

RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	EUR-01
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	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	RPE-01	PMB-00	/040W			

-----3CA1E4 160223Z /38

P 150830Z APR 94
FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3355
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USDAO YAOUNDE CM PRIORITY
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USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ-4// PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 BUJUMBURA 01299

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SUBJECT LINE)
E.O. 12356: OADR:DECL.
TAGS: PINS, PINR, PGOV, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: NED FROM KIGALI AND AN ANALYSIS OF WHAT HAPPENED
FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH AND WHY

REF: NAIROBI 6551

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1. THIS IS A JOINT STATE/DIA CABLE THAT ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNTING OF EVENTS FROM THE TIME OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S DEATH AT ABOUT 21:30 P.M. ON 6 APRIL UNTIL THE DEPARTURE OF THE LAST U.S. CONVOY OUT OF KIGALI AT 13:00 P.M. ON 10 APRIL. THE RECOUNTING OF EVENTS COMES FROM A LOG MAINTAINED BY ECONOFF WITH INPUT FROM OTHER EMBOFFS AND DISCUSSIONS WITH VARIOUS THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS. THIS REPORT DOES NOT PRETEND TO BE 100 PERCENT ACCURATE BUT ONLY PROVIDES THE EMBASSY TEAMS' UNDERSTANDING OF EVENTS THAT TRANSPIRED IN A CONFUSING AND DANGEROUS ENVIRONMENT.

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2. WE WILL ALSO ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN WHY CERTAIN EVENTS TOOK PLACE AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE MILITARY AND PROVIDE AN ASSESSMENT AS TO WHERE THE COUNTRY IS HEADED NOW.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS:

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6

9:00 P.M. FIRST EXPLOSION HEARD, UNAMIR REPORTS IT IS HEADING TOWARD THE AIRPORT TO INVESTIGATE.

9:30 P.M. RADIO RTLM REPORTS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PLANE IS SHOT DOWN.

9:35 P.M. GENDARME DETACHMENT AT KANOMBE
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AIRPORT REPORT THAT THEY WERE IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PLANE JUST BEFORE IT CRASHED. COMMUNICATION WAS CUT WHEN THE ELECTRICITY WENT OUT FOR SEVERAL MINUTES AT THE AIRPORT.

10:45 P.M. RPF SAYS ITS FORCES IN THE CND COMPOUND ARE ON ALERT.

11:30 P.M. COL MARCHAL (UNAMIR KIGALI SECTOR COMMANDER) TELLS ECONOFF THAT PRESIDENT IS CONFIRMED DEAD.

12:00 P.M. CONTACTED RSO IN BUJUMBURA TO ADVISE THAT SECURITY SITUATION IN KIGALI WAS DETERIORATING RAPIDLY.

THURSDAY, APRIL 7

5:00 A.M. HEAVY MORTAR FIRE HEARD, FOLLOWED BY AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FIRE

PRESIDENTIAL GUARD UNITS BEGIN ENTERING HOMES, LOOKING FOR OPPOSITION MINISTERS. TACTICS USED: PRESIDENTIAL GUARD THROWS GRENADES INTO HOMES, FORCING OCCUPANTS OUT; SOLDIERS THEN SHOOT FLEEING

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OCCUPANTS.
FIRST REPORTS THAT GOR FORCES HAVE
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CONTROL OF THE AIRPORT.

6:00 A.M. PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL AMERICAN
WARDEN SYSTEM ACTIVATED

9:45 A.M. FIRE FIGHT BEGINS ON KIMIHURURA
BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL GUARD AND
UNIDENTIFIED GOR FORCES. (RPF STILL
HAS NOT FIRED ON ANY GOR FORCES).

10:00 A.M. DCM LEADER'S HOUSE OCCUPIED BY
SEVERAL PRESIDENTIAL GUARD SOLDIERS
WHO ARE LOOKING FOR THE ACTING
PRIME MINISTER.

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/037W

-----3C93CF 152244Z /38

P 150830Z APR 94
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 BUJUMBURA 01299

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FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH AND WHY

11:00 A.M. SOLDIERS LEAVE DCM'S HOUSE,
THREATENING HER AGAINST USE OF HER
TELEPHONE.

11:05 A.M. WILLARD MUNGER OF MUDENDE
UNIVERSITY REPORTS THAT CIVILIANS
HAVE ENTERED UNIVERSITY COMPOUND
AND BEGUN KILLING TUTSI STUDENTS,
INCLUDING THE SON OF THE MINISTER
OF AGRICULTURE. ECONOFF CONTACTS
GISENYI GENDARMES ASKING FOR
ASSISTANCE.

11:10 A.M. GAKONI ORPHANAGE REPORTS ETHNICALLY
MOTIVATE KILLINGS ON ITS COMPOUND;
28 INITIALLY REPORTED DEAD. ECONOFF
CONTACTS UNAMIR DMZ COMMANDER, COL
YAATSE, ASKING IF A UN PATROL CAN
BE SENT IMMEDIATELY TO ASSIST
AMCITS AT THE ORPHANAGE.

12:00 P.M. EMBOFFS BEGIN RECEIVING REPORTS
THAT MINISTER OF INFORMATION, LABOR
AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, AND AGRICULTURE
ARE DEAD.

12:20 P.M. EMBOFFS BEGINNING HEARING REPORTS
FROM VARIOUS CONTACTS THAT MINISTER
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OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND
ACTING PRIME MINISTER ARE BOTH
DEAD; UNAMIR GUARDS PROTECTING THEM
HAVE ALSO BEEN KILLED; 7 OF THE 10
BELGIAN SOLDIERS PROTECTING ACTING
PRIME MINISTER REPORTEDLY CUT UP
INTO PIECES RATHER THAN BEING SHOT.

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13:15 P.M. MEMBERS OF ASIAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION REPORT STORES IN DOWN TOWN KIGALI BEING LOOTED.

14:00 P.M. ROZ CARR REPORTS ETHNIC KILLINGS IN MUTURA

14:30 P.M. HEAVY FIGHTING REPORTED NEAR PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE'S HOUSE, AIRPORT RUNWAY REPORTED BLOCKED WITH TRUCKS AND EQUIPMENT.

14:35 P.M. REPORTS THAT FRENCH MILITARY ON ALERT IN BANGUI

14:45 P.M. CONTACT RSO BUJUMBURA TO GIVE SITUATION REPORT.

15:00 P.M. REPORTS FROM GIKONDO AREA RESIDENTS THAT BOTH GOR FORCES AND CIVILIANS (BELIEVED TO BE INTERHAMWE) ARE ENTERING HOUSES AND KILLING TUTSI OCCUPANTS.

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UNAMIR NO LONGER ANSWERING TELEPHONE AT FORCE HEADQUARTERS OF KIGALI SECTOR COMMAND; LATER REPORTS THAT FORCE HEADQUARTERS HIT BY MORTAR.

RPF ISSUES ULTIMATUM THROUGH UNAMIR TO THE GOR FORCES THAT THEY WILL BE FORCED TO ATTACK IF THE GOR DOES NOT STOP THE KILLING IN KIGALI WITHIN 12 HOURS.

16:00 P.M.

REFUGEES STREAM INTO EMR CLAIMING RPF WILL SHOOT THEM IF THEY SEEK REFUGUE IN NEARBY CHURCHES ACROSS THE ROAD.

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P 150830Z APR 94
 FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3357
 INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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 AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
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18:00 P.M. FIGHTING DIMINISHES SIGNIFICANTLY;
 ONLY KIMIHURURA AND GIKONDO REPORT
 SPORADIC GUNFIRE; EMBASSY PROVIDES
 RADIO WARDEN MESSAGE WHICH IS
 TRANSMITTED VIA TELEPHONE TO
 PRIVATE AMCITS.

19:30 P.M. DATT, ECONOFF AND RSO DISCUSS
 POSSIBILITY OF OVERLAND EVACUATION.
 AMBASSADOR ASKS THAT DATT AND
 ECONOFF BEGIN PLANNING OF
 EVACUATION.

20:00 P.M. SPORADIC GUNFIRE AND GRENADE BLASTS
 HEARD THROUGHOUT THE NIGHT

FRIDAY, APRIL 8

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1:00 A.M. TWO OFFICIAL AMCIT HOUSES TAKE HITS DURING THE NIGHT; HEAVY FIGHTING REPORTED IN KIMIHURURA.

8:00 A.M. WARDEN MESSAGE TO ALL AMCITS

9:00 A.M. ALL HOUSES IN KIMIHURURA AND KACIKIRU LOOSE ELECTRICITY AND TELEPHONE COMMUNICATIONS

10:00 A.M. OFFICIAL AMERICANS ADVISED TO TURN OFF THEIR RADIOS AND ONLY TURN THEM ON EVERY HOUR ON THE HOUR FOR FIVE
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MINUTES FOR SECURITY UPDATES.

11:00 A.M. DATT, PC ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, ECONOFF AND GSO ASSISTANT ESCORTED TO EMBASSY BY GENDARMES.

13:00 P.M. DATT AND ECONOFF MEET WITH GENERAL DALLAIRE AT MINISTRY OF DEFENSE TO ADVISE HIM THAT WE ARE PLANNING AN OVERLAND EVACUATION; GENERAL DALLAIRE SAYS HE IS NEGOTIATING

16:00 P.M. IN FIRE FIGHT BEHIND EMR, FAR SHOOTS INTO EMR COMPOUND, KILLING ONE CHILD AND WOUNDING TWO ADULTS. WITH MGEN NDINDILYIMANA TO ESTABLISH THE TERMS OF A CEASE FIRE

AT THIS POINT, ECONOFF COULD NO LONGER CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A LOG AS PLANNING FOR EVACUATION WAS BEGUN REQUIRING CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH BOTH PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL AMCITS.

TEAM WITHIN THE EMBASSY ESTABLISHED OPEN LINE WITH STATE OPS CENTER AND EUCOM. THROUGHOUT THE DAY, CONTACTS WERE MADE WITH THE FRENCH AND FAR MILITARY FOR SECURITY UPDATES. DATT BEGAN NEGOTIATING WITH FAR AND ECONOFF WITH THE RPF THROUGH UNAMIR LIAISON FOR GUARANTEE OF SAFE PASSAGE FOR AMCIT CONVOYS. INITIAL PLANS MADE FOR GROUND EVACUATION FROM THREE ASSEMBLY POINTS: AMERICAN CLUB, AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, AND
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KIGALI INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL. AS PART OF THE PLANNING,
GSO (FROM HER RESIDENCE), ECONOFF AND GSO ASSISTANT
BEGAN CONTACTING AMERICANS VIA RADIO AND/OR TELEPHONE
PROVIDING INSTRUCTIONS AND FINDING OUT IF AMCITS CAN
REACH DESIGNATED ASSEMBLY POINTS. ECONOFF ALSO TRIES
COORDINATING WITH UNAMIR TO ASSIST AMCITS OUTSIDE
KIGALI.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9

AT 3:00 A.M, EMBOFFS HEAR PLANE LANDING; REPORTS
LATER THAT FRENCH MILITARY LANDED AND SECURED
AIRFIELD. EUCOM NOTIFIES EMBASSY OF AVAILABILITY OF
AIRCRAFT FOR AIR EVACUATION, BUT ALSO LEAVE OPTION
OPEN FOR GROUND EVACUATION. AT APPROXIMATELY 08:00

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INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 EUR-01 HA-09 H-01
TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 L-01 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-00 PRS-01 P-01 SNP-00
SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 RPE-01 PMB-00
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-----3C94AE 152259Z /38

P 150830Z APR 94
FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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A.M., AMBASSADOR IN CONSULTATION WITH EMBOFFS DECIDES
ON THE GROUND EVACUATION OPTION FROM KIGALI, THROUGH
BUTARE, TO BUJUMBURA. EMBOFFS UNDER THE IMPRESSION
THAT TEMPORARY CEASEFIRE NEGOTIATED THE DAY BEFORE
HAD GONE INTO EFFECT AT 6:00 A.M.

DATT ARRANGES FOR GENDARME ESCORTS FOR THREE CONVOYS
SENT OUT AT 12:30, 13:10 AND 14:00 P.M. MOST
AMERICANS LEAVE IN THE FIRST OF THESE THREE CONVOYS.
FIRST CONVOY CROSSES THE BORDER BEFORE 18:00 P.M. THE
OTHER TWO CONVOYS ARRIVE AFTER BORDER CLOSED. WITH
ASSISTANCE FROM RSO BUJUMBURA, REMAINING TWO CONVOYS
CROSS BOARDER AT 3:00 A.M.
SUNDAY, APRIL 10

EMBOFFS RECEIVE REPORTS THAT CEASEFIRE NOT HOLDING
AND THAT RPF IS ADVANCING ON KIGALI. DECISION MADE TO
EVACUATE ALL REMAINING AMERICANS INCLUDING SKELETON
EMBASSY CREW PRIOR TO 12:00 P.M. AGAIN UNAMIR AND FAR
CONTACTED FOR SAFE PASSAGE GUARANTEES FOR AMERICAN
CONVOYS. TWO CONVOYS LEFT KIGALI, AFTER HEROIC
EFFORTS ARE MADE BY EMBOFF WALT MEYERS AND PRIVATE
CANADIAN CITIZEN VERNON DEMILLE TO GET REMAINING
AMERICANS TRAPPED IN GIKONODO AND KACIKIRU TO
ASSEMBLY POINTS. ONE CONVOY DEPARTS AT 11:00 A.M.;
THE SECOND CONVOY DEPARTS AT 13:30 P.M. WITH 108
VEHICLES AND 600 PEOPLE (ONLY 9 OF WHICH ARE
AMERICANS). THE SECOND CONVOY SWELLED IN SIZE AS
GERMANS, INDIANS, CANADIANS AND OTHER EXPATRIATES
DECIDE TO JOIN THE AMERICAN CONVOY TO ESCAPE THE
FIGHTING IN THE CITY. THIS LAST CONVOY ARRIVES IN
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BUJUMBURA AT 23:30 P.M.

ASSESSMENT:

2. WAS THE PRESIDENT ASSASSINATED; AND IF SO, TO WHAT
END?

BECAUSE NO FORMAL INVESTIGATION OF THE DOWNED
AIRCRAFT WAS CONDUCTED, IT IS PURE SPECULATION

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WHETHER THE PLAN WAS SHOT DOWN BY HOSTILE FIRE OR ACCIDENTALLY CRASHED. ACCORDING TO DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN FRENCH MILITARY AND DATT, UNAMIR WAS INTENDING TO CONDUCT AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DOWNED AIRCRAFT AND SPECIFICALLY TO RETRIEVE THE BLACK BOX IN ORDER TO DETERMINE THE CAUSE OF THE CRASH. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THAT HAS NOT YET BEEN DONE.

IF IN FACT THE PRESIDENT WAS ASSASSINATED, AMONG MANY POSSIBLE SCENARIOS, THREE SEEM MOST LIKELY. SCENARIO ONE: RPF ASSASSINATES PRESIDENT BECAUSE HABYARIMANA IS SEEN AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. WITHIN THIS SCENARIO IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE RPF PLANNED THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT KNOWING THE REACTION IT WOULD CAUSE THEREBY ALLOWING THEM THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXIT THE CND COMPOUND WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF TAKING ALL OR PART OF THE CITY OF KIGALI. THIS IS SOMETHING THEY WERE NEVER ABLE TO DO DURING THE THREE YEAR CIVIL WAR AND WOULD GIVE THEM AT A MINIMUM, GREAT BARGAINING ADVANTAGE IN THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT.

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SCENARIO TWO: ASSASSINATION BY SOUTHERN HUTUS ALSO DISSATISFIED BY PRESIDENTIAL INTRANSIGENCE AND FEAR THAT THIS INTRANSIGENCE WAS A SIGN THAT HABYARIMANA AND HIS INNER CIRCLE WERE IMPLEMENTING PLANS TO ELIMINATE SOUTHERN HUTUS AND OPPOSITION LEADERS BEGINNING WITH THE KILLING OF GAPIYSI AND LATER MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS GATABAZI.

SCENARIO THREE: NORTHERN HUTU HARDLINERS KILL THE PRESIDENT IN ORDER TO USE HIS DEATH AS AN EXCUSE TO ELIMINATE THE RPF AND SYMPATHETIC HUTU LEADERSHIP, EFFECTING STOPPING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORDS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS.

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SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 RPE-01 PMB-00
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-----3C9514 152303Z /38

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3. WAS THE EXECUTION OF OPPOSITION MINISTERS
FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT PLANNED AND/OR
SANCTIONED BY THE MILITARY HIERARCHY OR WAS IT A
SPONTANEOUS REACTION BY A LOYAL GRIEF STRICKEN
PRESIDENTIAL GUARD LOOKING FOR REVENGE ?

DCM WAS TOLD BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE MILITARY
TRAINING SCHOOL THAT A PLAN WAS IN PLACE TO KILL
OPPOSITION MINISTERS SHOULD THE PRESIDENT BE
ASSASSINATED (SEE REFTEL). SINCE THERE WERE NO
REPORTS FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH OF FAR FORCES
ATTEMPTING TO PREVENT THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARDS KILLING
SPREE, IT CAN ONLY BE ASSUMED THAT EITHER THE
MILITARY FELT POWERLESS TO STOP IT OR CONDONE IT BY
THEIR INACTION. (COMMENT: THE ARMY AND GENDARMES
COMBINED SHOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACT TO CONTAIN AN
APPROXIMATELY 500 MAN PRESIDENTIAL GUARD. HOWEVER,
THERE ARE REPORTS THAT SOME SOLDIERS AND GENDARMES
PARTICIPATE WITH GENDARMES IN ATTACKING CIVILIANS,
LOOTING HOMES AND STORES AND KILLING /ANKING
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. THEREFORE, DEPENDING ON THEIR

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NUMBER, IT MAY IN FACT HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE ARMED FORCES TO EFFECTIVELY INTERVENE. END COMMENT.)

4. DID THE NORTHERN VERSUS SOUTHERN HUTU RIVALRY IN THE MILITARY RESULT IN FIGHTING WITHIN THE FAR'S RANKS AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH?

ALTHOUGH TENSIONS ALWAYS EXISTED IN THE MILITARY BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HUTUS, DURING

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RWANDA'S THREE YEAR CIVIL WAR, THIS TENSION NEVER RESULTED IN FIGHTING BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS WITH THE FAR RANKS. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE RUMORS THAT THERE WERE FIGHTING BETWEEN THESE TWO FACTIONS, NONE HAVE EVER BEEN SUBSTANTIATED IN NUMEROUS DISCUSSIONS WITH FAR OFFICERS AND THIRD COUNTRY MILITARY OFFICIALS. THEREFORE IF THESE TENSIONS FLARED INTO ACTUAL FIGHTING BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SOLDIERS, SUCH FIGHTING WAS CONTAINED TO A VERY LOW LEVEL.

5. WILL CURRENT FIGHTING RESULT IN A MILITARY STANDOFF OR WILL BOTH SIDES AGREE TO A QUICK CEASEFIRE FOLLOWED BY ATTEMPTS AT REINSTITUTING THE ARUSHA ACCORDS?

IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, THE ARUSHA ACCORDS WERE SIGNED BY BOTH SIDES BECAUSE THEY WERE EXHAUSTED AFTER THREE YEARS OF CIVIL WAR WHICH RESULTED IN NO SIGNIFICANT ADVANTAGE FOR EITHER SIDE. EMBOFFS STILL BELIEVE THAT BOTH SIDES ARE WAR WEARY AND DO NOT WANT A PROLONGED CONFLICT. THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO NOW IS FOR THE RPF TO GAIN QUICK MILITARY ADVANTAGE BY TAKING ALL OR PART OF KIGALI AND THEN SUEING FOR PEACE, RECOGNIZING THAT THEY MAY BE ABLE TO HOLD KIGALI MILITARILY BUT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO RULE UNILATERALLY WITHOUT VIOLENT REPRISALS AGAINST FELLOW TUTSIS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. THE RPF, HOWEVER, IS UNLIKELY TO SUE FOR PEACE UNTIL MOST ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD ARE ELIMINATED IN KIGALI.

EMBOFFS DO NOT SEE RPF'S ATTACK AS HAVING THE OBJECTIVE OF TOTALLY DEFEATING THE FAR. INSTEAD,

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CAPTURING ALL OR PART OF KIGALI IS AIMED AT SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASING THEIR BARGAINING POSITION IN

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A FUTURE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE
RESURRECTIONS OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS PRINCIPLES.

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