

PTQ6395

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ACTION AF-01

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	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00	PMB-00
	PRM-10	DRL-09	G-00	/029W			

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P 281311Z AUG 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1235
RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 002744

E.O. 12356: DECL 8/28/00
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, RW
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. RWANDAN PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU RECEIVED ME AT MY REQUEST AUGUST 24 FOR AN HOUR-LONG REVIEW OF CURRENT CRISES: REFUGEES AND PRISONS; AND, FOR A PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION OF CHALLENGES FACING THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IN ITS SECOND YEAR: REPRESENTATIVENESS, ACCOUNTABILITY AND INTEGRATION. WE AGREED ON THE PRINCIPLES BUT BIZIMUNGU SAID WORKING OUT MODALITIES WAS COMPLICATED. I SUGGESTED THAT NOW THE EMBARGO WAS LIFTED AND HIS GOVERNMENT HAD PROVED ITS FOOD FAITH IN WELCOMING BACK

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REFUGEES, IT WAS TIME TO HOLD THE HIGH GROUND WITH GESTURES THAT WOULD BREAK RWANDA'S ISOLATION AND RECONCILE ITS PEOPLE. BIZIMUNGU SAID THEY WOULD WORK ON THAT. END SUMMARY

3. I INFORMED THE PRESIDENT THAT I HAD JUST RETURNED FROM CYANGUGU WHERE THE COOPERATION BETWEEN CIVILIAN/MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND UN AGENCIES AND NGO IMPLEMENTORS HAD BEEN VERY IMPRESSIVE. THE FLOW OF REFUGEES WAS BEING ABLY AND EXPEDITIOUSLY HANDLED. INITIALLY VERY FRIGHTENED, THE REFUGEES SEEMED RELIEVED TO BE HOME ONCE, THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY WERE GOING TO BE WELL-TREATED. I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS WELCOMING THE REFUGEES, STATEMENTS WHICH FULFILLED THE CALL FOR "SOLEMN DECLARATIONS" IN THE BUJUMBURA PLAN OF ACTION, A DOCUMENT THAT REMAINED A GOOD GUIDE TO ACTIONS NECESSARY TO RESOLVE THE REFUGEE CRISIS. THE PRESIDENT THANKED ME FOR TAKING THE TIME TO GO TO THE BORDER AND SEE FOR MYSELF THE EFFORT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES IN MEETING THIS CRISIS. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO KEEP THE MOMENTUM OF THEIR RETURN GOING. HE ASKED THAT THE US GOVERNMENT USE ITS INFLUENCE TO HELP KEEP RETURNEE FLOWS HIGH. WHILE RWANDA WAS NOT PRESSING, AS THOUGH OUT OF DESPERATION, FOR HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS WITH ZAIRIAN AUTHORITIES, IT WAS ENGAGING OFFICERS AND CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL TO AMELIORATE HARSH TREATMENT OF REFUGEES ON THE OTHER SIDE AND MAKE THE RETURN BACK TO RWANDA AS SMOOTH AS POSSIBLE.

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4. CONDITIONS IN THE PRISONS REMAINED DEPLORABLE, I TOLD THE PRESIDENT, A HUMAN RIGHTS DISASTER THAT HAD TO BE ADDRESSED. RELEASE OF VULNERABLE POPULATIONS (YOUNG, SICK AND OLD) SEEMED THE MOST OBVIOUS STEP BUT GETTING THE JUSTICE SYSTEM RUNNING WAS ALSO ESSENTIAL. (THE GERMAN DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AMBASSADOR GANZ WAS IN TOWN MAKING THESE SAME POINTS). I HAD BEEN TOLD IN CYANGUGU THAT 800 DOSSIERS WERE PREPARED READY FOR TRIAL. THE COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE AND THE APPEALS

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COURTS WERE REHABILITATED, READY TO GO. WE AND OTHERS HAD PROVIDED BASIC EQUIPMENT TO THE JUSTICE SYSTEM, INCLUDING VEHICLES. THE PROCESS OF JUDGING PRISONERS MUST BEGIN. BIZIMUNGU DISCUSSED THE VARIOUS MEASURES THE GOVERNMENT WAS TAKING TO ENLARGE PRISONS, TO FIND A WAY OF REMANDERING VULNERABLE GROUPS AND TO LOOK AT THE PROBLEM OF ACCOUNTABILITY IN LARGER TERMS, BEGINNING WITH AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAT SUBJECT. HE AGREED, WITHOUT SPECIFYING HOW OR WHEN, THAT IT WAS TIME FOR THE JUSTICE SYSTEM TO START TRYING CASES.

5. HANDING THE PRESIDENT A COPY OF AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH'S STATEMENT DURING THE SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE ON SUSPENDING THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA, I ASKED IF I MIGHT REFLECT A BIT ABOUT WHERE RWANDA STOOD A YEAR AFTER THE WAR. I CONGRATULATED THE PRESIDENT ON THE EVIDENT PROGRESS THE GOVERNMENT HAD MADE. WHILE AT PARTICULAR MOMENTS ALONG THE ROAD THERE HAD BEEN MAJOR PROBLEMS, LOOKED AT OVER TIME THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRESSION DOWN THE ROAD TOWARD A RESTORED RWANDA HAS BEEN IMPRESSIVE. THE US GOVERNMENT REMAINED COMMITTED TO HELPING THE GOVERNMENT ACHIEVE ITS GOALS OF JUSTICE

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AND SECURITY FOR ALL RWANDANS. HIS OWN PHRASING OF THAT GOAL, "GUARANTEEING LIFE AND PROPERTY FOR ALL RWANDANS," SEEMED

A WORTHY SUMMATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION. IF THE GOVERNMENT WERE TO CONTINUE ITS PROGRESS AND ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVES, HOWEVER, IT NEEDED TO GRAPPLE WITH THE ISSUES OF REPRESENTATIVENESS, ACCOUNTABILITY AND INTEGRATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE ARMED FORCES.

6. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. I REMINDED THE PRESIDENT THAT EVEN DURING THE CIVIL WAR, THE UNITED STATES HAD ENGAGED RPF REPRESENTATIVES IN WASHINGTON ON THE IMPORTANCE OF FORMING A GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION WHICH WAS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL RWANDANS. (DR. MURIGANDE, NOTE TAKER IN THIS MEETING HAD BEEN PARTICIPANT IN THOSE WASHINGTON DISCUSSIONS). WHILE WE DID NOT PRESUME TO DICTATE THE DETAILS OF

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RWANDAN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE, WE FELT THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT WERE TO SUCCEED, ITS PEOPLE NEEDED TO FEEL INVOLVED IN ITS ACTIONS. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF WAS BROAD-BASED, APPOINTMENTS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1236
RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 002744

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SO FAR FAVORED RETURNED EXILES. TWO AREAS NOW UNDER DISCUSSION AT THE BOTTOM--BURGOMASTERS, AND AT THE TOP--THE SUPREME COURT WERE AREAS WHERE IT WAS CRITICAL TO HAVE PEOPLE IN WHOM ALL RWANDANS COULD HAVE CONFIDENCE.

7. ACCOUNTABILITY FOR CRIMES. ACCOUNTABILITY WAS NOT JUST A SLOGAN TO BE APPLIED TO GENOCIDE BUT HAD TO BE EQUALLY APPLIED TO THE CURRENT SITUATION, I ARGUED. SECURITY WAS THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE STRUCTURE, AND AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY NYE TOLD VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME, UNANSWERED ASSASSINATIONS UNDERMINE THE STATE'S

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AUTHORITY. THE RWANDAN PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NEEDED TO KNOW WHAT MEASURES THE GOVERNMENT WAS TAKING TO BRING TO ACCOUNT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF BUTARE PREFECT, OF THE GITARAMA SOUS-PREFECT, OF FATHER PIO, ETC. TO LET INDIVIDUALS, WHOMEVER THEY MAY BE, CARRY OUT CRIMINAL ACTS WAS TO SLIP INTO THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE WHICH WAS DESTROYING BURUNDI.

8. INTEGRATION OF SECURITY FORCES. FINALLY, I NOTED, SECURITY FOR ALL RWANDANS REQUIRED THAT THEY HAVE ARMED FORCES IN WHOM THEY COULD HAVE CONFIDENCE. I RECOGNIZED THE INTEGRATION OF ARMED FORCES THAT HAD BEEN FIGHTING EACH OTHER REQUIRED A LOT OF TACT AND TIME. BUT PROGRESS IN REAL INTEGRATION OF RANK AND COMMAND WAS NECESSARY IF THE GOVERNMENT OBJECTIVES OF NATIONAL UNITY WERE TO BE ACHIEVED. THE VIABILITY OF THE STATE SECURITY STRUCTURE OVER TIME REQUIRED THAT THE SECURITY FORCES ALSO REPRESENT MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE RWANDAN POPULATION. TRAINING PROGRAMS SUCH AS WE WERE NOW UNDERTAKING WITH DEMINING WERE USEFUL TOOLS TO THAT END. THIS WAS NOT A GOAL THAT COULD BE ACHIEVED IMMEDIATELY BUT ONE WHICH HAD TO BE CONTINUALLY SOUGHT AFTER.

9. IN RESPONSE, THE PRESIDENT ARGUED THAT HE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE WITH MY POINTS BUT RAN INTO DIFFICULTIES WITH MODALITIES OF IMPLEMENTATION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE

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GOVERNMENT HAD WANTED TO APPOINTED A FORMER MEMBER OF
THE MRND AS SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT. BUT MEMBERS OF
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ARGUED THAT, AS A REGIONAL
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PROSECUTOR, THIS PERSON HAD NOT ADEQUATELY PURSUED THE
BIGOGWE MASSACRE'S OF TUTSI IN JANUARY 1993. HE
UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORTAMCE OF REPRESENTATIVENESS BOTH IN
THE SUPREME COURT AND IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT BUT THE
GOVERNMENT WAS STILL PUZZLING ON HOW TO ACHIEVE THAT
GOAL.

10. BIZIMUNGU THEN DISCUSSED GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO
BRING TO JUSTICE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR VARIOUS
ASSASSINATIONS. THE PERSON CONSIDERED RESPONSIBLE FOR
THE PREFECT OF BUTARE'S DEATH HAD BEEN APPREHENDED BUT
THE PRESIDENT WAS SUSPICIOUS THAT THIS JUNIOR SOLDIER
WAS BEING MADE FALL GUY FOR A LARGER PLOT AND HAD ASKED
THAT THE CASE BE REOPENED. PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE
DEATH OF THE GIKONGORO SOUS-PREFECT WERE IN CUSTODY.
THE CASE OF SOUS-PREFECT OF GITARAMA WAS STILL BEING
INVESTIGATED. BIZIMUNGU ASSURED ME THAT THE GOVERNMENT
WAS DETERMINED TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THESE CASES.
THE PRESIDENT ALSO REPORTED THAT INTEGRATION OF ARMED
FORCES REMAINED A CONTINUING GOAL OF THE GOVERNMENT.
VERY SOON AN OFFICER OF THE FORMER ARMY WOULD BE MADE A
BRIGADE C
OMMANDER. TWO NEW CLASSES OF FORMER ARMY
SOLDIERS WERE UNDERGOING TRAINING AND SHOULD SOON BE
INTEGRATED.

11. THE PRESIDENT THANKED THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS
SUPPORT ON GETTING THE EMBARGO LIFTED AND NOTED THAT
THE GOVERNMENT WAS STRIVING FOR THE GOALS I HAD
ARTICULATED. I SUGGESTED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT RWANDA
HAD GAINED THE HIGH GROUWD BY ITS TREATMENT OF RWAWDAN

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REFUGEES. ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO ITS PEOPLE HAD BEEN
RECOGNIZED BY SUSPENSION OF THE EMBARGO. PERHAPS IT
WAS TIME FOR THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO HOLD THE HIGH
GROUND BY SYMBOLIC ACTS THAT WOULD BREAK ITS ISOLATION
WITH ITS NEIGHBORS AND HELP RECONCILE THE RWANDAN
PEOPLE. BIZIMUNGU SAID HE THEY WOULD WORK ON THAT
IDEA.

12. ATMOSPHERIC NOTE. THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED ME FOR THE
FIRST TIME IN HIS NEW OFFICES AT VILLAGE URGWIRO.
SECURITY WAS TIGHT. WHILE PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA USED
TO RECEIVE HIS GUESTS HERE IN THE OPEN AIR ON A PATIO
OUTSIDE, MY CONVERSATION WITH BIZIMUNGU WAS INSIDE, IN
A WELL-APPOINTED AND SPACIOUS OFFICE. ACCESS TO THIS
INNER SANCTUM WAS THROUGH A SERIES OF WELL-GUARDED
CORRIDORS, SYMBOLIC OF THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE
PRESIDENT AND THE RWANDAN WORLD ON THE OUTSIDE WHICH HE
GOVERNS. I ASKED THE PRESIDENT IF THE EQUIPMENT WE HAD
FURNISHED THE PRESIDENCY (COMPUTERS, COPIERS, AND OTHER
OFFICE SUPPLIES) WAS WORKING WELL. HE SAID IT WAS BUT
THAT SOMEHOW HIS STAFF HAD MISSED OUT ON THE COMPUTER
TRAINING USAID HAD ORGANIZED. I PROMISED TO TRY TO

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ARRANGE THE REQUISITE TRAINING FOR THEM.RAWSON

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