

RELEASED IN PART

B1

CONFIDENTIAL  
UNCLASSIFIED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AFRICAN AFFAIRS

OUTGOING

*TR* *GG for CW*

PAGE 01 OF 02 STATE 029560 301733Z  
ORIGIN AF-00

3961 AF8627

STATE 029560 301733Z

3961 AF8627

INFO AFL-01 AS-01 EPS-02 AFRA-01 PMA-01 EXED-01 ZF-02 BY-01  
ET-01 UG-01 TZ-01 AFP-01 RV-01 XV-01 /016 A2 JT

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 PPIP-01 CPR-02 C-01  
OAS-00 DODE-00 CISA-02 EB-00 EUR-00 WA-00 H-01  
INRE-00 INR-01 10-19 LAB-04 L-00 ADS-00 M-01  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PN-00 PRS-01  
P-01 SIL-00 SHP-00 SP-00 SR-00 SS-00 STR-17  
TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 RPE-00 /075R

2179

DRAFTED BY: AF/C: CSFULLER (WF)  
APPROVED BY: AF/C: RHPRINGLE  
AF/C: RCPORTER

-----964198 301735Z /38

P 301731Z JAN 93  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BOMN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 029560

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: MOPS PGOV PHUM RW  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: FRANTIC NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED IN KIGALI JANUARY 29 AMONG THE POLITICAL PARTIES AS THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER FINALLY AGREED TO MEET AND WORK TOWARDS COMPROMISE ON THE POLITICAL ISSUES. BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL UNCERTAINTIES, HABYARIMANA HAS CANCELED HIS TRIP TO THE U.S. TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PRAYER BREAKFAST. ALL FIVE PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT HAVE NOW INVITED THE RPF TO JOIN PARALLEL DISCUSSIONS SOMEWHERE OTHER THAN IN ARUSHA IN ORDER TO RECONCILE DISAGREEMENTS OVER THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL. TALKS DID BEGIN IN ARUSHA TODAY, HOWEVER, WITH THE RPF ISSUING DEMANDS FOR SPECIFIC SECURITY CONDITIONS THAT MUST BE MET BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN. IN THE MEANTIME, A GRAPHIC VIDEO DISTRIBUTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO RWANDA HAS BEEN AIRED ON TELEVISION IN GERMANY, BELGIUM, FRANCE, CANADA, AND THE U.S. FRENCH LANGUAGE CABLE PROGRAM, AND NEGATIVE REACTION IS GROWING. WE BELIEVE THE GOR WILL HAVE TO TAKE SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO PREVENT NON-RECURRENCE OF THE VIOLENCE. THE HRND AND CDR WHICH FOMENTED THE RECENT VIOLENCE MAY HAVE OVERPLAYED THEIR HAND AND LOST ANY REMAINING SYMPATHY FOR THEIR FEARS OF "MARGINALIZATION" IN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. BECAUSE OF POOR COMMUNICATIONS TO ARUSHA AND LATE-BREAKING JAN 29 EVENTS, THIS SUMMARY CABLE REFLECTS SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN AF/C, AMBASSADOR FLATEN IN KIGALI, ARUSHA OBSERVER ROBERT BENTLEY, AND AFRICA WATCH.

KIGALI NEGOTIATIONS

4. THE PARTY LEADERS IN KIGALI HAVE ACTED TO BREAK THE

POLITICAL IMPASSE OVER ARUSHA BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER, AND THE TWO WERE TO MEET JAN 29 IN KIGALI. MINISTER OF DEFENSE GASANA LEFT FOR ARUSHA AS HEAD OF DELEGATION WITH THE BLESSING OF THE PARTIES, BUT IS EXPECTED TO STAY ONLY UNTIL A COMPROMISE IS WORKED OUT OVER WHO HAS AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER IS PROTESTING THE WAY IN WHICH HE WAS RELIEVED OF HIS ARUSHA DUTIES, BUT NOT THAT HE WAS RELIEVED. ALL OF THE GOVERNMENT PARTIES, WHICH HAVE BEEN LOCKED IN NEGOTIATIONS ALL DAY, HAVE CALLED FOR AN END TO THE VIOLENCE WHICH TOOK OVER 300 LIVES IN THE LAST WEEK.

5. IN A COMMUNIQUE ISSUED JANUARY 27, THE FIVE PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSED A PARALLEL MEETING WITH THE RPF TO BE HELD SOMEWHERE OTHER THAN ARUSHA (BYUNBA HAS BEEN MENTIONED IN THE PAST) IN ORDER TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE OVER THE DISPUTED ARTICLES IN THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL. ACCORDING TO POLOFF BENTLEY IN ARUSHA, THE RPF HAS ACCEPTED THE MEETING IN PRINCIPLE, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THEY WILL AGREE TO ANYTHING SHACKING OF NEGOTIATIONS.

PRESIDENT'S TRIP CANCELED

6. [REDACTED] INFORMED AMBASSADOR FLATEN LATE JANUARY 29 THAT, GIVEN THE CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE, THE PRESIDENT HAD CANCELED HIS TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES TO ATTEND THE PRAYER BREAKFAST. A DIPLOMATIC NOTE FROM THE RWANDAN EMBASSY CITED "REASONS BEYOND THE PRESIDENT'S CONTROL."

[REDACTED] INFORMED US THAT HABYARIMANA WOULD NOT BE RECEIVED BY THE KING OF BELGIUM (AS HAD BEEN ARRANGED), NOR ANYONE ELSE, BECAUSE OF THE PUBLIC REACTION TO THE RECENT VIOLENCE IN RWANDA AND THE PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN BRUSSELS JANUARY 22.

ARUSHA TALKS BEGIN

7. MEANWHILE, BACK IN ARUSHA, THE RWANDAN DELEGATION, HEADED BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, ARRIVED JANUARY 28, OBTAINING TO NEGOTIATE MILITARY ISSUES. THE RPF ACCEPTED THE CHANGE OF NEGOTIATORS, BUT IMMEDIATELY ANNOUNCED TWO CONDITIONS THAT MUST BE MET BEFORE TALKS ON ANY SUBJECT MAY BEGIN. FIRST, THE GOR MUST GIVE GUARANTEES THAT THE MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS IN THE NORTHWEST WILL STOP, WILL BE INVESTIGATED, AND WILL NOT RECUR. SECOND, THE GOR MUST AGREE THAT THE OUTCOME OF ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE BINDING ON ALL POLITICAL FORCES IN RWANDA. COMMENT. EVEN IF THESE CONDITIONS ARE MET, THE RPF WANTS TO RESOLVE SEVERAL ISSUES SUCH AS CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL REFUGEES, INCLUDING THOSE BORN OUTSIDE OF RWANDA WHO ARE NOT

ELIGIBLE TO ENTER THE ARMY, AND THE MECHANISM FOR THE ARUSHA PROTOCOLS TO TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE CONSTITUTION. END COMMENT.)

8. IN A PLENARY SESSION FRIDAY AFTERNOON, THE RPF SPELLED OUT THE GUARANTEES IT REQUIRES CONCERNING THE RECENT VIOLENCE:

-- LOCAL AUTHORITIES (BOURGEMESTRES) WHERE THE MURDERS OCCURRED MUST BE FIRED;

United States Department of State  
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review  
Review Authority: HOLMES, EDWARD  
Date: 08/14/96

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

OUTGTING

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AFRICAN AFFAIRS

PAGE 02 OF 02 STATE 029560 301733Z

3961 AF8627

STATE 029560 301733Z

3961 AF8627

- THE HEAD OF THE GENDARMERIE MUST BE REPLACED;
- THE GENDARMERIE MUST BE PLACED UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PRIME MINISTER;
- THE GUILTY MUST BE PROSECUTED;
- FOREIGN TROOPS MUST BE WITHDRAWN;
- THE "DEATH SQUADS" MUST BE DISMANTLED.

9. GASAMA INDICATED THAT HE COULDN'T POSSIBLY COMPLY WITH THESE DEMANDS.

[REDACTED]

THE OBSERVERS WILL WORK WITH THE RWANDANS OVER THE WEEKEND TO LOOK FOR FLEXIBILITY.

10. THE RPF DELEGATION IS LED ONCE AGAIN BY PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, ASSISTED BY POLITICAL ADVISERS PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, ANDREW RWIGAMBA, AND FAUSTIN MUSARE--THE LATTER TWO CONNECTED TO KANYARENGWE'S OFFICE--AND EUSTACHIA AGASARO OF THE SECRETARIAT. THE MILITARY CONTINGENT CONSISTS OF FIELD COMMANDERS STANISLAS BISERUKA, CHARLES MUKIRE, NYAMUSA KAYUMBA, AND PIERRE NDOLIMANA.

[REDACTED]

HUMAN RIGHTS REACTIONS

10. ALONG WITH A PRESS RELEASE, MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO RWANDA HAVE RELEASED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES A GRAPHIC VIDEO OF SKULLS AND SKELETONS UNEARTHED BY THE FORENSIC TEAM DURING THE RECENT VISIT. THE TAPE HAS BEEN SHOWN ON GERMAN, BELGIAN, FRENCH, AND CANADIAN TV AND REBROADCAST ON A FRENCH-LANGUAGE CABLE PROGRAM IN WASHINGTON. AFRICA WATCH HAS SO FAR BEEN UNABLE TO FIND ANY AMERICAN STATIONS INTERESTED ENOUGH IN RWANDA TO RUN THE TAPE. (FYI. AF/C IS TRYING TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THE VIDEO TO SEND TO KIGALI. END FYI.) THOSE WHO HAVE SEEN THE TAPE HAVE BEEN HORRIFIED. SOME CANADIAN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ARE REPORTEDLY URGING A CUTOFF OF AID TO RWANDA. THE FRENCH EMBASSY HAS PROVIDED US THE TEXT OF STATEMENTS MADE BY THE QUAI ON JANUARY 28 AND 29 WHICH APPEAR TO BE RESPONDING TO

CRITICISM OF FRENCH INVOLVEMENT IN A COUNTRY SO PRONE TO VIOLENCE. (FYI. TEXT IS BEING FAXED TO KIGALI. END FYI.)

COMMENT

11. WITH INTERNATIONAL OPINION BEGINNING TO FOCUS ON THE HORRORS THAT WERE ONCE COMMONPLACE IN RWANDA, THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY WILL FIND IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN FAILURE TO CONTROL THE VIOLENCE. MANY HAVE COMMENTED SARCASTICALLY ON HIS MAKING AN INTERNATIONAL TRIP TO PRAY (AT THE WASHINGTON PRAYER BREAKFAST) WHILE HIS OWN PARTY WAS KILLING RWANDANS. THE RPF HAS CLEARLY BEEN HANDED A PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

12. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE RPF STATES THAT IT FINDS ITSELF IN AN INTOLERABLE SITUATION IN ARUSHA. WHILE ITS ARMY HAS BEEN COMPLYING (AT LEAST AS WELL AS THE GOR) WITH THE CEASEFIRE AND ITS LEADERSHIP NEGOTIATING IN ARUSHA, ITS MEMBERS HAVE SEEN RELATIVES KILLED IN WHAT THEY SEE AS A RECURRING PATTERN OF VIOLENCE FOMENTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY. THE ARUSHA DELEGATION MUST NOW BE SEEN TO TAKE AN EVEN HARDER LINE THAN IN THE PAST. IT IS CLEAR

THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE GOR WILL NEED TO TAKE SOME SIGNIFICANT ACTIONS TO GUARANTEE THAT THE VIOLENCE WILL NOT RECUR. IT WOULD ALSO APPEAR THAT THE BARGAINING POSITION OF THE MRND AND THE CDR HAS ERODED ALONG WITH THEIR CREDIBILITY, AND THAT IT WILL BE HARDER TO ELICIT INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY FOR THEIR FEARS OF "MARGINALIZATION" IN THE NEW TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

STATE OF AFRICA