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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 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00

TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 /024W

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9592

AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY HARARE

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 06819

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RW

SUBJECT: ARUSHA V: WAITING FOR THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS'

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REFS: (A) BENTLEY-FLATEN PHONECON 11/26/92, (B) FULLER-BENTLEY PHONECON 11/26/92, (C) FULLER-BENTLEY PHONECON 11/25/92, (D) DAR ES SALAAM 6786

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. FOLLOWING DRAFTED BY POLOFF BENTLEY IN ARUSHA MIDDAY NOVEMBER 27.
- 3. SUMMARY: THE RPF AND GOR CONTINUED TO HOLD

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INCONCLUSIVE DISCUSSIONS NOVEMBER 26-27 WHILE WAITING FOR WORD OF THE OUTCOME OF THE NOVEMBER 27 CABINET MEETING. THE OBSERVERS MET WITH THE FACILITATOR TANZANIA TO CONSIDER STEPS TO TAKE IF THE NOVEMBER 27 CABINET SESSION DOES NOT PRODUCE THE HOPED-FOR RESULT. END SUMMARY.

4. AFTER GOR FONMIN NGULINZIRA TOLD THE NOVEMBER 25
PLENARY MEETING THAT HE HAD A MANDATE TO DISCUSS
POLITICAL ISSUES, SEVERAL MEMBERS OF HIS OWN DELEGATION
EXPRESSED, IN PRIVATE, CONTRARY VIEWS. REF C PHONECON
INDICATED THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD, AT THE LEAST,
MISSPOKE HIMSELF AND STIRRED UP A STORM IN KIGALI.
CONTRARY TO CONCERNS EXPRESSED IN KIGALI ON NOVEMBER 25
AND 26, HOWEVER, (REF A,B,C PHONECONS), THE GOR AND RPF
TEAMS DID NOT ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THE
OUTSTANDING POLITICAL ISSUES, I.E., SHARING OF
PORTFOLIOS AND THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE
RPF-GOR MEETING THAT FOLLOWED THE NOVEMBER 25 PLENARY
CONCENTRATED MOSTLY ON MODALITIES FOR IMPLEMENTING
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ARTICLE 14 OF THE PROTOCOL. ON NOVEMBER 26, THE GOR
TEAM SPENT MOST OF THE DAY IN DISCUSSIONS WITH ITSELF,
AS SEVERAL MRND MEMBERS HAD RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE
EXTENT OF THE FONMIN'S MANDATE. THE FONMIN HIMSELF TOLD
THE OBSERVERS ON NOVEMBER 26 THAT ALL HE HAD WAS A
TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE PRIME MINISTER, INSTRUCTING HIM
TO DISCUSS POLITICAL ISSUES IN A GENERAL WAY TO KEEP THE
RPF AT THE TABLE, AND TO RE-EXAMINE ARTICLE 14. HE WAS
TO KEEP TALKING WITHOUT MAKING ANY SUBSTANTIVE
COMMITMENTS UNTIL HE RECEIVED FORMAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM
KIGALI.

- 4. IN SHORT, NGULINZIRA IS STALLING UNTIL HE GETS THE PROPOSAL BEING PREPARED BY THE BISHOPS (REF A PHONECON). THE RPF HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THEIR OWN SOURCES, AND IS WELL AWARE OF WHAT IS GOING ON. THEY, HOWEVER, HAVE DECIDED NOT TO PRESS HARD AT THIS JUNCTURE BUT TO AWAIT WORD FROM KIGALI.
- 5. THE OBSERVERS MET ON NOVEMBER 26 WITH TANZANIAN CHIEF SECRETARY PAUL RUPIA (THE GOT CHIEF SECRETARY IS THE PRESIDENT'S CHIEF OF STAFF). RUPIA FELT THAT THE FACILITATOR AND THE OBSERVERS SHOULD TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN HELPING THE PARTIES -- BOTH IN ARUSHA AND IN

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KIGALI -- SURMOUNT THEIR OBSTACLES. HE CALLED ON THE OBSERVERS TO ORGANIZE JOINT DEMARCHES ON THE PARTIES TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. HE ALSO THOUGHT THE OBSERVERS AND FACILITATOR SHOULD BE READY TO OFFER PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN TO HELP THE PARTIES BREAK FUTURE LOGJAMS.

6. ONE IDEA FLOATED BY THE UGANDAN OBSERVER IS THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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GOR AND RPF SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO DISCUSS SOME SORT OF
AMNESTY FOR ALL PARTIES. THE UGANDANS EVIDENTLY FEEL
THAT MANY MRND OFFICIALS FEAR BEING HELD PERSONALLY
ACCOUNTABLE FOR ACTIONS COMMITTED SINCE 1972, AND THE
PRESIDENT HIMSELF IS INCREASINGLY UNEASY REGARDING HIS
FUTURE PROSPECTS. THE RPF IS AGREEABLE TO THE IDEA IN
PRINCIPLE, BUT CAUTIONED THAT IT WOULD SPARK CONTROVERSY
AMONG THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, SOME MEMBERS OF WHICH ARE
DEMANDING AN ACCOUNTING FOR PAST ACTIONS. THE OBSERVERS
DID NOT REACH A CONSENSUS ON THE IDEA, AND IT HAS NOT

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YET BEEN RAISED IN GOR-RPF DISCUSSIONS.

- 8. THE TANZANIANS CONVENED A SECOND OBSERVER MEETING ON NOVEMBER 27 TO CONSIDER CONTINGENCY PLANS IN CASE THE GOR CABINET FAILS TO REACH AGREEMENT OR THERE ARE FURTHER DELAYS. THE CONSENSUS OF THE MEETING WAS THAT IF IT APPEARED THE PARTIES IN KIGALI WERE STILL UNABLE TO REACH A CONSENSUS ON NOVEMBER 27, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FACILITATOR, THE OAU SECGEN (DR. MAPURANGA), AND THE CURRENT OAU CHAIRMAN (AMB. PAPA LORIS FALL), SHOULD FORM A DELEGATION TO PROCEED TO KIGALI AND, IN COORDINATION WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OBSERVER GOVERNMENTS IN KIGALI, PRESENT A JOINT DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENT, THE GOVERNMENT, AND (ONCE A MEANS HAS BEEN DETERMINED) TO THE RPF. THE DEMARCHE WOULD BE COUCHED IN GENERAL TERMS TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR SPEED, FLEXIBILITY AND COMPROMISE. THE OBSERVER REPS AGREED TO PROMPTLY CONSULT THEIR GOVERNMENTS REGARDING THIS CONTINGENCY PLAN, BUT STRESSED THAT THE GOR AND RPF SHOULD NOT BE ALERTED IN ADVANCE TO WHAT WAS BEING CONTEMPLATED.
- 9. FOR KIGALI: THE MESSAGE IN REF A PHONECON WAS PASSED TO ITS INTENDED RECIPIENT THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER

UNCLASSIFIED HIS FEELING IS THAT DISCUSSIONS, WITHOUT SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENTS, SHOULD CONTINUE, AS THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUSPENDING TALKS MIGHT BE WORSE. OTHER OBSERVERS HERE ARE INCLINED TO SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT NON-SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE WHILE THE PARTIES WAIT FOR FURTHER WORD FROM KIGALI.

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