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B1, 1.5(B), 1.5(D)

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	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	PM-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SS-01
	TRSE-00	T-01	FMP-01	/036W			

-----32D910 150803Z /38

P 131438Z MAY 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0670
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 01980

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (P A R A 2)

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, PREF, RW
SUBJECT: A/S COHEN MEETS RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICA, AMBASSADOR HERMAN J. COHEN, MET RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE MAY 11. THE PM DECLARED THAT HIS
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MULTI-PARTY TRANSITION GOVERNMENT HAS A REASONABLE CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING BUT WILL NEED HELP FROM ITS FRIENDS. HE CITED FOUR SPECIFIC AREAS: THE WAR, THE ECONOMY, DEMOBILIZATION OF THE MILITARY AND INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID HE BELIEVES HE HAS THE FREEDOM TO GOVERN AND SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT IS AGREED ON ITS PRIORITIES, DIFFERENCES REMAIN OVER MEANS FOR ACHIEVING THEM. HE SAID REFORM IS MORE DIFFICULT THAN REVOLUTION, AND THAT HE IS PREPARED TO BE PATIENT. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID A NATIONAL CONFERENCE WOULD, HOWEVER, BE INEVITABLE IF THOSE CONTROLLING POWER FAILED TO OFFER CONCESSIONS SUFFICIENT TO AVOID PARALYZING THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

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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)
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3. AMBASSADOR COHEN CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE MAY 11 AT HIS OFFICE. PRESENT FOR THE U.S. WERE AMBASSADOR FLATEN AND DCM LEADER. PRESENT FOR THE GOVERNMENT WERE AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. ALOYS UWIMANA, THE CHIEF OF SERVICE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND COOPERATION AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, JOSEPH NSENGIYUMVA, AND A NOTETAKER.

FREEDOM TO GOVERN

4. AMBASSADOR COHEN NOTED THAT THE RPF HAD EXPRESSED DOUBTS OVER THE FREEDOM OF THE MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT TO GOVERN WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM THE PRESIDENT. THEY CLAIMED IT WAS THE SAME GOVERNMENT WITH A DIFFERENT FACE. AMBASSADOR COHEN ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER WHETHER HE FELT FREE TO GOVERN, WHETHER HE BELIEVED THERE WERE
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OBSTACLES IN HIS PATH. THE PRIME MINISTER REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT FEEL PREVENTED FROM GOVERNING BUT THAT HE BELIEVED THERE WERE HABITS OF OPERATION THAT WOULD NEED TO CHANGE. PRACTICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIFFICULTIES HAD ALREADY ARISEN. THE AUTHORITARIAN APPROACH MUST END. JUST AND CORRECT DECISIONS MUST BE MADE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL CONCERNED.

5. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGES, BUT THAT THE NEW MUST WORK WITH THE OLD. THROWING OUT ALL THE OLD GOVERNMENT MEMBERS IS NOT DEMOCRATIC. HE SAID THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT TRY TO MOVE TOO FAST. THAT WOULD LEAD TO DESTABILIZATION AND FAILURE. NOR SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT GO TOO SLOW. THIS COULD SPARK A REACTION AS WELL.

6. REFORM IS NOT AS EASY AS REVOLUTION, BUT MORE REWARDING, CONCLUDED THE PRIME MINISTER. THE GOVERNMENT IS AGREED ON ITS PRIORITIES. DIFFERENCES EXIST AS TO THE MEANS. RESTRUCTURING, CLEANING HOUSE, THESE MOVES AFFECT PEOPLE, PARTICULAR GROUPS. IT TAKES TIME TO EXPLAIN AND EDUCATE PEOPLE ABOUT THE CHANGES. BUT HE CONCLUDED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS A REASONABLE CHANCE TO SUCCEED.

THE WAR

7. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID RWANDA HOPES TO TERMINATE THE WAR RAPIDLY AND CORRECTLY THROUGH FRANK NEGOTIATIONS

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AND BY ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS THAT LIE AT THE ROOT OF
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THE PROBLEM. HE SAID RWANDA WILL NEED COURAGE AND HELP
TO DO SO. AMBASSADOR COHEN ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER HIS
VIEWS ON THE STRATEGY FOR ENDING THE WAR OUTLINED BY THE
FOREIGN MINISTER. NSENGIYAREMYE SAID THE TWO-PRONGED
APPROACH -- NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH UGANDA AND
NEGOTIATING WITH THE RPF -- NEEDS FURTHER ELABORATION
BUT IS A STRATEGY AGREED TO BY THE GOVERNMENT. HE TOLD
AMBASSADOR COHEN THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WILL VISIT
UGANDA THE WEEK OF MAY 18 TO MEET WITH THE RPF IN ORDER
TO SET A DATE AND A SITE FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, AND
TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOU.

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HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
NSCE-00	PM-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SS-01
TRSE-00	T-01	FMP-01	/036W			

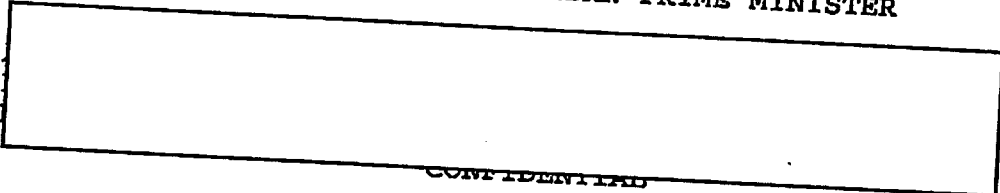
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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0671
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 01980

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - T E X T

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
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9. AMBASSADOR COHEN ALSO TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT HE QUESTIONED THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PROPOSED STRATEGY OF DIRECT TALKS WITHOUT ANY SORT OF MEDIATOR. HE SUGGESTED THAT A MEDIATOR CAN OFTEN BE USEFUL IN MAKING SUGGESTIONS TO BREAK AN IMPASSE OR IN OTHER WAYS KEEPING TALKS GOING, NOTING THAT A MEDIATOR DOES NOT INTERFERE WITH DIRECT TALKS UNDERWAY. AMBASSADOR COHEN SAID THAT, IN HIS TALKS WITH THE RPF, THE RPF HAD ACCEPTED FURTHER TALKS UNDER FRENCH MEDIATION BUT WOULD ALSO LIKE THE U.S. ASSOCIATED WITH THE DISCUSSIONS. COHEN SAID THE U.S. WOULD BE WILLING TO BE ASSOCIATED PROVIDING ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE FRENCH, WISHED US TO DO SO.

10. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S WORDS MAY HAVE BEEN MISINTERPRETED. MOBUTU HAD BEEN NAMED "MEDIATOR" OF THE GOR-RPF DISPUTE BY THE OAU. NAMING ANOTHER "MEDIATOR", WHILE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER MOBUTU ARE BLOCKED, IS A DELICATE REGIONAL PROBLEM. BUT THE FOREIGN MINISTER DID NOT MEAN TO RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF OTHER "FACILITATORS" IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID IT MAY BE NECESSARY FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO CLARIFY HIS STATEMENT. (SEE SEPTTEL)

11. AMBASSADOR COHEN TOLD THE PM THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA SAID INTEGRATION OF THE TWO ARMIES, THE FAR AND THE RPA, WOULD BE THE MOST DIFFICULT AND DELICATE PROBLEM TO RESOLVE. HE REPEATED THE SUGGESTION HE HAD

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MADE TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE: TAKE ALL THE RPF INTO THE RWANDAN ARMY AND THEN DEMOBILIZE BOTH AT THE SAME TIME. WITHOUT COMMENTING ON THIS SUGGESTION, THE PM SAID THAT HE BELIEVES RWANDA SHOULD HAVE ONLY A SMALL ARMY THAT WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL RWANDAN CITIZENS, JUST AS ALL WALKS OF LIFE SHOULD BE OPEN TO THOSE WHO RETURN.

THE ECONOMY

12. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT RWANDA WILL NEED AN INFUSION OF FUNDS AS WELL AS SUPPORT IN ITS DEALINGS WITH THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF. COHEN SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD THE MINISTER OF PLAN THAT THE U.S. INTENDS TO

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CONTINUE AID AT CURRENT LEVELS AND NOTED THAT A NEW DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE IS UNDER REVIEW. HE COUNSELED THE PM TO WORK CLOSELY WITH AMBASSADOR FLATEN AND USAID IN THIS DOMAIN. AMBASSADOR COHEN SAID THAT HE HAD OBSERVED THAT PEOPLE WERE MORE WILLING TO MAKE THE SACRIFICES REQUIRED OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IF THEY SHARED IN THE DECISION-MAKING. THE PM SAID THAT STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT HAD NOT ONLY AN ECONOMIC DIMENSION, BUT ALSO MORALE AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS. THE PROBLEM IS, HE SAID, THAT ALL THE ADJUSTMENTS ARE COMING AT THE SAME TIME AND RWANDANS ARE NOT PREPARED.

DEMÖBILIZATION

13. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT RWANDA WILL NEED THE TECHNICAL, MATERIAL, AND POLITICAL SUPPORT OF THE U.S. IN DEMÖBILIZING ITS ARMY, SHOULD PEACE BE DECLARED. HE

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NOTED THAT THE PROBLEMS THAT LIE AHEAD ARE AS DIFFICULT AS THE ONES RWANDA IS FACING NOW. COHEN CITED OTHER EXAMPLES OF DEMÖBILIZATIONS IN AFRICA AND SAID THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR DONORS TO HELP. OTHERWISE STABILITY OF THE COUNTRY IS THREATENED.

REFUGEES

14. THE PRIME MINISTER CITED THE REINTEGRATION OF RETURNING REFUGEES AS ANOTHER SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING

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INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 C-01 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09
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PM-01 P-01 RP-10 SNP-01 SP-01 SS-01 TRSE-00
T-01 FMP-01 /035W

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P 131438Z MAY 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0672
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AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 01980

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPS, PREF, RW
SUBJECT: A/S COHEN MEETS RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER

RWANDA. AMBASSADOR COHEN EXPLAINED THAT THE U.S. CVVISSISTS WITH REFUGEE SITUATIONS AND REPATRIATIONS THROUGH THE MULTILATERAL CHANNEL OF UNHCR, RARELY THROUGH BILATERAL CONTRIBUTIONS. HE SAID HE WAS SURE THE U.S. WOULD BE READY TO HELP WHEN THE TIME CAME. COHEN SAID THAT THE RPF TOLD HIM ITS ONLY NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMAND WAS THE RIGHT OF THE REFUGEES TO RETURN. HE TOLD
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NATIONAL CONFERENCE

15. COHEN NOTED THAT RWANDAN POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS FROM THE OPPOSITION INDICATED THEY BELIEVE A NATIONAL CONFERENCE WILL BE NECESSARY IN RWANDA. COHEN COMMENTED THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT CAN SHOW THAT IT HAS THE FREEDOM TO ACT, THEN A NATIONAL CONFERENCE MIGHT NOT BE NEEDED. AN ELECTED LEGISLATURE CAN SERVE THE SAME FUNCTION AS A NATIONAL CONFERENCE, HE OFFERED. NSENGIYAREMYE AGREED, BUT SAID IF THE GOVERNMENT BECAME PARALYZED, THEN A NATIONAL CONFERENCE WOULD BECOME INEVITABLE. IF, HOWEVER, THOSE IN POWER OFFERED CONCESSIONS, THEN A NATIONAL CONFERENCE MIGHT BE AVOIDED.

COMMENT

16. THE PRIME MINISTER PRESENTED HIMSELF AS A MODERATE, REASONABLE PERSON, WILLING TO CONSIDER ALL SIDES OF AN ISSUE AND WILLING TO NEGOTIATE, DETERMINED, BUT PATIENT. HIS MANAGEMENT STYLE APPEARS TO BE THAT OF CONSENSUS-BUILDING AND COLLABORATION, WHICH HE HIMSELF NOTES IS IN CONTRAST TO WHAT HE TERMED THE AUTOCRATIC STYLE OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. FLATEN

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