CONFIDENTIAL

# **RELEASED IN FULL**

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- P 0312002 JUN 92 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0822 INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY NAIROBI AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
- AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 KIGALI 02255

GENEVA FOR RMA PARIS FOR FENDRICK; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, RW, BY, CG, TZ, UG SUBJECT: DURABLE SOLUTIONS FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES: CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 02255 01 OF 06 031211Z TIME TO PUSH THE PROCESS

REFS: (A) KIGALI 2140, (B) KAMPALA 2916
(C) GENEVA 1258, (D) DAR ES SALAAM 2411,
(E) 91 STATE 372569, (F) 91 BUJUMBURA 4259,
(G) 91 KAMPALA 4777, (H) KIGALI 2020
(I) GENEVA 337
(J) 91 STATE 316382
(K) KIGALI 2202
(L) STATE 17289

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: JOHN L MILLS DATE/CASE ID: 15 SEP 2008 200103014

UNCLASSIFIED

**AH37** 

UNCLASSIFIED RWANDA'S NEW MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT HAS AS 2. SUMMARY. ITS TOP PRIORITY ENDING HOSTILITIES WITH THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT. SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS IN KAMPALA WITH UGANDAN OFFICIALS AND A RPF REPRESENTATIVE HAVE BREATHED NEW LIFE IN THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE, WITH MEETINGS SET FOR EARLY JUNE BETWEEN THE GOR AND THE RPF TO DISCUSS A CEASE-FIRE AND THE AGENDA FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE (REFS A AND B). THE US SHOULD SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY OF THIS NEW MOMENTUM TO STIMULATE RENEWED ACTIVITY IN PREPARATION FOR THE UNHCR/OAU PLAN OF ACTION TO RESOLVE THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION OF 1991. ALTHOUGH FEW REFUGEES ARE LIKELY TO RETURN BEFORE PEACE AND INTERNAL SECURITY ARE ASSURED, PREPARATIONS FOR THAT EVENTUALITY, STALLED SINCE FEBRUARY AND LAGGING SORELY BEHIND IN SOME COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, SHOULD BEGIN AGAIN NOW. RWANDA'S NEW MINISTER FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, LANDO NDASINGWA, PLANS TO STEP UP THE PACE OF RWANDAN PREPARATIONS FOR REFUGEE RETURN AND WILL PUT HIS COUNTRY'S CASE FOR RENEWED ACTIVITY BEFORE UN HIGH CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 02255 01 OF 06 031211Z COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES IN GENEVA IN EARLY JUNE. END SUMMARY.

# RENEWED MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE

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THE MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT THAT TOOK OFFICE IN 3. RWANDA IN MID-APRIL, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF AN OPPOSITION PRIME MINISTER MADE ENDING THE 18-MONTH OLD WAR WITH THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) ITS TOP PRIORITY. FOLLOWING THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S TRIP TO KAMPALA MAY 22-24, A MEETING BETWEEN THE GOR AND THE RPF IS SET FOR EARLY JUNE IN PARIS. MODALITIES OF A CEASE-FIRE, IDENTIFICATION OF THE POLITICAL ISSUES TO BE NEGOTIATED AND A SCHEDULE FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE ON THE AGENDA. A/S FOR AFRICA, AMBASSADOR HERMAN COHEN, WHO RECENTLY VISITED BOTH UGANDA AND RWANDA, CONCLUDED THAT THE TIME IS RIPE FOR A SOLUTION TO THE WAR. OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM SUBSEQUENTLY ECHOED THIS SENTIMENT TO KIGALI DIPLOMATS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. NO ONE IN THE GOVERNMENT IS UNDER ANY ILLUSION THAT RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT WILL BE QUICK OR EASY. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, DETERMINED TO END THE FIGHTING, WHICH IS CRIPPLING RWANDA'S ECONOMY AND

UNCLASSIFIED PROVIDING EXCUSES FOR ETHNIC VIOLENCE AND INTERNAL INSECURITY.

#### RENEWED MOMENTUM ON REFUGEE REPATRIATION

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4. CLOSELY LINKED IN THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM TO ENDING CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 02255 01 OF 06 0312112 THE WAR IS RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. THE PRIME MINISTER, IN PRESENTING HIS PROGRAM, COMMITTED THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT TO:

-- CONTINUING COLLABORATION WITH UNHCR AND THE OAU TO FINALIZE THE PLAN OF ACTION FOR REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES;

-- SEEKING AN EXHAUSTIVE CENSUS OF RWANDAN REFUGEES;

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P 031200Z JUN 92

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0823

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY NAIROBI AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY KAMPALA AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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-- GUARANTEEING REFUGEES THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS;

-- DISCUSSING WITH THE REFUGEES THEMSELVES THE PRACTICAL MODALITIES OF THEIR REPATRIATION OR THEIR INSTALLATION IN THE COUNTRY OF THEIR CHOICE, WITH DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA;

-- NEGOTIATING A SOLUTION TO THE REFUGEE PROBLEM WITH THE PRINCIPAL ASYLUM COUNTRIES;

-- INVOLVING ALL THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MORAL FORCES OF THE COUNTRY IN THE DIALOGUE WITH THE REFUGEES;

-- ESTABLISHING A DIVISION IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS CHARGED WITH CONDUCTING THE DIALOGUE WITH THE REFUGEES, CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN TO SENSITIZE THE RWANDAN POPULATION TO THE RETURN AND REINTEGRATION OF REFUGEES, IDENTIFYING REINSTALLATION SITES, AND CONDUCTING A STUDY OF THEIR PREPARATION.

5. THE MINISTER FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, LANDO NDASINGWA (THE ONLY TUTSI IN THE GOVERNMENT), TOLD THE EMBASSY THAT HIS PRIMARY EMPHASIS DURING HIS TIME IN GOVERNMENT (HE PLANS TO RETURN TO BUSINESS AFTER THE

UNCLASSIFIED TRANSITION) WILL BE RESOLUTION OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EMBASSY AND UNHCR/KIGALI REPRESENTATIVE HE HAS SAID HIS ENERGIES WILL INITIALLY FOCUS ON:

-- ESTABLISHING A REFUGEE DIVISION: THE GOR SOUGHT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 02255 02 OF 06 031213Z ADVISE FROM UNHCR ABOUT HOW TO ORGANIZE ITS NEW REFUGEE OFFICE. THE PROPOSAL IS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND A DIRECTOR GENERAL HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED.

-- DEVELOPING A SENSITIZATION CAMPAIGN: THE MINISTER PRESENTED A/S COHEN WITH A USD 160,000 PROPOSAL, DRAWN UP JOINTLY WITH UNHCR/KIGALI, FOR USING THE GOVERNMENT'S POPULAR EDUCATION NETWORK TO SENSITIZE RWANDANS TO THE RETURN OF REFUGEES. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THE CAMPAIGN SHOULD BEGIN IN MAY, BUT LACK OF FUNDS AND THE ABSENSE OF CONCRETE PLANS WILL DELAY START UP. UNHCR/KIGALI HAS ARGUED TO ITS GENEVA HEADQUARTERS THAT THIS CAMPAIGN, AS IMPORTANT TO THE PREPARATION OF THE PLAN OF ACTION AS ARE THE INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS IN ASYLUM COUNTRIES, SHOULD BE ADDED TO THE PLAN OF ACTION PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES AND FUNDED FROM DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THAT PURPOSE. ALTERNATIVELY, UNHCR/KIGALI SUGGESTS INCLUDING FUNDING FOR THE CAMPAIGN UNDER A PROPOSED PROJECT FOR REPATRIATION OF INDIVIDUAL RWANDAN REFUGEES, NOW ARRIVING SPORADICALLY IN THE COUNTRY. (NOTE: THIS PROJECT IS UNDER REVIEW IN UNHCR'S ANNUAL TARGET REVIEW.)

-- PROVIDING PASSPORTS FOR REFUGEES: THE OFFER OF PASSPORTS FOR REFUGEES HAS BEEN ON THE TABLE FOR OVER A YEAR. THE GOVERNMENT IS BEGINNING TO DISCUSS THE IMPLICATIONS OF FULFILLING THIS PROMISE, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO THE ROLE OF THE REFUGEES HOLDING PASSPORTS IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, IN PARTICULAR IN VOTING IN THE ELECTIONS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE OVER THE NEXT YEAR.

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 02255 02 OF 06 031213Z -- ESTABLISHING DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE REFUGEES: THE

MINISTER HAS ASKED UNHCR FOR ASSISTANCE IN THIS. HE SUGGESTED TO UNHCR THAT HE INVITE REFUGEES TO A MEETING IN KIGALI TO DISCUSS REPATRIATION.

-- NEGOTIATING WITH UGANDA ON REFUGEE ISSUES: RESOLUTION OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM WILL BE ON THE AGENDA OF A BILATERAL WORKING LEVEL MEETING IN KIGALI ABOUT JUNE 10.

-- LAUNCHING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES: THE MINISTER

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OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TOLD DIPLOMATS THAT THE SOCIAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY WOULD CONDUCT THESE STUDIES WITH UNDP FUNDING.

6. IN A MEETING MAY 27, PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ADVISED WESTERN DIPLOMATS THAT RWANDA WOULD NEED HELP TO TRULY INTEGRATE RETURNING REFUGEES INTO RWANDAN SOCIETY. HE NOTED THAT THE WORLD BANK MAY NOT HAVE TAKEN RETURNING REFUGEES INTO ITS CALCULATIONS (REF K).

#### MINISTER TO DEMARCHE UNHCR

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7. MINISTER NDASINGWA WILL BE IN GENEVA JUNE 5-6 TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ILO ANNUAL MEETING. HE INDICATED TO UNHCR/KIGALI REPRESENTATIVE HIS INTEREST IN MEETING REFUGEE HIGH COMMIISSIONER SADAKO OGATA EITHER JUNE 4 OR 5. HIS DEMARCHE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH HE MADE MAY 11 TO A/S COHEN (REF H):

-- DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PUSH BURUNDI AND ZAIRE TO ALLOW UNHCR CONSULTANTS TO CONDUCT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEYS OF THE REFUGEE POPULATION CALLED FOR PRIOR TO FORMULATION OF THE PLAN OF ACTION.

-- HOLD A UNHCR/OAU/UNDP MEETING TO EVALUATE THE STATUS OF PREPARATION FOR THE PLAN OF ACTION FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES AND DETERMINE THE NEXT STEPS.

-- CALL A MEETING OF DONORS TO EXAMINE THE OUTCOME OF THE UNHCR/OAU/UNDP MEETING.

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-- HIRE RWANDANS AT UNHER TO BALANCE THE BURUNDIANS ALREADY ON THE STAFF.

PROGRESS TO DATE IN RWANDA

8. THE MINISTER WILL ALSO REMIND HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA THAT RWANDA HAS ALREADY PASSED AN AMNESTY LAW FOR RETURNING REFUGEES, IDENTIFIED REINTEGRATION SITES AND HAD UNHCR CONDUCT AN INITIAL STUDY OF POTENTIAL REINTEGRATION ACTIVITIES. THE LAW, ABSOLVING REFUGEES OF CRIMES THEY MAY HAVE COMMITTED BEFORE THE LAW TOOK EFFECT, WAS PROMULGATED IN DECEMBER 1991. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPROVED 17,000 HECTARES OF LAND LAST NOVEMBER FOR REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS DEVELOPED IN CONJUNCTION WITH UNHCR BY THE SPECIAL COMMISSION ON THE PROBLEM OF RWANDAN EMIGRES.

9. IN NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1991, A UNHCR CONSULTING TEAM SURVEYED THE IDENTIFIED SITES, ASSESSED THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN RWANDA AND MADE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN INITIAL REINTEGRATION STRATEGY. THE STRATEGY, DESCRIBED IN A FEBRUARY 1992 REPORT MADE AVAILABLE TO THE DCM, PROPOSES A 3-YEAR, PHASED RETURN OF APPROXIMATELY 55,000 REFUGEES TO IDENTIFIED RURAL AREAS AS WELL AS TO FAMILIES OF ORIGIN OR TO INDIVIDUAL LOCATIONS. THE TEAM INVESTIGATED BOTH FARM AND NON-FARM ACTIVITIES FOR RETURNEES. THE TEAM'S FINDINGS INDICATED THAT THE IDENTIFIED LAND WAS INSUFFICIENT FOR EXTENSIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 02255 03 OF 06 031215Z CATTLE RAISING (WHERE CATTLE RANGE OVER A LARGE AREA), WHEREAS INTENSIVE CATTLE RAISING (WHERE SEVERAL FAMILIES WITH ONE OR TWO CATTLE EACH SHARE 5-6 HECTARES) MIGHT BE FEASIBLE. THE TEAM SUGGESTED OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES IN THE AREAS OF CONSTRUCTION, SMALL BUSINESS, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH MIGHT BE AVAILABLE TO RETURNEES IN AND AROUND THE SETTLEMENT AREAS. THE GOVERNMENT IS STUDYING THE REPORT:

10. MEANWHILE, UNDP IS DEVELOPING TERMS OF REFERENCE

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FOR AN INTEGRATION STUDY, PRESUMABLY FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS THAT WOULD PICK UP WHERE UNHCR'S ROLE ENDS.

PREPARATIONS IN THE REGION

11. RWANDA'S MINISTER WILL ALSO NO DOUBT REMIND THE HIGH COMMISSIONER THAT WHILE UGANDA AND TANZANIA HAVE COOPERATED WITH UNHCR IN CONDUCTING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEYS CALLED FOR IN THE PREPARATORY PHASE OF THE PLAN OF ACTION, BURUNDI AND ZAIRE HAVE NOT. HE WILL PROBABLY NOTE THAT THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK ENABLING REFUGEES TO CHOOSE NATURALIZATION IN THE COUNTRY OF ASYLUM IS YET TO BE PUT IN PLACE EVERYWHERE EXCEPT TANZANIA, WHERE PROCESSING OF NATURALIZATION APPLICATIONS REMAINS SLOW.

12. BURUNDI IS THE MOST EGREGIOUS OF THE NEIGHBORS IN ITS BACKSLIDING ON THE DAR-ES-SALAAM COMMITMENTS (REF F). IT HAS NOT YET PERMITTED THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY NOR DONE ANYTHING ABOUT THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK. AT A DECEMBER 1991 MEETING OF DONORS ON THE REFUGEE ISSUE, THE BURUNDI AMBASSADOR SAID THAT BURUNDI COULD NOT/NOT BE COUNTED ON TO IMPLEMENT ITS COMMITMENT TO NATURALIZATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. HE CITED RECEPTION OF ITS OWN REFUGEES (CLAIMING 18,000 HAD ALREADY RETURNED) AS AN INHIBITING REASON. HE STATED THAT BURUNDI WOULD NOT REFOULE THE REFUGEES, BUT HE SAID TO GRANT THEM NATURALIZATION OR ALLOW THEM TO STAY AS RWANDAN CITIZENS WILL BE DIFFICULT.

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 02255 04 OF 06 031217Z 13. THE UPHEAVAL IN ZAIRE LAST FALL HAS PREVENTED FORWARD MOVEMENT ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAN OF ACTION IN THAT COUNTRY. THERE ARE, NEVERTHELESS, SERIOUS QUESTIONS OUTSTANDING. THE STATUS OF RWANDAN REFUGEES IN KIVU IS PARAMOUNT. IN 1972 ALL WERE ACCORDED ZAIREAN CITIZENSHIP. IN 1987/88 THIS CITIZENSHIP WAS WITHDRAWN. RWANDANS RESIDENT IN KIVU UPWARDS OF 30 YEARS DO NOT ACCEPT THIS CHANGE AND HAVE REFUSED TO COOPERATE WITH A 1991 CENSUS IN THE KIVU REGION.

14. UGANDA IS ALSO A WORRY TO UNHCR/KIGALI REPRESENTATIVE. ITS NATURALIZATION LEGISLATION HAS BEEN PENDING FOR OVER TWO YEARS AND DOESN'T INCLUDE PROVISION

FOR NATURALIZATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES (REF G). THE UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE HAS URGED UNHCR LEGAL OFFICER KIMBIMBI TO PREPARE A MEMORANDUM ON THE FINDINGS OF HIS REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE PROVIDED UNHCR ON THE LEGAL SITUATIONS IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION IN ORDER TO PROMOTE DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE.

THE ROLE OF REGIONAL SKEPTICISM

15. RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS HAVE BEEN UNIVERSALLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT RWANDA'S COMMITMENT TO RESOLVING ITS REFUGEE PROBLEM. THEY CLAIMED THAT RWANDA WAS NOT SERIOUS, THAT HABYARIMANA STILL RETAINS CONTROL, THAT RWANDA IS NOT SAFE FOR REFUGEE RETURN. THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS HELPING TO CHANGE THIS ATTITUDE, AS VISITS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO BURUNDI AND UGANDA LEFT OFFICIALS OF THOSE COUNTRIES REPORTEDLY BELIEVING HE IS SINCERE IN HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 02255 04 OF 06 031217Z EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE AND IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS.

16. NEVERTHELESS, THIS REGIONAL SKEPTICISM IS REFLECTED IN UNHCR DOCUMENTATION. THE REPORT OF THE FEBRUARY 7 UNHCR/OAU MEETING ON RWANDAN REFUGEES EXPRESSED PESSIMISM ABOUT FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES FOR THE PLAN OF ACTION UNTIL THERE IS A SOLUTION TO THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE REGION (REF C). AM APRIL 7 REPORT TO THE UNHCR SUB-COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL MATTERS

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 NSCE-00
 OIC-02
 OMB-01
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 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 /060W -----39F380 031226Z /48 P 031200Z JUN 92 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0826 INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY NAIROBI AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY KAMPALA AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 KIGALI 02255 GENEVA FOR RMA PARIS FOR FENDRICK; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, RW, BY, CG, TZ, UG SUBJECT: DURABLE SOLUTIONS FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES: CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL KIGALI 02255 05 OF 06 031218Z PAGE 02 (SCAF) PROJECTING POSSIBLE VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION PROGRAMS FOR 1992 (SHARED WITH DCM BY UNHCR/KIGALI), FAILS TO MENTION STALLED PROGRESS IN THE REGION ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAN OF ACTION AND HOLDS "INTERNAL EVENTS IN RWANDA" RESPONSIBLE FOR DELAYING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN OF ACTION. (IN CONTRAST, CONSTRAINTS TO REPATRIATION TO BURUNDI ARE CITED IN THE SCAF REPORT AS "LOGISTICAL" WHICH WILL BE OVERCOME BY THE OPENING OF A UNHCR OFFICE IN KIGOMA, TANZANIA.) EVEN HIGH COMMISIONER OGATA APPARENTLY WANTS TO WAIT FOR THE END OF THE CONFLICT BEFORE MOVING FORWARD ON THE

#### RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM (REF L).

PLAN OF ACTION DISTINCT FROM PREPARATIONS

17. UNHCR AFRICA DIRECTOR BWAKIRA WAS CORRECT IN SAYING THAT REPATRIATION TO RWANDA MUST WAIT FOR A CEASE-FIRE AMD THE BEGINNING OF THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE (REF I). CLEARLY, BEFORE ANY PLAN OF ACTION CAN BE IMPLEMENTED BOTH THE WAR AND THE INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL SO THAT REFUGEES CAN RETURN IN SAFETY AWD DIGNITY. HOWEVER, BEFORE THEY CAN BE EXPECTED TO CHOOSE AMONG THE DAR ES SALAAM OPTIONS, THEY MUST BE EQUALLY ABLE TO CHOOSE NATURALIZATION OR LOCAL INTEGRATION. THEREFORE, PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAN OF ACTION, BOTH IN RWANDA AND IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO STALL UNTIL PEACE AND SECURITY ARE ARRANGED. IF THEY ARE, IMPLEMENTATION WILL BE FUTHER DELAYED WHILE THE COUNTRIES WORK OUT THE DETAILS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 02255 05 OF 06 031218Z NECESSARY TO OFFER REFUGEES A REAL CHOICE BETWEEN REPATRIATION, NATURALIZATION, OR LOCAL SETTLEMENT.

IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY

18. THE U.S. REMAINS COMMITTED TO ENCOURAGING RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA AND FINDING A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM (REF J). USING THE RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA AND THE MOMENTUM TOWARD A CEASE-FIRE AND POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE RPF AS AN IMPETUS, AS WELL AS THE MAY 11 DEMARCHE TO A/S COHEN BY THE RWANDAN MINISTER OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, THE U.S. SHOULD APPROACH UNHCR TO:

-- URGE THAT IT MOVE AHEAD ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAN OF ACTION TO RESOLVE THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM, STALLED SINCE COMPLETION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDIES IN RWANDA, TANZANIA, AND UGANDA.

-- ASK FOR A READ-OUT ON THE MAY MEETING OF THE UNHCR TASK FORCE CALLED FOR AT THE FEBRUARY 7 UNHCR/OAU MEETING TO REVIEW PROGRESS TOWARD THE PLAN OF ACTION.

-- PUSH FOR A UNHCR/OAU MEETING TO REVIEW THE STATUS OF

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PLAN OF ACTION AND TO REPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FEBRUARY 7 MEETING.

-- ENCOURAGE UNHCR/OAU TO REPEAT ITS DEMARCHES TO ZAIRE AND BURUNDI (PRESUMING THEY HAVE BEEN MADE) TO PERMIT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 02255 05 OF 06 031218Z THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDIES OF RWANDAN REFUGEES.

-- ENCOURAGE UNHCR/OAU TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS ON NATURALIZATION AND LOCAL SETTLEMENT OPTIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE REGION.

-- SUPPORT UNHER FINANCING FOR A SENSITIZATION CAMPAIGN IN RWANDA NOW.

-- ENCOURAGE A DRAFT PLAN OF ACTION TO BE DRAWN UP SOON.

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INFO LOG-00 COR-01 AF-01 AID-01 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09 HHS-04 INRE-00 INR-01 IO-19 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02 SR-01 VO-06 FMP-01 /063W ------3F3BF1 160901Z /38 P 031200Z JUN 92 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0827

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY NAIROBI AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY KAMPALA AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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CORRECTEDCOPY (PARAS 19 AND 20)

GENEVA FOR RMA PARIS FOR FENDRICK; LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, RW, BY, CG, TZ, UG CONFIDENTIAL

#### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 02255 06 OF 06 160854Z SUBJECT: DURABLE SOLUTIONS FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES:

-- URGE UNHER TO ENCOURAGE THE GOVERNMENTS OF RWANDA AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION TO MAKE THEIR PLANS FOR REINTEGRATION ACTIVITIES MORE CONCRETE. IN PARTICULAR, UNHER SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION TO DEVELOP MECHANISMS FOR INVOLVING UNDP AND THE WORLD BANK IN PRACTICAL ANALYSIS AND JOINT PROJECT PLANNING (NOT JUST IN FINANCING STUDIES) FOR INTEGRATION AND REINTEGRATION.

19. THE U.S. SHOULD SUPPORT UNHER DEMARCHES WITH DEMARCHES OF IT OWN. 20. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL FOR RMA/GENEVA TO TALK WITH MINISTER NDASINGWA WHILE HE IS IN GENEVA.

TO TALK WITH MINISTER NDASINGWA WHILE HE IS IN GENEVA. THE MINISTER, WHO HAS ALREADY DEPARTED KIGALI, COULD BE CONTACTED VIA THE RWANDAN DELEGATION AT THE ILO MEETINGS.

CONCLUSION

21. RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS INSIDE RWANDA AND BETWEEN RWANDA AND ITS NEIGHBORS MAKE THE TIME RIGHT FOR THE U.S. TO RENEW ITS INTEREST IN A REGIONAL SOLUTION TO

THE RWANDAN REFUGEE PROBLEM THE U.S. SHOULD ENCOURAGE UNHCR TO SEIZE THE CURRENT MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE AND A CEASEFIRE TO REINVIGORATE ITS PLANNING PROCESS TOWARD A PLAN OF ACTION TO IMPLEMENT THE DAR ES SALAAM AGREEMENT FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES.

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