

(E62)
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ACTION AF-01

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INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W	

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O 221515Z JAN 93
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2797
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 AMEMBASSY PARIS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE IM/IPS/CN/IR *ff* Date: JUN 12 1998
 RELEASE DECLASSIFY
 EXCISE DECLASSIFY EO Citations _____
 DENY IN PART

FOIA Exemptions _____ TS authority to
 PA Exemptions _____ CLASSIFY as S or C Sec. _____
 DOWNGRADE TS to S or C

SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 00262

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, RW
 SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROCESS - ONE STEP FORWARD,
 - TWO STEPS BACKWARD

REFS: (A) STATE 015323, (B) KIGALI 00151

1. ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAS NOT SIGNED THE MISSION ORDERS TO SEND A DELEGATION BACK TO ARUSHA ON JANUARY 25. THE MRND AND CDR HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR DISAPPROVAL WITH ROADBLOCKS AND THREATENED MORE VIOLENCE IF CHANGES ARE NOT MADE IN THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL, AND/OR THE NSENGIYAREMYE GOVERNMENT IS NOT DISMISSED. THE EC ECONOMIC POLITICAL COMMITTEE (EPC) ISSUED A PUBLIC STATEMENT TO SUPPORT THE JANUARY 9 ACCORD. IN A LETTER TO

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HABYARIMANA, PRESIDENT MITTERAND SUPPORTS THE ARUSHA PROCESS, BUT STOPS SHORT OF BLESSING THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL. THE PRIME MINISTER SEEKS A U.S. STATEMENT LIKE THE EUROPEAN, BUT IS WILLING TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MRND. I SEE THE PRESIDENT THIS EVENING, AND PLAN TO TELL HIM PRIVATELY THAT I SEE NO OTHER ROUTE AVAILABLE TO HIM THAN TO TRY TO BUILD ON THE ARUSHA PROTOCOLS AND TO KEEP THE MRND IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. I WILL ALSO PRESS HIM HARD ON THE INSECURITY WITHIN THE COUNTRY, AS I DID EARLIER TODAY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. END SUMMARY.

PROCESS DELAYED

3. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NO FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT, PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAS REPORTEDLY REFUSED TO SIGN THE ORDERS FOR THE RWANDAN DELEGATION TO RETURN TO ARUSHA JANUARY 25. HE IS SENDING A SPECIAL EMISSARY TO PRESIDENT MWINYI TO EXPLAIN THE DELAY, TO URGE THE GOT TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PROCESS, AND TO ASSURE

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MWINYI OF HIS COMMITMENT TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE TALKS. THE MRND HELD A PARTY LEADERSHIP MEETING JANUARY 21, AND DISCUSSIONS WITH THE OTHER PARTIES RESUME JANUARY 22. THE CDR AND SOME MRND LEADERS ARE CALLING FOR RENEGOTIATION OF THE ENTIRE ARUSHA PROTOCOL.

THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY

4. THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY FEELS LIKE THE LATEST ARUSHA PROTOCOL IS A DELAYED ACTION COUP D'ETAT. THIS PERCEPTION EXPLAINS THE CURIOUS PHENOMENON OF THE PRESIDENT'S OWN PARTY, THE MRND, MANNING BARRICADES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, CLOSING DOWN BUSINESSES AND PREVENTING ANY FORM OF TRAVEL (SEPTELS). THIS IS A LAST-DITCH EFFORT TO PREVENT THE REPLACEMENT OF THE HABYARIMANA REGIME WITH A COALITION OF "RPF AGGRESSORS AND THEIR INTERNAL ALLIES."

5. THERE ARE A FEW CALM VOICES IN THE MRND WHO STILL

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HOPE THAT AN UNDERSTANDING AND/OR, PERHAPS, AN
ADDENDUM TO THE PROTOCOL COULD ENABLE THE PRESIDENT
AND HIS PARTY TO PARTICIPATE HONESTLY IN THE
RECONCILIATION PROCESS. NATIONAL SECRETARY MATHIEU
NGIRUMPATSE WAS MAKING PROGRESS IN DISCUSSIONS WITH
THE OTHER PARTIES UNTIL HE FELL ILL WITH MALARIA LAST
WEEKEND. ENOCH RUHIGIRA HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY
DISCREDITED WITHIN THE PARTY BECAUSE HE WAS THE
CHAMPION OF INTER-PARTY DISCUSSIONS UNTIL THE FOREIGN

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MINISTER, WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S INSTRUCTIONS,
"BETRAYED" THE INTERNAL NEGOTIATIONS BY SIGNING THE
PROTOCOL OF JANUARY 9.

THE CDR

6. THE CDR HAS BEEN FLEXING ITS MUSCLES AT
ROADBLOCKS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHERE THE CDR AND

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[REDACTED]

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INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
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	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W	

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2798
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS

[REDACTED]

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROCESS - ONE STEP FORWARD,

THE INTERAHAMWE WERE ALMOST INTERCHANGEABLE, SHOWING
A TOTAL DISREGARD FOR THE RIGHTS OF TRAVELLERS OR
BUSINESS PEOPLE. THEY DID NOT SEEM TO BE
PARTICULARLY VIOLENT, EXCEPT WHEN CHALLENGED BY THE

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YOUTH MOVEMENTS FROM OTHER PARTIES. THEY HAVE BEEN
TREATED WITH KID GLOVES BY THE GENDARMES, WHO
APPARENTLY HAVE HAD INSTRUCTIONS TO AVOID VIOLENCE AT
ALL COST.

7. THE CDR IS STRIDENTLY ANTI-ARUSHA, INSISTING THAT
THE ENTIRE PROTOCOL BE RENEGOTIATED. CDR COUNSELOR
BARAYAGWISA TOLD DCM THAT THE CDR REJECTS NOT ONLY
ARTICLE 14, BUT ALSO ARTICLE 80 WHICH PROVIDES
CRITERIA FOR PARTIES WISHING TO BE PART OF THE
GOVERNMENT. THE CDR REJECTS ANY EFFORT BY ANYONE TO
PASS JUDGMENT ON THEIR POLICIES OR BEHAVIOR. BUT
THEY SEEM TO HAVE ONLY ONE TRULY INSISTENT AND FIRM
DEMAND, TO BE INCLUDED IN A SUBSTANTIAL WAY IN ANY
FUTURE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. THE CDR REJECTS THE
VERY IDEA THAT THEY MIGHT IN SOME WAY CHANGE THEIR
POLITICS OR BEHAVIOR IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE OTHER
PARTIES TO ACCEPT THEM.

THE CND DEBATE

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8. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA WAS SUMMONED BEFORE THE CND TO EXPLAIN HIS ACTIONS IN ARUSHA. ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 14, THE CND ACCEPTED THE MINISTER'S REQUEST FOR DELAY UNTIL JANUARY 21. CERTAINLY POSSIBLE DURING THIS DEBATE WAS A MOTION OF CENSURE. IT DIDN'T HAPPEN. AFTER A LONG DAY OF QUESTIONS, FORMER NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE MRND, EDOUARD KARAMERA, SUMMED UP THE DEBATE, THEN ASKED HIS COLLEAGUES WHAT SHOULD BE DONE, APPARENTLY

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INVITING A CENSURE MOTION. THERE WAS NO RESPONSE. THE CND IS MEETING AGAIN TODAY TO PREPARE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOLLOWING ITS DEBATE. WHAT THIS SEEMS TO MEAN IS THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT ASKED THE CND TO SACK THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AT LEAST NOT YET.

THE EUROPEAN REACTION

9. THE EPC HOSTED BY THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR RELEASED A STATEMENT THE AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 21 IN SUPPORT OF THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL ON POWER SHARING DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. (COPY FAXED TO AF/C.)

10. THIS WAS PRECEDED BY A WIDELY CIRCULATED LETTER WRITTEN BY THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT. DATED JANUARY 15. IT REPORTS ON A CONVERSATION WITH MR. WIL JAENEN, WHOSE OPINION WAS THAT THE RECENTLY SIGNED ACCORD, EVEN IF IT HAS CERTAIN IMPERFECTIONS, CONSTITUTES A GOOD SOLUTION IN THE SENSE THAT IT IS ANOTHER STEP TOWARD THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF ELECTIONS.

11. ALSO GIVEN WIDE CIRCULATION IN KIGALI IS A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MITTERAND IN RESPONSE TO A PREVIOUS ONE FROM HABYARIMANA. MITTERAND'S LETTER IS DATED JANUARY 18 AND SUPPORTS THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE DEFINITION OF CONDITIONS FOR THE TRANSITION. HE STATES THAT "ENCOURAGING RESULTS" HAVE ALREADY BEEN OBTAINED. WRITING ABOUT THE

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PROBLEM OF DISPLACED PERSONS, HE CONCLUDES THAT "THE
ACCORDS RECENTLY CONCLUDED IN ARUSHA SHOULD PERMIT"
THE RETURN OF THE DISPLACED. BUT MITTERAND DOES NOT
EXPLICITLY SUPPORT THE POWER-SHARING FORMULAS OF THE
JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S REACTION

12. AFTER HEARING THE EUROPEAN ANNOUNCEMENT, THE

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INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
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	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W	

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O 221515Z JAN 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2799
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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E.O. 12356: DECL:
OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROCESS - ONE STEP FORWARD,

PRIME MINISTER SUMMONED ME EARLY THIS MORNING TO SAY THAT HE HAD BEEN ASKED BY ALL OF THE PARTIES IN THE CONCERTATION GROUP TO SEEK THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ON THIS ACCORD. I TOLD THE PRIME

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MINISTER THAT WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE ARUSHA PROCESS, BUT WE HAVE NOT TAKEN A PUBLIC POSITION ON INDIVIDUAL PROVISIONS OF ANY OF THE PROTOCOLS. CLEARLY THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD LIKE THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE A STATEMENT SIMILAR TO THE ONE OF THE EPC.

13. I TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT IT WAS MY SENSE THAT THERE WAS STILL WORK TO BE DONE IN KIGALI ON DEVELOPING A CONSENSUS ON THE PROTOCOLS, AND ASKED HIM WHAT EFFORTS THEY WERE MAKING TO BRING THE MRND ALONG. HE THEN LISTED A LONG SERIES OF CRITIQUES OF THE BEHAVIOR OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. HE NOTED AGAIN THAT HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO SEE THE PRESIDENT SINCE DECEMBER 17, AND DESCRIBED SOME INFORMAL CONTACTS MADE WITH THE MRND ON JANUARY 19. HE NOTED THAT SOME DISCUSSIONS WERE RESUMING TODAY, JANUARY 22.

14. I URGED THE PRIME MINISTER TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO DRAW THE MRND AND ITS FRIENDS INTO AGREEMENT ON ARUSHA. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS NOT VERY INTERESTED. HE SAID THE MRND "MUST UNDERSTAND" THAT IT IS NOW A SMALL PARTY, THAT IT HAD NO RIGHT TO ASK FOR MORE CONSIDERATION, BECAUSE IT IS ALREADY OVERREPRESENTED IN THE GOVERNMENT WITH FIVE SEATS AND THE PRESIDENCY. I SAID IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANSITION WAS TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR AN ELECTION WHICH COULD BE FREE AND FAIR AND ENABLE THE PEOPLE TO DECIDE WHICH PARTIES WERE LARGER AND WHICH WERE SMALLER. I SAID I DO NOT SEE HOW IT IS POSSIBLE TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR

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SUCH AN ELECTION WITH A TRANSITION WHICH EXCLUDES

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MAJOR FACTIONS FROM THE PREPARATIONS. I TOLD THE
PRIME MINISTER THAT I WOULD BE SEEING THE PRESIDENT
THIS EVENING AND ASKED HOW HE FELT WE COULD BE
HELPFUL TO THIS PROCESS. WARMING SLIGHTLY TO THE
SUBJECT, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT THE ESSENTIAL
INGREDIENTS FROM THE MRND SIDE WOULD BE TO STOP
"TERRORISM", TO ENTER INTO DIALOGUE WITH THE OTHER
PARTIES WITH A NEGOTIATOR FOR THE MRND WHO HAD
AUTHORITY TO MAKE AGREEMENTS, AND TO IMMEDIATELY COME
TO GRIPS WITH THE QUESTION OF THE CLEAN UP OF THE
TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS
AWARE OF THE FINDINGS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP AND
INSISTED THAT THE MRND COULD NO LONGER SEEK TO HAVE
OTHER EMPLOYMENT FOR THE BOURGEMESTRES WHO HAD
FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THEIR
SUBJECTS.

HUMAN RIGHTS

15. SEPTEL PROVIDES A SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS BY
THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AFTER TWO
WEEKS IN RWANDA. THE REPORT, WHEN MADE PUBLIC, WILL
BE A POLITICAL BOMBSHELL IN KIGALI. IT WILL VALIDATE
MANY OF THE ACCUSATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE
RPF AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES OF OUTRAGEOUS
VIOLATIONS, PARTICULARLY JUST AFTER THE OCTOBER 1990
ATTACK. WHATEVER INCLINATION THE OPPOSITION PARTIES
MIGHT HAVE HAD TO COMPROMISE WITH HABYARIMANA AND HIS
PARTY WILL BE FURTHER ERODED AS THEY SEE THE
TARNISHED IMAGE OF HABYARIMAA CONFIRMED BY THE

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INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

SECURITY PROBLEMS

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16. THE MDR, PSD AND PL ROSE UP IN RIGHTEOUS ANGER AT THE MRND AND CDR ROADBLOCKS ON JANUARY 18, AND, IN SPITE OF MY BEST EFFORTS TO HOLD THEM OFF FOR A DAY OR TWO, THEY SENT THEIR YOUTH INTO THE FRAY ON

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
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	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W	

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O 221515Z JAN 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2800
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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SECTION 04 OF 04 KIGALI 00262

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROCESS - ONE STEP FORWARD,

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20. MOST OF THE INJURIES WERE THE RESULT OF CLASHES BETWEEN PARTY YOUTH GROUPS, NOT

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CLASHES WITH THE GENDARMES OR THE MILITARY. IN ONE SUCH CLASH, THE MRND YOUTH FOUND THEMSELVES ON THE

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LOSING END AND JUMPED OVER THE WALL INTO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY WAREHOUSE COMPOUND. STONES THROWN AT THEM BY THE MDR YOUTH ON THE OUTSIDE CAUSED MINOR DAMAGE TO A VEHICLE IN THE COMPOUND AND A MINOR INJURY TO ONE GUARD.

17. IN MY MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, I RAISED THE SECURITY ISSUE, POINTING OUT THAT IT WAS NOT JUST THE INTERAHAMWE AND THE CDR WHICH HAD RESORTED TO VIOLENCE. I TOLD HIM THAT SO FAR AS I WAS CONCERNED, THIS LEVEL OF VIOLENCE WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE, IT WAS PREVENTING MY EMBASSY AND AID PEOPLE FROM DOING THEIR JOBS, AND IF IT GOT ANY WORSE WOULD BE CLEARLY PRESENTING A DANGER TO THE DEPENDENTS IN THE COMMUNITY. I SAID I WOULD TELL HIM AND THE PRESIDENT BOTH THAT IF THIS CONTINUES TO BUILD UP AS THEIR ONLY MEANS OF DEALING WITH A POLITICAL PROBLEM, THEN I COULD NOT IN GOOD CONSCIENCE KEEP AMERICANS IN AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE THEY WERE UNABLE TO DO THEIR WORK PROPERLY AND WHERE THEIR FAMILIES WERE IN DANGER. I TOLD HIM ABOUT THE STONING BY THE MDR YOUTH OF OUR WAREHOUSE, AND INSISTED THAT HE COULD NOT SIMPLY ASK ME TO TELL THE PRESIDENT TO CLEAN UP THE MRND ACT, WITHOUT TAKING MEASURES ON THE MDR SIDE. BUT I AM AFRAID HE IS SO CONVINCED OF THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF HIS CAUSE AND OF THE GUILT OF THE OPPOSITION THAT THIS WARING DID NOT MAKE A DEEP IMPRESSION. I WILL NO DOUBT HEAR THE SAME PROFESSIONS OF INNOCENCE FROM THE PRESIDENT WHEN I SEE HIM THIS EVENING, BUT I WILL MAKE THE POINT WITH EQUAL VIGOR.

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COMMENT

18. UNDOUBTEDLY THE PRESIDENT WILL ALSO WANT TO KNOW

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File Name : .../t930145/aaaabijg.tel

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THE AMERICAN POSITION ON THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL. I PROPOSE TO TELL HIM THAT WE HAVE NOT MADE A PUBLIC STATEMENT, BUT THAT PRIVATELY AND DIPLOMATICALLY I DON'T SEE THAT HE HAS ANY OTHER OPTION THAN TO SEEK TO REBUILD CONSENSUS ON THE BASIS OF WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN AGREED. I PROPOSE TO TELL HIM THAT I AM PREPARED TO BE AS HELPFUL AS I POSSIBLY CAN IN BRINGING ABOUT INTERNAL DIALOGUE, A PROCESS WHICH I HAVE ENCOURAGED FOR OVER THE COURSE OF THE LAST TWO YEARS, OCCASIONALLY WITH SIGNIFICANT EFFECT.

19. THE PROBLEM WITH ALL OF THESE EFFORTS AT DIALOGUE IS THAT IT IS TORTUOUSLY SLOW, AND THE COUNTRY IS DANGEROUSLY ON THE BRINK OF SERIOUS INTERNAL VIOLENCE, IF NOT CIVIL WAR. THE MRND REPORTEDLY HAS GIVEN THE GOVERNMENT UNTIL SUNDAY TO ACCOMPLISH CHANGES IN THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL, AND THE CDR HAS THREATENED THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT OF DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE HAS NOT RESIGNED BY MONDAY, THEY WILL CREATE DISTURBANCES IN THE COUNTRY. MEANWHILE, IN THE PECULIAR RWANDAN WAY, LIFE GOES ON AS USUAL TODAY, JANUARY 22, WITH RUMORS FEEDING ON RUMORS, MORE VIOLENCE EXPECTED, BUT BUSINESS AS USUAL.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [REDACTED]

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