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SECTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
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 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6044
 INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
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 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
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 AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY
 USCINCEUR VALHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SAAA// PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

CASE NO. ICR-98-41-T
 EXHIBIT NO. DM 282
 DATE ADMITTED: 17-11-2008
 TENDERED BY: DEFENCE
 NAME OF WITNESS:

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 01316
 YAOUNDE FOR DAO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, RW
 SUBJECT: DAS BUSHNELL MEETS HABYARIMANA AND RPF
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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN MEETINGS WITH RWANDAN PRESIDENT AND PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERSHIP, DAS BUSHNELL URGED SPEEDY INSTALLATION OF TRANSITION REGIME, NOTED U.S. CONSTERNATION OVER INCREASED VIOLENCE IN RWANDA AND COST TO RWANDAN PEOPLE OF EACH DELAY IN FORMING A GOVERNMENT. SHE RECEIVED ASSURANCES OF GOOD FAITH AND INTENTION TO MOVE AHEAD FROM BOTH SIDES. THE PRESIDENT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE EVENTUAL SUCCESS OF THE TRANSITION, GIVEN THE LEVELS OF DISTRUST NOW IN

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Dept. of State, FPS/IPS, Margaret P. Garfield, Dir
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THE BODY POLITIC, BUT SAID HE WOULD KEEP HIS WORD TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORD.

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS BLAMED THE PRESIDENT FOR THE IMPASSE AND DEPLORED EFFORTS TO GAIN CONCESSIONS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF VIOLENCE.

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REMINDED THE FRONT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BUSHNELL
 COULD NOT PUT THE GOVERNMENT IN PLACE. THEY WOULD
 HAVE TO WORK OUT THE POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT MADE
 THAT HAPPEN. END SUMMARY.

3. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA RECEIVED DAS BUSHNELL AND
 AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER 3/21 FOR AN HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION
 OF RWANDA'S POLITICAL IMPASSE. MS. BUSHNELL TOLD THE
 PRESIDENT THAT SHE HAD TRAVELLED A LONG WAY TO BRING
 HIM WASHINGTON'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE SITUATION.

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 RWANDA WAS IN AN HISTORIC TRANSITION, ONE WHICH
 HISTORIANS WOULD RECORD AS BEING GLORIOUS, OR
 IGNOMINIOUS AND TRAGIC. THE PRESIDENT'S NAME WOULD
 HEAD THAT CHAPTER OF HISTORY. THE UNITED STATES AND
 THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD DONE EVERYTHING IT
 COULD TO HELP RWANDA PASS THROUGH THIS TRANSITION
 GLORIOUSLY, BUT WE HAD NOT SEEN THE SAME COMMITMENT
 FROM RWANDAN LEADERS.

4. THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING WHICH WOULD DECIDE
 WHETHER TO CONTINUE PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN RWANDA
 WAS COMING UP FAST, BUSHNELL REMINDED THE PRESIDENT.
 NEXT WEEK SHE WOULD MEET WITH THE INTERAGENCY GROUP
 THAT WOULD DECIDE THE U.S. POSITION AT THE SECURITY
 COUNCIL. LAST SUMMER SHE HAD TO WORK VERY HARD TO
 CONVINCE SKEPTICS THAT PEACEKEEPING COULD WORK IN
 RWANDA. NOW SHE HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO BRING TO
 THE TABLE TO OVERRIDE SUCH SKEPTICISM. SHE HAD TO
 BRING BACK FROM THIS TRIP GOOD NEWS ABOUT THE
 INSTALLATION OF TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS OR RWANDA'S
 CASE COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED.

5. DAS BUSHNELL TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT RWANDA WAS
 LOSING FUNDING WITH EACH DAY OF DELAY IN ESTABLISHING
 ITS GOVERNMENT. SHE HAD RECENTLY HAD TO DIVERT USD 2

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MILLION FROM RWANDAN DEMOBILIZATION FUNDING TO ANOTHER COUNTRY BECAUSE THERE WAS NO GOVERNMENT AND NO PROGRAM TO WHICH IT COULD BE ALLOCATED. SHE RECEIVED AN ENCOURAGING WORD TO TAKE BACK TO WASHINGTON FROM RWANDA IN ORDER TO SAVE U.S. ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMING FOR RWANDA'S RECONSTRUCTION. SHE HOPED

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THAT ENCOURAGING WORD WOULD COME FAST.

6. THE PRESIDENT IN RESPONSE SAID THAT HE HOPED TO PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE SOON. WHAT WORRIED HIM MORE WAS NOT WHETHER INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED BUT WHETHER THE TRANSITION WOULD SUCCEED. HE WAS GREATLY DISQUIETED BY THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE, LACK OF RESPECT, AND LACK OF GOOD FAITH IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE. HE HOPED THE UNITED STATES COULD HELP SUPPORT RECONCILIATION WITHIN THE TRANSITION PERIOD JUST AS WE HAD HELPED WITH THE WAR DISPLACED AND WITH STRENGTHENING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. HE HAS SUPPORTED THE ARUSHA

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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MEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
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ACCORD AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO. HIS SIGNATURE
WAS ON IT, AND HE KEPT HIS WORD.

7. THE WASHINGTON VISITORS ALSO RECORDED DEEP
CONCERN OVER THE MOUNTING VIOLENCE IN RWANDA. THAT
VIOLENCE WAS DESTROYING RWANDA'S GOOD NAME ABROAD,
BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY IT PUT EVERY RWANDAN CITIZEN AT
RISK. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER NOTED THE DISTRIBUTION OF
ARMS AND ARMS CACHES AS A DANGEROUS CHALLENGE TO
PEACE. DAS BUSHNELL ASKED THE PRESIDENT TO BRING
SECURITY TO HIS PEOPLE. WHEN HABYARIMANA PROTESTED
HIS LIMITED ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE SECURITY
SITUATION, AMBASSADOR RAWSON EXPRESSED APPRECIATION
FOR HOW EFFECTIVE THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN AFTER
PREVIOUS DEMARCHES ON SECURITY IN RESTORING CALM AND
ORDER OHHD COUNTRY.

8. THE PRESIDENT THEN RAISED THE SITUATION IN
BURUNDI. DAS BUSHNELL EXPRESSED THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT'S CONSTERNATION OVER THE EVENTS THERE.
AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER NOTED THE QUICK U.S. ACTION TO
PROTEST THE KILLINGS, SUSPEND ASSISTANCE AND
GALVANIZE INTERNATIONAL OPINION AGAINST THE COUP
ATTEMPT. THOSE ACTIONS HAD TURNED THINGS AROUND. A
GOVERNMENT WAS IN PLACE AND IT WAS IN DIALOGUE

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 THE MILITARY, BUT THE SITUATION WAS UNSTABLE.
 HABYARIMANA REPORTED HOW DEEPLY THE EVENTS IN BURUNDI
 INFLUENCED ATTITUDES AND CHOICES IN RWANDA.
 FUNDAME
 TALLY, HABYARIMANA SAID, WHAT BURUNDI NEEDED
 WAS SECURITY FOR ITS PEOPLE, AND AN ARMY IN WHICH
 EACH CITIZEN COULD HAVE CONFIDENCE.

9. MRS. HABYARIMANA TELEPHONED AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER
 3/22 PLEADING THAT THE COUNTRY WAS GOING OVER TO THE
 PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE PRECANT NEEDED PEOPLE ON HIS
 SIDGO COANERCS

TREND. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER
 RESPONDED THAT THE BEST SSLURVTW FOR THE PRESIDENT
 WAS WITHIN THE ARUSHA ACCORD. IF THE ACCORD WAS NOT
 IMPLEMENTED AND VIOLENCE BROKE OUT AGAIN IN RWANDA,
 EVEN THE AMERICANS, AFTER YEARS NSRGNCO RWANDA,
 OIEGHT HAVE TO GO HOME. THE PRESIDENT MUST AGREE TO
 PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE IMMEDIATELY AND

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 ESTALL CHAOS AND DISASTER FOR RWANDA.1\$

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10. DURING AFCNOON 3/22, DAS BUSHNELL AND AF/C
 DIRECTOR RENDER TRAVELLED TO MU

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 GENERAL KAGAME. DAS BUSHNELL RAISED THE SAME POINTS

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 SHE HAD WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, REPORTING THAT
 THE UNITED STATES HAD DONE EVERYTHING IT COULD TO
 HELP BUT SAW NO PROGRESS ON THE RWANDAN SIDE. SHE
 THANKED THE FRONT FOR KEEPING ITS PROMISE TO THE U.S.
 GOVERNMENT BY ACCEPTING A COMPROMISE WORKED OUT
 WITHIN THE LIBERAL PARTY ON THE DEPUTIES LIST. DAS
 BUSHNELL ALSO RECORDED THE U.S. POSITION THAT THE CDR
 WAS A POLITICAL FORCE WHICH HAD SUBSCRIBED TO ARUSHA
 PRINCIPLES AND SHOULD HAVE A PLACE IN THE NATIONAL
 ASSEMBLY.

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11. KANYARENGWE SAID THAT THE CURRENT POLITICAL IMPASSE WAS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST. THE FRONT HAD AGREED TO CHANGES IN THE LIBERAL PARTY, BUT IT HAD A HARD TIME ACCEPTING DECISIONS IMPOSED BY VIOLENCE. WHEN THE LIBERAL PARTY OBSTACLE HAD BEEN REMOVED, OTHER BIZARRE ISSUES HAD SUDDENLY EMERGED SUCH AS CHANGES IN THE MDR LIST AND THE ISLAMIC PARTY DELEGATE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 01316

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THE POLITICAL PROBLEM WAS THAT SOMEONE WAS PURPOSEFULLY CREATING THE CURRENT IMPASSE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITIES BY IDENTIFYING THAT PERSON AND HELPING THE RWANDAN PEOPLE REMOVE THE IMPASSE.

13. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER STRONGLY DEFENDED THE PRINCIPLE OF INCLUSION. PARTIES COULD NOT BE DENIED A SEAT IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY JUST BECAUSE THE FRONT DID NOT HAPPEN TO LIKE THEM. THE FRONT'S SENDASHONGA (NEXT MINISTER OF YOUTH) RESPONDED BY INSISTING THAT CDR WAS NOT AN ACCEPTABLE PARTY.

DAS BUSHNELL REMINDED THE FRONT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD NOT PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE FOR THEM. THEY WOULD HAVE TO WORK OUT SOME ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD LET THE GOVERNMENT BE SET UP AND THEY HAD BETTER DO IT FAST. TIME HAS BECOME FINITE. THE FAILURE TO REACH ACCOMMODATION COULD RESULT IN TRAGEDY FOR ALL RWANDANS.

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14. COMMENT: THE CDR ISSUE REMAINS THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO SETTING UP INSTITUTIONS. THE OBSERVER GROUP IS AGREED THAT CDR HAS DULY INDICATED ITS INTENTION TO ABIDE BY THE ARUSHA ACCORD AND SHOULD BE SEATED IN THE ASSEMBLY.

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HE REITERATED THOSE SENTIMENTS OVER DINNER AT THE RESIDENCE THAT EVENING. AMBASSADOR RAWSON TOLD HIM THAT IF RPF INSISTED ON A LONG REVIEW IN WHICH IT SAT AS JUDGE AND JURY ON CDR, THEN INSTITUTIONS WOULD NEVER BE ESTABLISHED. THE FRONT WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE WHAT HAD PRIMACY FOR THEM. A FIVE-HOUR MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS 3/24 FAILED TO CONVINCED THE RPF AND FINALLY BROKE DOWN IN MUTUAL RECRIMINATION. INSTITUTIONS ARE TO BE INSTALLED ON 3/25. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER SOME FORMULA CAN BE DEVISED FOR REMOVING THIS LOGJAM BEFORE THEN. END COMMENT.

15. DAS BUSHNELL AND AF/C RENDER CLEARED PARAS 2-9 OF THIS CABLE BEFORE DEPARTING KIGALI.
RAWSON

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