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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-02	/045W			

-----BDFAC 111116Z /38

O 111112Z MAY 93  
 FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1324  
 AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY  
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 DAR ES SALAAM 02474

STATE FOR AF/C-FULLER, AF/RA  
 ALSO PARIS FOR PERLOW, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: N/A  
 TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PGOV, OAU, RW, TZ  
 SUBJECT: ARUSHA TALKS: END OF MILITARY TALKS NEAR?

THE FOLLOWING REPORT WAS PROVIDED BY THE US OBSERVER  
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 02474 01 OF 03 111116Z  
 AT THE ARUSHA TALKS, JOYCE LEADER.

1. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.
2. SUMMARY: THE GOR AND RPF DELEGATIONS REPORTED TO A PLENARY SESSION ON MAY 8, 1993. THEY HAVE AGREED ON AN AMBITIOUS DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS THAT WOULD REINSERT ALL DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS INTO RWANDAN SOCIETY WITHIN ONE YEAR. THE PARTIES ARE TURNING NOW TO OUTSTANDING MILITARY ISSUES, FORCE PROPORTIONS

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BEING THE MOST CRUCIAL. THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES ON AN INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISORY FORCE REMAIN STATIONARY. THEY HOPE, HOWEVER, TO MOVE ON TO REFUGEE ISSUES IN A WEEK OR 10 DAYS. THE FACILITATOR AND OBSERVERS ARE CONTEMPLATING THE FUTURE OF THE JPMC, AND HOW TO KEEP THEIR ROLE ALIVE DURING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD. END SUMMARY.

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DEMobilIZATION PROCESS  
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3. THE RPF PRESENTED A PAPER (NOT YET AVAILABLE) TO THE FACILITATOR AND OBSERVERS IN PLENARY SESSION ON MAY 8, OUTLINING THE AGREED PRINCIPLES, MODALITIES, AND FOLLOW-ON PROCEDURES FOR THE DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS. THE AIM IS TO FIND A SUITABLE PLACEMENT IN THE SOCIETY FOR EACH DEMOBILIZED GOR AND RPF SOLDIER ACCORDING TO HIS QUALIFICATIONS AND NEEDS WITHIN A STRICTLY SPECIFIED TIME FRAME. CATEGORIES ENVISIONED INCLUDE: THOSE NEEDING NO ASSISTANCE; THOSE QUALIFYING FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE; LONG AND SHORT TERM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TRAINING CANDIDATES; HANDICAPPED; THOSE WHOSE REINSERTION DEPENDS ON THE REFUGEE RETURN PROGRAM; AND OTHERS. THE PLAN CALLS FOR PLACEMENT TO BEGIN ABOUT SIX MONTHS AFTER THE SOLDIERS ARRIVE IN ASSEMBLY-POINTS, DEPENDING ON THEIR CATEGORY, AND BE COMPLETED WITHIN THREE TO FOUR MONTHS THEREAFTER. ALL DEMOBILIZED PERSONNEL ARE TO RECEIVE VETERAN'S BENEFITS, INVOLVING FREE MEDICAL CARE, TAX EXEMPTIONS, FREE SCHOOLING FOR TWO CHILDREN, FOR A LENGTH OF TIME YET TO BE DETERMINED. EACH DEMOBILIZED SOLDIER IS TO RECEIVE A LUMP SUM PAYMENT BEFORE LEAVING THE ASSEMBLY POINT, RANGING BETWEEN ABOUT RWANDAN FRANC 100,000 (USD 700) AND RWANDAN FRANC 500,000 (USD 3,500), DEPENDING ON RANK.

4. STILL OUTSTANDING IS THE ISSUE OF WHETHER THOSE SOLDIERS IDENTIFIED FOR DEMOBILIZATION WILL BE SEPARATED FROM THOSE SLATED TO REMAIN IN THE ARMY PRIOR TO TAKING UP AN ASSIGNED POSITION IN THE CIVILIAN SECTOR. THE GOR CONTINUES TO ARGUE FOR SEPARATION ON GROUNDS THAT THEIR NEEDS WILL IMMEDIATELY BECOME DIFFERENT. THE RPF CONTINUES TO SEE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR SEPARATION.

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5. COMMENT: NEITHER SIDE HAS OFFERED U.S. OBSERVER A CONVINCING ARGUMENT FOR ITS PREFERENCE OR THE SEPARATION ISSUE. INDEED, THE RPF SAID IT WAS QUITE CONTENT IF ITS POSITION SUGGESTS A STRATEGY TO KEEP ITS FORCES TOGETHER TO USE IN CASE THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS FALTERED. IN RESPONSE TO OBSERVER'S COMMENT ABOUT THE AMBITIOUSNESS OF THE PLAN, THE GOR NOTED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 DAR ES 02474 01 OF 03 111116Z THAT IT COULD BE MODIFIED BY CONSENSUS OF THE ENLARGED GOVERNMENT. END COMMENT.

OUTSTANDING ISSUES

6. THE SIXTEEN POINTS. THE GOR AND RPF HAVE DRAWN UP A LIST OF SIXTEEN POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT ON MILITARY ISSUES. A GOR DELEGATE, WHO HELPED DEVELOP THE LIST, SAID MOST CAN BE EASILY RESOLVED. FORCES PROPORTIONS REMAINS THE CENTRAL ISSUE. AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE WILL CONSULT TANZANIAN AUTHORITIES IN DAR ES SALAAM MAY 10 ON HOW TO PROCEED WITH THIS ISSUE IN

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INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
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USIE-00 SNIS-00 NISC-02

/045W

-----BDFA6C 111119Z /38

O 111112Z MAY 93  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1325  
AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 DAR ES SALAAM 02474

STATE FOR AF/C-FULLER, AF/RA  
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LIGHT OF THEIR DISCUSSION WITH BOTH SIDES. (NOTE:  
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RWANDAN DEFENSE MINISTER GASANA VISITED DAR MAY 7  
WITH REGARD TO THIS SUBJECT. END NOTE.) MPUNGWE  
TOLD OBSERVERS HE EXPECTED TO RETURN TO ARUSHA WITH  
THE TANZANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER WHO WILL PARTICIPATE  
IN DISCUSSIONS ON FORCE PROPORTIONS.

SUPERVISORY ORGANS  
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7. INSTEAD OF PROCEEDING TO DISCUSSION OF THIS  
AGENDA ITEM, THE TWO SIDES HAVE PUT IT ON THE LIST OF  
OUTSTANDING ISSUES. THIS IMPLIES THERE HAS BEEN NO  
MOVEMENT SINCE THE TWO SIDES DEADLOCKED SOME WEEKS  
AGO OVER WHETHER THE UN OR THE OAU WOULD LEAD AN  
INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO SUPERVISE IMPLEMENTATION OF  
THE PEACE ACCORD. THE RPF CONTINUES TO BE VAGUE  
ABOUT WHETHER IT WOULD ACCEPT A UN LED FORCE.  
UGANDA'S OBSERVER TOLD THE OTHER OBSERVERS THAT  
UGANDA HAS SENT SIGNALS TO THE UN THROUGH DIPLOMATIC

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CHANNELS (HE WOULDN'T ACCEPT "DEMARCHE") ENCOURAGING THE UN TO SUPPORT OAU INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA (HE IMPLIED SUPPORT FROM START TO FINISH, NOT JUST FOR AN EXPANDED GOMN). MPUNGWE'S DEPUTY, HOWEVER, ASSURED THE U.S. OBSERVER THAT TANZANIA SUPPORTS A UN FORCE AND THAT OAU OBSERVERS ARE EXAMINING COOPERATION MODALITIES AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE TWO PARTIES AND OTHER OBSERVERS.

8. THE GOMN. BOTH SIDES ARE PREPARING LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO THE OAU/SYG, AS PROPOSED BY THE FACILITATOR, BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET BEEN SENT. ONCE  
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THEY ARE, TANZANIA MAY PRESS FOR AN OAU INITIATIVE WITH THE UN/SYG TO URGE UN COLLABORATION WITH THE OAU IN RWANDA.

9. INTERNATIONAL FORCE FOR KIGALI. THE TWO SIDES HAVE COMPLETED A JOINT PAPER TO GUIDE DISCUSSION ON THIS ISSUE AT THE HIGH LEVEL MEETING STILL EXPECTED TO BE HELD IN RWANDA SOMETIME SOON. AS DESCRIBED TO U.S. OBSERVER, THIS PAPER PROPOSES THAT THE MEETING REVIEW: 1) THE STATUS OF EFFORTS TO EXPAND THE GOMN; 2) THE STATUS OF EFFORTS TO DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO REPLACE THE FRENCH IN KIGALI, AND, 3) ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR NO.2, SHOULD THESE EFFORTS PROVE INSUFFICIENT.

REFUGEE DISCUSSIONS: COMING SOON  
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10. UPON HIS RETURN FROM DAR ES SALAAM, AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE PLANS TO REVIEW WITH EACH PARTY THE LIST OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND SET A TARGET DATE FOR BEGINNING REFUGEE DISCUSSIONS. THE THINKING NOW IS THAT MAY 17 OR LATER THAT WEEK IS LIKELY. SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE THIS ESTIMATE RESTS ON AN OVERLY OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT ON THE ABILITY OF THE TWO SIDES TO AGREE ON FORCE PROPORTIONS.

11. THE RPF SIDE BELIEVES THE GOVERNMENT HAS UNDERESTIMATED THE DIFFICULTY OF THE REFUGEE ISSUE BECAUSE IT HAS "NOT SERIOUSLY STUDIED THE ISSUE." AN RPF DELEGATE TOLD U.S. OBSERVER THAT AN RPF SURVEY IN  
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UGANDA, BURUNDI, AND TANZANIA INDICATED THAT MOST OF  
THE REFUGEES WANT TO "GO HOME" TO RWANDA. (NOTE: IN  
TANZANIA, AT LEAST, THIS FINDING CONTRADICTS THAT OF  
UNHCR. END NOTE). THE RPF DELEGATE SAID HE HAD  
ADVISED THE GOVERNMENT TO PLAN FOR VARIOUS SCENARIOS,  
WITH ONE MILLION RETURNEES AS THE HIGH ESTIMATE.  
(NOTE: GOVERNMENT PLANNING IS BASED ON AN ESTIMATED  
80,000 RETURNEES, 50,000 RURAL AND 30,000 URBAN.)  
THE RPF DELEGATE PREDICTED HIS OWN FATHER WOULD  
REMAIN IN UGANDA WHERE THE GRANDCHILDREN ARE,  
RETURNING TO RWANDA AS A VISITOR TO SEE HIS SISTER  
AND NEPHEWS.

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-----BDF A89 111120Z /38

O 111112Z MAY 93  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1326  
AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
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12. THE RPF DELEGATE RAISED ONE POTENTIALLY  
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CONTENTIOUS REFUGEE ISSUE. HE SAID THE RPF'S  
"STARTING POSITION" IS THAT ALL REFUGEES MUST RETURN  
BEFORE ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD. SIGNALLING EVENTUAL  
COMPROMISE, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE "PRACTICAL  
DIFFICULTIES" INVOLVED. BUT, HE SAID, IF AT THE END  
OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD THE CLIMATE IN THE COUNTRY  
IS NOT CONDUCIVE TO REFUGEE RETURN, IF THE GOVERNMENT  
HAS NOT TAKEN THE STEPS NECESSARY TO PREPARE FOR  
RETURN, IF NO REFUGEES HAVE RETURNED, THEN ELECTIONS  
CANNOT BE HELD. ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT RULE OUT  
ORGANIZING VOTING OUTSIDE RWANDA--INDEED HE SAID THE  
RPF COULD DO IT--HE SAID THE RPF WOULD NEVER ADVOCATE  
SUCH A SOLUTION. THE GOVERNMENT, ON THE OTHER HAND,  
IS ASSUMING ALL REFUGEES CANNOT BE BACK BEFORE THE  
END OF THE TRANSITION AND THAT SOME SORT OF ABSENTEE  
VOTING WILL BE NECESSARY.

WHITHER THE JPMC?  
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13. AT AN OBSERVER'S MEETING MAY 7, THE FUTURE OF  
THE JOINT POLITICAL MILITARY COMMISSION (JPMC) AND  
THE ROLE OF OBSERVERS IN MONITORING IMPLEMENTATION OF  
THE PEACE ACCORD CAME UP, REVEALING POTENTIAL  
DIVISION AMONG OBSERVERS. THE OAU OBSERVERS SAID IT  
WAS TIME TO STRENGTHEN THE JPMC. THE UGANDAN  
OBSERVER SUPPORTED THIS, SAYING THE JPMC'S  
COMPOSITION AND STATUS SHOULD BE REVIEWED.

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14. THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR SAID HE HAD TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO HAVE THE TWO PARTIES EXAMINE THIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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QUESTION IN DECEMBER. HE ALSO RECALLED THAT THE JULY 12 CEASE-FIRE ACCORD (ART.IV) GIVES THE JPMC RESPONSIBILITY FOR MONITORING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE ACCORD. HE SAID THIS STRUCTURE COULD BE USEFUL IN THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS, ESPECIALLY IF THERE WERE A BREAKDOWN, AND WOULD PROVIDE AN ON-GOING ROLE FOR THE OBSERVERS. HE ALSO NOTED THE NAMIBIAN CASE, BY WAY OF CONTRAST, WHERE THE COUNTRY GUARANTORS OF THE PEACE ACCORD WERE INTIMATELY ENGAGED IN GETTING THE PROCESS BACK ON TRACK AFTER SWAPO'S SURPRISE APRIL, 1989 OFFENSIVE.

15. THE U.S. OBSERVER ENDORSED THE IMPORTANCE OF A JPMC AND THE USEFULNESS OF HAVING A STRUCTURE WITHIN WHICH OBSERVERS WOULD MAINTAIN A ROLE IN IMPLEMENTATION. SHE QUERIED WHETHER THE JPMC WOULD HAVE THE APPROPRIATE COMPOSITION FOR THIS ROLE ONCE THE ENLARGED GOVERNMENT WAS IN PLACE. TANZANIA OBSERVED THAT A STRUCTURE PITTING THE RPF AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, AS DOES THE JPMC, WOULD SEEM INAPPROPRIATE.

16. COMMENT: THE OBSERVERS WILL RETURN TO THE QUESTION OF THE FUTURE OF THE JPMC AND THE ROLE OF OBSERVERS IN IMPLEMENTATION OVERSIGHT. COMMENTS WELCOME.

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