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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 3, 1994

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DECL: OADR

TO: AF - George E. Moose  
THROUGH: AF - Prudence Bushnell  
FROM: AF/C - Arlene Render *AR*  
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Rwandan President Bizimungu  
Grand Hotel, 2350 M Street, Oct. 5, 11:45 AM

I. PARTICIPANTS AND PURPOSE

President Bizimungu is on his first trip to the United States. He will probably seek U.S. assistance in several areas, including reestablishing government and other basic services, paying off World Bank arrears, help in rebuilding the country, action to neutralize the threat posed by the former Rwandan army in exile (the ex-FAR), and prompt prosecution of those who committed genocide and other atrocities.

We should express our willingness to assist the GOR, but in turn should press the GOR to uphold the principles of Arusha through broadening the government's political/ethnic base, incorporating acceptable elements of the ex-FAR into the new country's army, and moving toward democracy and true reconciliation. We should express our serious concern over reports of RPF human rights abuses and urge the GOR to be proactive in response to the disturbing reports of killings in the southeast. Finally, we should reaffirm our commitment to see that those responsible for genocide are brought to justice.

Bizimungu may be accompanied by Foreign Minister Ndagijimana (who attended the UNGA), Justice Minister Nkubito, Director of Cabinet Emmanuel Gasana, Presidential advisor (and former local RPF representative) Charles Murigande, and the newly arrived Charge for the Rwandan Embassy, Joseph Mutaboba. (The new Ambassador, former Foreign Minister Anastase Gasana, is not expected to arrive in Washington until later this month.) DAS Bushnell and Kevin Aiston will accompany you to the President's hotel for the meeting.

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97D241 #1879  
"94 Rwanda Briefing Papers"

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW  
AUTHORITY: HARRY R. MELONE

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II. TALKING POINTSFuture Assistance and GOR Performance

- We welcome your statements emphasizing the need for refugee repatriation. We urge you to work to establish the necessary conditions in Rwanda that will promote and permit the safe, voluntary return of the refugees.
- We understand that you will need assistance to create these conditions, including reestablishing basic government services, a judicial and financial systems, infrastructure and other essentials.
- We are willing to assist Rwanda in its recovery. However, we, in turn, need to see concrete action from your government to uphold your commitment to the principles of the Arusha accord and facilitate refugee return and, ultimately, national reconciliation.

Refugee Return and Reconciliation

- The refugees need to be assured they can return in security to their property and resume their livelihood. They must be confident that their government will protect their interests.
- To reassure the refugees, your government should publicly reaffirm its commitment to the Arusha accord, including a promise to broaden the base of the government, integrate ex-FAR soldiers, and move ultimately to elections.
- Your government needs to reach out to the refugees and broaden its base of political support. The installation of the new National Assembly offers an excellent opportunity to expand the base of the government.
- You need to initiate meaningful contacts with the Hutu diaspora concerning repatriation and reconciliation.

Security in the Camps

- We welcome your contacts with the Zairian government to resolve issues related to repatriation and encourage you to continue to work with Zaire on this problem.
- You need to pursue seriously integration of acceptable elements of the former Rwandan army in exile into the new army, or into civilian society. Moderate ex-FAR officers should be given responsible positions in the new army.
- Meanwhile, the UN and the international community are actively examining ways to address security in the camps and border areas. We are awaiting the findings of the UN committee of experts on this issue.

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Security in Rwanda/Reports of RPF Abuses

- We understand your concern for security. However, we are concerned about reports of heavy RPA presence in the countryside, sweeps in civilian areas for weapons, and frequent arrests and disappearances of persons fingered by others as war criminals. These activities are intimidating some refugees and displaced persons and inhibiting their return home.
- The international community can help with internal security. UNAMIR is being expanded to help assure security, and investigations by the Commission of Experts and planned war crimes tribunal can identify and pursue those responsible for the genocide and war crimes.

Reports of RPF Atrocities

- Reprisals and attacks on civilians must be stopped. The international community can help, through deployment of UNAMIR and human rights monitors, but in the end it is the responsibility of your government to protect its civilians.
- We are deeply concerned by the reports of killings and attacks on civilians in the east and south.
- We welcome the government's willingness to cooperate with the UN investigation. Recent criticism of the UNHCR, however, is not helpful. We urge you to take a constructive approach, including public statements reassuring the population and prompt and effective action to end any abuses.
- You may wish to name a point person within your government on all human right matters, who will have full authority to investigate, work with the UN, and see that the government takes appropriate action to end any abuses.

Accountability

- We assure you that we are doing everything we can to see that those responsible for genocide and other atrocities are brought to justice.
- We are pressing for quick UN approval of an international war crimes tribunal, and we are looking at ways the international community can assist you in reviving your judicial system.

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### III. BACKGROUND

#### Future Assistance/GOR Performance

The new government lacks staff, resources, and basic necessities. The GOR's only functional organization is the RPF army (RPA). The GOR has built up over \$4 million in World Bank arrears, which will grow to \$7.5 million by early 1995. The recent donors meeting in Paris produced no real commitments. The GOR has asserted its commitment to the Arusha principles of powersharing, democracy, and the rule of law. However, the RPF's predominant role in the government, its reluctance to hold elections within the two years set by Arusha, and reports of RPA attacks on Hutus have caused donors to go slow in resuming regular bilateral aid.

The U.S. has provided over \$170 million in relief aid, DoD in-kind relief aid is estimated at \$100 million, and supplemental funding is in the works to cover the costs of Operation Support Hope, which ended on September 30. AID had planned on an FY-95 development budget of \$5 million, plus \$3 million remaining from prior years. U/S Wirth has tasked the Embassy to evaluate actual needs so that we can determine appropriate funding levels.

#### Refugee Return/Reconciliation

About 2 million (new) refugees remain outside Rwanda, with up to 2 million displaced inside Rwanda. Tutsi refugees from the 1960's have returned in large numbers (perhaps 300,000), taking over land abandoned by fleeing Hutus. Many refugees do not trust the RPF; recent reports of RPF atrocities have heightened their fear. Many, perhaps most, refugees do not accept the RPF-dominated coalition government in Kigali. The RPA's frequent arrests of suspected (Hutu) war criminals and sweeps through civilian areas to seize arms are not reassuring the population.

#### Security in the Camps

The ex-FAR and Hutu extremist militias are intimidating refugees and hindering repatriation. The UN Committee of Experts is still in Zaire studying the feasibility of separating the ex-FAR from the refugees; they should complete their mission around October 9. Some of the ex-FAR troops have already left the Goma area and may be preparing for incursions into Rwanda. The GOR says the RPA is "absorbing" acceptable members of the ex-FAR, but recent reports suggest most are being held in re-education camps. As far as we know, the RPA has not taken on any ex-FAR officers. Moderate ex-FAR officers that have been allowed back are unemployed and under surveillance.

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Security in Rwanda/Alleged RPF Atrocities

The UNHCR/Gersony report on alleged widespread, systematic killings by the RPA is still being drafted. We expressed our serious concern to the GOR, which has agreed to cooperate in a UN investigation. The UN does not plan to release written findings until the investigation is completed. UNAMIR peacekeepers have been dispatched to the southeast, where the reports have centered.

At last count, UNAMIR had about 4200 troops on the ground. The Indians were to start self-deploying a battalion at the end of September, with completion on October 16. The Tunisians are set to deploy an initial contingent on October 5, with deployment of the remainder of the battalion also by October 16. The Zambian battalion is deployed as the GOZ discusses load and equipment lists with the UN. The UN has not asked for U.S. assistance for these deployments. (We are airlifting a company of Malians in the near future.)

The initial 26 UN human rights monitors should have arrived in country by now. The U.S. contributed \$750,000 toward the cost of the initial contingent. Expansion to 147 monitors will increase total costs by \$8-10 million.

Accountability.

With strong U.S. encouragement, the UN Commission of Experts recommended creation of a war crimes tribunal in its interim report, released last week. To expedite the process, we are pressing for a Security Council resolution to create a tribunal which would share appellate courts, prosecutors, and possibly other elements with the Yugoslav tribunal. The USG seconded an FSO to the Commission of Experts and currently has a five-person war crimes investigation team in Rwanda.

Attachments:

Biographic Information

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