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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL PGOV MOPS RW
 SUBJECT: NTAGERURA: TRANSITION GOVERNMENT IMMINENT?

REF: A) KIGALI 0853 B) KIGALI 0934

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. IN A MARCH 3 MEETING, PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S SPECIAL EMISSARY, RWANDAN MINISTER OF TRANSPORT ANDRE NTAGERURA, TOLD A/S MOOSE THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA WAS DOING EVERYTHING HE COULD TO PUT THE

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TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE. HE HIGHLIGHTED THE COMPROMISES THAT CAME OUT OF THE FEB. 25 AND FEB. 27 MEETINGS CALLED BY THE PRESIDENT AND SUGGESTED THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE ASSEMBLY WAS NOW SETTLED AND ONLY THE ISSUE OF PL MINISTERS REMAINED TO BE DECIDED. HE SAID THE ASSEMBLY COULD FORM VERY SOON, AND THE CABINET MIGHT BE IN PLACE BY THE END OF THE NEXT WEEK. A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN OVER THE RECENT VIOLENCE AND SAID WE FEARED THAT IF THE IMPASSE DRAGGED ON, THE SECURITY SITUATION COULD WORSEN. HE STRESSED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD ALREADY DONE A GREAT DEAL FOR RWANDA AND SAID THAT THE RWANDANS MUST DO THEIR SHARE AND RESOLVE THE CURRENT IMPASSE. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE FACT THAT NOT ALL PARTIES HAD BEEN INVITED TO THE FEB. 25 AND FEB. 27 MEETINGS, BUT WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE MINISTER'S STATEMENT THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS MAKING EVERY

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EFFORT TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. HE REMINDED NTAGERURA THAT THE SELECTION OF DEPUTIES AND MINISTERS SHOULD BE LEFT TO EACH PARTY, WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. NTAGERURA AGREED AND SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT INTERFERING, MERELY TRYING TO BRING THE VARIOUS SIDES TO THE TABLE. END SUMMARY

3. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA SENT HIS PERSONAL EMISSARY, MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS ANDRE NTAGERURA, TO THE U.S. TO EXPLAIN THE EFFORTS UNDERWAY TO FORM THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. AFTER VISITING NEW YORK TO MEET WITH THE UN SYG (REF A), NTAGERURA TRAVELED TO WASHINGTON AND MET WITH AF A/S MOOSE ON MARCH 3. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. ALOYS UWIMANA. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON (NOTETAKER) ALSO ATTENDED.

NTAGERURA SEES PROGRESS TOWARD FORMING GOVERNMENT

4. NTAGERURA THANKED THE U.S. FOR ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. HE SAID THE GOR KNEW THE U.S. HAD PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ENSURING APPROVAL OF THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION, AND THE RWANDANS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE OPERATION REPRESENTED A SIGNIFICANT EXPENSE. HE ASSURED A/S MOOSE THAT THE RWANDANS HAD DONE THEIR BEST TO ENSURE THAT THE UN MISSION WOULD BE WORTH THE EFFORT AND EXPENSE.

5. THE MINISTER SAID HABYARIMANA HAD TRIED TO FORM THE

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TRANSITION GOVERNMENT SHORTLY AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE UN
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TROOPS, BUT INTERNAL PROBLEMS WITHIN SOME OF THE
COALITION PARTIES PREVENTED THE INSTALLATION OF THE
GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THESE PARTIES ARE WORKING TO RESOLVE
THE PROBLEMS AND HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS.

6. ACCORDING TO NTAGERURA, HABYARIMANA HAS BEEN PUSHING
ALL SIDES TO FORM THE GOVERNMENT AND HAS WORKED TO BRING
EVERYONE TO THE TABLE TO REACH A RESOLUTION. HE POINTED
OUT THAT HABYARIMANA HAD CALLED TWO ALL-PARTIES MEETINGS
ON FEB. 25 AND 27, WHICH LED TO IMPORTANT COMPROMISES.
ACCORDING TO NTAGERURA, THE MDR HAS REACHED AGREEMENT ON
BOTH ITS MINISTERIAL AND ASSEMBLY SEATS. AS FOR THE PL,
ITS LEADERS HAVE REACHED A COMPROMISE ON THE DIVISION OF
ASSEMBLY SEATS AND ARE NOW NEGOTIATING ON MINISTERIAL
POSITIONS. HE PRESENTED THE COMPROMISES AS A DONE DEAL
AND SAID THOSE WHO HAVE OBJECTED TO IT WILL BE
MARGINALIZED.

7. IN LIGHT OF THESE RECENT COMPROMISES, NTAGERURA
THOUGHT THAT THE ASSEMBLY COULD FORM VERY SOON, PERHAPS
WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK. HE ADDED THAT THE CABINET MIGHT BE
IN PLACE SOON THEREAFTER, PERHAPS AT THE END OF THE NEXT
WEEK. CONCERNING HIS VISIT TO NEW YORK, NTAGERURA SAID
THAT THE SYG DID NOT HAVE THE MOST RECENT INFORMATION AND
WAS UNDER THE MISTAKEN IMPRESSION THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO
PROGRESS ON FORMING THE GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE HAD
UPDATED THE SYG ON THE RECENT PROGRESS.

MINISTER ASKS FOR CONTINUED U.S. SUPPORT

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8. DESPITE THE PROGRESS, NTAGERURA EMPHASIZED THAT THE
RWANDANS STILL NEEDED U.S. SUPPORT AND PRESSURE. HE SAID
HE WAS NOT ASKING THE U.S. TO TAKE A POSITION ON WHOM TO
CHOOSE FOR WHICH MINISTRIES OR DEPUTY SEATS; RATHER, HE
THOUGHT THAT WE COULD OFFER USEFUL ADVICE ON HOW TO
OVERCOME THE IMPASSE AND COULD PRESS ALL SIDES TO
COMPROMISE.

9. NTAGERURA ADDED THAT ONCE THE GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE,
RWANDA WILL NEED ASSISTANCE FOR THE LATER STAGES OF THE

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PEACE PROCESS, INCLUDING DEMOBILIZATION AND RELAUNCHING OF THE ECONOMY. HE POINTED OUT THAT RWANDA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION WAS ALMOST CATASTROPHIC AND REITERATED PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S REQUEST, MADE DURING LAST OCTOBER'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON, THAT THE U.S. SUPPORT RWANDA IN ITS TALKS WITH THE WORLD BANK AND IMF.

A/S MOOSE CALLS FOR INSTALLATION OF GOVERNMENT

10. A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT WE HAVE BEEN VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA FOR SOME TIME. HE SAID THE U.S. WAS PROUD TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ASSIST RWANDA DURING THE PEACE TALKS AND HAS WORKED TO PROVIDE CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. A/S MOOSE SAID THE ACCORDS ARE THE SOLUTION TO RWANDA'S PROBLEMS, WHICH IS WHY WE SUPPORTED UN DEPLOYMENT TO MONITOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORDS. HE NOTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD ALREADY DONE A GREAT DEAL FOR RWANDA AND ITS PATIENCE WAS WEARING THIN.

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11. A/S MOOSE EMPHASIZED THAT ALL SIDES MUST DO EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO PUT THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE. HE ADDED THAT WE HOPED THE PRESIDENT WOULD CONTINUE TO ACT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST. HE SAID WE INTENDED TO CONTINUE TO REMAIN ENGAGED IN RWANDA BUT IT WAS CRUCIAL THAT THE RWANDANS DO THEIR SHARE. A/S MOOSE SAID THE ASSASSINATION OF THE PUBLIC WORKS MINISTER AND THE RECENT VIOLENCE HAD BEEN VERY TROUBLING AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IF THE CURRENT IMPASSE IS NOT RESOLVED SOON, THERE WOULD BE MORE PROBLEMS ALONG THESE LINES.

NTAGERURA SAYS HABYARIMANA NOT BLOCKING PROCESS

12. A/S MOOSE THANKED THE MINISTER FOR EXPLAINING THE EFFORTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE TO INSTALL THE GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE HAD TO ADMIT THAT WE HAD HAD ANOTHER IMPRESSION OF THE SITUATION. IT HAD APPEARED TO US THAT SOME PROBLEMS STILL REMAINED. THIS WAS DUE IN PART TO THE FACT THAT NOT ALL PARTIES HAD BEEN INVITED TO THE FEB. 25 AND FEB. 27 MEETINGS, WHICH LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOLUTION WAS BEING IMPOSED ON THE PARTIES. A/S MOOSE SAID WE FOUND THIS TROUBLING. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAS A GREAT DEAL OF RESPECT FOR THE PRESIDENT AND RECOGNIZED THAT HABYARIMANA WANTED TO BREAK THE IMPASSE

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BUT THE APPROACH HE TOOK WAS NOT ENTIRELY CONSTRUCTIVE. A/S MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT THE U.S. HAS DONE ITS BEST TO MAINTAIN A BALANCED POSITION, AND HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A DIALOGUE WITH ALL/ALL SIDES.

13. NTAGERURA ADMITTED THAT SOME PEOPLE WERE SAYING
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HABYARIMANA WAS BLOCKING THE PROCESS TO PROTECT HIS OWN INTERESTS. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT IN TRUTH, THE PRESIDENT HAS PUSHED HARD TO HELP THE PARTIES RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. HE NOTED THAT THE COMPROMISE WHICH WAS PROPOSED IN THE FEB. 25/27 MEETINGS ORIGINATED WITH THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS; HABYARIMANA WAS ONLY TRYING TO USE HIS POSITION AS PRESIDENT TO MEDIATE, BUT HIS EFFORTS HAD BEEN MISINTERPRETED. HE ADDED THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY CONCERNED WITH THE SECURITY SITUATION AND WAS DOING EVERYTHING HE COULD TO PUT THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE.

14. NTAGERURA STRESSED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION EFFORTS HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL; THE RESULTS OF THE FEB. 25/27 MEETINGS REPRESENTED REAL COMPROMISES IN WHICH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PL AND MDR FACTIONS HAD MOVED OFF OF THEIR PREVIOUS MAXIMALIST POSITIONS. HE NOTED THAT THE RPF SAID THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE, BUT ASKED HOW THE RPF CAN COMPLAIN IF THE LEADERS OF THE TWO PL FACTIONS THEMSELVES HAVE ACCEPTED IT.

NTAGERURA AGREES, PARTIES SHOULD CHOOSE THEIR OWN REPS

15. A/S MOOSE AND AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER EMPHASIZED THAT IT IS UP TO THE PARTIES THEMSELVES TO DECIDE WHO THEIR MINISTERS AND DEPUTIES WILL BE. CONCERNING THE PL MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS, RENDER SAID THAT THE COMPROMISE MUST BE BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS WITHIN THE PL, WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM OTHER PARTIES. SHE EMPHASIZED THAT WE HAVE MADE THESE SAME POINTS TO THE RPF.

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16. NTAGERURA AGREED THAT IT WAS UP TO THE PL ITSELF TO CHOOSE ITS MINISTERS AND DEPUTIES. THE ADVICE/PRESSURE HE WANTED FROM US WAS TO LET THE PARTIES DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER RESPONDED THAT

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HABYARIMANA HAD TO FOLLOW THIS SAME ADVICE. IN RESPONSE, NTAGERURA RETURNED TO HIS EARLIER POINT THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT INTERFERING; HE WAS ONLY TRYING TO BRING THE FACTIONS TOGETHER SO THEY COULD SOLVE THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THEMSELVES. ACCORDING TO NTAGERURA, IF IT WERE UP TO THE PRESIDENT, THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE FORMED LONG AGO. A/S MOOSE SAID HE WAS REASSURED BY THE MINISTERS STATEMENTS.

17. RENDER ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO INSTALL THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS RIGHT AWAY AND LET ANY DISPUTED SEATS BE DECIDED LATER. NTAGERURA SAID THIS HAD BEEN SUGGESTED BUT SAID IT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION TO GO FORWARD WITH THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT HAVING ALL FACTIONS REPRESENTED. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE STRONGER AND LESS LIKELY TO BE SUBJECT TO AN ATTACK ON ITS LEGITIMACY IF ALL FACTIONS ENTER THE GOVERNMENT AT THE SAME TIME.

18. COMMENT: DESPITE NTAGERURA'S BELIEF THAT FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT MAY BE IMMINENT, WE STILL SEE MANY ROADBLOCKS AHEAD. IN CONTENDING THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE ASSEMBLY IS NOW SET, NTAGERURA IGNORES TWO IMPORTANT POINTS. FIRST, AS REPORTED IN REF (B), PL FACTION LEADER LANDOALD NDASINGWA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE SIX/FIVE DEPUTY SPLIT AGREED TO IN THE FEB. 25 AND 27 MEETINGS IS

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CONTINGENT ON HIS FACTION RECEIVING TWO OUT OF THE THREE PL MINISTRY PORTFOLIOS. THUS, UNTIL THE HIGHLY CONTENTIOUS ISSUE OF PL MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS IS SETTLED, THERE IS NO DEAL ON THE DEPUTIES. SECOND, THE RPF HAS REJECTED THE RESULTS OF THE MEETINGS, FROM WHICH THEY WERE EXCLUDED, AND WOULD PRESUMABLY BOYCOTT ANY SWEARING IN CEREMONY BASED ON THE COMPROMISES AGREED TO IN THE MEETINGS; THE LANDOALD WING OF THE PL, AND POSSIBLY OTHER HABYARIMANA OPPONENTS, WOULD PROBABLY JOIN THEM. NTAGERURA ALSO FAILED TO MENTION THAT, WHILE THE MDR MAY HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO A MINISTERIAL DIVISION BETWEEN THE PRO- AND ANTI-TWAGIRAMUNGU FACTIONS, THE PARTY STILL MUST DECIDE WHICH PARTY MEMBERS FROM EACH FACTION WILL TAKE WHICH MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS. THIS ISSUE COULD PROVE AS DIFFICULT TO SETTLE AS THE PL SPLIT. WE HOPE THAT NTAGERURA FAITHFULLY REPORTS BACK TO HABYARIMANA ON THE POINTS WE RAISED, AND THAT HABYARIMANA TAKES SERIOUSLY OUR ADVISE TO MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE WITH ALL SIDES, INCLUDING THE RPF. END COMMENT
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