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P 191143Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SRCSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4489
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY HARARE
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PRL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND
PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE PAACE ACCORD

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: RWANDA TOOK A GIANT STEP FORWARD IN ITS TRANSITION FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY WITH THE SIGNING AUGUST 4 OF A PEACE ACCORD BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RPF REBELS. THIS REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT ENDS NEARLY THREE YEARS OF WAR AND TRANSFERS TO A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT HEADED BY AN OPPOSITION PRIME MINISTER POWERS MONOPOLIZED FOR NEARLY TWENTY YEARS BY THE PRESIDENT AND HIS FORMER SINGLE PARTY. THE PEACE ACCORD PROVIDES A BLUEPRINT FOR A COMPLEX, TIGHTLY SCHEDULED 22-MONTH TRANSITION PERIOD INTENDED TO END IN MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS. KEY TO LAUNCHING THIS PROCESS IS THE ARRIVAL IN KIGALI OF A CREDIBLE NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF) THAT WILL PERMIT FRENCH FORCES TO LEAVE AS AGREED. THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WILL INHERIT SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS AND WILL FACE NUMEROUS OBSTACLES TO IMPLEMENTING THE ACCORD. HOWEVER, RWANDANS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR DETERMINATION TO KEEP THEIR TRANSITION ON COURSE. CONTINUED GOOD WILL ON ALL SIDES SHOULD ENABLE RWANDANS TO SUCCEED IN THE DIFFICULT TASK OF MAKING THE PEACE PLAN WORK. NEVERTHELESS, THEY WILL NEED SUSTAINED BILATERAL AND MULTI-LATERAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS DIPLOMATICALLY, MATERIALLY, AND FINANCIALLY. END SUMMARY.

PEACE PROCESS

3. WITH THE SIGNING AUGUST 4 OF A PEACE ACCORD BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA (GOR) AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) REBELS, RWANDANS ENDED NEARLY THREE YEARS OF CIVIL WAR AND COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A TWO-YEAR TRANSITION PROCESS INTENDED TO END IN MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS. THE SIX PROTOCOLS OF THE PEACE ACCORD, METICULOUSLY WORKED OUT DURING A FULL YEAR OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, COMMITS RWANDA TO DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM, RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, THE RULE OF LAW, NATIONAL RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE MAJORITY HUTU AND MINORITY TUTSI ETHNIC GROUPS AND THE RIGHT OF REFUGEES TO RETURN.
4. THE TWO SIDES AGREED ON A POWER-SHARING FORMULA FOR THE GOVERNMENT THAT WILL MANAGE THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND TRANSFERRED TO IT THE POWERS FORMERLY HELD SOLELY BY THE PRESIDENT. THIS GOVERNMENT, TO CONSIST OF THE FIVE PARTIES NOW IN THE GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS CONFIDENTIAL

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5. AN APPOINTED MULTI-PARTY PARLIAMENT, THE

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P 191143Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4490
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 004)
TRANSCITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, IS TO WORK SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT TO ACCOMPLISH THIS MAMMOTH PROGRAM. AMONG ITS CRITICAL ROLES WILL BE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE ACCORD, AND, IF APPROPRIATE, AMENDMENT OF THE PEACE ACCORD IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AND INITIATION OF JUDICIAL ACTION AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OR MOTIONS OF CENSURE AGAINST THE PRIME MINISTER.

6. THE TIMETABLE IS TIGHT. A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF) IS TO BE IN PLACE IN KIGALI AND TWO COMPANIES OF FRENCH TROOPS WITHDRAWN BEFORE MID SEPTEMBER WHEN TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS -- THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT (BBTG), THE TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY (TNW), KAFDNTHE JOINT HIGH COMMANDS OF THE ARMY AND GENFARMERIE -- ARE TO BE PUT IN PLACE. WITHIN THE FOLLOWING MONTH, DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT OF TZJ ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE COMPLETE. WITHIN THE NEXT NINE MONTHS, INTE4-589, TRAINING FOR THE ARMED FORCES, THEIR REDEPLOYMENT AND CONFIDENTIAL
DEMOBILIZATION OF THOSE NOT CHOSEN FOR THE ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE COMPLETED. ORGANIZED RETURN OF REFUGEES SHOULD HAVE BEGUN. AS IF THIS WERE NOT ENOUGH, JUDICIAL AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM MUST ALSO TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE 22-MONTH TRANSITION PERIOD ENDS IN LEGISLATIVE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

STARTING POINT

-Q7. THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE OVER AT A TIME WHEN THE RWANDAN ECONOMY IS ON ITS KNEES AS A RESULT OF NEARLY THREE YEARS OF WAR. THE COUNTRY IS NEARLY BANKRUPT. ITS BUDGET IS SERIOUSLY IN DEFICIT AS A RESULT OF ARMS PURCHASES WHICH HAS CAUSED THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF TO SUSPEND THEIR STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM. IT HAS LITTLE HARD CURRENCY TO PURCHASE IMPORTS. THE JOB MARKET IS SERIOUSLY CONSTRICED WITH LIMITED OPPORTUNITIES FOR OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS SADLY UNDERDEVELOPED AND LAND FOR NEW FARM ACTIVITY IS VIRTUALLY NONEXISTENT. WAR-DISPLACED, WHO NUMBERED NEARLY ONE MILLION FOLLOWING A FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE BY THE RPF, WILL NEED FOOD ASSISTANCE AT LEAST THROUGH DECEMBER, SOME THROUGH JUNE, AND HELP IN REESTABLISHING THEMSELVES ON THEIR FARMS. DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS AND GENDARMES AND RETURNING REFUGEES WILL NEED PRODUCTIVE WORK. WEAPONS ARE READILY AVAILABLE MAKING ARMED BANDITRY, POLITICAL CLASHES AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE A CONTINUAL THREAT.

8. DESPITE THESE LIABILITIES, HOWEVER, RWANDA WILL BRING SOME IMPORTANT ASSETS TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD. DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CIVIL SOCIETY ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY. POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE FLOURISHED FOR TWO YEARS AND ARE REACHING AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN THEIR EVOLUTION WHERE THE PARTY MEMBERS ARE BEGINNING TO HOLD THEIR LEADERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS AND DECISIONS. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; ONCE A MONOLITH TO THE SINGLE PARTY OF THE PRESIDENT, HAS ALREADY EXPERIENCED
PLURALISM WITH THE DEFECTION OF NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF CONFIDENTIAL

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TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW

9. IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, RWANDA HAS EVEN HELD MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS OF SORTS. IN COMMUNES WHERE LOCAL OFFICIALS WERE DEEMED TO HAVE HAD A ROLE IN ETHNIC OR POLITICAL VIOLENCE, INDIRECT ELECTIONS THAT INVOLVED POLITICAL PARTIES IN HEAVY LOBBYING AND HORSETRADING RESULTED IN NEW LOCAL LEADERSHIP. AN ARRANGEMENT WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF LED TO INDIRECT AND DIRECT ELECTIONS OF LOCAL LEADERS IN THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE BETWEEN THE TWO ARMED FORCES.

10. THE ONE EXCEPTION TO THIS ALREADY LAUNCHED PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IS THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. SO FAR THIS INSTITUTION REMAINS IN THE HANDS OF INEXPERIENCED MAGISTRATES AND INCOMPETENT PRMSECUOORS WHO, IF PART OF AN ORUHE GOVERNMENT, WILL HAVE A MAMMOTH TASK IN THIS AREA IN ORDER TO INSTILL A RULE OF LAW.

PROBLEMS AHEAD

11. BASIC MISTRUST. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RWANDAN PEACE ACCORD WILL INEVITABLY HAVE ITS UPS AND DOWNS.

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EASY. AS ONE RWANDAN NOTED RECENTLY, POINTING TO THE HEAD OF THE ELITE RWANDAN PARACOMMANDO UNIT: "THIS MAN LOST HALF HIS UNIT DURING THE WAR, AND NOW WE ARE ASKING HIM TO INTEGRATE HIS FORCES WITH THOUSANDS OF OTHERS."

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P 191143Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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AMEMBASSY BHARJUMBA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY HARARE
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAO 039
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION WILL ONLY BECOME MORE
COMPLEX WITH THE ADDITION OF THE RPF AS A POLITICAL
PARTY. WHEN THE POWER SHARING PROTOCOL WAS CONCLUDED
LAST JANUARY, THE PRESIDENT’S PARTY RESISTED THE
POWER-SHARING FORMULA ON GROUNDS THAT IT LEFT THEM IN
A PERMANENT MINORITY SITUATION JM RECENTLY THE

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
POLITICAL FORCES IN RWANDA SHATTERED THIS IMAGE OF PERMANENT AND STATIC POLITICAL ALLIANCES AS DEMONSTRATED IN THEIR MANEUVERING TO NAME THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH THE PEACE ACCORD ALLOWS FOR SUCH SHIFTING ALLIANCES AMONG THE PARTIES, ITS SPECIFICITY ABOUT WHICH PARTIES WILL BE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND HOW MANY TNA DEPUTIES EACH WILL APPOINT ALLOWS LITTLE LEeway FOR EVOLUTION, REALIGNMENTS OR BREAKAWAYS WITHIN PARTIES. THUS THE PEACE ACCORD IS LIKELY TO EXERCISE SOME CONSTRAINT ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE PARTIES.


14. HUTU EXTREMISM. AT THE SAME TIME, HUTU EXTREMISTS WHO OPPOSE RECONCILIATION WITH THE RPF AND OBJECT TO ACCORDING GREATER PARTICIPATION IN RWANDAN SOCIETY TO TUTSIS ARE ALSO AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY. SINCE ITS FORMATION 18 MONTHS AGO, 5#3 :$4, AN AVOWEDLY ANTAGONISTIC POLITICAL PARTY, PAYD AN EXTREMELY DESTRUCTIVE, INDEED VIOLENT/ ROLEM DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS AND GENDARMES COULD FUEL RENEWED CDR ACTIVITY, LARGELY DORMANT SINCE THE FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE. THE AVAILABILITY OF GUNS AND GRENADES DOES NOTHING TO REDUCE ANXIETY ON THIS POINT.

15. POLITICAL VIOLENCE. TWO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, FORMER PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE AND

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
DEFENSE MINISTER JAMES GASANA LEFT RWANDA SADDENLY AND UNANNOUNCED WITHIN THE PAST MONTH. GASANA SAID HE FEARED FOR HIS LIFE AND SPECULATION EXISTS THAT NSIBINGAYAREMYE MAY HAVE BEEN SIMILARLY MOTIVATED. IN MAY, A WELL-KNOWN POLITICIAN FROM THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION PARTY WAS ASSASSINATED AND THE CRIME REMAINS UNSOLVED. THESE INCIDENTS, AND OTHERS INVOLVING LESS PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS, STIR ANXIETIES ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND RANDOM TERRORISM CONTINUING DESPITE THE END OF THE WAR.

16. INTERPRETATION OF THE ACCORD. ALL OF THE PROBLEMS MENTIONED THUS FAR WILL INEVITABLY MAKE INTERPRETATION OF THE SOMETIMES CONTRADICTORY AND OFTEN AMBIGUOUS ARTICLES OF THE PROTOCOLS DIFFICULT.

17. RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS. THE COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH IMPLEMENTING RWANDA'S PEACE ACCORD WILL BE ENORMOUS.
REINSTALLATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS, RETURN AND REINTEGRATION OF REFUGEES, WILL ALL HAVE LARGE PRICE TAGS. BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE OUTSTANDING DEBTS. RWANDA CANNOT FINANCE THESE ACTIVITIES WITHOUT HELP FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. ALTHOUGH SOME FAT CAT REBELS, WHO ALLEGEDLY FINANCED THE RPF, MIGHT BE CONVINCED TO INVEST THEIR FUNDS IN PEACE INSTEAD OF WAR, THIS WILL BE INSUFFICIENT. MULTI-LATERAL AND BILATERAL AID, OVER WHICH RWANDANS HAVE NO CONTROL, WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THE PROCESS. FUNDS WILL BE NEEDED FOR BUDGET SUPPORT AS WELL AS FOR THE PROJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE ACCORD. RWANDA’S TRADITIONAL DONORS MUST REMAIN ENGAGED, BUT NEW SOURCES OF FUNDING MUST BE FORTHCOMING AS WELL. WORLD BANK AND IMF PARTICIPATION WILL BE CRITICAL. AN IMPLEMENTATION PROCEEDS, THE RWANDANS WILL IREVENTIVELY HAVE TO LOWER THEIR SIGHTS AND ALTER THEIR PROCEDURES NNACCORDANCE W TH RESOURCE AVAILABILITY. EACH NEW SET OF ALTERNATIVES, HOWEVER, &40( 4-88, & THE SPECTRE OF MISTRUST AND QUESTIONS ABOUT MOTIVES THAT PLAGUED THE NEGOTIATIONS AT ARUSHA AND RESULTED IN A LONG DRAWN-OUT PROCESS. INORDINATE DELAYS COULD TEMPT ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER TO RESORT TO RENEWED CONFLICT.

18. NIF: THE TIMETABLE KEY. THE PRESENCE OF A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN KIGALI--AGAIN A FACTOR TOTALLY OUTSIDE RWANDAN CONTROL--IS THE KEY TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 03060 05 OF 08 191305Z UNLOCKING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMPLEX RWANDAN PEACE PLAN. UNTIL A CREDIBLE INTERNATIONAL FORCE IS IN PLACE, THE TWO COMPANIES OF FRENCH TROOPS IN KIGALI WILL NOT DEPART. UNTIL THE NIF ARRIVES AND THE FRENCH DEPART, THE RPF HAS SAID IT WILL NOT COME TO KIGALI. UNTIL THE RPF IS WILLING TO COME TO KIGALI, THE GOVERNMENT HAS SAID NO TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS CAN BE PUT IN PLACE. AS THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD DIPLOMATS RECENTLY: "IN THE ABSENCE OF A NIF, OUR HANDS ARE TIED. WE CANNOT BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORDS" MEANWHILE, TWO ARMED FORCES CONTINUE TO FACE EACH OTHER ACROSS A NARROW DEMILITARIZED ZONE IN NORTHERN RWANDA.
19. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. RWANDA HAS SET ITSELF ON A TWO-YEAR TRANSITION PROGRAM WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY TURN OUT TO BE EVEN LONGER. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TTE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

PEACE PLAN DEPENDS ON CONTINUING FINANCIAL AND
MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY. RETAINING THE INTEREST AND COMMITMENT OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SUCH A PROTRACTED
PROCESS IS UNLIKELY TO BE EASY. RWANDA IS ALREADY
COMPETING FOR ATTENTION WITH SOMALIA AND LIBERIA IN
AFRICA AND WITH YUGOSLAVIA AND COUNTRIES OF THE
FORMER SOVIET UNION IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE
FORMER COLONIAL MASTER, BELGIUM, HAS ALREADY REDUCED
ITS INVOLVEMENT AND COMMITMENT TO THIS COUNTRY
SIGNIFICANTLY. THE FRENCH APPARENTLY WANT TO REDUCE
THEIR COMMITMENT AS WELL, ALTHOUGH THEY SEEM TO WANT
TO RETAIN THEIR POLITICAL INFLUENCE. U.S. BUDGET
PROBLEMS DO NOT BODE WELL FOR OUR ABILITY TO MAKE
COMMITSMENTS IN A COUNTRY WHERE OUR DIRECT INTERESTS
ARE MINIMAL.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

20. FRAGILE PEACE. THE PEACE IN RWANDA IS FRAGILE.

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A CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES HELD FOR THE MOST
PART OF THE PAST YEAR, WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE
UNDERWAY IN ARUSHA. THE EXCEPTION WAS FROM
FEBRUARY 8 TO MARCH 9 THIS YEAR WHEN AN RPF OFFENSIVE
BROUGHT RPF FORCES TO WITHIN 20 MILES OF THE CAPITAL
AND FORCED THE DISPLACEMENT OF NEARLY ONE MILLION
PEOPLE. WHETHER TRUE OR NOT, NO ONE DOUBTS THAT THE
RPF HAS THE MILITARY SKILL AND MIGHT RESORT TO
DAMAGING VIOLENCE AS LONG AS IT HAS ACCESS TO ITS
WEAPONRY. THIS COMMON BELIEF APPEARS TO BE ACTING AS
A DETERRENT TO ETHNIC AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE THAT
PLAGUED RWANDA DURING THE WAR. POLITICAL YOUTH
GROUPS ARE FOR NOW QUIET. THE HUTU EXTREMIST
POLITICAL PARTY HAS KEPT A LOW PROFILE SINCE THE
RPF'S FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE. BUT GUNS AND GRENADES HAVE
PROLIFERATED THROUGHOUT THE SOCIETY AND ARE EASILY
ACCESSIBLE TO THOSE WHO SEEK THEM. EVEN AFTER THE
FIGHTING FORCES DISARM, AS CALLED FOR IN THE
DISENGAGEMENT PROCESS, A RESURGENCE OF VIOLENCE CANNOT BE RULED OUT. THE IMMINENT PRESENCE IN KIGALI OF 600 RPF TROOPS TO GUARD RPF PARTICIPANTS IN TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS KEEPS THE FEAR OF RENEWED VIOLENCE ALIVE.

21. THE RWANDAN OPTION. NEVERTHELESS, AGAINST ALL THESE ODDS, RWANDANS HAVE MADE REMARKABLE PROGRESS IN THE LAST 24 MONTHS, PASSING FROM A SINGLE PARTY DICTATORSHIP AT WAR TO A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT LED BY AN OPPOSITION PRIME MINISTER THAT HAS CONCLUDED A PEACE ACCORD. IN THE PROCESS, RWANDANS HAVE CRAFTED A UNIQUE PATH TO DEMOCRACY. IN CONTRAST TO BURUNDI, RWANDANS WROPOUE TO TRANSFORM THEIR SOCIETY FIRST. WHERE ELECTIONS ARE TO LEAD THE WAY TO SOCIAL CHANGE, RWANDANS WROPOUE TO TRANSFORM THEIR SOCIETY FIRST. THE RWANDAN WAY, WHERE ELECTIONS ARE TO FOLLOW THE UNLEASHING OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND THE TRANSFER OF POWER AWAY FROM THE ALL-POWERFULL PRESIDENCY, MAY WELW PROVE MORS DISFICULT TO MANAGE. FIFTEEN MONTHS OF POWER-SHARING HAS BEEN ANYTHING BUT A SMOOTH RIDE. NEVERTHELESS, THE RWANDAN WAY IS WORKING FOR RWANDA. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND PARTY LEADERS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR STAYING POWER AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE TRANSITION PROCESS. THEY HAVE GAINED A WEALTH
SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND EXPERIENCE IN POLITICAL MANEUVERING AND COALITION BUILDING THAT WILL SERVE THEM WELL WHEN THE RPF JOINS THEM IN GOVERNING.

22. GOOD WILL. THE DOGGED PERSISTENCE RWANDANS HAVE DEMONSTRATED DURING THEIR YEAR-LONG PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND THEIR 15-MONTH EXPERIMENT WITH MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT IS TESTIMONY TO THE GOOD WILL ON ALL SIDES TO MAKE THE TRANSITION WORK, DESPITE THE OBSTACLES THEY WILL INEVITABLY ENCOUNTER ALONG THE WAY. WITH THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE ACCORD, RWANDANS, INCLUDING THE RPF, COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO PEACE AND TO A DEMOCRATIC OUTCOME FOR THE TRANSITION PROCESS. RWANDANS ARE TIRED OF WAR, THEY ARE TIRED OF A STAGNANT ECONOMY, AND THEY ARE READY FOR A CHANGE.
THAT WILL GIVE THEM A CHANCE AT PEACE AND PROSPERITY. RWANDANS KNOW THAT THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO CONTINUE FIGHTING. NO ONE ACQUAINTED WITH RWANDA WOULD PREDICT AN UNTROUBLED TRANSITION PERIOD.


IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY

23. SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE PLAN IN RWANDA WILL EFFECTIVELY END THREE YEARS OF CIVIL WAR, OFFER HOPE FOR STABILITY IN THE SUB-REGION, BRING RWANDA'S DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS TO THE BRINK OF LEGISLATIVE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR FULL MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN RWANDAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, GIVE THE ECONOMY THE CHANCE TO PICK UP, AND MOVE TOWARD RESOLUTION OF A LONG-STANDING REFUGEE PROBLEM. RWANDANS HAVE MAPPED OUT THE PATH THEY INTEND TO FOLLOW, BUT THEY CANNOT COMPLETE THE TRIP WITHOUT THE HELP OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

24. THE UNITED STATES HAS PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN PROMOTING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO WARRING FACTIONS AND, IN ITS ROLE AS OBSERVER AT THE PEACE TALKS, SUPPORTED THE TWO SIDES THROUGH THE YEAR-LONG NEGOTIATING PROCESS. IN KEEPING WITH OUR POLICY OF PROMOTING CONFLICT RESOLUTION, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE U.S. SHOULD:

-- CONTINUE TO PROMOTE AND ASSIST THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS, USING DIPLOMATIC, FINANCIAL, AND MATERIAL MEANS;

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
ENCOURAGE CONTINUED COMMITMENT OF ALL SIDES TO
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD DESPITE THE
DIFFICULTIES THAT WILL INEVITABLY SURFACE;

ENCOURAGE ALL SIDES TO RULE OUT RECURS TO
VIOLENCE AS A METHOD OF RESOLVING DIFFERENCES;

ENSURE TIMELY DEPLOYMENT OF A CREDIBLE NEUTRAL
INTERNATIONAL FORCE WHOSE SIZE, COMPOSITION, AND
COMMAND STRUCTURE ARE COMPATIBLE WITH THE JOB BOTH
SIDES EXPECT IT TO ACCOMPLISH;

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LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

-- ENCOURAGE THE OAU TO ENLARGE ITS MILITARY
OBSERVER GROUP IN RWANDA (NMOG), INCLUDING
PARTICIPATION OF ANGLOPHONE TROOPS, AND EXPAND ITS
MANDATE TO ACCOMMODATE POST-PEACE ACCORD MISSIONS;

-- ENCOURAGE THE U.N., ITS AGENCIES, AND ITS MEMBER
STATES TO BE RESPONSIVE TO RWANDA’S NEED FOR HELP IN
IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE ACCORD;

-- EXERT PRESSURE ON THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF TO
PARTICIPATE FINANCIALLY IN IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE
ACCORD PROGRAMS;

-- PROVIDE FUNDING FOR DEMOBILIZATION MF ARMED
FORCES AND REINTEGRATION OF RETURNING REFUGEES.

-- WORK CLOSELY WITH OBSERVERS OF THE PEACE
NEGOTIATION PROCESS, ESPECIALLY THE FRENCH, TO HELP
CREATE A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE AMONG THE POLITICAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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FORCES IN RWANDA THAT WILL PERMIT SUCCESSFUL
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORDS.

25. KINSHASA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

LEADER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL