



Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Channel: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 01 OF 08 191247Z  
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-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E48F3A 191248Z /38

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

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 01 OF 08 191247Z  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2//  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

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

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 1

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 2

Channel: n/a

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

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 01 OF 08 191247Z  
 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.

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 2

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Channel: n/a

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

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03060 01 OF 08 191247Z  
THE RPF, IS TO OVERSEE THE DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT OF THE TWO ARMIES, EFFECT INTEGRATION AND DEMOBILIZATION OF THE ARMED FORCES, ESTABLISH INTERNAL SBCURITY, ASSURE THE REINTEGRATION OF WAR DISPLACED, REVITALIZE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE, STRENGTHEN THE JUDICIARY, ORGANIZE THE RETURN AND REINSTALLATION OF LONG-TIME REFUGEES, DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION, CONDUCT A CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM, HOLD LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS, AND, FINALLY, HOLD LEGISLATIVE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

5. AN APPOINTED MULTI-PARTY PARLIAMENT, THE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 02 OF 08 191248Z  
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-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E494E7 191336Z /48 38

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)

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 4

Channel: n/a

AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY HARARE  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 AMEMBASSY LILONGWE  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2//

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 02 OF 08 191248Z  
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS: PROBLEMS AND

TRANSITIONAL 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 BROAD7BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT (BBTG), THE TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY (TNW), KAFDNTHE JOINT HIGH CTMMANDS OF THE ARMY AND GENFARMERIE -- ARE TO BE PUT INPLACE. WITHIN THE FOLLOWING MONHH, DISENGEGEMENTR AND DISARMAMENT OF TZJ ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE COMPLETB. WITHIN THE NEXT NINE MONTHS, INTE4-589, TRAINING FOR THE ARMED FORCES, THEIR REDEPLOYMENT AND

CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 4

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 5  
Channel: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 02 OF 08 191248Z  
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 CONSTRICTED 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.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03060 02 OF 08 191248Z  
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

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 5

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 6  
Channel: n/a

PLURALISM WITH THE DEFECTION OF NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 03 OF 08 191249Z  
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-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E48F8C 191249Z /38.

P 191143Z AUG 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4491  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 156  
AMEMBAUSY BUMAKO

7|  
)?AOEMB  
SSS BO213(:  
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE  
AMEMBASSYSBUUSLS 40300  
AMEMBASSYNBUJUMBURA 037?  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 00410  
AOEMBASSY DAKAR UQPQ  
RUFHDRJXAMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 4014  
AMEMBASSY HARAJE  
RUT  
KMXAMEBAYSY KAMPALA 4193  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEM-6 )8)9,&23  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
RUQR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2//  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 6

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 7  
 Channel: n/a

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 03 OF 08 191249Z  
 C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

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

ITS MEMBERS TO OTHER PARTIES. A NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS EXIST AND HAVE SOUNDED ALARM BELLS AND CONDUCTED INVESTIGATIONS INTO ABUSES BY BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF DURING THE TENSE YEARS OF WAR. WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS OF ENTREPRENEURS AND COOPERATIVES FLOURISH THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

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

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 03 OF 08 191249Z  
 INEXPERIENCED MAGISTRATES AND INCOMPETENT PROSECUTORS WHO, 173:-73 9 | 5#384 )-:( 9 | :43\$3,5:-), REMAP  
 SUBJECT INTO CORRUPTION AFD, IF W  
 LEIPART, LOYAG TO  
 ORHE O  
 OERHRULI G PARTY THAT APPOINTED THEM. THE NEW 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.

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 7

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 8  
Channel: n/a

DELAYS WILL, NO DOUBT, SET BACK THE TIMEFRAMA  
ENVISIONED IN THE PEANE ACCORD. U  
EERLYING MOST OF  
THESE ROUGH SPOTS WILL SBE THE FUNDAMENTAL MISTRUST  
AMONG ALL PARTIES. ALT  
UGH THE LEJRS OF BOTH  
SIDES HAVE SIGNED THE PEACESACCORD, NEITHER SIDE  
TRUSTS THE INTENTIONS OF THE OTHER. HISTORIC  
RIVALRIES BETWEEN THE MAJORITY HUTU, WHO PREDOMINATE  
INSIDE THE COUNTRY, AND THE MINORITY TUTSI, WHO  
PREDOMINATE WITHIN THE RPF, CONTINUE TO FUEL  
ANTAGONISM. ON THE ONE HAND, DOUBTS PERSIST ABOUT  
WHETHER THE RPF IS COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY OR TO A  
TAKEOVER OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RESTORATION OF  
TUTSI RULE. ON THE OTHER HAND, DOUBTS ALSO PERSIST  
ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CLOSE  
ENTOURAGE TO SHARING GOVERNANCE OF THE COUNTRY WITH  
THE RPF. MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENTS WON'T BE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03060 03 OF 08 191249Z  
EASY. AS ONE RWANDAN NOTED RECENTLY, POINTING TO THE  
HEAD TF THE ELITE RWANDAN PARACOMMANDO UNIT: "THIS  
MAN LOST HALF HIS UNIT DURING THE WAR, AND MOW WE AE

ASU  
NG HIM TO INTEGRATE HIS FORCES WITH THOUA OFTOHAV  
EQMDMYJNTJ

JXN  
RVIWPTUZLJ/6/-8781 #'0)73 0,3 #3

4  
;  
8, :80-):90;& 2,747  
(\$8YJD, ,#1\$4-73,3\$:63040.3 .8,85"4-DEYPGNATEWJS POLITICAL  
BASE. UNGESS HE PARTY CAN DEVISE A FORMULA FOR  
OVERCOMING ITS DIFFERENCES AND REUNITE, THE BBTG  
RISKS TAKING OFFICE WITH ITS CREDIBILITY AND  
LEGITIMACY COMPROMISED. THE VOLATILE AND COMPLICATED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 04 OF 08 191300Z  
ACTION AF-01

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 8



UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 9

Channel: n/a

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E4917C 191300Z /38

P 191143Z AUG 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4492  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSEY BAMAKO  
 AMEMBASSY BONN  
 AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY HARARE  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHAA  
 AMEMBASSY LA9 039  
 AMEMBAS Y LILONGWE  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2//

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 04 OF 08 191300Z  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

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 SITUATIONJM RECENTLY THE

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 9

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 10  
 Channel: n/a

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 LEAWAY FOR EVOLUTION, REALIGNMENTS OR BREAKAWAYS WITHIN PARTIES. THUS THE PEACE ACCORD IS LIKELY TO EXERCISE SOME CONSTRAINT ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE PARTIES.

13. THE ROLE OF THE RPF. ONE OF THE BIGGEST UNKNOWNNS IN THE INTERNAL POLITICAL EQUATION IS THE IMPACT THE RETURN OF THE RPF WILL HAVE ON THE POLITICAL SCENE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 04 OF 08 191300Z  
 MANY OF ITS LEADERS ARE FAR FROM BEING POLITICAL UNKNOWNNS. MANY HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF ASSOCIATION WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, WITH HIS MILITARY AND WITH SOME OF THE DARKER INCIDENTS IN RWANDAN HISTORY. MANY PEOPLE QUESTION WHETHER THE RPF IS COMMITTED TO POWER-SHARING AND THE DEMOCRATIC RULES OF THE GAME OR WHETHER THEY WILL RESORT TO VIOLENCE IF THE PROCESS GOES AWRY. WHETHER THEIR SOMEWHAT RIGID IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ISSUES AND TO CONTROL OF PARTY MEMBERS WILL BE COMPATIBLE WITH DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES WILL BE KEY TO THE RPF'S ACCEPTABILITY TO THE RWANDAN PUBLIC.

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 ANTIGAOUSI POLITICAL PARTY, PTAYD AN EXTRAMELY D SRUPTIVE, INDEED VIOLENT/ ROLEM DEMOBILUZED SOLDIERS AND GENDARMES COULD FUEL RENEWED CDR ACTIVITY, LRGELY DORMANT SINCE THE FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE. THE AVAILABILITY OF GUNS AND GRENADES DOES NOTHING TO REDUCE ANXIETY ON THIS POINT.

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

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 10

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 11  
Channel: n/a

DEFENSE MINISTER JAMES GASANA LEFT RWANDA SADDENLY  
AND UNANNOUNCED WITHIN THE PAST MONTH. GASANA SAID  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03060 04 OF 08 191300Z  
HE FEARED FOR HIS LIFE AND SPECULATION EXISTS THAT  
NSBNGIYAREMYE 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 POSSIZLILITY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE AXD  
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 CONTRADICTIONARY AND  
OFTEN AMBIGUOUS ARTICLES OF THE PROTOCOLS DIFFICULT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 05 OF 08 191305Z  
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-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E49200 191305Z /38

P 191143Z AUG 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4493  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMENBASSY BAMAKO 0666  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 11

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Channel: n/a

AMEMBASSY HARARE

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 05 OF 08 191305Z  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2//  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

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

AT BEST. ALREADY DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ARTICLE OUTLINING THE PROCESS FOR NOMINATING A PRIME MINISTER PRECIPITATED CONSIDERABLE MISUNDERSTANDING, INDEED, ONGOING ACRIMONY. INTERPRETATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD IS VESTED IN THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. IF NECESSARY, THE TNA IS TO REFER TO THE POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION SET UP UNDER THE CEASE-FIRE ACCORD OF JULY 1992. THE COMPOSITION OF THIS COMMISSION, CURRENTLY THE "GOVERNMENT" AND THE "RPF", HAS YET TO BE MODIFIED AND ITS ROLE REDEFINED IN A WAY THAT MAKES IT CONSISTENT WITH A POST-PEACE ACCORD MISSION. THIS COMMISSION IS THE ONLY TRANSITION ORGAN WHICH INCORPORATES INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS WHO HELPED BROKER THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

17. RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS. THE COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH IMPLEMENTING RWANDA'S PEACE ACCORD WILL BE ENORMOUS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 05 OF 08 191305Z  
DEMOBILIZATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES,

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 13

Channel: n/a

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 IFEVITABLY 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

CONFIDENTIAL

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.

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 13

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 14  
 Channel: n/a

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

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 06 OF 08 191252Z  
 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-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E49004 191252Z /38

P 191143Z AUG 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4494  
 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  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 AMEMBASSY LILONGWE  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY TUNIS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 06 OF 08 191252Z  
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2//  
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 14

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 15

Channel: n/a

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 COMMITMENTS IN A COUNTRY WHERE OUR DIRECT INTERESTS ARE MINIMAL.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

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

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 06 OF 08 191252Z  
 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

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 15

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 16  
Channel: n/a

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,

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03060 06 OF 08 191252Z  
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

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 07 OF 08 191255Z  
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-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E49098 191255Z /38

P 191143Z AUG 93  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4495  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 16



Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 17  
Channel: n/a

- AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
- AMEMBASSY BONN
- AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
- AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
- AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
- AMEMBASSY CAIRO
- AMEMBASSY DAKAR
- AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
- AMEMBASSY HARARE

- AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
- AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
- AMEMBASSY LAGOS
- AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
- AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 07 OF 08 191255Z  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2//  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

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

OF 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

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 17

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 18

Channel: n/a

THAT WILL GIVE THEM A CHANCE AT PEACE AND  
 PROSPERITY. RWANDANS KNOW THAT THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO  
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 07 OF 08 191255Z  
 CONTINUE FIGHTING. NO ONE ACQUAINTED WITH RWANDA  
 WOULD PREDICT AN UNTROUBLED TRANSITION PERIOD.  
 LEADERSHIP WILL PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN KEEPING THE  
 PROCESS ON TRACK THROUGH THE DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE  
 AHEAD. SUPPORT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,  
 BOTH BILATERALLY AND THROUGH MULTI-LATERAL  
 INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE U.N., ;5#3 294)\$ ?-, ( -, \$ 5#3  
 IMF, WILL IMPROVE THE ODDS.

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 THEO  
 CHANCE T

PICK UP, AND MOVE TOWARD RESOLUTION OF A  
 LONG-STANDING REFUGEE PROBLEM. RLANDANS HAVE MAVPED  
 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  
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 03060 07 OF 08 191255Z  
 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE U.S. SHOULD:

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

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 18

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 19  
Channel: n/a

-- 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 RECOURSE 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;

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 03060 08 OF 08 191253Z  
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-19	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NEA-01	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	RPE-01	CORE-00	/049W		

-----E4904E 191253Z /38

P 191143Z AUG 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4496  
 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  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 AMEMBASSY LILONGWE  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY TUNIS

CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 19

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
 Current Handling: n/a  
 Document Number: 1993KIGALI03060

Page: 20  
 Channel: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 03060 08 OF 08 191253Z  
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2//  
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 08 OF 08 KIGALI 03060

LILONGWE AND YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW  
 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 OF 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

PAGE 03 KIGALI 03060 08 OF 08 191253Z  
 FORCES IN RWANDA THAT WILL PERMIT SUCCESSFUL  
 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORDS.

25. KINSHASA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

LEADER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 20