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ENVELOPE

CDSN = LGX288 MCN = 91059/10403 TOR = 910590938
RTTUZYUW RUEKJCS0953 0590936-UUUU--RUEALGX.
ZNR UUUUU

HEADER

R 280936Z FEB 91
FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC
INFO RUEADWD/OCSA WASHINGTON DC
RUENAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RUEADWD/PTC WASH DC
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUFGAID/USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
RUEOFAA/COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC//J2//
RUEORDF/DIRAFMIC FT DETRICK MD//IS//
RUCQVAB/USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL
RUCJACC/USCENTCOM REAR MACDILL AFB FL //CARA//
RUWSMXI/MAC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
RUEALGX/SAFE

R 280843Z FEB 91
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7106
INFO RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 8806
BT

CONTROLS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00953

AIDAC

AID/W FOR AF/C, NEARY AND AFR/EA, HMARWITZ;
INFO FOR USIA, AF, KDELANEY

NAIROBI FOR REDSO/ESA, GORDON

E.O. 12356: N/A

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

SUBJECT: AFR STRATEGY ON DEMOCRATIZATION - RWANDA

REFS: (A) 90 KIGALI 4153; (B) STATE 16018

1. INTRODUCTION. ON JULY 5, 1990, PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO MOVE TOWARD A MULTIPARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM IN RWANDA. ON NOVEMBER 13, AFTER RWANDA HAD BEEN ATTACKED BY DISGRUNTLED EXILES FROM UGANDA, HE ANNOUNCED A SPECIFIC TIMETABLE FOR THE REFERENDUM ON A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM. WHEN THE NEW AMERICAN AMBASSADOR PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS ON

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DECEMBER 17, THE ONLY REQUEST THE PRESIDENT MADE OF THE UNITED STATES WAS FOR ASSISTANCE IN DEVELOPING A REAL DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA.

BECAUSE OF THE OCTOBER 1 ATTACK AND THE PRESSURE FROM RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS TO ENTER INTO DIALOGUE WITH THE REBELS, THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE WHICH BEGAN AS A PURELY DOMESTIC AFFAIR, HAS BECOME INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO THE SECURITY PROBLEMS AND THE RETURN OF REFUGEES TO RWANDA. THE RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) REBELS SAY THAT THEY WANT DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA. SOME BELIEVE THAT WHAT THEY REALLY WANT IS POWER, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE REBELS MAY SETTLE FOR A SHARE OF POWER, ESPECIALLY SINCE THEIR MILITARY CAMPAIGN HAS GONE LESS WELL THAN PREDICTED, AND THE MOST ACCEPTABLE WAY FOR THE PARTIES TO REACH A COMPROMISE IS THROUGH THE CREATION OF A MORE REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM. THUS, FOR THE UNITED STATES, OUR ABILITY TO BE HELPFUL TO RWANDA IN FINDING NEW DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS MAY BE THE KEY INGREDIENT IN ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVES OF REGIONAL STABILITY AND THE RENEWAL OF WAR-STALLED ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

REF A PROVIDED USAID/RWANDA'S INITIAL REACTION/COMMENTS ON DEMOCRATIZATION. HOWEVER, SINCE THAT TIME DRAMATIC CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED IN RWANDA. THESE CHANGES ARE BOTH POLITICAL AND SOCIO/ECONOMIC, AND HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE OPPORTUNITIES TO PURSUE DEMOCRATIZATION POLICIES IN RWANDA. THE OBSERVATIONS BELOW REFLECT THE THINKING OF THE ENTIRE MISSION COUNTRY TEAM.

2. POLITICAL CLIMATE -- THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR INCREASED USG ACTIVITIES IN RWANDA IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIZATION. THE TRADITIONALLY CONSERVATIVE, AGRICULTURAL RWANDAN SOCIETY HAS MADE GREAT EFFORTS OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS TOWARD IMPLEMENTING NEEDED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS. THE USG SHOULD SUPPORT THIS DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS THROUGH INCREASED AID LEVELS SPECIFICALLY EARMARKED FOR THE ACTIVITIES PROPOSED BELOW.

IN ITS FIRST CONCRETE STEP TOWARD IMPLEMENTING MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY, THE GOR PUBLISHED A DRAFT NATIONAL POLITICAL CHARTER ON DECEMBER 31. THE DRAFT CHARTER WILL SERVE AS A BASIS FOR NATIONAL DEBATE ON POLITICAL REFORM IN RWANDA IN THE COMING MONTHS AND IS SCHEDULED TO BE SUBMITTED TO NATIONAL REFERENDUM IN JUNE 1991. NECESSARY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS WILL BE PROPOSED SHORTLY THEREAFTER AND INAUGURATION OF FORMAL MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA IS PLANNED FOR 1992.

THE CHARTER ITSELF IS IMBUED WITH SOLID NOTIONS OF

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY. IN THE CHARTER, FOR EXAMPLE, DEMOCRACY IS DEFINED AS GOVERNMENT "OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE." IT ALSO SPECIFICALLY CALLS FOR FREE ELECTIONS, SEPARATION OF POWERS, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND A MULTIPARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM.

RWANDA'S NEW ORIENTATION TOWARD POLITICAL PLURALISM WAS FIRST PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA IN A JULY 1990 SPEECH. THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT INVASION OF OCTOBER, WHICH CONTINUES TO THIS DAY, HAS ACCELERATED THE PROCESS, AND MADE ITS REALIZATION EVEN MORE NEEDED FOR POLITICAL STABILITY. AT THE SAME TIME THE RPF INVASION HAS MADE THE PROCESS OF LIBERALIZING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM MORE COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT. ONE OF THE MOST REARKABLE CHANGES IN THE RWANDAN POLITIGAL LANDSCAPE IN RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN THE EMERGENCE OF SEVERAL NEW INDEPENDENT JOURNALS WHICH HAVE BEEN OUTSPOKEN IN THEIR CRITICISM AND COMMENTARY ON THE RWANDAN POLITICAL SYSTEM AND LEADERSHIP. ALTHOUGH FREEDOM OF THE PRESS HAS BLOSSOMED

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

IN THE LAST ONE AND A HALF YEARS, THE RWANDAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM HAS MOVED SLOWLY AND HALTINGLY TO ADJUDICATE THE LARGE VOLUME OF ARRESTS GROWING OUT OF THE RPF INVASION.
 3. SOCIO/ECONOMIC SCENE -- PLUSES AND MINUSES INCLUDE CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOR AND THE BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS REGARDING STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT WHICH HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT HEADWAY, SIGNIFICANT DETERIORATION OF THE LOCAL ECONOMY DUE TO PARALYZING SECURITY-BASED MOVEMENT RESTRICTIONS, AND ETHNIC STRIFE WHICH HAS EXACERBATED ETHNIC TENSION THROUGHOUT RWANDA. THE ANNOUNCED SIGNING OF THE WORLD BANK/IMF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACCORD ON FEBRUARY 15 IS EXPECTED TO RESTORE A DEGREE OF BUSINESS CONFIDENCE AND LAY THE BASIS FOR REDUCED TENSION IN COMING MONTHS. IN NOVEMBER 1990 THE GOR FORMALLY ANNOUNCED A PACKAGE OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES. WORLD BANK OFFICIALS IN KIGALI HAVE COMMENTED THAT "THE GOR HAS DONE EVERYTHING WE ASKED THEM TO DO." THE ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES INCLUDE 40 PERCENT DEVALUATION OF THE RWANDAN FRANC, LIBERALIZATION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROCEDURES, ELIMINATION OR REDUCTION OF EXPORT DUTIES, INCREASE OF IMPORT DUTY RATES, DEREGULATION OF CORPORATE PROFIT MARGINS, AND UPWARD ADJUSTMENT OF KEY INTEREST RATES.

4. GIVEN THE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES OUTLINED ABOVE, THE MISSION BELIEVES THAT IT MAY NOW BE OPPORTUNE TO MOVE SIGNIFICANTLY BEYOND THE SUGGESTIONS MADE IN REF A.

---A) WITH THE GOR SEARCHING FOR OPTIONS AND MODELS, WE BELIEVE THAT A NEEDS ASSESSMENT IS A VERY HIGH PRIORITY.

OUR EXPERIENCE WITH THE MAPS PROCESS WAS VERY POSITIVE, AND WE WOULD WELCOME A TEAM OF EQUIVALENT QUALITY WITH EXPERIENCE IN DEMOCRATIZATION. OBVIOUSLY, THE TEAM MUST SPEAK FLUENT FRENCH.

---B) THE OBSERVATION OF DUE PROCESS IS SUFFERING EROSION UNDER THE PREVAILING MILITARY/SECURITY SITUATION. WHILE BELGIUM HAS A PREPONDERANT CAPABILITY IN THIS AREA GIVEN CULTURAL AND LEGAL HERITAGE, WE PLAN TO ASCERTAIN THEIR INTEREST AND INITIATIVES REGARDING THE RWANDAN LEGAL SYSTEM AND WOULD LIKE TO BE PREPARED TO ASSIST THEM WITH APPROPRIATE COMPLEMENTARY ACTIVITIES WHICH MAY BE NECESSARY. A STUDY OF HOW TO INTEGRATE SHORT COURSES OF MAGISTRATE TRAINING INTO THE UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM WOULD BE A USEFUL BEGINNING.

---C) NEED FOR A FREE PRESS -- THE RWANDAN PRESS IS NOW CHARACTERIZED BY A PREDOMINANCE OF STAID AND UNIMAGINATIVE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED PUBLICATIONS AND A SPATE OF RECENTLY-ESTABLISHED, OFTEN IRRESPONSIBLE, SMALL PRIVATE JOURNALS. UNDERLYING THIS COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO VASTLY DIFFERENT BRANDS OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC IS A BASIC LACK OF JOURNALISTIC TRAINING AND KNOW-HOW AMONG THE REPRESSED GOR JOURNALISTS AND THE RABBLE-ROUSING PRESS ENTREPRENEURS. TO HELP THE GOR MAKE ITS OWN INFORMATION MORE PALATABLE AND NEWSWORTHY AS WELL AS TO ENCOURAGE PRIVATE JOURNALISTS TO CURB THEIR SENSATIONALIST TENDENCIES IN THEIR SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND SALES, WE PROPOSE FIVE SHORT- AND LONG-TERM ACTIVITIES DEALING WITH JOURNALISTS AND JOURNALISM: (1) USG-SPONSORED LOCAL SEMINAR(S) LASTING UP TO ONE MONTH EACH AND DEALING WITH BASIC JOURNALISM ISSUES, AS WELL AS MORE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS (ALONG THE LINES OF USIA'S ACADEMIC SPECIALIST PROGRAM). THESE WOULD BE OPEN TO OFFICIAL AND INDEPENDENT JOURNALISTS; (2) A GROUP IV PROJECT FOR SELECTED RWANDAN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OFFICIAL AND INDEPENDENT PRESS, STRESSING RESPONSIBILITY IN JOURNALISM; (3) ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHAIR IN JOURNALISM AT THE UNR FACULTY OF LETTERS; (4) ESTABLISHMENT OF A SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM TO TRAIN NEW JOURNALISTS IN U.S. INSTITUTIONS. THIS PROGRAM WOULD BE FOR THE TRAINING OF NEW JOURNALISTS, NOT THE RESCHOOLING OF THOSE ALREADY INVOLVED IN RWANDAN MEDIA ISSUES; AND (5) SUPPORT FOR THE PLANNED PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RWANDAN JOURNALISTS.

---D) LEGISLATURE -- THE CND WILL CONTINUE IN THE

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/
CONTEXT OF ANY EVOLUTION TO MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY. TO

GIVE THE CND A DEGREE OF INSTITUTIONAL IMPARTIALITY, IT WILL NEED TO HAVE INFORMATION GATHERING AND ANALYSES CAPABILITIES WHICH ARE INDEPENDENT FROM PARTY PRESSURES. ULTIMATELY WHAT IS NEEDED IS THE RWANDAN EQUIVALENT TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH OFFICE. CND STAFFERS COULD BE BROUGHT TO THE US TO OBSERVE AND/OR RECEIVE TRAINING IN CRITICAL STAFF INFORMATION GATHERING FUNCTIONS. LONGER TERM RESIDENT EXPERTISE IN THIS AREA (AS APPLIED TO LDC'S) MAY BE AVAILABLE FROM ONGOING INITIATIVES IN DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTH ASIA.

---E) GOVERNANCE -- THIS REMAINS A STRONG CONTENDER FOR EARLY INVESTMENT. GOR AUDIT CAPABILITY ON OCCASION, PERFORMS ADEQUATE AUDITS WITH TEETH AND PROVIDES A MODICUM OF FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT CONTROL. THIS CAPABILITY COULD BE GREATLY STRENGTHENED WITH STRONG POSITIVE EFFECTS ON THE GOVERNMENT'S USE OF RESOURCES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POPULACE. OUR EXPERIENCE WITH THE ONAPO AND PRIME NFA AUDITS (PERFORMED BY TWO BIG EIGHT FIRMS) HAS RECONFIRMED THAT THE GOR IS RESPONSIVE TO GOVERNANCE ISSUES. IN THE CASE OF ONAPO THE RESPONSE HAS BEEN GRATIFYING AND HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN CONVINCING THE IBRD TO PREPARE A MAJOR PROJECT (APPROX. DOLS 20 MILLION) TO ASSIST ONAPO. WE COULD CONSIDER ENCOURAGING AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED (BIG EIGHT) AUDIT FIRM TO LOCATE IN KIGALI WHICH COULD PROVIDE INSTRUCTION/QUALITY CONTROL TO THE GOVERNMENT AUDIT OFFICE UNDER SOME GUARANTEED FUNDING MECHANISM. IN ADDITION, THE PRESENCE OF SUCH AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED AUDIT FIRM WOULD FACILITATE THE PERFORMANCE OF OTHER AUDITS RELATED TO USAID PROJECTS, OTHER DONOR PROJECTS AND PARASTATAL ACTIVITIES.

---F) PARTICIPATION -- WITH THE ADVENT OF MULTI-PARTY POLITICS THERE WILL EMERGE A PLETHORA OF PRIVATE AND NGO GROUPS WHICH WILL ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. WE HAVE ALREADY PROVIDED SUPPORT TO PRIVATE GROUPS SUCH AS THE RESEAU DES FEMMES AND DUTERIMBERE. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE NEW HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION AND HAVE ENCOURAGED THE FORMATION OF A LAWYER'S ASSOCIATION. TO CONTINUE SUCH SUPPORT, WE COULD ALSO CONSIDER A MECHANISM TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR SUCH DIVERSE GROUPS AS THE NEWLY CREATED INDEPENDENT SHADOW CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, THE NEW GROUPING OF SMALL ENTREPRENEURS, AND THE CONTINUING ROLE OF COOPERATIVES. ALSO ELIGIBLE WOULD BE SMALL PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS WHO WILL RESPOND TO AND BENEFIT FROM THE SMALL BUSINESS SET-ASIDE PROGRAM WHICH WAS INSTIGATED BY PRIME.

5. FINANCIAL COSTS FOR THE INITIATIVES SKETCHED OUT ABOVE HAVE NOT YET EVOLVED. WE ALSO DO NOT HAVE A FIRM

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IDEA OF THE MISSION MANAGEMENT TIME WHICH THESE INITIATIVES WOULD REQUIRE. THE NEEDS ASSESSMENT (PARA 4.A.) WOULD HELP TO DETERMINE THESE ISSUES.

6. FOR NAIROBI. -- AS AN INTERIM STEP LEADING TO A NEEDS ASSESSMENT, WE WOULD LIKE TO INVITE DONALD GORDON, REDSO/ESA BEHAVIORAL SCIENTIST FOR POLITICAL CHANGE, TO SCHEDULE A WEEK'S VISIT TO INTERACT WITH POST PERSONNEL, BOTH AMERICAN AND RWANDAN, TO DISTILL SOME OF THESE PROPOSALS FURTHER. PLEASE ADVISE IF SUCH A VISIT IS FEASIBLE (FRENCH CAPABILITY NOT NECESSARY).

7. FOR AID/W -- PLEASE PROVIDE REACTION TO THE INITIATIVES PROPOSED IN PARA 4 AND ESPECIALLY WHETHER IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN THE SERVICES OF THE DESIRED NEEDS ASSESSMENT TEAM ON A TIMELY BASIS.
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