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 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI NIACT IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8038
 INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 15719

NIACT FOR KIGALI HOLD UNTIL 0800 JUNE 6

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, RW, FR, US
 SUBJECT: DAS DAVIDOW MEETS RWANDAN REBEL REPRESENTATIVES

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. AF/DAS JEFFREY DAVIDOW MET JUNE 5 WITH RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) REPRESENTATIVES IN
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 ADVANCE OF THEIR TALKS WITH GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA REPRESENTATIVES IN PARIS, NOW SCHEDULED TO BEGIN JUNE 6. THE RPF, EXPRESSING CONSIDERABLE DISTRUST IN PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, BLAMED NEW FIGHTING IN RWANDA ON THE GOVERNMENT BUT SAID THE TALKS SHOULD NEVERTHELESS CONTINUE. THE RPF SAID IT WANTS A CEASEFIRE LINE ESTABLISHED AND MONITORED BUT WAS LESS SPECIFIC ON ITS POSITIONS ON OTHER AGENDA ITEMS SUCH AS THE ROLE OF MEDIATORS IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS. DAVIDOW URGED ENDING POLITICAL RHETORIC, ACHIEVING SOME AGREEMENT IN THE TALKS, AND CONSIDERING FRENCH MEDIATION. END

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SUMMARY.

3. DAS DAVIDOW MET JUNE 5 WITH THREE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RPF: PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, AND FRANK MUGAMBAGE. THE MEETING PRECEEDS RPF TALKS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA (GOR) THAT WERE POSTPONED TO JUNE 6 BECAUSE OF THE DELAYED ARRIVAL OF THE GOR FOREIGN MINISTER WHO WAS CAUGHT IN A AIRLINES STRIKE IN DAKAR. ALSO PRESENT WERE POLOFF REED FENDRICK AND DCM/KIGALI JOYCE LEADER.

FRAMEWORK FOR TALKS

4. MAZIMHAKA WELCOMED THE U.S. INTEREST IN THE FORTHCOMING TALKS BUT SAID THE RPF IS IN PARIS FOR DIRECT TALKS WITH THE GOR TO ESTABLISH AN AGENDA FOR TALKS, WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF ANY OTHER PARTIES, AS HAD BEEN AGREED WITH THE GOR IN KAMPALA MAY 24. HE SAID THIS KAMPALA FRAMEWORK SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH
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THE FRAMEWORK OF FRENCH MEDIATION, AS HE HAD EXPLAINED TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID THAT THE USG WOULD BE WELCOME TO ATTEND THE OPENING ROUND OF THE TALKS.

NEW ATTACKS IN RWANDA

5. MAZIMHAKA SAID THAT THE RPF BELIEVES IN A POLITICAL RATHER THAN A MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE FIGHTING IN RWANDA. HE CLAIMED THE RPF DID NOT/NOT ATTACK RWANDA'S NORTHERN TOWN BYUMBA AND THAT CAPTURE OF BYUMBA WAS NOT AN RPF OBJECTIVE. INSTEAD OF AN ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING, HE ARGUED THAT BYUMBA HAD BEEN BESEIGED FOR SOME TIME AND THAT TODAY'S EVENTS WERE A RESULT OF THE GOVERNMENT FORCES EVACUATING THE TOWN. HE SAID THE PRESIDENT WOULD DO ANYTHING TO DERAIL THE NEGOTIATIONS, JUDGING BY HIS RECENT COMMENTS (IN HIS SPEECH MAY 30 IN GIKONGORO).

6. AMBASSADOR DAVIDOW SAID THAT THE ATTACKS IN BYUMBA, REGARDLESS OF WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY THEY WERE, THREATENED THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS. IT STRENGTHENS THE ARGUMENT OF THOSE IN RWANDA WHO SAY THE RPF IS NOT TO

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BE TRUSTED AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE. HE APPEALED TO THE RPF TO ENHANCE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOR NEGOTIATING TEAM BY MAKING A PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT THE RPF HAD PULLED OUT OF BYUMBA, WITHOUT ASSERTING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTACK. BOTH SIDES, THE U.S. BELIEVES, HAVE EMBARKED ON THE TALKS WITH HOPE AND SKEPTICISM. BOTH SIDES MUST GET BEYOND
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RHETORIC IN ORDER FOR THE TALKS TO PROCEED.

OBJECTIVES FOR TALKS

7. ASKED ABOUT RPF OBJECTIVES FOR THE WEEKEND'S TALKS, MAZIMHAKA REVIEWED THE AGENDA SET IN KAMPALA. HE STRESSED THE NEED TO PUT IN PLACE THE CEASEFIRE CALLED

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FOR IN THE NSELE ACCORD AND TO DETERMINE WHY IT HAD
FAILED AND WHAT MECHANISM COULD WORK NOW. HE NOTED
THAT HAVING NEW PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT CHANGED THE
NEGOTIATING DYNAMIC AND INTIMATED THAT NOTHING, NOT

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BYUMBA, GESENYI, RUHENGERI, NOR KIBILIRA (REFERENCES TO
RECENT TROUBLE SPOTS IN RWANDA) SHOULD STAND IN THE WAY
OF THE TALKS.

CEASEFIRE

9. MAZIMPAHAKA SAID THE RPF IS PREPARED FOR A
CEASEFIRE BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY HAVE TO GIVE
GROUND IN ORDER FOR AGREEMENT TO BE REACHED. HE SAID
THE RPF IS NOT ASKING FOR THE GOR TO ADMIT THAT THE RPF
IS PRESENT IN RWANDA. INSTEAD THE ISSUE IS HOW TO HAVE
AN OBSERVABLE CEASEFIRE. HE SAID THE RPF IS WILLING TO
HAVE A CEASEFIRE LINE BETWEEN THE TWO ARMIES ALONG
WHICH OBSERVERS CAN BE PLACED.

10. AMBASSADOR DAVIDOW SUGGESTED CONSIDERING A ZONE
INSTEAD OF A LINE THAT WOULD BE DEVOID OF ARMED MEN.
MAZIMHAKA SAID THAT A 5-KM ZONE MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE BUT
THAT THE RPF WOULD NOT CEDE ANY TERRITORY OR MOVE BACK
IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE SUCH A ZONE. A CEASEFIRE IS NOT
THE END OF THE WAR, HE NOTED, AND ASKED WHERE THE RPF
FIGHTERS SHOULD GO, ANYWAY, BACK TO ZAIRE OR BURUNDI?

POLITICAL GUARANTEES

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11. AMBASSADOR DAVIDOW ASKED WHETHER THE RPF BELIEVED THAT THE POLITICAL OPENING OFFERED IT OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN RWANDA AS A POLITICAL PARTY. BIZIMUNGU REPLIED THAT THE RPF WOULD BE WILLING TO ENTER THE POLITICAL SYSTEM BUT IT COULD
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NOT BE EXPECTED TO LAY DOWN ARMS AND GO TO KIGALI. GUARANTEES WOULD BE NECESSARY. THE INSTITUTIONS AND MECHANISMS KEEPING THE PRESIDENT IN POWER WOULD HAVE TO BE DISMANTLED AND ALL INSTITUTIONS IN THE COUNTRY WOULD HAVE TO BE DEMOCRATIZED. HE SAID AN OVERHAUL OF THE SYSTEM WOULD INCLUDE REPLACING APPOINTED TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS WITH ELECTED OFFICIALS, ELIMINATING PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS OF JUDGES, AND ENDING MILITARY OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE. HE NOTED THAT THESE CHANGES, AND CHANGES IN THE POWERS OF THE PARLIAMENT AND OF THE PRESIDENT, WOULD REQUIRE CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION.

12. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE RPF THOUGHT IT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THE REPRESENTATIVES SIDESTEPED THE ISSUE. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTINUE, TWO REPRESENTATIVES GAVE CONTRADICTORY REPLIES. MAZIMHAKA SAID IT WOULD DEPEND ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND ITS ABILITY TO ACCOMPLISH ITS PROGRAM. BIZIMUNGU IMPLIED THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT PROGRAM SHOULD HAVE RPF CONSENT: THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE BROADBASED AND HAVE THE AGREEMENT OF ALL PARTIES, EVEN THOSE NOT INCLUDED IN IT. THE RPF ADDED THAT IT DOES NOT TAKE THE PROPOSED ELECTIONS SERIOUSLY. ELECTIONS, MAZIMHAKA SAID, SHOULD BE THE FINAL STAGE IN LEGITIMIZING A NEW POLITICAL PROCESS.

13. DAS DAVIDOW ASKED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY CONSIDERATION OF DEVELOPING PARALLEL TRANSITION STRUCTURES SIMILAR TO THOSE DEVELOPED IN ANGOLA. HE
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DESCRIBED THE JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION THAT INCLUDES THE MPLA AND UNITA AS WELL AS THREE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. HE EXPLAINED THE COMMISSION DOES NOT/NOT REPLACE GOVERNING MPLA STRUCTURES, BUT IT MONITORS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CEASEFIRE AND THE

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POLITICAL TRANSITION, AND MAKES DECISIONS ABOUT DEMOBILIZATION, INTEGRATION OF FORCES, AND PUBLIC SECURITY. THE RPF SAID THE IDEA SOUNDED SIMILAR TO ONE IT WAS CONSIDERING PUTTING FORWARD.

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SEEK SUCCESS

14. DAVIDOW URGED THE RPF TO LOOK FOR AREAS OF AGREEMENT IN THIS WEEKEND'S TALKS SO THE PROCESS CAN GAIN MOMENTUM AND COMMITMENT FROM THE NEGOTIATORS TO THE PROCESS. HE SUGGESTED A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WHEREIN BOTH SIDES WOULD AGREE, FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE NEED FOR A CEASEFIRE AND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT LEADING TO DEMOCRACY AND FULL INTEGRATION OF THE COUNTRY. HE SAID ANOTHER IMPORTANT OUTCOME WOULD BE AGREEMENT ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE TALKS. AN AGENDA PHRASED IN NEUTRAL LANGUAGE WOULD BE IMPORTANT.

MEDIATION

15. AMBASSADOR DAVIDOW ENCOURAGED THE RPF NOT TO DISMISS THE IDEA OF HAVING FRENCH MEDIATORS OR FACILITATORS IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS. HE SAID THE NEGOTIATOR DID NOT NEED TO BE IMPARTIAL, JUST POWERFUL. HE NOTED THAT THE FRENCH, BECAUSE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESIDENT, WOULD HAVE LEVERAGE ON HIM THAT OTHER POTENTIAL MEDIATORS MIGHT NOT. FRANCE MIGHT ALSO BE BETTER ABLE TO PROVIDE, OR MOBILIZE, THE RESOURCES NEEDED ONCE A SETTLEMENT WAS IN PLACE. HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE USG WAS NOT LOOKING FOR AND WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE MEDIATOR ROLE, THOUGH WE WOULD REMAIN WILLING TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE DURING NEGOTIATIONS.

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16. THE RPF WAS NON-COMMITTAL ABOUT ITS POSITION ON THE FRENCH AS MEDIATORS. BIZIMUNGU, HOWEVER, WAS

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CLEAR: IF THE MEDIATOR USES ITS RESOURCES AGAINST ONE OF THE SIDES, THEN IT CAN NO LONGER BE A MEDIATOR. THEREFORE, HE CONCLUDED, A COMBINATION OF MEDIATORS MIGHT BE BEST.

COMMENT

17. ALTHOUGH THE RPF REITERATED ITS COMMITMENT TO THE FORTHCOMING TALKS AND TO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, THE GAP BETWEEN ITS POSITIONS AND THOSE LIKELY TO BE PUT FORWARD BY THE GOVERNMENT SUGGEST SUCCESSES, IF THERE ARE ANY, WILL BE MINIMAL. NEVERTHELESS, THE RPF SEEMS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE PARIS TALKS OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY THAT SHOULD NOT BE FRITTERED AWAY, AND MAY, THEREFORE, BE WILLING TO COME TO AGREEMENT ON SOME POINTS - E.G. A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, A NON-CONTROVERSIALLY STATED AGENDA, ETC. TO GET THE PROCESS MOVING.

18. DAS DAVIDOW HAS CLEARED THIS MESSAGE.

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