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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	CIAE-00	PFIP-01	C-01	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/026W	
-----80CB73 020249Z /63/38							

R 301435Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2376  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE //ECJ2/ECJ5//  
SECDEF WASHDC //USDP//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 04929

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT THROUGHOUT)

PARIS FOR PERLOW  
DEPT FOR AF/C AND AF/RA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW  
SUBJECT: VISIT WITH RPF COMMANDER KAGAME

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04929 01 OF 04 020237Z  
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: U.S. REPRESENTATIVES HELD A THREE HOUR MEETING WITH RPF MILITARY COMMANDER, MAJOR PAUL KAGAME, BEHIND RPF LINES IN NORTHERN RWANDA ON 28 NOVEMBER TO DISCUSS INTEGRATION OF MILITARY FORCES AND DEMOBILIZATION OF COMBATANTS. KAGAME HAD THREE MESSAGES FOR THE U.S. TO TAKE AWAY: THE RPF WILL NOT INITIATE OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS, BUT WILL FIGHT IF ATTACKED; THE RPF REMAINS VERY UPSET WITH THE FRENCH ROLE IN THE CONFLICT AS THEY BELIEVE THAT THE

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CONTINUED FRENCH PRESENCE CONTRIBUTES TO INTRANSIGENCE ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE RPF WILL SEEK TO CLARIFY AT THE NEXT JPMC WHETHER THE FRENCH ARE A BELLIGERENT IN THE CONFLICT OR AN OBSERVER SEEKING TO FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS; THE RPF IS FRUSTRATED BY THE DELAYS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, SINCE THEY BELIEVE THAT THE DELAYS ARE A PLOY BY PRESIDENT HABİYARMANA TO AVOID ADDRESSING THE KEY POLITICAL ISSUES AND TO UNDERMINE THE PEACE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

3. MICHAEL ZORICK OF EMBASSY KIGALI AND VISITING AF/RA MILITARY REPRESENTATIVE LTC TONY MARLEY MET WITH THE RPF MILITARY COMMANDER, MAJOR PAUL KAGAME, FOR THREE HOURS ON 2B NOVEMBER. THE VENUE FOR THE MEETING WAS A TIN SHED JUST OFF THE BYUMBA-GATUNA (KIGALI-KAMPALA) HIGHWAY 12 KM (BY ROAD) FROM THE UGANDAN BORDER. THE CROSSING OF THE RPF-FAR FRONT LINES/CEASEFIRE LINE (16 KM BY ROAD FROM THE UGANDAN BORDER) WAS AGREED TO BY BOTH WARRING PARTIES AND  
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FACILITATED BY THE OAU NEUTRAL MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP (NMOG). ZORICK AND MARLEY WERE ACCOMPANIED TO THE MEETING BY THE NMOG OPERATIONS OFFICER, NIGERIAN LTC COLLINS IHEKIRE, THE SENEGALESE CONTINGENT COMMANDER, COL GUEYE, AND SENIOR RPF NMOG MEMBER KAREKE KARENZI.

4. INITIALLY, THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE MEETING WAS SOMEWHAT FORMAL AND STRAINED, BUT AFTER KAGAME HAD VENTED HIS FRUSTRATIONS CONCERNING THE FRENCH, THE MOOD BECAME MORE CASUAL AND THE KAGAME EXHIBITED GREATER CANDOR CONCERNING OTHER ISSUES. THE RWANDAN MINISTER OF DEFENSE, DR. JAMES GASANA, HAD ASKED MARLEY TO CONVEY A MESSAGE FROM GASANA TO PAUL KAGAME. HE WANTED KAGAME TO KNOW THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT WILL NOT INITIATE OFFENSIVE MILITARY OPERATIONS, AND THAT THE FAR IS NOT CONDUCTING PREPARATIONS FOR SUCH AN OFFENSIVE. GASANA IS AWARE THAT KAGAME IS HEARING REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY AND WANTED TO COUNTER SUCH RUMORS WITH HIS PERSONAL GUARANTEE. KAGAME THANKED THE U.S. FOR CONVEYING THE MESSAGE AND ASKED THAT MARLEY PASS THE RPF'S RESPONSE: THE RPF WILL NOT INITIATE OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS, BUT ARE FULLY PREPARED TO FIGHT IF

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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 04929

PARIS FOR PERLOW

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GOVERNMENT. KAGAME SAID THAT AT THE NEXT MEETING OF  
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THE JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION, THE RPF WILL  
SEEK CLARIFICATION AS TO WHETHER FRANCE IS A  
RESPONSIBLE OBSERVER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS SEEKING TO  
FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS, OR IF IT IS AN ACTIVE  
BELLIGERENT IN THE CONFLICT. KAGAME CONTINUED THAT  
THE RPF WANTS THE FRENCH COMBAT TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM  
RWANDA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR INTERPRETATION OF THE  
CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT OF 12 JULY 92.

6. THE TWO NMOG REPRESENTATIVES, WHO WERE SITTING IN  
ON THE MEETING, PUBLICLY SECONDED THE NEED FOR THE  
FRENCH WITHDRAWAL. LTC IHEKIRE REPORTED THAT THE  
RWANDAN GOVERNMENT STILL OBSTRUCTS NMOG MOVEMENTS IN  
AREAS OF FRENCH MILITARY ACTIVITY, AND RELATED A  
RECENT INCIDENT IN WHICH AN NMOG PATROL ENCOUNTERED  
FRENCH COMBAT FORCES MOVING AS PART OF A FAR CONVOY.  
SENEGALESE COLONEL GUEYE SAID THAT FRENCH MILITARY  
ENGINEERS WERE HELPING THE FAR DIG DEFENSIVE  
POSITIONS.

7. CONCERNING THE FRENCH PRESENCE, MARLEY  
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE U.S. HAD "KICKED THE CAN DOWN  
THE ROAD" AT THE PAST TWO JPMC MEETINGS, BUT THAT  
NMOG HAD BEEN DIRECTED TO REPORT ON THE MATTER AT THE

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NEXT (AS YET UNSCHEDULED) MEETING OF THE JPMC.  
CONTINUING TO DISCUSS THE FRENCH, KAGAME STATED THAT  
THE CURRENT FRENCH ACTIVITIES ARE NOT IN THE INTEREST  
OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE AND THAT BY ASSOCIATING ITSELF  
IN SO STRONG A MANNER WITH THE CURRENT REPRESSIVE  
GOVERNMENT, THE FRENCH ACTIONS ARE CONTRARY TO  
FRANCE'S INTERESTS IN AFRICA. KAGAME CONCLUDED THAT  
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HE FORESEES NO SIGNIFICANT ROLE FOR FRENCH MILITARY  
ASSISTANCE FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF A RWANDAN PEACE  
ACCORD.

ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS  
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8. KAGAME SAID THAT THE RPF IS FRUSTRATED BY THE  
FREQUENT AND LENGTHY DELAYS EXPERIENCED IN THE PEACE  
NEGOTIATIONS NECESSITATED BY THE GOVERNMENT  
DELEGATION'S QUESTIONABLE MANDATE. THE RPF BELIEVES  
THAT THE REQUIREMENT FOR CONSULTATIONS IN KIGALI,  
COUPLED WITH NUMEROUS UNHELPFUL PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY  
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, ARE AN EFFORT BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO UNDERMINE THE PEACE PROCESS SO AS TO AVOID  
POWER-SHARING AND OTHER POLITICAL CONCESSIONS.  
KAGAME WENT ON TO SAY THAT, DESPITE THEIR  
FRUSTRATION CONCERNING THE PACE OF THE PROCESS, THE  
RPF REMAINS COMMITTED TO ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED  
SETTLEMENT TO THE CONFLICT.

NMOG PERFORMANCE  
-----

9. KAGAME EXPRESSED SATISFACTION, BOTH PUBLICLY AND  
IN PRIVATE, WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF THE NMOG IN  
MONITORING THE RWANDAN CEASEFIRE. HE SAID THAT NMOG  
HAS NOT DONE ANYTHING TO COMPROMISE ITS NEUTRALITY,  
AND HAS UNDERTAKEN GREAT EFFORTS TO INVESTIGATE  
CEASEFIRE ALLEGATIONS AND TO DIMINISH TENSIONS  
BETWEEN THE FACTIONS. IN THE FORMAL MEETING, KAGAME  
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STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE NMOG TO KEEP ONE OR TWO  
OBSERVER TEAMS ON THE RPF SIDE OF THE LINE AT ALL  
TIMES, BUT THAT HE CANNOT FORCE THEM TO DO SO. IN  
PRIVATE, KAGAME SAID THAT THE RPF PLANS TO FORMALLY  
ASK AT THE NEXT JPMC MEETING THAT NMOG KEEP MONITORS  
BEHIND RPF LINES.

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MILITARY TECHNICAL TALKS  
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10. KAGAME SAID THAT THE RPF DELEGATION FOR THE

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	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/025W		
					-----800CA6	301525Z	/38

R 301435Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2378  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
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USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE //ECJ2/ECJ5//  
SECDEF WASHDC //USDP//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 KIGALI 04929

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MILITARY NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE LED BY MEMBER OF THE  
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HIGH COMMAND BISARUGA. AN OFFICER PRESENT DURING THE  
MEETING, SENIOR OFFICER KAYUMBA NYAMWASA (PREVIOUSLY  
A LIEUTENANT IN THE UGANDAN NRA) WILL BE A MEMBER OF  
THE MILITARY NEGOTIATING TEAM. RPF JPMC MEETING  
REPRESENTATIVES TITO AND RUDASINGWA WILL NOT  
PARTICIPATE IN THE MILITARY TECHNICAL TALKS ACCORDING  
TO KAGAME.

FORCE INTEGRATION ISSUES  
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11. - GENDARMERIE. KAGAME SAID THAT THE RPF HAS NOT  
YET DETERMINED ITS POSITION CONCERNING THE  
GENDARMERIE. IF THERE IS A GENDARMERIE, THE RPF  
INTENDS TO INTEGRATE FORCES INTO IT, BUT THEY ARE NOT  
SURE IF THEY WANT TO RETAIN A GENDARMERIE AT ALL.  
KAGAME'S VIEW IS THAT IF THERE WERE A TRAINED  
NATIONAL POLICE FORCE, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR  
GENDARMES. WHILE COLONEL GUEYE UNDERTOOK TO PROVIDE  
INFORMATION TO KAGAME CONCERNING THE ROLES AND  
MISSIONS OF A GENDARMERIE WITHIN THE NATIONAL DEFENSE  
STRUCTURE, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT AN ILL-TRAINED AND  
UNDISCIPLINED GENDARMERIE IS A THREAT TO PUBLIC  
SECURITY.

- FORCE SIZE. KAGAME STATED THAT IF THE GENDARMERIE  
IS RETAINED WITHIN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, THE RPF  
ENVISIONS A MILITARY TOTALLING 20-30,000 MEN. LATER,  
HE SAID THAT IF THE GENDARMERIE IS NOT RETAINED, HE  
FORESEES A MILITARY STRENGTH OF 10-15,000.

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- INTEGRATION RATIO. KAGAME WAS NOT PREPARED TO  
DISCUSS DETAILS OF THE RPF'S VIEWS ON THE RELATIVE  
PERCENTAGES OF PERSONNEL TO BE INTEGRATED INTO THE  
POST-WAR MILITARY FROM THE RPF AND FAR BEYOND STATING  
THAT HE DID NOT WANT THE DIFFERENTIAL IN THE RATIO TO  
BE TOO GREAT. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HE INDICATED  
THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A COPY OF A CONFIDENTIAL RWANDAN  
GOVERNMENT STUDY ON THE ISSUE THAT RECOMMENDED A  
RATIO OF 15:1 (FIFTEEN FAR FOR EACH RPF MEMBER  
ACCEPTED), AND THAT SUCH A RATIO IS COMPLETELY  
UNACCEPTABLE. COMMENT: ON 28 OCT 92, BOTH THE FAR  
CHIEF OF STAFF AND THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE MADE  
REFERENCE TO THIS STUDY AND THE 15:1 RATIO. END  
COMMENT.

- ETHNICITY. KAGAME STATED THAT THE ISSUE OF  
ETHNICITY (TUTSI VERSUS HUTU) IS OVERSTRESSED WHEN  
CONSIDERING FORCE RATIOS IN INTEGRATION. HE SAID  
THAT THE RPF IS ETHNICALLY MIXED, WHILE THE FAR HAS  
USED ETHNICITY TO EXCLUDE TUTSIS. HE WENT ON TO  
CLAIM THAT THE FAR FAILS TO REPRESENT HUTU DIVERSITY,  
BUT THAT THE ARMY WAS RECRUITED ONLY FROM "ONE  
VILLAGE." LTC MARLEY RESPONDED THAT WHILE ETHNICITY  
IS NOT THE ONLY ISSUE THAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED, IN  
THE CASE OF RWANDA IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO PRETEND  
THAT ETHNICITY WAS NOT AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE  
CONFLICT. COMMENT: BY HIS OWN COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE  
FAR'S EXCLUSION OF TUTSIS, KAGAME ACKNOWLEDGES THE  
CRITICALITY OF ETHNICITY, BUT THE RPF WOULD LIKE TO  
PORTRAY THE CONFLICT AS ONE PITTING A MULTI-ETHNIC  
DEMOCRATIC MASS MOVEMENT AGAINST THE EVIL REGIME OF  
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THE REPRESSIVE PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. END COMMENT.

- TRANSITION. KAGAME SAID THAT HE ENVISIONS THE  
MILITARY TRANSITION/INTEGRATION PERIOD LASTING 3-4  
YEARS. HE SEES THE POSSIBILITY OF A TWO TRACK  
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, WITH MILITARY TRANSITION HAVING  
A LONGER DURATION THAN THE POLITICAL TRANSITION.

12. FOLLOWING THE MEETING IN THE SHED, KAGAME ASKED

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	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/025W		
				-----800D02	301530Z	/38	

R 301435Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2379  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE //ECJ2/ECJ5//  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 KIGALI 04929

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IF THE GROUP WOULD LIKE TO DRIVE UP TO THE UGANDAN  
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BORDER. KAGAME TOLD HIS DRIVER TO GET IN BACK, AND THEN DROVE HIMSELF AND MARLEY IN HIS LAND ROVER UP TO GATUNA AND BACK TO ALLOW THE DISCUSSION TO CONTINUE IN PRIVATE. THERE WERE NO OBSTACLES ON THE ROAD BETWEEN KILOMETER MARKER 12 AND THE BORDER. FROM THE PARKING AREA ON THE RWANDAN SIDE OF THE FRONTIER, THE BRIDGE CROSSING INTO UGANDA APPEARED INTACT/REPAIRED, BUT THE DISTANCE WAS TOO GREAT TO BE SURE.

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13. DISCUSSING HIMSELF, KAGAME SAID THAT HE EXPECTS TO REMAIN IN THE MILITARY FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF A PEACE AGREEMENT. WHILE HE CLAIMS TO WANT TO KEEP THE MILITARY APOLITICAL, HE IS ALSO INTERESTED IN THE POSSIBILITY OF A POLITICAL CAREER. KAGAME STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO FT. LEAVENWORTH THROUGH THE IMET PROGRAM AS A RWANDAN OFFICER AND COMPLETE THE ARMY COMMAND AND STAFF COURSE.

14. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE VISIT, KAGAME THANKED THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE ROLE THE U.S. IS PLAYING IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE IN RWANDA AND FOR THEIR WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH THE RPF. HE ALSO EXTENDED AN INVITATION FOR THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVES TO VISIT AGAIN WHENEVER THEY WISHED IN THE FUTURE, AND TO STAY FOR 2-3 DAYS, IF POSSIBLE, TO PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT OTHER AREAS OF THE RPF TERRITORY.

15. COMMENTS ON THE RPF. RPF PERSONNEL APPEARED FIT AND WERE ATTIRED IN A WIDE VARIETY OF UNIFORMS, WITH MOST PERSONNEL HAVING A MIX OF UNIFORM ITEMS. THE CLOTHING INCLUDED UNIFORM ITEMS FROM THE U.S.,

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FRANCE, UGANDA AND TANZANIA. THE UNIFORMS WERE CLEAN AND IN A GOOD STATE OF REPAIR. MOST OF THE PERSONNEL WORE RUBBER "WELLINGTON" TYPE BOOTS, WHICH WERE ALSO IN GOOD CONDITION. THE WEAPONS, PRIMARILY AK-47'S AND RPG'S, WERE ALL CLEAN AND APPEARED TO BE IN GOOD OPERATING CONDITION. PERSONNEL HANDLED THEIR WEAPONS PROFESSIONALLY AND WITH CONFIDENCE. RPF PERSONNEL DEMONSTRATED CORRECT MILITARY COURTESY, BOTH AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH THE U.S. AND NMOG VISITORS. PERSONNEL ON CHECKPOINTS WERE ALERT AND PROFESSIONAL IN THEIR MANNER, NEITHER SLOUCHING ABOUT NOR THREATENING. IN GENERAL, THE RPF PERSONNEL THAT WERE OBSERVED (A TOTAL OF SOME 100 BETWEEN THE CEASEFIRE

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LINE AND THE BORDER) APPEAR TO BE DISCIPLINED, CONFIDENT, AND POSSESSED OF HIGH MORALE. WHILE THIS MAY WELL HAVE BEEN A SELECT GROUP FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE VISITING MZUNGUS, IT CONTRASTED FAVORABLY WITH THE FAR TROOPS OBSERVED AT VARIOUS CHECKPOINTS ALONG THE ROUTE. WHILE THE FAR SOLDIERS WERE EQUIPPED WITH COMPLETE UNIFORMS, PERSONNEL AT CHECKPOINTS MOST OFTEN NEEDED TO CLEAN BOTH THEIR WEAPONS AND UNIFORMS. FAR DISCIPLINE WAS FAR MORE LAX THAN THAT OF THE RPF; ALTHOUGH THIS WAS THE CASE, THE SENEGALESE COLONEL MADE THE COMMENT THAT ON THIS PARTICULAR DAY THE FAR PERSONNEL WERE ACTUALLY MORE RESPONSIVE THAN USUAL IN THEIR FREQUENTLY GRUDGING COOPERATION AT CHECKPOINTS.

16. COMMENT ON FRENCH REACTION. THE EVENING OF 28 NOVEMBER, AFTER RECEIVING A SHORT BRIEFING ON THE VISIT WITH THE RPF, THE COMMANDER OF THE FRENCH  
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AIRBORNE UNIT WORKING IN RWANDA SAID THAT WHILE THE FRENCH WERE HELPING THE FAR STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSIVE LINES AND WOULD SUPPORT THEM IF ATTACKED, THAT THEY (THE FRENCH) WOULD NOT PERMIT, REPEAT PERMIT, THE FAR TO INITIATE OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS AGAINST THE RPF.  
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