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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	RPE-01	/038W					

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O 040508Z JAN 94
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5427
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00034

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: MAYBE JANUARY 5?
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REF: KIGALI 0032

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. SOME TRANSITIONS INSTITUTIONS MAY BE INSTALLED JANUARY 5. THE PRESIDENT HAS AGREED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE IN THE MORNING AND HAS AGREED TO SWEAR IN ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES IN THE AFTERNOON. THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE AND POLITICAL PARTIES LEADERS, INCLUDING THE RPF, WHO OBJECT TO THE LIST OF

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LIBERAL PARTY (PL) DEPUTIES SUBMITTED BY THE PRESIDENT, ARE SCRAMBLING TO FIND FORMULAS THEY CAN LIVE WITH, GIVEN THIS ACKNOWLEDGED OPENING FROM THE PRESIDENT. INVITATIONS TO CEREMONIES HAVE YET TO BE EXTENDED. END SUMMARY.

PRESIDENT ANNOUNCES CEREMONIES

3. A COMMUNIQUE FROM THE PRESIDENCY, ISSUED MORNING OF JANUARY 4 VIA RADIO RTLM, ANNOUNCED THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS PREPARED TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE UNDER THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD MORNING OF JANUARY 5. IT FURTHER SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO SWEAR IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES THE SAME AFTERNOON. IT SAID HE HAD GIVEN A LIST OF DEPUTIES FOR THE SWEARING-IN TO THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER SO SHE COULD INVITE THOSE CONCERNED TO THE CEREMONY.

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4. RTLM SUBSEQUENTLY READ OUT THE LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET DIRECTOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER CONTAINING THE LISTS OF DEPUTIES PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT. AS EXPECTED, IT CONTAINED THE CONTESTED LIST SUBMITTED BY PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI. THIS LIST IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PL/LANDO WING OF THE PARTY, TO PM-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, AND TO THE RPF FOR ALLEGEDLY INCLUDING MRND AND CDR MEMBERS LOYAL TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA RATHER THAN PERSONS "LEGALLY" ELECTED BY THE PARTY IN SEPTEMBER. TO EVERYONE'S SURPRISE, THE PROPOSAL CONTAINED THE MDR LIST SUBMITTED BY TWAGIRAMUNGU. THIS LIST INCLUDES SOME PERSONS FAVORABLE TO TWAGIRAMUNGU AND SOME TO THE OTHER FACTION OF HIS PARTY.

PM-DESIGNATE ACKNOWLEDGES OPENING

5. CHARGE CONTACTED PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE AT BEHEST OF WESTERN DIPLOMATS, THE NONCE, AND UNAMIR, TO DISCUSS HIS REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT'S OVERTURE. THE DIPLOMATS AND UNAMIR, WHO MET MIDDAY TO REVIEW THE STATE OF PLAY, WERE WORRIED THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU MIGHT JEOPARDIZE THE POSSIBILITY FOR MOVEMENT BY ISSUING AN IRRESPONSIBLE PUBLIC STATEMENT AT A

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MEETING OF THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY HE CONVOKED FOR
AFTERNOON 1/4.

6. TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD CHARGE HE HAD CANCELLED THE
DIPLOMATIC MEETING IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING
NEGOTIATIONS ON THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL WHICH HE
SAID HE VIEWED AS A POSITIVE OPENING. THE MAJOR

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PROBLEM: STRONG OBJECTIONS TO THE PL/DEPUTIES LIST
PROVIDED BY MUGENZI. HE HINTED AT TWO OPTIONS UNDER
CONSIDERATION -- HAVING THE TWO FACTIONS SHARE THE
SEATS OR HAVING NO/NO PL DEPUTIES SWORN IN UNTIL THE
PARTY RESOLVES ITS DIFFERENCES. HE HINTED THAT PSD
LEADER GATABAZI WAS AN OBSTACLE TO MODERATION AND
COMPROMISE. HE SAID HE IS SATISFIED WITH THE MDR
LIST, WHICH HE PRESENTED, AND BELIEVES HAVING THE
PRESIDENT TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE IS A POSITIVE
DEVELOPMENT. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE WAS ON HIS WAY TO
DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH THE RPF. CHARGE URGED
TWAGIRAMUNGU TO USE THE PRESIDENT'S OPENING TO ARRIVE
AT A POSITIVE SOLUTION TO THE IMPASSE AND ENCOURAGED

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HIM NOT TO LET "EXTREMISTS" DICTATE THE TERMS OF A SOLUTION. AT GENERAL DALLAIRE'S REQUEST, CHARGE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT A RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT WHICH APPEARED TO BLOCK PROGRESS MIGHT BE USED AS A PROVOCATION FOR VIOLENCE.

7. CHARGE CONTACTED GATABAZI WHO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S WILLINGNESS TO TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE AND PROVIDE A FIXED DATE FOR THE CEREMONY WAS POSITIVE. BUT HE NOTED THE ABSENCE OF REFERENCE TO FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT AS A DRAWBACK. HE SAID HE HAD PROPOSED THAT THE SWEARING-IN OF THE GOVERNMENT BE ADDED TO THE JANUARY 5 SCHEDULE. ON THE PL LIST OF DEPUTIES, GATABAZI REITERATED THE TWO OPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION AND SAID LANDO, LEADER OF THE PL FACTION OPPOSING MUGENZI, BELIEVES BOTH ARE REASONABLE: HE IS WILLING TO WAIT FOR THE PL DEPUTIES TO BE SWORN IN AND HE IS WILLING TO SEEK WAYS OF SHARING THE ELEVEN PL SEATS. CHARGE REITERATED THE POINTS MADE TO TWAGIRAMUNGU. GATABAZI

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SAID "WE ARE NOT GOING TO CLOSE THE DOOR THE PRESIDENT HAS OPENED."

8. PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI ALONG WITH HIS VICE PRESIDENT CALLED ON CHARGE AFTERNOON OF 1/5. HE EXPRESSED TOTAL SATISFACTION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL, WITHOUT ACKNOWLEDGING POSSIBLE CHALLENGES FROM THOSE OPPOSED TO HIS LIST OF DEPUTIES. INSTEAD, HE SAID THE PARTIES SHOULD ADOPT A POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER PARTIES AND

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SHOULD INSIST THAT PARTY MEMBERS BE LOYAL TO PARTY RULES AND IDEOLOGY. HE ACCUSES THE "DISSIDENTS" IN HIS PARTY OF LACK OF LOYALTY AND OTHER PARTY LEADERS OF INTERFERENCE. MUGENZI SAID THAT IF THE PL FAILS TO SAY "NO" NOW TO RPF-MDR-PSD INTERFERENCE, HE WORRIES WHERE IT WILL END.

9. MUGENZI WENT ON TO TALLY VOTES ALLEGEDLY CONTROLLED BY THE RPF IN THE GOVERNMENT AND ASSEMBLY AND TO RAIL AGAINST TWAGIRAMUNGU'S PROPOSAL TO HAVE A TUTSI HEAD THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. HE PREDICTED RWANDANS WILL FEEL DECEIVED WHEN THEY DISCOVER THEY'VE TRADED CONTROL BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FOR CONTROL BY THE RPF. HE SAID HAVING TUTSIS IN CONTROL OF JUSTICE, INTERIOR AND THE GENDARMERIE WOULD RETURN POWER TO THE TUTSI. WHAT, HE ASKED, DO WE SAY TO THE HUTU? CHARGE LISTENED, THEN MADE THE SAME POINTS AS ABOVE. SHE ALSO MADE POINTS MADE WITH PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE, AND RPF PRESIDENT (REFTEL).

COMMENT

10. THE POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN TWAGIRAMUNGU OF THE MDR AND MUGENZI OF THE PL, THAT ENDURED FOR TWO YEARS AND LED THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CHALLENGE TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S TOTAL CONTROL OF RWANDA, IS DEAD. THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF MUGENZI, WHOSE COMMITMENT TO RECONCILIATION AND A MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETY SEEMED UNSHAKABLE -- HE LOST A BROTHER TO ASSASSINS IN THE PROCESS -- IS NOTHING SHORT OF

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INCREDIBLE. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU
REJECTS HIM AS A MEMBER OF HIS CABINET.

11. THE OPENING FROM THE PRESIDENT IS A HOPEFUL
SIGN. IF THE POLITICAL PARTIES OBJECTING TO THE
PL/MUGENZI LIST CAN FIND A FORMULA THEY CAN LIVE
WITH, THERE IS A CHANCE THAT WE WILL HAVE AT LEAST
TWO OF THE THREE INITIAL TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS IN
PLACE IN TIME FOR SECURITY COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS
JANUARY 5. MUGENZI'S INTRANSIGENCE COULD FOIL THIS.
THERE ARE ALSO SKEPTICS WHO BELIEVE THAT HAVING THE
PRESIDENT THE ONLY "INSTITUTION" DULY SWORN IN UNDER
THE PEACE ACCORD COULD OPEN THE WAY FOR FURTHER

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NEGATIVE MACHINATIONS AND MEDDLING.

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