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ACTION AF-01

B6

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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R 120702Z MAY 92
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2416
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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PARIS FOR FENDRICK

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL

SUBJECT: A/S COHEN'S MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE RPF AND THE RPA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ON FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 8, 1992, A/S COHEN MET
WITH A DELEGATION REPRESENTING THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC
FRONT (RPF) AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC ARMY (RPA) AT
THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. THE RWANDAN DELEGATION,

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LED BY COLONEL ALEXIS KANYARENGWE, CHAIRMAN OF THE RPF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, INCLUDED MAJOR PAUL KAGAME, VICE CHAIRMAN AND RPA COMMANDER; PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, RPF COMMISSIONER OF INFORMATION; DR. THEOGENE RUDASINGWA, RPF DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS; AND [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] IN ADDITION TO A/S COHEN, U.S. REPRESENTATIVES INCLUDED AMBASSADOR CARSON, DCM A. ELLEN SHIPPY AND PAO DUDLEY O. SIMS.

3. COLONEL KANYARENGWE, THE ONLY SPOKESMAN FOR THE RWANDAN GROUP, BEGAN THE DISCUSSIONS BY THANKING A/S COHEN FOR RECEIVING THE DELEGATION AND TELLING HIM THAT THE RPF WANTS THE UNITED STATES TO ASSUME AN ACTIVE ROLE IN HELPING BRING ABOUT PEACE AND SECURITY IN RWANDA. HE THEN GAVE AN OVERALL VIEW OF THE CURRENT EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN THE COUNTRY AND THE SURROUNDING AREA. HE SAID THAT THE PROBLEM FACING RWANDA AND THE RWANDAN PEOPLE IS NOT A NEW ONE; THAT IT HAS EXISTED FOR A LONG TIME. HE BLAMED THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA FOR SOCIAL INJUSTICE IN THE

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COUNTRY, GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS. HE REMINDED COHEN THAT SUCH ACTS ARE ALSO NOT NEW BUT HAVE ALSO BEEN PRACTICED BY FORMER REGIMES IN RWANDA. THE RESULT OF THESE ACTIONS, HE SAID, HAVE CAUSED MANY OF THE COUNTRY'S INTELLECTUALS AND ORDINARY CITIZENS TO FLEE THE COUNTRY AND SEEK REFUGE IN OTHER COUNTRIES. HE SAID THAT MANY LIVES HAD BEEN LOST AND THAT MANY RWANDANS HAD RESORTED TO COMMITTING SUICIDE. HE STATED THAT ALL OF THESE ACTS HAD DRIVEN RWANDANS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY TO TAKE UP ARMS TO FIGHT TO RECTIFY THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND TO REGAIN THE RIGHTS THAT ALL RWANDANS NEED TO HAVE.

4. KANYARENGWE SAID THE GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA IS LIKE A POWERFUL FAMILY THAT IS NO DIFFERENT FROM A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. HE TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA DOES NOT WANT TO SEE A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN PLACE IN THE COUNTRY. HE CHARACTERIZED THE GOVERNMENT AS BEING INTRANSIGENT AND HABYARIMANA AS A MORAL MILITARIST. HE SAID THAT HABYARIMANA HAS ACCEPTED THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY SOLELY TO PLEASE HIS FRIENDS AND CLOSE ASSOCIATES.

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KANYARENGWE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA IS ORGANIZING STATE TERRORISM INSIDE RWANDA AND ON A REGIONAL BASIS. HE CLAIMED THAT THE RPF HAS REPORTS CLEARLY IMPLICATING THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT'S INVOLVEMENT IN ACTS OF TERRORISM AND ASSASSINATION.

5. KANYARENGWE SAID THAT MEMBERS OF THE RPF HAVE
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RESERVATIONS THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN ACCEPTED BY HABYARIMANA. IT IS HIS OPINION THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED IN THEORY AS A RESULT OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES EXERTED ON HABYARIMANA. HE WAS HAPPY, HE SAID, THAT THE PEOPLE HAD BEEN LISTENED TO, BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE A PROBLEM IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM PROMISED THE PEOPLE. THE RPF DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN CHANGE. THE GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO TRY TO BLOCK CHANGE.

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INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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SUBJECT: A/S COHEN'S MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF

6. KANYARENGWE RECALLED A MEETING THAT RPF REPRESENTATIVES HAD WITH AMBASSADOR IRVIN HICKS. HE SAID THAT THEY HAD GIVEN HICKS THEIR OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND THAT HICKS PROMISED TO PUT THEM IN CONTACT WITH THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE HE RECOGNIZED THAT THEY WERE OPEN-MINDED. HE SAID THAT HICKS HAD WITNESSED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA HAD REFUSED TO CARRY ON A DIALOGUE WITH THEM. HE PRAISED HICKS FOR THE INITIATIVE TAKEN TO HELP THE RPF GET A DIALOGUE GOING.

7. SPEAKING ABOUT THE FRENCH, KANYARENGWE SAID THAT THE GOF DOES NOT WANT TO HELP, THAT IT IS IMPLICATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF KIGALI. HE CHARACTERIZED THE FRENCH AS BEING INFLEXIBLE AND SAID THAT THE RPF COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THE CONDITIONS SET BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IN TERMS OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA. THE FRENCH, HE SAID, MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE A CHANGE.

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8. KANYARENGWE SAID THAT ALL PARTIES SHOULD KNOW THE RPF IS READY TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA IN ORDER TO BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO RWANDA. HE SAID THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND THAT THE FRONT COULD NOT SUPPORT A CONSTITUTION MADE TO SUPPORT THE PARTY IN POWER.

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9. KANYARENGWE ENDED HIS DISSERTATION BY STATING THAT THERE WILL NEVER BE A VICTOR IN THIS CIVIL WAR, THAT IF ANY ONE SIDE CONTINUED TO SEEK A VICTORY OR TO HAVE WINNERS AND LOSERS, THERE WOULD NEVER BE PEACE IN RWANDA. THERE WOULD ONLY BE THE OPPRESSORS AND THE OPPRESSED. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE RPF IS READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE THE SITUATION, AS IT IS, IS VERY DIFFICULT.

10. IN HIS REPLY TO KANYARENGWE, A/S COHEN WELCOMED THE RPF READINESS TO NEGOTIATE AND TOLD KANYARENGWE THAT THOSE WHO REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE ARE NOT SINCERE ESPECIALLY IF THERE ARE REASONABLE CONVICTIONS TO DO SO. HE TOLD KANYARENGWE THAT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF THE HABYARIMANA GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO NEGOTIATE. IF, COHEN SAID, HABYARIMANA VETOES NEGOTIATIONS, WE WILL KNOW HE IS NOT SINCERE. IF THIS HAPPENS, COHEN SAID, LIKE ZAIRE, THIS WOULD BE DEMOCRACY A LA HABYARIMANA.

11. A/S COHEN EXPLAINED TO KANYARENGWE THAT THE USG IS INTERESTED IN RWANDA BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT IT HAS A HARD WORKING PEOPLE; THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO CARRY OUT ECONOMIC REFORMS. SELECTING RWANDA AS A FAVORITE COUNTRY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH HABYARIMANA BUT WITH THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN THE COUNTRY. HE EQUATED THIS PROGRESS WITH THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN BURUNDI AND UGANDA. HE EMPHASIZED THE POINT THAT THE U.S. INVESTED MONEY IN RWANDA BECAUSE WE WANT TO SEE PEACE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH RETURN TO THE COUNTRY. IF

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THE MONEY INVESTED IS OFFSET BY PURCHASE OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY EQUIPMENT, IT IS WASTED AND IS NOT GOOD FOR US. IT IS MONEY THAT COULD BE USED FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

12. A/S COHEN THEN ASKED KANYARENGWE IF THE RPF WOULD ACCEPT A DATE TO START NEGOTIATIONS. KANYARENGWE REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE AND ADDED THAT THEY HAD ALREADY PRESENTED A PLAN FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THE PLAN MUST BE PUT INTO ACTION. HE SAID THAT THE RPF IS WILLING TO CEASE FIRE UNILATERALLY. CARSON

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13. IN RESPONSE TO COHEN'S QUESTION AS TO WHAT RPF SOLDIERS WOULD DO IF THERE IS A CEASE-FIRE, KANYARENGWE SAID THAT RPF FIGHTERS ARE INSTALLED IN THE COUNTRY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. HE SAID THAT THE RPF AND THE RPA WANT SECURITY AND WANT TO HELP BRING ABOUT PEACE. THEY WANT TO STOP THE HOSTILITIES, TO HAVE DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AND TO ALLOW PERSONS DISPLACED BY THE WAR TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. HE TOLD COHEN THAT THE SOLDIERS DID NOT WANT A CEASE-FIRE AND SECURITY IN ORDER NOT TO BE CHASED LATER BY THE RWANDAN ARMY. HE REITERATED HIS POINT THAT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE IS NEEDED TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY.

14. A/S COHEN ASKED KANYARENGWE IF THE REFUGEES WOULD SEEK REVENGE IF THEY WERE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO RWANDA. KANYARENGWE REPLIED THAT THEY WOULD NOT BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA DID NOT BELIEVE THAT TO BE THE CASE.

15. WHEN A/S COHEN ASKED KANYARENGWE IF THE RPF HAD ANY NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMANDS, KANYARENGWE REPLIED THAT THE RIGHT TO RETURN OF REFUGEES IS NOT NEGOTIABLE. COHEN SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED THAT AND ADDED THAT THE RPF WOULD WANT THAT GUARANTEE INCLUDED IN A PEACE ACCORD. HE FURTHER STATED THAT HE WAS GOING TO RWANDA TO MEET WITH THE TRANSITIONAL

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GOVERNMENT TO FIND OUT IF THERE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY
FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE PLACE.

16. ON COHEN'S QUESTION OF LAYING DOWN ARMS,
KANYARENGWE REPLIED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF
HABYARIMANA WANTS THE RPA TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND
TO RETURN. HE EMPHATICALLY STATED THAT THEY ARE NOT
READY TO DO THAT BECAUSE LESSONS OF THE PAST HAVE
SHOWN WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THEY DID SUCH A THING. HE
TOLD COHEN THAT GUARANTEES ARE NEEDED, THAT LAYING
DOWN ARMS IS A PROBLEM. HE SAID THAT THE TWO PARTIES
MUST MEET AND SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT BRINGING ABOUT
PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REGION. HE ADDED THAT
THERE MUST BE FULL INTEGRATION OF THE TWO ARMIES.

17. A/S COHEN THEN TOLD KANYARENGWE THAT IT IS NOT
OUR ROLE TO PUSH THESE THINGS; THAT IT IS UP TO THE
TWO PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE; THAT IF ANY SIDE SOUGHT TO
BE A WINNER, THE PROCESS COULD NOT SUCCEED; THAT BOTH
SIDES MUST SEEK A WAY FOR ALL TO BE WINNERS. THERE
SHOULD BE NO LOSERS AS A RESULT.

18. COHEN STRESSED THE FACT THAT A CEASE-FIRE IS NOT
A SIMPLE PROCESS. HE SUGGESTED THAT U.S. AND FRENCH
MILITARY EXPERTS BE USED TO ASSIST WITH THE TECHNICAL
QUESTION AND DETAILS INVOLVED IN MAKING A CEASE-FIRE
STICK

19. WHEN ASKED IF THE RPF HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH
THE FRENCH, KANYARENGWE REPLIED THAT THEY HAD
RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY TO FRANCE BUT THAT NO DATE
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FOR A MEETING HAD AS YET BEEN FIXED.

20. A/S COHEN FOLLOWED THIS BY GIVING HIS VIEWS ON
THE NATURE OF THE PROCESS. HE SAID THAT THE U.S.
BELIEVES THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST ACCEPT THE IDEA OF
RECONCILIATION AND NEGOTIATE IN THE SPIRIT THAT ALL
ARE BROTHERS.

21. KANYARENGWE INTERJECTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST
SPEAK THE TRUTH AND MUST NOT SEEK A MILITARY VICTORY

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BECAUSE THAT IS NOT POSSIBLE. HE SAID THAT HABYARIMANA FEELS THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO SHOW THE RWANDAN PEOPLE THAT HE IS THEIR SAVIOR. HE SAID THAT HABYARIMANA'S POPULARITY IS VERY LOW AND THAT IS THE REASON HE WANTS TO CONTINUE THE SUFFERING.

22. WHEN KANYARENGWE TOLD COHEN THAT U.S. INTERVENTION WAS VERY NECESSARY, COHEN REMINDED HIM THAT FRENCH SENSITIVITIES HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. HE ADDED THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT WANT ANYONE TO THINK THAT WE PREFER ONE GROUP OVER THE OTHER. HE ASSURED KANYARENGWE THAT PRESIDENT BUSH COULD HAVE AN INFLUENCE OVER HABYARIMANA BECAUSE THEY KNOW EACH OTHER WELL. HE ALSO ASSURED KANYARENGWE THAT THE U.S. WOULD ATTEMPT TO HELP THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND THE START OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THAT UNLIKE ZAIRE, THE U.S. STILL CONSIDERS RWANDA A VIABLE COUNTRY.

23. WHEN COHEN ASKED HIM IF THE RPF HAS REPRESENTATIVES IN THE U.S., KANYARENGWE TOLD HIM YES AND ADDED THAT HE AND HIS DELEGATION WERE HAPPY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS INTERESTED IN THEIR SITUATION. HE THANKED COHEN FOR THE MEETING AND HANDED HIM A DOCUMENT OUTLINING THE POINTS RAISED IN THE MEETING.

24. A/S COHEN CLEARED THIS CABLE IN DRAFT.
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CARSON

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