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RELEASED IN PART
1.4(B), 1.4(D)

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04972 01 OF 03 021511Z
ACTION AF-01

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| 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 |
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O 021506Z DEC 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2402
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04972

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: NEW HOPE FOR ARUSHA TALKS

REFS: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 6903, (B) KIGALI 4936,
(C) KIGALI 4921

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04972 01 OF 03 021511Z

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA MADE A MAJOR
SPEECH LATE LAST NIGHT, DECEMBER 1, DESIGNED TO
ASSURE THE CONTINUATION OF THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS
AND TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IN RWANDA.
STOPPING SHORT OF ACCEPTING THE CLERGY PROPOSAL, HE
SUGGESTED A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT IN WHICH NO BLOC
CONTROLS A PERMANENT TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY. HE THEN
SENT INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR
TRANSMITTAL TO THE RWANDAN DELEGATION IN ARUSHA.
OPPOSITION LEADERS ARE SKEPTICAL THAT THIS IS
SUFFICIENT TO RESTART SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS, BUT HAVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 2 DEC 2012
DATE/CASE ID: 24 MAR 2006 200103014

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NOT YET REACHED A CONCLUSION. THE [REDACTED] BELIEVES IT IS STILL USEFUL TO PROCEED WITH A DEMARCHE SUPPORTING THE CLERGY PROPOSAL. I WOULD PREFER TO HOLD THE DEMARCHE FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS TO

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

SEE HOW THE OPPOSITION PARTIES FINALLY DECIDE TO TREAT THE HABYARIMANA SPEECH. NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO REOPEN TODAY IN ARUSHA, BUT UNTIL WE GET CONFIRMATION THAT THE GOR HAS SOMETHING TO TALK ABOUT, I THINK IT IS STILL PREMATURE TO LAUNCH AMBASSADOR BRYNN. END SUMMARY.

THE PRESIDENT'S DECLARATION

3. THE PRESIDENT SAID HIS PURPOSE WAS TO REASSURE THE PROPER CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AT ARUSHA AND TO REMIND RWANDANS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES, PARTICULARLY FOR THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY AT THIS

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04972 01 OF 03 021511Z
DIFFICULT TIME. HE INSISTED THAT HIS CLARIFICATION OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS WAS NOT MEANT TO IMPLY THE REEXAMINATION OF AGREEMENTS ALREADY MADE.

4. THE KEY POINT IN THE SPEECH, AND IN THE SUBSEQUENT INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER, WAS TO ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST AVOID GIVING ANY SINGLE POLITICAL GROUP A PERMANENT MAJORITY OF TWO-THIRDS IN THE CABINET.

5. THE PRESIDENT ALSO AGREED TO THE TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT OF LEGISLATORS, BUT INSISTED THE DURATION OF THE TRANSITION SHOULD BE ONLY TWELVE MONTHS. HE PROPOSED AN EARLY VOTE FOR LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORDS BE FORMALLY APPROVED EITHER THROUGH THE CURRENT CND OR THROUGH A REFERENDUM.

6. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE PRESIDENT MADE A MAJOR PLEA FOR THE RETURN OF SECURITY INTERNALLY. OBVIOUSLY PROMPTED BY RECENT KILLING OF A CANADIAN PRIEST (SEPTEL), HE CALLED ON ALL PARTIES TO RESPECT EACH OTHER, AND TO DISCIPLINE THEIR YOUTH MOVEMENTS. FOLLOWING UP ON HIS SPEECH, THE PRESIDENT MET THIS

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MORNING WITH MRND LEADERS TO URGE CONTROL OF THE
INTERAHAMWE ACTIVITIES.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04972 01 OF 03 021511Z
7. IN A SEPARATE LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER,
SIGNED BY DIRECTOR OF THE CABINET ENOCH RUHIGIRA, THE
PRESIDENT REPEATED MOST OF THE THEMES OF HIS SPEECH.
IN BOTH CASES, HE REFERRED TO THE CONSULTATIONS THAT
HE HAD HELD WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES, THE
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCHES, AND WITH FOREIGN
FRIENDS, IMPLYING HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES
PUT FORWARD BY THE PRIESTS WHICH HE KNOWS ARE
SUPPORTED INFORMALLY BY THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY,
EVEN THOUGH NO FORMAL STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO
HIM BY ANY OF US.

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04972 02 OF 03 021513Z
ACTION AF-01

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2403
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04972

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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8. RUHIGIRA'S LETTER ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER TO
TRANSMIT TO THE RWANDAN DELEGATION THE FOLLOWING
PRINCIPLES:

A. THE PRINCIPLE OF NONEXCLUSION IN ORDER TO PROMOTE
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04972 02 OF 03 021513Z
NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

B. PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENTS
ALREADY REACHED, NOT TO REOPEN ANY POSITIONS.

C. THE QUESTION OF FINDING A REAL EQUILIBRIUM AT THE
CENTER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF TRANSITION IN ORDER TO
FORECLOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF A SINGLE GROUP BEING
ABLE TO HOLD A PERMANENT MAJORITY OF TWO-THIRDS.
THIS CAN BE DONE, HE WROTE, BY ASSOCIATING OTHER
POLITICAL SENSIBILITIES TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
TRANSITION IN ADDITION TO THOSE IN THE CURRENT
GOVERNMENT.

D. SOME PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE FOR VOTING IN THE
CABINET IN THE ABSENCE OF SOME MEMBERS.

E. THERE SHOULD BE EARLY COMMUNAL ELECTIONS. HE
ACCEPTS APPOINTMENT OF A NEW LEGISLATURE, BUT CALLS
FOR SOME MEANS OF RESOLVING THE FUTURE OF THE CURRENT
DEPUTIES AND THE HANDLING OF THEIR LEGAL FUNCTION.

F. A DECISION, EITHER BY REFERENDUM OR BY ADOPTION

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BY THE CND, ON HOW TO GIVE THE ACCORDS THE FORCE OF
LAW.

RESPONSE BY WESTERN OBSERVERS

9. AT THE INVITATION OF THE PAPAL NUNCIO, I MET WITH
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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04972 02 OF 03 021513Z
THE AMBASSADORS OF FRANCE, GERMANY AND BELGIUM
DECEMBER 1. THE CONSENSUS OF THE GROUP WAS THAT WE
COULD HELP MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD BY SUPPORTING THE
RECOMMENDATION OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS. [REDACTED]

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

[REDACTED] I
INDICATED THAT I WOULD ALSO NEED INSTRUCTIONS TO MAKE
A SPECIFIC DEMARCHE, AND WASHINGTON AND PARIS WOULD
BE IN CONSULTATION ON A POSITION.

10. COMMENT: THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AND INSTRUCTIONS
TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE CONTINUATION OF
NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA TO A CERTAIN EXTENT PREEMPT
THE SUGGESTED DEMARCHE. THEY DO NOT, HOWEVER, COMMIT
THE PRESIDENT TO A SPECIFIC DIVISION OF PORTFOLIOS
CONTAINED IN THE CLERGY RECOMMENDATION. BEFORE GOING
FORWARD WITH THE DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENT, I WOULD
LIKE TO SEE IF IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE FORMULA HE IS

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04972 02 OF 03 021513Z
NOW PUTTING FORWARD TO BE THE BASIS FOR
NEGOTIATIONS. IF SO, WE MAY WISH TO HOLD OUR
DEMARCHÉ FOR A LATER PERIOD WHEN A KEY ISSUE IS POSED
MORE SPECIFICALLY.

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04972 03 OF 03 021514Z
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1.4(B), 1.4(D)

END COMMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04972 03 OF 03 021514Z
U.S. OBSERVER

11. I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO REACH THE PRIME MINISTER THIS AFTERNOON TO FIND OUT WHAT INSTRUCTIONS HE MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE SENT TO ARUSHA WHERE, ACCORDING TO REF A, HIS INSTRUCTIONS ARE EAGERLY AWAITED. I DID TALK WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY, FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, WHO EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM ON BEHALF OF THE PARTY ABOUT THE RPF WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. IT APPEARS THAT THE MDR AND THE PL HAVE BEEN TOTALLY PREOCCUPIED IN THE COURSE OF TODAY WITH THE RESIGNATION OF MINISTER OF JUSTICE STANISLAS MBONAMPEKA. AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS THEY WERE LOCKED IN A PRESS CONFERENCE WITH MBONAMPEKA EXPLAINING HIS ACTIONS (SEPTTEL TOMORROW).

12. THUS, THERE IS STILL A RISK THAT IF WE LAUNCH AMBASSADOR BRYNN TODAY, HE WILL ARRIVE IN ARUSHA TO SEE ANOTHER POSTPONEMENT. WE APPRECIATE BENTLEY'S FINE WORK IN ARUSHA, AND UNDERSTAND HIS NEED TO RETURN TO DAR ES SALAAM. BUT I SUGGEST WE TAKE ANOTHER DAY BEFORE SENDING IN AN AMBASSADORIAL REPLACEMENT FOR HIM. FLATEN

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