

1993

## David Rawson Notes: Arusha Accords and Politics

David Rawson

08 June Kigali 02309 Rwandan Parties / RPF Meetings in Buseruka.  
~~PL leader Mugenzi~~ May 29 + 6 days

PL leader Mugenzi returned from meetings. He RPF  
convinced that they have defied the road to peace

Habyarimana - committed side  
Bypass Govt. protest.

1. Defers Elections  
Bring RPF into Govt. -  
Unofficial line made Rwanda

in private discussions common ground  
establishing democracy / ending dictatorship

2. RPF justified use of force  
RPF its interest - strive for peace rather than more territory  
It to continue as head of state until democratic  
elections remove.

Change constitution - include RPF -  
(say betrayal protocol which accepts current constitution  
"more likely to lead to a dissolution of this  
government than to an agreement on peace")

2. Rejected concept of an interposition force  
would pull back 1-2 km. if the Govt.  
would do likewise

Constitution would have to be changed to take away  
the dominant power of the President before election could be  
held.

01 June 92 Kigali 02303 Thonsons in Buseruka.  
p3 Civilian road blocks erected on two into into  
main road

Troops return to Rutenguri to loot following demob.  
announced

24- Letter from Rwandan Patriotic Front to Sec Gen.  
28/05/93 re. deployment of various forces by Uganda, Rwanda & France

25. Requête conjointe du RAR & FPR pour la  
Place d'une Force Internationale Neutral. ~~11/6/93~~ 11/6/93

Ref. Briefing Memorandum <sup>Grey</sup>/Walker / 4/9/93 meeting  
with Penelope Bizimana re border force on Ugandan side of the  
border. UN force narrowed

40. Uthuru July 11, 1994 - Tanzanian position.  
after Nyerere's statement. Question on international law

3 Proposed amendments to N'Sele Cease fire Agreement June 92.  
4 RFF Project on Cease fire June 92

5. BOR RPF Paris Talks Joint Declaration 1992

Rwanda 3 Briefing Memo <sup>Grey</sup>/Indurkhya re meeting with James Jones 8/9/95  
p.1 disappointed that Rec Mission did not start planning after Res. 846  
p.2 " US military & budget experts had some <sup>about parameters</sup> preliminary ideas

7/92 Joint Communiqué <sup>issued at the end of</sup> on the Cease fire 12/7/92

The Negotiations on the Ceasefire between the Rwandan  
Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front

in attendance as observer rep of OAU. <sup>Chair of</sup> Diong rep of  
chief mediator M. M. M. rep of Burundi, N. given Tanzanian  
Uganda. Secs. of OAU Belgium, France & the USA.



RPF in Notes NSC 21/104

17 APR 92 State 121698

French Views on

Running Stalled Mediation Efforts in Rwanda

4. RPF must be assured of meaningful participation <sup>underlying</sup> to address causes

5. RPF has not seen concrete <sup>direct</sup> power

Peace/E

sharing w/ democratic process & direct

Muslims

integration in to army neither acceptable to Gov

7. We suggest you visit informally with French

<sup>delegation</sup>  
RCC <sup>Committee</sup>

March 27 1992

objec. as. democratization, resolution of conflict  
participation

Maximum pressure to democratize & RPF to  
participate

urge French to contact Gov-RPF re:  
no radical change

USA Notes 3/26/05

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31 Mar 93 Kigali 1371 Haby Ruzigin Party Presiding  
Announced ~~23~~ March 30. Not business clearly  
disassociated from party activities

07 Apr State 103466 Rwanda Trilaterals.

07 APR Kigali 1474 UN HRC Rapporteur on Summary Extradition  
Bakonyi Waki Ndiaye will visit Rwanda; 8-17

03 May 93 Kigali 01790 Court Crisis - May 93  
Haby accepts PL candidate for Justice but rejects PL Mugenzi  
as Minister of Commerce

10 Feb. 93 Kigali 0537 Politics & Peace  
In an hour-long meeting, PM briefed me, sought our help  
in persuading the President to implement administrative change  
announced Feb 9. (but not agreed to in cabinet)

22 APR 93 State 122018 Rwanda: Update on Arusha Negotiations <sup>4/21</sup>  
Stalled over name for new internal security force &  
place in bureaucracy

25 May 93 Dar es Salaam ~~2733~~ Arusha Peace Talks  
Turn around pending issues without getting to free proportions &  
participating of RPF in Gendarmerie - RPF wants govt in place ASAP  
Disengagement, demilitarizing Kigali  
OAU talks with Arusha May 24

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NSA Notes 3/26/05

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27 May 93 Dar es Salaam <sup>02769</sup> ~~17~~ Arusha Peace Talks: Facilitator  
Pushes for Concussion

1. <sup>Tom</sup> ~~George~~ Defense Min urged GOR/RPF to pick up Dupone  
Military Issues May 30 or concurrent with refugee concluded June 4
2. Mistrust grows - attempts to stall - respect advice  
of facilitator.
3. V. All issues cannot be solved in A. - accepted timetable
4. B. could discuss concurren - some results for mixed commission  
Reject Kinana's content in that facilitator word should be found
6. Force proposition <sup>negotiations are between two sides</sup> only major outstanding issue
7. Not optimistic

20 June 93 USUW: UN Security Council Resolution 846 on Rwanda.  
Monitoring Group on Borders

14 June 93 Kigali 2289 Arusha Process: Internal Progress

03 June 93 State 157863 - Russians Voice Doubt on UN Peace  
in Rwanda

Council VYACHESLAV voiced apprehension about financial  
implications of broadened mandate for AMRKO in Rwanda implied  
Russia might be forced to veto.

23 June 93 Kigali 02381 Cabinet Delay Signature Rejects  
Premier Mandate

2. Accord not yet complete, must be presented to cabinet & coal
3. Kigali not to be demilitarized. Byumba under GOR control  
4. await NIF for security
4. No support in cabinet for PM.

NSA Notes 3/26/05

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29 Jul 93 USAN 3649 August Security Council  
Presiding: Tahir lead. 4. Liberia, Haiti, Cambodia Somalia, ICT, L-17 <sup>Sambor</sup>  
5. Break new ground on how Council sets up + monitors PKO.

~~25 June 93 State 193841 Briefing Paper on Rwanda~~

Negotiations

~~26 Jul 93 Kigali 2761 - MDR vs. MDR~~

~~Agathe resigns then withdraws requests.~~

19 Jul 93 Kigali 02652 - Transition govt expanded

Agathe Uwiringiyimana

Anatole Kasamwa

JMV Mbarungu P.V. Eder

Faustin Rucogoza - w/o

Zestir Mugenzi to Commerce

11. <sup>MUR provision</sup> suspended Agathe + Twag

Agnes Ntamabyamba to Min Int

19 Jul 93 Kigali 02653 NM06/Kigali Principles on expanded NM06, NIF

2 - opalage - observer to security mission

4. NM06 to 240 - observer

5. Laissez but not direct relationship.

reject UN command of OAU NM06

6. Confusion as to what the parties want and what they will settle for.

Pres H. U N for NIF RPF - expand NM06

22 Jul 93 Kigali 2720 Peace Keeping & Observing in Rwanda

3. Scheduled signing June 19, 24, 25, July 15, 22

7. OAU must full Kibira agreement in demilitarized zone

9. Six months is too long to wait for formation of transition govt.

10. ~~Rwanda~~ Govt proposes a NIF for Kigali or NM06 under UN auspices or RPF body guards of their choice



Will have - Check to see if I have  
~~to see~~ a check to see if I have

3 Aug 92 Paris 21127 A/S Cohen & July 29 Discussion with  
NOF Policy Advisors in Africa

19 Sep 92 <sup>Kigali</sup> 04049 PM. Plans for Trip to D.C.  
~~to Washington~~

30 Nov 92 <sup>Kigali</sup> 04901 A Proposition for Another  
Rwandan Religion Leaders Report

10 FEB 93 Kigali 0512 Politics & Peace

12 Apr. 93 Kigali 01536 Haby on Politics and Peace (TA)



NSA

2118/04

12 APR 93 Kigali 01536 Habyarimana on Politics and Peace

2. Haby concern that TA could reverse anything that has happened in the past. Reopened question of CDR in govt. Raised fears of Ugandan intentions

5. US and other donors had encouraged him to agree to protocols signed in Arusha - remaining difficulties to be worked out in implementation of accords - but appointed government assembly could both current constitution around same that have been foundation of Rwandan society a stable President. Should be limited in some way for transit.

7 raised ~~was~~  $\frac{1}{3}$  ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ) provision of Art 31 - Flat income cabinet and exclusion of security & other key issues would get adequate protection against fundamental change

8. etc would be happen if CDR were part of TG - Flat no longer possible to return to this issue although no exclusion was valid. raised with — ~~for~~ 2 days earlier

12 Jul 93 Sec State 210975 Possible Peacekeeping Operations in

Rwanda: US UN Views of Secretariat and P-5 attitudes

3. Core Group on RK is examining NIF in RW. US UN is requested to provide COB July 13, its internal assessment of the attitudes of the Secretariat and other members of P-5 towards an operation in RW. - UN, Joint, OAU, into voluntary force do not raise <sup>new issues</sup> at this time

4. Advise status of DPKO reconnaissance team

10 Aug 93 USUN 03856

Rwanda: UN Views on PKO

2. Underpenth Jombi OAU Selim S wants to pull out entirely and hand whole operation to USUN mention Aug 10 interagency working groups

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12/18/04

05 OCT 93 Paris 26590: Conférence Renard to French on Rwanda and Somalia

- 2 On Oct. 5 we informed Plattmann Bismarck of US support for UNSC Resolution to establish PKO in Rwanda. Bismarck expressed appreciation for U.S. support and reiterated need for rapid deployment of OAU/UN observers & military personnel so that Arusha Accords can be implemented as quickly as possible.
- 5. Decision to withdraw French troops for UNOSOM 2 firm on

06 Oct 93 Kampala 07873 RPF Inquiries about UN Peacekeepers  
 Pascal Bizimungu & Ndahiro asked if US would contribute  
requested meeting with  
 complained that it was responsibilities of particular ministers  
 singlehandedly undermining the spirit of the Arusha Accords.

~~15 Nov 93 Progress in GTBE~~

26 ~~Oct~~ <sup>Nov</sup> 93 Kigali 04193 Unanimous Sidestep Naming Culprit in Rubengera Incident; Parties to Explore Reconciliation

- 1. Unanimous announced creation of commission to look into atrocities in Rubengera
- 5. MOD communique. RA unit commanders express support for MOD who had unilaterally issued comm. suspending talks with RPF but comm. called for mixed commission to be resumed ASAP
- 9. AACC has invited to Mombasa leaders of disparate MOD RPL

~~07 Dec 93~~ 15 Dec 93 Kigali 4440 COR/RPF Jointly set Year's End as Target for Installing Broad-Base Government

- 2. Joint COR/RPF statement set December 31 as target
- 4. Kinshasa meeting Joint session with BOB
- 5. suggested by Chasse & PolMil off.

12/18/04

7. Unamin Briefing 12/13

- 12/15 of 1402 Phase one troop in place for BBTG
- 3 batts in Kigali
- decision of placement RPF housing pending
- 12/15 working level negotiations on assembly points heavy weapons containment - (DMZ redrawn for distance between assembly pts)
- beating all ~~UN~~ record of Troop deployment
- helicopter patrols began
- Burundi refugee camps not frozen in SCR 872 - recent resourments south

8. Col. Marshall UNAMIR to estab. ~~weapons~~ <sup>arms</sup> secure zone in Kigali + 10km radius controlling all movement of ~~arms~~ <sup>CoP concern weapons cannot be depot</sup> ~~arms~~ <sup>fixed post monitor mobile monitor</sup> road in/out, marches to assure weapons are secure

9. Security for intl community not top priority

10. Bishops meeting raised hopes in MDR meeting backed by Lando + PSD kept sides dug in

12. Desmar factin calling for National Party Congress Dec 19 <sup>cabnet posts</sup> Twa hold on to

16. Lando scrap Mugenzi side recruits for MRND + CD2 MRND + PL in cabinet blocking third MRND + PL 26 seats almost enough to block implementation

17. Increased harassment of persons suspected of supporting the RPF

23 Dec 93 Kis 04561 Transition Institutions - Target Date Dec 29

2. FOMIN announced transition date Dec 29

6. Repts in both parties remain serious

8. Worried about arrival of RPF. People told nothing of what to expect

9. HR activists tensions high; in pre-home deploy throughout the country. arrest + harassment of RPF

Sympathizer. Chief presence military base

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21 December 93 <sup>Kisumu 4500</sup> ~~4448~~ Political Unrest Continues

- 2. Party split will not delay timetable but not clear how disarray will be included
- 3. Wanyo agrees to Twa PM but asks 3 ministers & presidency of party
- 4. Twa will come to party congress only if he presides & now rescheduled for 21
- 5. Intense med of Lando & MINAG Fred Nzamirambaho reach agreement Dec 16 but handliners refused to accept it
- 7. Reconciliation not precondition for formation of govt. says part for MDR PL deputies elected by parties in Aug.
- 8. Wse. MDR historical success to MDR Pannabutu to be complemented by concepts of independent democracy & development
- 9. ~~10~~ Meeting, Dec 22 under delay postponed Wse to Belgium for fifth check



WSR

12/18/04

(5)

p 19 Nov 03 Kigali 4117 ~~Armed~~ Killed in DM 3  
2 MRND ~~hated~~ party, ~~specifically~~ killed in Kigali 1117 in DM 3  
4 RPF renegade or Hutu extremist

So far all efforts since the coup in Burundi to stave  
up ethnic violence have failed. Some observers  
claim the ethnic card can no longer be used in Burundi  
politics.