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 ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

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
	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	SA-01	RPE-01	CORE-00	/043W		
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R 151520Z NOV 93
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5037
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04060

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW
 SUBJECT: PROGRESS ON THE GTBE

REF: KIGALI 03734

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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 2. SUMMARY: RWANDAN HARDLINERS LAST WEEK SHARPLY
 ATTACKED BELGIAN PARTICIPATION IN UNAMIR, BUT SEEMED
 NOT TO HAVE FRIGHTENED THE BELGIANS AWAY. GENERAL
 DALLAIRE EXPECTS THE FIRST BELGE BY THE END OF THE
 WEEK, AND BANGLADESHI TROOPS TO ARRIVE BY DECEMBER 15,
 MAKING FORMATION OF THE GTBE FEASIBLE BEFORE THE END
 OF THE YEAR. THE MDR INTERNAL CRISIS CONTINUES, BUT
 THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE OF EFFORTS AT REUNITING THE
 NON-ETHNICS IN THE PARTY. THE PL SPLIT, ON THE OTHER
 HAND, INTENSIFIED OVER THE WEEKEND. TWAGIRAMUNGU
 REMAINS THE CHOICE OF THE RPF, MRMD, PSD, PL

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(MUGENZI) AND PDC TO LEAD THE NEXT GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH HIS LEADERSHIP IS NOT AS STRONG AS IT WAS EARLIER. COMPLETION OF UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT AND FORMATION OF THE GTBE ARE URGENTLY REQUIRED TO BEAT BACK THE HUTU MARDLINERS WHO APPARENTLY WOULD LIKE TO SCUTTLE THE ENTIRE ARUSHA PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

CHALLENGE TO UNAMIR

3. WIDELY DISTRIBUTED LETTERS NOVEMBER 4 AND NOVEMBER 8 HAVE CHALLENGED THE UN DECISION TO INVOLVE BELGIAN TROOPS IN UNAMIR. THE LETTERS, STRIDENTLY OPPOSED TO BELGIAN PARTICIPATION, DO NOT BEAR A PARTY LETTERHEAD, BUT ONE OF THEM CARRIES THE SIGNATURE OF A COUNSELOR TO THE CDR, AND THE CONTENT AND FORM INDICATE CDR ORIGIN. IN RESPONSE, THE MDR (TWAGIRAMUNGU), PSD, PL AND PDC HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 11 TO EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT FOR BELGIAN PARTICIPATION. THE ABSENCE OF THE MRND FROM THIS PRESS CONFERENCE WAS NOTED WIDELY AND CONSIDERED

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OMINOUS. PUBLICLY THE MRND HAS DISTANCED ITSELF FROM THE HARSH CDR CRITICISMS OF THE BELGE AND PLEADED TECHNICAL REASONS FOR NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE OTHER PARTIES' REBUTTAL.

4. IN RESPONSE TO THE LETTERS, THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR SOUGHT AN AUDIENCE WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA NOVEMBER 12 TO SEE IF THE PRESIDENT SHARED THE VIEWS OF THE CDR. HABYARIMANA TOLD SWINWEN THAT HE WELCOMED BELGIAN PARTICIPATION WITH HALF A BATTALION, BUT WISHED TO HAVE ANOTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPANT FOR THE REST OF THE BATTALION FOR KIGALI. HABYARIMANA TOLD SWINNEN THAT HE WAS NOT HAPPY WITH BANGLADESH PARTICIPATION BECAUSE HE FELT IT WAS NECESSARY TO HAVE PEOPLE WHO SPOKE FRENCH IN THE KIGALI CONTINGENT AND HE ASKED SWINNEN TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE RPF TO ACCEPT FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN UNAMIR. I TOLD SWINNEN SUBSEQUENTLY THAT MY VIEW WAS THAT THIS WAS A NONSTARTER WITH THE RPF AND TO REOPEN IT WITH THE RPF COULD CAUSE SERIOUS DELAYS IN THE WHOLE PROCESS. I DO NOT KNOW IF THE BELGIANS WILL PURSUE THE HABYARIMANA SUGGESTION FOR FRENCH PARTICIPATION.

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5. SINCE THE BELGIANS HAVE DECIDED NOT TO SEND A FULL BATTALION AS REQUESTED BY UNAMIR COMMANDER GENERAL DALLAIRE, DALLAIRE PLANS TO BRING BANGLADESHI, EITHER UNAWARE OF HABYARIMANA'S OBJECTION, OR PREPARED TO OVERRIDE IT. THE BANGLADESH ADVANCE TEAM ARRIVES THIS WEEK. DALLAIRE BELIEVES THE BELGIANS WILL BE FULLY DEPLOYED BY

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DECEMBER 1, AND THE BANGLADESH CONTINGENT WILL ARRIVE BY DECEMBER 15. THIS WOULD ENABLE THE GTBE TO BE INSTALLED BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR.

MDR CRISIS CONTINUES

6. THE MDR (PARMEHUTU), STILL CLAIMING TO BE THE LEGITIMATE PARTY WHICH HAS EXPELLED TWAGIRAMUNGU FROM ITS RANKS, HAS WIDELY DISTRIBUTED A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT, CALLING ON HIM TO REJECT TWAGIRAMUNGU AS PRIME MINISTER. THE LETTER ACCUSES TWAGIRAMUNGU OF

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY DHAKA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04060

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EVERY MISDEED WHICH THE MRND AND CDR PRESS ACCUSED
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HIM OF A YEAR AGO, THEN APPEARS TO THREATEN THE
PRESIDENT WITH CHAOS IF HE DOES NOT WITHDRAW
TWAGIRAMUNGU FROM THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP. THE MDR
DIRECTLY CHALLENGES THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD
PERMIT THE RPF TO BRING 600 BODYGUARDS TO KIGALI, AND
DIRECTLY ACCUSES THE RPF OF HAVING OTHER THAN
PEACEFUL INTENTIONS. A SUBSEQUENT MEMORANDUM,
DISTRIBUTION UNKNOWN, DELIVERED TO ME BY MDR
PARMEHUTU FAITHFUL, CALLS FOR THE REOPENING OF TWO
ARTICLES OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD BEFORE THE GTBE IS
FORMED.

7. MEANTIME, TWAGIRAMUNGU CONTINUES TO ACT AS THE
PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE. HE CHAIRED A MEETING IN
KIMIHIRA WITH THE RPF WHICH WAS OBSERVED BY THE
DIPLOMATIC CORPS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNDP TO
DISCUSS THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY. IN THIS
MEETPCO TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS CLEARLY ANNOINTED BY THE RPF
REPRESENTATIVE WHO EXPRESSED THE RPF'S GRATITUDE FOR
TWAGIRAMUNGU'S PRESENCE AND NOTED THAT THEY HAD
CALLED ON TO CHAIR THE MEETING. FROM THE MEETING
EMERGED A JOINT COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH QUESTIONS
CONCERNING THE ROUND TABLE TO BE SPONSORED BY THE

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UNDP, AND AGREEMENT ON A JOINT DELEGATION TO GO TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE WORLD BANK ON THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT SECOND TRANCHE. THIS OPEN COLLABORATION BETWEEN TWAGIRAMUNGU AND THE RPF DRIVES HIS PARTY'S PARMEHUTU WING BANAMAS. THEY ACCUSE HIM OF HAVING BEEN AN RPF AGENT FROM THE BEGINNING AND NOW TREAT HIM AS A GREATER ENEMY THAN EITHER HABYARIMANA OR THE RPF.

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8. TWAGIRAMUNGU HAS MET BRIEFLY WITH NGULINZIRA, AND CONTINUES TO HOPE THAT THE MDR WILL BE AT LEAST PARTLY REUNITED BEFORE THE GTBE FINALLY EMERGES.

THE PL COLLAPSES

9. THE TUTSI WING OF THE PL HAS HELD A "NATIONAL CONGRESS" NOVEMBER 13 AND GOES TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM THE HUTU LEADERSHIP LED BY PARTY PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI. THEY ANNOUNCED THE ELECTION OF A COMPLETELY NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. MANY EFFORTS WERE MADE TO AVOID THIS RUPTURE, INCLUDING A PARTY LEADERSHIP MEETING NOVEMBER 11, WHICH MIGHT HAVE POSTPONED THE PARTY CONGRESS, BUT ENDED UP IN TOTAL DISAGREEMENT.

10. EARLIER IN THE WEEK, MUGENZI CAME TO THE EMBASSY, TOLD THE DCM THAT HIS LIFE WAS THREATENED BY THE LANDO CLIQUE. THIS THREAT HAD BEEN CONVEYED TO HIM BY THREE WITNESSES WHO SAID THEY HAD BEEN PRESENT IN A MEETING IN WHICH THEY DECIDED THAT THE ANSWER TO THE MUGENZI PROBLEM WAS TO ASSASSINATE HIM. HE EVEN HAD DETAILS OF WHO WAS GOING TO PULL THE TRIGGER. I CONFRONTED LANDO WITH THIS ALLEGATION THE FOLLOWING DAY, ALONG WITH A FERVENT APPEAL TO THE TWO OF THEM TO PUT THEIR DIFFERENCES BEHIND THEM AND RESTORE THE PARTY WHICH HAD BEEN SO IMPORTANT TO THE PROCESS OF LEADING TOWARD PEACE AND MULTIPARTY GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA. LANDO, OF COURSE, DENIED THE DEATH THREAT AND PROMISED TO REASSURE MUGENZI. BUT LANDO WAS ADAMANT THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE PARTY MUST BE ABLE

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TO CONTROL THE PARTY, ALTHOUGH HE IS STILL WILLING TO PERMIT MUGENZI TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE PARTY. MUGENZI REFUSES TO HAVE THE PARTY TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM BY UNGRATEFUL TUTSIS.

11. MUGENZI INSISTS THAT HE AND HIS FACTION WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD THE PL SEATS IN THE GOVERNMENT AND WILL APPOINT THE PL MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. HE INSISTS THAT PL DEPUTIES ELECTED BY PREFECTORAL COMMITTEES WILL ONLY BE ACCEPTABLE IF THEY REMAIN LOYAL TO THE PARTY (HIS) LEADERSHIP. HE ALSO INSISTS THAT HE WILL HAVE A TUTSI CABINET MEMBER TO REPLACE LANDO, AND TUTSIS MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL

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	USIE-00	SA-01	RPE-01	CORE-00	/043W		
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ASSEMBLY, THEREBY KEEPING FAITH WITH HIS ORIGINAL OBJECTIVES FOR THE LIBERAL PARTY, IN SPITE OF THE TAKEOVER EFFORT.

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THE SEARCH FOR LEADERSHIP

12. FOR THE MOMENT, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE RPF, THE PRESIDENT OF RWANDA AND THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP OF THE PSD, PL AND PDC CONTINUE TO SUPPORT FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AS PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE. UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE HAS ALSO WORKED WITH HIM IN THE PREPARATION OF THE UN'S MISSION. BUT MANY HAVE BEGUN TO QUESTION WHETHER TWAGIRAMUNGU IS PROVIDING THE LEADERSHIP THAT IS NECESSARY TO EMERGE FROM THE CURRENT MORASS. DALLAIRE TOLD ME THAT WHEN HE MET WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU IN AUGUST ON HIS RECONNAISSANCE MISSION, HE WAS HIGHLY IMPRESSED WITH THE LEADERSHIP AND MOTIVATION OF TWAGIRAMUNGU. HE HAS SAID THAT LATELY HE IS WONDERING WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THIS LEADER. SOME UNCERTAINTY ALSO APPEARED IN TWAGIRAMUNGU'S CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE KINIHIRA MEETING, WHERE HE SEEMED TO HAVE LESS COMMAND OF BOTH THE SUBJECT AND THE PARTICIPANTS THAN WAS CALLED FOR. IN A PRIVATE ASIDE AT THE MEETING, TWAGIRAMUNGU EXPRESSED DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT IN HIS POLITICAL ALLIES, AND SAID QUITE FRANKLY THAT IF HE HAD KNOWN WHAT HE WAS GETTING INTO WHEN HE STARTED INTO THIS BUSINESS, HE WOULD HAVE STAYED OUT OF POLITICS ALTOGETHER.

13. ON A HOPEFUL NOTE, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT SOME OF THE MDR LEADERS WHO HAVE FOLLOWED THE SO-CALLED PARMEHUTU BRANCH UNTIL RECENTLY, ARE NOW OPEN TO A COMPROMISE WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU. PEOPLE SUCH

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AS FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA HAVE FINALLY AWAKENED
TO THE FACT THAT SOME OF THEIR ALLIES IN THE PARTY
ARE THOROUGHLY RACIST IN THEIR APPROACH TO RWANDAN
POLITICS. THIS MAY OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY FOR
TWAGIRAMUNGU. WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE AND NGULINZIRA
AND OTHERS PLANNED TO MEET OVER THE WEEKEND TO TRY TO
FIND A COMMON POSITION.

14. COMMENT: THERE IS A DETERMINED GROUP OF HUTU
SUPREMISTS WHOSE FEAR OF POTENTIAL TUTSI DOMINATION
IS THE MOST IMPORTANT, AND FOR SOME THE ONLY
POLITICAL FACTOR OF SIGNIFICANCE. THESE PEOPLE HAVE
BEEN UNRECONCILED TO THE ARUSHA ACCORD FROM THE
BEGINNING, AND NOW ARE GROPING FOR AN EFFECTIVE MEANS
OF DERAILING THE ACCORD WHICH OFFERS AN HONORABLE
PLACE FOR TUTSIS IN RWANDAN SOCIETY. FIRST, THEY
TRIED TO EXPLOIT THE BURUNDI TRAGEDY TO UNITE HUTUS
BEHIND THEM IN RWANDA. THIS HAS NOT SUCCEEDED. NOW
THE TACTIC IS TO GO AFTER THE BELGIANS HOPING TO
EXPLOIT POST-COLONIAL ANTIPATHIES TO PREVENT THE
PROMPT ARRIVAL OF THE UNAMIR FORCE. SHOULD THEY
SUCCEED IN SUBSTANTIALLY DELAYING UNAMIR, THEY MAY
HAVE A CHANCE TO UNRAVEL THE WHOLE PROCESS.

15. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE BEST WAY TO
PROMOTE A RESOLUTION OF SOME OF THESE POLITICAL
PROBLEMS IS TO PRESS AHEAD RAPIDLY WITH THE
DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR AND THE FORMATION OF THE GTBE.
WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT GENERAL DALLAIRE IS A
CAPABLE AND DYNAMIC INDIVIDUAL WHO WILL BE ABLE TO
PULL TOGETHER A KIGALI BATTALION SOON. END COMMENT.

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