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	RPE-01	/038W					

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 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5421
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
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 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 00032

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, RW
 SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: IMPASSE PERSISTS
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REF: KIGALI 04655

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: WEEKEND MANEUVERING SAW NO PROGRESS ON THE IMPASSE OVER INSTALLATION OF TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. POSTURING BY ALL POLITICAL ACTORS, INCLUDING PRESS RELEASES, PRESS CONFERENCES, STATEMENTS AND EVEN DEMONSTRATIONS, WERE UNHELPFUL IN POINTING THE WAY TO COMMON GROUND FOR COMPROMISE.

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WESTERN DIPLOMATS TOOK THE OFFENSIVE, MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, AND THE RPF PRESIDENT TO IMPRESS UPON THEM THE URGENCY OF RESOLVING THE IMPASSE.

FOLLOWING MEETING WITH DIPLOMATS, PRESIDENT SIGNALLED UNAMIR POSSIBLE WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT MINISTERS OF PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE. THE PRICE IS NOT YET CLEAR. THE LONGER THE STALEMATE PERSISTS, THE GREATER THE RISK OF A RETURN TO VIOLENCE BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. WESTERN DIPLOMATS WILL MEET AGAIN TODAY WITH UNAMIR TO REVIEW THE STATE OF PLAY IN ADVANCE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING JANUARY 5.
END SUMMARY.

NO PROGRESS

3. DEADLOCK CONTINUES ON RWANDAN EFFORTS TO PUT IN PLACE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS CALLED FOR IN THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD. THE PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO
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INSIST THAT THE DIVIDED PARTIES REACH ACCOMMODATION AND PRESENT COMMON LISTS OF PROPOSED MINISTERS AND ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, CONTENTS THAT THERE IS NO MORE HE CAN DO TO BRING ABOUT PARTY RECONCILIATION, THAT ALL OF HIS NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONCLUDED. THE RPF INSISTS THAT THE PROPOSED DEPUTIES OF THE LIBERAL PARTY ELECTED LAST SEPTEMBER BE OFFICAL LIST FOR THAT PARTY.

POLITICAL POSTURING

4. THE VARIOUS POLITICAL ACTORS TOOK THEIR CAUSES TO THE PUBLIC IN A VARIETY OF WAYS OVER THE NEW YEAR'S WEEKEND. PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMANA ANNOUNCED A PRESS CONFERENCE 12/31 THAT THE SWEARING IN CEREMONY WOULD BE HELD ON MEW YEAR'S DAY AT 10:00 A.M. THE MORNING NEWS ON NEW YEAR'S DAY CARRIED A PRESS RELEASE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE ANNOUNCING THAT THE CEREMONY HAD BEEN CANCELED BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT REFUSED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE ON THAT DAY.

5. THE PRESIDENT IN HIS TRADITIONAL NEW YEAR'S

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SPEECH URGED RWANDA'S POLITICIANS, ESPECIALLY THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS TOWARD FORMATION OF STABLE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS THAT COULD ENSURE A DURABLE PEACE. ON NEW YEAR'S DAY HIS CABINET DIRECTOR ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE STATING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT REFUSED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE AND WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR BLOCKING THE

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INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AS ALLEGED BY THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE.

6. PRESIDENT OF THE RPF, COLONEL KANYARENGWE, HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE AFTERNOON OF 12/31 AT WHICH HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF PUTTING THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO MEET DEADLINES IMPOSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND BY THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

7. ALSO ON 12/31 THE MDR WING OPPOSED TO TWAGIRAMUNGU HELD A DEMONSTRATION MARCH THROUGH KIGALI TO PROTEST THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE'S INFLEXIBILITY. THE

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DEMONSTRATION ATTRACTED BETWEEN THREE AND FIVE
HUNDRED PEOPLE AND WAS AT TIMES VIOLENT WITH
DEMONSTRATORS THROWING ROCKS AT PASSING CARS.

8. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONAL
(RFI), PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU BLAMED
THE PRESIDENT FOR BLOCKING INSTALLATION OF THE
TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. HE THREATENED TO PROCEED
WITH FORMING THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT'S
BLESSING IF HE CONTINUED TO OBSTRUCT. IN A STATEMENT
READ BY TWAGIRAMUNGU ON RADIO RWANDA EVENING OF 1/2,
HE ANNOUNCED THAT HIS NEGOTIATIONS WERE AT AN END AND
COULD ONLY BEGIN AGAIN IF THE PRESIDENT INSISTED. HE
SAID INTERMINABLE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE ONE SIDE OR
THE OTHER DIDN'T LIKE FACTION X OR Y WOULD LEAD
NOWHERE.

9. THE MRND HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE EVENING OF 1/2
IN WHICH IT BLAMED PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FOR
BLOCKING THE FORMATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS

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AND FOR INTERFERING IN THE AFFAIRS OF POLITICAL PARTIES FOR PARTISAN REASONS. THEY ALSO ACCUSED HIM OF CONNIVANCE WITH THE RPF AND SUGGESTED THAT IF HE WAS INCAPABLE OF FORMING A GOVERNMENT, THEN ANOTHER PRIME MINISTER SHOULD BE FOUND.

10. NOT TO BE OUTDONE, THE HARDLINE CDR PARTY, WHICH HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY SILENT UP TO NOW, ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD SIGN THE CODE OF ETHICS REQUIRED OF POLITICAL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE TRANSITION

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INSTITUTIONS AND JOIN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE CDR HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE TO THIS EFFECT ON 1/2, WHICH ATTRACTED KEY MEMBERS OF THE MDR FACTION OPPOSED TO TWAGIRAMUNGU.

11. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECURITY GENERAL (SRSG) BOOH BOOH ISSUED A STRONG STATEMENT AT A PRESS CONFERENCE 1/3. HE SAID THE DELAY IN PUTTING TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE WAS INCOMPREHENSIBLE AND UNACCEPTABLE. IT CAST DOUBT, HE SAID, ON THE CREDIBILITY OF RWANDAN AUTHORITIES IN THE EYES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE RWANDAN PEOPLE.

DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE

12. THE NONCE APOSTOLIQUE SUMMONED THE HEADS OF EMBASSIES OF FRANCE, BELGIUM, GERMANY AND THE U.S. TO A MEETING WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECURITY GENERAL (SRSG) BOOH BOOH MORNING OF NEW YEAR'S DAY. BOOH BOOH APPEALED TO THE DIPLOMATS FOR THEIR HELP IN UNBLOCKING THE SITUATION WHICH HE BELIEVED WAS AT AN IMPASSE. BOOH BOOH SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY AGITATED DURING A 12/30 MEETING, CLAIMING THAT HIS ENEMIES WERE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO CHASE HIM FROM POWER AND SAYING THAT HE WOULD REFUSE TO GIVE ARMS TO HIS ENEMIES SO THAT THEY COULD ASSASSINATE HIM. HE THREATENED "CONSEQUENCES" IF THE INSTALLATION CEREMONY WAS ORGANIZED WITHOUT HIM AND ASKED THAT UNAMIR HELP BLOCK ACCESS TO ANY CEREMONY AT THE CND HELD WITHOUT HIS CONSENT. BOOH BOOH SAID THAT UNAMIR WAS TRYING TO SET UP A MEETING

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BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND KAGAME. HOWEVER, THE RPF
TERMS, I.E., THAT THE ACTUAL AND FUTURE PRIME
MINISTERS BE PRESENT, ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE
PRESIDENT. THIS MEETING IS STILL PENDING. BOOH 99#
SAID THAT PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI WAS OFFERING TO SHARE
MINISTERIAL AND ASSEMBLY POSITIONS WITH THE OTHER
WING OF HIS PARTY UNDER THE AUSPICES OF UNAMIR
MEDIATION. BOOH BOOH SAID FORMER PRIME MINISTER
DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE, IN A MEETING NEW YEAR'S EVE,
ATTACKED PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU FOR
REJECTING SUGGESTIONS FOR MINISTERIAL POSTS FROM THE
DISMAS WING OF THE PARTY. DISMAS INSISTED FORMER

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FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA MUST BE IN THE
MINISTERIAL LINEUP.

13. THE DIPLOMATS DECIDED TO MAKE A JOINT DEMARCHE ON
THE PRIME MINISTER, THE PRESIDENT AND RPF PRESIDENT
KANYARENGWE TO IMPRESS UPON THEM THE URGENCY OF THE
SITUATION. THE DEMARCHE, HIGHLIGHTING THE
APPROACHING DEADLINES 1/5 IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL,
1/15 FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS,
URGED THAT POLITICAL ACTORS ENGAGE IN CONFIDENCE
BUILDING RATHER THAN MUD SLINGING AND THAT THE
INSTITUTIONS TRULY BROAD-BASED TO FOSTER NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION.

14. PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU MET WITH
THE DIPLOMATS AFTERNOON OF 1/1. HIS RESPONSE TO THE
DEMARCHE BLAMED THE ENTIRE PROBLEM ON THE PRESIDENT.
HE SAID THE PRESIDENT WANTS GUARANTEES IN THE
GOVERNMENT AND IN THE ASSEMBLY SO THAT HE CAN
CONTINUE TO EXERCISE POWER AS HE HAD DONE DURING THE
SINGLE PARTY ERA. HE ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF
MANIPULATING THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF HIS PARTY, THE
MDR, AND ALSO THE PL IN ORDER TO ASSURE HIMSELF OF
SUPPORT FROM CERTAIN OF THEIR MEMBERS. TWAGIRAMUNGU
SAID HE CANNOT ACCEPT OUTSIDE FORCES DESTROYING THE
MDR PARTY AND THAT HE WILL NEVER BASE HIS POLITICS ON
ETHNIC OR REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS. HE DISMISSED THE
ACCUSATION THAT HE IS PRO RPF, SAYING THAT BRINGING
THE RPF INTO THE GOVERNMENT IS HIS ROLE. HE WAS
ESPECIALLY UPSET BY ACCUSATIONS COMING FROM MEMBERS
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OF THE MRND THAT HE WAS IN COMPLICITY WITH THE
PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT AD INTENT ON
MAKING A "COUP D'ETAT". HE NOTED THAT THE
PRESIDENT'S ONLY ROLE IN PUTTING THE TRANSITION
INSTITUTIONS INTO PLACE IS TO ADMINISTER THE OATH OF
OFFICE. THEREFORE, HE CANNOT HOLD UP THE PROCESS BY
INSISTING ON RECONCILIATION INSIDE THE PARTIES AS A
PRECONDITION.

15. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA MET WITH THE NONCE AND THE
WESTERN DIPLOMATS MORNING OF 1/3. FOLLOWING OUR
DEMARCHE, THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO
THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD FRAMEWORK AND INSISTED THAT
IT BE APPLIED TO THE LETTER. HE ASKED DIPLOMATS FOR
IDEAS ON WHAT HE SHOULD DO TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. HE
INSISTED THAT HE AND OTHERS COULD NOT INTERFERE IN
THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PARTIES; NO ONE COULD
UNBLOCK THE PARTIES BUT THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. THE
DIPLOMATS REFRAINED FROM OFFERING CONCRETE
SUGGESTIONS. CHARGE SUGGESTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY WOULD CONCLUDE THAT RWANDANS LACKED THE
WILL TO IMPLEMENT THE PEACE ACCORD IF THE DEADLOCK
WERE NOT BROKEN SOON. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR
UNDERScoreD THIS POINT AND NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE
DIFFICULT FOR US TO CONVINCe OUR GOVERNMENTS TO
CONTINUE SUPPORT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN THE
INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND IN
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IF IT APPEARED TO THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT THE GOODWILL TO
IMPLEMENT THE ACCORD WAS LACKING.

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16. RPF PRESIDENT KANYARENGWE RECEIVED THE DIPLOMATS
MORNING OF 1/4. HE ARGUED AS HE HAD DONE IN A
PRIVATE MEETING WITH CHARGE THE PREVIOUS DAY THAT THE
PRESIDENT ALONE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROBLEMS
CONFRONTING RWANDA. HE SAID THE ARUSHA ACCORD HAD
DEPRIVED THE PRESIDENT OF A BLOCKING THIRD IN THE
GOVERNMENT AND ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF PROVOKING THE
PROBLEMS IN THE PARTY IN ORDER TO CREATE DIVISIONS SO

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HE COULD OBTAIN CONTROLLING BLOCKS IN BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. HE SAID THE RPF CANNOT ACCEPT HABYARIMANA BEING ABLE TO BLOCK ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ASSEMBLY. HE SAID

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THE RPF WANTS GUARANTEES THAT IT CAN ENTER A GOVERNMENT WHERE IT CAN WORK AND NOT BE BLOCKED. HE APPEALED TO THE DIPLOMATS FOR HELP IN HAVING THE PRESIDENT RESPOND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION RATHER THAN IN HIS OWN PERSONAL INTEREST. HE CLAIMED THAT THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING RWANDA IS THE PROBLEM OF ONE PERSON.

POSSIBLE OPENING

17. THE NONCE AND DIPLOMATS MET EVENING OF 1/3 WITH SRSR BOOH BOOH AND GENERAL DALLAIRE TO REVIEW THE STATE OF PLAY. GENERAL DALLAIRE REPORTED THAT A POSSIBLE OPENING MAY HAVE APPEARED IN HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR ENOCH RUHIGIRA. RUHIGIRA REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS PREPARED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE AND THEN HAVE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU PROCEED TO SWEAR IN WHATEVER LIST OF MINISTERS HE WANTED WITHOUT PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL AFTER THE PRESCRIBED THREE-DAY WAITING PERIOD.

THE RPF

18. ON THE OTHER HAND, RPF CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE TOLD GENERAL DALLAIRE THAT HE PLANNED TO LEAVE FOR MULINDI AFTERNOON OF 1/4 WITH SOME OF HIS CLOSE COLLABORATORS IF THERE WAS NO MOVEMENT TOWARD INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. HE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY LIST OF DEPUTIES OR

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GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS NEGOTIATED BY UNAMIR. HE ALSO COMPLAINED TO THE GENERAL THAT THE RPF HAD WALKED INTO A TRAP AND HE URGED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO IMPOSE A DATE FOR INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTION.

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RISK OF VIOLENCE

19. AT THE MEETING WITH DIPLOMATS EVENING OF 1/3, UNAMIR OFFICIALS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE SITUATION COULD EASILY DETERIORATE INTO RENEWED VIOLENCE. GENERAL DALLAIRE PUT FORWARD A POSSIBLE SCENARIO WHEREBY THE RPF WOULD RETURN TO MULINDI. HE SAID TAKING BACK WOULD BE MUCH HARDER THAN BRINGING TO KIGALI AND PREPARE TO RENEW HOSTILITIES. HE SPECULATED THAT IF THIS SHOULD HAPPEN, THE RPF WOULD WIN THE NEXT ENCOUNTER.

COMMENT

20. ALTHOUGH THERE IS PLENTY OF BLAME TO GO AROUND, IT DOES SEEM THAT ONE OF THE KEY PROBLEMS IS THE PRESIDENT'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE OUTCOME OF THE PEACE ACCORD WHEREBY HE CAN NO LONGER BE ASSURED OF CONTROLLING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. LEADER

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