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Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 26
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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ4731

PAGE 01 STATE 117859 160459Z
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INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 SMEC-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 OIGO-01 TEDE-00
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R 160452Z MAY 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 117859

FOLLOWING STATE 117859 DATED 12 MAY 95 SENT ACTION GENEVA,
INFO BUJUMBURA, DAR E SALAAM, KAMPALA, KIGALI, KINSHASA,
NAIROBI, ROME, USUN NY, BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.
QUOTE.

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 117859

GENEVA-RMA ROME-FODAG KAMPALA & NAIROBI-REFC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREF PREL RW
SUBJECT: RELOCATING RWANDAN REFUGEES
REF: (A) 95 KAMPALA 2353, (B) 95 GENEVA 3509, (C) 95 KIGALI 1370
CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 26

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES L. DARIS
DATE/CASE ID: 12 DEC 2001 200103617

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 27
Channel: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 117859 160459Z

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE USG POLICY ON RWANDA OVER THE LAST YEAR HAS BEEN TO WORK FOR THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE, VOLUNTARY/VOLUNTARY RETURN OF RWANDAN REFUGEES FROM BOTH THE NEW AND OLD CASELOAD. REGRETTABLY, RECENT ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE RWANDAN AUTHORITIES COMBINED WITH ONGOING REFUGEE FEAR AS WELL AS INTIMIDATION BY SOME REFUGEE LEADERS HAVE REDUCED REPATRIATION MOVEMENTS AMONG THE NEW CASELOAD OF RWANDAN REFUGEES TO ALMOST NIL. MOREOVER, IT SEEMS LIKELY, DESPITE OUR BEST EFFORTS, THAT CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO THE REPATRIATION OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS WILL NOT EXIST THIS YEAR. IN THE MEANTIME, THE PRESENCE OF CAMPS NEAR THE BORDERS IN EACH OF THE ASYLUM COUNTRIES REPRESENTS A SECURITY THREAT TO THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA AND CONVERSELY TO THE REFUGEES. WE HAVE THEREFORE CONCLUDED THAT IT IS TIME TO ENCOURAGE AN ACCELERATION OF THE UNHCR PLAN TO CREATE CAMPS MORE SUITABLE TO LONGER-TERM SELF SUFFICIENCY FURTHER AWAY FROM THE BORDERS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT UNHCR/GENEVA IS PRESENTLY NEGOTIATING THE RELOCATION OF FOUR CAMPS IN ZAIRE. THIS SHOULD HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT IN REDUCING THE GOR'S SECURITY CONCERNS ABOUT THE ZAIRIAN CAMPS. FOR THE KIBUMBA CAMP, WHICH IS WHERE WE BELIEVE THE PROCESS SHOULD BEGIN, THIS WILL HAVE THE ADDED ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFIT OF REMOVING PRESSURE ON THE NEARBY GORRILLA PRESERVE. WHILE, THE EXPENSE AND POTENTIAL DOWNSIDES OF MOVING CAMPS ARE MULTIPLE AND MANIFEST, WE HAVE LIMITED PROSPECTS FOR REVERSING THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL CAUSED BY THE MUTUALLY NEGATIVE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 117859 160459Z
REINFORCING ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF THE MORE EXTREME IN BOTH "CAMPS." WE UNDERSTAND FROM INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS THAT THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS BELIEVE MOVING THE CAMPS AT THIS JUNCTURE IS NOT WELL ADVISED. NEVERTHELESS,

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 27

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 28
 Channel: n/a

MISSION/GENEVA IS REQUESTED TO ALERT THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE TO OUR VIEWS AND ADVISE FURTHER ON THEIR PLANS FOR MOVING ZAIRIAN CAMPS. END SUMMARY.

3. A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE USC POLICY ON RWANDA OVER THE LAST YEAR HAS BEEN TO WORK FOR THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE, VOLUNTARY/VOLUNTARY RETURN OF RWANDAN REFUGEES FROM BOTH THE NEW (I.E., POST APRIL 1994) AND OLD CASELOAD (I.E., FROM THE 1959, EARLY 1960S ERA). WE HAVE SEEN THIS AS A KEY COMPONENT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND OF STABILIZING THE REGION. THE PLAN OF ACTION ADOPTED BY ALL OF THE PLAYERS AT THE FEBRUARY REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE IN BUJUMBURA ENVISIONED, INTER ALIA, RENEWED REPATRIATION EFFORTS COUPLED WITH MOVING THE RESIDUAL (HOPEFULLY SMALL) REFUGEE POPULATION TO MORE SUITABLE CAMPS FURTHER FROM THE BORDERS AND OUT FROM UNDER THE SWAY OF EX-FAR AND EX-IGOR ELEMENTS. REGRETTABLY, RECENT ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE RWANDAN AUTHORITIES COMBINED WITH ONGOING REFUGEE FEAR AS WELL AS INTIMIDATION BY THOSE AMONG THE REFUGEE LEADERS WHO ARE LEFT OVER FROM THE OLD REGIME HAVE REDUCED REPATRIATION MOVEMENTS (AMONG THE NEW CASELOAD OF RWANDAN REFUGEES) TO ALMOST NIL. WITH REGARD TO ZAIRE PARTICULARLY (BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY), MILITARY TRAINING AROUND AND/OR IN REFUGEE CAMPS COUPLED WITH CROSS-BORDER ATTACKS INTO RWANDA HAVE HEIGHTENED THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT'S SENSE OF INSECURITY AND LEGITIMATE OUTRAGE THAT REFUGEE CAMPS AND RESOURCES SHOULD BE MISUSED. THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES THAT HAVE BEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 117859 160459Z
 PART OF OUR OVERALL STRATEGY -- THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, THE REHABILITATION OF THE RWANDAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM, THE PRESENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND OF UNAMIR -- HAVE EITHER NOT HAD THE INTENDED EFFECT OR ARE SO EMBRYONIC THAT THEIR INTENDED EFFECTS ARE YET TO BE REALIZED.

4. AGAINST THIS BACKDROP, WE CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS TIME TO ENCOURAGE AN ACCELERATION OF THE UNHCR PLAN TO CREATE CAMPS MORE SUITABLE TO LONGER-TERM SELF SUFFICIENCY FURTHER AWAY FROM THE BORDERS IN ZAIRE AND TANZANIA, AND

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 28

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 29
 Channel: n/a

EVEN PERHAPS IN BURUNDI. WE UNDERSTAND FROM REF B AND OTHER DISCUSSIONS THAT UNHCR HAS REACHED A SIMILAR CONCLUSION, AT LEAST WITH RESPECT TO THE CAMPS IN ZAIRE, AND HAS PLANS TO RELOCATE, AS FIRST STEPS, THE KIBUMBA AND MUGUNGU CAMPS IN NORTH KIVU AND THE BIRAVA AND HONGA CAMPS IN SOUTH KIVU. RELOCATION OF THE KIBUMBA CAMP WOULD HAVE THE ADDED ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFIT OF REMOVING PRESSURE ON THE NEARBY GORRILLA PRESERVE. MORE DISCUSSIONS ABOUT RELOCATION IN TANZANIA MAY HAVE TO AWAIT THE CONCLUSION OF THE OCTOBER ELECTIONS. SIMILARLY, BURUNDI MAY BE TOO TENSE TO CONSIDER RELOCATIONS UNTIL THE ISSUE OF THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED IS SETTLED.

5. THE EXPENSE AND POTENTIAL DOWNSIDES OF SWITCHING TO AN APPROACH OF RELOCATING REFUGEES BEFORE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES HAVE REDUCED THE REFUGEE POPULATION TO A MORE MANAGEABLE (AND DIGESTIBLE FOR THE ASYLUM COUNTRIES) SIZE ARE MULTIPLE AND MANIFEST: COST, ASYLUM COUNTRY RELUCTANCE TO DATE TO SHOW ANY WILLINGNESS
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 117859 160459Z
 TO CONSIDER LONGER-TERM REFUGEE SETTLEMENT, REFUGEE ATTITUDES (THOSE AMONG THE REFUGEE CAMP POPULATION WHO HAVE AN INTEREST IN REMAINING WITHIN MILITARY STRIKING DISTANCE OF RWANDA MIGHT NOT AGREE TO MOVE AND MIGHT THREATEN TO JEOPARDIZE THE RELOCATION EFFORT), AND DELAY IN RESOLVING THE CURRENT REFUGEE SITUATION.

6. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE OF THE EQUATION: RELOCATION SHOULD IMPROVE THE SECURITY SITUATION; OAU AND INTERNATIONAL NORMS REQUIRE REFUGEE CAMPS TO BE AT LEAST 50 KMS FROM THE BORDER (IN THIS CASE WE THINK 50 KMS WOULD NOT/NOT BE A SUFFICIENT DISTANCE TO STOP -- THOUGH IT WOULD HINDER -- ATTACKS BY EXTREMIST ELEMENTS AMONG THE REFUGEES); THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THESE CAMPS ON THE BORDER HAS A DESTABILIZING EFFECT ON RWANDA AND THE SUBREGION; THE PROXIMITY OF THE CAMPS TO RWANDA ONLY FACILITATES BORDER INCURSIONS (WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN ATTACKS INTO RWANDA AND AT LEAST ONE ATTACK ON A REFUGEE

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 29

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 30
 Channel: n/a

CAMP IN ZAIRE THAT APPARENTLY WAS LAUNCHED FROM RWANDA); THE GOR HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT PUT UP WITH A CONTINUATION OF THE INCURSIONS, BANDITRY AND GENERAL INSECURITY CAUSED BY THESE NEARBY CAMPS; MOVING THE CAMPS SHOULD NOT ONLY IMPROVE SECURITY BUT ALSO FOSTER A GREATER SENSE OF SECURITY WITHIN RWANDA, WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND CREATION OF AN ATMOSPHERE THAT IS MORE CONDUCTIVE IN THE LONG RUN TO VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION.

7. WEIGHING THE ABOVE WITH THE CURRENT DOWNWARD SPIRAL AND OUR LIMITED PROSPECTS FOR REVERSING IT (I.E., BETWEEN THE PROVERBIAL ROCK AND A HARD PLACE), WE CONCLUDE THAT
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 117859 160459Z
 IT IS TIME TO MOVE AHEAD WITH RELOCATION. MOVING THE CAMPS COULD CONCEIVABLY WEAKEN THE EXTREMISTS, BUT IN ANY EVENT, IN ORDER TO AVOID STRENGTHENING THEIR HAND BY SENDING A SIGNAL THAT THE TWO MILLION NEW REFUGEES HAVE NO NEAR-TERM PROSPECTS FOR RETURN HOME (AND RECOUPING LANDS) AND RISK RECREATING THE SAME DISENFRANCHISED OUTLOOK THAT SPAWNED THE RPF AMONG THE EARLIER REFUGEES WITH STILL MORE VIOLENCE SOME YEARS IN THE FUTURE, WE BELIEVE THAT RELOCATION MUST BE CAST IN TERMS OF PUTTING REFUGEE CAMPS ON A MORE SELF-SUFFICIENT BASIS CONFORMING WITH INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF LOCATION AT SAFE DISTANCES FROM BORDERS AND SO ON. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A GRAVE MISTAKE TO CHARACTERIZE A RELOCATION AS "RESETTLEMENT" OF REFUGEES, THUS IMPLYING A MORE PERMANENT SITUATION.

8. THIS WILL OF COURSE REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT EXPENSES OF POLITICAL CAPITAL AND EVEN FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO ACHIEVE A CONSENSUS AMONG THE INTERESTED PARTIES. WE DID NOT/NOT RAISE THIS ISSUE AT THE LAST (APRIL 21) RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP IN VIEW OF INFORMAL SOUNDINGS WITH THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS WHO INDICATED THAT THEY DO NOT THINK MOVING THE CAMPS AT THIS JUNCTURE IS WELL ADVISED. IN MORE RECENT DISCUSSIONS, THE BELGIANS CONTINUED TO TAKE THE VIEW THAT RELOCATION WOULD UNDERCUT

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 30

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 31
Channel: n/a

THE PROSPECTS FOR AN EVENTUAL NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CRISIS. WE ARE PREPARED, NEVERTHELESS, TO UNDERTAKE CONSULTATIONS TO GARNER THE NECESSARY SUPPORT FOR A PHASED RELOCATION, BEGINNING WITH KIBUMBA AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 117859 160459Z
9. FOR GENEVA: MISSION IS REQUESTED TO ALERT THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE (UNHCR) TO OUR VIEWS, ENCOURAGING A RAPID RELOCATION OF THE FOUR CAMPS, AND ADVISE ON THE STATUS OF THEIR PLANNING FOR THIS MOVE, AND INFORM THEM THAT WE WILL BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THEIR PLANS IN CAPITALS AS THEY DEVELOP.
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CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 31

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 32
Channel: n/a

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ9491

PAGE 01 STATE 117859 122346Z
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	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/038R

DRAFTED BY: PRM/AAA: MJMCKELVEY
APPROVED BY: PRM: PEOAKLEY
AF/FO: PXBUSHNELL (DRAFT)
IO/ESA: MJPOLLACK (DRAFT)
PRM: CLSYKES (DRAFT)
AF/RA: TBFRIEDMAN
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION:
DRL, IO/UNP, USAID/BHR, PM

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TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 32

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 33
 Channel: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 117859 122346Z
 C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 117859

GENEVA-RMA ROME-FODAG KAMPALA & NAIROBI-REFC

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREF PREL RW
 SUBJECT: RELOCATING RWANDAN REFUGEES
 REF: (A) 95 KAMPALA 2353, (B) 95 GENEVA 3509, (C) 95 KIGALI 1370

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE USG POLICY ON RWANDA OVER THE LAST YEAR HAS BEEN TO WORK FOR THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE, VOLUNTARY/VOLUNTARY RETURN OF RWANDAN REFUGEES FROM BOTH THE NEW AND OLD CASELOAD. REGRETTABLY, RECENT ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE RWANDAN AUTHORITIES COMBINED WITH ONGOING REFUGEE FEAR AS WELL AS INTIMIDATION BY SOME REFUGEE LEADERS HAVE REDUCED REPATRIATION MOVEMENTS AMONG THE NEW CASELOAD OF RWANDAN REFUGEES TO ALMOST NIL. MOREOVER, IT SEEMS LIKELY, DESPITE OUR BEST EFFORTS, THAT CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO THE REPATRIATION OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS WILL NOT EXIST THIS YEAR. IN THE MEANTIME, THE PRESENCE OF CAMPS NEAR THE BORDERS IN EACH OF THE ASYLUM COUNTRIES REPRESENTS A SECURITY THREAT TO THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA AND CONVERSELY TO THE REFUGEES. WE HAVE THEREFORE CONCLUDED THAT IT IS TIME TO ENCOURAGE AN ACCELERATION OF THE UNHCR PLAN TO CREATE CAMPS MORE SUITABLE TO LONGER-TERM SELF SUFFICIENCY FURTHER AWAY FROM THE BORDERS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT UNHCR/GENEVA IS PRESENTLY NEGOTIATING THE RELOCATION OF FOUR CAMPS IN ZAIRE. THIS SHOULD HAVE A SIGNIFICANT

CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 33

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 34
 Channel: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 117859 122346Z
 IMPACT IN REDUCING THE GOR'S SECURITY CONCERNS ABOUT THE ZAIRIAN CAMPS. FOR THE KIBUMBA CAMP, WHICH IS WHERE WE BELIEVE THE PROCESS SHOULD BEGIN, THIS WILL HAVE THE ADDED ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFIT OF REMOVING PRESSURE ON THE NEARBY GORRILLA PRESERVE. WHILE, THE EXPENSE AND POTENTIAL DOWNSIDES OF MOVING CAMPS ARE MULTIPLE AND MANIFEST, WE HAVE LIMITED PROSPECTS FOR REVERSING THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL CAUSED BY THE MUTUALLY NEGATIVE REINFORCING ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF THE MORE EXTREME IN BOTH "CAMPS." WE UNDERSTAND FROM INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS THAT THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS BELIEVE MOVING THE CAMPS AT THIS JUNCTURE IS NOT WELL ADVISED. NEVERTHELESS, MISSION/GENEVA IS REQUESTED TO ALERT THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE TO OUR VIEWS AND ADVISE FURTHER ON THEIR PLANS FOR MOVING ZAIRIAN CAMPS. END SUMMARY.

3. A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE USG POLICY ON RWANDA OVER THE LAST YEAR HAS BEEN TO WORK FOR THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE, VOLUNTARY/VOLUNTARY RETURN OF RWANDAN REFUGEES FROM BOTH THE NEW (I.E., POST APRIL 1994) AND OLD CASELOAD (I.E., FROM THE 1959, EARLY 1960S ERA). WE HAVE SEEN THIS AS A KEY COMPONENT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND OF STABILIZING THE REGION. THE PLAN OF ACTION ADOPTED BY ALL OF THE PLAYERS AT THE FEBRUARY REGIONAL REFUGEE CONFERENCE IN BUJUMBURA ENVISIONED, INTER ALIA, RENEWED REPATRIATION EFFORTS COUPLED WITH MOVING THE RESIDUAL (HOPEFULLY SMALL) REFUGEE POPULATION TO MORE SUITABLE CAMPS FURTHER FROM THE BORDERS AND OUT FROM UNDER THE SWAY OF EX-FAR AND EX-IGOR ELEMENTS. REGRETTABLY, RECENT ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE RWANDAN AUTHORITIES COMBINED WITH ONGOING REFUGEE FEAR AS WELL AS INTIMIDATION BY THOSE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 117859 122346Z
 AMONG THE REFUGEE LEADERS WHO ARE LEFT OVER FROM THE OLD REGIME HAVE REDUCED REPATRIATION MOVEMENTS (AMONG THE NEW CASELOAD OF RWANDAN REFUGEES) TO ALMOST NIL. WITH REGARD

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 34

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 35
Channel: n/a

TO ZAIRE PARTICULARLY (BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY), MILITARY TRAINING AROUND AND/OR IN REFUGEE CAMPS COUPLED WITH CROSS-BORDER ATTACKS INTO RWANDA HAVE HEIGHTENED THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT'S SENSE OF INSECURITY AND LEGITIMATE OUTRAGE THAT REFUGEE CAMPS AND RESOURCES SHOULD BE MISUSED. THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES THAT HAVE BEEN PART OF OUR OVERALL STRATEGY -- THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, THE REHABILITATION OF THE RWANDAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM, THE PRESENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND OF UNAMIR -- HAVE EITHER NOT HAD THE INTENDED EFFECT OR ARE SO EMBRYONIC THAT THEIR INTENDED EFFECTS ARE YET TO BE REALIZED.

4. AGAINST THIS BACKDROP, WE CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS TIME TO ENCOURAGE AN ACCELERATION OF THE UNHCR PLAN TO CREATE CAMPS MORE SUITABLE TO LONGER-TERM SELF SUFFICIENCY FURTHER AWAY FROM THE BORDERS IN ZAIRE AND TANZANIA, AND EVEN PERHAPS IN BURUNDI. WE UNDERSTAND FROM REF B AND OTHER DISCUSSIONS THAT UNHCR HAS REACHED A SIMILAR CONCLUSION, AT LEAST WITH RESPECT TO THE CAMPS IN ZAIRE, AND HAS PLANS TO RELOCATE, AS FIRST STEPS, THE KIBUMBA AND MUGUNGU CAMPS IN NORTH KIVU AND THE BIRAVA AND HONGA CAMPS IN SOUTH KIVU. RELOCATION OF THE KIBUMBA CAMP WOULD HAVE THE ADDED ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFIT OF REMOVING PRESSURE ON THE NEARBY GORRILLA PRESERVE. MORE DISCUSSIONS ABOUT RELOCATION IN TANZANIA MAY HAVE TO AWAIT THE CONCLUSION OF THE OCTOBER ELECTIONS. SIMILARLY, BURUNDI MAY BE TOO TENSE TO CONSIDER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 117859 122346Z
RELOCATIONS UNTIL THE ISSUE OF THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED IS SETTLED.

5. THE EXPENSE AND POTENTIAL DOWNSIDES OF SWITCHING TO AN APPROACH OF RELOCATING REFUGEES BEFORE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES HAVE REDUCED THE REFUGEE POPULATION TO A MORE MANAGEABLE (AND DIGESTIBLE FOR THE ASYLUM COUNTRIES) SIZE ARE MULTIPLE AND MANIFEST: COST, ASYLUM COUNTRY RELUCTANCE TO DATE TO SHOW ANY WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER LONGER-TERM REFUGEE SETTLEMENT, REFUGEE

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 35

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 36
 Channel: n/a

ATTITUDES (THOSE AMONG THE REFUGEE CAMP POPULATION WHO HAVE AN INTEREST IN REMAINING WITHIN MILITARY STRIKING DISTANCE OF RWANDA MIGHT NOT AGREE TO MOVE AND MIGHT THREATEN TO JEOPARDIZE THE RELOCATION EFFORT), AND DELAY IN RESOLVING THE CURRENT REFUGEE SITUATION.

6. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE OF THE EQUATION: RELOCATION SHOULD IMPROVE THE SECURITY SITUATION; OAU AND INTERNATIONAL NORMS REQUIRE REFUGEE CAMPS TO BE AT LEAST 50 KMS FROM THE BORDER (IN THIS CASE WE THINK 50 KMS WOULD NOT/NOT BE A SUFFICIENT DISTANCE TO STOP -- THOUGH IT WOULD HINDER -- ATTACKS BY EXTREMIST ELEMENTS AMONG THE REFUGEES); THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THESE CAMPS ON THE BORDER HAS A DESTABILIZING EFFECT ON RWANDA AND THE SUBREGION; THE PROXIMITY OF THE CAMPS TO RWANDA ONLY FACILITATES BORDER INCURSIONS (WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN ATTACKS INTO RWANDA AND AT LEAST ONE ATTACK ON A REFUGEE CAMP IN ZAIRE THAT APPARENTLY WAS LAUNCHED FROM RWANDA); THE GOR HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT PUT UP WITH A CONTINUATION OF THE INCURSIONS, BANDITRY AND GENERAL INSECURITY CAUSED BY THESE NEARBY CAMPS; MOVING THE CAMPS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 117859 122346Z
 SHOULD NOT ONLY IMPROVE SECURITY BUT ALSO FOSTER A GREATER SENSE OF SECURITY WITHIN RWANDA, WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND CREATION OF AN ATMOSPHERE THAT IS MORE CONDUCTIVE IN THE LONG RUN TO VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION.

7. WEIGHING THE ABOVE WITH THE CURRENT DOWNWARD SPIRAL AND OUR LIMITED PROSPECTS FOR REVERSING IT (I.E., BETWEEN THE PROVERBIAL ROCK AND A HARD PLACE), WE CONCLUDE THAT IT IS TIME TO MOVE AHEAD WITH RELOCATION. MOVING THE CAMPS COULD CONCEIVABLY WEAKEN THE EXTREMISTS, BUT IN ANY EVENT, IN ORDER TO AVOID STRENGTHENING THEIR HAND BY SENDING A SIGNAL THAT THE TWO MILLION NEW REFUGEES HAVE NO NEAR-TERM PROSPECTS FOR RETURN HOME (AND RECOUPING LANDS) AND RISK RECREATING THE SAME DISENFRANCHISED OUTLOOK THAT SPAWNED THE RPF AMONG THE EARLIER REFUGEES WITH STILL MORE VIOLENCE SOME YEARS IN THE FUTURE, WE

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 36

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1995STATE117859

Page: 37
Channel: n/a

BELIEVE THAT RELOCATION MUST BE CAST IN TERMS OF PUTTING REFUGEE CAMPS ON A MORE SELF-SUFFICIENT BASIS CONFORMING WITH INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF LOCATION AT SAFE DISTANCES FROM BORDERS AND SO ON. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A GRAVE MISTAKE TO CHARACTERIZE A RELOCATION AS "RESETTLEMENT" OF REFUGEES, THUS IMPLYING A MORE PERMANENT SITUATION.

8. THIS WILL OF COURSE REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT EXPENSES OF POLITICAL CAPITAL AND EVEN FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO ACHIEVE A CONSENSUS AMONG THE INTERESTED PARTIES. WE DID NOT/NOT RAISE THIS ISSUE AT THE LAST (APRIL 21) RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP IN VIEW OF INFORMAL SOUNDINGS WITH THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS WHO INDICATED THAT THEY DO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 117859 122346Z
NOT THINK MOVING THE CAMPS AT THIS JUNCTURE IS WELL ADVISED. IN MORE RECENT DISCUSSIONS, THE BELGIANS CONTINUED TO TAKE THE VIEW THAT RELOCATION WOULD UNDERCUT THE PROSPECTS FOR AN EVENTUAL NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CRISIS. WE ARE PREPARED, NEVERTHELESS, TO UNDERTAKE CONSULTATIONS TO GARNER THE NECESSARY SUPPORT FOR A PHASED RELOCATION, BEGINNING WITH KIBUMBA AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

9. FOR GENEVA: MISSION IS REQUESTED TO ALERT THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE (UNHCR) TO OUR VIEWS, ENCOURAGING A RAPID RELOCATION OF THE FOUR CAMPS, AND ADVISE ON THE STATUS OF THEIR PLANNING FOR THIS MOVE, AND INFORM THEM THAT WE WILL BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THEIR PLANS IN CAPITALS AS THEY DEVELOP.
CHRISTOPHER

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 37