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Code Cable from Dallaire to Annan
Re: Current Assessment of the Situation in Rwanda and
meetings with Prime Minister, and RGF and RPF military
chiefs

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KAGAME'S

ONLY

SUBJECT: CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN RWANDA

REFERENCE: A. DPKO CODE CABLE 1233 DATED 21 APRIL 1994
 B. DPKO CODE CABLE 1237 DATED 21 APRIL 1994

1. THIS ASSESSMENT OF MEETINGS AND OBSERVATIONS COLLECTED OVER THE LAST 36 HOURS. DURING THIS TIME FRAME THE FC MET WITH THE RGF CHIEF OF STAFF, THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND TWO OF HIS MINISTERS, THE COMMANDER OF RPF FORCES (MGEN KAGAME), AND THE RPF MINISTER PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU. THE USG HA, MR PETER HANSEN, ALSO VISITED WITH US.

2. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION. MGEN KAGAME MADE IT QUITE CLEAR IN MY 2 1/2 HOUR MEETING WITH HIM THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE REFUGEES IN KIGALI HAS STALLED AND SLOWED DOWN HIS OPERATIONS AGAINST THE CAPITAL. HIS PINCER MOVEMENT FROM THREE DIRECTIONS, WHILE DOMINATING MOST OF THE HIGH GROUND AROUND THE CITY, IS READY TO BE IMPLEMENTED. IT LOOKS AS IF HE IS GOING TO HIT KIGALI LIKE HE DID BYUMBA. BY DAY THERE WILL BE ARTILLERY\MORTAR BOMBARDMENT ON VERY SPECIFICALLY SENSITIVE TARGETS IN THE CITY AND AT NIGHT THERE WILL BE SMALL UNIT INFILTRATION \HARASSMENT; ALL THIS AIMED AT KEEPING THE RGF ON EDGE, SLEEPLESS, DEMORALIZED AND UNDER THE PRESSURE OF BEING SURROUNDED. HE HAS JUST SENT ME A NOTE TO MOVE ALL MY ELEMENTS TO MY MAIN LOCATIONS (AMAHORO AND AIRPORT). SHOULD I DO THIS THE MILLE COLLINES WILL BE DEFENSELESS EXCEPT FOR GOVERNMENT TROOPS AND I WILL HAVE NO MORE CONTACT WITH THE RGF ARMY HQ.

3. RPF HAVE DEMANDED TO MOVE REFUGEES OUT OF THE KING FAISEL HOSPITAL AND THE AMAHORO STADIUM TONIGHT. WE TRIED TO MOVE THEM TODAY BUT RGF ARTILLERY HIT THE REFUGEE EVACUATION ROUTE AND RGF HIGH COMMAND WILL NOT AGREE TO MOVE UNTIL IT HAS WRITTEN APPROVAL FROM THEIR GOVERNMENT, WHICH THEY SHOULD GET AS A RESULT OF FC MEETING WITH THE PM YESTERDAY. WE HAVE THUS ACKNOWLEDGED THE ESSENTIAL NEED TO MOVE KING FAISEL TONIGHT

ALONG A SECURE RPF ROUTE AND PROCEED NORTH THROUGH BYUMBA. IF I GET TRANSPORT FOR THEM IN THE MORNING WE WILL EASE THE BURDEN OF THIS MOVE. WE PLAN TO MOVE THE MERIDIEN PEOPLE TOMORROW SOMETIME. THE MILLE COLLINES SITUATION WILL STILL BE A SERIOUS PROBLEM UNTIL THE RGF GIVE THEIR FULL SUPPORT. LAST NIGHT THE FC DEPLOYED TWO APCs AND 15 SOLDIERS WITH RULES OF ENGAGEMENT RESPONDING TO PROTECTION OF A UN INSTALLATION. FC DOING SAME TONIGHT.

4. THE HA ADVANCE PARTY IS HERE AND ASSESSING THE SITUATION. UNFORTUNATELY, A PLANNED MEETING WITH THE ICRC (THE ONLY REMAINING NGO IN RWANDA) WAS CANCELLED DUE TO ARTILLERY FIRE ALONG THE ROUTE. THEY CONTINUE TO STUDY THE SITUATION UNDER AN UMBRELLA OF URGENCY. THE THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES IN KIGALI, LET ALONE THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS IN RWANDA, ARE IN DESPERATE NEED OF WATER, FOOD, MEDICAL SUPPLIES, SANITATION AND SHELTER. MOST HAVE HAD LITTLE OF THE ABOVE BARE MINIMUM SURVIVAL NECESSITIES SINCE THE WAR STARTED. 2 CANADIAN FORCES HERCULES HAVE BEEN PLACED UNDER OPERATIONAL CONTROL OF FC BY CANADA TO SUPPORT UNAMIR IN ANY WAY HE DETERMINES. THE PRIORITY IS ON THE RAPID MOVEMENT (2 FLIGHTS PER PLANE PER DAY WITH 25,000 LBS PER LOAD) OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, WHICH IT IS UNDERSTOOD IS AVAILABLE IN NAIROBI (THE TEMPORARY BASE FOR THE HERCULES) UNTIL 30 APRIL WHEN THE HERCULES MUST RETURN TO CANADA. THIS IS A GODSEND AT A TIME WHEN MR B WALDRUM IN NAIROBI HAS WARNED US THAT THE INSURANCE ON THE UN IL76 AND IL 100 WILL MOST LIKELY BE CANCELLED FOR FLIGHTS TO KIGALI OR MAY HAVE TO SUPPORT SOMALIA. THE RAPID MOVEMENT, COMMENCING TOMORROW UNTIL 30 APRIL, OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES IS AN ABSOLUTE AND ESSENTIAL NECESSITY WHICH CANNOT BE DELAYED. THE MORAL IMPERATIVE TO HELP AND THE REPUTATION OF UNAMIR AND THE UN DEPENDS UPON THE TIMELY ARRIVAL OF ASSISTANCE.

5. MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. A MEETING WAS HELD YESTERDAY IN GITARAMA WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND TWO MINISTERS. THE MEETING WAS HELD TO OBTAIN PERMISSION TO EVACUATE REFUGEES FROM EITHER SIDE TO SAFE AREAS OF THEIR CHOICE AND TO OBTAINING APPROVAL FROM THE RGF FOR THE DESIGNATION OF THE AIRPORT IN KIGALI AS NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL GROUND UNDER THE SOLE CONTROL AND SECURITY OF UNAMIR. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS RECEPTIVE TO THE FORMALIZATION OF UNAMIR MONITORED SAFE PASSAGE OF REFUGEES. IN ADDITION THE RGF SEEM TO HAVE MELLOWED ON THE CONCEPT OF A UN CONTROLLED AND SECURED AIRPORT.

6. THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE FULLY APPRECIATED THE TACTICAL SITUATION OF THE WAR. THEY DO NOT SEEM TO BE CONCERNED OR DISMAYED WITH THE HORRENDOUS ETHNIC KILLINGS. THEY STATE THAT THEY ARE UNABLE TO CONTROL THE MILITIAS. THE LOCAL ROADBLOCKS ARE THERE BECAUSE THE LOCAL PEOPLE WANT PROTECTION AGAINST THE RPF. THEIR CONCERNS WERE OVER MATTERS SUCH AS HOW TO ORGANIZE A STATE FUNERAL FOR THE LATE PRESIDENT. ALL OF THIS IN A NATION WHICH HAS LOST AS MANY AS 100,000 KILLED AND 1 1/2 MILLION DISPLACED IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS AND IS ON THE VERGE OF MILITARY COLLAPSE. THE GOVERNMENT APPEARED OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE SITUATION. THIS MAY

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BE DUE TO THE INCREDIBLY POOR COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN KIGALI AND GITARAMA. ALL WRITTEN MATERIAL MUST BE DELIVERED BY HAND. NO DATA PASSAGE CAPABILITY EXISTS. THIS MAY ACCOUNT FOR THE RGF DELEGATION NOT ARRIVING IN GOMA FOR THEIR UN ORGANIZED FLIGHT TO ARSHA, EVEN THOUGH THE ARMY HQ STATED THE DELEGATION WAS IN GOMA. WE ARE LOOKING AT A WAY OF HELPING THEM WITH THEIR COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO GET MORE TIMELY ANSWERS TO THE CEASEFIRE AND OTHER RELATED AND HUMANITARIAN MATTERS.

7. MEETING WITH MGEN KAGAME. YESTERDAY AFTERNOON FC TRAVELLED TO MULINDI BY ROAD TO MEET MGEN KAGAME AT HIS MAIN HEADQUARTERS. FROM APPROXIMATELY 1 KM NORTH OF KIGALI THE MAIN ROAD WAS TOTALLY UNDER RPF CONTROL. AT BYUMBA, THE CITY WAS DESERTED OF PEOPLE AND THE RGF. EVIDENCE OF A LARGE SCALE BATTLE WAS EVIDENT AND RPF CONTROL SEEMED COMPLETE.

8. AT MULINDI, THE FC FOUND A COMFORTABLE, COMPETENT, RELAXED AND CONFIDENT STAFF AT WORK IMPLEMENTING AN OPERATIONAL PLAN WHICH HAD BEEN PREPARED WELL IN ADVANCE.

9. IN CONVERSATION WITH MGEN KAGAME, HE EXPLAINED HIS OPERATIONAL PLAN TO THE FC. THE RPF ATTACK IN THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE WAR IN THE NORTH WEST NEAR RUHENGARI WAS A FEINT TO PREVENT REINFORCEMENT OF BYUMBA OR KIGALI. THE MAIN EFFORT WAS ON THE WEST FLANK OF BYUMBA AND IN THE EXTREME EAST AT GABIRO AND THE AKAGERA HIGHWAY. AT BYUMBA, THE RPF ENVELOPED THE RGF POCKET OF 7 BATTALIONS AND CONTINUED TO CUT THE KIGALI-RUHENGARI ROAD AT BASE AND PROCEED UPON THE ROUTE TO KIGALI TO OPEN LINES OF COMMUNICATION WITH THEIR REINFORCED BATTALION AT THE CND. THE BYUMBA POCKET WAS HARASSED WITH SURGICAL ARTILLERY AND MORTAR STRIKES DURING THE DAY AND INFILTRATED WITH SMALL GROUPS FOR HARRASSMENT, RAIDS AND AMBUSHES AT NIGHT. THIS TACTIC EXHAUSTED AND DEMORALIZED THE RGF BEFORE THE FINAL ASSAULT WHICH LED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF A COUPLE OF BATTALIONS AND THE WITHDRAWAL IN REASONABLE ORDER OF THE OTHER BATTALIONS. THEY HAVE BEEN SPOTTED SINCE WEST OF KIGALI AND RPF FORCES ARE ENGAGEING IN ORDER TO REDUCE THEM AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. THE RGF LEFT LOTS OF WEAPONS AND OTHER EQUIPMENTS BEHIND WHICH THE RPF ARE USING. SLIGHTLY TO THE WEST OF THIS LINE THE RPF ADVANCED TO CUT THE KIGALI-RUHENGARI HIGHWAY AND INFILTRATE TO THE WEST OF KIGALI. IN THE EXTREME EAST AN RPF COLUMN ADVANCED AND TOOK NGARAMA AND THEN GABIRO THUS EFFECTIVELY CUTTING THE COUNTRY OFF FROM UGANDA. THE ADVANCE THEN PROCEEDED SOUTH TO RAWAGAMA WHICH WAS SECURED. THIS EFFECTIVELY CUT THE MAIN RWANDA\TANZANIA ROAD. THEN THE RPF FORCE SPLIT WITH ONE COLUMN ADVANCING ON KIGALI FROM THE EAST AND THE OTHER PROCEEDING SOUTH TO KIBUNGO WHICH IS NOT YET SECURED. MGEN KAGAME STATED KIGALI WAS NEVER HIS MAIN OBJECTIVE. BECAUSE OF ITS VALUE TO THE GOVERNMENT AS A PRESTIGE SYMBOL THE ROLE OF THE CND BATTALION AND INFILTRATED REINFORCEMENTS WAS TO TIE DOWN AS MANY RGF TROOPS AND REINFORCEMENTS AS POSSIBLE WHILE THE BYUMBA AND RAWAGAMA CAMPAIGNS WERE COMPLETED. THE RPF DID NOT WANT TO BECOME EMBROILED IN A FIBUA BATTLE THAT WOULD DRAIN THEIR PRECIOUS HUMAN RESOURCES UNTIL THE OUTER BATTLE HAD BEEN DECIDED.

INSTEAD THEY CONCENTRATED ON SPLITTING THE CITY INTO PIECES AND OCCUPYING THE DOMINATING FEATURES AROUND THE CITY (MT KIGALI, MT RIBERO, MT KASSANA ETC). AT PRESENT MGEN KAGAME HINTED (AND TONIGHT CONFIRMED) THAT IT WAS NOW TIME TO SORT OUT KIGALI. THE WESTERN FORCE WILL PREVENT REINFORCEMENT FROM RUHENGERI. THE EASTERN FORCE WILL ADVANCE ON KIBUNGO AND TAKE THE EASTERN PART. THE CENTRAL FORCE WILL TAKE KIGALI. HIS FUTURE OBJECTIVES THEN ARE NOT TOTALLY CLEAR. HE HINTED AT RUHENGERI AND GISSENYI.

10. THE SUMMARY OF THIS CONVERSATION IS THAT MGEN KAGAME DOES NOT SEEM QUITE ORIENTED TO ENTER INTO A CEASEFIRE AT THIS TIME. HIS FORCE IS WINNING THE TACTICAL WAR AND WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT AS LONG AS IT IS WINNING. IN ADDITION, THIS CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN A CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED OPERATION WHICH HAS GIVEN THE RPF THE NORTH AND EAST OF THE COUNTRY SO FAR. IT IS STILL A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE CAN CONSOLIDATE ALL THESE HOLDINGS.

11. IN LATER CONVERSATIONS LAST NIGHT WITH PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, HE REAFFIRMED THE RPF POSITION REGARDING ARUSHA TALKS. ESSENTIALLY, THEY WERE ATTENDING BECAUSE OF PRESSURE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THEY WOULD TELL THEIR STORY AND LEAVE. THEY ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE INTERNAL COMMUNITY HAS NOT STATED CLEARLY ITS DISGUST WITH THE DECAPITATION OF ALL THE OPPOSITION POLITICAL LEADERS AND THE TOTAL SURVIVAL OF THE MRND AND ITS LEADERS. THEY REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE MILITIAS ARE LINKED WITH THE RGF AUTHORITIES.

12. TODAY AT 1700 HOURS MGEN KAGAME FORWARDED A NOTE TO THE FC WARNING UNAMIR PERSONNEL TO REMAIN IN THEIR CAMPS AS THE BATTLE FOR KIGALI WOULD COMMENCE TONIGHT OR TOMORROW. GIVEN THEIR RECENT VICTORIES AND HIGH MORALE IT IS LIKELY KIGALI MAY FALL OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

13. BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES, A MAJOR CONCERN TO UNAMIR IS THE CONTINUED PRESENCE, BELLIGERENCE AND ACTIONS OF THE MILITIAS, PARTICULARLY THE INTERHAMWE. THESE MILITIAS CONTINUE TO MAN ROADBLOCKS AND CONDUCT ETHNIC CLEANSING. OFTEN THEY ARE DRUNK OR DRUGGED. MGEN KAGAME STATED THAT IN ONE BATTLE THEY WERE SLAUGHTERED IN A FANATICAL BUT HOPELESS ATTACK. THESE GROUPS REPRESENT THE SINGLE GREATEST THREAT TO UNAMIR AND ITS HUMANITARIAN AND RESCUE MISSIONS. THEY HAVE KILLED THOUSANDS OF RWANDESE (BOTH TUTSIS AND HUTUS), EXPATRIATES AND ON TWO OCCASIONS THEY HAVE ATTACKED UN VEHICLES. DEFENSIVE RULES OF ENGAGEMENT WILL ENSURE THAT THESE INDIVIDUALS, SHOULD THEY ATTACK UN INSTALLATIONS, PERSONNEL OR CONVOYS, WILL BE WARNED AND IF NECESSARY DEADLY FORCE WILL BE USED IN SELF-DEFENCE. THE FC WILL CONTINUE TO PRESSURE THE RGF TO GET THE MILITIAS UNDER CONTROL. MGEN KAGAME STATED THE RPF WILL SORT OUT THE MILITIAS IN THEIR OWN WAY.

14. IN CONCLUSION, THE NEXT 48-72 HOURS SHOULD SEE THE CLIMAX OF THE BATTLE FOR KIGALI AND MOPPING UP IN THE NORTH AND EAST OF THE COUNTRY. THE RGF HAS LOST THE INITIATIVE AND IS FOCUSED ON LOCAL TACTICAL BATTLES AND IS NEGLECTING THE

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GREATER OPERATIONAL LEVEL OF THIS CAMPAIGN. THEY ARE PUSHING REINFORCEMENTS INTO KIGALI WHERE THE RPF HAVE SEIZED THE MAJOR TERRAIN FEATURES AND DEVELOPED EXTENSIVE DEFENSIVE POSITIONS. RGF ATTEMPTS TO DISLODGE THE RPF WILL RESULT IN HEAVY CASUALTIES AND BREAK THE BACK OF THEIR ARMY, WHILE THE RPF ENCIRCLES THEM AND CONTINUES TO MAKE GAINS IN SEIZING GROUND IN RWANDA. UNAMIR WILL ADOPT A FULL STAND TO DEFENSIVE POSTURE WITHIN ITS CAMPS. DEFENSIVE WORKS ARE ADVANCING AND WILL IMPROVE WITH THE ARRIVAL OF DEFENSIVE STORES TOMORROW. THE UNAMIR AIM OF THIS PHASE OF THE WAR WILL BE SELF-PROTECTION AND ARMED ESCORTS FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

15. REGARDS.