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David Rawson's Notes on RPF Negotiations

David Rawson

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RPF - negotiating between
 effective accepted
 political dialogue
 interpretation of armed forces
 refugee return

Politeness 8-9 - sensitivity about
 marching in

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| May 92 DR | Democratic Party |
| July 31, 1991 MDA | Coalition for the Defense of the Republic |
| July 31 MRND | |
| Aug 5 PSD | |
| Aug 10 PDC - | Christian Democrat |
| Oct. 3 PSR | Socialist Party of Rwanda |
| Nov. 7 | KTU Workers Party for Democracy |
| Dec 14 | PECO Party of Ecologist |
| Dec 14 PDI | Party for Islamic Democracy |
| Jan 10, 92 PPR | Progressive Party for Islamic Youth |
| Jan 21 PADEP | Rwandan Democratic Party |
| Jan 21 PARERWA | Rwandan Republican Party |
| July | UPDR Democratic Union of the Rwandan People - Kanziha
Vincent Nshabukwami |
| July | MFBP Women and Lower Classes movement for Peace |

92 State 203384

March 11, 07

22 Jul 92 Kisumu 03002 Newly Legalized Political Parties

Today 16 political parties have registered and only the first five parties. The Democratic Republican Movement MDR, The National Republican Movement for Democracy M.R.N.D., The Social Democrat Party PSD and the Liberal Party PL are represented in the transitional government led by the Prime Minister Diomieu Nkengiyerangye from MDR

030 Jul 92 Paris 17892 Contact with RPF Amambuka Kase in Washington - briefing Queen E/C Africa Div Bureau on Kagame's intent to come to D.C.

27 June 92 ~~Ceasfire~~ ²⁰⁶⁰⁹³ Ceasfire Negotiations: A USG

White in The Rwandan context

Jan 2 DAS Houdike briefed French & Belg Embassies on June 26 regarding operative portion of a decision memo approved by A/S Cohen concerning our providing technical assistance to GOR/RPF ceasefire negotiations and sought their concurrence in our diplomatic initiative.

Memo May 18, 1992 AF/C Print to AF/FO Houdike Negotiations with RPF

A/S Cohen agreed to U.S. participation as observers in French-led negotiations between GOR + RPF provided this is acceptable to all parties.

U.S. & French military experts feared to assist with technical question re terms of ceasefire - integration of the arms GOR-GOR/RPF aggression treaty

integration ~~should~~ ^{included} ~~not~~ ^{be} ~~included~~ ⁱⁿ a peace accord. French agreed to our setting meeting between RPF & ^{GOR} ~~RPF~~ ^{FR} ~~FR in Uganda~~

Habyarimana told HJC that integration would be difficult told French Gen Varlet it would be impossible

~~French do not~~ ^{do not} Ceasfire is RPF's big card won't play it until right of return. RPF in integrated govt. integration of RPA into FAR

The French do not appear to have handled the first rounds of the negotiation well. successful participation to mediate without being seen to mediate

could 9 must - sense as something from that down among Kampala at 5:00 May 12

agreed in print report

35 attendees

To Members of the PCC on Africa
Mrs. H. ...
Chairman

3/27/92

PCC meeting called to review on

policy toward these countries in a regional context

greater interagency efforts on points
resolution of the central ethnic problem, renewed diplomatic effort
to assist the humanitarian impact and better coordinate demobilization program

Ethnic problem closely linked to democratization

AID - USIA IMET

Only a small percentage of refugees is expected to repatriate.
maximize flexibility of options and support UNHCR approach for
both countries

French mediation is moribund - GOR must create
a situation conducive to democracy as a pre-condition for
real democracy. The RPF affirms it will negotiate with
a credible coalition govt. led by an opposition PM
could French threaten to remove troops

ODA mediated efforts produced nothing - observer group here ~~not~~ worked

Donor chairmanship could change that

objectives: democratization, resolution of conflict, repatriation -

- maximum pressure to democratize & RPF to participate

Urge French to restart negotiations

UNHCR to persevere

Country team democratization effort

orient military to roles compatible with democratization
& ethnic reconciliation

26 Feb 92 Paris 05531 French Perception of East Africans
The Indian Ocean States

14. French increasingly concerned about the internal Rwanda situation - explicit and deteriorating. Haby's hard line in Haby's entourage discouraging moves to democratize whether GOR or RPF can win but RPF will fight on until Haby leaves - GOR RPF forming mtg in Paris a failure. Denied French Commander of mid counselor to Haby. Uganda cannot prevent use of its territory as springboard.

Mon 12, 04

3 June 92 Kigali 2255 Demuth Solution for Rwandan Refugee
- Dept. agrees & requires demands

Logce 94 August 15 in Kigali

6 June 92 - French reinforcements as result of attack on
Byumba 120 + missile battery

EFAO - French forces in Chad consider 2 jansong + tanks
Secstat 181739 RPF attacks on Rwanda

between Gakoma & Kigali -

Heavy fighting in city

contact Muri

to DIRSAM 28 May - Kamya in Paris with Mungwe, Twa, Gatzbergi
propose discussions - share ideas on
proceeding with.

Kigali 6 June confirmed - arrival PM - agrees
study on defense of expatriate

Davidson in Paris :

5 June 92 Paris 15700 Rwanda Talks in Paris DAS Davidson
meeting with Quai Africa Director & Dijsard.

US
Cuba supports French side and is attacking itself as
present in talks - avoided obvious - could not
contribute transportation money but could contribute ETA

Dijsard - if Haby & 40-50 % of country
representatives are isolated - civil war would ensue

Davidson - partial belief of Cohen - Muvunyi - non-aggression
part & open road to Kigali - French Tanzanian mediation

- Dijsard - see current pol opinion.

- make it PF stop fighting

- convince Muri - to accept request - Uganda support

- encourage RPF to stop attacking Haby
General GOR Haby

Notes 3/25/05

11 Dec. 92 Kigali 5137 Consultations w. The French on Rwanda

5. ~~Matres~~ ^{Matres increasingly} critical view - Habay playing for time, no longer acting in good faith. Prepared to withdraw trainees if there is no internal consensus for their presence

9. People around Habay fearful for own lives in govt. controlled by opposition They are prepared to do anything to protect themselves. spirit of revenge among opposition; greater aggressiveness among Tutsi Those who served MRND regime fearful of jobs & lives

20 Nov. 92 Kigali 4811 Integration of Armies & Demobilization

5. Gasama - ^{idea & principle accepted by all including CDR} integration of officers
- cantonment of forces
- selection for army or training/demob

9. offer of 7% RPF based on refugees outside or up to 18% for all diaspora

11. demob to 10,000 30 60R 10 RPF

12. send demob to secondary school.

10 Dec. 92 State 397185 French Military Involvement in Rwandan Ceasefire Process

3. If NMOB report accurate (French digging foxholes in part of est. lines) represents blatant disregard for line. Do not want to raise in JPMC as this would create friction with the French. seek quiet, ~~and~~ behind the scenes solution

4. We have accepted that French presence is political fact of life healthy deterrent to any RPF effort to achieve a purely military solution

6. Discuss with Matres Paris signal concern to Quai

31 Aug 92 Kigali 3622 Arusha III

4. Rwandans not convinced that RPF is going to be satisfied with power sharing PS not a goal in Oct. 1990

1. Ethnic limits on govt's ability to negotiate: fundamental mistrust

Notes 3/29/05

3 APR 92 Kigali 1400 The New Government and Peace Negotiations

5. Existing U.S. Policy

Byumba April 1991

~~Use~~ Use crisis to encourage movement on democracy + HR
tell RPF we support democracy + political equality goals
protection of refugees by democratic political system.

6. a. condemn any use of force to settle problems of refugees
c. RPF should have right of return but not to power sharing as it is demanding. Power sharing should be achieved by democracy not by force. Moving GOR to genuine democracy is a key element of our regional strategy.

7. We have pursued this policy aggressively for the past 11 months.
new constitution - political parties law
formation of pol. parties
liberalization of press.

Creation of new associations -
A10 grants, ILO's, Self-help HR projects - meeting with opposition + govt leaders
Parl. Haby has agreed to share power - elections in 12 months

10. Evidence RPF is nervous about impact of unity govt.

11. RPF said it would accept ceasefire once unity govt formed

12. increasing evidence to dispute Museveni's ~~claim~~ ^{denial} of continuing assistance

13. Mus. has said Haby must accept right to return has spoken for democracy for Rwanda + right to be respected

14. Museveni's terms have been met.