

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03298 01 OF 05 071404Z
ACTION AF-01

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INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
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 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1446
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
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 AMEMBASSY LONDON

MB
 Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
 (X) Release () Excise () Deny (X) Declassify
 Date 9/18/98 Exemption _____

SECTION 01 OF 05 KIGALI 03298

NAIROBI PASAKHHA OBSERVER DAVID RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RWFRQLFKDQRF
ZAUO

SUMMARY

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 03298 01 OF 05 071404Z

2. RWANDA'S DELEGATION TO ARUSHA PEACE TALKS BEGINNING AUGUST 10 WILL TAKE A NEGOTIATING POSITION AIMED AT PRESERVING RWANDA'S DEMOCRATIC GAINS OF THE LAST TWO YEARS. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ENDORSED THIS POSITION 8/6. RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER TOLD U.S. OBSERVER TO THE ARUSHA TALKS THAT FUNDAMENTAL TO THE GOR STRATEGY WILL BE A COMMITMENT TO THE LEGALITY AND LEGITIMACY OF EXISTING RWANDAN INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS COMBINED WITH AN OPENNESS TO COLLABORATING WITH THE

UNCLASSIFIED

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RPF TO FIND WAYS OF MAKING THEM MORE DEMOCRATIC. THE GOR DELEGATION WILL GO TO ARUSHA WITH ITS POSITION ENDORSED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND WITH THE QUALIFIED SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES. IF THE RPF IS WILLING TO MEET THE GOR HALFWAY, PEACE NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT AT LEAST GET OFF TO A PRODUCTIVE START. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR, HOWEVER, EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT ANY OUTCOME AT ARUSHA WOULD BE LIKELY TO BE DESTABILIZING FOR RWANDA, ESPECIALLY IF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO DRAG ON. END SUMMARY.

3. DURING CONSULTATIONS IN KIGALI JULY 6-7 EN ROUTE TO RWANDAN PEACE TALKS IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA, U.S. OBSERVER TO THE TALKS, DAVID RAWSON, MET WITH PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE, MEMBERS OF THE NEGOTIATION PREPARATORY TEAM, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR ENOCH RUHIGIRA, MDR LEADER FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AND PL LEADER JUSTIN MUGENZI. TIME CONSTRAINTS PREVENTED RAWSON FROM MEETING THE FOREIGN MINISTER, BONIFACE NGULINZIRA, BUT THE MINISTER DID BRIEF THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY AT THE END OF RAWSON'S VISIT. RAWSON'S

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 03298 01 OF 05 071404Z
CALL ON THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE IS REPORTED SEPTTEL.

4. WHAT EMERGED FROM THESE DISCUSSIONS WAS A GOR APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT IS ROOTED IN PRESERVATION OF RWANDA'S DEMOCRATIC GAINS BUT FLEXIBLE AND OPEN TO MODIFICATIONS AND IMPROVEMENT. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, MEETING DURING RAWSON'S VISIT, ENDORSED THE GOR STRATEGY. THE DEPUTIES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, HOWEVER, WERE MORE QUALIFIED IN THEIR COMMUNIQUE SUPPORTING THE PEACE PROCESS.

DEMOCRATIC FRAMEWORK

5. PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE SAID THE FIRST STEP IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS DUE TO BEGIN AUGUST 10 WOULD BE TO DEFINE A FRAMEWORK OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY THAT WOULD FORM THE BASIS FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE PRINCIPLES AGREED AT ARUSHA I. HE ENCOURAGED THE U.S. TO COMMENT ON THE ATTRIBUTES OF DEMOCRACY THAT WILL COME UNDER DISCUSSION AND ON THEIR APPROPRIATENESS. HE SAID THE RWANDANS WOULD BE LOOKING FOR USEFUL ELEMENTS FROM

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ALL DEMOCRACIES. HE REJECTED THE FORMER RWANDAN SYSTEM AS A MODEL AND SUGGESTED THE U.S. MODEL MIGHT BE TOO COMPLEX FOR RWANDA.

EVOLUTION, NOT REVOLUTION

6. THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD, WHICH CALLS FOR A DEMOCRATIC STATE GOVERNED BY THE RULE OF LAW, WILL NECESSARILY ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03298 01 OF 05 071404Z INSTITUTIONS, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID. THE GOR BELIEVES NEGOTIATION DOES NOT IMPLY REVOLUTION. THE GOR DELEGATION, THEREFORE, INTENDS TO NEGOTIATE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING LAWS AND

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 03298 02 OF 05 071410Z ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
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P 071338Z AUG 92
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1447
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
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SECTION 02 OF 05 KIGALI 03298

NAIROBI PASS ARUSHA OBSERVER DAVID RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: GOR ARUSHA STRATEGY PRESERVES DEMOCRATIC

INSTITUTIONS, ANALYZE WHERE THEY ARE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC,
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03298 02 OF 05 071410Z
AND BE READY TO AGREE TO NECESSARY CHANGES. FOR
EXAMPLE, NOT ALL LAWS IN THE RWANDAN PENAL CODE ARE
REPRESSIVE. THOSE THAT ARE WILL BE CHANGED, BUT THE
DISCUSSION WILL NOT START AT ZERO.

7. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA, WHO WILL HEAD
RWANDA'S NEGOTIATING TEAM IN ARUSHA, TOLD DIPLOMATS
THAT THE RPF MUST ACCEPT TO INTEGRATE INTO THE
EXISTING SYSTEM AND INTO THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS
ALREADY UNDERWAY IN RWANDA. INSIDE THE SYSTEM THE
RPF CAN PARTICIPATE WITH OTHER POLITICAL FORCES TO
MODIFY THE SYSTEM. AMBASSADOR JOSEPH NSENGIYUMVA,
COUNSELOR AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND MEMBER
OF THE DELEGATION TO ARUSHA WAS MORE BLUNT TO
RAWSON: WE WILL WANT TO CONVINCED THE RPF THAT RWANDA
HAS DEMOCRATIC ATTRIBUTES AND LEGITIMATE
INSTITUTIONS. THERE IS A PLACE FOR THE RPF TO ENTER
AND CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING THESE INSTITUTIONS, BUT
THEY CANNOT EXPECT TO DESTROY THEM.

ARMED FORCES INTEGRATION

8. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT IF THE RPF IS TO BE
INTEGRATED INTO ALL PARTS OF THE RWANDAN SOCIETY,
THEN IT WOULD HAVE TO BE INTEGRATED INTO THE ARMY AS
WELL. BUT RWANDA'S NEEDS WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO

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CONSIDERATION. WHAT SIZE ARMY IS NEEDED? WHAT TYPES OF TRAINING AND SKILLS ARE REQUIRED? IF AN ARMY OF 10,000 PERSONS IS NEEDED, AN INVENTORY OF THE RPF WILL HAVE TO BE CONDUCTED TO IDENTIFY WHICH SOLDIERS SHOULD BE RETAINED. A STUDY WILL BE NEEDED TO

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 03298 02 OF 05 071410Z
DETERMINE WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE REST, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF DEMOBILIZATION. SINCE RWANDA HAS NO EXPERIENCE IN THIS AREA, NSENGIYAREMYE SAID, IT HAS SENT DELEGATIONS TO ZIMBABWE AND ANGOLA TO SEE HOW INTEGRATION HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED THERE. HE SAID THE NEGOTIATORS MAY NEED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THIS AREA. INEVITABLY ALL THE SOLDIERS CANNOT REMAIN UNDER ARMS.

RPF IN THE GOVERNMENT

9. THE PRIME MINISTER, WHILE ACCEPTING RPF PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT, EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THEIR ENTRY COULD POTENTIALLY DELAY RWANDA'S DEMOCRATIZATION TIMETABLE. THE PRIME MINISTER APPEALED TO THE U.S. TO HELP DEVISE A FORMULA THAT WOULD ENABLE THE RPF TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS EVEN WHILE ITS POTENTIAL ELECTORATE REMAINS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. PROPORTION, HE SAID, IS CENTRAL TO RPF PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT DISAPPEAR, BUT A CERTAIN NUMBER OF PORTFOLIOS SHOULD GO TO THE RPF. MODERATION MUST BE THE WATCHWORD.

10. ELECTIONS, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID, SHOULD BE HELD PRIOR TO APRIL 16, 1993. HE PREDICTED THE RPF WILL ARGUE IT WILL NOT BE WELL ENOUGH ESTABLISHED WITHIN RWANDA BY THEN TO BE READY FOR ELECTIONS. SHOULD THE GOR THEN AGREE TO PROLONG THE TRANSITION PERIOD? FOR HOW LONG? IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO KEEP EXTENDING THE TIME FRAME. CAN A WAY BE DEVISED FOR

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 03298 02 OF 05 071410Z
RWANDANS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY TO VOTE? WHAT ARE THE

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LOGISTICAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE PARTIES
HOLDING MEETINGS OUTSIDE RWANDA?

11. IN HIS BRIEFING OF DIPLOMATS THE FOREIGN
MINISTER WENT ONE STEP FARTHER IN RESPONSE TO A
QUESTION. HE SAID THAT, WHILE THE APRIL 16 DATE
STANDS AS THE DEADLINE FOR ELECTIONS, ANY
MODIFICATIONS SHOULD NOT POSTPONE ELECTIONS BEYOND

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 03298 03 OF 05 071359Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
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P 071338Z AUG 92

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1448
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
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[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 05 KIGALI 03298

UNCLASSIFIED

NAIROBI PASS ARUSHA OBSERVER DAVID RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: GOR ARUSHA STRATEGY PRESERVES DEMOCRATIC
DECEMBER 1993. OFFICIALS NEED THE LEGITIMACY OF

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03298 03 OF 05 071359Z
ELECTIONS, HE SAID, NOTING CURRENT DIFFICULTIES AT
LOCAL LEVELS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

13. NEGOTIATING TEAM COORDINATOR, AMBASSADOR
NSENGIYUMVA, RAISED WITH RAWSON THE ISSUE OF RPF
PARTICIPATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS AND MUSED
ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INTERIM LEGISLATURE. HE
NOTED THAT THE PROTOCOL FORMING THE BASIS FOR THE
TRANSITION GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS THE CONSTITUTION WHICH
ACKNOWLEDGES THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE
PARLIAMENT ELECTED UNDER THE FORMER ONE-PARTY
SYSTEM. ALLUDING TO AN RPF IDEA (REF A) WHICH HE
SAID IS DRAWN FROM THE UGANDAN SYSTEM, NSENGIYUMVA
ASKED IF A CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL SHOULD BE FORMED.
THE GOR, HE SAID, DOES NOT SEE HOW SUCH FUSION OF
EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS IS POSSIBLE. RWANDA
IS COMMITTED TO A SEPARATION OF POWERS, HE SAID, AND
DOES NOT WANT TO GO BACKWARDS BY COMBINING THE
LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

OPEN, COLLABORATIVE

14. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THE GOR DELEGATION AT
ARUSHA WOULD BE OPEN-MINDED AND WOULD TRY TO CREATE A
CLIMATE OF COLLABORATION WITH THE RPF. HE SAID U.S.
SUPPORT -- MORAL, TECHNICAL, AND POLITICAL -- WOULD
BE WELCOME. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, IN HIS BRIEFING OF
DIPLOMATS, AND MEMBERS OF THE NEGOTIATION WORKING
GROUP REITERATED THE PRIME MINISTER'S EMPHASIS ON
OPENNESS, BUT ALSO LET US KNOW THE GOR INTENDS TO BE
FIRM. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR RUHIGIRA EMPHASIZED THE

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03298 03 OF 05 071359Z
NEED FOR U.S. MORAL SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT, WITH
THE RPF, THE UGANDANS, AND THE GOR AS WELL.

15. THE FOREIGN MINISTER DOES NOT EXPECT THE INITIAL
TALKS TO GO BEYOND DISCUSSING GENERALITIES ON THE
THREE ARUSHA PRINCIPLES. HE NOTED THAT THE GOR
DELEGATION CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO REPLY TO SPECIFIC
RPF

ACCUSATIONS OR PROPOSALS, AS IT IS STILL WAITING FOR
THE RPF TO OUTLINE ITS SPECIFIC CONCERNS. GOR
NEGOTIATING TEAM MEMBERS SAID THEY EXPECT THE TALKS
TO CONSIST OF FIVE ROUNDS, TWO IN AUGUST, TWO IN
SEPTEMBER, AND ONE IN OCTOBER.

PEACE TALKS DESTABILIZING?

16. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR RUHIGIRA EXPRESSED TO
RAWSON SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR ANY
OUTCOME AT ARUSHA TO DESTABILIZE RWANDA. HE NOTED
THE VEHEMENCE WITH WHICH THE CDR PARTY (RIGHT WING
EXTREMISTS) OPPOSES THE APPROACH TO PEACE EMBODIED IN
THE ARUSHA ACCORD AND ITS THREE PRINCIPLES. HE FEARS
THIS GROUP COULD PRECIPITATE INTERNAL PROBLEMS AS A
RESULT.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ENDORSEMENT

17. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, MEETING AUGUST 6
FOLLOWING RESOLUTION OF A ONE WEEK BOYCOTT BY
MINISTERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL PARTY,
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PAGE 04 KIGALI 03298 03 OF 05 071359Z
ENDORSED THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED STRATEGY DOCUMENT
FOR THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS AND ITS COMMITMENT TO THE
LEGITIMACY AND CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF RWANDA'S
CURRENT INSTITUTIONS. A MEMBER OF THE NEGOTIATING
TEAM TOLD CHARGE HE EXPECTS THE NEGOTIATORS WILL
RECEIVE FORMAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COUNCIL BEFORE
DEPARTURE AUGUST 9 FOR ARUSHA.

POLITICAL LEADERS

18. MDR LEADER TWAGIRAMUNGU EMPHASIZED TO RAWSON HIS

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 03298 04 OF 05 071401Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
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P 071338Z AUG 92
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 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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NAIROBI PASS ARUSHA OBSERVER DAVID RAWSON

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 COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND TO ELECTIONS AS THE

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 03298 04 OF 05 071401Z
MECHANISM FOR REMOVING HABYARIMANA FROM POWER. HE SAID THAT IT IS TOO SOON, THOUGH, FOR PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, BECAUSE THE REFUGEES WOULD HAVE TO HAVE RETURNED IF THE RPF WERE TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. HE ALSO DISCOUNTED A COUP AS A FEASIBLE WAY TO BRING ABOUT EARLY CHANGE. THEREFORE, HE SAID, THE GOR MUST FIND WITH THE RPF AT ARUSHA A WAY TO ORGANIZE THE POLITICAL PROCESS THAT WILL DIMINISH THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT. RWANDANS CAN NO LONGER ACCEPT, HE SAID, TO HAVE PEOPLE (READ PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA) BEHAVE AS IF A DICTATORIAL SYSTEM STILL EXISTS. TWAGIRAMUNGU AGAIN SEEMED TO FAVOR THE RPF IDEA OF AN OVERARCHING NATIONAL COUNCIL AS PROPOSED BY THE RPF (REF A) TO TAKE OVER LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS FROM THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE POWERS FROM THE PRESIDENT DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

19. PL LEADER MUGENZI RAILED ANGRILY AGAINST PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, CALLING HIM "A LIVING DEVIL." HE, TOO, EXPRESSED THE NEED TO FIND AN ALTERNATIVE LEGISLATIVE MECHANISM TO THE CURRENT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. IN CONTRAST TO TWAGIRAMUNGU, THOUGH, HE REJECTED THE RPF IDEA OF A UGANDAN-STYLE COUNCIL THAT FUSES LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS. THE RPF, MUGENZI SAID, NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND THAT RWANDA IS COMMITTED TO THE SEPARATION OF POWERS. HE SUGGESTED THAT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE MIGHT PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE LEGISLATIVE MECHANISM. MUGENZI ALSO EXPRESSED SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE CREDIBILITY OF THE NEGOTIATING TEAM IN THE ABSENCE OF

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 03298 04 OF 05 071401Z
THE PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES. HE ACCUSED SOME NEGOTIATORS OF BEING INTERESTED, NOT IN PEACE, BUT ONLY IN PLEASING DONORS. HE URGED THE U.S., THEREFORE, TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN KEEPING THE NEGOTIATORS ON THE TRACK TO PEACE.

CND QUALIFIES ARUSHA SUPPORT

20. RWANDA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE CND, GAVE QUALIFIED SUPPORT TO THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS AFTER TWO DAYS OF DEBATE (JULY 31 AND AUGUST 3) ON THE ARUSHA ACCORD. IN AN AUGUST 4 COMMUNIQUE THE DEPUTIES RECOMMENDED TO THE GOVERNMENT:

-- THAT IT TAKE THE OPINIONS OF THE PEOPLE INTO ACCOUNT IN PREPARING FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS,

-- THAT IT TALK NOT ABOUT ESTABLISHING NATIONAL UNITY, DEMOCRACY, PLURALISM AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT ABOUT REINFORCING AN ALREADY EXISTING STATE RULED BY LAW,

-- THAT EXAMINATION OF INTEGRATION RPF INTO THE ARMY TAKE EXISTING LAWS INTO ACCOUNT,

-- THAT THE RPF ENTER THE GOVERNMENT ON THE SAME FOOTING AS OTHER RECOGNIZED POLITICAL PARTIES,

-- THAT THERE BE AN INTERPOSITION FORCE STATIONED AT THE RWANDAN-UGANDAN BORDER TO PREVENT INFILTRATION OF RPF MEN AND MATERIAL FROM UGANDAN BASES,

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03298 04 OF 05 071401Z

-- THAT THE ROLE OF UGANDA IN THE CONFLICT BE CLARIFIED,

-- THAT THE NEGOTIATING TEAM INCLUDE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES (THE DEPUTIES THEMSELVES), PARTY LEADERS, AND RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATIVES.

COMMENT

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 03298 05 OF 05 071402Z
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NAIROBI PASS ARUSHA OBSERVER DAVID RAWSON

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21. THE GOVERNMENT WORKING GROUP PREPARING FOR THE

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03298 05 OF 05 071402Z
 ARUSHA PEACE TALKS HAS CLEARLY GIVEN CONSIDERABLE
 THOUGHT TO THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE THREE PRINCIPLES
 ACCEPTED AT ARUSHA I. THE RESULT APPEARS TO BE A
 FAIRLY CONSERVATIVE STRATEGY AIMED AT PRESERVING
 DEMOCRATIC CONTINUITY IN RWANDA. IT SEEMS TO BRING
 THE NEGOTIATION PENDULUM BACK TO CENTER AFTER IT

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SWUNG SO FAR TOWARD THE RPF WITH ACCEPTANCE OF THE ARUSHA PRINCIPLES. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' ENDORSEMENT OF THIS STRATEGY WILL NO DOUBT STRENGTHEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S HAND AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IT MAY ALSO ACT AS SOMEWHAT OF A BREAK ON THOSE WITHIN RWANDA'S POLITICAL SPECTRUM WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE RAPID CHANGE.

22. THE CONTINUITY STRATEGY, HOWEVER, IS UNLIKELY TO GO FAR ENOUGH FOR THE RPF, WHICH HAS INDICATED TO OPPOSITION POLITICIANS AN INTEREST IN SCRUBBING MUCH OF THE PROGRESS RWANDA HAS MADE IN DEMOCRATIZATION DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. WHETHER THE RPF WILL AGREE TO MEET THE GOR HALF WAY WILL DEPEND LARGELY ON ITS SENSE OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE POLITICAL PARTIES, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE GOVERNMENT MINISTERS, SUPPORT THE NEGOTIATING TEAM AND ITS STRATEGY. WHILE BROAD SUPPORT APPEARS TO BE COALESCING AROUND A GENERAL APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, WIDELY DIFFERING VIEWS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES PERSIST.

LEADER

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PAGE 03

KIGALI 03298 05 OF 05 071402Z

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

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