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 FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1007  
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE  
 AMEMBASSY BANGUI  
 SECDEF WASHDC  
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 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 USDAO LILONGWE MI  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
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 E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, RW, UG  
 SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRIME  
 MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU IN KAMPALA

REF: A) STATE 186121 B) BRUSSELS 7513

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU

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 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
 DATE/CASE ID: 23 JAN 2004 200301564

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OUTLINED HIS THOUGHTS ON RWANDA'S FUTURE IN A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON JULY 13. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THE RPF SHOULD INCLUDE "INNOCENT" MEMBERS OF THE MRND IN ITS DIALOGUE AND ALSO IN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE ARUSHA ACCORD. THE RPF COULD NOT EXCLUDE THE ARMY FROM TALKS, IF TRUE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IS TO SUCCEED. TWAGIRAMUNGU WOULD LIKE TO SEE UNAMIR'S ROLE STRENGTHENED UNDER A CHAPTER 7 MANDATE, AND HE SEES UGANDA AS HAVING A KEY ROLE IN NEGOTIATING WITH BOTH THE RPF AND A NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AT THE NILE HOTEL IN KAMPALA ON JULY 13. POLOFF SAT IN AS NOTETAKER. TWAGIRAMUNGU HAD MET WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI IN TANZANIA THE DAY BEFORE, AND WAS ABOUT TO LEAVE FOR MBARARA TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI THAT AFTERNOON. UNAMIR WILL SEND A PLANE TO PICK HIM UP ON JULY 14 TO GO TO KIGALI.

4. AMBASSADOR CARSON OPENED THE MEETING WITH A BRIEF  
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REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD RWANDA, EMPHASIZING OUR HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, THE IMPORTANCE OF A CEASEFIRE AND THE RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE, AND OUR SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO BRING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS TO JUSTICE.

5. PM-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THOSE POINTS CLOSELY REFLECTED HIS OWN THINKING ON WHAT MUST BE DONE IN RWANDA. HE SAID RWANDANS MUST REACH NATIONAL RECONCILIATION THAT AVOIDS THE EXCLUSION OF SOME GROUPS AS HAD HAPPENED IN THE PAST. IN THE CURRENT SITUATION, RWANDA MUST ACCEPT POWER-SHARING; THE ONLY PEOPLE TO BE EXCLUDED SHOULD BE THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MASSACRES. ON THIS POINT, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO INCLUDE "INNOCENT" MEMBERS OF THE MRND IN ANY TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE RPF OPPOSES THE PARTICIPATION OF THE MRND PARTY, BUT, TWAGIRAMUNGU MAINTAINED, INDIVIDUALS FROM THE PARTY SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY POLITICAL DIALOGUE.

6. THE SECOND MAJOR ISSUE TWAGIRAMUNGU RAISED WAS THE ARMY. THE RPF MIGHT HOPE TO EXCLUDE THE ARMY

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THROUGH TOTAL VICTORY, BUT THAT WAS NOT/NOT POSSIBLE, HE SAID. TWAGIRAMUNGU WANTS TO DECLARE A CEASEFIRE AND BRING THE ARMY AND THE RPF TO SIT TOGETHER AND DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF THE MILITARY. "PEOPLE ARE RUNNING AWAY FROM RWANDA," HE SAID. THE PEOPLE NEED TO SEE A STABLE GOVERNMENT AND BE REASSURED THAT THERE WILL BE RECONCILIATION. MAXIMUM SECURITY FOR THE POPULATION IS NEEDED SO THAT THE THOUSANDS OF

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DISPLACED PEOPLE CAN RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. TWAGIRAMUNGU STRESSED THAT RWANDA MUST BEGIN WITH THE ARUSHA ACCORD OF AUGUST 1993, WHICH ALLOWS FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE, AND WORK TOWARD RECONCILIATION TO END THE CYCLES OF CONFLICT THAT HAVE PLAGUED THE NATION SINCE 1959.

7. THE AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT DEMOCRACY, A STRONG CONSTITUTION, AND A COURT SYSTEM THAT GUARANTEES EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW WOULD BE THE BEST INSTITUTIONS TO PROTECT THE POPULATION OF RWANDA, INCLUDING MINORITY POPULATIONS. HE CITED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAWS IN THE U.S. THAT PROTECT PEOPLE IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, RELIGION OR ETHNICITY, MAKING ALL AMERICANS EQUAL UNDER THE LAW. TWAGIRAMUNGU AGREED THAT THE RULE OF LAW IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. HE ADDED THAT RWANDA WOULD NEED U.S. LEADERSHIP AND HELP IN

TEACHING RWANDANS WHAT TRUE DEMOCRACY IS.

8. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE HAD MET WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVES

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IN BRUSSELS, INCLUDING SECRETARY GENERAL RUDASINGWA. HE BELIEVES THE RPF SENSES TOTAL MILITARY VICTORY AND WANTS THE PRESIDENCY. THE RPF IS EVEN TALKING ABOUT CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE OR SETH SENDASHONGA AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, OR EVEN GENERAL KAGAME. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID IT WOULD BE BETTER TO CHOOSE A PRESIDENT WITH BROADER CREDIBILITY, FROM "AMONG THE INNOCENT." THIS WOULD BE A STICKY POINT, HE ADMITTED, SINCE ARUSHA HAD LEFT HABYARIMANA IN PLACE AS PRESIDENT THROUGH THE TRANSITION; THE ISSUE WOULD NOW HAVE TO BE RE-NEGOTIATED.

9. TWAGIRAMUNGU SPOKE HIGHLY OF GENERAL DALLAIRE AND THE ROLE OF UNAMIR. UNFORTUNATELY, THE POLITICAL APPOINTEES OF THE U.N. WERE NOT AS CAPABLE AS THE GENERAL, HE ASSERTED, AND UNAMIR HAD SUFFERED FROM A

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GAP IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING. HE ADVOCATED A STRONGER ROLE FOR UNAMIR, UNDER U.N. CHAPTER 7 RATHER THAN CHAPTER 6, WHERE THE TROOPS WILL BE ABLE TO ACT IN DEFENSE OF THE POPULATION. THE ROLE OF UNAMIR NEEDS TO BE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED TO TAKE OVER FROM THE FRENCH TROOPS AND TO BE DEFINED UNDER CHAPTER 7, HE SAID.

10. TWAGIRAMUNGU PRAISED UNAMIR FOR ITS PROTECTION OF HIM DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF THE CRISIS IN APRIL, WHEN UNAMIR TROOPS SHELTERED HIM AT THEIR

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BARRACKS. TWAGIRAMUNGU SEEKS UNAMIR'S PROTECTION OF HIS SECURITY UPON HIS RETURN TO KIGALI. (FOLLOWING THIS CONVERSATION, WE PHONED GENERAL DALLAIRE IN KIGALI. DALLAIRE SAID UNAMIR HAD MADE FULL ARRANGEMENTS FOR TWAGIRAMUNGU'S ARRIVAL IN KIGALI, INCLUDING HIS FLIGHT FROM KAMPALA ON JULY 14, AND UNAMIR WOULD LOOK AFTER HIS SECURITY.)

11. UGANDA HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN RWANDA AS WELL, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID. PAUL KAGAME RESPECTS MUSEVENI AND WILL LISTEN TO HIM. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID UGANDA SHOULD PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN WORKING WITH THE RPF AND WITH THE NEW RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IN THE DAYS AHEAD. IN HIS MEETING WITH MUSEVENI THAT AFTERNOON, HE PLANNED TO RAISE THIS POINT.

12. ON A CEASEFIRE, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID HE WOULD PREFER AN IMMEDIATE DECLARATION OF CEASEFIRE AND THEN THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT, BUT THE RPF SEEMED TO WANT THE TWO IN THE OTHER ORDER. THE FRENCH HUMANITARIAN ZONES WERE GOOD, BUT THE CRIMINALS SEEM TO BE SEEKING REFUGE THERE AS WELL AS HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE. TWAGIRAMUNGU HAS NO DESIRE TO BE PRIME MINISTER OF AN EMPTY COUNTRY. PEOPLE NEED TO HAVE TRUST IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, HE STATED. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU'S OWN RETURN COULD SERVE AS ONE STEP IN RENEWED CONFIDENCE BUILDING IN RWANDA.

13. COMMENT. TWAGIRAMUNGU'S THINKING APPEARS TO BE EVOLVING, FROM HIS COMMENTS TO AMBASSADOR RAWSON

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(REF A) TO THE REMARKS HE MADE TO US. HE WAS  
GRATEFUL FOR THIS MEETING AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
DISCUSS RWANDA'S FUTURE. HE SEEMED SOLEMN IN HIS  
CONTEMPLATION OF THE WORK THAT LIES AHEAD FOR HIM.  
IT IS CLEAR FROM HIS REMARKS TO US THAT HE IS NOT A  
CREATURE OF THE RPF AND THAT HIS IDEAS ON HOW TO  
FORGE RECONCILIATION ARE NOT IDENTICAL TO THOSE OF  
THE RPF LEADERSHIP. TWAGIRAMUNGU APPEARS, HOWEVER,  
TO BE A REAL MODERATE WHO IS INTERESTED IN ENDING THE  
VIOLENCE AND BEGINNING A PERIOD OF GENUINE  
RECONCILIATION LEADING TO SOME TYPE OF DEMOCRATIC  
REGIME. HE WILL NEED ALL HIS POLITICAL SKILLS TO  
WORK THROUGH THE POLITICAL THICKET HE NOW ENTERS AS  
THE FIGHTING STOPS AND THE TALKING BEGINS.

14. COMMENT, CONT. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO THINK  
ABOUT POSITIONING AMBASSADOR RAWSON CLOSER TO THE  
SCENE OF ACTION TO DIALOGUE WITH ALL THE CONTENDING  
POLITICAL FACTIONS. MUSEVENI WILL CONTINUE TO BE  
NEEDED TO LEAN ON THE RPF TO ENCOURAGE KAGAME TO DO  
THE RIGHT THINGS AND NOT TO PUSH THE HUTU MODERATES  
TOO FAR. END COMMENT.

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
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15. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CARSON

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