

3-12-2004

Uganda Supports RPF

Herman Cohen

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CHANNEL: n/a

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ORIGIN AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	PFIP-01	C-01	DODE-00
	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00
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AF:RGHOUDEK

AF/E:MCHESHES

AF/C:CFULLER

P:CWILSON

S/S:DMSATTERFIELD

S/S-O:BJONES

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P 251815Z JUN 92
 FM SECSTATE WASHDC
 TO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 203384

FOR AMBASSADOR CARSON FROM A/S COHEN

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, UG, RW

SUBJECT: TIME FOR MUSEVENI TO BE SERIOUS ABOUT A CEASEFIRE

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

REF: PARIS 17113

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY: I TOLD UGANDAN FOREIGN MINISTER SSEMOGERERE JUNE 20 IN PARIS THAT WE KNOW THE GOU PROVIDES THE RPF SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT, ENABLING IT TO KEEP WAGING WAR IN RWANDA. I TOLD HIM THIS SENSELESS FIGHTING MUST STOP. I ADDED THAT IF THERE IS NEITHER PEACE NOR, AT A MINIMUM, A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE BY OCTOBER 1, 1992, WE WILL BEGIN DEDUCTING FROM THE AID WE GIVE TO UGANDA THE COSTS OF OUR RELIEF FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE WAR. I REQUEST THAT YOU DELIVER THE LETTER BELOW, REITERATING THESE VIEWS, DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI. END SUMMARY.

BACKGROUND

3. DURING THE LARGER MEETINGS IN PARIS LAST WEEK (REFTEL) BETWEEN THE FRENCH, THE GOR, THE GOU, AND MYSELF, IT WAS CLEAR TO ME THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SSEMOGERERE WAS NOT FREE TO SPEAK HIS MIND. HE WAS SURROUNDED BY A GROUP OF NRA OFFICERS, NOT DIPLOMATS, ONE OF WHOSE MAIN PURPOSES SEEMED TO BE TO MAKE SURE THAT HE NOT DEPART FROM THE OFFICIAL

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GOU LINE. THUS, EACH TIME THE FRENCH POINTED OUT THAT THERE IS NO WAY THE RPF CAN OPERATE ON THE SCALE THEY DO WITHOUT OUTSIDE SUPPORT, AND THAT THIS SUPPORT HAS TO COME CHIEFLY FROM UGANDA. SSEMOGERERE RETORTED LAMELY THAT THERE WAS NO "PROOF."

4. I THEREFORE DECIDED TO SPEAK FRANKLY TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHEN WE HAD A OPPORTUNITY TO MEET IN A SMALLER GROUP, WITHOUT THE CLUTCH OF NRA CADRES. I TOLD HIM THAT WE KNOW WITHOUT DOUBT THAT THE GOU PROVIDES THE RPF SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT, ENABLING THEM TO WAGE THIS SENSELESS WAR, WHICH COSTS US (IN RELIEF FOR THE DISPLACED AND THE LIKE) AS WELL AS THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND THREATENS TO DESTABILIZE THE ENTIRE REGION. I SAID THE WAR MUST STOP SOON. I TOLD SSEMOGERERE THAT IF THERE IS NEITHER PEACE, NOR, AT A MINIMUM. A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT IN PLACE OCTOBER 1, 1992, WE WILL START DEDUCTING FROM THE AID WE GIVE TO UGANDA THE COST OF OUR RELIEF FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE WAR (NOT/NOT, AS STATED ELSEWHERE, THE COST OF MAINTAINING A BORDER VIOLATION UNIT). THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY WELCOMED THIS NEWS, AND CONFIDED THAT HE ONLY WISHED THAT MUSEVENI HAD A CHANCE TO HEAR IT DIRECTLY. I THEREFORE WOULD LIKE YOU TO CONVEY

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TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE FOLLOWING
LETTER. THE SIGNED ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY POUCH.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I REGRET I DID NOT HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH YOU
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WHEN YOU WERE IN WASHINGTON, AS I WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY.
I DID MEET. HOWEVER. LAST WEEK WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
SSEMOGERERE IN PARIS, WITH WHOM I RAISED CANDIDLY OUR
CONCERNS ABOUT RWANDA AND THE RPF. I WISH TO SHARE THESE
DIRECTLY WITH YOU.

YOU TOLD ME LAST MONTH IN KAMPALA YOU WOULD USE YOUR
INFLUENCE TO HELP END THE RWANDA CONFLICT. SINCE THEN.
THE FIGHTING HAS INTENSIFIED, WITH POTENTIALLY GRAVE
CONSEQUENCES. THE LONGER THE WAR LASTS, THE GREATER THE

CHANCE THAT RWANDA AND THE LARGER REGION--INCLUDING
UGANDA--WILL BE DESTABILIZED.

THIS FIGHTING IS ALL THE MORE UNNECESSARY, SINCE THE
DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN RWANDA AND RWANDA'S NEW
GOVERNMENT OFFER THE RPF THE BEST CHANCE IT HAS HAD SO FAR
TO GAIN SATISFACTION OF ITS LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES THROUGH
NEGOTIATIONS. THE CONFLICT, MOREOVER. DRAINS NOT ONLY THE
RESOURCES OF THE REGION, BUT THOSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY AS WELL. THE LATTER, AND THE UNITED STATES IN
PARTICULAR, FACE ESCALATING REQUIREMENTS FOR RELIEF TO
REFUGEES AND OTHER VICTIMS OF THE WAR.

UNFORTUNATELY, IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT
BEARS A DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CONTINUATION OF THE
FIGHTING. THE RPF SIMPLY CANNOT WAGE WAR ON SUCH A SCALE
WITHOUT OUTSIDE HELP, AND THE BULK OF THE EVIDENCE
INDICATES THAT MOST COMES FROM UGANDA. A FEW WEEKS AGO, I
EXPRESSED TO YOU MY GOVERNMENT'S SATISFACTION AT THE
COMMITMENT YOU HAD EXPRESSED TO HELP BRING ABOUT PEACE.

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NOW I MUST EXPRESS OUR DEEP CONCERN THAT, DESPITE THIS COMMITMENT, UGANDA'S ACTIONS TURN OUT TO BE PROMOTING WAR, NOT PEACE.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ENTIRE REGION, THIS WAR MUST END SOON. IF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT HAS NOT BEEN REACHED, OR AT A MINIMUM, IF A FIRM CEASEFIRE IS NOT IN PLACE BY OCTOBER 1, 1992, WE WILL HAVE NO CHOICE, GIVEN THE BURDEN THE CONFLICT PLACES ON U.S. RESOURCES, BUT TO DEDUCT WHAT IS NEEDED FOR RELIEF FOR RWANDA'S DISPLACED FROM THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WE PROVIDE TO UGANDA.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU STATED TO ME YOUR UNEQUIVOCAL COMMITMENT TO PEACE. YOU REITERATED IT IN YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH MY DEPUTY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROBERT HOUDEK, IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEK. I URGE YOU TO DO THE NECESSARY TO PUT THIS COMMITMENT INTO PRACTICE, BY STOPPING THE FLOW OF UGANDAN ASSISTANCE TO THE RPF AND USING YOUR INFLUENCE WITH THE RPF TO ENSURE THAT THEY NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY AND ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE. I URGE YOU, IN PARTICULAR, TO PRESS THE RPF TO COME TO THE JULY 10 TALKS WITH CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR A CEASEFIRE. WE WILL DO OUR PART TO CONVINCING THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE LEGITIMATE CLAIMS OF THE RPF AND THE RWANDAN REFUGEES TO RETURN TO RWANDA AND PARTICIPATE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, UGANDA, BREAKING WITH ITS UNHAPPY

PAST, HOLDS THE PROMISE OF BECOMING ONCE AGAIN A FORCE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION. I URGE YOU NOT TO

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DISAPPOINT UGANDA'S MANY FRIENDS AND TO LIVE UP TO THIS PROMISE. THE OPPORTUNITY IS AT HAND BY HELPING END THIS SENSELESS CONFLICT.

SINCERELY YOURS,

HERMAN J. COHEN

END TEXT. EAGLEBURGER

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