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ACTION AF-01

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	EUR-01	OIGO-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	JUSE-00
	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SB-00	SCT-03	SNP-00
	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/054W	

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 FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8148
 INFO ALLEU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BRUSSELS 07520

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PREF, BE, FR, RW
 SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR RAWSON'S JUNE 7 MEETING IN BRUSSELS
 WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

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 SUMMARY

2. AMBASSADOR RAWSON MET JUNE 7 IN BRUSSELS WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA, RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT'S (RPF) EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE. BIHOZAGARA CONFIRMED THE RPF WAS STILL DISTRUSTFUL OF OPERATION TURQUOISE BUT WOULD BE SOMEWHAT REASSURED IF CURRENT UNAMIR TROOPS WERE USED TO REPLACE SOME OF THE EXISTING FRENCH TROOPS. BIHOZAGARA SAID THE

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RPF'S OBJECTIVES HAD BEEN 80-90 PERCENT FULFILLED. CONSOLIDATION OF THE RPF'S GAINS WAS THE NEXT STEP. THE RPF WOULD ANNOUNCE A CEASEFIRE AND WOULD TRY TO PROCEED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE ARMY.

3. BIHOZAGARA SAID THE RPF EXPECTED TO FORM A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, BUT WITH ADJUSTMENTS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE CURRENT SITUATION. THE RPF WANTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DECLARE ITSELF. STATEMENTS LIKE THE ONE ISSUED BY BELGIUM WERE HELPFUL, AS THEY DISCOURAGED THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE QUESTIONED US VIEWS ON THE DEFINITION OF A BROADLY-BASED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND INSISTED THERE WAS BOTH COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR MASSACRES. THOSE WHO WERE FOUND GUILTY COULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT. BIHOZAGARA OBLIQUELY QUESTIONED THE FUTURE OF MULTIPARTYISM IN REBUILDING RWANDA, SAYING IT WOULD LEAD TO A REPEAT OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT REINED IN RWANDA FROM DEC. 93 UNTIL APRIL 94.

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4. AMBASSADOR RAWSON REMINDED BIHOZAGARA THAT THE USG HAD EARLY CALLED FOR ACCOUNTABILITY OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRES. ANY EMERGING GOVERNMENT SHOULD ENJOY THE RESPECT AND SUPPORT OF LARGE NUMBERS OF THE RWANDAN POPULATION AND SHOULD STRIVE TO ENCOURAGE HUTUS TO PARTICIPATE IN POWER SHARING. THERE WERE GOOD PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES. A WAY HAD TO BE FOUND TO OBTAIN THEIR SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY

5. AMBASSADOR RAWSON MET JUNE 7 IN BRUSSELS WITH JACQUES BIHOZAGARA, RPF'S EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE. BIHOZAGARA SAID HE WAS SPENDING MOST OF HIS TIME MARCHING ABOUT EUROPE PROMOTING EFFORTS TO LAUNCH UNAMIR II. THE RPF, HE STATED, WAS STILL DISTRUSTFUL OF THE GOF AND OF OPERATION TURQUOISE. THERE HAD BEEN CERTAIN RECENT INCIDENTS THAT RISKED DESTABILIZING NOT ONLY RWANDA BUT ALSO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THEREFORE, HAD TO HURRY UP AND ORGANIZE QUICKLY THE DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR II. AS KIGALI WAS NOW SECURE IN RPF HANDS, UNAMIR'S PRESENCE WAS NO LONGER NECESSARY IN THE CAPITAL. THE UNAMIR TROOPS COULD BE USED TO REPLACE SOME OF THE FRENCH SOLDIERS FROM OPERATION TURQUOISE. THE RPF, HE SAID, WOULD BE SOMEWHAT REASSURED ABOUT FRENCH INTENTIONS IF

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THIS WERE DONE.

6. BIHOZAGARA REVIEWED THE RPF'S TWO MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES: STOPPING THE MASSACRES AND NEUTRALIZING THE ARMY AND MILITIAS. ACCORDING TO BIHOZAGARA, THE FRONT HAD ACHIEVED BETWEEN 80-90 PERCENT OF ITS OBJECTIVES. CONSOLIDATION OF ITS GAINS WOULD NOW ENSUE. HE CONFIRMED
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THE RPF WOULD ANNOUNCE A CEASEFIRE AND WOULD TRY TO PROCEED TOWARDS A RESTRUCTURING OF THE ARMY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

7. TURNING TO THE SUBJECT OF GOVERNMENT FORMATION, BIHOZAGARA SAID THE RPF EXPECTED TO FORMA NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, BUT "ADJUSTED" TO MEET THE REALITIES OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. THE FRONT WANTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DECLARE ITSELF.

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STATEMENTS SUCH AS THOSE MADE BY THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT
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(SEPTEL) WERE HELPFUL. SUPPORT FOR AN ARUSHA-BASED
GOVERNMENT DISCOURAGED THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH BORE
RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MASSACRES. HE WANTED SIGNALS WHICH
WOULD SHOW THAT GOVERNMENT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THEM.

8. AMB. RAWSON REVIEWED US RELATIONS WITH INTERIM
GOVERNMENT (INCLUDING VISA REFUSALS FOR OFFICIALS WANTING
TO COME TO WASHINGTON) AND OUTLINED USG VIEWS ON THE
FORMATION OF A FUTURE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD
NOT BE ANOTHER "SELF-PROCLAIMED" GOVERNMENT CLAIMING
RIGHTS BASED ON A PARTICULAR POLITICAL OR MILITARY
POSITION. WE WISHED ALL PARTIES TO ENGAGE IN THE FRANK
DIALOGUE THAT WILL RESULT IN A GOVERNMENT. THIS WAS
IMPORTANT FOR THE SAKE OF OBTAINING PEACE IN RWANDA
THROUGH A GOVERNMENT THAT WAS ACCEPTABLE TO A LARGE
SEGMENT OF THE POPULATION AND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY, WHICH SUPPORTED THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. THE SPIRIT
OF ARUSHA SHOULD GOVERN THESE EFFORTS.

9. BIHOZAGARA ASKED AMB. RAWSON TO DEFINE A BROADLY-BASED
OR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. BIHOZAGARA AGREED THAT
UNDER THE ACCORDS, THE PARTICIPATION OF CERTAIN PARTIES
HAD BEEN GUARANTEED. THE SITUATION HAD CHANGED, HOWEVER.

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WITHOUT EVER MENTIONING THE MRND, BIHOZAGARA SAID THERE WAS BOTH COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MASSACRES. A PARTY HAD TRAINED MILITIAS THAT WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THOUSANDS OF KILLINGS. PARTY MEMBERS HAD NOT DISSOCIATED THEMSELVES FROM THE PARTY. THESE PEOPLE COULD NOT BE CALLED MODERATES. THE ARUSHA ACCORDS WOULD BE APPLIED TO HELP THE RPF "CATEGORIZE" PEOPLE BY HOW THEY

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HAD BEHAVED. THOSE ACCUSED OF PARTICIPATING IN AND ENCOURAGING THE MASSACRES WOULD BE TRIED, JUDGED, AND IF FOUND GUILTY, PARDONED OR PUNISHED. THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE RWANDAN JUDICIARY OR BEFORE AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

10. BIHOZAGARA SUGGESTED THAT THE USG RECONSIDER ITS VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF MULTIPARTYISM IN REBUILDING RWANDA. HE RHETORICALLY ASKED WHETHER WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL POLITICA2#(-S-TE THAT PREVAILED IN THE COUNTRY BETWEEN DEC. 93 AND APRIL 94. THIS ATMOSPHERE, HE CLAIMED, PREVENTED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARUSHA. PERHAPS THERE SHOULD BE A RECESS FOR PARTY ACTIVITY WHILE THE GOVERNMENT WORKED ON THE CRITICAL AGENDA OF NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION.

11. AMBASSADOR RAWSON RESPONDED BY THANKING BIHOZAGARA FOR THE FRONT'S MEASURED RESPONSE TO THE FRENCH INITIATIVE AND FOR AVOIDING DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH OPERATION TURQUOISE. HE ENCOURAGED CONTINUED CONTACTS WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS IN ORDER TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS. ON THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT FORMATION, AMB. RAWSON EXPLAINED THE USG DID NOT INSIST THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRES BE INCLUDED IN A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. ARUSHA OFFERED A MODEL FOR PARTICIPATION BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES. WE HELD TO THE SPIRIT OF POWER-SHARING ENCOMPASSED IN ARUSHA BUT IT WAS UP TO RWANDANS TO DETERMINE HOW THAT SHOULD BE WORKED OUT. OUR CONCERN WAS THAT ANY GOVERNMENT THAT RESULTED FROM THESE EFFORTS ENJOY THE RESPECT AND SUPPORT OF LARGE NUMBERS OF THE RWANDAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE RURAL POPULATIONS IN THE HILLS. ONE OF THE CRUCIAL ISSUES WAS ENCOURAGING HUTUS TO PARTICIPATE

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IN POWER SHARING WITH TUTSIS. THE RESULTS OF NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE A RWANDAN MODEL, NOT A UGANDAN OR ANY OTHER FOREIGN MODEL. THERE WERE GOOD PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES, AMBASSADOR RAWSON NOTED. A WAY HAD TO BE FOUND TO OBTAIN

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THEIR SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION IN REBUILDING RWANDA.
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