### RÉPUBLIQUE DÉMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO



Le Président

April 6, 2002

Mr George W Bush President of the United States of America 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue Washington D C

Dear President Bush.

I am writing to you a matter that is to close our hearts and is à matter of world significance

Since the terrible tragedy of september 11, I have been thinking a lot about the world situation – the fight against terrorism, the lack of democracy in the world and the fight against corruption. I understand and agree with your view that there are 'good nations and good leaders' and 'bad nations and bad leaders' – the latter being a burden on their own people

My thoughts have led me to the conclusion that in order for the Democratic Republic of Congo to progress, to utilize our rich, natural ressources, to develop a modern, free economy and to give our citizens the true freedom they deserve, we need to implement change. That change would be a chage toward a Democratic state – and we can only achieve this with the help of the United States.

As you said in a speech you gave just after september 11 at the United Nations' some nations want to play their part against terror, but tell us they lack the means to enforce their laws and control their borders. We stand ready to help'. So Mr President — We need this help. We are ready to cooperate in any way with the Government, CIA and other intelligence agencies in order to rid ourselves of this menace.

I am also convinced that the way to change the Democratic Republic of Congo to a true democratic state is by holding free and fair elections, again assisted by the United Nations. In one of your recent speeches Mr President, you stated that the United States will invest money in countries that will practice social reform. You said 'pouring money into a failed status quo does little to help the poor '— and you are right. This is the reason I am turning to you, for your assistance and guidance, to do just that—to help the Democratic Republic of Congo to change the status quo

The Democratic Republic of Congo is rich in many natural ressources, the most common of which are diamonds, copper, platinum and oil, however in order to utilize this potential to establish the structure of a modern and free economy, we must rid ourselves of unwanted obligations to occupying nations that are exploiting these ressources.

Please accept my appointed emissary, Mr Dan Gertler, a respected and well known international businessman, to speak on my behalf for the needs of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Mr Gertler is an old and trusted friend and I am confident that he will convey to the American Administration the true intentions and motivations of my country to rid itself of destructive occupation, corruption and terrorism. Mr Gertler has conviced me to put trust in you and join the forces of good, rather than succumb to help offered by other nations, whom we doubt are on the good side

The Democratic Republic of Congo is one of the largest African nations. I believe that if we succeed in becoming a true and thriving democracy, we will be a shining example to other African nations in the region and to the world at large. I turn to you, Mr President, in helping the achieve this task, for the sake of my people and for the sake of the world.

Yours sincerely.

loseph KABILA

General Major

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

#### April 17, 2002

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for the letter outlining your desire for democratic progress in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Mr. Gertler presented your letter to Dr. Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor, and she asked that I reply on behalf of President Bush. As President Bush discussed with you last November in New York, the future of your country is in your hands, and the United States will remain a strong friend to help you realize Congo's great potential.

After extensive discussion with Mr. Gertler and careful review of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I would like to propose that we cooperate closely on the two areas necessary for national reconciliation and withdrawal of foreign troops:

- Establishing a transitional government that will prepare civil society for upcoming elections as well as the reintegration of former combatants.
- Establishing border security, especially with Rwanda by working with President Kagame to create a "security buffer zone" along the common border and helping to apprehend the Ex-Far/Interahamwe leadership that resides in Congo.

Mr. President, I appreciate the work that you have done and the courage that you have demonstrated. You have the full support of the Bush Administration in moving your country down the difficult and challenging road towards peace.

Sincerely,

Jendayi E. Frazer

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Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for

African Affairs

His Excellency
Joseph Kabila
President of the Democratic
Republic of the Congo
Kinshasa

Summary
of meetings and
correspondence
on behalf of the DRC
In The White House,
Washington DC
April- May 2002

By: Dan Gertler

#### SUMMARY OF MEETINGS AND CORRESPONDENCE

Between Mr Dan Gertler, Special Emissary to the Democratic Republic of Congo and colleague Mr Chaim Lebovits; President Bush's Administration of the United States of America; and President Joseph Kabila, Democratic Republic of Congo

#### Summary of People Met With:

Mi Dan Gertler, as Special Emissary to the Democratic Republic of Congo, together with his colleague, met with the following people during April-May 2002, in order to further the cause of democratization of the Democratic Republic of Congo and to rid the Democratic Republic of Congo of the Rwandan presence:

- President Joseph Kabila of Democratic Republic of Congo
- Dr Condoleezza Rice, National Security Adviser to President Bush, United States of America.
- Dr Jendayi Frazer, Special Assistant to the President of the United States and Senior Director for African Affairs

# Summary of written correspondence with the Bush Administration, United States of America, and with President Kabila, Democratic Republic of Congo:

- April 6, 2002 initial letter from President Kabila to President Bush
- April ... 2002 Letter from Dr. Jendayi Frazer on behalf of President Bush to President Kabila
- April 21, 2002 letter to President Bush from President Kabila upon being briefed by Mr Gertler of President Bush's response to his proposal.
- April 25, 2002 letter to Dr Condoleezza Rice from Mr Dan Gertler thanking her for her attention and conveying that President Kabila is keen to progress and requesting meeting.
- April 28, 2002 proposal to President Kabila from Mr Dan Gertler to facilitate modernization and restructuring of Democratic Republic of Congo.
- Strategic Paper summary for President Kabila by Mr Dan Gertler of meetings with White House including aims, strategy, requests, recommendations

Outcome of last trip to Washington and Democratic Republic of Congo in May 2002 by Mr Dan Gertler and colleague:

Mr Gertler and his colleague presented Dr Jendayi Frazer, Special Assistant to the President of the United States and Senior Director for African Affairs with the following situation:

- President Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo is ready to go ahead with all the United States' requests for the transition of the Democratic Republic of Congo to democracy and to rid the Democratic Republic of Congo of the Hutu Rwandan presence
- President Kabila realizes that in order to comply with all the requests of the United States, he will have to dismiss the Congolese Minister of Defense, as it is understood that he is a Zimbabwan sympathiser and is backed by Zimbabwe.
- President Kabila realizes the United States of America would like the Democratic Republic of Congo to stop backing the Hutu extremists.
- President Kabila has stopped the Inter-Congolese dialogue, however is continuing unofficial talks with the rebel RDC group (Rwandan Democratic Republic) One of the positive outcomes of the Inter-Congolese dialogue was to accept a Transitional Government President Kabila says that this will be implemented in June/July 2002, with the Ugandan backed MLC leader Jean-Pierre Bemba as Prime Minister and President Kabila as President.
- President Kabila and the Democratic Republic of Congo would like the United States of America to be involved in a serious way in the situation in the Congo.
   The Democratic Republic of Congo would like the United States' assistance in ridding the Democratic Republic of Congo of the Rwandan presence
- President Kabila would like the United States of America to realize and acknowledge that Rwanda is backing the rebel group RDC, Rwandan Democratic Republic within the Democratic Republic of Congo, and occupies approximately 30% of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Rwanda is a disruptive force in the Democratic Republic of Congo and President Kabila believes that the rebel movements and foreign armies are using the cloak of war to disguise what has become a blatant exercise in self-enrichment through the illegal plunder of scarce resources.
- President Kabila is willing to create a buffer zone and accept a United States
   Technical team, however a proper position must be taken on this, and a firm date to
   also terminate the buffer zone must be set

#### Main point of concern for President Kabila:

• President Kabila is concerned that he will undertake all the requirements of the United States of America, including stopping to back the Hutu extremists amongst other things, and may be left in a situation where Rwanda still refuses to pull out of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

- Response of Dr Jendayi Frazer, Special Assistant to the President of the United States and Senior Director for African African Affairs:
- Dr Frazer assured Mr Gertler and colleague that President Bush is interested in this matter and asks about its progress.
- Dr Frazer meets regularly with President Bush and Dr Condoleezza Rice and discusses the matter.
- President Bush is at present occupied with the Middle East, however is open to hearing about the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and is pleased President Kabila is moving toward democratization.
- The United States of America would like to see the Democratic Republic of Congo stop backing the Hutu extremists.
- The United States is willing to send a technical team, in addition to a United Nations team that is also ready to go to the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- The United States will not send a military team to the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- The United States is offering, as a first step, to undertake the following things:
- 1 Provide training for Congolese soldiers in the United States
- 2 AGOA -African Growth and Opportunity Act
- 3. Create a buffer zone which involves sending a United States technical team specializing in intelligence, army etc between the between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda.
  - Dr Frazer is willing to meet with President Kabila in the Democratic Republic
    of Congo together with Special Emissary Dan Gertler during her upcoming trip to
    the region with the United States Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues, Mr
    Richard Prosper. Ambassador Prosper will be visiting the region to discuss the
    establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
    and Rwanda.
- Dr Frazer is willing to prepare a meeting with President Bush, President Kabila and Prime Minister Mugabe of Rwanda.
- Dr Frazer said if she will meet with President Kabila she will try and obtain a letter from President Bush and/or Dr Rice to President Kabila.

In response to President Kabila's concern about complying with the United States' requests and then being put in a situation where the Rwandans will not leave the Democratic Republic of Congo, Dr Frazer replied as follows:

- In such a situation, Dr Frazer assures President Kabila that:
- The United States will pressure Rwandan officials privately to leave the Congo
- The United States will pressure Rwandan officials publicly to leave the Congo

- The United States will have its allies in the international community pressure the Rwandans to leave the Congo
- If all above fails, the United States will cut all ties with Rwanda
- Dr Frazer told Mr Gertler and Mr Lebovits that they can convey this information to President Kabila.

#### Conclusion:

- President Kabila does not see the point of attending a meeting with President Bush and Rwandan Prime Minister Mugabe, unless all three Presidents state beforehand their positions. He has attended such meetings before. In particular Prime Minister Mugabe must assure the others prior to the meeting that the Rwandan rebel RDC group will leave the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- President Kabila is faced with 2 options:
- Show that he is taking action, such as dismissing the Minister of Defense and then wait for the United States to give AGOA a chance, etc.
- or, go straight to the heart of the problem
- President Kabila chooses to undertake the second option (b) so to gain the full support of the USA and the international community
- If this option does not succeed, President Kabila is prepared to go to war.

#### Recommendation for the Future:

Mr Gertler and his colleague suggest to President Kabila that he begin strategic work for upcoming elections which will take place in the next few years. Mr Gertler proposes that a political strategist be brought in to undertake this task and build up President Kabila's popularity and strengthen his position in the country for re-election.