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ACTION AF-01

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1246

C O N F I D E N T I A L KIGALI 002766

STADIS -- FOR AF ONLY

E.O. 12356: 20 YEARS  
TAGS: PGOV, RW  
SUBJECT: WHAT THE RESHUFFLE MEANS

1. C -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THESE ARE INITIAL OBSERVATIONS, INITIALLY DRAFTED BY THE DCM, WHICH I HAVE REVIEWED AND AMENDED. WE DO NOT HAVE ALL THE BACKGROUND ON THE RESHUFFLE. I WILL BE SEEING VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME AT 1100 HRS TOMORROW 8/30 AND WILL HOPEFULLY DERIVE THEREFROM A LARGER PICTURE OF WHAT HAPPENED AND WHY. WE WILL NOT KNOW WHAT THE RESHUFFLE MEANS UNTIL THE RESHUFFLE IS COMPLETE AND A NEW GOVERNMENT FORMED. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE ON WHO MIGHT FILL ANY VACANT POSITIONS. WHETHER THAT GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES ARE ONES WE CAN SUPPORT CAN ONLY BE DETERMINED AFTER IT SETS FORTH ITS PROGRAM. NONETHELESS, HERE ARE SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS.

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3. THE RPF RESHUFFLED THE GOVERNMENT AUGUST 28 IN RESPONSE TO A FEELING OF FRUSTRATION THAT THEIR AGENDA OF JUSTICE AND NATIONAL UNITY HAD NOT MADE MORE PROGRESS IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE "GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY." THEIR ACTION WAS INFLUENCED BY THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

--THEIR PERCEPTION THAT THEY HAVE LOST ONE FULL YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD THEY ADOPTED A YEAR AGO.

--THEIR FRUSTRATION THAT THE POLICIES PUT FORWARD AND DEFENDED BY THE PRIME MINISTER, JUSTICE MINISTER AND INTERIOR MINISTER DID NOT ACCORD WITH THEIR VISION OF WHAT WAS NECESSARY TO EFFECT CHANGE IN RWANDAN GOVERNANCE, BUT RATHER RESULTED IN GRIDLOCK WHICH BLOCKED PROGRESS ON PRISONS, JUSTICE, REPATRIATION.

--THE VISIT OF UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI, WHO BERATED THE GOR FOR NOT UNDERSTANDING ITS ISOLATION IN INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTIONS.

--THE VISITS OF GERMAN FONMIN KINKEL AND AFRICA DIRECTOR GANS, WHO BEAT UP ON THE GOR OVER PRISONS AND JUSTICE.

--THE FORCED REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES BY THE FAZ, AND RESULTANT DEMONSTRATION OF THEIR OWN CAPACITY TO HANDLE THE REFUGEE RETURN. (THE FAZ, HOWEVER UNCONVENTIONAL THEIR TACTICS, BROUGHT MORE REFUGEES BACK TO RWANDA IN FIVE DAYS THAN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S INDUCEMENTS HAVE ATTRACTED IN MONTHS).

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--INCREASING SIGNS OF ETHNIC HUTU POLITICAL AMBITIONS BOTH IN THE CAMPS AND IN RWANDA WHICH THREATEN THE PROSPECT OF RPF POLITICAL DOMINANCE.

--THE RPF'S UNWAVERING COMMITMENT TO CHANGE IN RWANDA, AND THEIR BELIEF THAT A REPEAT OF LAST YEAR'S GENOCIDE CAN ONLY BE AVOIDED THROUGH FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE. RPF INTELLECTUALS ARE INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED BY WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING THAT RWANDA MUST

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BE A FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT PLACE IN THE FUTURE.

4. ESSENTIALLY, THE RPF BELIEVES IT CAN DO A BETTER JOB IF THE GOVERNMENT IS MORE COHESIVE AND ACTION-ORIENTED THAN IT HAS BEEN SO FAR AND THAT CONTINUED INACTION IS UNACCEPTABLE IN THE FACE OF THE MOUNTING INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM AND THE HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY AND SECURITY PRESSURE LOOMING ON THE ZAIRIAN FRONTIER. THE RPF IS A PRAGMATIC, RESULTS-ORIENTED, PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION AND IT BELIEVES THAT IT MUST ESTABLISH A NEW ORDER IN RWANDA.

5. THE GOVERNMENT WHICH WE WERE TRYING TO ASSIST HAS BEEN DISSOLVED. THIS ACTION WAS TAKEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROCEDURES OUTLINED IN RWANDA'S FUNDAMENTAL LAW (THE ARUSHA ACCORD). WE ARE TOLD THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL BE FORMED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SAME FUNDAMENTAL LAW. WHETHER THE REMOVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATED IN THAT FUNDAMENTAL LAW UNDERMINES THE LEGITIMACY OF THE ACTION IS A QUESTION FOR INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS. THE REAL QUESTION FOR THE UNITED STATES IS WHETHER THE NEW GOVERNMENT ASCRIBES TO GOALS AND ACTIONS THAT WILL BRING

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JUSTICE TO ALL RWANDANS, BRING REFUGEES HOME IN SECURITY AND CONSTRUCT A NEW RWANDA UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, IN OTHER WORDS, GOALS AND ACTIONS WE CAN SUPPORT.

6. RECOMMENDATION: WAIT AND SEE, BUT TELL THE RWANDAN LEADERS PRIVATELY THAT WE ARE WATCHING HARD AND WILL HOLD THEM TO THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN GENEVA AND REAFFIRMED AT THE MID-COURSE REVIEW WHICH SET THE BASIS OF OUR PARTNERSHIP. WE SHOULD INCREASE OUR EFFORTS TO GET THE RWANDANS AND ZAIRIANS TALKING TO EACH OTHER. PUBLICLY, OUR COMMENT SHOULD BE LIMITED TO THE OBSERVATION THAT THE RESHUFFLE WAS CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RWANDA'S FUNDAMENTAL LAW, AND THAT WE EXPECT THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO MOVE QUICKLY ON A PROGRAM OF JUSTICE, NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, SAFE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER A RULE OF LAW.

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