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	OIGO-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00
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O 141459Z APR 94
 FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9950
 INFO USIA WASHDC
 SECDEF WASHDC
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 USDAO LILONGWE MI
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PINS, PREF, RW, UG
 SUBJECT: TFRWOL: RPF LAUNCHES DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: PATRICK MAZIMHAKA AND DR. ERICK RWAMASIRABO OF THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) CALLED ON THE AMBASSADOR APRIL 13 TO EXPLAIN THE

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RPF'S CURRENT POSITION ON RWANDA. THE RPF BLAMES PRESIDENTIAL GUARD (PG) FORCES FOR THE CARNAGE IN KIGALI AND BELIEVES THAT THE PG DELIBERATELY TARGETED THE "POLITICAL CLASS" (BOTH HUTU AND TUTSI) FOR ASSASSINATION. THE RPF WILL SOON TAKE CONTROL OF KIGALI AND PLANS TO WORK WITH UNAMIR TO RE-ESTABLISH SECURITY IN THE CITY. THE AMBASSADOR URGED AN EARLY CEASEFIRE AND OPEN, PUBLIC INVESTIGATIONS OF THE CAUSES OF THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN RWANDA. THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES HAD ALSO MET WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION AMBASSADORS IN KAMPALA, AND PLAN TO MEET WITH PRESIDENTS MUSEVENI AND MWINYI, AND WITH OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. END SUMMARY.

3. PATRICK MAZIMHAKA, VICE CHAIRMAN, AND DR. ERICK RWAMASIRABO OF THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT CALLED ON THE AMBASSADOR APRIL 13 AT THE RESIDENCE. POLITICAL OFFICER BEIK SAT IN ON THE MEETING. THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES HAD MET WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION

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AMBASSADORS IN KAMPALA JUST PRIOR TO THIS MEETING AND SAID THEY HOPED TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI THE NEXT DAY. THEY PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO DAR ES SALAAM AND ADDIS ABABA TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI AND OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

4. THE RPF WILL TAKE CONTROL OF KIGALI SOON, MAZIMHAKA SAID. THEIR TROOPS ARE IN THE CITY AND IT WILL BE EASIER TO RESTORE ORDER NOW THAT THE SO-CALLED "INTERIM GOVERNMENT" HAS FLED. HE DESCRIBED THE RWANDAN ARMY AS CROSSING THE BORDER TO ZAIRE IN THE WEST, BUT HE COULD NOT PREDICT WHAT THE ARMY TROOPS WILL DO IN KIGALI. HE HOPED THAT THE ARMY WOULD NOT "FAN OUT" INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE INSTIGATING MORE ETHNIC BLOODSHED.

5. THE RPF RECOGNIZES THE CRUCIAL ROLE THAT UNAMIR COULD PLAY IN RESTORING PUBLIC ORDER AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE. THE RPF HAS BEGUN DISCUSSIONS WITH UNAMIR IN KIGALI. THE AMBASSADOR INQUIRED ABOUT A CEASEFIRE. MAZIMHAKA SAID UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE HAS TALKED IN TERMS OF A SERIES OF LOCAL TRUCES, WHICH MAZIMHAKA FINDS MORE PRACTICAL THAN A GENERAL DECLARATION OF A CEASEFIRE. THE AMBASSADOR

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EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF STOPPING THE BLOODSHED AND ESTABLISHING A CEASEFIRE SO THAT ORDER CAN BE RE-ESTABLISHED IN THE CITY.

6. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE EUROPEAN AMBASSADORS HAD ASKED WHETHER THE RPF WOULD PERMIT AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE PLANE CRASH THAT CAUSED THE

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DEATHS OF THE RWANDAN AND BURUNDIAN PRESIDENTS. THE RPF WOULD WELCOME SUCH AN INVESTIGATION, HE DECLARED, SINCE MANY COUNTRIES HAD SIGNIFICANT INTERESTS IN THE CAUSE OF THE CRASH, PARTICULARLY BURUNDI, FRANCE AND TANZANIA. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN MANY THEORIES ON THE CRASH, FROM ANTI-AIRCRAFT ROCKETS TO BOMBS STOWED ABOARD THE PLANE, AND IT IS CRUCIAL THAT THE RECOVERY OF THE BLACK BOX AND OTHER EVIDENCE BE OPEN AND PUBLIC. MAZIMHAKA SAID THE RPF TROOPS THAT WERE IN THEIR BARRACKS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF A HILL FROM THE AIRPORT HAD SEEN THE PLANE EXPLODE IN THE AIR, BUT HEARD MORTAR FIRE AFTER IT CRASHED. WHEN THE RPF SECURES THE SITE, HE SAID, THEY WOULD REQUEST UNAMIR TO HELP THEM RECOVER THE EVIDENCE, UNLIKE THE RWANDAN ARMY WHICH DENIED ACCESS TO THE SITE.

7. THE RPF BLAMES THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD AND LEADERS SUCH AS COL. BAGOSORA (CABINET DIRECTOR FOR THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE) FOR OR DIRECTING THE VIOLENCE THAT FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA.

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MAZIMHAKA SAID THAT THE "POLITICAL CLASS" (BOTH HUTU
 AND TUTSI) HAD BEEN TARGETTED IN THE KILLINGS,
 INCLUDING MINISTERS, PERMANENT SECRETARIES, AND THE
 LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES. HE SAID THAT MOST

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OF THE SENIOR LEADERS OF THE PSD, PL AND MDR HAD BEEN KILLED IN THE VIOLENCE. THE SO-CALLED "INTERIM GOVERNMENT" WAS PRACTICALLY IDENTICAL TO THE SLATE OF MINISTERS PROPOSED BY HARYARIMANA AT THE END OF FEBRUARY. MAZIMHAKA SPECULATED THAT THE PRESIDENT GUARD HAD CONCEIVED A PLAN OF SYSTEMATIC POLITICAL ASSASSINATION IN FEBRUARY (WHICH BEGAN WITH THE MURDER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER), AND PUT IT INTO ACTION IN A PANIC LAST WEEK. HE ASSERTED THAT THE POLITICAL MURDERS HAPPENED TOO QUICKLY TO HAVE BEEN SPONTANEOUS. THE BULK OF THE ARMY MAY NOT HAVE PARTICIPATED DIRECTLY, HE SAID, BUT THE ARMY DID NOT STOP THE CARNAGE. WHEN THE RPF BEGAN ITS ADVANCE FROM THE NORTH, THE ARMY HAD FOUGHT THEM ON ALL FRONTS.

8. MAZIMHAKA STATED THAT THE ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN RWANDA HAS ALWAYS BEEN AT THE INSTIGATION OF PEOPLE IN AUTHORITY. RWANDANS ARE AFRAID OF PEOPLE IN

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AUTHORITY, HE SAID, AND WOULD RESPECT THE RESTORATION OF ORDER WHEN A NEW GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE. LEADERS HAVE DELIBERATELY INCITED ETHNIC HATRED FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES, HE SAID. THE ETHNIC SLAUGHTER HAS ALWAYS BEEN PROVOKED BY SOMEONE; PEOPLE DO NOT JUST GO OUT AND KILL EACH OTHER. DR. RWAMASIRABO NOTED THAT IT IS A TRAGIC FACT OF LIFE IN RWANDA THAT MASS KILLINGS ARE ACCEPTED BY THE POPULATION AS PART OF POLITICS. IT IS NOT RIGHT, HE SAID, BUT PEOPLE ACCEPT IT; NO ONE HAS EVER BEEN JAILED, HE MAINTAINED, FOR THE MASS KILLINGS IN INDEPENDENT RWANDA'S HISTORY. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT SUCH A POLITICAL CLIMATE IS SIMPLY NOT ACCEPTABLE IN TODAY'S WORLD, AND THAT ANY FUTURE NATIONAL ARMY IN RWANDA WILL HAVE TO FOCUS ON TRAINING ITS MEMBERS TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS.

9. THE AMBASSADOR INQUIRED ABOUT THE RECENT UGAMDAN PRESS REPORTS OF SHELLING ACROSS THE UGANDAN BORDER. MAZIMHAKA SAID THAT THE FIGHTING BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE GOVERNMENT ARMY HAD TOUCHED THE UGANDAN BORDERS BUT THAT THE RPF IS NOW FIRMLY IN CONTROL. POLOFF ASKED ABOUT THE MULTIPLE GROUPS OF REFUGEES IN AND OUT OF RWANDA. MAZIMHAKA SAID THAT SOME SMALL NUMBERS OF REFUGEES HAD FLED RWANDA FOR ZAIRE BUT THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT HUGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TO

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MIGRATE. BURUNDI HAD NOT ACCEPTED A PLANELOAD OF REFUGEES FROM RWANDA WHO ARE CURRENTLY STUCK AT THE AIRPORT IN BUJUMBURA, HE SAID. SOME INTERNALLY DISPLACED RWANDANS HAD MOVED BACK INTO RPF TERRITORY FOR SAFETY, RWAMASIRABO NOTED, BUT FEW WOULD CROSS INTO UGANDA. THE BURUNDIAN REFUGEES IN

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SOUTHERN RWANDA SHOULD BE GUARANTEED SAFETY,
MAZIMHAKA SAID; THE RPF WOULD SEEK TO ASSURE THEM
THAT THEY WERE NOT PART OF THE RWANDAN CONFLICT.

10. THE RPF STILL BELIEVES THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS CAN FORM THE BASIS OF A NEW GOVERNMENT, THE REPRESENTATIVES STATED. THEY HAD HEARD FROM THE TRANSITIONAL PRIME MINISTER TWO DAYS EARLIER AND HOPED THAT HE IS STILL ALIVE. SO MANY PARTY LEADERS HAD BEEN KILLED, THE RPF IS NOT SURE WHO WILL BE THERE TO WORK WITH, BUT THEY INTEND TO START WITH THE ACCORD AND THE REMAINING POLITICAL PARTIES TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT. MAZIMHAKA SAID THAT TRUE DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY HOPE FOR RWANDA. MANY PEOPLE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE RPF WAS DEMOCRATIC, CHARACTERIZING IT AS AN ETHNIC TUTSI ORGANIZATION, MAZIMHAKA SAID, BUT WHAT THE RPF STANDS FOR IS FREEDOM. PEOPLE SHOULD BE ABLE TO CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS AND TO FORM PARTIES, RESPECTING THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS. MAZIMHAKA SAID HE FOUND IT A MISTAKE THAT THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN BURUNDI INSTITUTIONALIZED THE ETHNIC DIVISIONS BETWEEN HUTUS AND TUTSIS. "WE SHOULD NOT ENSHRINE OUR DIFFERENCES," HE SAID, "BUT ALL WORK TOGETHER."

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11. THE AMBASSADOR CLOSED THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT
 WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED ANY MESSAGES FROM WASHINGTON
 FOR THE RPF, BUT
 THAT HE WOULD URGE THEM TO:

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-- ESTABLISH AND HONOR A CEASEFIRE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE MASSIVE KILLINGS AND VIOLENCE MUST STOP AND SECURITY BE ESTABLISHED IN KIGALI.

-- WORK WITH GENERAL DALLAIRE AND UNAMIR IN RESTORING PUBLIC ORDER AND CONFIDENCE. THE RPF SHOULD MAKE ITS DESIRE FOR UNAMIR'S HELP KNOWN.

-- PERMIT AN OPEN INVESTIGATION OF WHAT WENT SO TERRIBLY WRONG IN KIGALI, INCLUDING A FULL AND INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION OF THE APRIL 6 CRASH.

-- AVOID ANY MILITARY ENGAGEMENT OR CONFRONTATION WITH FRENCH TROOPS IN KIGALI.

12. MAZIMHAKA THANKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR HIS OPEN DOOR AND SAID THE RPF WOULD BE CONSULTING WITH REGIONAL LEADERS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN THE DAYS AHEAD.

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13. COMMENT: WE HAVE MAINTAINED CONTINUOUS LINKS WITH THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES IN KAMPALA OVER THE PAST TWO PLUS YEARS, AND EXPECT TO CONTINUE TO SEE THEM AS THE RWANDA CRISIS EVENTS UNFOLD. THE EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE A READOUT ON WHAT POLICY DIRECTIONS TOWARD RWANDA ARE BEING CONSIDERED. IN ADDITION TO THE POINTS MADE BY THE AMBASSADOR (PARA 11), WE THINK WASHINGTON SHOULD MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY TO ASK PRESIDENTS MUSEVENI, MWINYI, AND MOI:

-- TO RECONVENE ANOTHER REGIONAL SUMMIT ON RWANDA/BURUNDI,

-- TO JOINTLY CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE, AND

-- TO ISSUE A CALL AND PROVIDE A FORUM FOR THE WARRING FACTIONS IN RWANDA TO MEET.

14. COMMENT CONTINUED: IT MIGHT ALSO BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE AND POSSIBLY SOMEONE FROM THE USG TO SIT IN THE MARGINS OF THIS MEETING. SOME CONSIDERATION MIGHT BE GIVEN TO FRENCH AND BELGIAN OBSERVERS BEING PRESENT, BUT

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THE POLICIES OF BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN TARNISHED BY
THEIR PAST RELATIONSHIPS IN RWANDA. END COMMENT.

15. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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