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**REFUGEE REPATRIATION AND THE THREAT TO THE EX-FAR**

1. (C/LIM DIST) THIS BRIEFING WILL LOOK AT THE ARMY OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA, THE EX-FAR, AND THE THREAT POSED TO THEM BY THE REFUGEE REPATRIATION PLAN.

2. (C/LIM DIST) THE EX-FAR HAS HAD A YEAR TO REGROUP IN THEIR REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THEY HAVE SPENT THEIR YEAR RECRUITING, TRAINING, AND CONDITIONING THEIR CONSTITUENCY IN THE CAMPS. THEY ARE ALSO CONDUCTING LOW-INTENSITY INSURGENCY OPERATIONS IN WESTERN RWANDA. THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF SOLDIERS IN THE EX-FAR IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN, BUT ESTIMATES THAT WE ARE FAMILIAR WITH RANGE FROM A LOW OF 15 THOUSAND TO A HIGH OF 50 THOUSAND. THEY ARE ARMED WITH LIGHT INFANTRY WEAPONS AND A FEW CREW-SERVED WEAPONS, SUCH AS MORTARS. THE MAIN SUPPLIERS OF THESE WEAPONS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ALBANIA AND BULGARIA. THERE ARE ALSO INDICATIONS THAT WEAPONS HAVE ALSO BEEN SUPPLIED BY CHINA, FRANCE, SOUTH AFRICA, THE SEYCHELLES AND EVEN ZAIRE AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER. THEY APPEAR TO HAVE FEW HEAVY WEAPONS, BUT THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY IS GUARDING A COMPOUND IN GOMA THAT CONTAINS SEIZED EX-FAR WEAPONS INCLUDING 37MM ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS, 105MM GUNS, AND 122MM HOWITZERS. THEY ALSO HAVE A NUMBER OF AML ARMoured CARS STORED IN THE FACILITY. THESE WEAPONS AND VEHICLES ARE APPARENTLY BEING HELD FOR THE EX-FAR, BECAUSE IF ZAIRE WANTED THEM THEY WOULD HAVE PUSHED THEM DOWN TO THEIR OWN UNITS BY NOW. COMMENT. THE PRESENCE OF THESE WEAPONS UNDER ZAIRIAN GUARD IMPLIES THAT THE EX-FAR MAY ENJOY SOME SUPPORT FROM THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT. IF THEIR RELATIONSHIP DETERIORATES, THEN THESE WEAPONS MAY BE MOVED TO ZAIRIAN ARMY UNITS OR DESTROYED. THE STATUS OF THESE WEAPONS WILL SERVE AS A USEFUL BAROMETER OF ZAIRIAN SUPPORT FOR THE EX-FAR.

3. (C/LIM DIST) THE SOUL OF THE EX-FAR LIES IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. WITHOUT THE CAMPS, THEY ARE NOTHING. THE CAMPS PROVIDE LOGISTIC SUPPORT, A RECRUITING BASE, A SANCTUARY TO HIDE IN, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, A LEGITIMATE CONSTITUENCY. IF THE CAMPS WERE TO DISAPPEAR, THEN THE EX-FAR WOULD BECOME A REBEL ARMY WITHOUT A POWER BASE. THEY WOULD EXIST ENTIRELY AT THE PLEASURE OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF ZAIRE AND

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RWANDA, WHO WOULD BE ABLE TO ACT AGAINST THEM WITH LITTLE RESTRAINT SHOULD THEY BE PROVOKED.

4. (C/LIM DIST) COMMENT. AN EXTENSION OF THIS LOGIC LEADS ONE TO THE CONCLUSION THAT ANY DIRECT THREAT AGAINST THE EXISTENCE OF THE CAMPS POSES A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE EX-FAR. THEY HAVE USED DISINFORMATION AND VIOLENCE TO DISSUADE REFUGEES FROM VOLUNTARILY RETURNING TO RWANDA, AS THEY KNOW THAT THIS COULD SET A TREND THAT WOULD DRAIN THEIR POPULATION BASE. IN THE FIRST PART OF AUGUST, A NUMBER OF BODIES WASHED UP ON THE BEACH AT GISENYI, ACROSS THE BORDER FROM GOMA. THERE WERE SEVEN BODIES, INCLUDING THE BOTTOM HALF OF A THREE-YEAR OLD BOY, AND TWO YOUNG WOMEN WHO HAD BEEN RAPED, TORTURED, AND KILLED. IT IS BELIEVED THAT THESE PEOPLE HAD BEEN REFUGEES THAT HAD WANTED TO LEAVE THE CAMPS, AND THE METHOD OF THEIR DEATH WAS A WARNING TO OTHERS.

5. (C/LIM DIST) THE FORCED REPATRIATION OF 13,000 RWANDAN REFUGEES BY ZAIRE POSED A REAL AND IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THE EX-FAR. IT APPEARS THAT THEIR RESPONSE WAS TO RUN AWAY AND HIDE IN THE HILLS. COMMENT. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN A CRUCIAL ERROR. WHEN THE ZAIRIAN SOLDIERS LOOTED AND BEAT REFUGEES, THE EX-FAR MADE NO EFFORT TO PROTECT THEM, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE EX-FAR OUTNUMBERS AND OUTGUNS THE ZAIRIAN ARMY IN THIS PART OF AFRICA BY ABOUT SIX TO ONE. THIS MAY EVENTUALLY BE VIEWED AS A BETRAYAL BY THE REFUGEES, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN MUGUNGO CAMP, NEAR GOMA. THE BULK OF THE EX-FAR JUNIOR RANKS IN THE GOMA AREA IS BELIEVED TO COME FROM THAT CAMP.

6. (C/LIM DIST) EVEN WITH THE SUSPENSION OF THE FORCED REPATRIATION PROGRAM, AND THE ADOPTION OF THE UNHCR-SPONSORED VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION PLAN, THE THREAT TO THE EX-FAR REMAINS. ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, THEIR POPULATION BASE IS GOING TO SHRINK. THEREFORE, THE EX-FAR IS ACTIVELY DISCOURAGING REFUGEES FROM LEAVING VOLUNTARILY, TELLING THEM THAT ALL THE MEN THAT RETURNED LAST WEEK HAVE BEEN SEPARATED FROM THEIR FAMILIES AND IMPRISONED, AND THAT A NUMBER OF REFUGEES WERE BUTCHERED.

7. (C/LIM DIST) ON MONDAY, AN ANTI-PERSONNEL MINE WAS SET OFF BY A UNHCR TRUCK OUTSIDE THE GOMA OFFICE OF CARE

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INTERNATIONAL. ANOTHER BOMB WENT OFF IN THE MARKET, AND THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY DEFUSED TWO MORE BOMBS THAT DAY. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOMEONE, POSSIBLY THE EX-FAR, IS TRYING TO INTIMIDATE THE NGOs AND UNHCR IN THE GOMA REGION. THE UNHCR HAS EVACUATED ALL NON-ESSENTIAL PERSONNEL, USING A C-130 AIRCRAFT THAT DEPARTED GOMA WEDNESDAY MORNING.

8. (C/LIM DIST) COMMENT. IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE EX-FAR IS ATTEMPTING TO INTERFERE WITH THE VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION PROGRAM BY DRIVING OFF IT'S SPONSORS. IF THAT IS THE CASE, THEN IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY IF THEY RETURN TO CARRY ON WITH THE FORCED REPATRIATION PROGRAM. THE ZAIRIAN ARMY COULD FIND ITSELF IN A LOSING FIGHT WITH THE EX-FAR IF THEY TRY TO CLEAR THE CAMPS WITH FORCE. THIS MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO ZAIRE'S RECENT DECISION TO DELAY FORCED EXPULSIONS UNTIL 31 DECEMBER OF THIS YEAR, HOPING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL HAVE SOLVED THE PROBLEM FOR THEM BY THEN.

9. (C/LIM DIST) CONCLUSION. A BITTER CAMPAIGN FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE REFUGEES WILL TAKE PLACE BETWEEN NOW AND THE END OF THE YEAR. THE EX-FAR CAN BE EXPECTED TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN THEIR POWER TO HANG ON TO THEIR REFUGEE BASE. THIS MAY INCREASE THE DANGER TO UN AGENCIES AND NGOs OPERATING IN THE CAMPS. IN THE LONG RUN, IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE UN OR THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT TO EXERT MUCH INFLUENCE OVER THE FUTURE OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS.

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