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TAGS: MOPS, PINR, RW, UG  
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 UGAMDAN 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.

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GENDARMERIE  
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4. IN RESPONSE TO THE QUERY AS TO WHETHER, FOLLOWING INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES, HE EXPECTED TO BE THE COMMANDER OF THE RWANDAN GENDARMERIE OR THE DEPUTY COMMANDER OF THE RWANDAN ARMY (NOTE: ACCORDING TO THE PEACE AGREEMENT THE GOVERNMENT MILITARY WILL APPOINT THE COMMANDER OF THE NATIONAL ARMY AND THE DEPUTY COMMANDER OF THE GENDARMERIE, WHILE THE RPF  
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WILL APPOINT THE ARMY DEPUTY COMMANDER AND THE GENDARME COMMANDER. THE RPF WILL PROVIDE A TOTAL OF 1200 PPERSONNEL TO THE 3,000 PERSON FORCE.), KAGAME SAID HE INTENDS TO REMAIN IN THE ARMY. WHEN ASKED WHO, THEN, WOULD BE ASSIGNED AS COMMANDER OF THE GENDARMERIE, KAGAME STATED THAT THE RPF HAS FOUR INDIVIDUALS UNDER CONSIDERATION --  
- 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, BISERUGA HAD BEEN A BATTALION

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

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BISERUKA HIMSELF WAS REPUTED TO HAVE TORTURED PERSONS IMPRISONED AS OPPONENTS 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

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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

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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  
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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.

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INCREASED BELGIAN PARTICIPATION IN UNAMIR  
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8. 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.

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TERRORISM  
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 9. KAGAME STATED, SOMEWHAT OUT OF THE BLUE, THAT THE RPF HAD LEARNED THAT HUTU EXTREMISTS HAD PROCURED THE CLOTH USED IN MAKING RPF UNIFORMS. THE RPF FEARS THAT EXTREMISTS MIGHT DRESS AGITATORS/AGENTS PROVACATEURS IN REPLICAS OF THE RPF UNIFORM WHO WOULD THEN CARRY OUT SOME FORM OF ATROCITY, CREATING AN ANTI-RPF BACKLASH AMONG THE UNSUSPECTING POPULACE. HE SAID THAT THE RPF HAD ALREADY INFORMED UNAMIR COMMAMDER DALLAIRE OF THE REPORTED PROCUREMENT OF UNIFORM CLOTH AND THE RESULTANT RPF FEARS. (COMMENT: POST HAS ALSO HEARD, FROM A GOVERNMENT MINISTER, THE STORY OF EXTREMISTS HAVING PROCURED RPF UNIFORM

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CLOTH. IT IS HARD TO KNOW, HOWEVER, WHETHER THIS IS  
A CASE OF CIRCULAR REPORTING OF THE IDENTICAL  
INFORMATION, OR OF MULTIPLE SOURCES WITH SIMILAR  
INFORMATION. END COMMENT.)

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BURUNDI EVENTS  
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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

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"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.

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U.S. VISIT  
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12. WHEN ASKED ABOUT HIS SHORT-TERM PLANS, KAGAME  
REPLIED THAT HE HOPES TO TAKE A BRIEF VACATION --  
HOPEFULLY TO THE U.S. -- PRIOR TO BEGINNING THE  
PROCESS OF TRANSITION. HE SAID THAT HE HAS HAD THREE  
YEARS STRAIGHT OF WAR, AND THAT THE INTEGRATION AND  
TRAINING OF THE NATIONAL ARMY WILL BE AN INTENSE  
UNDERTAKING AS WELL. HE WANTS A BRIEF RESPITE BEFORE  
TAKING ON THE TASK. AS FOR THE TIMING, HE THOUGHT HE  
WOULD BE ABLE TO GET AWAY FOR 1-2 WEEKS FOLLOWING THE  
INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, BUT BEFORE  
THE START OF THE MILITARY ENCAMPMENT. WHEN ASKED  
WHETHER HE WOULD TAKE HIS FAMILY (RESIDENT IN  
KAMPALA) ON VACATION, HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE WISHED  
HE COULD, THE COSTS FOR AIRFARE ARE PROHIBITIVE.

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RESULTS OF UNAMIR PLANNING MEETING  
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13. AS PO4/MILOFF PREPARED TO DEPART, THE RPF  
DELEGATION THAT HAD ATTENDED THE DAY'S MILITARY  
PLANNING MEETING, CHAIRED IN THE DMZ BY UNAMIR,  
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RETURNED TO MULINDI. PATRICK MAZIMHAKA (DIRECTOR OF  
RPF FOREIGN RELATIONS) WHO LED THE RPF PARTICIPANTS,  
COMPLAINED THAT VERY LITTLE HAD BEEN AGREED TO IN THE  
MEETING BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE GOVERNMENT. THE RPF  
HAD BEEN TOLD BY UNAMIR THAT THE MEETING WOULD BE AT  
THE DECISION MAKING LEVEL FOR THE PURPOSE OF  
RESOLVING VARIOUS OUTSTANDING MILITARY DETAILS, AND

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THAT THE RWANDAN DEFENSE MINISTER AND THE CHIEFS OF STAFF OF BOTH THE ARMY AND GENDARMERIE WERE EXPECTED TO ATTEND. INSTEAD, ONLY THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF ATTENDED THE MEETING. MAZIMHAKA BELIEVES THAT THE GENDARME COMMANDER WAS PRECLUDED FROM ATTENDING BY THE GOR SINCE HE IS A SUPPORTER OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, WHILE THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF IS

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REPUTED 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.

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DISINFORMATION POTENTIAL  
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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 ENSUED WHEN A RPF TRUCK WITH A UGANDAN LICENSE PLATE WAS CAPTURED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHEN GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS (BOTH RWANDAN AND FOREIGNERS) POINTED TO THE LICBNSE 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

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ASSURED THAT IT WOULD BE DONE.

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16. KAGAME BEAMED PROUDLY WHEN POL/MILOFF 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.

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 GRATITUDE FOR U.S. ROLE  
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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.

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 COMMENTS  
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18. THE VENUE FOR THE MEETING AND LUNCHEON WAS ONE OF THE HOUSES BUILT FOR MANAGEMENT STAFF OF THE MULINDI TEA FACTORY. IT WAS INTERESTING TO NOTE, ON THE TERRACE OUTSIDE THE HOUSE, THAT THE RPF HAD AN INMARSAT SATELLITE TELEPHONE SET. THE INMARSAT WAS POWERED BY A BANK OF CAR BATTERIES, WHICH IN TURN WERE HOOKED TO A SOLAR-POWERED RECHARGER.

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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

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COMMAWD HIGH COUNCIL WILL BE TO AMICABLY RESOLVE THE DISAGREEMENTS THAT WILL INEVITABLY ARISE CONCERNING POLICY AND/OR PERSONNEL. IT IS HARD TO KNOW, HOWEVER, TO WHAT DEGREE THIS AVOWED SUPPORT FOR RECONCILIATION HAS PERMEATED THE RPF. ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, IT APPEARS THAT RPF NEGOTIATORS STILL VIEW THE SITUATION IN WIN-LOSE TERMS RATHER THAN SEEKING SOLUTIONS THAT CAN PROVIDE MUTUAL BENEFIT TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RPF.

LEADER

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