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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

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	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00
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	RPE-01	PMB-00	/038W				

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6044

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ4-SAAA// PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L 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 THE BODY POLITIC, BUT SAID HE WOULD KEEP HIS WORD TO IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA ACCORD.

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THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS BLAMED THE PRESIDENT FOR THE IMPASSE AND DEPLORED EFFORTS TO GAIN CONCESSIONS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF VIOLENCE. THEY CHARACTERIZED THE COALITION FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC (CDR) AS GANGSTERS WHO WOULD HAVE TO PROVE THEIR WORTH BEFORE BEING ADMITTED INTO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. BUSHNELL REMINDED THE FRONT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY 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

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ITS GOVERNMENT. SHE HAD RECENTLY HAD TO DIVERT USD 2 MILLION FROM RWANDAN DEMOBILIZATION FUNDING TO ANOTHER COUNTRY BECAUSE THERE WAS NO GOVERNMENT AND NO PROGRAM TO WHICH IT COULD BE ALLOCATED. SHE NEEDED 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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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 01316

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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
ORDZR OHHD COUNTRY.

8. THE PRESIDENT THEN RAISED THE SITUATION IN

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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.
FUNDAMENTALLY, 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 PRESIDENT NEEDED PEOPLE ON HIS SIDE TO COOPERATE

TREND. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER RESPONDED THAT THE BEST SOLUTION 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 IN RWANDA, MIGHT HAVE TO GO HOME. THE PRESIDENT MUST AGREE TO PUT THE INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE IMMEDIATELY AND

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ESTABLISH CHAOS AND DISASTER FOR RWANDA.15

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10. DURING AFTERNOON 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.

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. KANYARENGWE THEN BLAMED CDR FOR ALL OF
 RWANDA'S RECENT POLITICAL VIOLENCE. SINCE CDR WORKED
 IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF VIOLENCE, IT WOULD HAVE TO PROVE
 ITS SUPPOSED INTENTIONS TO ABIDE BY THE ARUSHA
 ACCORD. THE GOVERNMENT AND RPF WOULD HAVE TO REVIEW
 CDR'S RECORD UNDER TERMS OF THE ACCORD'S ARTICLE 61

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AND, PERHAPS, LET THE COURTS JUDGE WHETHER CDR COULD
JOIN THE ASSEMBLY.

12. GENERAL KAGAME SECONDED KANYARENGWE BY INSISTING
THAT CDR'S ENTRY INTO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COULD NOT
BE A PRE-CONDITION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
INSTITUTIONS. THE PROBLEM WAS CDR'S CRIMINAL
BEHAVIOR; THAT WAS NOT A POLITICAL MATTER BUT A
SECURITY MATTER. THE FRONT HAD A MORAL RIGHT TO DEAL
WITH SUCH BEHAVIOR IN SECURITY TERMS. 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

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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. HE CALLED CDR GANGSTERS, WORSE THAN KLU KLUX CLAN. DAS BUSHNELL REMINDED THE FRONT THAT THE INTZRNATIONAL 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. IN A MEETING WITH WESTERN OBSERVERS 3/23, RPF MAZIMHAKA AND KAREMERA ADAMANTLY HELD TO THE FRONT'S POSITION. MAZIMHAKA ADMITTED THAT THE CDR ISSUE WAS A VERY EMOTIONAL ONE WITH THE FRONT. NONETHELESS, THEY HAD AGREEE GAFMAREMERA SAID THE CDR SHOULD BE SHOWN WHERE THEY HAD DONE WRONG AND WHY THEY COULD NOT BE ACCEPTED INTO THE ASSEMBLY. 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 CONVINC 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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