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PAGE 01 STATE 011907 131608Z

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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON APPROVED BY: AF/C: AXRENDER

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TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 011907

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PAGE 02 STATE 011907 131608Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL PGOV RW

SUBJECT: UWIMANA SEES RPF MANEUVERING BEHIND IMPASSE

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY. ON JAN. 7, RWANDAN AMBASSADOR ALOYS UWIMANA MET WITH AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER AND RWANDA DESKOFF AISTON TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT IMPASSE OVER FORMING THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. UWIMANA SAID HE

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THOUGHT THE RPF WAS MANEUVERING TO OBTAIN A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY IN THE NEW ASSEMBLY IN ORDER TO OUST PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FROM POWER. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER STRESSED THAT ALL SIDES MUST ADHERE TO THE PEACE ACCORDS AND SHOW FLEXIBILITY AND GOOD WILL. SHE EMPHASIZED THAT THE RWANDANS MUST FORM THE NEW GOVERNMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. END SUMMARY.

UWIMANA: RPF WANTS HABYARIMANA OUT; SHADES OF BURUNDI?

3. UWIMANA OPENED THE MEETING BY COMPLAINING THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS ARE BASED ON A DIVISION OF POWER WHICH DOES NOT REFLECT THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES OF RWANDA. HE SAID THE ACCORDS ARE UNCLEAR ON HOW TO HANDLE THE PROBLEM OF COMPETING LIBERAL PARTY (PL) AND DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT (MDR) MINISTERIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY LISTS AND BLAMED THE RPF AND THE OPPOSITION FOR THE CURRENT IMPASSE. ACCORDING TO UWIMANA, THE RPF CONFIDENTIAL

### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 011907 131608Z

AND THE OPPOSITION ARE TRYING TO OBTAIN A TWO-THIRDS

MAJORITY IN THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (TNA) IN

ORDER TO OUST HABYARIMANA THROUGH THE USE OF ARTICLE 11

OF THE PEACE PROTOCOL ON MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES. (NOTE:

ART. 11 PROVIDES THAT THE TNA CAN INDICT THE PRESIDENT ON

A TWO-THIRDS VOTE FOR VIOLATIONS OF FUNDAMENTAL LAW; THE

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT HAS SOLE AUTHORITY TO DECIDE WHETHER

THE PRESIDENT MUST RESIGN IN SUCH CASES.)

4. THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR SAID HE FEARED THE RPF AND THE OPPOSITION ARE TRYING TO DO THE SAME THING THAT THE TUTSIS TRIED IN BURUNDI -- TO THROW OUT THE HUTU PRESIDENT AND RETAKE POWER. HE SAID A TUTSI-LED TWO-THIRDS ASSEMBLY MAJORITY WAS POSSIBLE THROUGH ALLIANCES WITH MEMBERS OF THE HUTU OPPOSITION, AND NOTED POINTEDLY THAT UPRONA (BURUNDI'S MAIN TUTSI PARTY) HAS HUTUS TOO. HE REITERATED HIS BELIEF THAT THE RPF WAS SOMEHOW INVOLVED IN THE FAILED COUP ATTEMPT IN BURUNDI AND REPEATED THE CLAIM THAT RPF COMMANDER KAGAME HAD GONE TO BURUNDI SHORTLY BEFORE THE COUP ATTEMPT.

RENDER SAYS GOR MUST FOLLOW ACCORDS, FORM GOVERNMENT

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5. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER STRESSED THAT THE GOR AND OTHER PARTIES MUST RESPECT AND ADHERE SCRUPULOUSLY TO THE ACCORDS, WHICH ARE A SOLEMN OBLIGATION OF THE GOR WHICH CANNOT NOW BE RE-OPENED. THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION OF ATTEMPTING TO SETTLE MATTERS THROUGH MEANS OTHER THAN ADHERENCE TO THE ACCORDS. UWIMANA RESPONDED THAT THE GOR CONFIDENTIAL

### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 011907 131608Z
WAS STILL COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND WAS NOT
PROPOSING TO CHANGE ARTICLE 11 OR ANY OTHER PART OF THE
PEACE ACCORD; THE RWANDANS JUST WANTED TO KNOW WHAT TO
DO TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE COMPETING LISTS.

- 6. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER REPLIED THAT ALL PARTIES NEED TO BE FLEXIBLE AND CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE TO GET AROUND THE IMPASSE AND INSTALL THE BROAD-BASED TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SHE SAID THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA CLOSELY AND EXPECTED THE RWANDANS TO ABIDE BY THEIR COMMITMENTS.

  AMB. RENDER EMPHASIZED THAT THE ISSUE OF THE COMPETING LISTS HAD TO BE RESOLVED BY THE RWANDANS THEMSELVES AND THAT IT WAS NOT OUR PLACE TO PROPOSE WHICH LIST TO ACCEPT OR WHICH DEPUTIES OR MINISTERS TO INCLUDE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT. DESKOFF NOTED THAT ALL SIDES WERE IN SOME WAY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE IMPASSE, WITH EACH FACTION TRYING TO ASSURE THAT THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WOULD BE COMPOSED IN SUCH A FASHION AS TO MOST FAVOR ITS OWN GROUP.
- 7. AMB. RENDER NOTED THAT ONCE THE TNA IS ESTABLISHED, THE PARTIES WILL NATURALLY FORM COALITIONS ON VOTES. THIS IS PART OF A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. SHE ADDED THAT THIS IS ONLY A TRANSITION, THAT ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD AT THE END OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AND THAT HABYARIMANA'S PARTY WOULD BE FREE TO COMPETE AND WOULD BE REPRESENTED ACCORDING TO ITS POPULAR SUPPORT, ALONG WITH ALL OTHER PARTIES THAT CHOOSE TO PRESENT THEMSELVES IN THE ELECTIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 011907 131608Z

- 8. UWIMANA SAID HE THOUGHT THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND WAS TENSE AND SAID THE RPF WAS A "MENACING" PRESENCE. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER NOTED THAT ONCE THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE AND BEGINS WORKING, CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES SHOULD INCREASE. SHE STRESSED THE NEED FOR ALL SIDES TO SHOW GOOD WILL AND ACT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST.
- 9. THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR WARNED THAT IF THINGS TURN SOUR IN RWANDA, IT COULD BE WORSE THAN IN BURUNDI SINCE, ACCORDING TO UWIMANA, THE RWANDAN POPULATION IS MORE POLITICIZED. MOREOVER, HE SAID THE RWANDAN ARMY WAS NOT COMPLETELY COHESIVE. WHEN ASKED IF THE PRESENCE OF INTERNATIONAL TROOPS MIGHT MAKE A DIFFERENCE, UWIMANA SAID DARKLY THAT IT HADN'T SEEMED TO HELP IN ANGOLA AND THAT IF RWANDA EXPLODES, IT COULD BE OVER IN TWO OR THREE DAYS. DESKOFF POINTED OUT THAT IF ALL SIDES ADHERED TO THE ACCORD, RWANDANS SHOULD BE ABLE TO AVOID BECOMING "ANOTHER BURUNDI".
- 10. COMMENT: UWIMANA REMAINS SUSPICIOUS OF THE RPF'S MOTIVES, AND IT IS READILY APPARENT THAT THE EVENTS IN BURUNDI HAVE ONLY DEEPENED HIS SUSPICIONS. HE SEEMS UNWILLING TO CONCEDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT HABYARIMANA MIGHT BE PLAYING THE SAME NUMBERS GAME AS THE RPF. HIS DEEP DISTRUST SUGGESTS THE GREAT GAP THAT STILL REMAINS TO BE BRIDGED BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES BEFORE PROSPECTS FOR REAL NATIONAL RECONCILIATION ARE REALIZED.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 06 STATE 011907 131608Z

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