

Pseudonym:

UNAMIRZ-15

Witness Code: UNAMIRZ

# UNAMIR

Code Cable from Dallaire to Annan  
Re: Military Assessment of the Situation and letter from RGF  
refusing neutrality at airport

| DOCUMENT INFORMATION |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Doc Type:            | Code Cable   |
| Doc Sources:         | ICTR         |
| Doc Location:        | ICTR         |
| Doc Original No.:    |              |
| Doc Date:            | 19-Apr-94    |
| Format:              | Typewritten  |
| Original language:   | English      |
| Translation:         | French       |
| ERN Translation:     | L001 8572-76 |

  

| For Witness Statement: |  |
|------------------------|--|
| SignatureDate:         |  |
| Interviewer 1:         |  |
| Interviewer 2:         |  |

  

| DOCUMENT CODING: |              |
|------------------|--------------|
| Document code:   | UNAMIRZ-15   |
| ICTR Number:     |              |
| ERN Number:      | L000-2117-22 |
| Disclosure Code: | UNAMIRZ-15   |
| Disclosable:     | -1           |

| Past Disclosure----Past Disclosure----Past Disclosure----Past Disclosure |            |           |         |
|--|------------|-----------|---------|
| IN   | Code Used  | Date      | Support |
| Bagosora   | UNAMIRZ-15 | 26-Aug-02 | No      |
| Kabiligi   | UNAMIRZ-15 | 26-Aug-02 | No      |
| Nsengiyumva  | UNAMIRZ-15 | 26-Aug-02 | No      |
| Ntabakuze  | UNAMIRZ-15 | 26-Aug-02 | No      |

CRN-128 V6  
1000211

UNAMIR

194 APR 19 13 53

U N A M I R

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

MOST IMMEDIATE

TO: ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK  
FROM: DALLAIRE, UNAMIR, KIGALI  
DATE: 19 APRIL 1994  
NUMBER: MIR-791

SUBJECT: MILITARY ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION

REFERENCE: UNAMIR 1173 DATED 18 APRIL 1994

1. THIS MORNING FC UNAMIR RECEIVED AN OFFICIAL LETTER OF RESPONSE FROM THE RGF IN REFERENCE TO MAKING THE AIRPORT NEUTRAL GROUND (ATTACHED). THE RGF REFUSED THE INTENT OF UNAMIR TO MAKE THE AIRPORT NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL GROUND OPERATED AND SECURED BY UNAMIR ONLY.
2. INSTEAD THE RGF PROPOSED CO-CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT IN RELATION TO FUNCTIONING AND SECURITY. A PHOTOCOPY OF THEIR LETTER IS ATTACHED. THE RGF STATED THAT SECURITY OF UNAMIR, HUMANITARIAN RELIEF AND HUMANITARIAN EVACUATION WERE THE PRIORITIES. NEUTRALITY OF THE AIRPORT WAS NOT AS GREAT A CONCERN TO THE RGF AS "CONGESTION". IN ADDITION THE RGF REQUESTED A CEASEFIRE PERMITTING RETURN TO THE KWSA AGREEMENT. PENDING A CEASEFIRE THE RGF "APPROVED" THE RELIEF IN PLACE OF KIBAT (BELGIUM) WITH BYUBAT (GHANA) WHICH WOULD THEN CO-HABITATE WITH RGF UNITS. THE RGF PROPOSED A JOINT COMMISSION TO OPERATE AND DEFEND THE AIRPORT. THIS COMMISSION WOULD ENSURE THE INTEREST OF BOTH THE RGF AND UNAMIR. THEY ALSO STATED THERE WAS NO REASON TO INVOLVE THE RPF IN THIS AGREEMENT.
3. OUR ANALYSIS OF THIS LETTER IS THAT THE POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN HARDLINER AND MODERATE RGF OFFICERS SEEMS TO HAVE SWUNG IN FAVOR OF THE HARDLINERS. ONLY YESTERDAY THE RGF AGREED TO DETAILED DISCUSSIONS AND POSSIBLE HANDOVER OF THE AIRPORT AS NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL AREA CONTROLLED ESSENTIALLY BY UNAMIR. THIS CHANGE IN POSITION IS TOTALLY CONTRARY TO ANY ACCEPTABLE OPTION. THE RPF WILL NEVER ACCEPT BEING EXCLUDED FROM AN AIRPORT AGREEMENT OR TO JOINT RGF\UNAMIR CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT. IT COULD APPEAR THE RGF MAY BE ATTEMPTING TO "BLACKMAIL" UNAMIR AND USE THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF UNAMIR PERSONNEL AS A BARGAINING CHIP FOR THE PURPOSE OF GETTING UNAMIR PRESSURE ON THE RPF FOR A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT ON LESS THAN THE RPF FOUR PRE-CONDITIONS. THE FC DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NEW RGF ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF THIS MORNING DID NOT REVEAL ANY

7/6

ANIMOSITY NOR DESIRE TO QUESTION UNAMIR'S STATUS. HIS CONCERNS OVER THE AIRPORT WERE TACTICAL IN NATURE ONLY AND AS SUCH SHOWED NO HINT OF ANY ULTERIOR MOTIVE.

4. THE AIRPORT COULD BECOME THE SCENE OF A BATTLE AS EACH PARTY MAY VIE FOR SOLE CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT AND ITS ENVIRONS. THIS WOULD SERIOUSLY ENDANGER A POSSIBLE UNAMIR WITHDRAWAL AND THE RESUPPLY, SAFETY AND SECURITY OF UNAMIR PERSONNEL.

5. INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS WITH RGF BATTALION COMMANDERS ON 18 AND 19 APRIL REVEALED A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE FROM SEEKING PEACE TO A RELUCTANCE TO ENTER INTO A CEASEFIRE WITH THE RPF AND A DESIRE TO "SORT THINGS OUT ONCE AND FOR ALL"; SIMILAR STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY RPF FIELD COMMANDERS. THIS SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN THE POSITION OF THE RGF IN THE LAST 18 HOURS, COUPLED WITH THE REFUSAL OF THE RPF TO ENTER INTO CEASEFIRE NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS THERE IS UNCONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR FOUR PRE-CONDITIONS CONCLUDES THAT THEIR IS NOT MUCH HOPE OF A CEASEFIRE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. BOTH PARTIES NOW SEEM TO BE READY TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THE BATTLEFIELD IF THIS CEASEFIRE SITUATION DOES NOT CLEAR UP RAPIDLY.

6. IN ADDITION IN THE EARLY AM OF 19 APRIL THE RGF FIRED MORTAR ROUNDS INTO THE AMAHORO STADIUM (A KNOWN JOINT UNAMIR AND REFUGEE LOCATION) KILLING 6 REFUGEES AND WOUNDING 46 OTHER REFUGEES. UNAMIR PERSONNEL WERE UNHURT BUT SUBJECTED TO SEVERE DANGER. ADDITIONAL MORTAR SHELLS LANDED IN THE AREA ADJACENT TO THE STADIUM KILLING AND WOUNDING AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF CIVILIANS. THE FORCE HEADQUARTERS WAS ALSO HIT BY A MORTAR BOMB THAT DID NOT EXPLODE. THIS MORTAR ATTACK FURTHER ENDANGERED THE LIVES OF UNAMIR PERSONNEL WHEN THEY ATTEMPTED TO EVACUATE CASUALTIES WITH RED CROSS AMBULANCES AND SIRENS.

7. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS NOT VIABLE TO LEAVE A RESIDUAL FORCE AS FC OPTION C (IE ABOUT 1300 PERSONNEL) IN RWANDA. THERE IS NOW NO REASONABLY GUARANTEED SAFETY VALVE FOR THE RESUPPLY AND POSSIBLE EXTRACTION OF A VERY LARGE CONTINGENT OF UNAMIR PERSONNEL IN RWANDA SHOULD THINGS GET WORSE.

8. UNAMIR SHOULD HOWEVER GO TO A FORCE OF OPTION B (IE 250 PERSONNEL) IN ORDER TO KEEP A UN SECURE PRESENCE FOR HUMANITARIAN AND PEACE BROKERING PURPOSES. JUST AS IMPORTANT IF NOT MORE, THIS OPTION IS CONSIDERED AN ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL MINIMUM STEP OF UNAMIR PRESENCE IN RWANDA BECAUSE BOTH PARTIES HAVE CONTINUOUSLY STATED THEY FIRMLY WISH TO SEE UNAMIR STAY. A WHOLESALE WITHDRAWAL OF THE MISSION WOULD MOST CERTAINLY BE INTERPRETED AS LEAVING THE SCENE IF NOT EVEN DESERTING THE SINKING SHIP. IN VIEW OF THE SERIOUS STATE OF AFFAIRS ONE SHOULD ANTICIPATE ENORMOUS\DANGEROUS REACTIONS AGAINST OUR TROOPS AND AS SUCH PREJUDICE AND ENDANGER THE WHOLE WITHDRAWAL PROCESS. FOR SECURITY REASONS IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO GO TO OPTION B AND THEN LET THE SITUATION SETTLE FOR A SHORT WHILE (AFTER POSSIBLY THE TANZANIAN MEETING) BEFORE REVIEWING

10002118

THE MISSION. FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS, IT WOULD BE UNETHICAL TO LEAVE THIS TERRIBLE SCENE WITHOUT AT LEAST GIVING A LAST HARD AND DETERMINED CHANCE FOR A CEASE FIRE AND AN EMBRYO OF A RELIEF ORGANIZATION IN COUNTRY. THE MISSION WOULD BE BASED IN OUR CURRENT HQ AND STADIUM COMPLEX AS IT IS STILL A REASONABLY SAFE PLACE AND IT IS VERY EASILY ACCESSIBLE TO CITY AND AIRPORT.

9. SHOULD OPTION B BE ORDERED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND/OR IF THE AIRPORT IS CLOSED DUE TO FIGHTING IN ITS ENVIRONS, THEN A ROAD MOVE WILL HAVE TO BE CONDUCTED. THE PREFERRED ROUTE OF KIGALI-BYUMBA-MULINDI-GATUNA-KABALE-KAMPALA MAY NOT BE FEASIBLE WITH FIGHTING STILL ON-GOING IN THE NORTH. IN ADDITION THE ROUTE KIGALI-DAR-ES-SALEM MAY BE INSECURE IN SOME OF THE RGF\MILITIA CONTROLLED TERRITORY. UNAMIR DOES NOT POSSESS HEAVY WEAPON SYSTEMS OR THE AMMUNITION TO FORCE ITS WAY OUT. OPTIONS LIKE AN INTERNATIONALLY IMPOSED CEASEFIRE OR GUARANTEES OF AN INTERNATIONALLY MILITARY SUPPORTED EXTRACTION MAY HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IF UNAMIR IS TO SUCCESSFULLY WITHDRAW ITS PERSONNEL WITH SAFETY FROM RWANDA.

10. THE CONSEQUENCES OF A WITHDRAWAL BY UNAMIR WILL DEFINITELY HAVE AN ADVERSE AFFECT ON THE MORALE OF THE CIVIL POPULATION, ESPECIALLY THE REFUGEES, WHO WILL FEEL WE ARE DESERTING THEM. HOWEVER IN ACTUAL FACT THERE IS LITTLE THAT WE ARE DOING AT THE PRESENT TIME EXCEPT PROVIDING SECURITY, SOME FOOD AND MEDICINE AND A PRESENCE. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE HAS NOT REALLY COMMENCED. THE REFUGEES IN THE AMAHORO STADIUM, THE KING FAISEL HOSPITAL AND THE MERIDIEN HOTEL ARE IN SECURE RPF TERRITORY AND THEY WILL BE WELL TREATED (WITHIN THEIR MEANS) BY THE RPF SHOULD THEY CONTINUE TO HOLD THAT GROUND. THE ONLY THREAT WILL BE INDIRECT FIRE ATTACKS BY THE RGF WHO ARE CAPABLE OF SUCH ACTION AS WAS DEMONSTRATED ON 19 APRIL. HOWEVER, THEY WOULD SEEM TO BE INCLINED TO CONDUCT SUCH ATTACKS IF UNAMIR WAS HERE OR NOT AS WITNESSED TODAY AND AS INDICATED BY THE NEW CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE RGF ARMY WHO STATED HE MAY HAVE TO USE ALL THE TOOLS HE HAS TO WIN IF THE RPF INSIST ON CONTINUING THE FIGHT.

11. THE REFUGEES AT LOCATIONS LIKE HOTEL MILLES COLLINES, THE RED CROSS, ST MICHELS CATHEDRAL ETC IN RGF TERRITORY ARE IN DANGER OF MASSACRE, BUT HAVE BEEN IN THIS DANGER WITHOUT RESULT SO FAR FOR THE LAST WEEK EVEN WITH UNAMIR ON THE GROUND. BOTH PARTIES ARE BEING INFORMED THAT WE HAVE NOMINAL ROLLS OF THE PERSONS IN THE MERIDIEN AND MILLES COLLINES AND AN ACCURATE HEAD COUNT OF THE REFUGEES IN THE OTHER LOCATIONS. THIS WAS MADE AS A WARNING THAT THEY WOULD BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF REFUGEES UNDER THEIR CONTROL. LETTERS AND MEETINGS WILL BE HELD WITH EACH PARTY TO EMPHASIZE THAT THESE PERSONS MUST BE TREATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH BASIC HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF SUPPLIES WILL NOT BE FORWARDED TO RWANDA UNTIL THERE IS A STABLE AND DURABLE CEASEFIRE TO ENSURE THE SAFETY OF THE PERSONNEL AND SUPPLIES.

12. THE FIRST INFORMAL MEETING BETWEEN UNAMIR AND THE ICRC HEAD WAS HELD AT FORCE HQ IN ORDER TO POSSIBLY CONVINCING BOTH

4/6  
L00002922

PARTIES TO MEET ONLY TO DISCUSS HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. THE TEAM WENT TO THE RPF IN ORDER TO FEEL THEM OUT ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A QUADRIPARTITE MEETING (UNAMIR, ICRC, RPF, RGF) TO DISCUSS IMMEDIATE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS LIKE BURYING THE DEAD, FOOD DELIVERY ETC. THE RESULTS WERE RATHER DISAPPOINTING AS THEY EMPHASIZED ONCE AGAIN THEIR VERY STRONG CASE REGARDING THE CONTINUING MASSACRES AROUND THE COUNTRY THAT ARE NOT SEEMINGLY BEING ABATED.

13. IN CONCLUSION THE PREFERRED OPTION IS TO REDUCE THE MISSION TO THE OPTION B LEVEL OF APPROXIMATELY 250 MILITARY/CIVILIAN PERSONNEL TO MAINTAIN A UN PRESENCE IN RWANDA, TO ASSIST IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE OPERATIONS, TO PROVIDE A FORUM FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE DISCUSSIONS OF A CEASEFIRE AND TO ENSURE THE SAFE WITHDRAWAL OF THE REST OF THE FORCE. THE SAFETY OF OUR WITHDRAWAL IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO OUR KEEPING A FOOT ON THE GROUND IN RWANDA FOR AT LEAST THE NEXT SHORT WHILE. FC CANNOT STRESS THIS POINT EMPHATICALLY ENOUGH. WE AWAIT YOUR DECISION ON THIS MATTER.