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 E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: MOPS MCAP PREL RW OAU UN  
 SUBJECT: UPDATE ON RWANDA NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA: 3/26/93

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO LTC MARLEY, THE TWO PARTIES TO THE ARUSHA TALKS HAVE BEGUN NEGOTIATING THE INTEGRATION PERCENTAGES FOR THE ARMY, BUT REMAIN FAR FROM AGREEMENT. BOTH THE GOR AND RPF HAVE INDICATED TO THE UN REPRESENTATIVE THAT THEY WOULD LIKE THE PARTICIPATION OF

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THE US, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA IN THE KIGALI-BASED INTERNATIONAL MILITARY FORCE MENTIONED IN THE 7 MARCH DARES SALAAM COMMUNIQUE. END SUMMARY.

3. AF/RA MILITARY ADVISER MARLEY PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING UPDATE FROM ARUSHA MARCH 26 ON THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOR AND THE RPF.

4. THE FACILITATOR AND BOTH RWANDAN PARTIES HAVE GRASPED THE NETTLE AND INITIATED NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTEGRATION RATIOS OF THE NEW RWANDAN ARMY. RATHER THAN FACILITATING DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, TANZANIAN MINISTER KANANA AND AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE ARE SHUTTLEING BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES IN AN EFFORT TO FILTER OUT THE ACCUSATIONS AND INSULTS GENERATED BY THIS EMOTIONAL ISSUE.

5. THE INITIAL GOR PROPOSAL WAS FOR A RATIO OF 80 PERCENT GOR AND 20 PERCENT RPF. THE GOR JUSTIFIED THE PROPOSAL BY SAYING THAT THE FAR SHOULD HAVE THE LARGER PROPORTION BECAUSE IT REPORTED TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND

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BENEFITTED FROM THE SUPPORT OF THE POPULACE. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THE RPF FOUND THE GOR'S PROPOSAL UNACCEPTABLE AND ITS ARGUMENTS SPECIOUS. BIZIMUNGU, LEADER OF THE RPF DELEGATION, REPORTEDLY CALLED THE OFFER BOTH QUOTE PROVOCATIVE UNQUOTE AND A QUOTE INSULT UNQUOTE. HE ASKED IF THE GOVERNMENT REALLY BELIEVED THE FAR WAS FOUR TIMES MORE POWERFUL OR BETTER THAN THE RPF. APPARENTLY IN VINTAGE FORM, BIZIMUNGU CLAIMED THAT THE FAR WAS A DEFEATED ARMY AND THAT THE RPF SHOULD BE LISTED IN THE GUINNESS BOOK OF RECORDS FOR BEING THE FIRST ARMY IN HISTORY TO VOLUNTARILY WITHDRAW FROM TERRITORY IT HAD CAPTURED. HE THEN REPORTEDLY ASKED THE FACILITATOR TO TELL THE GOR THAT THE RPF AGREED TO A RATIO OF 80/20; 80 PERCENT FOR THE RPF AND 20 PERCENT FOR THE FAR. AFTER A PAUSE FOR CONSULTATIONS (CALLED BY THE FACILITATOR TO CALM BIZIMUNGU'S TEMPER), THE RPF PROPOSED A RATIO OF 55/45, IMPLYING (BUT NOT STATING OUTRIGHT) THAT THE RPF WOULD ACCEPT 45 PERCENT.

5. IN A MEETING CALLED BY THE FACILITATOR TO APPRISE THE OBSERVERS OF THE SITUATION AND TO SOLICIT RECOMMENDATIONS, USREP SUGGESTED THAT THE FACILITATOR DISCUSS WITH BOTH PARTIES THE POSSIBILITY OF VARIABLE INTEGRATION RATIOS (PERHAPS A 50/50 RATIO AT THE HIGH COMMAND, A DIFFERENT

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RATIO FOR THE OFFICER CORPS, AND STILL A DIFFERENT PERCENTAGE IN THE ENLISTED RANKS) AND A BALANCED DIVISION OF KEY COMMAND POSITIONS (ARMY VS. GENDARMERIE, BRIGADE AND BATTALION COMMANDS). THIS SUGGESTION WAS SECONDED BY THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVES; THE FRENCH REP STATED THAT HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOR INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD FAVOR SUCH A FORMULATION. (COMMENT: USREP

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ALSO PERCEIVES GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON THIS ISSUE ON THE PART OF THE GOR THAN ON THE PART OF THE RPF. END COMMENT.) ALL THE OBSERVERS AGREED THAT THE ISSUE WAS A POLITICAL MATTER RATHER THAN A MILITARY TECHNICAL PROBLEM, AND THAT THE OBSERVERS SHOULD REFRAIN FROM RECOMMENDING A SPECIFIC PERCENTAGE TO THE PARTIES. EITHER COLLECTIVELY OR AS INDIVIDUALS, THERE WAS ALSO UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT THAT THE GOR'S RECOMMENDATION IS TOO LOW, BUT THAT 50/50 IS TOO HIGH.

6. FOLLOWING THE MEETING WITH THE OBSERVERS, THE FACILITATOR RESUMED HIS SHUFFLE DIPLOMACY (SHUFFLING THE SHORT DISTANCE BETWEEN PARTIES IN THE HOTEL RATHER THAN SHUTTLING EXTENDED DISTANCES). ALL PRESENT BELIEVE NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS ISSUE WILL LAST 1-2 MORE DAYS.

7. THE UN GOODWILL MISSION REPRESENTATIVE INDICATED THAT BOTH THE GOR AND THE RPF HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD LIKE PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED STATES, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA IN THE KIGALI-BASED INTERNATIONAL MILITARY HUMANITARIAN FORCE CALLED FOR IN THE 7 MARCH DAR ES SALAAM COMMUNIQUE TO REPLACE FRENCH TROOPS PRESENT IN RWANDA. (DEPARTMENT COMMENT: IN A MEETING WITH A/S COHEN AND A/S DESIGNATE MOOSE MARCH 26, FRENCH DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA DE LA SABLIERE MADE CLEAR THAT THIS IS THE THIRD OF THREE SEPARATE FORCES UNDER CONSIDERATION. DISCUSSION WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL. END COMMENT.)

8. THE TANZANIANS MET WITH THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR 25 MARCH, WHO INDICATED THE RUSSIAN DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS WAS VISITING THE REGION AT THE REQUEST OF THE GOR,

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BUT THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD NO DESIRE TO JOIN THE ARUSHA PROCESS AS AN OBSERVER NOR IN ANY WAY UNDERMINE THE OAU/ARUSHA PEACE EFFORT. THE RUSSIAN DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS WILL REPORTEDLY SPEND 27 MARCH IN ARUSHA. THE TANZANIANS PLAN TO USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE PLIGHT OF UNIVERSITY AND MILITARY STUDENTS STRANDED IN THE EX-SOVIET UNION.

9. DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEGUN, IN ARUSHA AT LEAST, AMONG THE OAU REPRESENTATIVE, THE FACILITATOR, AFRICAN AMBASSADORS, THE GOR, AND THE RPF ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF REMOVING MG OPALEYE AS COMMANDER OF NMOG. THE OAU REP AND FACILITATOR REPORTEDLY PLAN TO TELEPHONE OAU SYG SALIM SALIM THE EVENING OF 26 MARCH TO RECOMMEND THAT OPALEYE BE REPLACED. SOME (NOTABLY THE GOR) WOULD LIKE HIS IMMEDIATE DISMISSAL, BUT THE CONSENSUS SEEMS TO BE TO DIRECT THAT HE BE ROTATED HOME (NIGERIA) UPON THE SIGNING OF THE CEASEFIRE.

10. THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEUTRAL SECURITY FORCE IN RWANDA DURING THE MILITARY INTEGRATION AND DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS.

11. COMMENT. IT WILL PROBABLY REQUIRE 24 - 36 HOURS OF PRESSURE BY THE OBSERVERS TO TRULY CONVINCED THE RPF THAT WE SEE NO SPECIAL MERIT IN THEIR DESIRE FOR A 50-50 DIVISION FOR THE INTEGRATION. FOLLOWING THAT, THE REMAINING ISSUES WILL PROBABLY BE RESOLVED QUICKLY AS BOTH PARTIES ARE UNFORTUNATELY WANTING TO LEAVE A VAST ARRAY OF DETAILS TO BE DETERMINED BY THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING (UNWISELY) MOST OF THE DETAILS FOR A

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DEMOBILIZATION PROGRAM. END COMMENT.  
CHRISTOPHER

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