SUBJECT: RPF PERSPECTIVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE RPF REMAINS GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT FEARS OBSTRUCTIONIST (POSSIBLY TERRORIST) ACTIONS BY HUTU EXTREMISTS. THE RPF IS MAKING A SERIOUS EFFORT TO PREPARE PERSONNEL TO PARTICIPATE EFFECTIVELY IN THE RWANDAN GENDARMERIE. END SUMMARY.
3. POL/MILOFF MET WITH THE COMMANDER OF THE RPF'S RWANDAN PATRIOTIC ARMY (RPA), PAUL KAGAME, FOR TWO HOURS ON 8 DECEMBER AT THE MULINDI TEA FACTORY NEAR THE UGANDAN BORDER. DURING AND FOLLOWING A ONE-ON-ONE LUNCH (NILE PERCH FROM UGANDA, RICE, AND FRESHLY-SQUEEZED COW MILK), KAGAME DISCUSSED THE RPF PERSPECTIVE ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES.

GENDARMERIE


- KOKO (PHONETIC), A MEMBER OF THE RPF HIGH COMMAND WHO SERVED DURING THE CONFLICT AS A "BRIGADE" COMMANDER. PRIOR TO THE WAR, KOKO REPORTEDLY WAS THE DEPUTY COMMANDER OF THE MILITARY POLICE IN THE UGANDAN NRA ARMY.

- CHARLES MUHIRE, RECENTLY ADDED AS A MEMBER OF THE HIGH COMMAND, WHO SERVED DURING THE WAR AS THE DIRECTOR OF RPF MILITARY TRAINING. A LAWYER TRAINED AT UGANDA'S MAKERERE UNIVERSITY, HE SERVED AS A CAPTAIN IN THE UGANDAN PRESIDENTIAL GUARD UNIT PRIOR TO THE WAR. MUHIRE PARTICIPATED IN THE ARUSHA PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AS A KEY MILITARY ADVISOR TO THE RPF DELEGATION.

- COMMANDER STANISLAS BISERUKA, A MEMBER OF THE RPF HIGH COMMAND WHO SERVED AS RPF LOGISTICS CHIEF DURING THE WAR. PRIOR TO WAR, BISERUKA HAD BEEN A BATTALION

UNCLASSIFIED
COMMANDER IN THE RWANDAN ARMY. FOLLOWING HIS IMPLICATION IN ALLEGED COUP PLANNING, HE WAS ARRESTED IN A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY AND INCARCERATED FOR TEN YEARS IN THE PRISON AT RUHENGERI UNTIL BEING FREED IN 1991 BY THE RPF RAID ON RUHENGERI. BISERUGA ALSO SERVED AS A MEMBER OF THE RPF DELEGATION TO THE ARUSHA PEACE TALKS. COMMENT: PRIOR TO HIS ARREST, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04  KIGALI 04381 01 OF 05 101456Z
BISERUKA HIMSELF WAS REPUTED TO HAVE TORTURED PERSONS IMPRISONED AS OPPO NENTS OF THE REGIME. DUE TO THIS WIDELY ACCEPTED REPUTATION, POST CONSIDERS BISERUKA AN EXCEEDINGLY POOR CHOICE AS COMMANDER OF THE GENDARMERIE. END COMMENT.

- NYAMWASA KAYUMBA, WHO SERVED AS RPF INTELLIGENCE CHIEF THROUGHOUT THE WAR. PRIOR TO THE WAR, KAYUMBA WAS A CAPTAIN IN THE UGANDAN ARMY. KAYUMBA WAS INITIALLY A MEMBER OF THE RPF PEACE TALKS DELEGATION IN EARLY 1993, BUT LEFT ARUSHA TO CHAIR SEVERAL OF THE RPF DELEGATIONS PARTICIPATING IN COORDINATION TALKS WITH THE RWANDAN ARMY AT KINIHIRA IN THE DMZ.

5. KAGAME INDICATED THAT KOKO AND MUHIRE ARE THE TWO

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01  KIGALI 04381 02 OF 05 101457Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 DOEE-00 EUR-01
HA-09 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 L-03 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01
P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00
OFFICERS MOST LIKELY TO BE DESIGNATED THE GENDARME COMMANDER; KOKO DUE TO HIS MILITARY POLICE EXPERIENCE, AND MUHIRE BECAUSE OF HIS LEGAL BACKGROUND AND OVERALL INTELLIGENCE. OF THE FOUR "CANDIDATES" FOR THE POSITION OF GENDARME COMMANDER, THE THREE OFFICERS WHO ARE NOT SELECTED AS COMMANDER WILL BE APPOINTED TO OTHER KEY POSITIONS WITHIN THE GENDARMERIE.

6. KAGAME CLAIMED THAT EARLIER IN THE WEEK THE RPF HAD JUST GRADUATED ITS FIRST GROUP OF PERSONNEL FROM GENDARME TRAINING. REPORTEDLY, A GROUP OF 500 RPF SOLDIERS RECEIVED FOUR MONTHS OF TRAINING CONDUCTED BY SEVERAL RPF TRAINERS WHO HAD SERVED AS RWANDAN GENDARME OFFICERS IN THE PAST. KOKO AND MUHIRE WERE THE ONLY TWO RPF OFFICERS TO ATTEND THE TRAINING. IN ANSWER TO WHETHER THE RPF INTENDED TO CONDUCT SIMILAR
TRAINING FOR A SECOND GROUP, KAGAME SAID THAT THEY FIRST WANT TO GET A FEEL FOR HOW QUICKLY THE FORCE INTEGRATION PROCESS WILL START. IF THERE IS SUFFICIENT TIME TO COMPLETE THE ENTIRE TRAINING PROGRAM, THE RPF WILL CONDUCT A SECOND ROUND OF TRAINING. IF NOT, THE RPF WILL PROVIDE 700 UNTRAINED PERSONNEL FOR THE GENDARMERIE, WHO WILL HAVE TO UNDERGO TRAINING FOLLOWING THEIR ASSIMILATION INTO THE FORCE.

7. WHEN ASKED WHAT THE ROLE OF WOMEN WOULD BE IN THE

CONFIDENTIAL

POST-WAR RWANDAN NATIONAL MILITARY, KAGAME STATED THAT THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE MILITARY, AND ESPECIALLY THEIR POSSIBLE ROLE IN COMBAT OPERATIONS, IS A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE FOR EVERY SOCIETY. IN RWANDA, THE GOVERNMENT HAS WOMEN IN THE GENDARMERIE, WHILE THE RPF HAS INCLUDED WOMEN FIGHTERS IN ITS COMBAT UNITS. THE ROLE OF WOMEN HAS NEVER BEEN ADDRESSED IN EITHER THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS OR IN ANY OF THE JOINT GOR-RPF FORCE INTEGRATION COORDINATION MEETINGS HELD THUS FAR. KAGAME WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE EXPECTS WOMEN WILL INITIALLY BE RESTRICTED TO SERVING IN THE GENDARMERIE WHILE THE NEW HIGH COMMISSION FOR THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE DEFENSE MINISTER, DETERMINES WHAT THEIR ROLE SHOULD BE IN THE ARMY.

INCREASED BELGIAN PARTICIPATION IN UNAMIR

KAGAME SAID THAT THE RPF REPRESENTATIVE IN BELGIUM HAD JUST BEEN INFORMED BY THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT EARLIER ON 8 DECEMBER THAT BELGIUM INTENDED TO UP ITS TROOP TOTAL IN UNAMIR TO 500. ALL, APPARENTLY, WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE MISSION OF PROVIDING SECURITY WITHIN KIGALI.

TERRORISM

CONFIDENTIAL
SUBJECT: RPF PERSPECTIVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS

10. WHEN ASKED ABOUT HIS VIEWS CONCERNING EVENTS IN BURUNDI, KAGAME NOTED THAT THE SITUATION THERE SEEMS TO BE IMPROVING SOMEWHAT IN THE REALMS OF RHETORIC AND SECURITY. THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE BURUNDI SITUATION WILL HELP LESSEN TENSIONS IN RWANDA; LIKewise, once the peace process truly gets underway successfully in Rwanda, he believes the situation in Burundi will improve.

11. KAGAME INDICATED THAT THE BURUNDI ARMY CANNOT HELP BUT SUFFER CREDIBILITY PROBLEMS. FIRST, HE SAID, THEY HAVE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PROBLEM AS THE RWANDAN ARMY -- IN A MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETY IT IS UNHEALTHY TO HAVE ALL THE MEANS OF SECURITY CONCENTRATED IN THE HANDS OF A SINGLE GROUP. SECONDLY, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THE OFFICERS TO CLAIM THAT THEY REMAINED LOYAL TO THE GOVERNMENT SINCE NO OFFICERS BECAME CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF EITHER DEFENDING THE GOVERNMENT, ATTEMPTING TO END THE
"MUTINY," OR IN RESISTING ARREST. FINALLY, BY REFUSING TO HAND OVER THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE PUTSCH TO FACE TRIAL, THERE WAS NO LOGICAL WAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD BE EXPECTED TO TRUST THE ARMY.

U.S. VISIT


RESULTS OF UNAMIR PLANNING MEETING


CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04381 04 OF 05 101457Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 DOE-00 EUR-01
HA-09 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 L-03 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OME-01 PA-01 FM-02 PRS-01
P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00
/040W

-------------------0EF455 101509Z /38

P 101432Z DEC 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5245
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 04 OF 05 KIGALI 04381

YAOUNDE FOR DATT
PARIS FOR PERLOW

UNCLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02  KIGALI 04381 04 OF 05 101457Z
TAGS: MPS, PINR, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RPF PERSPECTIVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS

REFERRED TO ACTIVELY OBSTRUCT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS WHenever POSSIBLE.

14. THE ISSUE OF WHERE SPECIFICALLY THE RPF BATTALION IN KIGALI WOULD BE BASED REMAINED UNDER DISCUSSION, AND UNAMIR HAD NOT YET ANNOUNCED A DATE ON WHICH THE RPF IS SUPPOSED TO MOVE ITS UNIT INTO THE CAPITAL. ACCORDING TO MAZIMHAKA, THE ONLY THING THAT HAD BEEN AGREED TO WAS THAT THE JOINT GOR-RPF COMMISSION ON MILITARY INTEGRATION WOULD RECONVENE ON MONDAY, 13 DECEMBER.

--------------------------
DISINFORMATION POTENTIAL
--------------------------

15. POL/MILOFF NOTED A SOLDIER AMONG THE SECURITY GUARDS WEARING AN AMERICAN BDU UNIFORM SHIRT WITH THE RANK (FIRST LIEUTENANT), BRANCH INSIGNIA, JUMP WINGS, NAME TAG, AND THE TAPE SAYING "U.S. ARMY" STILL AFFIXED. POL/MILOFF REMINDED KAGAME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT ENDED WHEN A RPF TRUCK WITH A UGANDAN LICENSE PLATE WAS CAPTURED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHEN GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS (BOTH RWANDAN AND FOREIGNERS) POINTED TO THE LICENSE PLATE AS PROOF POSITIVE OF UGANDAN SUPPORT FOR THE RPF. POL/MILOFF THEN ASKED THAT, AT A MINIMUM, THE "U.S. ARMY" TAPE BE REMOVED FROM THE UNIFORM BEFORE ANYONE ELSE SAW IT. LAUGHING, KAGAME ASSURED THAT IT WOULD BE DONE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03  KIGALI 04381 04 OF 05 101457Z
ASSURED THAT IT WOULD BE DONE.

--------------------------
16. Kagame beamed proudly when Pol/Milloff noted the quiet discipline of a young RPF soldier's response to a command from Kagame. Kagame boasted, quietly, that the RPF was better trained and better disciplined than either the Rwandan Army or the Ugandan Army; he had fought against the former and been an officer in the latter, so he had a true basis for comparison. He said that his troops were all unpaid volunteers and that they fully understood that there could never, for them, be a pay-off if the RPF lost the war.

Gratitude for U.S. Role

17. Kagame concluded the meeting by expressing his gratitude, and that of the RPF, for the role played by the U.S. in the resolution of the conflict. He noted that the U.S. had remained neutral throughout, and had been willing to meet with both parties on their own turf -- with the government in Kigali, and with the RPF in the bush. This unique demonstration of neutrality, he said, permits the U.S. to serve effectively as an honest broker.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04381 05 OF 05 101457Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 DOEE-00 EUR-01
HA-09 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 L-03 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01
P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00

/040W

P 101432Z DEC 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5246
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 05 OF 05 KIGALI 04381

YAOUNDE FOR DATT
PARIS FOR PERLOW
LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 04381 05 OF 05 101457Z
TAGS: MOPS, PINR, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RPF PERSPECTIVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS

UNCLASSIFIED
19. Throughout the discussion, as well as in an earlier one the week prior, Kagame remained guardedly optimistic about the peace process. When referring to recent ceasefire violations, he said that they were regrettable, but that they were to be expected in the implementation of a peace agreement anywhere. Concerning his Rwandan army counterparts, he claimed to believe that virtually all of the officers realized that it would be fruitless to pursue the war and that they were ready to implement the peace accords. He noted that, at present, it was normal that both parties have only limited confidence in the other, but that step by step, small successes would lead to the success of the entire process.

20. Kagame also says (at least with visitors) the right things about the need for a spirit of reconciliation between the parties. As an example, when discussing the candidates for gendarme commander, Kagame said that he had initially been concerned as to whether or not commander Biseruka would be able to ignore the painful memories of his imprisonment and torture when carrying out his duties as a gendarme. To resolve the matter, he had talked with Biseruka and others before determining that Biseruka would in fact be a capable gendarme officer. Later, in the same spirit, Kagame said that one of the most important tasks facing the army...