

UNCLASSIFIED

ES

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04901 01 OF 03 271504Z
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 | RPE-00 | /024W | | |
| | | | | -----7F62C3 | 271505Z | /38 | |

O 271502Z NOV 92
 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2359
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

768
 Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
 (X) Release () Excise () Deny (X) Declassify
 Date 9/18/98 Exemption _____

SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04901

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, RW
 SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROGRESS

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 6819

1. [REDACTED]
2. SUMMARY: THE PRESIDENT, THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE BISHOPS HAVE MET SEVERAL TIMES IN THE LAST THREE [REDACTED]

PAGE 02 KIGALI 04901 01 OF 03 271504Z
 DAYS. THE BISHOPS HAVE MADE SOME GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE ARUSHA PROCESS, AND TWO ALTERNATIVE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR POWER SHARING. AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT, THE BISHOPS ARE NOW WORKING ON A SYNTHESIS OF THE TWO PROPOSALS. WITH THE PAPAL NUNCIO, WESTERN AMBASSADORS HERE BELIEVE A DEMARCHE NOW WOULD BE PREMATURE, BUT ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A COMPROMISE WHICH MAY EMERGE THIS WEEKEND. END SUMMARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

THE BISHOPS ARE ACTIVE

3. AFTER MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER TOGETHER ON NOVEMBER 25, THE AD HOC ASSEMBLY OF BISHOPS PUT TOGETHER A REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS AND SENT IT TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT.

4. THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED THE WRITTEN REPORT ON NOVEMBER 26 AND ASKED THE BISHOPS TO COME UP WITH MORE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS. HE CALLED ME ON THE 26TH QUITE AGITATED BECAUSE HE HAD HEARD THAT THE RPF HAD SUGGESTED IN ARUSHA ONLY THREE MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS FOR THE MRND, AND HE WAS CONVINCED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA HAD PUT THEM UP TO IT AND WAS, THEREFORE, IN ACCORD. BUT, AT THE TIME, HE TOLD ME THAT HE EXPECTED TO HAVE ON THE MORNING OF NOVEMBER 27 A MORE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FROM THE BISHOPS. LATE EVENING NOVEMBER 26, THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET CAME BY TO GIVE ME ESSENTIALLY

PAGE 03 KIGALI 04901 01 OF 03 271504Z
THE SAME MESSAGE, AND TO URGE US AND THE PAPAL NUNCIO TO ENCOURAGE THE BISHOPS TO COME FORWARD WITH AN ORAL REPORT THIS MORNING WHICH WOULD MAKE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS. AT THAT TIME, ENOCH FORESHADOWED THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE THAT ACTUALLY EMERGED (PARA 9).

THE PRIME MINISTER VS THE PRESIDENT

5. THE PRIME MINISTER SUMMONED THE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OBSERVER COUNTRIES EARLY THIS MORNING TO ASK US TO PERSUADE THE PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT THE BISHOPS' RECOMMENDATIONS. BUT THE PRIME MINISTER ONLY HAD THE VAGUE RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE BISHOPS, AND HAD NO INDICATION THAT THE BISHOPS WERE COMING UP WITH SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS. HE EXPRESSED PROFOUND CONCERN THAT, IF THE PRESIDENT DID NOT ACCEPT THE BISHOPS' WORDS, THERE WOULD BE NO PLACE ELSE TO GO, AND THE ARUSHA PROCESS WOULD BREAK DOWN. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT HE COULD NOT CALL HIS DELEGATION HOME AND MAKE IT APPEAR THAT RWANDA HAD

UNCLASSIFIED

BROKEN OFF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THUS HIS DILEMMA. THE PRIME MINISTER THEN WENT OFF TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT TO SEE IF THEY COULD REACH SOME AGREEMENT.

THE BISHOPS' PROPOSALS:

6. ARTICLE 14 SHOULD BE INTERPRETED TO ENCOURAGE THE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 KIGALI 04901 01 OF 03 271504Z
INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT, NOT AS A MEASURE TO EXCLUDE PARTIES.

7. THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE APPOINTED BY THE PARTIES, SPECIFICALLY, BY THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF THE PARTIES, WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN THEIR NATIONAL CONVENTIONS. IT SHOULD BE CALLED THE "NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL" AND WOULD BE MADE UP OF NO MORE THAN 40 MEMBERS. THE PARTIES ARE TO MEET WITH THE RPF TO DECIDE THE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTIES' MEMBERSHIP IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04901 02 OF 03 271506Z
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 | RPE-00 | /024W | | |

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

-----7F62EE 271506Z /38

O 271502Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2360
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04901

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROGRESS

8. TO DETERMINE WHICH PARTIES WOULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT, THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA SHOULD BE USED:

A. PARTIES MUST HAVE PUBLICLY INDICATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN THE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 KIGALI 04901 02 OF 03 271506Z
GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RPF.

B. PARTIES MUST HAVE BEEN IN EXISTENCE FOR AT LEAST SIX MONTHS AND HAVE HAD ACTIVITIES INCLUDING MEETINGS OR DEBATES IN AT LEAST FIVE PREFECTURES.

C. PARTIES MUST HAVE ORGANIZATION IN AT LEAST FIVE PREFECTURES.

D. PARTIES MUST NOT DEMONSTRATE BY WRITING OR ACTS ANY DISCRIMINATION BASED ON ETHNICITY, REGION, SEX OR RELIGION.

E. PARTIES MUST NOT SANCTION DISORDER OR CRIMINALITY IN THE COUNTRY.

NOVEMBER 27

UNCLASSIFIED

9. IN THE COURSE OF THE MORNING, THE BISHOPS MADE TWO PROPOSALS TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE PRIME MINISTER. THE FIRST WOULD SPLIT UP THE CABINET ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING PROPORTIONS:

MRND - 35 PERCENT
CONCERTATION PARTIES (MDR, PL, PSD) - 35 PERCENT
RPF - 20 PERCENT
OTHER PARTIES - 10 PERCENT

10. THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE THAT THE BISHOPS SUGGESTED

PAGE 03 KIGALI 04901 02 OF 03 271506Z
WOULD HAVE THREE MEMBERS EACH FROM THE MRND, MDR, RPF, PL AND PSD, PLUS ONE SEAT FOR THE PDC AND THREE SEATS FOR OTHER PARTIES, PRESUMABLY TO BE SELECTED ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA IN THEIR EARLIER PAPER. THIS ASSUMES CONTINUATION OF THE MDR PRIME MINISTER AND THE MRND PRESIDENT, FOR A TOTAL OF 21 POTENTIALLY VOTING MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. IN ORDER TO BLOCK, THEREFORE, THE MRND WOULD HAVE TO ATTRACT THE VOTES OF ALL THREE "OTHER PARTIES," AND THE PDC.

11. WHILE ARUSHA IS WAITING FOR THE OUTCOME OF THE CABINET SESSION, THE CABINET MINISTERS ARE WAITING FOR A SIGNAL FROM THE PRESIDENT AND/OR THE PRIME MINISTER.

12. THE PRIME MINISTER OBVIOUSLY OPPOSES THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE, AND ASKED THE BISHOPS TO GO BACK AND WORK OUT A COMPROMISE. THE PRESIDENT CLEARLY FINDS THE SECOND UNACCEPTABLE SINCE IT GIVES THE MRND ONLY THREE SEATS. BUT THERE MAY BE SOME SPACE FOR CREATIVE COALITION BUILDING IN THE SECOND SCENARIO. I ASKED THE PRESIDENT LAST WEEK IF HE COULD ACCEPT HAVING LESS THAN A BLOCKING THIRD IN THE CABINET IF OTHER POTENTIAL COALITION PARTNERS WERE AVAILABLE. HE READILY AGREED, AND WE BRIEFLY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF PDI AND PD AS POSSIBLE SWING VOTES, ALONG WITH PECO. THERE MAY BE A CHANCE OF AGREEMENT ALONG THESE LINES.

13. THE OBSERVER DIPLOMATS HERE (FRENCH, BELGIAN, GERMAN AND U.S.) MET AGAIN THIS AFTERNOON WITH THE

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 KIGALI 04901 02 OF 03 271506Z
NONCE. WE UNDERSTAND THERE IS A PROPOSAL FLOATING IN
ARUSHA FOR A JOINT DEMARCHE TO THE RPF AND
HABYARIMANA. WE ARE UNANIMOUS IN RECOMMENDING WE
DELAY SUCH A DEMARCHE UNTIL WE HEAR THE RESULTS OF
THE BISHOPS' EFFORTS AT COMPROMISE OR SYNTHESIS OF
THE TWO PROPOSALS. IF A REASONABLE COMPROMISE IS
PRODUCED, WE WILL BE WILLING TO ENCOURAGE ONE SIDE OR
THE OTHER TO ACCEPT IT. MEETINGS CONTINUE THIS
AFTERNOON BETWEEN THE BISHOPS AND THE PARTIES. WE
EXPECT THE CABINET TO RECONVENE SATURDAY MORNING.

NNNN

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04901 03 OF 03 271508Z
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 | RPE-00 | /024W | | |

-----7F6341 271508Z /38
O 271502Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2361
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 04901

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROGRESS

14. COMMENT: MORE BRINKMANSHIP, BUT AT LEAST NOW
THERE IS SOMETHING ON THE TABLE AND THE PROSPECT OF A
COMPROMISE IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS. END COMMENT
FLATEN

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
PAGE 02

KIGALI 04901 03 OF 03 271508Z
[REDACTED]

NNNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** [REDACTED]