

IMMEDIATE

311502Z MAY 94  
W AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9795  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 2492  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 1561  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 1519  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 2218  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR 0028  
USIA WASHDC 1590

ZYUW RUEHNRA9554 1511502

END SUMMARY

B1  
P B1  
151C

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 1355  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 0452  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 0931  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA 0119  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 0442  
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 05 NAIROBI 09554

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: EAID, MASS, PGOV, RW, KE, PHUM, MOPS

SUBJ: UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE PLEADS FOR IMMEDIATE US MILITARY SUPPORT IN MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD

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. DALLAIRE DOESN'T THINK KENYA PRESIDENT MOI'S RECENTLY ANNOUNCED PEACE INITIATIVE WILL GO ANYWHERE. HE REJECTED THE IDEA OF "SAFE HAVENS" OR A CHAPTER SEVEN U.N. OPERATION.

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 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, CHARGE SOUTHWICK, ACTING KUSLO CHIEF HAYES, AND POLOFF CASSIDY.

DALLAIRE CALLS FOR US ACTION

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 USG 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

JOINT STAFF V1  
ACTION

INFO CMAS(1) J3:JODEUR-J(1) J3:JOOHEM-J(1)  
NIDS(1) J4(5) J4:LPEILD3-J(1) J4:MILSEC-J(1)  
J4:MD-J(1) J5(1) J4:MRD-J(1) J4:LRC-J(1)  
J5:ORGN-J(1) SHAPE LMO(1) J5:WUC-J(1) J5:AFRICA-J(1)  
J5:WCEURMTO-J(1) J5:CEEB-J(1) J5:ASIA-J(1)  
J5:POLICY-J(1) J5:WARFARE-J(1) J8:FD-J(1)  
J5:WTCMP-J(1)  
+MACENEAF  
+USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL

26

SECDEF V2

ACTION

INFO SECDEF-W(1) SECDEF-C(1) ATSD:PA(1)  
ASD:PA&E/EPF(1) USDP:AP(2) USDP:DASDEUR(1)  
USDP:AFR(1) USDP:DSAN(1) USDP:CIS(1) USDP:PK/PE(1)  
USDP:FCMA(1) USDP:CP(1) USDP:AFR POL(1)  
USDP:EUR POL(1) USDP:REE(1) USDP:HATOPOL(1)  
USDP:ISA(1)  
+USDP:D TSA

18

DIA V3

ACTION

INFO DR(1) DIA/IMRB(1)  
+CSAF WASHINGTON DC  
+USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE  
+MAIC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//SCIR//  
+CDRPSYOPGP FT BRAGG MC//NORC-POG-SB//  
+COMJCSOC FT BRAGG MC//J2//  
+MARCORINTACT DET QUANTICO VA  
+HQ AFOSI IOC BOLLING AFB DC//DTA//  
+SAFE

(U,6,7,8)

2

JRC/SVC CHIEF V5

ACTION

INFO +OCSA WASHINGTON DC  
+PTC WASH DC  
+USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL//CARA//

(U,6)

0

BT  
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 05 NAIROBI 09554

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: EAID, MASS, PGOV, RW, KE, PHUM, MOPS

SUBJ: UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE PLEADS FOR IMMEDIATE US MILITARY SUPPORT IN MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD

SYSTEM ALL THE WAY TO THE RECIPIENTS, AND RELATED A STORY WHERE ANOTHER NGO LEFT 4000 GALLONS OF DIESEL FUEL, WITH OBVIOUS MILITARY APPLICATIONS, UNSUPERVISED.

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

THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT IS CONTEMPLATING SENDING A COMMUNICATIONS UNIT. DALLAIRE ALSO CAUTIONED AGAINST USING "LOCAL"

Dept of State, RPS/IPs, Margaret P. Griffield, Dir. in part  
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify  
Date 7/24/02 Exemption B1 115 (d)

B1

TROOPS LIKE KENYANS AND ETHIOPIANS, WHOSE COUNTRIES  
WOULD LIKELY BE INVOLVED IN A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. E

HE WOULD NOT HAVE TROOPS IN RWANDA FOR TWO MONTHS,  
PARTLY DUE TO USG "STALLING." HE PREDICTED

6. DALLAIRE REJECTED THE IDEA OF "SAFE HAVENS" GIVEN  
RWANDA'S MIXED-UP ETHNIC MAP, SAYING THAT ONLY THE BAD  
GUYS -- THOSE INVOLVED IN CIVILIAN MASSACRES -- COULD  
REACH SUCH HAVENS, JUST AS MANY RESPONSIBLE FOR CIVILIAN  
MASSACRES EARLY IN THE FIGHTING FLED TO TANZANIA WHEN  
THE RPF ADVANCED SOUTHWARD TOWARDS RUSUMU. 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.

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-  
CONTROLLED SOUTHWEST RWANDA ARE BEING "SQUEEZED" BY THE  
RPF ADVANCE. ASKED BY ATWOOD WHETHER THESE DISPLACED  
COULD SPILL OVER INTO BURUNDI OR ZAIRE, DALLAIRE  
ADMITTED THAT IT WAS A POSSIBILITY BUT THAT A RIVER  
PREVENTED EASY ENTRY INTO BURUNDI, AND A LARGE FOREST  
BARRER THE WAY INTO ZAIRE. B1

BT  
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 05 NAIROBI 09554

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY  
PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: EAID, MASS, PGOV, RW, KE, PHUM, MOPS  
SUBJ: UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE PLEADS FOR IMMEDIATE US  
MILITARY SUPPORT IN MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD

MILITARY FORCE STRUCTURE

9. SINCE BOTH SIDES ARE STILL RECRUITING AND THE  
GOVERNMENT TROOPS IN PARTICULAR HAVE EXPERIENCED  
DESERTIONS, 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.  
DALLAIRE BELIEVES BIZIMUNGU, THE CURRENT RWANDA ARMY  
CHIEF OF STAFF, IS BECOMING MORE MODERATE AS THE RPF  
ADVANCES, AND IS PROVIDING THE GITARAMA-BASED INTERIM  
GOVERNMENT WITH SOME BADLY-NEEDED HONEST INFORMATION  
FROM THE BATTLEFIELD. THE HUTU MILITIAS AND  
SELF-DEFENSE FORCES ARE STILL "OUT OF CONTROL" IN MANY  
AREAS BUT ARE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT DEFENSE PLAN AND  
ARE COUNTED ALONG WITH GOVERNMENT REGULARS, AS IS THE  
6000-MAN GENDARMERIE, WHICH DALLAIRE THINKS IS A  
SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT KIND OF FORCE SINCE IT ORIGINALLY  
INCLUDED MANY TUTSI.

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. DALLAIRE ADMITTED THAT MUSSEVENI WANTS THE RPF  
OUT OF UGANDA SINCE THEY ARE A POLITICAL PROBLEM FOR  
HIM, BUT WAS DOUBTFUL THAT THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT WAS  
PROVISIONING RPF TROOPS IN ANY SIGNIFICANT WAY. WHILE  
RPF CERTAINLY HAS SYMPATHIZERS IN THE UGANDA MILITARY  
AND UNAMIR HAS SEEN INDIVIDUAL WEAPONS CROSSING THE  
BORDER OR AN OCCASIONAL TRUCK OF SUPPLIES, THERE IS NO  
EVIDENCE OF SUBSTANTIAL CROSS-BORDER SHIPMENTS.

11. DALLAIRE THINKS THAT THE RPF GETS MUCH OF ITS  
MATERIEL FROM FLEEING GOVERNMENT TROOPS. ASKED BY  
AMBASSADOR SHINN WHETHER UNAMIR WAS ABLE TO TRACK  
SHIPMENTS FROM UGANDA, DALLAIRE SAID THAT UNAMIR  
HELICOPTERS WOULD NOTICE SIGNIFICANT SHIPMENTS, AS THEY  
HAD PRIOR TO THE WAR. DALLAIRE COULD NOT SAY WHETHER  
THE RPF WAS GETTING WEAPONS FROM THE BURUNDIAN  
MILITARY. ASKED WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT WAS GETTING  
MATERIEL FROM ABROAD, DALLAIRE CONFIRMED THAT THE  
GOVERNMENT TROOPS WERE VERY SHORT OF AMMUNITION BUT  
COULD NOT SAY WHETHER THEY RECEIVED ANY SHIPMENTS FROM  
OUTSIDE.

BATTLEFIELD ACTIVITY

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

BT  
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 04 OF 05 NAIROBI 09554

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY  
PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: EAID, MASS, PGOV, RW, KE, PHUM, MOPS  
SUBJ: UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE PLEADS FOR IMMEDIATE US  
MILITARY SUPPORT IN MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD

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 GISENYI AND RUKWENGERI IN THE NORTHWEST AND IN THE  
CYANGUGU AREA OF SOUTHWEST RWANDA. THESE AREAS,  
ACCORDING TO DALLAIRE, CONTAIN SOME OF THE MOST  
EXTREMIST HUTU FORCES, WHILE MORE MODERATE HUTUS CONTROL  
THE REGION AROUND BUTARE TO THE BURUNDI BORDER.

TO KEEP THAT INFORMATION CONFIDENTIAL (PLEASE PROTECT).

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. RPF LEADER KAGEME TOLD DALLAIRE THAT HE WANTS TO GET THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES "IN HIS SIGHTS OR IN COURT" ACCORDING TO DALLAIRE. THE SOUTHERN RWANDA TOWN OF BUTARE IS A GOOD EXAMPLE, SAID DALLAIRE. THE AREA WAS LARGELY QUIET UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT CHANGED THE LOCAL COMMANDER, AFTER WHICH UNAMIR STARTED RECEIVING REPORTS OF MASSACRES. DALLAIRE CAUTIONED THAT THE RPF WERE NOT SAINTS BUT WERE MORE "SMOOTH" THAN THE GOVERNMENT. AMONG MANY FOREIGNERS THERE IS A BIT OF NAIVETE ABOUT THE RPF, DALLAIRE SAID, AND MANY NGO'S MIGHT BE ACCUSED OF ASSISTING THEM. THE RPF EVEN BLOCKS HIS RECONNAISSANCE TROOPS ON OCCASION, AND ADMITS FRANKLY ITS POLICY OF EXECUTING THOSE IT SAYS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES, WHICH DALLAIRE CALLED "TRIAGE."

-----  
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 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 NOW.

16. THE UPCOMING JUNE 6 MEETING OF REGIONAL AFRICAN LEADERS IN NAIROBI CALLED BY PRESIDENT MOI WILL ONLY

BT  
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 05 OF 05 NAIROBI 09554

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: EAID, MASS, PGOV, RW, KE, PHUM, MOPS  
SUBJ: UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE PLEADS FOR IMMEDIATE US MILITARY SUPPORT IN MEETING WITH AID ADMINISTRATOR ATWOOD

RESULT IN "POSTURING" ACCORDING TO DALLAIRE (NOTE: PRESIDENT MOI TOLD ATWOOD DELEGATION EARLIER MAY 31 THAT SO FAR HE HAD NOT/HOT RECEIVED CONFIRMATION THAT MOBUTU WOULD ATTEND). THE GOVERNMENT IS CONTROLLED BY HUTU EXTREMISTS AND REJECTS RPF CONTROL OF 50 PERCENT OF THE COUNTRY. THE RPF FIGHTS ON, REFUSING TO TALK WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. FOR GENUINE PEACE TALKS TO OCCUR, DALLAIRE OPINED, A NEW GROUP OF HUTU MODERATES MUST EMERGE FROM THE REMAINING HUTU CIVILIAN MODERATES (NOW MOSTLY ABROAD IN PARIS OR BRUSSELS), AND HUTU MODERATES IN THE MILITARY. IN PRIVATE, DALLAIRE WAS TOLD THAT THE COUNTRY'S CATHOLIC BISHOPS MIGHT BE WILLING TO CALL FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO STEP DOWN, BUT HE CAUTIONED US

UNCLASSIFIED