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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 KIGALI 03478

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, RW
SUBJECT: INTERNAL INSECURITY: AN ONGOING PROBLEM

REFS: (A) KIGALI 3196, (B) KIGALI 3211
(C) KIGALI 3044, (D) KIGALI 2203

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. INTERPARTY VIOLENCE SUBSIDED DURING THE PAST WEEK FOLLOWING TWO WEEKS THAT SAW DEATH AND DESTRUCTION IN WIDELY SEPARATED PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, COINCIDENT TO A CALMER POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AS A BROAD SPECTRUM OF RWANDANS ACCEPTED THE ARUSHA ACCORD PRINCIPLES FUNDAMENTAL TO POLITICAL TALKS WITH THE REBEL RPF. PARTY YOUTH, THE INTERAHAMWE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MRND PARTY AND HARDLINE CDR YOUTH, APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN THE PRINCIPLE ARCHITECTS OF RECENT ROAD BLOCKS AND ATTACKS, WHILE THE MAIN OPPOSITION PARTY, THE MDR, PROBABLY PROVOKED MOST OF THE RECENT COMMUNE-LEVEL VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH. OBSERVERS CONTEND THAT THE INTERAHAMWE AND

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THE CDR YOUTH ARE BECOMING INTERCHANGEABLE AND ALLEGE THAT MILITARY ARE INVOLVED IN THEIR ACTIVITIES. WHILE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME ARRESTS IN CONNECTION WITH INTERPARTY DISTURBANCES, THE LACK OF RESPONSE FROM THE SECURITY SERVICES, STILL CONTROLLED BY THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY, AND THE LACK OF JUDICIAL FOLLOW-UP ARE TROUBLING. ALTHOUGH THE VIOLENCE SEEMS TO HAVE SUBSIDED FOR NOW, WE CAN ANTICIPATE A NEW WAVE OF INTERNAL INSECURITY, IN SOME FORM OR ANOTHER, AS PEACE TALKS PROCEED, ESPECIALLY IF INTERNAL DIFFERENCES OVER POWERSHARING AND INTEGRATION OF FORCES BECOME ACUTE. END SUMMARY.

INTERNAL INSECURITY EBBS AND FLOWS

3. THROUGHOUT THIS YEAR, INTERNAL INSECURITY HAS INCREASED IN PARALLEL WITH EACH SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION AND PEACE PROCESSES AND SUBSIDED AS INTERNAL POLITICAL FORCES REACHED A NEW LEVEL OF

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 COMMON UNDERSTANDING. THE BUGESERA MASSACRES, FOR EXAMPLE, TOOK PLACE JUST AS NEGOTIATIONS OVER FORMATION OF A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT WERE REACHING THEIR CONCLUSION. RANDOM LAND MINE EXPLOSIONS REACHED A PEAK IN EARLY MAY, JUST WEEKS AFTER THE MULTI-PARTY TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WAS SWORN IN AND ANNOUNCED ITS PROGRAM. THE CRAZY WEEKEND IN LATE MAY INVOLVING INTER-PARTY VIOLENCE AND MILITARY MUTINIES, MIXED IN WITH A CAR BOMB EXPLOSION (REF D) OCCURRED AFTER THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S SUCCESSFUL TRIP TO UGANDA WHERE HE AND THE RPF AGREED TO TALK AND JUST PRIOR TO THE INITIAL GOR-RPF TALKS IN PARIS. INTERNAL SECURITY DETERIORATED AGAIN IN JULY WITH AN UPSURGE IN INTERPARTY VIOLENCE, IN THE INTERIM PERIOD AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE ARUSHA CEASEFIRE ACCORD WITH ITS THREE PRINCIPLES AIMED AT GUIDING AUGUST'S POLITICAL-MILITARY NEGOTIATIONS AND BEFORE THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN.

TENSIONS HEIGHTENED

4. TENSIONS BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES WERE HEIGHTENED IN LATE JULY WITH CALLS FOR THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN. THE CALLS CAME BOTH FROM SUPPORTERS OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S MRND PARTY YOUTH, THE INTERAHAMWE, AND FROM THE HARDLINE HUTU SUPREMACY

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COALITION FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC (CDR).
UNAUTHORIZED DEMONSTRATIONS, MAINLY IN THE FORM OF
BLOCKING PRINCIPAL ROADS IN THE COUNTRY, DREW ATTENTION
TO THE CDR'S DENUNCIATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD AS WELL
AS TO DEMANDS FROM BOTH GROUPS FOR THE RELEASE OF THEIR
MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND FOR THE RELEASE OF
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MILITARY ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE MUTINIES OF
RUHENGERI AND GISENYI.

VIOLENCE BREAKS OUT

5. THE JULY 28 CDR DEMONSTRATION IN KIGALI (REF B)
RESULTED IN A FINAL COUNT OF THREE DEAD, TWO CDR
MEMBERS AND ONE POLICEMAN. INTER-PARTY VIOLENCE THE
WEEKEND OF AUGUST 8-9 NEAR GISENYI (NORTHWEST)
BETWEEN THE MDR AND THE INTERAHAMWE, NEAR KIBUNGO

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SUBJECT: INTERNAL INSECURITY: AN ONGOING PROBLEM

(SOUTHEAST) BETWEEN THE MDR AND THE INTERAHAMWE, AND OUTSIDE CYANGUGU (SOUTHWEST) BETWEEN THE CDR AND THE LIBERAL PARTY (PL) LEFT FOUR DEAD, ALL MDR YOUTH, AND MANY INJURED. COMMUNE-LEVEL VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH CONTINUES, WITH MDR LOYALISTS ATTEMPTING TO RID THEIR COMMUNES OF MRND AUTHORITIES.

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 THE CDR

6. THE CDR IS NORTHERN-BASED PARTY WHICH DRAWS ITS SUPPORT FROM BOTH THE PRESIDENT'S MRND AND THE OPPOSITION MDR AND CLAIMS TO BE THE TRUE SUCCESSOR TO THE OLD PARMEHUTU PARTY, WHICH PREACHED HUTU SUPREMACY AT INDEPENDENCE. IT IS PARTICULARLY FEARED BY MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION FOR ITS KU KLUX KLAN-LIKE APPROACH TO ETHNIC RELATIONS. ITS REPEATED CALL FOR RECOGNITION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TUTSI AND HUTU IS WIDELY INTERPRETED AS A CALL FOR EXTERMINATION OF THE TUTSIS. MANY PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL POSITIONS HAVE TOLD US THAT THE CDR IS NOTHING MORE THAN THE MOUTH-PIECE OF THE PRESIDENT, SAYING WHAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SAY BUT CANNOT. THIS PARTY, REGISTERED IN MARCH, IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT.

7. CDR LEADER, JEAN BOSCO BARAYAGWIZA INSISTS THAT UNITY BETWEEN HUTU AND TUTSI IS IMPOSSIBLE; THEY CAN ONLY CO-EXIST. HE IS EXTREMELY CRITICAL OF A SPEECH IN WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED FOR ALL RWANDANS TO SEE THEMSELVES AS BANYARWANDA RATHER AS HUTU, TUTSI OR TWA. BARAYAGWIZA TOLD CHARGE THAT ONLY RECOGNITION OF ETHNIC DIFFERENCES CAN ALLOW RWANDA TO FIND A SOLUTION TO ITS PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT HIS PARTY WANTS PEACE BUT NOT PEACE AT ANY PRICE, A REFERENCE TO THE CDR'S STRONG OBJECTIONS TO THE ARUSHA ACCORD PRINCIPLES (REF C). HE BELIEVES THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE WORKING FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY. THIS, HE EXPLAINED, MEANS WORKING FOR

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 PEACE WITHOUT YIELDING TO THE RPF AS HE BELIEVES THIS
 GOVERNMENT HAS DONE, AND IT MEANS PREPARING FOR
 ELECTIONS WHICH HE SAYS HAVE BEEN ALL BUT FORGOTTEN.

8. BARAYAGWIZA, TOLD CHARGE JUST BEFORE THE FATAL
 KIGALI DEMONSTRATION THAT THE CDR WAS NOT INTERESTED
 IN CREATING VIOLENCE AND THAT HIS GROUP WAS AGAINST
 DEMONSTRATIONS. RECALLING EARLIER ROADBLOCKS IN THE
 NORTH, BARAYAGWIZA REPLIED THOSE HAD BEEN
 UNAUTHORIZED AND THAT THE CDR MEMBERS INVOLVED HAD
 BEEN REPRIMANDED. APPARENTLY THE REPRIMAND WENT
 UNHEEDED.

THE INTERAHAMWE

9. THE INTERAHAMWE, THE MRND YOUTH, ARE ALSO WIDELY
 FEARED BY OPPOSITION MEMBERS WHO BELIEVE THE GROUP IS
 MORE A MILITIA THAN SIMPLY THE YOUTH WING OF THE
 PARTY. MANY OPPOSITION PARTY MEMBERS CLAIM THEY HAVE
 SEEN GENDARMES AMONG INTERAHAMWE GROUPS AND THAT
 THESE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN PROVIDING MILITARY TRAINING TO
 THE YOUTH.

10. A SOURCE WHO CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN AN INTERHAMWE
 FOUNDER SUPPORTED THIS ALLEGATION TO CHARGE
 RECENTLY. ENCOURAGED TO TALK TO CHARGE BY A TRUSTED
 COMMON ACQUAINTANCE, THE SOURCE SAID THAT THE
 INTELLECTUAL YOUTH GROUP HE STARTED LAST AUGUST IN
 RESPONSE TO YOUTH GROUPS LAUNCHED BY OPPOSITION
 PARTIES HAD BECOME A MILITIA. HE CLAIMED THE AIMS OF
 THE GROUP HAD BEEN PERVERTED BY MEMBERS OF THE

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 PRESIDENT'S FAMILY WHO HAD INSERTED THEMSELVES INTO
 THE MANAGEMENT OF THE GROUP. HE CONTENDS THAT 50
 MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD, WHOSE NAMES HAVE
 BEEN PASSED TO THE DEFENSE MINISTER, ARE ACTIVELY
 PARTICIPATING IN THE GROUP'S ACTIVITIES AND INVOLVED
 IN MILITARY TRAINING FOR SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP.
 HE BELIEVES MANY MEMBERS OF THE INTERAHAMWE ARE
 UNAWARE OF THE ORGANIZATION'S CURRENT THRUST. THE
 SOURCE, WHO RESIGNED FROM THE MRND IN JUNE, SAID HE
 BELIEVES HIS LIFE IS IN DANGER FROM PERSONS CLOSE TO

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P 210525Z AUG 92
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1551
 INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 AMEMBASSY PARIS

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THE PRESIDENT. INDEED, SHORTLY BEFORE HIS
 RESIGNATION FROM THE PARTY, A CAR BOMB EXPLODED IN
 FRONT OF HIS WORK PLACE WHICH HE LINKS TO PEOPLE WHO
 MAY BE INTERESTED IN HIS ELIMINATION.

11. MRND SECRETARY GENERAL, MATHIEU NGIRUMPATSE,
 SAID THAT ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE INTERAHAMWE ARE
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 PURE PROPAGANDA. HE SAID A GENDARME COMMANDANT TOLD
 HIM THERE WERE 2-3 GENDARMES IN THE GROUP BUT HAD NOT
 YET PROVIDED NAMES. NGIRUMPATSE SAID HE WOULD
 REPRIMAND ANY GENDARME FOUND AMONG THE MEMBERS.

12. CHARGE ASKED PRESIDENTIAL CABINET DIRECTOR ENOCH
 RUHIGIRA ABOUT ALLEGATIONS OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN
 THE INTERAHAMWE. HE REPLIED THAT A PARTY
 INVESTIGATION HAD TURNED UP INVOLVEMENT OF "MILITARY
 RESERVISTS". THESE PEOPLE, HE SAID, WOULD BE

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EXCLUDED FROM INTERAHAMWE ACTIVITIES IN THE FUTURE.
 KIGALI'S PUBLIC PROSECUTOR ALSO TOLD CHARGE THAT
 "MILITARY RESERVISTS" ARE IN THE INTERAHAMWE.
 (NOTE: MILITARY ARE PRECLUDED BY LAW FROM JOINING
 POLITICAL PARTIES. END NOTE).

DIFFERENCES BLURRED?

13. SEVERAL OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THERE IS NOW
 LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CDR AND THE
 INTERAHAMWE. THEY CLAIM TO HAVE SEEN MEMBERS OF EACH
 GROUP PARTICIPATING IN DEMONSTRATIONS ORGANIZED BY THE
 OTHER. THE INTERAHAMWE SOURCE TOLD CHARGE THAT, LIKE
 THE INTERAHAMWE, THE CDR IS ALSO AN AFFAIR OF THE
 PRESIDENT AND HIS FAMILY.

14. QUERIED BY CHARGE, HOWEVER, LEADERS OF BOTH THE
 MRND AND THE CDR CONTEND THAT THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS
 ARE COMPLETELY SEPARATE AND THAT THEIR IDEOLOGIES AND
 AIMS ARE TOTALLY DIFFERENT. CDR LEADER BARAYAGWIZA
 IS CRITICAL OF THE MRND FOR FAILING TO PUT HUTU

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 INTERESTS FIRST. HE CLAIMS THAT THE CDR IS COMPOSED
 PRIMARLY OF YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT BEEN "DIRTIED"
 IN MRND POLITICS. MRND LEADER NGIRUMPATSE IS EQUALLY
 CRITICAL OF THE CDR POLICY OF ETHNIC SEPARATISM AND
 CLAIMED TO CHARGE THAT THE CDR IS ACTUALLY A THREAT
 TO THE MRND. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT INTERAHAMWE
 MEMBERS MIGHT BE PARTICIPATING IN CDR DEMONSTRATIONS
 AND VICE-VERSE, BUT HE SAID SUCH PERSONS, IF
 IDENTIFIED, WOULD BE PUNISHED. HE CLAIMED SUCH
 PARTICIPATION WAS TOTALLY SPONTANEOUS AND NOT
 SANCTIONED BY THE MRND.

MDR ACCUSED

15. THE MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTY, THE MDR, IS THE TRUE
 SOURCE OF INSTABILITY, ACCORDING TO MRND LEADER
 NGIRUMPATSE. HE CLAIMS THAT MDR LEADER FAUSTIN
 TWIGIRAMUNGU IS RESPONSIBLE FOR STIRRING UP MDR
 YOUTH, THE JDR, AGAINST MRND MEMBERS. HE HAS WRITTEN
 LETTERS TO THE PRIME MINISTER ACCUSING TWAGIRAMUNGU
 OF URGING MDR MEMBERS AT POLITICAL RALLIES TO TAKE
 STEPS TO REMOVE THE MRND AUTHORITIES IN THEIR
 COMMUNES FROM THE POSITIONS. HE SAID THAT THE PRIME

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MINISTER HIMSELF HAS CONDONED THE PRACTICE OF
 "LIBERATION" OF COMMUNES IN PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS.
 HE BLAMED THE MDR PRIME MINISTER FOR TALKING WITH TWO
 VOICES, ONE TO OFFICIALS AND ANOTHER TO THE
 POPULATION. HE ALSO ACCUSED THE PRIME MINISTER OF
 FOSTERING INTERPARTY FRICTION WITH FORKED-TONGUE
 LANGUAGE IN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETINGS.

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 SECRET PLANS FOR DESTABILIZATION?

 16. MANY RWANDANS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE INTERNAL
 SECURITY RAMPANT IN THE COUNTRY IN THE LAST SIX
 MONTHS IS NO ACCIDENT, BUT THEY DISAGREE ON THE
 SOURCE. BOTH SIDES IN RWANDA'S POLITICAL DIALOGUE
 BELIEVE THE INCIDENTS OF INTERNAL INSECURITY FIT WITH
 PLANS THE OTHER HAS TO DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY IN
 ORDER TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS.

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P 210525Z AUG 92
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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 INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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17. A TRUSTED SOURCE WHO ADVOCATES CHANGE TOLD CHARGE OF A "SECRET" GROUP OF 45 PROMINENT RWANDANS WHOSE AIM IS TO CREATE DISTURBANCES THROUGHOUT RWANDA THAT WILL DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY AND SLOW DOWN IF NOT REVERSE THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS. ALLEGEDLY INCLUDED IN THE GROUP ARE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS,
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 JOURNALISTS, BUSINESSMEN AND PERSONS IN THE SECURITY FORCES. AMONG THE NAMES SHOWN TO CHARGE WERE THOSE OF CDR LEADER BARAYAGWIZA, FOR EXAMPLE, THE WIFE OF THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL SECRETARY, COL. SAGATWA, AND GAUDANCE HABIMANA, HEAD OF THE NATIONAL POPULATION PLANNING OFFICE AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF THE PRESIDENT.

18. ON THE OTHER SIDE, THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY CHARGED EARLIER THIS YEAR THAT THE OPPOSITION, IN COLLABORATION WITH THE REBELS, WAS ENGAGED IN A DESTABILIZATION CAMPAIGN INVOLVING ETHNIC MASSACRES, STRIKES, PROTESTS, AND SO FORTH, AS THE THIRD PHASE OF THE REBEL PLAN TO OUST THE GOVERNMENT. MRND SECRETARY GENERAL, NGIRUMPATSE, TOLD CHARGE THAT HE ADVISED THE PRIME MINISTER (MDR) IN A LATE JULY LETTER OF A NEW DESTABILIZATION PLAN DESIGNED TO RUN THE MRND OUT OF KIGALI AND REMOVE THE PREFET, WHO HAS THE FULL BACKING OF THE PRESIDENT. (NOTE: THE PRIME MINISTER REPLIED THAT THE PERSONS NAMED BY NGIRUMPATSE HAD BEEN FOUND TO BE INNOCENT OF THE CHARGES. END NOTE.)

SECURITY FORCES ON THE SIDELINES

19. THE ABSENCE OF A STRONG RESPONSE TO THESE MANY INSTANCES OF VIOLENCE FROM RWANDA'S SECURITY FORCES, STILL UNDER THE CONTROL OF LOYALISTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY, IS TROUBLING. KIGALI'S PUBLIC PROSECUTOR SHOWED CHARGE A LETTER HE WROTE TO THE RADIO STATION (WHICH TO OUR KNOWLEDGE WAS NEVER AIRED), IN WHICH HE DEPLORED THE SLOW RESPONSE OF THE
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 GENDARMERIE TO THE VIOLENCE THAT RESULTED IN THE
 DEATH OF TWO CDR MILITANTS IN KIGALI RECENTLY. HE
 NOTED THAT THE GENDARMES OFTEN LEAVE THE RESPONSE TO
 THE URBAN POLICE, WHO ARE NOT SPECIALIZED IN RIOT OR
 CROWD CONTROL. THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR TOLD CHARGE HE
 BELIEVES THE GENDARME BEHAVIOR IS A RESULT OF THE
 FACT THAT MANY SYMPATHIZE WITH THE CDR. HE CLAIMS
 THEY ALSO DO NOT WANT TO ENGAGE AGAINST THE
 "RESERVISTS", THEIR FORMER COLLEAGUES AND SOMETIMES
 SUPERIORS, WHEN THEY SEE THEM AMONG THE RANKS OF
 DEMONSTRATORS. HE SPECULATES THAT THE HEAD OF THE
 GENDARMERIE, AN MDR STALWART, IS MORE COMFORTABLE
 SITTING ON THE FENCE THAN RISKING ACTIONS/DECISIONS
 THAT MIGHT UPSET HIS "BOSS".

20. THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR TOLD CHARGE THAT HIS
 OFFICE, RESPONSIBLE FOR BRINGING CASES TO TRIAL, IS
 DEPENDENT ON THE GENDARMERIE'S JUDICIAL POLICE BRANCH
 FOR CONDUCTING INVESTIGATIONS INTO THESE KINDS OF
 OFFENSES. HE SAID HE HAS NO CONTROL OVER THE PACE OR
 THE METHODS OF THEIR WORK, ALTHOUGH THE BRANCH
 NOMINALLY WORKS UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF HIS OFFICE AND
 TURNS ITS WORK OVER TO HIM FOR PREPARING CASES. HE
 CITED AN EXAMPLE OF A RECENT INCIDENT WHERE HE ISSUED
 A MANDATE FOR THE ARREST OF SEVERAL PEOPLE. THE
 JUDICIAL POLICE RETURNED EMPTY-HANDED SAYING THEY
 COULD NOT FIND THEM.

21. AT ITS MEETING AUGUST 12, THE COUNCIL OF
 MINISTERS DISCUSSED THE SECURITY SITUATION AND
 DECIDED THAT, TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE, SECURITY FORCES

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 NEEDED REORGANIZATION, EQUIPMENT, AND TRAINING. THE
 COUNCIL ALSO DECIDED THAT MINISTERS SHOULD VISIT
 THEIR PREFECTURES OF ORIGIN WITH THE AIM OF DIFFUSING
 TENSIONS AND ENCOURAGING COOPERATION AMONG PARTIES.
 THREE MINISTERS FROM THREE DIFFERENT PARTIES HAVE
 ALREADY MADE SUCH A VISIT IN THE PREFECTURE OF BUTARE
 (WHERE THE PREFET IS FROM YET A FOURTH PARTY) TO
 ENCOURAGE CALM.

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 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1553
 INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 KIGALI 03478

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JUDICIAL SYSTEM INERT

22. THE APPARENT INABILITY OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM TO PROSECUTE PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH RECENT INCIDENTS OF INSECURITY, INCLUDING LAND MINE EXPLOSIONS, BOMBINGS, ROBBERIES, ASSASSINATIONS AND THE MORE RECENT INTER-PARTY VIOLENCE, IS RAISING A LOT OF QUESTIONS

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 BY THOSE WHO THOUGHT THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE ABLE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE. THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT CURRENTLY HEADED BY A MINISTER FROM THE LIBERAL PARTY HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO INCREASE ITS CREDIBILITY IN THESE MATTERS SINCE THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT TOOK OFFICE. BOTH THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR AND MRND LEADER NGIRUMPATSE, WHO WAS MINISTER OF JUSTICE IN THE FIRST TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, ATTRIBUTE JUDICIAL WEAKNESS TO A LACK OF TRAINED JUDGES. INDEED, THE EDUCATION LEVEL OF JUDGES, WHO ARE DEPENDENT UPON THE PRESIDENT FOR THEIR APPOINTMENTS, IS LOW AND FEW ARE TRAINED IN THE LAW, MAKING THEM SUSCEPTIBLE TO POLITICAL

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PRESSURE AND CORRUPTION.

PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

23. MDR LEADER TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD CHARGE RECENTLY THAT HIS PARTY PLANS TO MODERATE ITS TONE AND ENCOURAGE RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR BY PARTY MEMBERS. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE ONSET OF RECENT PARTY VIOLENCE HE TOLD MDR PARTY YOUTH TO LET SECURITY FORCES TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESTORING ORDER INSTEAD OF TAKING MATTERS INTO THEIR OWN HANDS. KIGALI'S PUBLIC PROSECUTOR NOTED A DISTINCT CHANGE IN OPPOSITION SPEECHES AT POLITICAL RALLIES. HE SAID THAT LIBERAL PARTY LEADER MUGENZI, KNOWN FOR HIS FIRERY RHETORIC, HAD RECENTLY MADE AN UNUSUALLY BALANCED SPEECH. HE CLAIMS THAT THE ONLY PARTY LEADER CURRENTLY MAKING INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES IS MRND LEADER NGIRUMPATSE.

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 24. NGIRUMPATSE BELIEVES THE MRND YOUTH MUST STRIKE BACK IF ATTACKED. NGIRUMPATSE DEMONSTRATED HIS ABILITY TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER THE INTERAHAMWE WHEN IT BLOCKED ROADS NORTH AND SOUTH FROM KIGALI JULY 28. HE WENT TO THE SCENE AND INSTRUCTED THE YOUTH TO DEPART, AFTER BOTH THE KIGALI PREFET (MRND) AND THE MINISTER OF THE INZERIOR (MDR) HAD FAILED IN SIMILAR EFFORTS. BOTH HE AND CDR LEADER, BARAYAGWISA, HOWEVER, ACKNOWLEDGED TO CHARGE THAT THEIR PARTY YOUTH HAD ENGAGED IN ACTIVITIES NOT ENDORSED BY THE PARTY, SUGGESTING THAT PARTY LEADERS MAY NOT ALWAYS BE IN A POSITION TO CONTROL THE ACTIONS OF THEIR YOUTH.

COMMENT

25. ALTHOUGH THE "INVISIBLE HAND" (OR HANDS) THEORY CANNOT BE RULED OUT, THERE IS NO HARD EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT A CONSPIRACY THEORY OF VIOLENCE FROM EITHER THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT. AFTER EIGHT MONTHS OF RIDING THE WAVES OF INTERNAL INSECURITY, HOWEVER, IT DOES APPEAR THAT VIOLENCE OF ONE SORT OR ANOTHER IS MOST LIKELY TO ERUPT WHEN TENSIONS INCREASE AS THE SOCIETY STRUGGLES TO REACH CONSENSUS ON THE DIRECTION OF ITS NEXT STEP IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION OR THE PEACE

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PROCESS. ONCE THE CONSENSUS, OR SEMBLANCE OF GENERAL AGREEMENT, IS REACHED, AS IS THE CASE NOW, WITH ALMOST ALL ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIETY READY TO ACCEPT THE NEARLY REVOLUTIONARY ARUSHA ACCORD PRINCIPLES, CALM IS RESTORED FOR A TIME. WITH MORE TOUGH SOCIAL DECISIONS YET AHEAD, HOWEVER, WE CAN ONLY ANTICIPATE
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FUTURE DISTURBANCES THAT ECHO THIS PATTERN.

26. THE USE OF VIOLENCE BY EITHER SIDE IN THIS POLITICAL DEBATE IS ANTI-THETICAL TO THE USG GOAL OF SUPPORTING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC VALUES. IT THREATENS THE VERY FABRIC OF THE SOCIETY BY STIRRING HATREDS THAT WILL BE DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, TO CALM. INDEED, NGIRUMPATSE CLAIMS THAT ONE OF RWANDA'S PROBLEMS IS THAT ITS DEMOCRACY IS FOUNDED ON HATE. ON THE ONE

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01
	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/037W	

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P 210525Z AUG 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1554
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 KIGALI 03478

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, RW

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SUBJECT: INTERNAL INSECURITY: AN ONGOING PROBLEM

HAND, WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE PARTY LEADERS TO USE MODERATION AND DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIES TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS, SUCH AS THE MDR PLAN TO USE PETITIONS INSTEAD OF VIOLENCE TO EXPRESS DISCONTENT WITH LOCAL LEADERSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME, WE NEED TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN TO THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE GOVERNMENT THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERNAL SECURITY TO

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BOTH THE PROCESS OF PEACE AND THE PROCESS OF
DEMOCRATIZATION.

27. AMERICAN NATIONALS ARE NOT/NOT DIRECTLY THREATENED BY THIS RECENT OF INTER-PARTY VIOLENCE, AND WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE BECOMING TARGETS OF ANY FUTURE VIOLENCE. THE RISK EXISTS, THOUGH, THAT WE MIGHT END UP IN THE WRONG PLACE AT THE WRONG TIME.

LEADER

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