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

REF: KIGALI 1021

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. USDEL DELIVERED MESSAGES FROM RWANDAN PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER, AND MINISTER OF DEFENSE TO RPF ARMY COMMANDER PAUL KAGAME. KAGAME STATED THAT
HIS FORCES WILL WITHDRAW TO THEIR FEB. 7 POSITIONS BY MAR. 17 UNCONDITIONALLY, AND WILL COMPLY WITH ALL OTHER COMMITMENTS IN THE DAR ES SALAAM COMMUNIQUE. HE SEES THE NEED FOR AN EXPANDED OBSERVER FORCE, AND AGREES IN PRINCIPLE TO UN ASSISTANCE TO AN EXPANDED OAU FORCE. HE SAID THAT HE HAS INVITED AN INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED RPF ATROCITIES. KAGAME AGREED THAT RPF PROPAGANDA NEEDS TO BE TONED DOWN, AND BELIEVES THE ROLE OF THE JPMC NEEDS TO BE STRENGTHENED. HE SEES A GOOD WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE NOW, AND A POSITIVE CHANGE IN ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE GOR.

END SUMMARY.

3. AF/RA POL/MIL ADVISOR LTC. MARLEY AND ECONOFF MET WITH RPF ARMY COMMANDER MAJ. PAUL KAGAME ON MAR. 11. THE MEETING WAS HELD IN THE MULINDI TEA PLANTATION, APPROX. 13 KMS FROM THE GATUNA BORDER CROSSING INTO UGANDA. USDEL WAS JOINED ON THE TRIP BY NMOG'S MGEN. OPALEYE, THE OAU'S JOE FELLI, AND APPROXIMATELY 30 RWANDAN JOURNALISTS.

MESSAGES DELIVERED

4. USDEL OPENED THE MEETING BY TRANSMITTING MESSAGES OF GOOD WILL AND GOOD FAITH FROM THE RWANDAN PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AND DEFENSE MINISTER. KAGAME REACTED WITH SOME SKEPTICISM TO MINISTER OF DEFENSE GASANA'S MESSAGE THAT THE RPF SHOULD INFORM THE GOR OF RPF MOVEMENTS BACK TO THEIR FEB. 7 POSITIONS SO THAT THE MINISTER CAN ASSURE THAT THERE ARE NO ACCIDENTAL SHOOTINGS. KAGAME STATED THAT THIS SEEMED TO SHOW THAT THE GOR HAS SOME SERIOUS COMMAND AND CONTROL PROBLEMS WITH ITS FORCES; THERE IS A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE, THE RPF IS EXPECTED TO WITHDRAW: WHY SHOULD THE GOR SHOOT AT RETREATING RPF SOLDIERS? KAGAME ASKED THAT WE THANK THE MINISTER FOR HIS OFFER, BUT TO TELL HIM THAT HIS FORCES WOULD WITHDRAW WITHOUT THE GOR SEEING THEM.

5. USDEL PASSED ON THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S SUGGESTION THAT THE TWO MEN MEET SOON, TO DISCUSS THE MEDIUM TERM IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DAR ES SALAAM COMMUNIQUE,
AND TO TRY TO BUILD SOME MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. KAGAME STATED THAT HE WOULD MEET ANYONE ANYWHERE, SO LONG AS BOTH PARTIES' SECURITY COULD BE ASSURED. THE MINISTER HAD SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF MEETING IN KAMPALA, AND KAGAME THOUGHT THAT THIS COULD BE ARRANGED.

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WITHDRAWAL UNCONDITIONAL, ALL COMMITMENTS WILL BE RESPECTED

6. IN RESPONSE TO A USDEL REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION, KAGAME STATED THAT HIS FORCES WOULD WITHDRAW TO THEIR FEB. 7 POSITIONS ON SCHEDULE. ALL RPF FORCES WILL BE OUT OF THE BUFFER ZONE BY MAR. 17. HE STATED THAT THIS WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE UNCONDITIONAL, ESPECIALLY IN REGARDS TO THE DEPARTURE OF TWO FRENCH COMPANIES FROM RWANDA WHICH IS TO OCCUR BETWEEN MAR. 17 AND 25. KAGAME CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A COPY OF THE GOR'S LETTER TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT REQUESTING THE DEPARTURE OF THESE TWO COMPANIES, AND STATED THAT THE RPF WILL RESPECT ALL OF THEIR COMMITMENTS MADE IN THE DAR ES SALAAM COMMUNIQUE.

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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 AID-01 CIAE-00 C-01 EASY-00 DODE-00 ANHR-01
DS-00 EB-01 EUR-01 FDRE-01 HA-09 H-01 INR-00

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7. KAGAME AGREED WITH USDEL THAT THE CURRENT NMOG OBSERVER FORCE IS INADEQUATE FOR THE JOB OF PATROLLING THE BUFFER ZONE. HE STATED THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE SOME SORT OF UN INVOLVEMENT IN SHORING UP NMOG, PROBABLY THROUGH ASSISTANCE WITH RESOURCES THROUGH THE OAU, BUT THAT HE FELT THAT THE OAU SHOULD HAVE THE JOB, NOT A BLUE HELMETED FORCE. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD TRY TO GET A COMMON POSITION ON UN PARTICIPATION FORMULATED WITH THE GOR AND OAU, VIA NMOG, AND WOULD MAKE SURE THAT THE RPF'S DR. RUDASINGWA MADE THIS POSITION CLEAR TO THE UN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. USDEL STRESSED THE NEED FOR A STRONG OBSERVER FORCE, IN PARTICULAR SO THAT THE FORCE COULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE SECURITY IN THE BUFFER ZONE TO
ENCOURAGE THE RETURN OF THE PEOPLE DISPLACED FROM THE AREA.

NOTE: AFTER THE MEETING, HE SAID THAT KAGAME HAD NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT A UN FORCE ON THE RWANDA-UGANDA BORDER -- THAT WAS FOR THE TWO NATIONS TO DECIDE. KAGAME ALSO HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO A FORCE, UN OR OTHER, TO ASSURE THE SECURITY OF EXPATS IN KIGALI. HOWEVER, HE STATED THAT IN THE BUFFER ZONE THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO ENHANCE THE OA'S OBSERVER CAPABILITY INSTEAD. END NOTE.

HUMAN RIGHTS

KAGAME RESPONDED TO USDEL'S QUESTION ON ALLEGED RPF ATROCITIES BY STATING THAT HE HAD INVITED AN INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION FROM BELGIUM TO INVESTIGATE THE ALLEGATIONS, BUT THAT AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED, NO ABUSES HAD BEEN COMMITTED BY HIS FORCES. (POST DOES NOT KNOW WHAT HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP KAGAME CONTACTED.) HE SAID THAT THIS COMMISSION SHOULD COME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT IT COULD INVESTIGATE THE ALLEGATIONS IN THE AREAS CURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY THE RPF. IF IT CAME AFTER MAR. 17, THERE WOULD BE NO ASSURANCE THAT THE INVESTIGATION WOULD NOT IN FACT COVER KILLINGS DONE BY THE GOR AFTER THE RPF'S WITHDRAWAL. KAGAME STATED THAT HIS FORCES HAD KILLED SOME ARMED CIVILIANS IN THE COMBAT AREA, AND HAD CAPTURED OTHERS WITH THEIR WEAPONS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE GOR WAS STILL KILLING PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY IN GISENYI PREFECTURE, WHERE HE CLAIMED THAT A NUMBER OF RWANDANS HAD FLED INTO ZAIRE. AND FURTHER ACCUSED THE GOR OF PLANNING TO INFILTRATE AREAS CURRENTLY IN RPF HANDS TO KILL PEOPLE AND BLAME THE DEATHS ON THE RPF.

PROPAGANDA

USDEL SUGGESTED THAT THIS MIGHT BE A GOOD TIME
TO REIN IN THE RPF'S PROPAGANDISTS, GIVEN THAT RECENT COMMUNIQUES HAD BEEN VIRULENT AND, IN SOME CASES, APPARENTLY INACCURATE CHARACTERIZATIONS OF RPF POSITIONS, PARTICULARLY ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE UN. KAGAME AGREED THAT A VERBAL CEASEFIRE COULD BE HELPFUL AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE, AND STATED THAT HE WOULD MAKE A RECOMMENDATION TO THAT EFFECT.
11. In his meetings with both the OAU/NMOG and with USDEL, Kagame made the point that some kind of arbitrator is needed to provide clear and accurate information on the implementation of the protocols and Dar es Salaam Communiqué, especially regarding ceasefire violations. He said that the existing JPMC should be the organ to do the job, but that it has no teeth. Kagame stated that the JPMC's role should be reviewed and enhanced.

COMMENT

12. Kagame appeared confident and moderate. He made his commitments to abide by the Dar es Salaam Communiqué firmly and with conviction. Although somewhat skeptical of the messages of good will from the President and GOR, he did allow that the climate seemed ripe for serious negotiations. He stated that the President's Communiqué 0 March 9 in support of the Dar Communiqué was positive, and thought it might indicate a constructive change in attitudes on the part of the GOR. His only mention of French forces in the conflict was in regard to his forces' unconditional withdrawal to its Feb 7 positions.

13. USDEL observed differences in the RPF on this
Visit that may support claims of recent recruitment.

There was a considerable number of young fighting age males among the RPF forces without either uniforms or weapons; USDEL had never before observed any RPF personnel without these basic items. This could indicate deteriorating discipline, but all other observations point to proper discipline and high morale. More likely is the possibility that the RPF has more men than Guws and uniforms at this time.

END COMMENT.