

UNCLASSIFIED

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Page: 1

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
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CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN PART  
B6, B1, 1.5(B), 1.5(D)

PAGE 01 KAMPAL 02581 01 OF 04 120712Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01
	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/037W	

-----314AOC 120717Z /38

R 120702Z MAY 92  
 FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2416  
 INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY BONN  
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
 AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KAMPALA 02581

PARIS FOR FENDRICK

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KAMPAL 02581 01 OF 04 120712Z  
 E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PREL  
 SUBJECT: A/S COHEN'S MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF  
 THE RPF AND THE RPA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ON FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 8, 1992, A/S COHEN MET WITH A DELEGATION REPRESENTING THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC ARMY (RPA) AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. THE RWANDAN DELEGATION,

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: JOHN S. BLODGETT  
 DATE/CASE ID: 20 AUG 2002 199903052  
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.6(5), 1.6(6)  
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 11 MAY 2017

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 2

Channel: n/a

B1, B6

[REDACTED] IN ADDITION TO A/S  
COHEN, U.S. REPRESENTATIVES INCLUDED AMBASSADOR  
CARSON, DCM A. ELLEN SHIPPY AND PAO DUDLEY O. SIMS.

3. [REDACTED] SPOKESMAN FOR THE  
RWANDAN GROUP, BEGAN THE DISCUSSIONS BY THANKING A/S  
COHEN FOR RECEIVING THE DELEGATION AND TELLING HIM  
THAT THE RPF WANTS THE UNITED STATES TO ASSUME AN  
ACTIVE ROLE IN HELPING BRING ABOUT PEACE AND SECURITY  
IN RWANDA. HE THEN GAVE AN OVERALL VIEW OF THE  
CURRENT EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN THE COUNTRY AND THE  
SURROUNDING AREA. HE SAID THAT THE PROBLEM FACING  
RWANDA AND THE RWANDAN PEOPLE IS NOT A NEW ONE; THAT  
IT HAS EXISTED FOR A LONG TIME. HE BLAMED THE  
GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA FOR SOCIAL INJUSTICE IN THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

B1, B6

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KAMPAL 02581 01 OF 04 120712Z  
COUNTRY, GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND  
POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS. HE REMINDED COHEN THAT  
SUCH ACTS ARE ALSO NOT NEW BUT HAVE ALSO BEEN  
PRACTICED BY FORMER REGIMES IN RWANDA. THE RESULT OF  
THESE ACTIONS, HE SAID, HAVE CAUSED MANY OF THE  
COUNTRY'S INTELLECTUALS AND ORDINARY CITIZENS TO FLEE  
THE COUNTRY AND SEEK REFUGE IN OTHER COUNTRIES. HE  
SAID THAT MANY LIVES HAD BEEN LOST AND THAT MANY  
RWANDANS HAD RESORTED TO COMMITTING SUICIDE. HE  
STATED THAT ALL OF THESE ACTS HAD DRIVEN RWANDANS  
INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY TO TAKE UP ARMS TO  
FIGHT TO RECTIFY THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY  
AND TO REGAIN THE RIGHTS THAT ALL RWANDANS NEED TO  
HAVE.

4. [REDACTED] SAID THE GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA IS LIKE  
A POWERFUL FAMILY THAT IS NO DIFFERENT FROM A  
SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. HE TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT THE  
GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA DOES NOT WANT TO SEE A  
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN PLACE IN THE COUNTRY. HE  
CHARACTERIZED THE GOVERNMENT AS BEING INTRANSIGENT  
AND HABYARIMANA AS A MORAL MILITARIST. HE SAID THAT  
HABYARIMANA HAS ACCEPTED THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY  
SOLELY TO PLEASE HIS FRIENDS AND CLOSE ASSOCIATES.

B1, B6

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 2

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 3  
Channel: n/a

[REDACTED] SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA IS ORGANIZING STATE TERRORISM INSIDE RWANDA AND ON A REGIONAL BASIS. HE CLAIMED THAT THE RPF HAS REPORTS CLEARLY IMPLICATING THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT'S INVOLVEMENT IN ACTS OF TERRORISM AND ASSASSINATION.

B1, B6

5. [REDACTED] SAID THAT MEMBERS OF THE RPF HAVE  
CONFIDENTIAL

B1, B6

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KAMPAL 02581 01 OF 04 120712Z  
RESERVATIONS THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN ACCEPTED BY HABYARIMANA. IT IS HIS OPINION THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED IN THEORY AS A RESULT OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES EXERTED ON HABYARIMANA. HE WAS HAPPY, HE SAID, THAT THE PEOPLE HAD BEEN LISTENED TO, BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE A PROBLEM IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM PROMISED THE PEOPLE. THE RPF DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN CHANGE. THE GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO TRY TO BLOCK CHANGE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KAMPAL 02581 02 OF 04 120714Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01
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-----3149D9 120716Z /38

R 120702Z MAY 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY BONN

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 3

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 4  
Channel: n/a

AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KAMPALA 02581

PARIS FOR FENDRICK

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KAMPAL 02581 02 OF 04 120714Z  
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL  
SUBJECT: A/S COHEN'S MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF

6. [REDACTED] RECALLED A MEETING THAT RPF REPRESENTATIVES HAD WITH AMBASSADOR IRVIN HICKS. HE SAID THAT THEY HAD GIVEN HICKS THEIR OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND THAT HICKS PROMISED TO PUT THEM IN CONTACT WITH THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE HE RECOGNIZED THAT THEY WERE OPEN-MINDED. HE SAID THAT HICKS HAD WITNESSED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA HAD REFUSED TO CARRY ON A DIALOGUE WITH THEM. HE PRAISED HICKS FOR THE INITIATIVE TAKEN TO HELP THE RPF GET A DIALOGUE GOING.

B1, B6

7. SPEAKING ABOUT THE FRENCH, [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE GOF DOES NOT WANT TO HELP, THAT IT IS IMPLICATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF KIGALI. HE CHARACTERIZED THE FRENCH AS BEING INFLEXIBLE AND SAID THAT THE RPF COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THE CONDITIONS SET BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IN TERMS OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA. THE FRENCH, HE SAID, MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE A CHANGE.

B1, B6

8. [REDACTED] SAID THAT ALL PARTIES SHOULD KNOW THE RPF IS READY TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA IN ORDER TO BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO RWANDA. HE SAID THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND THAT THE FRONT COULD NOT SUPPORT A CONSTITUTION MADE TO SUPPORT THE PARTY IN POWER.

B1, B6

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 4

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 5

Channel: n/a

PAGE 03 KAMPAL 02581 02 OF 04 120714Z

9. [REDACTED] ENDED HIS DISSERTATION BY STATING THAT THERE WILL NEVER BE A VICTOR IN THIS CIVIL WAR, THAT IF ANY ONE SIDE CONTINUED TO SEEK A VICTORY OR TO HAVE WINNERS AND LOSERS, THERE WOULD NEVER BE PEACE IN RWANDA. THERE WOULD ONLY BE THE OPPRESSORS AND THE OPPRESSED. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE RPF IS READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE THE SITUATION, AS IT IS, IS VERY DIFFICULT.

B1, B6

10. IN HIS REPLY TO [REDACTED] A/S COHEN WELCOMED THE RPF READINESS TO NEGOTIATE AND TOLD [REDACTED] THAT THOSE WHO REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE ARE NOT SINCERE ESPECIALLY IF THERE ARE REASONABLE CONVICTIONS TO DO SO. HE TOLD [REDACTED] THAT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF THE HABYARIMANA GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO NEGOTIATE. IF, COHEN SAID, HABYARIMANA VETOES NEGOTIATIONS, WE WILL KNOW HE IS NOT SINCERE. IF THIS HAPPENS, COHEN SAID, LIKE ZAIRE, THIS WOULD BE DEMOCRACY A LA HABYARIMANA.

B1, B6  
B1, B6

B1, B6

11. A/S COHEN EXPLAINED TO [REDACTED] THAT THE USG IS INTERESTED IN RWANDA BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT IT HAS A HARD WORKING PEOPLE; THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO CARRY OUT ECONOMIC REFORMS. SELECTING RWANDA AS A FAVORITE COUNTRY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH HABYARIMANA BUT WITH THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN THE COUNTRY. HE EQUATED THIS PROGRESS WITH THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN BURUNDI AND UGANDA. HE EMPHASIZED THE POINT THAT THE U.S. INVESTED MONEY IN RWANDA BECAUSE WE WANT TO SEE PEACE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH RETURN TO THE COUNTRY. IF

B1, B6

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KAMPAL 02581 02 OF 04 120714Z  
THE MONEY INVESTED IS OFFSET BY PURCHASE OF ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY EQUIPMENT, IT IS WASTED AND IS NOT GOOD FOR US. IT IS MONEY THAT COULD BE USED FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

12. A/S COHEN THEN ASKED [REDACTED] IF THE RPF WOULD ACCEPT A DATE TO START NEGOTIATIONS.

B1, B6

[REDACTED] REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE AND ADDED THAT THEY HAD ALREADY PRESENTED A PLAN FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THE PLAN MUST BE PUT INTO ACTION. HE SAID THAT THE RPF IS WILLING TO CEASE FIRE UNILATERALLY.  
CARSON

B1, B6

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 5

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 6

Channel: n/a

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KAMPAL 02581 03 OF 04 120713Z  
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	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
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-----3149D2 120715Z /38

R 120702Z MAY 92  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 KAMPALA 02581

PARIS FOR FENDRICK

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KAMPAL 02581 03 OF 04 120713Z

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL

SUBJECT: A/S COHEN'S MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF

13. IN RESPONSE TO COHEN'S QUESTION AS TO WHAT RPF  
 SOLDIERS WOULD DO IF THERE IS A CEASE-FIRE,  
 [REDACTED] SAID THAT RPF FIGHTERS ARE INSTALLED IN  
 THE COUNTRY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. HE SAID THAT THE

B1, B7(A)

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 6

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 7

Channel: n/a

RPF AND THE RPA WANT SECURITY AND WANT TO HELP BRING ABOUT PEACE. THEY WANT TO STOP THE HOSTILITIES, TO HAVE DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AND TO ALLOW PERSONS DISPLACED BY THE WAR TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. HE TOLD COHEN THAT THE SOLDIERS DID NOT WANT A CEASE-FIRE AND SECURITY IN ORDER NOT TO BE CHASED LATER BY THE RWANDAN ARMY. HE REITERATED HIS POINT THAT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE IS NEEDED TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY.

14. A/S COHEN ASKED [REDACTED] IF THE REFUGEES WOULD SEEK REVENGE IF THEY WERE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO RWANDA. [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT THEY WOULD NOT BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA DID NOT BELIEVE THAT TO BE THE CASE.

B1, B6

B1, B6

15. WHEN A/S COHEN ASKED [REDACTED] IF THE RPF HAD ANY NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMANDS, [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT THE RIGHT TO RETURN OF REFUGEES IS NOT NEGOTIABLE. COHEN SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED THAT AND ADDED THAT THE RPF WOULD WANT THAT GUARANTEE INCLUDED IN A PEACE ACCORD. HE FURTHER STATED THAT HE WAS GOING TO RWANDA TO MEET WITH THE TRANSITIONAL

B1, B6

B1, B6

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KAMPAL 02581 03 OF 04 120713Z  
GOVERNMENT TO FIND OUT IF THERE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE PLACE.

16. ON COHEN'S QUESTION OF LAYING DOWN ARMS, [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF HABYARIMANA WANTS THE RPA TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND TO RETURN. HE EMPHATICALLY STATED THAT THEY ARE NOT READY TO DO THAT BECAUSE LESSONS OF THE PAST HAVE SHOWN WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THEY DID SUCH A THING. HE TOLD COHEN THAT GUARANTEES ARE NEEDED, THAT LAYING DOWN ARMS IS A PROBLEM. HE SAID THAT THE TWO PARTIES MUST MEET AND SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT BRINGING ABOUT PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REGION. HE ADDED THAT THERE MUST BE FULL INTEGRATION OF THE TWO ARMIES.

B1, B6

17. A/S COHEN THEN TOLD [REDACTED] THAT IT IS NOT OUR ROLE TO PUSH THESE THINGS; THAT IT IS UP TO THE TWO PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE; THAT IF ANY SIDE SOUGHT TO BE A WINNER, THE PROCESS COULD NOT SUCCEED; THAT BOTH SIDES MUST SEEK A WAY FOR ALL TO BE WINNERS. THERE SHOULD BE NO LOSERS AS A RESULT.

B1, B6

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 7

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 8  
Channel: n/a

18. COHEN STRESSED THE FACT THAT A CEASE-FIRE IS NOT A SIMPLE PROCESS. HE SUGGESTED THAT U.S. AND FRENCH MILITARY EXPERTS BE USED TO ASSIST WITH THE TECHNICAL QUESTION AND DETAILS INVOLVED IN MAKING A CEASE-FIRE STICK

19. WHEN ASKED IF THE RPF HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH, [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT THEY HAD RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY TO FRANCE BUT THAT NO DATE  
CONFIDENTIAL

B1, B6

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KAMPAL 02581 03 OF 04 120713Z  
FOR A MEETING HAD AS YET BEEN FIXED.

20. A/S COHEN FOLLOWED THIS BY GIVING HIS VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF THE PROCESS. HE SAID THAT THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST ACCEPT THE IDEA OF RECONCILIATION AND NEGOTIATE IN THE SPIRIT THAT ALL ARE BROTHERS.

21. [REDACTED] INTERJECTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST SPEAK THE TRUTH AND MUST NOT SEEK A MILITARY VICTORY.

B1, B6

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KAMPAL 02581 04 OF 04 120714Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
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Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 8

UNCLASSIFIED



UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
Current Handling: n/a  
Document Number: 1992KAMPAL02581

Page: 9  
Channel: n/a

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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CONFIDENTIAL

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BECAUSE THAT IS NOT POSSIBLE. HE SAID THAT HABYARIMANA FEELS THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO SHOW THE RWANDAN PEOPLE THAT HE IS THEIR SAVIOR. HE SAID THAT HABYARIMANA'S POPULARITY IS VERY LOW AND THAT IS THE REASON HE WANTS TO CONTINUE THE SUFFERING.

22. WHEN [REDACTED] TOLD COHEN THAT U.S. INTERVENTION WAS VERY NECESSARY, COHEN REMINDED HIM THAT FRENCH SENSITIVITIES HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. HE ADDED THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT WANT ANYONE TO THINK THAT WE PREFER ONE GROUP OVER THE OTHER. HE ASSURED [REDACTED] THAT PRESIDENT BUSH COULD HAVE AN INFLUENCE OVER HABYARIMANA BECAUSE THEY KNOW EACH OTHER WELL. HE ALSO ASSURED [REDACTED] THAT THE U.S. WOULD ATTEMPT TO HELP THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND THE START OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THAT UNLIKE ZAIRE, THE U.S. STILL CONSIDERS RWANDA A VIABLE COUNTRY.

B1, B6

B1, B6

B1, B6

23. WHEN COHEN ASKED HIM IF THE RPF HAS REPRESENTATIVES IN THE U.S., [REDACTED] TOLD HIM YES AND ADDED THAT HE AND HIS DELEGATION WERE HAPPY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS INTERESTED IN THEIR SITUATION. HE THANKED COHEN FOR THE MEETING AND HANDED HIM A DOCUMENT OUTLINING THE POINTS RAISED IN THE MEETING.

B1, B6

24. A/S COHEN CLEARED THIS CABLE IN DRAFT.  
CONFIDENTIAL

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 9

UNCLASSIFIED