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 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2810
 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/CR/IR Date: JUN 12 1998
 RELEASE DECLASSIFY
 EXCISE DECLASSIFY EO Citations
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FOIA Exemptions _____ TS authority to
 PA Exemptions _____ CLASSIFY as S or C Sec. _____
 DOWNGRADE TS to S or C

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, RW
 SUBJECT: ARUSHA DELAYED

REF: KIGALI 00262

1. ENTIRE TEXT.

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 2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA APPOINTED MRND
 DBFENSE MINISTER GASANA IN PLACE OF MDR FOREIGN
 MINISTER NGULINZIRA TO HEAD THE RWANDA DELEGATION TO
 THE NEXT ROUND IN ARUSHA. HE DIDN'T CONSULT WITH THE
 PRIME MINISTER WHO HAS FLATLY REJECTED THE CHANGE.
 IMPASSE. NO RWANDAN DELEGATION WILL REACH ARUSHA
 UNTIL IT IS RESOLVED. IRONICALLY, OPPOSITION LEADERS
 DON'T WANT GASANA TO GO BECAUSE THEY TRUST HIM TO
 KEEP THE SECURITY SITUATION FROM GETTING OUT OF
 CONTROL. I RAISED THE SECURITY PROBLEMS WITH THE

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PRESIDENT IN A LONG MEETING JANUARY 22. I BELIEVE HE CHOSE TO TRY TO CHANGE DELEGATION LEADERS INSTEAD OF TAKING TOUGHER MEASURES PUSHED ON HIM BY HIS PARTY, BUT IT DIDN'T WORK BECAUSE HE IS UNABLE TO CARRY ON A DIALOGUE WITH HIS PRIME MINISTER (HE SENT HIM A FAX). NEVERTHELESS, INTER-PARTY DIALOGUE CONTINUES ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

NGULINZIRA VS GASANA

3. UNWILLING TO SEND FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA BACK TO ARUSHA TO CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THREATENED BY REBELLION IN HIS PARTY IF HE SHOULD, PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA APPOINTED DEFENSE MINISTER GASANA TO HEAD THE RWANDAN DELEGATION TO THE NEXT ROUND. UNFORTUNATELY HE DID SO WITHOUT CONSULTING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OR ANY MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT. THE RESULT WAS PREDICTABLE ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS--THE PRIME MINISTER REJECTED THE PRESIDENT'S CHOICE--AND FASCINATING ON

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SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS.

4. OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS FEAR THAT THE APPOINTMENT OF AN MRND MINISTER TO LEAD THE DELEGATION WOULD DRIVE THE RPF FROM THE TABLE. THE MRND, THEY INSIST, HAD ITS CHANCE FOR EIGHTEEN MONTHS TO NEGOTIATE THIS AND FAILED. THE OTHER PARTIES MUST NOW CONTINUE.

5. THE DEEPER REASON, CONFIRMED TO ME BY LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, AND NOTED EXPLICITLY IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT, IS THAT GASANA IS NEEDED HERE. AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HE CONTROLS BOTH THE ARMY AND THE GENDARMERIE AT A TIME OF GREAT INTERNAL UNREST AND VIOLENCE. THE FASCINATING PART IS THAT, ALONE AMONG MRND MINISTERS, JAMES GASANA HAS EARNED THE CONFIDENCE OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES. OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS ARE UNWILLING TO HAVE GASANA OUT OF THE COUNTRY LEST HIS DIRECTOR OF CABINET AND OTHERS TURN THE CLOCK BACK ON THE SECURITY REFORMS THAT GASANA HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR. IN OTHER WORDS, THE REJECTION OF GASANA BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS ALLIES IS IN FACT A VOTE OF

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CONFIDENCE IN GASANA.

6. THE PRESIDENT MADE HIS CHOICE AFTER FIRST TRYING TO GET THE TANZANIANS TO DELAY THE OPENING OF THIS ROUND, BUT FOUND HIMSELF UNABLE TO HAVE HIS ENVOY RECEIVED BY THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT. HE ASKED FOR OUR HELP IN PASSING A MESSAGE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA, BUT THAT REQUEST WAS A LITTLE DISINGENUOUS, SINCE THE MESSAGE HAD ALREADY BEEN PASSED, BUT NOT

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RESPONDED TO. (THANKS TO DAR ES SALAAM FOR PROMPT ACTION ON THIS NAIVE REQUEST.) THE PRESIDENT ALSO CONSULTED WITH ME AND THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR. BOTH OF US FOUND SOME LOGIC IN THE PROPOSAL, ESPECIALLY AS GASANA HAD PROPOSED THAT THE MINISTER OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS HEAD THE NEXT ROUND ON REFUGEES. GASANA HIMSELF WAS RELUCTANT TO GO, BOTH BECAUSE HE FEARED LEAVING HIS MINISTRY IN CHARGE OF RIGHTWINGERS AND BECAUSE HE DID NOT WANT TO CREATE FRICTION WITHIN THE CABINET. TO HIS CREDIT, HE DID CONSULT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT UNFORTUNATELY IT WAS AFTER THE PRESIDENT HAD SENT HIS LETTER APPOINTING HIM.

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O 251514Z JAN 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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7. AT NOON JANUARY 25, THE FOREIGN MINISTER TOLD THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR THAT HE WAS GOING TO ARUSHA ANYWAY, EVEN WITHOUT THE BLESSING OF THE PRESIDENT. BUT THIS AFTERNOON HE SUMMONED THE AMBASSADORS OF

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OBSERVER STATES TO ANNOUNCE THAT HE WOULD NOT DEPART UNTIL THE CONFUSION OVER THE DELEGATION IS RESOLVED. THE FOREIGN MINISTER CALLED ON THE OBSERVER COUNTRIES TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT TO PERSUADE HIM TO BACK OFF. (PRIVATELY HE TOLD ME THAT COMPROMISE IS POSSIBLE, PERHAPS EVEN SENDING BOTH MINISTERS.)

8. COMMENT: THE FRENCH, BELGIAN AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS HAVE A REQUEST IN TO SEE THE PRESIDENT TO EXPLAIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIQUE. I WILL NOT JOIN THE MEETING, BUT UNDERSTAND THEY WILL URGE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER. END COMMENT.

A COMPROMISE DELEGATION

9. THE OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT

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THEY WOULD ACCEPT THE APPOINTMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF ANY OTHER MINISTER, OTHER THAN MRND, TO HEAD THE DELEGATION. THEY DO NOT INSIST ON RETURNING NGULINZIRA TO ARUSHA. THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT SEE THIS AS MUCH AS A CONCESSION, SINCE THE PDC MINISTER IS NOT UP TO THE TASK, NOR IS THE THIRD MEMBER FROM THE MDR. HE IS ALMOST CERTAINLY UNWILLING TO ACCEPT A PL MINISTER AND, THEREFORE, IS LEFT WITH THE PSD, TWO OF WHOM ARE THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARTY, THEREFORE, ALMOST IPSO FACTO INELIGIBLE. THE CHOICE BY A PROCESS OF ELIMINATION COULD BE MINISTER OF FINANCE MARC RUGENERA.

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10. THE OTHER OPTION AVAILABLE IS A DELEGATION WITH TWO OR THREE CO-CHAIRMEN. GASANA, OR HIS SUBSTITUTE, COULD COVER MILITARY QUESTIONS, LANDO COULD COVER REFUGEE AFFAIRS, AND NGULINZIRA COULD GO BACK TO THE MORE TECHNICAL LEGAL QUESTIONS.

SECURITY

11. IN MY JANUARY 22 MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, WHICH LASTED ALMOST THREE HOURS, I PUSHED HIM VERY HARD ON INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEMS. I TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT I COULD NOT CONTINUE TO ASK AMERICAN FAMILIES TO LIVE IN THE COUNTRY IF THE ATMOSPHERE OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION GETS ANY WORSE. HE ACTED FAVORABLY WHEN I TOLD HIM SOME CDR AND MRND YOUTHS HASSLED ROZ CARR OUTSIDE OF GISENYI. HE KNOWS AND RESPECTS THE AMERICAN RESIDENT OF THE NORTHWEST, IS PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL TO HER FOR STAYING THROUGHOUT THE LAST TWO YEARS OF UNREST, AND PROMISED THAT HE OR HIS WIFE WOULD GO AND VISIT TO APOLOGIZE. (EIGHTY-THREE YEAR OLD ROZ CARR WAS PREVENTED FROM ENTERING GISENYI IN HER CAR AT A CDR/MRND ROADBLOCK, THEREFORE, WALKED INTO TOWN TO OBTAIN HELP TO RECOVER HER CAR TO BE ABLE TO COMPLETE THE DELIVERY OF HER FLOWERS TO GISENYI.)

12. SINCE BOTH THE CDR AND THE MRND HAD THREATENED DISTURBANCES TODAY, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN APPOINTING GASANA TO HEAD THE

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DELEGATION RATHER THAN NGULINZIRA WAS TACTICALLY

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SIGNIFICANT IN REDUCING THE OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE. IT
WAS A QUIET WEEKEND AND A BUSINESS AS USUAL DAY ON
MONDAY. I WOULD ALSO HOPE TO BE ABLE TO ATTRIBUTE
SOME RESTRAINT ON THE INTERAHAMWE AND CDR AS A RESULT
OF MY DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENT.

13. UNFORTUNATELY, ALMOST AS I WAS MEETING WITH THE
PRESIDENT, MRND TOUGHS BEAT UP SEVERAL OF THE RWANDAN
STAFF OF CARE IN SOUTHEASTERN BYUMBA. THE ATTACK WAS
AGAINST EITHER TUTSIS OR SOUTHERNERS NOT MEMBERS OF

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THE MRND. CARE HAS WITHDRAWN ALL OF ITS PERSONNEL FROM ITS PROJECTS IN THIS REGION, THEREBY THREATENING BOTH THE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN THE TROUBLED AREA, AND THE ABILITY TO PLAN AND PREPARE FOR FUTURE

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RBCONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE. THE DCM AND I HAVE LODGED A STRONG PROTEST TO THE PREFET OF BYUMBA WHO PROMISED PROMPT ACTION TO ASSURE CARE SECURITY. I AM ALSO SENDING A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT, PROTESTING THE TREATMENT OF CARE EMPLOYEES WITH A COPY THE CARE RBPORT OF THE INCIDENT, AND WILL INFORM THE PRESIDENT THAT HE MAY BE ASKED ABOUT THIS AND SIMILAR INCIDENTS DURING HIS WASHINGTON VISIT.

INTERNAL POLITICS

14. DURING MY LONG MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, ONLY RUHIGIRA, THE PRESIDENT'S WIFE, AND MR. AND MRS. BONAVENTURE HABIMANA WERE PRESENT. HABIMANA IS THE FORMER HEAD OF THE MRND, WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN RBSPONSIBLE FOR INTER-PARTY VIOLENCE JUST OUTSIDE OF KIGALI JUST A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO. HIS WIFE IS TUTSI. HABIMANA CONTINUED TO URGE THE PRESIDENT TO DISSOLVE THE CABINET, WHICH HAS BEEN DISOBEDIENT TO HIM, OR AT LEAST TO FIRE THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHO ACTED WITHOUT AUTHORITY IN ARUSHA. HABIMANA WAS NOT ALONE; THE MRND NATIONAL COMMITTEE CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT NOT TO SEND NGULINZIRA BACK TO ARUSHA AND DMAMDED CHANGES IN THE DELEGATION, AFTER ACCUSING THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF TREASON.

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15. NEVERTHELESS, NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING BETWEEN THE NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE MRND, MATHIEU NIRUMPATSE, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE MDR, FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU. SINCE THE OPPOSITION HAS OFTEN FELT

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THAT THE MRND NEGOTIATORS DID NOT HAVE AUTHORITY, I PUT THE QUESTION TO THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID THAT MATHIEU AT THE PRESENT TIME HAS HIS FULL AND COMPLETE CONFIDENCE AND SPEAKS ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT. HE ALSO GAVE A FULL EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN ENOCH RUHIGIRA, WHO HAS FELT ON THE ROPES IN THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS.

16. THE ISSUES TO NEGOTIATE REMAIN THE SAME, THE CLEANSING OF THE TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION, THE UNDERSTANDING ON THE CONSENSUS VS TWO-THIRDS/ONE-THIRD, AND THE CDR. THE FIRST TWO ARE NEGOTIABLE, BUT THE THIRD IS NOT, YET. FLATEN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [REDACTED]

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