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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00
	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01
	DRL-09	G-01	/037W				

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P 221028Z JUN 94
 FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0722
 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 SECDEF WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USDAO LILONGWE
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 004923

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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PAGE 02 KAMPAL 04923 01 OF 03 221047Z
 TAGS: PREL, MOPS, RW, FR, UG
 SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S MEETINGS WITH RPF
 OFFICIALS AND RWANDAN AMBASSADOR IN KAMPALA JUNE 20

REF: STATE 163237

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

 SUMMARY

2. AMBASSADOR DAVID RAWSON RELAYED U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH INITIATIVE IN RWANDA TO PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU AND TWO OTHER REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE RPF OFFICIALS EXPRESSED THEIR STRONG DISTRUST OF FRENCH MOTIVES AND REPEATED THE RPF PARTY LINE THAT THE MASSACRES MUST STOP BEFORE A CEASEFIRE CAN OCCUR. BIZIMUNGU DESCRIBED THE OAU CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT FOR RWANDA AS A PUBLICITY PLOY BY MOBUTU, WHICH THE RPF HAD NEITHER NEGOTIATED NOR SIGNED.

3. AMB. RAWSON ALSO MET WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR KANYARUSHOKI ON JUNE 20. KANYARUSHOKI DESCRIBED THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AS "EXTREMISTS" AND MAINTAINED THAT RWANDAN MODERATES, A GROUP TO WHICH HE APPEARS TO RELATE, ARE LARGELY IN HIDING. END SUMMARY.

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RPF OPPOSES FRENCH TROOPS

4. ON JUNE 20, AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND HIS DELEGATION MET WITH RPF COMMISSIONER PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, AND AUGUSTIN MUKAMA AND J. BOSCO BUTERA OF THE RPF'S HUMANITARIAN BRANCH. U.S. PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED COL. BERAUD (OSD), P/M ADVISOR FISHER (AF/RA), DART/TEAM LEADER FARNSWORTH, CHARGE SHIPPY AND POLOFF BEIK (NOTETAKER).

5. AMB. RAWSON EXPLAINED THE MISSION OF THE DELEGATION IN SUPPORT OF U.S. OBJECTIVES IN RWANDA: AN END TO THE KILLINGS, A CEASEFIRE, AN INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, MORE RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR, AND FACILITATION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. BIZIMUNGU RESPONDED WITH THE RPF'S VIEW OF EVENTS AND THE FRONT'S INSISTANCE THAT A CEASEFIRE IS DEPENDENT ON AN END TO THE KILLINGS. THE RADIO STATIONS (MILLE COLLINES AND RADIO RWANDA) THAT ARE INCITING THE POPULATION TO VIOLENCE MUST ALSO BE STOPPED, HE STRESSED. BIZIMUNGU REPEATED THE RPF'S BELIEF THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION

IN RWANDA, BUT SAID THERE CAN BE NO RECONCILIATION OR NATIONAL UNITY WITHOUT BRINGING TO JUSTICE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRES. THE RPF IS APPEALING TO RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO HELP WITH THIS PROBLEM, WHICH IS BEYOND RWANDA'S CAPABILITIES TO DEAL WITH, HE SAID.

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6. AMB. RAWSON READ THE POINTS IN REFTEL OUTLINING U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE FRENCH INITIATIVE TO SEND TROOPS TO BRIDGE THE GAP UNTIL THE UNAMIR EXPANSION CAN TAKE PLACE, UNDER U.N. AUSPICES AND WITH THE FULL COOPERATION OF UNAMIR. BIZIMUNGU REPLIED THAT IF THE FRENCH FORCE ABIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES AMB. RAWSON HAD OUTLINED, THE RPF WOULD WELCOME IT. THE RPF HAS MANY REASONS TO QUESTION FRENCH MOTIVES, HOWEVER, BIZIMUNGU SAID, INCLUDING PREVIOUS FRENCH SUPPORT TO THE CDR POLITICAL PARTY AND FRENCH TRAINING FOR THE INTERAHAMWE AND THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD FORCES. HE NOTED THAT FRENCH DEFMIN JUPPE HAD SAID "ONLY TWO DAYS AGO" THAT THE FRENCH WOULD FIGHT THE RPF IF THEY HAD TO. THE FRENCH HAD TURNED A BLIND EYE TO RWANDAN MASSACRES IN THE PAST, BIZIMUNGU MAINTAINED, DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF THEIR TROOPS IN RWANDA WHEN HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES TOOK PLACE. THE RPF HAD REQUESTED THE WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH TROOPS AS PART OF THE PEACE PROCESS. IT LOOKS AS THOUGH THE FRENCH TROOPS ARE COMING THROUGH ZAIRE -- ANOTHER COUNTRY WHICH IS PLAYING A BIASED ROLE IN RWANDA, BIZIMUNGU SAID. THE RPF REGARDS THE FRENCH GESTURE AS ONE OF "HOSTILITY,"

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AND WOULD BE MORE "COMFORTABLE" WITH A NEUTRAL
COUNTRY SENDING TROOPS TO RWANDA.

7. AMB. RAWSON SAID WE WOULD RELAY TO WASHINGTON THE
RPF'S CONCERNS ABOUT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE. HE URGED
BIZIMUNGU TO TALK TO AMBASSADOR MALRAUD, FRANCE'S
AMBASSADOR TO KIGALI, WHO WAS DUE IN KAMPALA LATER ON
JUNE 20 TO DISCUSS FRENCH PLANS WITH THE RPF.

 MOBUTU'S "CEASEFIRE" AT THE OAU

8. TO AMB. RAWSON'S INQUIRY ABOUT THE FAILURE OF THE CEASEFIRE SIGNED AT THE OAU, BIZIMUNGU REPLIED THAT MOBUTU WANTED TO SHOW THE WORLD THE "SUCCESS" OF HIS MEDIATION EFFORTS. MOBUTU HAD CALLED A MEETING ON THE RWANDAN CEASEFIRE WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF KENYA, UGANDA AND TANZANIA, THE MINISTER OF COOPERATION FROM BURUNDI, AND THE OAU DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL, ALL OF WHOM WERE PRESENT. THE RPF NEVER SAW "THE OTHER SIDE" AND SIGNED NOTHING NEW IN TUNIS. BIZIMUNGU SAID THAT THE RPF HAD SIGNED AN AGREEMENT IN GBADOLITE ON MAY 5; IN TUNIS, THEY REAFFIRMED THAT COMMITMENT. THE OAU "CEASEFIRE" WAS NOT/NOT A NEW AGREEMENT, BIZIMUNGU SAID, BUT A PUBLICITY PLOY BY MOBUTU.

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 RWANDAN AMBASSADOR - AN ENVOY WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT

9. EARLIER ON JUNE 20, AMB. RAWSON CALLED ON RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO UGANDA CLAVER KANYARUSHOKI. CHARGE SHIPPY AND POLOFF BEIK (NOTETAKER) SAT IN ON THE MEETING. AMB. RAWSON REVIEWED U.S. POLICY TOWARD RWANDA, EMPHASIZING OUR QUEST FOR PEACE AND STABILITY THROUGH A CEASEFIRE AND AN END TO THE KILLINGS, ALONG WITH SUPPORT FOR UNAMIR, THE HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR INVESTIGATIONS OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VIOLENCE, AND URGENT HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS.

10. KANYARUSHOKI DESCRIBED THE RPF AS AIMING FOR A MILITARY VICTORY, BUT SAID SUCH A VICTORY WOULD BE AN "ILLUSION." THE RPF WANTED A PROGRAM LIKE THE NRM (NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT) OF UGANDA, WHERE THE ARMY WOULD FORM THE BACKBONE OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH "UNTOLD TIME" TO RULE.

11. ON THE OTHER SIDE, KANYARUSHOKI SAID, THE "EXTREMISTS" OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD BE EQUALLY HARD TO CONVINCE TO COMPROMISE. KANYARUSHOKI

ADMITTED THAT HE HAD HAD NO COMMUNICATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT SINCE APRIL, SAYING THAT THEY HAVE SATELLITE TELEPHONES BUT THEY CHOOSE WHOM THEY WISH TO CALL AND TURN THEM OFF TO THOSE CALLING THEM. KANYARUSHOKI SAID GITARAMA IS NOW IN RPF HANDS, AND THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE IN GISENYI,

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ALTHOUGH MANY ARE TRAVELING ABROAD.

12. AMB. RAWSON ASKED WHERE THE MIDDLE GROUND LAY. KANYARUSHOKI REPLIED THAT THERE ARE MANY MODERATES "IN THE CAMPS" WHO ARE WAITING TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS. HE CITED SEVERAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY FIGURES WHO, HE FELT, WERE MORE MODERATE THAN THE "EXTREMISTS" INCITING THE MILITIAS TO KILL. KANYARUSHOKI SAID THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT CANNOT CONTROL THE MILITIAS, BUT THE ARMY COULD. THE RPF WANTS THE MILITIAS TO STOP THE KILLINGS BEFORE A CEASEFIRE, BUT THE ARMY WILL NOT FIGHT AN "ALLY" (THE MILITIAS) AT THE SAME TIME AS THEY CONTINUE TO FIGHT THE RPF. THE MILITIAS ARE ORGANIZING BEHIND RPF LINES, KANYARUSHOKI NOTED; THE RPF CANNOT CONTROL THE AMOUNT OF TERRITORY IT NOW HOLDS. WITHOUT A SERIOUS CEASEFIRE, KANYARUSHOKI MAINTAINED, NOTHING ELSE CAN BE ACHIEVED.

13. KANYARUSHOKI, WHO HELPED FORGE THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT LAST YEAR, SAID THAT ARUSHA REPRESENTS THE BEST POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENT FOR A FUTURE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT. "EVERY SENTENCE WAS A COMPROMISE," HE

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SAID. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO GO BACK TO THAT
 AGREEMENT, MORE DIFFICULT TO MOVE AWAY FROM IT TO
 ANYTHING ELSE, IN HIS VIEW. KANYARUSHOKI FELT THAT
 THE ARUSHA STRUCTURE COULD BE RECONSTITUTED.
 ALTHOUGH THERE ARE DEEP DIVISIONS BETWEEN THE
 PARTIES, "THE PARTIES ARE STILL THERE," HE SAID.
 AMB. RAWSON AGREED THAT THE SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF
 ARUSHA WILL HAVE TO GUIDE ANY FUTURE GOVERNMENT IN
 RWANDA, WHICH MUST INCLUDE SOME SORT OF POWER-SHARING.

14. COMMENT. IN KANYARUSHOKI'S TERMING OF THE CURRENT RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AS "EXTREMIST," HE CLEARLY INDICATED THAT HE DOES NOT REPRESENT THAT GOVERNMENT. HE SEEMED TO PLACE HIMSELF IN THE MODERATE CAMP, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS "HIDING AND WAITING." KANYARUSHOKI WAS A SOLID INTERLOCUTOR AT ARUSHA, REPRESENTING HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS, BUT WILLING TO COMPROMISE. WE HOPE HE -- AND OTHER MODERATES -- CAN EMERGE FROM EXILE AND FEEL SECURE ENOUGH TO SPEAK OUT FOR THE PRINCIPLES FORGED AT ARUSHA. END COMMENT.

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15. THIS CABLE WAS DRAFTED AFTER AMB. RAWSON'S DEPARTURE FROM POST.

16. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SHIPPY

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