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EWY

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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
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01
	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/038W	

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P 141453Z OCT 92  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2010  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS

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

SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04258

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW  
 SUBJECT: ARUSHA III.B: KIGALI VIEW

1. [REDACTED]

SUMMARY

2. ALL PARTIES IN RWANDA DEMONSTRATED LAST WEEK IN FAVOR OF THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS, AND THEIR LEADERS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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 TOLD ME OCTOBER 13 THAT THEY ARE NOW ENCOURAGED THAT THE PROCESS WILL CREATE AN AGREEMENT. ALL REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT INTERNAL SECURITY. OPPOSITION PARTIES CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR A FIVE PARTY MEETING WITH THE RPF. MRND OBJECTS BUT MAY MEET WITH OTHER INTERNAL PARTIES OCTOBER 15 TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE.

3. WITH SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN KIGALI AND ARUSHA SINCE THE LAST ROUND, BOTH THE MRND AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES SEEM ENCOURAGED

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BY PROGRESS TO DATE IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND HOPEFUL OF A POSITIVE OUTCOME, EVEN IF IT TAKES A LITTLE LONGER THAN ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED.

THE PARTY VIEWS  
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4. DEMONSTRATIONS. ON FRIDAY OCTOBER 9 THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY, THE MRND, HELD A RALLY AND MARCH IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND OF THE ARUSHA

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NEGOTIATIONS. THE FOLLOWING DAY THE COMBINED PARTIES FOR CHANGE, THE MDR, PSD, AND PL HELD A RALLY AND MARCH IN FAVOR OF THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS AND CRITICIZING THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY FOR BLOCKING ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT. ESTIMATES RANGED FROM 1500 TO 3000 PARTICIPANTS IN THE MRND RALLY, AND FROM 10,000 TO 60,000 IN THE RALLY FOR CHANGE. A SOURCE IN THE PRESIDENCY TOLD ME THAT BOTH RALLIES WERE ABOUT THE SAME SIZE, INDICATING THAT EITHER THE PRESIDENT IS NOT BEING TOLD THE TRUTH, OR HIS PEOPLE HOPED TO BE ABLE TO MISLEAD US. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE OPPOSITION DREW SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 3 AND 10 TIMES AS MANY PEOPLE AS THE MRND.

5. MRND. NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE MRND MATTHIEU NGIRUMPATSE MADE A STRIDENT STATEMENT AT HIS RALLY REJECTING ANY EFFORTS AT ARUSHA TO TAKE AWAY PRESIDENTIAL POWERS. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13, HE TOLD ME HE HAD TALKED WITH THE MRND REPRESENTATIVES IN ARUSHA, AND WAS VERY SATISFIED WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS TO DATE. HE EXPLAINED THAT WHAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN PROTECTING WERE THE POWERS OF THE CHIEF OF STATE, NOT

THE EXECUTIVE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENCY WHICH COULD BE COMPROMISED. OBVIOUSLY CRITICAL HERE IS THE CONTINUING ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY.

6. PARTIES FOR CHANGE. THE PRESIDENTS OF THE MDR AND THE PL ALSO TOLD ME OCTOBER 13 THAT THEY WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA. THEY SEEM WILLING TO LEAVE WITH THE PRESIDENT THOSE POWERS OF A

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CHIEF OF STATE, INCLUDING THE ROLE AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY, PROVIDED INTERNAL SECURITY IS SHIFTED AWAY FROM THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. THEY WOULD HAVE THE GENDARMERIE SHIFTED TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND A NON-MRND MINISTER APPOINTED TO INTERIOR AT THE POINT WHEN THEY MAKE THE NEXT RESHUFFLE OF CABINET TO INCLUDE THE RPF.

7. THE PRIME MINISTER. PRIME MINISTER NSENGIRAYEMYE RETURNED TO KIGALI ON TIME TO SPEAK AT THE SATURDAY RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND MADE AN APPEAL FOR NATIONAL UNITY. HE TOLD ME OCTOBER 12 THAT HE FELT AN AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED IN ARUSHA WITHIN ANOTHER WEEK. AT THE SAME TIME HE EXPRESSED SOME FRUSTRATION AT BEING CRITICIZED FROM ALL SIDES: THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY, THE PARTIES FOR CHANGE OF WHICH HE IS A MEMBER, AND THE RPF. HE WAS VERY PLEASED WITH HIS MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON, BUT DID FEEL PUSHED TO CREATE DEMOCRACY AND FULL RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN AN UNREASONABLY SHORT TIME.

INTERNAL SECURITY  
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8. THE LAST WEEK OR TEN DAYS HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY

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CALM AFTER A COUPLE OF WEEKS OF INCREASING INTERNAL SECURITY TENSION. I MADE A STRONG PITCH TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE LAST WEEK ON THE SUBJECT, AND HE INFORMED ME THAT ONE OF THE NEW THINGS THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN IS TO GO OUT INTO THE MARKET AND START

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BUYING UP THE GRENADES WHICH HAVE BEEN USED BY  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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BANDITS. SO FAR THEY HAVE DONE IT CAREFULLY ENOUGH  
TO AVOID DRIVING THE PRICE UP MORE THAN ABOUT 20  
PERCENT. BUT CONTINUING ACTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE  
ARE CAUSES OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE PARTIES AND  
CERTAINLY TO THE NEGOTIATORS AT ARUSHA.

9. I HAVE SUGGESTED TO ALL THE MAJOR PARTIES THAT  
FOR THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS AT LEAST THEY SHOULD  
SUSPEND THE ACTIVITY OF THEIR YOUTH MOVEMENTS WHICH  
HAVE CAUSED POLITICAL VIOLENCE, FEAR AND MUTUAL  
ACCUSATIONS OF THE MOST UNREASONABLE SORT.

10. DURING THE MRND RALLY IN THE REGIONAL STADIUM,  
AN EMBASSY FSN, WHO WAS TAKING NOTES FOR US, WAS  
HASSLED, THREATENED AND PUSHED AROUND, AND HIS NOTES  
TAKEN FROM HIM, EVEN AFTER HE IDENTIFIED HIMSELF. I  
MADE AN IMMEDIATE REQUEST FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH  
NATIONAL SECRETARY NGIRUMPATSE, AND 15 MINUTES BEFORE  
THE APPOINTED MEETING, THE KIGALI PRESIDENT OF THE  
MRND SHOWED UP IN OUR OFFICE TO APOLOGIZE TO OUR FSN  
AND TO RETURN TO HIM THE NOTES WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN  
FROM HIM. NEVERTHELESS, I USED THE MEETING WITH  
NGIRUMPATSE TO STRONGLY PROTEST AND TO TRY TO DRIVE  
HOME THE POINT THAT DEMOCRACY CANNOT BE BUILT ON THE  
BASIS OF THUGS AND HOOLIGANS, NOR CAN RALLIES BE  
CLOSED TO THE PUBLIC. I TOLD HIM THAT I FOUND THE  
EFFORTS OF THE MRND YOUTH TO INTIMIDATE PEOPLE TO BE  
TOTALLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC AND UNACCEPTABLE.

AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING  
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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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11. BEFORE HE LEFT FOR ARUSHA, THE MINISTER OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS INVITED THE POLITICAL PARTIES  
BELONGING TO THE GOVERNMENT TO APPOINT MEMBERS TO  
MEET WITH THE RPF IN AN ALL-PARTY MEETING. HE  
OFFERED TO HAVE THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA COVER THE

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COSTS FOR SUCH A MEETING WHICH WOULD BE HELD EITHER IN RWANDA OR IN SOME NEIGHBORING COUNTRY.

12. THIS PROPOSAL HAS BEEN A FAVORITE OF THE MDR AND PL FOR SOME TIME. THEY HAVE URGED WESTERN DONORS TO COVER THE COSTS, AND HAVE AGREED WITH US THAT ANOTHER MEETING BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES WITHOUT THE MRND, AS HAPPENED IN BRUSSELS IN JUNE, WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL.

13. THE THREE PARTIES HAVE NOW WRITTEN TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MRND (ALSO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC) INVITING HIM TO A MEETING IN KIGALI WITH THE THREE PARTIES ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, TO DISCUSS TOGETHER THE CONCRETE PROPOSALS WHICH SHOULD BE THE OBJECT OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RPF.

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14. I EXPECT THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA WILL NOT SHOW UP FOR THIS MEETING, BUT I WOULD HOPE THAT EITHER NATIONAL SECRETARY NGIRUMPATSE OR CABINET DIRECTOR RUHIGIRA WOULD PARTICIPATE ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT. WE SPEND A LOT OF OUR TIME ENCOURAGING LEADERS OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES TO TALK TO EACH OTHER, AND HAVE DONE SO WITH NGIRUMPATSE A COUPLE OF TIMES IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS.

15. THE MRND HAS EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH THE RPF AND THE OTHER PARTIES IN KIGALI, AND WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER MEETING AT SOME OTHER LOCATION, PROVIDED THAT ALL SIXTEEN PARTIES ARE INCLUDED IN THE DISCUSSIONS, NOT JUST THE FIVE

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PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE GOVERNMENT. THIS PROPOSAL  
IT TOTALLY UNACCEPTBLE TO THE THREE PARTIES OF CHANGE  
WHO ARE CONVINCED THAT MANY OF THE 11 PARTIES ARE  
MERELY FRONTS FOR THE MRND. IN POINT OF FACT, SOME  
OF THE PARTIES NO LONGER REALLY EXIST.

16. I ASKED N  
GIRUMPATSE IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO

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CONSIDER A COMPROMISE IN WHICH THERE WAS A TWO PART MEETING, ONE IN WHICH THE 16 PARTIES PARTICIPATE AND THE OTHER IN WHICH ONLY THE FIVE GET TOGETHER. NGRUMPATSE SAID ONE COULD CONSIDER SUCH A COMPROMISE, BUT THE IDEA OF MEETING ONLY WITH THE RPF, MRND, PL AND PSD WOULD MAKE THE MRND A SANDWICH,

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AND THEY ARE NOT GOING TO PLAY UNDER THOSE RULES.

COMMENT

17. I'M NOT QUITE SURE WHY THE PARTIES HAVE MADE THIS SUCH AN IMPORTANT ISSUE, BUT I BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE GETTING PRESSURE FROM THE RPF TO SET UP SUCH A MEETING. THE PRIME MINISTER BELIEVES THAT A PARTIES MEETING AFTER ARUSHA WILL BE USEFUL, BUT HE IS NOT AMONG THE STRONG ADVOCATES OF AN EARLY MEETING. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT BOTH THE FORM AND UTILITY OF SUCH A MEETING WILL BECOME CLEARER WHEN WE SEE THE END OF THIS ROUND IN ARUSHA. IF, IN THE MOST OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO, THE PARTIES REACH AN AGREEMENT IN ARUSHA, THE PURPOSE OF THE PARTY MEETING WOULD BE AS ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED, SIMPLY TO DIVIDE UP MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS. MATTHIEU NGRUMPATSE ADMITS THAT IT WILL NOT BE FEASIBLE TO INCLUDE ALL PARTIES IN MINISTRIES. THEREFORE IF THE TOTAL FUNCTION OF A PARTY MEETING IS DIVIDING UP PORTFOLIOS THE MRND POSITION MAY CHANGE. END COMMENT.  
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