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ORIGIN AF-01

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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON
APPROVED BY: AF/FO: PXBUSHNELL
AF/C: AXRENDER

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P R 160048Z FEB 94
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 039426

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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TAGS: PREL PGOV MOPS RW
SUBJECT: DAS BUSHNELL AND UWIMANA DISCUSS IMPASSE

REF: STATE 34617

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. IN A FEBRUARY 9 MEETING, RWANDAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. ALOYS UWIMANA TOLD AF DAS BUSHNELL THE ETHNIC PROBLEM IS AT THE ROOT OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE OVER FORMATION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. DAS BUSHNELL STRESSED THAT RWANDA'S LEADERS MUST ACT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND FORM THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SHE NOTED THE STRONG SUPPORT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD SHOWN RWANDA THROUGH

DEPLOYMENT OF PEACEKEEPERS AND SAID THE RWANDANS MUST ASSUME THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND IMPLEMENT THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORDS. SHE CAUTIONED THE PARTIES AGAINST INTERFERING IN OTHER PARTIES' PROCESS OF SELECTING ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES AND STRESSED THAT HABYARIMANA SHOULD ACCEPT THE POLITICAL RISKS OF LETTING THE PROCESS GO FORWARD. DAS BUSHNELL EXPRESSED OUR SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THE REPORTS OF ARMS CACHES AND URGED A FULL INVESTIGATION AND REPORT. UWIMANA SAID HE WOULD PASS THIS MESSAGE TO HIS GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY

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3. ON FEBRUARY 9, AF DAS BUSHNELL MET WITH RWANDAN AMBASSADOR ALOYS UWIMANA, AT THE AMBASSADOR'S REQUEST, TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RWANDA. UWIMANA WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EMBASSY COUNSELOR BONIFACE KARANI, AND DAS BUSHNELL WAS JOINED BY AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER AND RWANDA
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DESKOFF AISTON (NOTETAKER).

UWIMANA FEARS SOME PREFER POWER-TRANSFER, NOT SHARING

4. UWIMANA SAID HE HAD COME TO SEEK OUR ADVICE ON RESOLVING THE CURRENT IMPASSE OVER FORMATION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. HE NOTED THAT WE HAD HELPED RWANDANS THROUGHOUT THE PEACE PROCESS AND EXPRESSED HIS DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE RWANDANS' INABILITY TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK AND PUT THE GOVERNMENT IN PLACE.

5. UWIMANA CHARACTERIZED THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM AS AN ETHNIC ONE AND SAID VARIOUS PARTIES WERE TRYING TO MAXIMIZE THEIR VOTING STRENGTH IN THE ASSEMBLY, PERHAPS WITH A VIEW TO USING THE CLAUSE IN THE ARUSHA ACCORDS THAT ALLOWS FOR IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT ON A TWO-THIRDS VOTE OF THE ASSEMBLY. HE SAID HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT SOME (UNNAMED) PERSONS WERE TRYING TO USE THE ARUSHA ACCORDS TO TRANSFER, RATHER THAN SHARE, POWER -- IN EFFECT, ATTEMPTING A CIVIL COUP D'ETAT.

DAS BUSHNELL URGES RWANDANS TO BREAK IMPASSE

6. DAS BUSHNELL RESPONDED THAT SHE HAD SPOKEN TO IO A/S BENNET UPON HIS RETURN AND REPORTED THAT HE WAS VERY DISCOURAGED AND WORRIED ABOUT THE IMPASSE. SHE SECONDED A/S BENNET'S MESSAGE TO HABYARIMANA, WHICH WAS THAT HE SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS "WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY" TO

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OVER THE ETHNIC PROBLEM. BUSHNELL REMINDED UWIMANA THAT A LEADER MUST ACT IN THE BEST INTEREST OF HIS COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE, NOT FOR HIMSELF, HIS ASSOCIATES, OR HIS OWN ETHNIC GROUP. SHE RECOGNIZED THAT THIS MAY REQUIRE TAKING POLITICAL RISKS, BUT THAT A LEADER SHOULD ACCEPT SUCH RISKS IN THE INTEREST OF ACHIEVING WHAT IS BEST FOR THE COUNTRY.

7. DAS BUSHNELL EXPRESSED OUR SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THE LACK OF PROGRESS, GIVEN THE SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS MADE IN THE RWANDAN PEACE PROCESS. SHE NOTED THAT THE ISSUE OF PEACEKEEPING IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONTROVERSIAL AND THAT PEACEKEEPING IS VERY EXPENSIVE. THESE OPERATIONS ARE NOW BEING CLOSELY SCRUTINIZED, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ASKS ITSELF WHETHER CONTINUED SUPPORT IS APPROPRIATE WHEN WE DON'T SEE ANY PROGRESS ON THE GROUND.

8. AS FOR ADVICE, DAS BUSHNELL EMPHASIZED THAT OUR MESSAGE HAS BEEN THE SAME TO ALL SIDES. WE ARE TELLING ALL PARTIES:

-- THE ARUSHA ACCORDS MUST BE IMPLEMENTED AND THE GOVERNMENT PUT IN PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE;

-- PARTY LEADERS SHOULD ACT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST, ASSUME THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES, AND ENSURE THAT THE TRANSITION IS A SUCCESS;

-- PARTY LEADERS SHOULD LET EACH PARTY DECIDE ITS OWN LEGISLATIVE AND MINISTERIAL SLATES, WITHOUT INTERFERENCE

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FROM OTHER PARTIES;

-- THE RWANDAN ECONOMY IS IN DIRE CONDITION AND RWANDANS NEED TO PUT THE GOVERNMENT IN PLACE SO THEY CAN ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM AND FINALIZE THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM;

-- THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS SUPPORT AND WE ARE LOOKING TO RWANDA TO UPHOLD ITS RESPONSIBILITY.

UWIMANA AGREES THAT LEADERSHIP IS LACKING

9. UWIMANA RESPONDED THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP DOES NOT ACT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST, OR EVEN IN THEIR OWN PARTIES' INTEREST. THE POPULATION THINKS THEY ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN GETTING GOOD POSITIONS FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR FRIENDS AND FAMILIES. HE SAID THAT EVERYONE AGREES THAT EACH PARTY SHOULD ELECT ITS OWN DEPUTIES; THE PROBLEM, AS HE CHARACTERIZED IT, WAS THAT A GROUP OF TUTSIS IN THE PL HAD CREATED THEIR OWN LIST AND EXCLUDED THE REST OF THE PARTY.

10. THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT WHEN THE POWERSHARING AGREEMENTS WERE MADE, THE BALANCE OF POWER WAS BASED ON PARTIES AS THEY EXISTED THEN. ALLIANCES HAVE SINCE CHANGED AND THE BALANCE HAS FLUCTUATED; UWIMANA RECOGNIZED THIS IS NORMAL IN A DEMOCRACY BUT IT HAS MADE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT MORE DIFFICULT. HE ADDED THAT THE EVENTS IN BURUNDI RADICALIZED SOME
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FACTIONS, WHICH ONLY MADE THINGS WORSE.

BUSHNELL: ACT LIKE LEADERS, NOT CHILDREN

11. DAS BUSHNELL SAID SHE IS GREATLY BOTHERED BY THE FACT THAT EVERY RWANDAN SHE TALKS TO BLAMES SOMEONE ELSE FOR THE IMPASSE; NO ONE SEEMS WILLING TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROBLEM. SHE LAMENTED THAT DESPITE THEIR GREAT TALENTS, RWANDA'S LEADERS WERE ACTING ALMOST LIKE CHILDREN; SHE STRESSED THAT THEY SHOULD ASK THEMSELVES WHAT THEY CAN DO TO UNBLOCK THE SITUATION AND HELP THE COUNTRY, RATHER THAN SIMPLY FINDING FAULT WITH SOMEONE ELSE. EMBASSY COUNSELOR KARANI AGREED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD PUSH RWANDA'S POLITICAL CLASS TO ACT LIKE LEADERS AND TO ACT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE MESSAGE SHOULD BE MADE PUBLICLY, PERHAPS IN THE UN.

12. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER RE-INFORCED DAS BUSHNELL'S MESSAGE AND EMPHASIZED THAT, AS LEADER OF HIS COUNTRY, HABYARIMANA HAS A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY; HE MUST TAKE THE RISK AND LET EACH PARTY CHOSE ITS OWN LIST EVEN IF HE SUFFERS POLITICALLY, AND HE MUST BE WILLING TO COMPROMISE FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY. SHE STRESSED THAT THE U.S.

CAN'T TELL THE RWANDANS WHICH COMPETING DEPUTIES LIST
SHOULD BE CHOSEN.

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DAS BUSHNELL EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER ARMS CACHES

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13. DAS BUSHNELL SAID WE ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT
REPORTS OF ARMS CACHES IN KIGALI. SHE POINTED OUT THAT
SUCH CACHES ARE CONTRARY TO THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AND
PRESENT A SERIOUS RISK OF RENEWED VIOLENCE. SHE URGED
THE GOVERNMENT TO COMPLETE ITS INVESTIGATION AND SHARE
THE RESULTS WITH THE UN AND THE U.S. SHE WARNED THAT THE
GOR WOULD BE VIEWED IN A VERY POOR LIGHT BY THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IF THE IMPASSE CONTINUES AND
NOTHING IS DONE TO INVESTIGATE THE REPORTS OF ARMS CACHES.

14. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER ADDED THAT WE HAD INFORMATION
THAT WEAPONS FROM THESE CACHES WERE REPORTEDLY BEING
DISTRIBUTED TO MRND SUPPORTERS; SHE POINTED OUT THAT THE
UN HAD ALREADY MADE A DEMARCHE TO HABYARIMANA ON THIS
ISSUE. UWIMANA SAID HE DID NOT HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON
THE ARMS CACHES BUT WOULD PASS THE MESSAGE TO HIS
GOVERNMENT.

15. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH UWIMANA DID NOT MENTION ANY NAMES
WHEN HE SAID THAT SOME POLITICAL LEADERS WERE MANEUVERING
TO ACHIEVE A CIVIL COUP D'ETAT, HE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY
REFERRING TO THE RPF AND THEIR TUTSI ALLIES, WHOM UWIMANA
STILL DEEPLY MISTRUSTS. WE ARE SOMEWHAT SURPRISED THAT
UWIMANA DID NOT DEFEND HABYARIMANA MORE STRONGLY OR
EXPRESSLY EXEMPT THE PRESIDENT FROM HIS CRITICISM OF THE
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, BUT WE ASSUME THAT HE DID NOT
INTEND TO INCLUDE HIS BOSS/PATRON IN THE CRITICISM. END
COMMEN
CHRISTOPHER

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