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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	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-02	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-00	SP-00
	SR-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/034W	

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O 201243Z NOV 92  
 FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9518  
 INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE  
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY BAMAKO  
 AMEMBASSY BONN  
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
 AMEMBASSY HARARE  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE //ECPLAD//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 DAR ES SALAAM 06690

AF/RA FOR COL. MARLEY, AF/C FOR CAROL FULLER

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ALSO FOR AF/E, RP

BONN FOR KLEMP, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, LONDON FOR  
MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MARR, OAU, RW, TZ  
 SUBJECT: ARUSHA V - GOING AHEAD ON NOV. 23, MILITARY  
 - INTEGRATION TO TOP AGENDA

REF: A) KIGALI 04765

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B) DAR ES SALAAM 06621 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. THE TANZANIANS, IN THEIR ROL AS FACILITATOR, CONVENED ANOTHER MEETING OF OBSERVER REPRESENTATIVES IN DAR ES SALAAM NOVEMBER 20. IT WAS AGREED THAT IN VIEW OF REQUESTS FROM BOTH SIDES THAT TALKS CONTINUE ON SCHEDULE, AND THAT A CHANGE OF AGENDA APPEARS ACCEPTABLE, TALKS WILL RECONVENE IN ARUSHA ON NOVEMBER 23, WITH MILITARY INTEGRATION BEING THE TOP ITEM ON THE AGENDA. THE TANZANIANS WILL BE PREPARED TO HOST CONTINUOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON ALL AREAS THROUGH DECEMBER 23RD, IF NEEDED. WE EXPECT, AS IN PAST SESSIONS, THAT THE DELEGATIONS WILL TRICKLE IN OVER NOVEMBER 23-24, WITH DISCUSSIONS NOT REALLY COMMENCING EARLIER THAN THE EVENING OF THE 23RD. POLOFF BENTLEY WILL REMAIN IN DAR ES SALAAM THE MORNING OF THE 23RD TO RECIEVE ANY LAST MINUTE INPUT FROM KIGALI OR THE DEPARTMENT. WE SUGGEST A U.S.

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MILITARY EXPERT BE DISPATCHED TO ARUSHA ASAP. END  
SUMMARY.

OBSERVERS MEET AGAIN  
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3. AMBASSADOR AMI MPUNGWE, MFA DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST, CONVENED A MEETING OF OBSERVER REPRESENTATIVES ON NOVEMBER 20 TO DETERMINE WHETHER TO GO AHEAD WITH THE NEXT ROUND ON NOVEMBER 23. GERMANY, BURUNDI, AND UGANDA WERE REPRESENTED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS; FRANCE AND ZAIRE BY CHARGES; AND UNDP BY A DEPUTY TO THE RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE. CHARGE AND POLOFF ATTENDED FOR THE U.S. BELGIUM DID NOT ATTEND.

4. MPUNGWE OPENED THE MEETING BY UPDATING THE ATTENDEES ON WHAT HE HAD HEARD FROM THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR IN KIGALI. IN SUM, THIS WAS THAT THE MEETINGS FACILITATED BY THE CHURCH LEADERS AMONG THE VARIOUS PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENT WERE CONTINUING BUT NO CONSENSUS ON THE ISSUES INVOLVED HAD AS YET TAKEN SHAPE. HE ADDED THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD MET WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ON NOV. 19, AND THE PRESIDENT HAD STATED THAT HE WANTED THE TALKS TO RECONVENE ON

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THE 23RD, WITH REFUGEES OR MILITARY SUBJECTS AS THE LEAD ITEMS ON THE AGENDA. MPUNGWE SAID THAT THE GOT IS AGREEABLE TO A RESUMPTION ON THE 23RD, AND TO THE CHANGE OF AGENDA, BUT HAD NOT YET GOTTEN A REACTION FROM THE RPF. HE STATED THAT PRESIDENT MWINYI REMAINED CLOSELY ENGAGED, AND WAS URGING PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN BREAKING THE  
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POLITICAL IMPASSE IN KIGALI.

RPF ON ITS WAY  
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5. UGANDAN HIGH COMMISSIONER MATOGO THEN TOLD THE MEETING THAT THE RPF WAS "ON ITS WAY" TO ARUSHA. HE HAD HEARD INFORMALLY, FROM KAMPALA, THAT THE RPF WANTED THE TALKS TO RESUME ON THE 23RD AND HAD "NO OBJECTION" TO CHANGING THE AGENDA TO OPEN WITH MILITARY INTEGRATION. KAMPALA HAD INDICATED THAT THE RPF FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF

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THE NEGOTIATIONS. THERE WAS SOME CONCERN THAT ANY  
DELAY WOULD INCREASE THE RESTLESSNESS OF THE TROOPS IN  
THE FIELD, ENDANGERING THE CEASE-FIRE.

6. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT  
TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE TALKS- HE ASKED WHAT  
THE STATE OF PLAY WAS ON MRND OBJECTIONS TO THE THREE  
ARTICLES (14, 21 AND 46) OF THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL.  
MPUNGWE ANSWERED THAT THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR IN  
KIGALI HAD APPROACHED PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FOR  
CLARIFICATION ON THIS ISSUE (THE TANZANIANS WERE  
PARTICULARLY MIFFED THAT HABYARIMANA, IN A RECENT

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SPEECH IN RUHENGERI, HAD REPORTEDLY CHARACTERIZED THE ARUSHA IV ROUND AS A "CIVIL COUP D'ETAT"). MPUNGWE SAID THAT HABYARIMANA STATED THAT THE ARTICLES IN QUESTION WERE "PROBLEMATIC," AND GREAT CARE WOULD BE NEEDED TO ENSURE THAT THEIR IMPLEMENTATION DID NOT RAISE "UNNECESSARY DIFFICULTIES." BUT HE REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL AS IT STANDS.

7. U.S. REPS ADVISED THE GROUP CONCERNING THE  
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UPCOMING CHANGE IN OUR REPRESENTATION, AND NOTED THAT SINCE WE HAD INDICATIONS FROM BOTH SIDES OF A DESIRE TO RESUME ON THE 23RD AND TO DISCUSS MILITARY INTEGRATION, THE FACILITATOR SHOULD PROCEED ON THAT BASIS.

8. THE BURUNDI AMBASSADOR, CITING A RADIO RWANDA BROADCAST THAT MORNING, SAID THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE PARTIES IN KIGALI WERE NEARING AGREEMENT AND THAT TALKS SHOULD PROCEED. THE FRENCH CHARGE AGREED WITH THIS BUT ADDED THAT TO ENABLE THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE THE APPROPRIATE EXPERTS ON HAND IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO CONFIRM THAT THE AGENDA WAS BEING CHANGED FROM POLITICAL TO MILITARY.

9. AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE AGREED THAT IT WAS LATE IN THE DAY TO SWITCH THE AGENDA, AND WAS A LITTLE WORRIED ABOUT OPENING UP A SECOND AREA OF CONTENTION, BUT SAID HE FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE TALKS GOING. THE UNDP REP INDICATED THAT HE WAS READY TO GO WHENEVER THE OTHERS WERE.

10. MATOGO REMARKED THAT THE PRIORITY FOR UGANDA WAS A SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEE QUESTION. BUT HIS GOVERNMENT REALIZED THAT THIS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO COME LAST; THERE WAS NO POINT WORKING ON REFUGEE ISSUES UNLESS SETTLEMENTS HAD BEEN REACHED IN THE OTHER AREAS. HE ADDED THAT ON THE QUESTION OF THE THREE CONTENTIOUS ARTICLES IN THE PROTOCOL, KAMPALA WOULD SUPPORT FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE MECHANISMS TO IMPLEMENT THEM BUT DID NOT WANT THE CLAUSES

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RENEGOTIATED. FOR THE AGENDA OF THE NEXT ROUND, HE  
INDICATED THAT MILITARY ISSUES WOULD ALSO BE EASIER TO  
HANDLE; THE REFUGEE QUESTIONS WOULD REQUIRE MORE  
DETAILED PREPARATION.

11. MPUNGWE SUMMED UP THE SENSE OF MEETING BY SAYING  
THAT THE TALKS WOULD RECONVENE IN ARUSHA ON NOVEMBER

23, AND THAT MILITARY INTEGRATION WOULD BE THE FIRST  
ITEM ON THE AGENDA. HE ALSO NOTED THAT OAU SECGEN  
SALIM WAS ACTIVE WITH BOTH PARTIES, PRESSING THEM TO  
BE PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC IN THEIR DEMANDS. MATOGO  
REMARKED THAT THE EXACT FORM OF THE TRANSITIONAL

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GOVERNMENT WAS LESS IMPORTANT THAN GUARANTEEING  
PARTICIPATION. UGANDA FELT THE RPF SHOULD ACCEPT  
REASONABLE OFFERS IN THIS REGARD. HE ADDED THAT ON  
THE INTEGRATION OF FORCES, UGANDA WOULD URGE THE RPF  
TO ACCEPT A PROPORTIONAL FORMULA SUBSTANTIALLY LESS  
THAN 50-50; 30 PERCENT WOULD BE ADEQUATE AND A BETTER  
EXPRESSION OF THEIR ACTUAL NUMBERS.

12. MPUNGWE, CLOSING THE MEETING, SAID THAT HE WAS  
MAKING ARRANGMENTS FOR THE TALKS TO CONTINUE THROUGH  
DECEMBER 23. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WANTED TO FINISH  
BY THE END OF THE YEAR; HE HOPED THIS WOULD BE  
POSSIBLE, AS THE RPF HAD INDICATED THEY WANTED TO  
PRESENT "A CHRISTMAS PRESENT TO THE PEOPLE OF  
RWANDA." HE CALLED THE OBSERVERS' ATTENTION TO RECENT  
INSTANCES OF MILITARY UNREST AND THE DEMONSTRATION IN  
KIGALI ON NOV. 19 AS INDICATORS OF THE NEED FOR SPEEDY  
PROGRESS. HE REITERATED THAT PRESIDENT MWINYI WAS  
FULLY COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING THE EFFORT, AND THAT  
THERE SHOULD BE "NO LIMIT" TO THE PARTIES'  
FLEXIBILITY.

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13. COMMENT. IF PAST SESSIONS ARE ANY GUIDE, WE DO NOT EXPECT TALKS TO GET FULLY UNDERWAY UNTIL LATE ON THE 23RD OR ON THE 24TH, AFTER THE PARTIES HAVE ALL TRICKLED IN. BENTLEY WILL DEPART HERE AT MIDDAY ON THE 23RD, WHICH SHOULD ALLOW TIME FOR ANY LAST-MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS OR SUGGESTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OR KIGALI. WE BELIEVE COL. MARLEY HAS ALREADY PROVIDED TO THE OAU INFORMATION ON MILITARY INTEGRATION IN THE SETTLEMENTS IN NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA; WE THINK IT MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE TO ADD ZIMBABWE TO THAT STACK AS WELL. AND WHILE WE HATE TO SPOIL COL. MARLEY'S THANKSGIVING WEEKEND, WE SUGGEST THAT HE OR ANOTHER SUITABLE MILITARY EXPERT COME TO ARUSHA BY THE 28TH OR 29TH AT THE LATEST.

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