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PAGE 01 DAR ES 07326 01 OF 02 240550Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	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	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/024W		
				-----8A00E5	240551Z	/38	

O 240544Z DEC 92  
 FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9876  
 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 VAHINGEN GE //ECPLAD//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 07326

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

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DAR ES 07326 01 OF 02 240550Z  
ALSO FOR AF/E

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 - NEGOTIATORS SETTLE ON CABINET,  
 - MOVE ON TO TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY

REF: A) KIGALI 05287

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- B) BENTLEY-FLATEN PHONECON 12/22/92
- C) BENTLEY-FULLER PHONECONS 12/22/92
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CONFIDENTIAL - 2

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. NEGOTIATORS IN ARUSHA REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE DIVISION OF CABINET PORTFOLIOS ON DECEMBER 22 AND ANNOUNCED THIS IN A COMMUNIQUE ISSUED LATE THAT EVENING. THE PARTIES WANT TO PRESS AHEAD ON THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES, REFUGEES AND THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF INTEGRATION OF FORCES, THEN SIGN A PROTOCOL ON THESE ELEMENTS BEFORE TAKING A BREAK. END SUMMARY.

3. OAU ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL MAPURANGA ADVISED POLOFF ON DEC. 22 THAT THE PARTIES HAD ACHIEVED A "BREAKTHROUGH," AND HAD AGREED ON THE ALLOCATION OF PORTFOLIOS IN THE TRANSITIONAL CABINET. THE FORMULA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DAR ES 07326 01 OF 02 240550Z  
HE DESCRIBED MATCHES EXACTLY THE ONE OUTLINED TO AMB. FLATEN BY PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE ON DEC. 22 (REFTEL A). MAPURANGA WAS NOT AWARE THAT THIS PROPOSAL WAS UNDER DISCUSSION IN KIGALI. MAPURANGA SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE DRIVING FORWARD BECAUSE THE PARTIES WERE DETERMINED TO TRY TO WRAP UP A PROTOCOL. HE ADDED THAT THEY PLANNED TO START ON THE TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY ON DEC. 23, THEN TAKE UP OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES, SUCH AS THE CLEAN-UP OF THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE DURATION OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD. AFTER THAT, THEY WOULD MOVE ON TO REFUGEES, THEN THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MILITARY INTEGRATION; I.E., THE SIZE OF THE FORCE AND THE PERCENTAGE OF RPF PARTICIPATION. MAPURANGA WAS OPTIMISTIC, SAYING THAT THE PARTIES WERE DETERMINED TO PRESS ON AND SIGN A PROTOCOL BEFORE THEY LEFT ARUSHA. THEY WOULD TAKE A BREAK, THEN RETURN TO RESUME ON THE TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF MILITARY INTEGRATION. POLOFF RELAYED TO MAPURANGA THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED IN REF B PHONECON THAT THE ARUSHA PROCESS WAS GETTING AHEAD OF THE STATE OF PLAY IN KIGALI; MAPURANGA PROMISED TO SHARE THIS WITH THE OTHER OBSERVERS AND THE FACILITATOR BUT SAID THE PARTIES WERE DETERMINED TO PRESS ON.

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4. ON DEC. 22 AND DEC. 23 POLOFF SPOKE WITH JEAN-CHRISTOPHE BELLIARD, THE FRENCH OBSERVER IN ARUSHA; HE ADVISED THAT THE JPMC MEETING ON DEC. 22 HAD CONSIDERED THE NMOG COMMANDERS REPORT; THE RPF HAD RAISED THE FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE IN THEIR REMARKS, BUT THAT EVERYONE WAS IN A GOOD MOOD BECAUSE OF THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 DAR ES 07326 01 OF 02 240550Z  
AGREEMENT ON THE CABINET SO THE SESSION WAS NON-CONTENTIOUS. THE GOR AND THE RPF HAVE BOTH SUBMITTED THEIR FORMAL REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONS REGARDING FOREIGN TROOPS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE MILITARIES FROM THE NMOG COMMANDER; THE RPF SAID THEY DIDN'T HAVE ANY; THE GOR ADMITTED THE FRENCH PRESENCE BUT SAID IT WAS ALL COVERED BY PRE-EXISTING BILATERAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

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AGREEMENTS. THE FRENCH ARE SUPPORTING THIS POSITION;  
NMOG COMPLAINED OF AN INABILITY TO VERIFY THE EXTENT  
OF THE FRENCH ROLE BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF COOPERATION  
FROM THE GOR. THE JPMC MEETING ON THE MORNING OF DEC.  
23 WAS MORE CONTENTIOUS; BELLIARD SAID THE PARTIES  
WASTED THREE HOURS IN AN ARGUMENT OVER THE TWO SIDES  
BEING ENGAGED IN A MILITARY BUILDUP, AND WHO WAS  
RESPONSIBLE, AND THE AMOUNT OF EFFORT AND MONEY BEING  
WASTED. THE GOR DRAGGED IN THE UGANDAN ROLE, AND THE  
UGANDAN REPRESENTATIVE GOT VERY HUFFY AND ALMOST  
WALKED OUT, ETC. EVENTUALLY THE DISCUSSION PETERED  
OUT WHEN EVERYONE REALIZED THEY WERE GOING NOWHERE.

5. MORE OPTIMISTICALLY, BELLIARD SAID THAT FONMIN  
NGULINZIRA, ALTHOUGH AWARE OF SOME ADVERSE REACTION IN  
KIGALI TO THE COMMUNIQUE ANNOUNCING THE AGREEMENT ON  
THE CABINET, THOUGHT THAT IT WAS "NOT TOO NEGATIVE"

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AND THAT EVENTUALLY THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE ACCEPTED. BELLARD ADDED THAT THE TWO SIDES NOW FAVORED GIVING THE TWO UNALLOCATED SEATS IN THE CABINET TO INDEPENDENT PERSONS, AS THE NON-CONCERTATION PARTIES

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03            DAR ES 07326 02 OF 02 240552Z  
ALL FAILED TO MEET THE BISHOP'S CRITERIA FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. DISCUSSION ON THIS WAS CONTINUING THE AFTERNOON OF DEC. 23.

7. COMMENT: FROM OUR ADMITTEDLY LIMITED PERSPECTIVE, IT LOOKS TO US LIKE THE GOR NEGOTIATING TEAM, IN CAHOOTS WITH THE RPF, HAS PRESENTED THE MRND WITH A DONE DEAL. FURTHER ADMONITIONS TO THE FACILITATOR OR THE OBSERVERS NOT TO LET THE ARUSHA PROCESS GET OUT AHEAD OF DISCUSSIONS IN KIGALI WOULD PROBABLY BE A WASTE OF BREATH; NGULINZIRA, WITH OR WITHOUT THE BLESSING OF HIS PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER, IS GOING AHEAD AND THE RPF IS GOING ALONG. THE OBSERVERS AND THE FACILITATOR, HAVING WAITED IN ARUSHA FOR A MONTH WHILE THE PARTIES IN KIGALI DITHERED, ALSO FEEL THE TWO SIDES SHOULD PRESS AHEAD. THE TANZANIANS IN PARTICULAR AND THE AFRICAN OBSERVERS GENERALLY ARE BANKING ON HABYARIMANA'S REPEATED ASSURANCES THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT THE OUTCOME OF THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS. THE EUROPEANS MAY HAVE THEIR DOUBTS, BUT DO NOT WANT TO BE ACCUSED OF OBSTRUCTING THE PROCESS. THE TANZANIANS BELIEVE THAT HABYARIMANA, HAVING MADE HIS COMMITMENT DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT MWINYI, WILL, ALBEIT RELUCTANTLY, HAVE TO KEEP HIS PROMISES. OUR COLLEAGUES IN KIGALI CAN TELL BETTER THAN WE WHETHER THESE EXPECTATIONS ARE REALISTIC.

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PAGE 04            DAR ES 07326 02 OF 02 240552Z  
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