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RELEASED IN PART  
1.4(B), 1.4(D)PAGE 01 KIGALI 01981 01 OF 04 131453Z  
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
	PM-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00
	T-01	/034W					

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P 131444Z MAY 92  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0673  
 INFO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 01981

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, MARR, RW, UG  
 SUBJECT: GOR OUTLINES STRATEGY TO NEGOTIATIONS TO END WAR

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN DISCUSSIONS MAY 10-11 WITH A/S COHEN,  
 RWANDA'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER OUTLINED A TWO-PRONGED  
 APPROACH TO ENDING RWANDA'S WAR WITH THE RWANDAN  
 PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF): DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF  
 RESULTING IN A PEACE TREATY ON THE ONE HAND AND

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 NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH UGANDA ON THE OTHER. HE  
 SUBSEQUENTLY INCORPORATED INTO HIS STRATEGY COHEN'S  
 SUGGESTION FOR A NON-AGGRESSION TREATY WITH UGANDA. THE  
 FOREIGN MINISTER SAID ALL ISSUES WERE NEGOTIABLE. COHEN  
 SAID IF ALL PARTIES REQUEST US TO, THE U.S. WOULD  
 PARTICIPATE IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS AND PROVIDE TECHNICAL  
 ASSISTANCE ON DEVELOPINGHS  
 MQCK MUSEVENI IN" TO FUTURE COMMITMENTS WITHOUT FORCING  
 HIM TO ACKNOWLEDGE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR. RWANDA'S  
 NEW MINISTER OF DEFENSE ASKED FOR U.S. HELP WITH THE  
 DEMOBILIZATION OF THE ARMY, DEMINING THE BORDER AREA,

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E LANDFAIR  
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 12 MAY 2012  
 DATE/CASE ID: 27 APR 2005 200103014

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OPENING THE NORTHERN CORRIDOR AND HAVING UGANDA WITHDRAW AID FROM THE RPF. END SUMMARY.

TWO-PRONGED APPROACH

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3. AMBASSADOR HERMAN J. COHEN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICA, DISCUSSED PROSPECTS FOR RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS TO END THE GOR-RPF WAR AND RELATED ISSUES IN A JOINT MEETING MAY 10 WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BONIFACE NGULINZIRA AND DEFENSE MINISTER JAMES GASANA. ALSO PRESENT AT THE MEETING FOR THE U.S. WERE AMBASSADOR FLATEN, DCM LEADER, ECON OFFICER ZORICK. PRESENT FOR THE RWANDAN SIDE WERE AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. ALOYS UWIMANA AND A NOTETAKER FROM EACH OF THE MINISTRIES.

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OUTLINED TO AMBASSADOR COHEN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT'S TWO-PRONGED STRATEGY FOR RESOLVING THE WAR WITH THE RPF. HE SAID THE APPROACH WOULD INVOLVE BOTH POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE RPF AND

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NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH UGANDA. HE TOLD COHEN HE WILL GO TO KAMPALA THE WEEK OF MAY 18 (PROBABLY MAY 18-21) TO MEET AND DISCUSS DATES AND LOCATION FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF AND TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS WITH UGANDA. (NOTE. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THE INTERIOR MINISTER AND THE MINISTER RESPONSIBLE FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS WILL ACCOMPANY THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON THIS TRIP. MDR AND PL PARTY LEADERS MAY ALSO PARTICIPATE. END NOTE.)

5. THE MJ WGZLT IN A PEACE TREATY SIGNED BY THE TWO PARTIES. THE FIRST PHASE WILL BE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE, WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. A MECHANISM FOR MONITORING THE CEASE FIRE WILL BE NECESSARY IF THE CEASEFIRE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE. HE MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF NEUTRAL OBSERVERS OR A TEAM CONSISTING OF THE TWO PARTIES. THE SECOND PHASE WILL BE THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE THAT WILL HAVE TO EXAMINE SIX ELEMENTS: REFUGEES, NATIONAL UNITY, THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS, A NATIONAL CONFERENCE, THE PARTICIPATION OF THE RPF IN THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE TWO ARMIES. THE FOREIGN MINISTER STRESSED THAT ALL OF THESE ELEMENTS ARE NEGOTIABLE. THE

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MINISTER SAID THESE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE DIRECT AND WITHOUT MEDIATORS BECAUSE MEDIATORS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO INFLEXIBLE POSITIONS. FACILITATORS TO PROVIDE A NEUTRAL VENUE OR OBSERVATION MIGHT, HOWEVER, BE USEFUL.

6. IN HIS TOAST TO AMBASSADOR COHEN AT A DINNER LATER THAT EVENING, THE MINISTER CLARIFIED HIS CONCEPT OF

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MEDIATION: HENCEFORTH MEDIATORS, INCLUDING THE U.S., WOULD FACILITATE MEETINGS RATHER THAN SERVE AS AN OBLIGATORY CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

7. UGANDA, THE MINISTER SAID, WOULD BE KEY IN THE PROCESS. THE GOAL OF RWANDA'S NORMALIZATION EFFORTS WOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE UGANDA TO ABANDON ITS SUPPORT FOR THE RPF AND TO HAVE UGANDA ENCOURAGE THE RPF TO ACCEPT

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PM-01 P-01 RP-10 SNP-01 SP-01 SS-01 TRSE-00  
T-01 /034W

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P 131444Z MAY 92 ZDK  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0674  
INFO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 01981

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THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. NO RESULTS CAN BE EXPECTED WITHOUT UGANDA'S PARTICIPATION AND COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL NORMS OF SECURITY AND TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

COHEN BRIEFS ON TALKS IN UGANDA  
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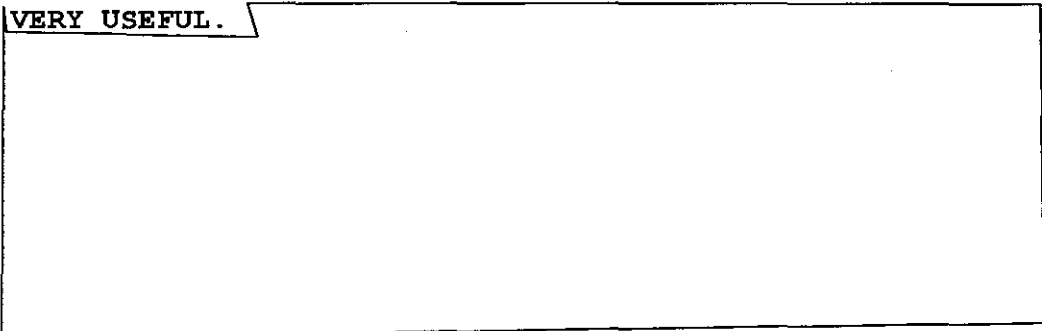
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8. [REDACTED] A/S COHEN  
RESPONDED FAVORABLY TO THE STRATEGY OUTLINE BY THE  
MINISTER. HE AGREED THAT MUSEVENI WAS KEY AND COULD BE  
VERY USEFUL.

1.4(B)

1.4(B)



9. RPF READY TO NEGOTIATE. COHEN TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THE RPF IS READY TO NEGOTIATE AND THAT IT HAS AGREED TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION OF FRANCE TO THE NEXT NEGOTIATING SESSION IN PARIS. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THE RPF DOUBTS THE FREEDOM OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO NEGOTIATE. HE SAID THE RPF CITED THE CONSTITUTION, THE CONTINUING POWER OF THE PRESIDENT, AND THE OBSTACLE OF THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY AS THE BASIS FOR ITS SKEPTICISM. COHEN SAID HE URGED THE RPF TO FIND OUT AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE WHETHER ITS ANALYSIS IS CORRECT.

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10. RPF DEMANDS. COHEN REVIEWED FOR THE RWANDANS THE RPF DEMANDS: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE N'SELE ACCORDS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF REFUGEES TO RETURN; INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES; AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE TO PROTECT RETURNING REFUGEES; A NEUTRAL OBSERVER GROUP FOR A  
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CEASEFIRE; THE PRESENCE OF THE U.S. AT NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE OF DOUBTS OVER THE NEUTRALITY OF THE FRENCH; AND A CEASEFIRE (ONE THAT WOULD NOT NECESSARILY MEAN LAYING DOWN ARMS). THE ONLY NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMAND, HE SAID, WAS THE RIGHT OF REFUGEES TO RETURN.

U.S. ROLE IN TALKS  
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11. AMBASSADOR COHEN TOLD THE RWANDANS THAT THE U.S. HAS FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE FACILITATING ROLE OF THE FRENCH IN NEGOTIATIONS. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE RPF HAD ASKED FOR A U.S. PRESENCE AND SAID THE U.S. IS READY TO BE PRESENT PROVIDING ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE FRENCH, ARE READY FOR THE U.S. TO PARTICIPATE. COHEN SAID THE U.S. CAN FURNISH TECHNICAL EXPERTS TO HELP WITH DEFINING THE TERMS OF A CEASEFIRE AND WITH THE ISSUE OF INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES.

INTEGRATION OF FORCES AND DEMOBILIZATION  
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12. COHEN NOTED THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA BELIEVES INTEGRATION OF THE ARMY WILL BE THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECT OF THE RPF'S DEMANDS. COHEN RECOUNTED HIS SUGGESTION FOR LINKING INTEGRATION WITH DEMOBILIZATION: FIRST INTEGRATE ALL THE FORCES AND THEN DEMOBILIZE AN EQUAL PROPORTION OF BOTH FORCES. THE DETAILS, HE SAID CAN BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE HELP OF EXPERTS. BUT EVERYONE WHO RETURNS, REFUGEES AND SOLDIERS, MUST BE REINTEGRATED INTO RWANDAN SOCIETY. IN RESPONSE TO THE

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MINISTER'S QUESTION, COHEN SAID THE RPF HAD NOT INDICATED HOW IT THOUGHT INTEGRATION MIGHT TAKE PLACE.

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13. RWANDA'S NEW MINISTER OF DEFENSE, JAMES GASANA, NOTED SEVERAL DIFFICULTIES TO REINTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES: MANY RPF FIGHTERS HAVE SERVED IN THE ARMY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, RAISING THE QUESTION OF LOYALTY; VARIATIONS EXIST IN THE LEVEL AND QUALITY OF TRAINING OF THE TWO FORCES; COHEN'S SUGGESTION RISKED LEAVING MINORITY TUTSI OVERREPRESENTED IN THE ARMY.

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P 131444Z MAY 92 ZDK  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0675  
INFO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
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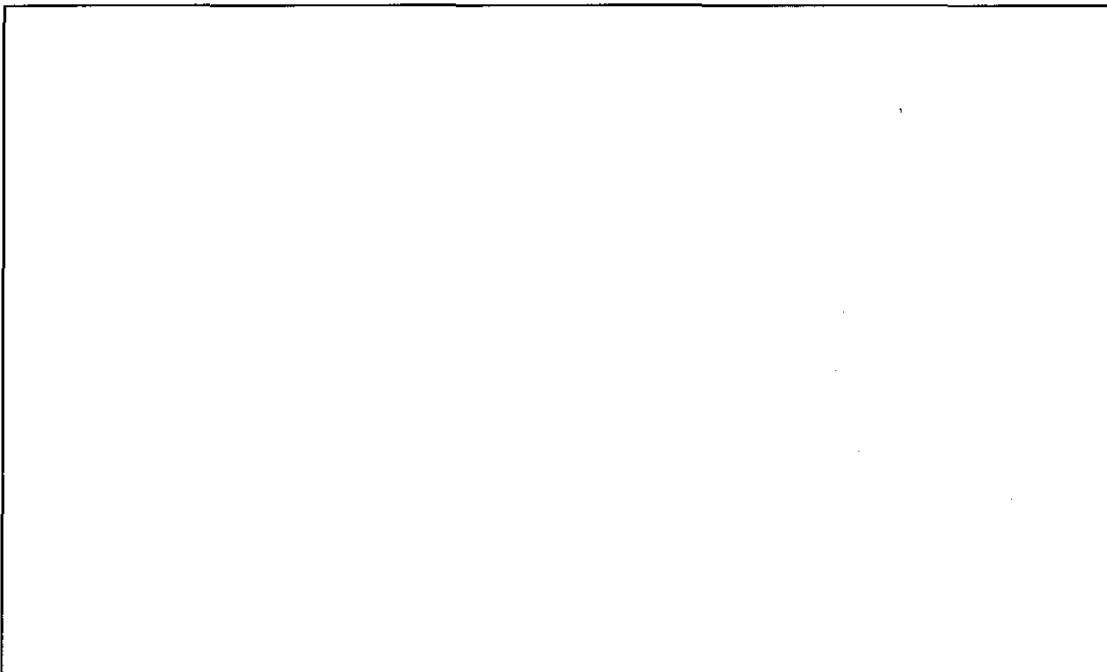
NON-AGGRESSION ACCORD

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14. DEFENSE MINISTER GASANA (WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE  
PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL PARTY) ELABORATED ON THE ROLE  
UGANDA AND ITS ARMY HAS PLAYED IN THE WAR: THE NRA  
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1.4(D)

16. THE LAST ELEMENT, COHEN SAID, WOULD AVOID THE  
ARGUMENT OVER WHERE THE TROOPS ARE AND PERMIT THE  
CEASEFIRE TO BE IMPLEMENTED. HE SAID THE ENTIRE ACCORD  
COULD BE DEPOSITED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY  
COUNCIL WHICH WOULD ENGAGE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY  
IN PROVIDING GUARANTEES.

17. THE RWANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM  
OVER SUCH AN ACCORD. HE ASKED WHETHER SUCH AN ACCORD  
COULD BRING CHANGES ON THE GROUND, WHAT THE  
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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD DO IF IT WERE BROKEN, AND  
WHETHER UGANDA WOULD ACCEPT. HE SAID THERE WOULD BE NO

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WAY RWANDA COULD LET MUSEVENI GET AWAY WITHOUT ACCEPTING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR IF THERE WERE NO IRON-CLAD GUARANTEES OF PEACE. [REDACTED]

1.4(D)

[REDACTED] HE NOTED THAT SIMILAR ACCORDS WITH COMMITMENTS WERE USED IN ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA AND ARE UNDER DISCUSSION IN MOZAMBIQUE.

18. LATER THE SAME DAY, HOWEVER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF [REDACTED] IN HIS TOAST TO COHEN LATER THAT EVENING, HE STATED THAT RWANDA WOULD NEED POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FROM FRIENDLY COUNTRIES TO ENCOURAGE UGANDA TO SIGN AN ACCORD

1.4(D), 1.4(B)

[REDACTED]

1.4(B)

U.S AID REQUESTED  
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19. IN SUMMING UP AID RWANDA WILL NEED TO ACCOMPLISH ITS PLAN, THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE TOLD COHEN THAT U.S. HELP WOULD BE NEEDED:

-- TO ENCOURAGE UGANDA TO WITHDRAW SUPPORT FROM THE RPF SO SINCERE NEGOTIATIONS CAN PROCEED;

-- TO ENCOURAGE UGANDA TO OPEN THE NORTHERN CORRIDOR SO RWANDA'S ECONOMY CAN BEGIN TO RECOVER;

-- TO ASSIST IN DEMOBILIZATION BY PROVIDING  
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REINTEGRATION TRAINING AND REHABILITATION FOR HANDICAPPED VETERANS; AND,

-- TO HELP WITH DEMINING AREAS NEAR THE FRONTIER SO CIVILIANS CAN RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AND BEGIN FARMING AGAIN.

COMMENT  
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T-01 /034W

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P 131444Z MAY 92 ZDK  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0676  
INFO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
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20. THE FOREIGN MINISTER APPEARS READY TO TAKE  
NEGOTIATIONS TO END THE WAR IN A NEW DIRECTION. THE  
INTENTION TO SIGN A PEACE TREATY WITH THE RPF AND TO  
NEGOTIATE SEPARATELY WITH UGANDA ARE TWO IMPORTANT  
DEPARTURES FROM THE POSITION OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT  
THAT SHOULD OPEN NEW AVENUES OF DISCUSSION FOR ALL

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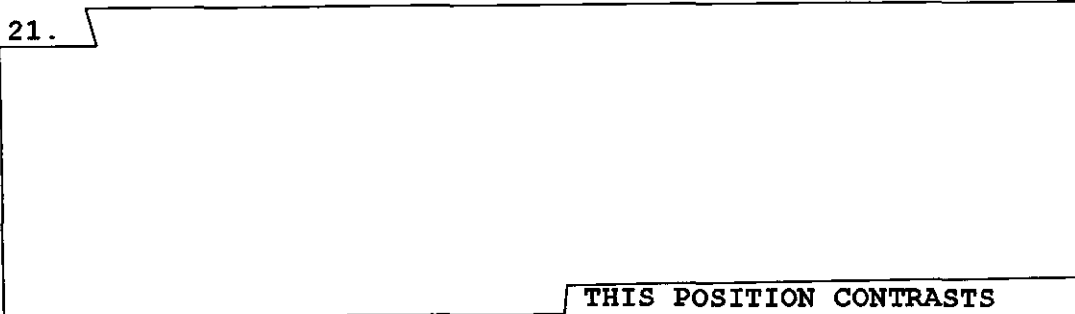
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PARTIES. AMBASSADOR COHEN MADE IT CLEAR TO RWANDA THAT  
THE U.S. IS WILLING TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH ITS  
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF AND UGANDA AND HE OFFERED SOME

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SUGGESTIONS ON SEVERAL POINTS. HE DID NOT GET INVOLVED WITH NEGOTIATING DETAILS, SUCH AS TERMS OF A CEASEFIRE, BUT DID OFFER U.S. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WHEN THE TIME COMES.

21.



1.4(B)

THIS POSITION CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH THAT PRESENTED TO AMBASSADOR COHEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS CABINET OFFICIALS. IT MAY SIGNAL DIFFICULT INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS AHEAD, EVEN THOUGH THE NEW STRATEGY FOR NEGOTIATIONS WAS PRESENTED AS A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT POSITION. END COMMENT  
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