZIMUNGU CLAIMED HE HAD A 'PLETHORA' OF EXAMPLES OF RWANDESE ENCOURAGED BY THE FRENCH TO GO TO ZAIRE RATHER THAN STAY IN RWANDA. THE GOR COULD DO NOTHING TO STOP THE FLOW FROM THE ZONE. THE PRESIDENT HOPED THAT ON AUGUST 21 THE UN WOULD TAKE OVER FROM THE FRENCH AND COOPERATE WITH THE GOR AND ENCOURAGE THE PEOPLE TO RETURN.

11. BIZIMUNGU ASKED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT BE EVALUATED BY "WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO, NOT BY ISOLATED EXAMPLES OF REVENGE." THE GOR HAD ACTED WITH "VIGOR" AGAINST ALL THOSE WHO PLANNED TO EXACT VENGEANCE.

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BURUNDI

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12. MWINYI THEN POSED THE SAME QUESTION TO PRESIDENT NTABATUNGANYA OF BURUNDI: "WHAT CAN YOUR NEIGHBORS DO TO HELP?" THE BURUNDI PRESIDENT BEGAN HIS RESPONSE BY EXPRESSING HIS GRATITUDE TO MWINYI, SAYING THAT HIS ATTITUDE OF CONCERN WAS A SYMBOL OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE  
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PEOPLE OF BURUNDI.

13. THE PROBLEMS IN BURUNDI DATED BACK TO BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY IN BURUNDI, THE PRESIDENT CONTINUED. THE PROBLEM WAS COMPOUNDED BY THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND THE SUB-REGION. AFTER THE ASSASSINATIONS OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTS IN OCTOBER, 1993, AND APRIL 1994, THE STATE INSTITUTIONS SET UP AS A RESULT OF THE JUNE 1993 ELECTIONS WERE "EMASCULATED." THE COUNTRY EXPERIENCED TEN DAYS OF ETHNIC POGROMS, WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD WATCHED. HIS PRIMARY GOAL HAD BEEN TO AVOID THE "AGONY OF OUR BROTHERS TO THE NORTH." ALL EFFORTS HAD BEEN DIRECTED TOWARDS AVOIDING ANOTHER CALAMITY. WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, THE PRESIDENT BELIEVED THAT HE HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL.

14. HIS FIRST OBJECTIVE HAD BEEN TO TRY TO REESTABLISH GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS AND ADMINISTRATION, STARTING WITH THE PRESIDENCY. HE HAD ATTEMPTED TO BRING ABOUT A CONSENSUS WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN

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INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 07 DAR ES SALAAM 005244

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EXECUTIVE. MODERATES IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES  
NOW UNDERSTOOD THAT IF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE  
STATE (PRESIDENCY, PRIME MINISTRY, LOCAL  
GOVERNMENT, AND AMBASSADORSHIPS) WERE NOT  
ESTABLISHED SOON, THERE WOULD BE CATASTROPHE.

15. LAST FRIDAY, NTABATUNGANYA HAD BROUGHT  
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TOGETHER ALL OF BURUNDI'S POLITICAL, GOVERNMENT  
AND SOCIAL LEADERS TO SHARE WITH THEM HIS  
CONCERNS THAT "IF THEY DILLY DALLY," IF THE  
BURUNDI STATE WAS NOT CONSOLIDATED, IF THE  
CURRENT SITUATION WAS NOT ARRESTED, THERE WOULD  
BE TRAGEDY. THE PRESIDENT TOLD THE ARUSHA  
AUDIENCE THAT HE HOPED FOR AGREEMENT BY THE  
END OF AUGUST. "THIS IS WHERE WE ARE NOW.  
THIS PROGRAM WILL DETERMINE THE NATURE OF OUR

16. EXPLAINING HIS SECOND OBJECTIVE, NTABATUNGANYA CONTINUED THAT BURUNDI'S LEADERS HAD TO ENCOURAGE THE MODERATE TRENDS IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES. "WE MUST MARGINALIZE ALL EXTREMISTS." THE MAJORITY OF BURUNDIS WERE MODERATES, HE SAID, BUT UNFORTUNATELY, THE MAJORITY HAD BEEN SILENT AND WERE GUILTY OF THE "COMPLICITY OF SILENCE." THE FERMENT OF THE EXTREMISTS WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WEAPONS IN THE RURAL AREAS.

17. THE PRESIDENT'S THIRD OBJECTIVE WAS TO ORGANIZE A NATIONAL DEBATE ON DEMOCRATICIZATION AS HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THERE WAS NO WAY OUT OF THE MORASS WITHOUT DEMOCRATIZATION. THE GRB HAD TO ENSURE THE PROTECTION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES AND SECURITY MUST BE ASSURED FOR ALL REGARDLESS OF ETHNIC ALLEGIANCE. THERE MUST BE UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION AND BURUNDI NEEDED A JUDICIAL SYSTEM INDEPENDENT OF SOCIAL

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AND ETHNIC FORCES.

18. NTABATUNGANYA THEN CLOSED WITH AN APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE. "OUR INTERNAL EFFORTS MUST BE BACKED BY EXTERNAL EFFORTS." HE PROPOSED AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OAU TO ADVISE ON THE MECHANICS OF LIVING IN PEACE. THE REGION HAD BEEN TORN ASSUNDER BY WAR AND HE ENVISIONED A SUB-REGIONAL CONFERENCE GEARED TOWARD DEVELOPMENT. HE ALSO APPEALED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY "TO RIDE TO THE RESCUE" FINANCIALLY AS SOON AS THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE STATE WERE ESTABLISHED. SCHOOLS AND HEALTH CENTERS MUST BE REBUILT AND YOUTH REHABILITATED AND ONLY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD PROVIDE THE REQUIRED ASSISTANCE.

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SALIM PRESENTS THE OAU'S POSITION  
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19. SALIM, SITTING AT THE HEAD TABLE WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI, THEN ADDRESSED THE AUDIENCE AND REITERATED THE OAU'S PREVIOUSLY ISSUED STATEMENTS ON RWANDA AND ASKED THAT THE CONFEREES GET TO SPECIFICS ON RWANDA. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE WAR WAS OVER, BUT PEACE HAD NOT BEEN WON. THE QUESTION BEFORE THE GROUP WAS HOW TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE TO PREVENT ANOTHER EXODUS AND TO ENCOURAGE THE REFUGEES TO

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RETURN. THE RPF HAD STARTED ITS WORK BUT IT SHOULD BE PREPARED TO GO AN EXTRA MILE AND BE AS ACCOMMODATING AS POSSIBLE.

20. SALIM THEN PARCELED OUT RESPONSIBILITIES FOR HELPING RWANDA AND THE REFUGEES. IT WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES TO PUT AN END TO THE HATE PROPAGANDA. IT WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOR TO ENSURE THAT THERE BE NO RETALIATION AGAINST RETURNING REFUGEES. EVERYONE RECOGNIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT ATTEMPTING TO EXACT REVENGE, BUT IT MUST CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE INTENT ON RETALIATION.

21. ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES AND DISPLACED WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERYONE, PARTICULARLY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ALSO MUST TAKE THE LEAD ON BRINGING TO JUSTICE THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE AND MUST MOVE QUICKLY TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. THIS MUST BE HANDLED CAREFULLY SO AS NOT TO FRIGHTEN NERVOUS RETURNEES. SALIM EMPHASIZED THAT THE OAU

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5578  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 07 DAR ES SALAAM 005244

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"ENDORSES JUSTICE." THE UN WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING THAT THE TRANSITION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND UNAMIR TROOPS WAS SMOOTH. ONLY A WELL MANAGED TRANSITION COULD PREVENT A MASS EXODUS. THREE MONTHS HAD BEEN MUCH TOO LONG TO WAIT FOR THE UNAMIR TROOPS, IT WAS "NOTHING SHORT OF A SCANDAL," HE EMPHASIZED. AND

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FINALLY, WE MUST ALL CONSIDER THE "TOTALITY OF THE REFUGEES." NO ONE COULD EXPECT THEM TO RETURN WITHOUT ADEQUATE PREPARATION.

22. ON BURUNDI, THE SYG STRESSED THAT WHAT HAPPENED IN RWANDA MUST BE AVOIDED. A SMALL CONTINGENT OF CIVILIANS AND MILITARY EXTREMISTS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO CAUSE SUCH

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DESTRUCTION.

23. THERE WERE AREAS OF PROGRESS IN BURUNDI. SALIM CITED, FOR EXAMPLE, THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT SECTORS OF SOCIETY: THE PRESIDENT, ARMED FORCES, THE ORDINARY PEOPLE AND THE OPPOSITION. BUT THERE WERE ALSO AREAS OF CONCERN. DIALOGUE AMONG THE FACTIONS IS GOOD, BUT IT MUST NOT BE ENDLESS AND IT MUST HAVE AN OBJECTIVE. THE SYG ENCOURAGED ALL PARTIES IN BURUNDI TO AGREE SOON ON THE STATE INSTITUTIONS.

24. SALIM CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS BY CALLING FOR INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE HOSTS OF THE REFUGEES. THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN TANZANIA AND EASTERN ZAIRE HAVE BEEN SUFFERING UNDER THE BURDEN OF THE REFUGEES AND THEIR PLIGHT CANNOT BE IGNORED.

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ZAMBIA  
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25. PRESIDENT CHILUBA OF ZAMBIA, THE NEXT SPEAKER, MADE ONLY BRIEF REMARKS WHICH FOCUSED ON RWANDA. ONLY AN ALL-INCLUSIVE SOLUTION, INCORPORATING THE VIEWS OF ALL FACTIONS, COULD SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF ETHNICITY. ALL MUST BE INCLUDED FROM THE BEGINNING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM AND ALL MUST UNDERSTAND CLEARLY AND AGREE WITH THE SOLUTION. ALSO, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO SHOW THAT ANY PUNISHMENT METED OUT WAS FOR ACTS COMMITTED, NOT BECAUSE OF ETHNICITY.

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MUSEVENI GETS RIGHT TO THE POINT  
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26. UGANDA'S PRESIDENT FOLLOWED CHILUBA AND CRISPLY DELINEATED THE ISSUES AS HE SAW THEM. THE PROBLEMS IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI WERE DUE TO MISDEFINITION. IF AN ENEMY WAS WRONGLY

DEFINED, THEN A FRIEND WAS WRONGLY DEFINED.

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27. MUSEVINI SAID THE FIRST QUESTION SHOULD BE 'WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF A NATION?' IN HIS OPINION THE FIRST TASK OF A NATION WAS MODERNIZATION. THIS WAS TRUE FOR RWANDA, BURUNDI AND UGANDA. "OTHERS WERE GOING TO THE MOON," HE STRESSED, "AND WE ARE THROWING THE BODIES OF OUR WOMEN AND CHILDREN INTO RIVERS." ALL OF THE EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF RWANDA

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AND BURUNDI SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD  
MODERNIZATION.

28. THE PROBLEM OF EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE WAS THE SECOND ISSUE TO ADDRESS. MUSEVENI SAID THAT HE FACED THE SAME PROBLEM IN UGANDA. "AS LONG AS I AM BACKED BY COUNTRY A OR COUNTRY B, I DON'T HAVE TO RECONCILE WITH MY BROTHER." RWANDA AND BURUNDI MUST DECREASE THE INFLUENCE OF OUTSIDERS IN THEIR COUNTRIES.

29. THE NEXT PROBLEM MUSEVENI ADDRESSED WAS CONTAINMENT. THE BEST WAY FOR BOTH COUNTRIES TO CONTAIN THE DAMAGE ALREADY DONE WAS TO BE INCLUSIVE. ALL FACTIONS MUST BE REPRESENTED FOR CONTAINMENT TO BE ACHIEVED. THE GOVERNMENTS MUST SHARE POWER, ENSURE THAT THE ARMIES WERE BROAD-BASED, AND USE THE MEDIA TO "PREACH UNITY." CONCLUDING WITH THE ISSUE OF SECURITY, MUSEVENI EXPLAINED THAT HE RESTRUCTURED THE ARMY IN UGANDA BY INCORPORATING SIX ARMIES INTO THE ONE NATIONAL ARMY. BY INCLUDING ALL FACTIONS IN THE ARMY RWANDA AND BURUNDI COULD MAKE THEIR PEOPLE FEEL

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SAFE.

30. MUSEVENI THEN ANSWERED MWINYI'S QUESTION  
ON HOW THE NEIGHBORS COULD HELP. THE NEIGHBORS  
COULD SEPARATE THE MURDERERS IN THE CAMPS FROM  
THE COMMON PEOPLE. HE PROPOSED CAMPS FOR THREE  
CATEGORIES OF REFUGEES: ORDINARY PEOPLE,

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FORMER MEMBERS OF THE ARMY, AND THE MILITIA  
LEADERS AND OTHERS SUSPECTED OF MURDER. IF THE  
COMMON PEOPLE WERE SEPARATED FROM THEIR  
LEADERS, THEY WOULD NOT BE INTIMIDATED INTO  
STAYING.

31. THERE WOULD BE NO PEACE WITHOUT TRIALS,

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ACCORDING TO MUSEVENI. "HANGING WILL BE A TONIC FOR THE WOUNDS, A DEMONSTRATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS SERIOUS ABOUT CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY." HE SAID THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PUNISH THE GUILTY EACH MAN "MUST TAKE REVENGE FOR ON HIS OWN FOR HIS MOTHER, HIS WIFE, HIS SISTER."

32. THE UGANDAN AGREED WITH HIS RWANDAN COLLEAGUE THAT IT WAS "TIME FOR THE FRENCH TO GO." IT WAS WRONG THAT THE FRENCH WOULD NOT LET THE PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER LEADERS OF RWANDA GO INTO THE HUMANITARIAN ZONE AND TALK TO THEIR PEOPLE.

33. SWITCHING TO BURUNDI, MUSEVENI SAID THAT SINCE PRESIDENT NTABATUNGANYA HAD BROUGHT HIS DEFENSE MINISTER WITH HIM TO ARUSHA "WE SHOULD TELL THEM BOTH CLEARLY 'NO MORE VIOLENCE.' IF THERE ARE PEOPLE IN BURUNDI WHO ARE INCITING VIOLENCE, ARREST THEM." RESPONDING TO COMMENTS THAT SOME IN BURUNDI HAD COMPLAINED THAT THE ARUSHA MEETING REPRESENTED AN INTERFERENCE IN BURUNDI'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, MUSEVENI OFFERED

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HIS RETORT: "IF YOU DO NOT WANT US IN YOUR HOUSE, KEEP YOUR PEOPLE OUT OF OUR HOUSES."

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MOUSSALLI OF UNHCR  
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34. UNHCR'S SPECIAL ENVOY FOR BURUNDI AND RWANDA MOUSSALLI POINTED OUT THAT ALL CONFEREES AGREED THAT THE ONLY SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI WERE RECONCILIATION, CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, AND THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES. HE PROPOSED ANOTHER REGIONAL MEETING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UN AND OAU TO GET DOWN TO SPECIFICS. (NOTE: MOUSSALLI MIGHT HAVE ELABORATED ON HIS PROPOSAL AND MORE FORCEFULLY SOUGHT CONCURRENCE IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR MUSEVENI'S DEPARTURE. THE UGANDAN LEFT DURING THE SPECIAL ENVOY'S PRESENTATION, SHAKING HANDS WITH EACH HEAD OF STATE AS HE

WENT. ALL EYES AND MOST EARS WERE ON MUSEVENI AND MOUSSALLI CHOSE NOT TO COMPETE.)

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PRESIDENTS OF BURUNDI AND RWANDA REPLY  
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35. AFTER THE REMARKS OF THE HEADS OF STATE, THE OAU SEC GEN AND THE UNHCR SPECIAL ENVOY, PRESIDENT MWINYI ASKED THE PRESIDENTS OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI TO RESPOND. BIZIMUNGU LASHED OUT  
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AT THOSE WHO INSISTED ON INCLUSIVENESS AND AGREED WITH HIS BURUNDI COLLEAGUE THAT EXTREMISTS SHOULD BE MARGINALIZED. HE CRITICIZED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR INSISTING THAT THE GOR "OPEN ITS DOORS" TO THE MRND. "HOW CAN WE CONSTRUCT A JUST SOCIETY WHEN YOU ASK US TO BRING MURDERERS INTO OUR GOVERNMENT?" THE LACK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S REACTION TO GENOCIDE WAS "ABHORRENT," HE CONTINUED. THESE PEOPLE ARE "INFUSED WITH AN EVIL SPIRIT" AND THERE CAN BE NO PEACE AS LONG AS THEY ADVOCATE "ETHNIC CLEANSING."

36. THE GOR HAD ASKED MRND MEMBERS TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT BUT THEY HAD REFUSED. THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER TURNED THEM DOWN, THEN FORMER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS GISANA HAD REFUSED. ACCORDING TO BIZIMUNGU, THEY HAD BEEN THREATENED WITH DEATH IF THEY JOINED THE GOR. THE GOR TRIED TO BRING IN FORMER MEMBERS OF THE RWANDA MILITARY, WHO ALSO REFUSED. THE MRND WANTED TO REMAIN OUTSIDE SO THEY CAN EVENTUALLY ATTACK RWANDA, BIZIMUNGU ASSERTED.

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	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/052W				

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O 171712Z AUG 94  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5580  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 07 DAR ES SALAAM 005244

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PHUM, BY, RW, TZ  
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3?. THE RWANDAN CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE  
AGREED WITH MUSEVENI THAT THE MILITIA LEADERS  
SHOULD BE ISOLATED FROM THE REST OF THE  
POPULATION. HE AGREED TO EXPLORE THE IDEA OF  
AN OAU/UN-SPONSORED CONFERENCE TO FIND WAYS TO  
ENCOURAGE THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME.

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38. IN PRESIDENT NTABATUNGANYA'S CONCLUDING  
REMARKS, HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION THAT HIS  
COLLEAGUES SHARED HIS VIEWS ON THE BURUNDI  
CRISIS. THE QUESTION BEFORE HIS COUNTRY NOW  
WAS WHETHER THOSE WIELDING POWER HAVE THE

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ABILITY TO REFRAIN THEMSELVES FROM REVENGE. THE POLITICAL CLASSES SHOULD DEMONSTRATE TO THE PRESIDENT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES SOME MATURITY. DIRECTLY ADDRESSING HIS RWANDAN COLLEAGUE, NTABATUNGANYA SAID THAT HE HAD AGREED TO BIZIMUNGU'S REQUEST THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOR BE ALLOWED TO VISIT THE RWANDAN REFUGEES IN BURUNDI. THEY, ALONG WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WERE ALLOWED TO VISIT THEM. THERE WERE 60,000 REFUGEES WHO SAID THEY WANTED TO RETURN AND BURUNDI HAD AGREED TO WORK WITH THE UNHCR TO ASSIST THEM.

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THE MEETING ENDS  
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39. MWINYI CLOSED THE SESSION BY SUMMARIZING THE COMMON POINTS AGREED TO BY THE PARTICIPANTS. FIRST, THE NEIGHBORS HAD AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD HELP END THE PROPAGANDA THAT WAS CREATING SUCH FEAR AMONG THE REFUGEES. THEY HAD ALSO AGREED WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENTI THAT TRULY NATIONAL ARMIES WERE IN THE BEST

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INTERESTS OF ALL AND THAT BOTH THE BURUNDIAN AND RWANDAN ARMIES SHOULD BE RESTRUCTURED. ALL HAD AGREED THAT BOTH COUNTRIES MUST REACH AGREEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF POWERSHARING AND THAT MURDERERS MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. AND, ALLUDING TO ANTI-FRENCH SENTIMENTS, MWINYI SAID, "WE IN THE REGION DO NOT WANT TO SEE AN ARMY OF INTERVENTION." TO THE BURUNDI LEADER THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT SAID THAT THERE WAS LITTLE THAT THE NEIGHBORS COULD DO AT THIS STAGE OTHER THAN TO OFFER THEIR SUPPORT AND HOPE THAT AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE NATURE OF THE STATE INSTITUTIONS BY THE END OF THE MONTH. MWINYI CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE PEOPLE IN BOTH COUNTRIES HAD "NO CHOICE BUT TO FORGIVE AND FORGET."

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OBSERVATIONS, IMPRESSIONS AND COMMENTS

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40. AMBASSADOR SHANI LWENO, DIRECTOR OF THE AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST DIVISION OF TANZANIA'S MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE PRIME ORGANIZER OF THE CONFERENCE, TOLD CHARGE THAT THE TANZANIANS DID NOT HAVE MAJOR EXPECTATIONS FOR THIS ARUSHA SUMMIT. PRESIDENT MWINYI DECIDED DURING A LUNCH ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, TO CALL FOR THE MEETING AS AN ADD-ON TO THE LONG-SCHEDULED OAU CEREMONY TO DISBAND ITS LIBERATION COMMITTEE. THE TANZANIANS HAD  
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PREPARED NO AGENDA AND HAD SKETCHED OUT ONLY THE BAREST OF COMMUNIQUE IN CASE ONE WAS CALLED FOR. (IT WAS NOT.) THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN WAS TO "JUST START TALKING AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS."

41. THE BURUNDI MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TOLD US THAT HIS HUTU PRESIDENT HAD CAREFULLY SELECTED HIS DELEGATION TO REINFORCE THE CONCEPTS OF MODERATION AND THE MARGINALIZATION OF THE EXTREMISTS. HE HAD INCLUDED HIS TUTSI MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND HIS TUTSI MINISTER OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WHO IS A MEMBER OF AN OPPOSITION PARTY, BECAUSE HE WANTED THEM TO SEE AND HEAR HIM SPEAK IN AN OPEN FORUM SUCH AS THIS ONE.

42. THE UNANIMOUS CRITICISM OF THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONE IS TROUBLESOME AND WILL MAKE IT EVEN HARDER TO CONVINCING THE RWANDANS TO LET THE FRENCH STAY BEYOND THE AUGUST 21 DEADLINE, IF A DELAY IS NECESSARY. WHILE ZAIRE WAS NEVER MENTIONED BY NAME, THE MEETING'S CALL FOR SILENCING THE HATE RADIO BROADCASTS WAS LOUD

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AND CLEAR.

43. PRESIDENT MOI OF KENYA ATTENDED THE OAU  
CEREMONY BUT NOT THE RWANDA/BURUNDI SUMMIT.  
HIS FOREIGN MINISTER WAS SILENT DURING THE  
ENTIRE SESSION. MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF THOUGHT  
THE CONFERENCE VERY ODD---HASTILY ARRANGED,  
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POORLY PLANNED AND LACKING CLEAR OBJECTIVES.

44. WE BELIEVE THIS SUMMIT WAS MWINYI'S  
RESPONSE TO A/S MOOSE'S CALL FOR A REGIONAL  
CONFERENCE ON RWANDA AND BURUNDI. FOR THE

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CASH-STARVED GOT, THIS ADD-ON TO THE OAU SUMMIT WAS A COST EFFECTIVE WAY TO CONTINUE ITS ROLE OF FACILITATOR. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT IN MWINYI'S SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS, HE DID NOT INCLUDE ANOTHER CONFERENCE. WHILE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET AN AFTER-ACTION ASSESSMENT FROM THE MOFA, WE SUSPECT THAT MWINYI BELIEVES THAT HE HAS MET HIS REGIONAL OBLIGATION.

45. NOR DID MWINYI ENDORSE THE CONCEPT OF SEGREGATING THE REFUGEES. TANZANIA HAS BEEN UNDER PRESSURE TO INCREASE SECURITY IN AND AROUND THE CAMPS BUT HAS DELAYED, CLAIMING LACK OF RESOURCES AND ABSENCE OF A UN MANDATE. WE ASSUME THAT A CALL BY THE UNSC FOR THE REFUGEE HOSTING COUNTRIES TO DETAIN THOSE ACCUSED OF GENOCIDE WILL BE FORTHCOMING SOON. WE EXPECT THE TANZANIANS TO REPLY THAT THEY HAVE THE WILL TO DO SO BUT NOT THE ABILITY AND WILL RENEW THEIR REQUEST TO THE U.S., U.N. AND OTHERS FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

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