

SECRET

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002554/01

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V CZC
 OO RUEHC RUEHDS RUEHJB RUEHDR RUEHJI RUEHLO
 RUEHFR RUTAKM RUEHAR RUEHDK RUTPHBS RUTPHIA
 RUCJACC
 DT RUEHMP #0554/01 151 **
 ZNY CCCCC ZZH
 O 311502Z MAY 94
 FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 TO RUEHC / SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9795
 INFO RUEHDS / AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2492
 RUEHJB / AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 1355
 RUEHFR / AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 1561
 RUEHJI / AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0452
 RUEHLO / AMEMBASSY LONDON 1519
 RUEHFR / AMEMBASSY PARIS 0931
 RUTAKM / AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 2218
 RUEHAR / AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0119
 RUEHDK / AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0028
 RUEHBS / AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0442
 RUTPHIA / USIA WASHDC 1590
 RUCJACC / USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL
 PT

DEI

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
 CHIEF: 05/31/94
 APPRV: CDA:RHSOUTHAV
 CLEAR: ADM:BATWOOD;
 UNIPOL:JNAC-1
 DISTR: POL 3 AMP DCI
 USIS AID FA
 ECOM SLO COM
 AM 150
 ORGIN: CINS ID:1550

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15(b)(d)

Chron

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LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: #EAID, MASS, PGOV, RW, KR, PHUM, MOPS

1. SUMMARY: IN A MAY 31 MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD AND MEMBERS OF HIS DELEGATION, UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE REQUESTED GREATER U.S. SUPPORT FOR HIS PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN THE FORM OF IMMEDIATE EQUIPMENT AND AIRLIFT SUPPORT. HE CAUTIONED THAT REBUILDING RWANDA WAS NOT A "SHORT-TERM CRUSADE" BUT THAT TAKING ACTION NOW CAN HELP STABILIZE THE SITUATION AND PREVENT EVEN FURTHER DETERIORATION AND LOSS OF LIFE. THE RPF, CONTINUING TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE BATTLEFIELD, HAS NO INCLINATION TO AGREE TO A CEASEFIRE.

END SUMMARY

2. ON MAY 31, AID ADMINISTRATOR BRIAN ATWOOD MET WITH UNAMIR COMMANDER MAJOR-GENERAL DALLAIRE AT THE LATTER'S URGENT REQUEST IN THE VIP LOUNGE OF THE NAIROBI AIRPORT TO DISCUSS THE MILITARY AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN RWANDA. DALLAIRE, WHO HAS COMMANDED THE UNAMIR CONTINGENT IN RWANDA SINCE JUST AFTER THE APRIL 6

DEPT. OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)

EQIA/PA	Mandatory Review
() Release	() Declassify
() Excise	() Declassify in Part
() Deny	() Class. Ret./Renew
Exemptions	BL
ARP Action Cert.	Lawr
Date	09/16/99

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ASSASSINATION OF THE RWANDA AND BURUNDI PRESIDENTS, WAS TO RETURN TO RWANDA IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE MEETING. ATWOOD WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AF/E DIRECTOR SHINN, OFDA DIRECTOR BORTON, NSC REPRESENTATIVE MAC DESHAZER, CHARLES SOUTHWICK, ACTING KUSLO CHIEF HAYES, AND POLOFF CASSIDY.

 DALLAIRE CALLS FOR US ACTION

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3. DALLAIRE MADE CLEAR THROUGHOUT THE MEETING HIS DESIRE FOR A GREATER U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN RWANDA AND HIS FRUSTRATION WITH THE SLOW PACE OF AMERICAN DECISION-MAKING. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE U.S. NOW WORKED UNDER "DOCUMENT 25" IN ASSIGNING PEACEKEEPING FORCES TO THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT THAT THERE WAS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR U.S. LOGISTICAL CAPACITY OR DOMINANCE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. DALLAIRE WAS PLEASED WITH HIS GHANAIAN TROOPS, WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY SERVED IN (AND BEEN FORCED TO FIGHT THEIR WAY INTO) LIBERIA. TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS FROM SENEGAL, BANGLADESH OR ZIMBABWE WOULD BE HELPFUL, BUT DALLAIRE WARNED THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT TROOPS WITHOUT PROPER EQUIPMENT. HE URGED THAT THE US PROVIDE EQUIPMENT OR AT LEAST AIRLIFT CAPABILITY TO THE NEW FORCE.

 SPECIFIC REQUESTS

4. DALLAIRE SAID THAT INTERNATIONAL TROOPS WOULD BE NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT AND MONITOR AN EVENTUAL CEASEFIRE, WHICH MIGHT HAPPEN WHEN THE RPF "RAN OUT OF STEAM." TROOPS WOULD ALSO BE NEEDED IN CONJUNCTION WITH A HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT. THE INCREASED VOLUME OF RWANDANS IN GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED AREAS, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTHWEST AREA OF THE COUNTRY, WOULD INCREASE COMPETITION FOR RELIEF FOOD AND POSSIBLY IGNITE MORE MASSACRES ON A MASSIVE SCALE. INTERNATIONAL TROOPS WOULD HAVE TO WORK WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO ENSURE PEACE AT DISTRIBUTION CENTERS. DALLAIRE SAID THAT THE RED CROSS IS THE ONLY NGO IN CONTROL OF ITS DISTRIBUTION

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SYSTEM ALL THE WAY TO THE RECIPIENTS.

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5. DALLAIRE HAS REQUESTED 5500 TROOPS AS HIS "MINIMUM VIABLE" NUMBER. HE HOPES THE FORCE WILL BE COMPOSED PRIMARILY OF AFRICANS BUT SAID NORTH AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN WELCOMED BY BOTH SIDES IN RWANDA.

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IN RESPONSE TO AN ATWOOD QUESTION ABOUT TERMS OF REFERENCE, DALLAIRE SAID THAT A UN CHAPTER SEVEN "PEACEMAKING" PROVISION WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY. A CHAPTER SIX OPERATION WOULD AUTHORIZE TROOPS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND UN INSTALLATIONS LIKE CAMPS FOR THE DISPLACED. THE PROVISION ON "CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY" COULD BE USED TO HELP GAIN ACCESS TO AREAS CUT OFF BY ROADBLOCKS. DALLAIRE RELATED HOW EVEN NOW HIS RECONNAISSANCE UNITS HAVE TRAVELED WIDELY THROUGHOUT RWANDA, IN ONE INSTANCE MOVING SUCCESSFULLY THROUGH 13 GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED ROADBLOCKS ON THE ROAD FROM BUTARE TO CYANGUGU.

Re...

REFUGEES AND DISPLACED

7. DALLAIRE SAID THAT WHEN THE FIGHTING STARTED IN EARLY APRIL, THERE WERE ALREADY 273,000 REFUGEES IN SOUTHERN RWANDA (MAINLY HUTUS FROM BURUNDI) AND 500,000 DISPLACED BY THE LAST WAR STILL IN NORTHERN RWANDA SOUTH OF THE DMZ. TENSION HAD BEEN RISING DUE TO BAD CROP CONDITIONS AND THE COMPETITION FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES. A MAJOR PROBLEM NOW IS THE WAVE OF DISPLACED HUTUS FLEEING THE RPF ADVANCE, PERHAPS AS MANY AS 1 MILLION ACCORDING TO DALLAIRE, CAUSED IN LARGE PART BY A GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WHICH WARNS HUTUS THAT THEY WILL BE SLAUGHTERED BY THE RPF, AND BY WIDELY HELD HUTU VIEWS OF THE SUPERIOR QUALITIES OF TUTSIS.

8. THE 3 MILLION PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN GOVERNMENT-

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C N T R O L L E D S O U T H W E S T R W A N D A A R E B E I N G " S Q U E E Z E D " B Y T H E
R P F A D V A N C E . A S K E D B Y A T W O O D W H E T H E R T H E S E D I S P L A C E D
C O U L D S P I L L O V E R I N T O B U R U N D I O R Z A I R E , D A L L A I R E
A D M I T T E D T H A T I T W A S A P O S S I B I L I T Y B U T T H A T A R I V E R
P R E V E N T E D E A S Y E N T R Y I N T O B U R U N D I , A N D A L A R G E F O R E S T
B A R R E D T H E W A Y I N T O Z A I R E .

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MILITARY FORCE STRUCTURE

9. SINCE BOTH SIDES ARE STILL RECRUITING AND THE GOVERNMENT TROOPS IN PARTICULAR HAVE EXPERIENCED DESECTIONS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO MAKE ESTIMATES OF TROOP STRENGTH. GIVEN THAT CAVEAT, DALLAIRE THINKS THAT THE RPF MAY NOW HAVE 30,000 TO 35,000 TROOPS IN THE FIELD, WITH ITS BEST SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT. IN CONTRAST, THE GOVERNMENT AND ALLIED FORCES HAVE SOME 34,000 TROOPS, THOUGH SOME OF THESE ARE RECENT RECRUITS ONLY GIVEN TWO WEEKS TRAINING PRIOR TO BEING THROWN INTO BATTLE.

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THE RPF-UGANDA CONNECTION

10. UNAMIR CONTINUES TO MONITOR THE UGANDA BORDER BY HELICOPTER FOR EVIDENCE THAT THE RPF IS RECEIVING SUPPLIES FROM UGANDA. SO FAR, THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN OF SIGNIFICANT ARMS OR MATERIEL SHIPMENTS ACROSS THE BORDER.

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BATTLEFIELD ACTIVITY

12. THE RPF HAVE SO FAR MANAGED TO TAKE THE EASTERN
HALF OF THE COUNTRY INCLUDING HALF OF THE CAPITAL CITY,

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THE ENTIRE TANZANIAN BORDER AND MOST OF THE COUNTRY'S BORDERS WITH UGANDA AND BURUNDI. RWANDA GOVERNMENT FORCES AND ALLIED MILITIAS MAINTAIN SOME CONTROL OVER OTHER PARTS. THE RPF IS PUTTING FURTHER PRESSURE ON GOVERNMENT AND ALLIED FORCES FROM THE EAST IN KIGALI AND FROM THE SOUTH IN GITARAMA. THE RPF HAS JUST CUT THE MAIN ROAD BETWEEN GITARAMA AND BUTARE. THERE ARE STILL STRONG POCKETS OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY AROUND GISNYI AND RUHENGERI IN THE NORTHWEST AND IN THE CYAMUGU AREA OF SOUTHWEST RWANDA. THESE AREAS, ACCORDING TO DALLAIRE, CONTAIN SOME OF THE MOST FANATIC HUTU FORCES, WHILE MORE MODERATE HUTUS CONTROL THE REGION AROUND BUTARE TO THE BURUNDI BORDER.

13. DALLAIRE STRESSED THAT THE FIGHT FOR KIGALI WAS NOT OVER, SINCE THE HEART OF DOWNTOWN AND SIGNIFICANT POCKETS WERE HELD BY GOVERNMENT FORCES AND HUTU MILITIAS CONTROLLED TRACTS OF THE CITY'S SOUTHWEST. THE ONLY PLACE A TRUCE APPEARED TO APPLY WAS ALONG THE ROAD THROUGH KIGALI. THE RPF ASSAULT THREATENING THE MAIN ROAD BETWEEN KIGALI AND GITARAMA WAS A WORRY, DALLAIRE SAID; CUT OFF FROM THEIR LINE OF ESCAPE TO THE CAPITAL OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN GITARAMA, SURROUNDED GOVERNMENT AND MILITIA TROOPS MIGHT DECIDE TO FIGHT TO THE LAST IN THE CITY.

ATROCITIES AND RPF REPRISALS

14.

CHANCES FOR A CEASEFIRE

15. THE GOVERNMENT SIDE HAS WANTED A CEASEFIRE SINCE APRIL 15 BUT THE RPF IS MAKING TOO MUCH PROGRESS ON THE BATTLEFIELD NOW. NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE AT THE STAFF LEVEL (DALLAIRE SAID THE LAST SESSION WAS MAY 30) BUT THE RPF CONTINUES TO DEMAND PROOF OF PROGRESS ON THREE FRONTS -- AN END TO THE MASSACRES OF CIVILIANS, AN END TO INCITEFUL GOVERNMENT RADIO BROADCASTS, AND THE FREE

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MOVEMENT OF DISPLACED CIVILIANS ACROSS BATTLE LINES.
PRESSED ON THE POINT BY SHINN, DALLAIRE ADMITTED THAT
THE RPF HAD LITTLE INCENTIVE TO AGREE TO A CEASEFIRE
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12. WHEN ASKED BY SINN FOR HIS BOTTOM LINE MESSAGE TO
THE USG, DALLAIRE REPLIED "SEND THE EQUIPMENT TO PUT THE
PEACEKEEPING TROOPS ON THE GROUND LAST (SIC) WEEK.
WITHOUT US EQUIPMENT, UNAMIR CAN DO VIRTUALLY NOTHING.
UNAMIR ALSO NEEDS STRATEGIC LIFT FROM THE U.S.
SOUTHWICK##

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