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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
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 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

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, 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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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 CONVINCED 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 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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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6045
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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
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 INENATIONAL OPINION AGAINST THE COUP
ATTEMPR. THOSE ACTIONS HAD TURNED THINGS AROUND. A
GOVERNMENT WAS IN PLACE AND IT WAS IN DIALOGNW

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LHE 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 ACMY 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 PREBCANT 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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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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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 CONVINCE 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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