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	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-01	/025W	

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O 081517Z FEB 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2930
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 00491

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHES TO PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: JOINT DEMARCHES BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BILATERAL DONORS FEBRUARY 5 AND 6 SOUGHT TO
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CALN RECENT ETHNIC TENSIONS AND VIOLENCE AND PROMOTE
FURTHER DIALOGUE AND PEACE. THE PRESIDENT AND THE
PRIME MINISTER RECEIVED US PROMPTLY AND SERIOUSLY AND
PROMISED EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO END THE VIOLENCE.
THEY TOLD US THEY HAD AGREED ON THE MEASURES WHICH
WOULD BE ANNOUNCED FEBRUARY 6 AND FOLLOWED UP WITH A
DECLARATION BY THE PRIME MINISTER FEBRUARY 7
(SEPTTEL). BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER
SEEMED MOVED BY THE HUMAN TRAGEDY, COMMITTED TO
COORDINATING A JOINT RESPONSE, AND GRATEFUL FOR THE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW AUTHORITY:
ROBERT R. STRAND

UNCLASSIFIED

Date Printed: 03/19/1998 DOC_NUMBER: 93KIGALI00491
FileName : ...t9302118/aaaadlrs.tel

CHANNEL: n/a

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WESTERN DEMARCHES. THE ETHNIC VIOLENCE MAY HAVE PROVOKED TODAY'S RPF ATTACKS, WITH AN IMPACT ON PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT THAT IS TRULY TRAGIC. END SUMMARY.

3. IN AN EFFORT TO EXERCISE WESTERN INFLUENCE TO CALM THE TROUBLED DOMESTIC SCENE OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DONORS IN KIGALI SOUGHT AUDIENCES WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER. WE MET WITH THE PRESIDENT ON FEBRUARY 5 AND THE PRIME MINISTER THE FOLLOWING MORNING. PARTICIPATING IN THE PACIFICATION DEMARCHES WERE THE AMBASSADORS OF BELGIUM, FRANCE AND THE U.S., CHARGES FROM CANADA, GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND AND THE DELEGATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. THE EXERCISE WAS ORGANIZED AND LED BY BELGIAN AMBASSADOR JOHAN SWINNEN, WHO IS CURRENTLY REPRESENTING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE EC FOR RWANDA. THE TEXT OF THE DEMARCHE WAS JOINTLY DRAFTED. THE TEXT OF THE DEMARCH WAS DELIVERED TO EACH AND PROVIDED TO THE PRESS AFTERWARDS. IT WAS WIDELY QUOTED ON RADIO RWANDA FOLLOWING OUR MEETING

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WITH THE PRESIDENT.

THE DEMARCHE

4. IN THE DEMARCHE WE EXPRESSED OUR DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE ALARMING RESURGENCE OF HATE AND VIOLENCE WHICH HAS CREATED MANY INNOCENT VICTIMS, BOTH DEAD AND DISPLACED. WE MADE AN URGENT APPEAL TO ALL THOSE RESPONSIBLE, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ADMINISTRATIVELY, TO ACT IMMEDIATELY TO END THE MASSACRES AND RETURN THE REGION TO SECURITY, AND DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT THE REOCCURRENCE. WE CALLED AGAIN ON ALL POLITICAL LEADERS TO PURSUE AND OPEN FRANK AND SINCERE DIALOGUE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION. WE VALUED DISCUSSION FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT AND COMMITTED OUR SUPPORT TO THE LEADERS AND PEOPLE OF RWANDA IN THIS EXERCISE. FINALLY, AS DONORS, WE NOTED THAT THE CONTINUING CLIMATE OF INSECURITY AND VIOLENCE COMPROMISES OUR EFFORTS FOR HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND EXPRESSED OUR HOPE THAT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION COULD BE

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CONTINUED IN BETTER CONDITIONS.

HABYARIMANA RESPONDS

5. THE PRESIDENT READ THE SPEAKING NOTE CAREFULLY,
THANKED US IN A SOMBER TONE FOR OUR INTEREST, AND
DESCRIBED CAREFULLY THE MEASURES THAT HE HAS TAKEN TO
DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM.

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6. FIRST HE DESCRIBED HIS TRIP TO THE AFFECTED AREA
ON FEBRUARY 4. HE SAID THAT IN TWO OF HIS STOPS HE
SPENT NEARLY TWO HOURS TALKING WITH REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE DISPLACED. AMONG THEM HE FOUND BAGOGWE WHOM
HE HAD KNOWN WHEN HE WAS YOUNG IN THE GISHWATI
FOREST, AND OTHERS WHO HAD BEEN INVITED TO HIS HOME
FOR VARIOUS FESTIVALS. HE SAID HE HEARD FROM THEM
THEIR FEARS AND ANXIETIES FOLLOWING THE MASSACRES AND
AGREED TO A NUMBER OF REQUESTS: HE AGREED TO HELP

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	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-01	/025W	

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2931
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 00491

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TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHES TO PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER

SEARCH FOR FAMILY MEMBERS WHO HAVE FLED TO VARIOUS
SAFEHAVENS; HE PROMISED TO FIND THE KILLERS, NOTING
THAT 180 HAD ALREADY BEEN ARRESTED; HE PROMISED TO
SENSITIZE THE POPULATION SO THAT THE DISPLACED COULD
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RETURN TO THEIR HOMES, AND HE PROMISED ASSISTANCE IN
REBUILDING THE DESTROYED HOMES; FINALLY HE PROMISED
TO REINFORCE THE GENDARMERIE IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE THE
INVESTIGATIONS.

7. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD MET WITH THE PRIME
MINISTER EARLIER IN THE DAY AND HAD AGREED ON MAJOR
STEPS. HE HAD PROPOSED A COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION
RUN BY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR, BUT HAD ACCEPTED THE
PARTICIPATION OF OTHERS IN THE INVESTIGATION AT THE
REQUEST OF THE PRIME MINISTER. HE SAID HE HAD AGREED
TO PUNISH ANY OFFICIALS FOUND COMPLICIT OR NOT HAVING
DONE THEIR JOBS, BUT INSISTED THAT THOSE SUSPENDED
MUST BE REPLACED IMMEDIATELY, SO THERE WOULD NOT BE
FURTHER CHAOS.

8. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT IF
HE DID NOT CHANGE SOME OFFICIALS IMMEDIATELY, HIS
RESPONSE WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD OVERSEAS. WE HAVE
SEEN FOR TWO YEARS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN INCIDENTS OF

THIS SORT, AND NO ONE HAS BEEN PUNISHED. I SECONDED THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S INSISTENCE THAT SOME OFFICIALS MUST BE CHANGED URGENTLY, AND ASKED THE PRESIDENT FOR THE TIME FRAME OF HIS PLAN. HE SAID THAT THE PROCESS COULD NOT LAST OVER A WEEK. THE PRESIDENT ASKED US TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE VIOLENCE TAKING PLACE IS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WAR DURING WHICH RPF MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS LARGER WERE MORE HORRIBLE THAN ANYTHING THAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE SAID HE DEEPLY RESENTS BEING PREACHED AT BY THE RPF ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE OTHER

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PROBLEM IS THAT IN THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM, THE AUTHORITY OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DEGRADED. ON AN UPBEAT NOTE, THE EC DELEGATE PRAISED THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS JANUARY 28 SPEECH, HIS VISIT TO THE AREA, AND FOR HIS RENEWED DIALOGUE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. THE PRESIDENT INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH, THAT HE AND THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE MORE ACTIVE, AND HE INVITED THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY TO CONTINUE TO EXERT PRESSURE ON RWANDA. HIS FINAL NOTE WAS THAT ELECTIONS SHOULD BE HELD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

THE PRIME MINISTER RESPONDS

9. PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE ALSO THANKED US FOR OUR INTEREST, AND NOTED THAT THE SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED TO THE POINT WHERE IT IS DIFFICULT TO PRETEND THAT RWANDA IS A COUNTRY UNDER THE RULE OF LAW. HE SAID DECISIONS TAKEN SINCE JANUARY 30 MUST GET TO THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD BE MAKING A DECLARATION ON SUNDAY, BUT WOULD BE ANNOUNCING CERTAIN STEPS BEFORE THEN. HE SAID IT WAS NECESSARY TO CHANGE CERTAIN PERSONNEL AND HINTED THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME SURPRISES AND CHANGES AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL. HE SAID HE BELIEVED THIS WAS RESPONSIVE TO OUR DEMARCHE BECAUSE DEVELOPMENT CANNOT CONTINUE IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF CHAOS.

10. THE PRIME MINISTER THEN BLAMED THE PROPAGANDA OF THE MRND WHICH HAS EQUATED TUTSIS WITH THE RPF AND

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TENDE TO CONSIDER OTHER PARTIES AS ACCOMPLICES. HE
SAID SOME OF THE INCITERS OF THE MASSACRES CAME FROM
KIGALI. HE DID NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT THE GENDARMERIE
ONCE ENGAGED IN GENERAL DID A GOOD JOB.

11. AMBASSADOR MARTRES ASKED POINTEDLY WHETHER THE
COMMUNIQUE OF SATURDAY AND THE DECLARATION OF SUNDAY
HAD FULL SUPPORT OF ALL PARTIES. THE PRIME MINISTER
RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY SAYING THERE WAS FULL
CONSENSUS FROM THE FRIDAY CABINET MEETING, INCLUDING

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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: DEMARCHES TO PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER

THE FIRST LISTS OF LOCAL OFFICIALS TO BE SUSPENDED
AND THE PLAN TO MOVE TO ARUSHA WITH THE COMPROMISE
DELEGATION. SURPRISINGLY, HE HAD TO BE PUSHED TO
GIVE US THE ESSENCE OF THE AGREEMENT WITH THE
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PRESIDENT (REPORTED SEPTTEL).

12. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID IT MAY TAKE A COUPLE OF
DAYS TO GET THE RPF TO ACCEPT THE PRESENT COMPROMISE,
WHICH IS, IN FACT, DEALING WITH RPF DEMANDS.

13. ASKED ABOUT THE ROLE OF ELECTIONS, THE PRIME
MINISTER REPLIED THAT A PRECONDITION FOR ELECTIONS IS
THE CLEAN UP OF THE TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION.

14. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT THE PARTY
"FUNCTIONNAIRES" OF THE DELEGATION WILL DEPART FOR
ARUSHA SOON. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD ALSO REACHED
AGREEMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THE BROADER QUESTION
OF GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION.

15. ON FEBRUARY 4, THE SAME DAY THE PRESIDENT VISITED
THE AFFECTED COMMUNES OF GISENYI PREFECTURE, THE
DEPUTIES OF EACH DONOR EMBASSY COVERED SOME OF THE
SAME GROUND. THE JOINT CONCLUSIONS OF THIS GROUP
WERE PRESENTED TO BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME
MINISTER BY THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR. IN SUMMARY FORM,
CONCURRED IN BY DCM LEADER, WESTERN OBSERVATIONS WERE:

-- THE NUMBERS OF DEATHS, INJURIES, AND DISPLACED
PERSONS RESULTING FROM THE VIOLENCE WAS OVERWHELMING.

-- THE MASSACRES WERE ORGANIZED AND COORDINATED
THROUGHOUT THE PREFECTURE OF GISENYI. THE ORGANIZERS

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APPEAR TO HAVE PLAYED ON ETHNIC, REGIONAL, AND
 POLITICAL FEARS TO MOBILIZE CERTAIN PARTS OF THE
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 POPULATION AGAINST ANOTHER.

-- LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES WERE EITHER
 DEFICIENT IN THEIR RESPONSES TO THE VIOLENCE OR
 COMPLICITOUS IN THE MASSACRES, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN ONES
 SHOWED POSITIVE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVED APPROPRIATELY,
 EVEN COURAGEOUSLY.

-- THE GENDARMES, WHEN SOLICITED, APPEAR TO HAVE
 PERFORMED THEIR TASK CORRECTLY.

-- POLITICAL AND REGIONAL CLEAVAGES ARE EXACERBATED
 BY THE NYABARONGO RIVER WHICH FORMS A BOUNDARY BETWEEN
 THE PREFECTURES OF GISENYI, RUHENGERI AND KIGALI (IN
 THE NORTH) AND GITARAMA (IN THE SOUTH).

COMMENT

 16. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE PRESIDENT SEEMED TO HAVE
 UNDERSTOOD THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF THE TRAGEDY WHICH
 HAS BEEN REPEATED AGAIN IN RWANDA. MINISTER OF
 INTERIOR MUNYAZESA TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT THE
 PRESIDENT WAS VERY ANGRY IN HIS MEETINGS WITH
 BOURGEMESTRES IN GISENYI, ACCUSING THEM OF FAILURE TO
 DO THEIR DUTY AND BRINGING SUFFERING TO THE PEOPLE
 AND DISCREDIT TO RWANDA. OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS
 BELIEVE THIS WAS ALL A CHARADE, AND THAT HABYARIMANA
 IS, IN FACT, THE MAN BEHIND THE MASSACRES, HAVING
 SENT THE INSTIGATORS TO MASSACRE TUTSIS, AND NOW
 PRETENDS TO BE THE SAVIOR OF THOSE WHO SURVIVED. IF

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 SO, HIS PRESENTATION TO US QUALIFIES AS AN AWARD-
 WINNING PERFORMANCE. THE PRESIDENT'S CRYPTIC
 SUGGESTION THAT FOREIGNERS SHOULD PUT MORE PRESSURE
 ON HIM SUGGESTS ANOTHER INTERPRETATION. THAT IS,

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THAT HE IS UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THE KINDS OF THINGS
THAT PEOPLE PRETENDING TO SUPPORT HIM ARE DOING AND
SAYING, AND SEES THE PROCESS TOWARD PEACE AND
DEMOCRACY AS ONE STILL WORTHY OF A MAJOR EFFORT.

17. I HAVE CONSULTED WITH THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN

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	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-01	/025W	

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 KIGALI 00491

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AMBASSADORS ON THE PRESIDENT'S CRYPTIC INVITATION FOR
MORE PRESSURE, AND ON THE PROSPECTS FOR THE MOST
RECENT COMPROMISE. WE ARE ALL ENCOURAGED BUT
SKEPTICAL. ENCOURAGEMENT COMES FROM THE NATURE OF
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THE COMPROMISE AND THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT AND
PRIME MINISTER ARE TALKING WITH EACH OTHER AGAIN.

18. ALTHOUGH THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAS
REPORTEDLY SAID PUBLICLY THAT A REVIEW OF BELGIUM'S
ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE CONSIDERED ON THE BASIS OF RECENT
EVENTS, NONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DONORS
HERE ARE YET WILLING TO START DOWN THE SLIPPERY SLOPE
OF ACCUSING THE PRESIDENT DIRECTLY OF THE HUMAN
RIGHTS OUTRAGES, OR TO BEGIN A MORE DIRECT THREAT OF
AID TIES AND CONDITIONS.

19. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, THE COALITION OF RWANDAN
HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, WHOM WE RECEIVED ON
FEBRUARY 5, ALTHOUGH THEY OPENLY ACCUSED THE
PRESIDENT OF BEING BEHIND THE RECENT TROUBLES, AND
SUGGESTED THAT THE DONORS SHOULD THREATEN SUSPENSIONS
OF ASSISTANCE, QUICKLY BACKED AWAY FROM SUGGESTING
THAT THERE SHOULD BE ANY ACTUAL SUSPENSION OF
ASSISTANCE. AND ALTHOUGH THEY ARE CONVINCED TO THE
VERY MARROW OF THEIR BONES THAT HABYARIMANA IS
SOMEHOW BEHIND THE RECENT VIOLENCE, THEY HAVE YET TO
PRODUCE EVIDENCE OF DIRECT INVOLVEMENT. IT IS
IMPOSSIBLE, HOWEVER, NOT TO SEE THE HANDS OF CERTAIN
LEADERS OF THE CDR AND THE MRND BEHIND THESE
MASSACRES. AND THE TEST WILL BE WHETHER THOSE
PUNISHED ARE FROM WITHIN THIS CIRCLE OF LEADERS.
OBVIOUSLY, THE RPF IS WATCHING THIS PROCESS EVEN MORE
CAREFULLY THAN THE DONOR COMMUNITY.

20. ONE CONCLUSION SEEMS PRETTY CLEAR, IT WILL NOW BE
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MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO PURSUE THE PRINCIPLES OF
NONEXCLUSION AND RECONCILIATION IN FORMATION OF THE

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NEXT TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. UNLESS, THE CDR MAKES MAJOR CONCESSIONS, IT WILL BE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE THE PARTY ACCEPTED BY THE RPF AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES.

21. AFTER THE RPF ATTACKS OF THIS MORNING, MUCH OF OUR EFFORT AND THE PROMISES OF THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER SEEM TO FADE A BIT. BUT IF WE CAN HELP REESTABLISH A CEASEFIRE WITHIN A RELATIVELY SHORT PERIOD, WE MAY BE ABLE TO BUILD ON SOME PARTS OF THESE DISCUSSIONS. FLATEN

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*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL