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FROM: BOOH-BOOH, UNAMIR, KIGALI
DATE: 28 FEBRUARY 1994
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SUBJECT: EFFORTS TO BREAK THE IMPASSE ON INSTALLATION OF TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS
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1. As I informed you in our MIR-409 of 24 February, President Habyarimana convened on 25 February, a meeting of the five political parties represented in the current Rwandese Government, namely the MRND, MDR, PSD, PDC and PL. As agreed at that meeting, the participations met again yesterday, 27 February, and at the conclusion of their discussions, issued a communiqué, a copy of which was given to me today by the Director of President Habyarimana's Cabinet with whom I met this afternoon (please see attached). The current Prime Minister as well as the Prime Minister Designate, also participated in the two meetings. As the Director of Cabinet told me, all the participants agreed on the contents of the communiqué, except Mr. Landouald Ndasingwa who, as explained in para. 3 below, had reservations on some of the conclusions reached. I was also informed that representatives of the MDR who had participated in the meeting did not sign the communiqué because it contained a reference to Mr. Faustin Twagiramungu, the Prime Minister Designate, as President of the Party. As you are aware, the MDR is currently divided into two factions, with one faction made of members of the Political Bureau, objecting to Mr. Twagiramungu's continuation as President of the Party.

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2. According to the communiqué, a solution appears to have been found to one of the two main problems impeding the installation of the transitional institutions. As reflected in the communiqué's first conclusion, the problem within the MDR appears to have been resolved along the lines indicated in our MIR-404 of 23 February, as follows:

- All the 11 deputies appearing in the list of 5 January 1994, will be sworn in while the case of the 4 deputies in the list being contested would continue through the judicial process.
- concerning ministerial positions, members of the Political Bureau of the MDR would submit a list of two ministers to the Prime Minister Designate who, on his part, would have the right to designate one minister (for a total of three ministers for the MDR).

3. The second point in the conclusions of the communiqué seem to indicate that consensus has still not been reached on the problem of the Parti Libéral (PL), as it appears that one of the two factions of the PL, namely the so-called "Lando" faction (referring to Mr. Landouald Ndasingwa, Minister of Social Affairs), reportedly expressed "serious" reservations on the following formula apparently supported by the other faction, namely the so-called "Mugenzi" faction (referring to Mr. Justin Mugenzi, Minister of Trade):

- the "Mugenzi" faction would designate 5 parliamentarians and two ministers;
- the "Lando" faction would designate 6 parliamentarians, including a candidate for the post of speaker of the transitional parliament, and one minister.

4. The proposed solution for the PL is also the same formula reflected in our MI-404 of 23 February, which was opposed then by the RPF (and which I understand it still opposes). As I informed you at that time, President Habyarimana had told me on 23 February that the above proposals had been agreed to at a Cabinet meeting held in the evening of 22 February. He had been irritated, he emphasized to me, when some participants in that Cabinet meeting had later appeared, on 23 February, to distance themselves from the proposed solutions, which the FPR had also opposed as an attempt by the President to impose his own lists on the MDR and PL.

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5. What the communiqué seems to show is that an important evolution has taken place in the alignments of the various political parties between 23 and 27 February. With Mr. Landouald Ndasingwa apparently more isolated than previously, it could be said that his faction, generally regarded as allied to the FPR, has suffered in favour of the "Mugenzi" faction which is widely seen as allied to President Habyarimana and the MRND. The pressure could now shift from the President to Mr. Ndasingwa as well as the FPR to make the necessary compromises in order to allow the transitional institutions to be put in place. This pressure might include the "moral" influence of the church since, as you are aware, the proposed solution for the PL problem had earlier been advanced by the council of bishops.

6. We understand that some of the civilian officials of the FPR who have been residing in the CND building in Kigali where the FPR battalion is based, left for the FPR headquarters in Mulindi over the week-end. We do not know if or when they will return to Kigali or what may be the purpose of their trip. It is conceivable that the FPR leadership in Mulindi would be carrying out a review of recent political developments as well as an assessment of the implications for the FPR of such developments. The FPR's decision on whether or not to support the installation of the transitional institutions on the basis of the proposed solutions mentioned above could probably be influenced in part by Rwandese public opinion as well as pressure by the international community. If the present alignment of political forces holds, it could be difficult for the FPR and Mr. Landouald Ndasingwa to resist for too long without suffering serious political consequences.

7. In my continuing efforts to advance the peace process, I have requested a meeting with the FPR leadership in Mulindi to ascertain its perspectives on, and its reactions to the recent political developments. Meanwhile, we continue to follow developments closely and will keep you informed.

8. Regards.

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COMMUNIQUE.

Le Président de la République, le Général-Major HABYARIMANA Juvénal, a dirigé, le 25 et le 27 février 1994, une réunion regroupant les partis politiques qui participent au Gouvernement actuel de transition, à savoir le MRND, le MDR, le PSD, le PDC et le PL.

Le Premier Ministre, Madame Agathe UWILINGIYIMANA, ainsi que le Premier Ministre désigné, Monsieur TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin, ont participé aux deux réunions.

Les deux réunions se sont penchées sur le problème du fonctionnement du Gouvernement actuel, dirigé par Madame Agathe UWILINGIYIMANA, ainsi que sur les entraves à la poursuite de la mise en place des Institutions de la Transition.

Concernant le fonctionnement du Gouvernement actuel, il a été entendu que, aussi longtemps que le Gouvernement de Transition à Base Élargie n'aura pas été mis en place, le Gouvernement actuel doit continuer à fonctionner, notamment à travers les réunions du Conseil des Ministres, pour s'attaquer aux défis auxquels le pays est confronté, spécialement les problèmes relatifs à la sécurité et à la question de mise en place des institutions de transition.

* Quant aux entraves à la poursuite de la mise en place des Institutions de la Transition, la réunion du 27 février a abouti aux conclusions suivantes pour aider à dégager des approches permettant aux partis MDR et PL d'entrer dans ces institutions:

1. Concernant le parti MDR, la liste des Députés est celle arrêtée le 5 janvier 1994, sous réserve des cas pendants en justice et de la suite qui y sera réservée. Pour ce qui est des Ministres, les délégués du Bureau Politique du MDR auront droit à deux Ministères sur une liste qu'ils vont présenter au Premier Ministre désigné; tandis que celle du

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Premier Ministre Désigné, Monsieur TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin, aura droit à un Ministère.

2. Quant au parti PL, la tendance MUGENZI désignera cinq Députés dans ses rangs, celle de NDASINGWA en choisira six. Pour les Ministres, la tendance MUGENZI en aura deux, celle de NDASINGWA aura un Ministre et donnera le candidat au poste de Président du Bureau de l'Assemblée Nationale de Transition. Monsieur NDASINGWA Landouald a émis de très sérieuses réserves sur cette proposition, notamment sur la répartition des ministères.
3. La tendance non satisfaites par les compromis ci-dessus tirera les leçons des conclusions dégagées et prendra ses responsabilités.
4. Les listes définitives des Députés seront transmises au Président de la République et au Premier Ministre au plus tard le 28 février 1994 à 19H00, par les deux tendances.
5. Le Premier Ministre Désigné présentera la liste des candidats Ministres au Président de la République au plus tard le 1er mars 1994 à 12H00.
6. La mise en place des Institutions de la Transition aura lieu à une date qui sera fixée de commun accord avec le Front Patriotique Rwandais.

Fait à Kigali, le 27 février 1994.