



OPERATION TAMAR

THE ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY

IN RWANDA 1994 - 1995

The second United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR II) was named Operation TAMAR by the Australian Defence Force; commencing on 25 July 1994 and ending on 24 August 1995. The Australian Defence Force (ADF) committed a 302 strong force comprising a medical support force of 293 personnel, nine personnel to work in the UNAMIR II Headquarters and a single Red Cross representative; their were two Australian contingents deployed during the operation. The bulk of the Operation TAMAR force was provided by the Australian Army and Royal Australian Air Force but a small number of RAN medical personnel were deployed in both the first and second contingents.

2019 is the 25th Anniversary of Australia's commitment to UNAMIR II and the deployment of ADF personnel to Rwanda. To understand the political, military and ethnic complexities faced by our personnel, in 1994-95, a short history of this small war-torn Central African nation is essential.

Rwanda is a land-locked country bordered by Burundi to the south, the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the west, Tanzania to the east and Uganda to the north. For many centuries the area was populated by two distinct tribal groups – the Hutu and the Tutsi.¹ The minority upper class Tutsi's were the land and cattle owners and the majority lower class Hutu's worked the land as subservient peasants. Hatred between the two groups was intense and had led to many acts of violence over the centuries; yet inter-marriage was permitted and they share the same language, culture and religion.



The small landlocked African nation of Rwanda

In 1884 what was to become Rwanda was annexed by Imperial Germany, along with Burundi and Tanzania and

named German East Africa. The German administration maintained the Tutsi leadership/Hutu labourer system that was well entrenched. German East Africa was the scene of extensive fighting by Allied forces during World War I (1914-1918). The German military commander, Major-General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, conducted a successful guerrilla campaign, against a much larger Allied force, for the entire duration of the war; only surrendering in late November 1918 when officially informed that the Armistice had been signed some weeks earlier.

Following the end of the war German East Africa was dissolved and Rwanda and Burundi became trustee states, under the League of Nations, administered by Belgium. This responsibility was re-endorsed by the United Nations in 1946. The Belgians also retained the status-quo of Tutsi leadership throughout the country; however under Belgian control the country shifted from a socio-economic status system to one based more on ethnicity; even issuing identity cards listing ethnicity data.

In 1959 the majority peasant Hutu's rose up in revolt, over-threw the Tutsi leadership and massacred thousands of Tutsi's. Many Tutsi's fled to neighbouring countries and in 1960 a provisional Hutu Government was formed with Belgian support. On 1 July 1962 the Republic of Rwanda was granted independence and the Belgians departed. In 1963 Tutsi rebels attempted to overthrow the Rwandan Government but the revolt failed.

Over the next 30 years sporadic but violent clashes between the Hutu Government of Rwanda and the Tutsi exiles continued. In 1978 Tutsi's, in exile in Uganda, formed the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) with the express purpose of restoring Tutsi control in Rwanda. The Hutu Government, led by ex-General Habyarimana since 1973, used military force to impose greater control on opposition parties and the media; thus by the late 1980's Rwanda had effectively become a totalitarian state.

The RPF, based in Uganda, under the command of Major-General Paul Kagame, launched attacks on Rwanda in 1990-1991 which saw Belgian and French troops deploying to protect foreign nationals and support the Habyarimana's Government. Fighting continued into 1992-1993, in what was now effectively a civil war, and despite a United Nations (UN) brokered cease-fire, tensions in the area remained high. On 5 October 1993 the UN Security Council established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to monitor the ceasefire; under the command of Canadian Major-General Romeo Dallaire. On 4 August 1993 the Arusha Accord was signed by both warring sides. This Accord set the terms of agreement to the sharing of political power within Rwanda. 2200 troops from Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada and France were deployed to Rwanda to oversee this process. Tensions remained high and elements of the Rwandan Government remained opposed to the Arusha process.

On 6 April 1994, President Habyarimana and President Ntaryamira of Burundi were killed when their aircraft was shot down while landing at Kigali Airport. Although the Hutu Presidential Guard, who disagreed with Habyarimana's reduction in military control within Rwanda, were suspected of the killing, the Rwandan Government blamed the RPF and this triggered fresh outbreaks of violence against Tutsi's by government sponsored militiamen; known as the Interhawe.

The RPF used the incident to recommence hostilities. This re-newed outbreak of violence saw the evacuation of foreign nationals and the bulk of UNAMIR forces were also withdrawn. On 4 July 1994 the RPF captured Kigali and by 18 July the RPF had seized control of the greater part of Rwanda. At this point an estimated 1 million Rwandan Tutsi's and moderate Huti's had been killed in the fighting and almost twice that number displaced.

In the interim, on 17 May 1994, the United Nations Security Council authorised a Chapter VI peacekeeping mandate for a 5500 strong force, known as UNAMIR II, for deployment to Rwanda. Separately the French Government sought and was granted approval under UN Chapter VII articles to organise a safe haven (known as a Humanitarian Protection Zone) in the south west of Rwanda. In mid-June the French enacted Operation TURQUOISE deploying 2500 soldiers, mainly infantry, to set up and enforce the protection zone during 22 June -21 August 1994. The United States also deployed forces, separate to UNAMIR II, to create an airhead in Uganda and to also improve the Kigali airport in preparation for the arrival of UNAMIR II forces.

On 25 July 1994 Prime Minister Paul Keating announced that Australia would provide \$6.5 Million in direct financial aid to the UN. Additionally he advised the deployment of an Australian Defence Force (ADF) contingent of 302 personnel to Rwanda consisting of 100 medical personnel and another 200 infantry/logistics support personnel. The ADF had been advised of the decision the day before Prime Minister Keating's announcement.

UNAMIR II was made up of forces from over 30 nations including several African countries under the overall command of Canadian Major-General Guy Tousignant. Canada committed 500 soldiers while the largest troop contributing nation was Bangladesh providing 900 personnel. With so many nations involved and the rapid deployment of resources from contributing nations the command and control of UNAMIR II was always going to be difficult. Logistics support for the many under-equipped contingents consumed the bulk of Tousignant and his UN headquarters staff efforts.

The Australian contingent, under the overall command of Colonel Wayne Ramsay, concentrated in Townsville on 31 July 1994. Comprising personnel from all three services the contingent was formed from sixty donor units spread across Australia. Integration, training and the issue of equipment and stores commenced immediately and by 20 August the main contingent was ready for departure. Included on the equipment list was several vehicles including land rovers, ambulances and armoured personnel carriers; all painted white with prominent UN emblems.

This short notice deployment meant there was little time for in-depth collective training and assimilation. The predominantly army senior leadership of the contingent struggled to understand the culture and skill sets of the RAN and RAAF personnel throughout the deployment and this was to affect unit cohesion.

An advance party consisting of signallers and technical personnel flew to Kigali to set up communications links back to Australia and ensure the Central Hospital Kigali had functioning electricity and water to enable its use as the UNAMIR II Force hospital. Following a farewell by Prime Minister Keating the main contingent personnel and their equipment embarked in RAAF C130 and Boeing 707 aircraft. The vehicles and larger equipment travelled in US Air Force C5A Galaxy and C141 Starlifter aircraft. The first elements of the main contingent arrived in Kigali on 21 August 1994 with the remainder arriving over the following four days.



The six RAN personnel in the first contingent at Townsville before flying out to Rwanda. Left to Right: Lieutenant Rutter, Lieutenant Roberts, Leading Seaman La Fontaine, Leading Seaman Nichols, Able Seaman Hind and Able Seaman Yates (Photo Amanda Garlick).

The following six members of the RAN served as part of the ADF contingent in Rwanda (rank at time of service) during the first rotation.²

Lieutenant David Leonard Lawrence Roberts, RAN (Dental Officer) 1 August 1994 – 19 February 1995

Lieutenant Amanda Louise Garlick (nee Rutter), RAN (Nursing Officer) 1 August 1994 – 19 February 1995

Leading Seaman Dental Hygienist Karen Louise La Fontaine 8 August 1994 – 19 February 1995

Leading Seaman Medical Ricky Shane Nichols 8 August 1994 – 19 February 1995

Able Seaman Medical Andrew Nigel Hind 8 August 1994 – 19 February 1995





Able Seaman Dental Assistant Nevil Yates 8 August 1994 – 19 February 1995

Lieutenant David Roberts, RAN later wrote "I first located Rwanda on a map on a Thursday. I flew to Townsville on the Sunday and three weeks later I actually arrived in the small landlocked nation that I was to call home for the next six months..... The first two weeks in Kigali were perhaps the most difficult I have ever experienced in my life.

The advance party had established a base at the Central Hospital Kigali and this had to be rapidly cleaned and repaired so that the hospital could begin to function. The hospital was in a terrible state of disrepair as it had been the site of some of the most fierce fighting only months before.

Rubble was cleared, roofs repaired, wards scrubbed and equipment moved. In the space of one week, the medical company established a fully functioning facility in record time. During this time we also began to settle into our accommodation at the old Rwandan Military Academy.³



Lieutenant David Roberts, RAN and Leading Seaman Karen La Fontaine treat a patient at the Hospital in Kigali. (Photo ADF)

The Australian Medical Support Facility (AUSMED) was soon up and running with its primary task to provide medical support to UN personnel. Preventative and environmental health tasks including immunisation of UN personnel, water and local food quality testing and malaria prevention were also undertaken. The standard of medical and dental health amongst some of the UNAMIR II troops was also poor such that apart from injuries the Australian medical staff also dealt with illnesses and pre-existing conditions that would not have been acceptable in the ADF.

Where possible the Australian medical staff treated Rwandan civilians in the civil section of the hospital and while many lives were saved this was secondary to the main task of treating UN personnel. Field clinics were also conducted in various locations, treating Rwandan civilians as well, and an Australian treatment section was set up at Butare some 130 kilometres south of Kigali. A limiting factor for the treatment of the local population was often logistics as all medical stores had to be flown in; and at times stock could be low. This required medical personnel to often make very difficult decisions regarding the use of limited supplies on badly injured or sick Rwandan civilians versus UN personnel. This 'Playing God' was to have long term psychological effects on many of the Australian personnel who served in Rwanda. Many Rwandans not only suffered from injuries, sustained during the fighting, but also from diseases such as Malaria and HIV/AIDS and in some cases diseases the medical staff had only read about such as *Elephantiasis*.

Security for the medical personnel was also a major concern. Heavily armed RPF soldiers were encountered on a daily basis in Kigali, and in rural areas, and gunfire was often heard at night. Rwandan civilians suffering from gunshot and machete wounds were frequently treated by the Australians; as were those injured by land mines when working in their fields. The infantry portion of the Australian contingent provided security at the hospital and accommodation buildings and also at Butare; but all the Australians were required to carry weapons (Steyr rifles) for their own protection. Normally medical personnel would only carry a pistol for self-protection (under the terms of the Geneva Convention) but the security situation in Rwanda meant all Australian personnel carried the Steyr rifle and this was initially a controversial decision.

The navy and air force personnel, in both contingents, bonded quite quickly due to the small numbers deployed. They often recalled their more numerous army counterparts as less friendly and this appeared to stem from a perceived concern that navy and air force medical and dental personnel would not be able to function properly in an austere field environment. To the contrary navy and air force personnel rapidly adjusted to the local conditions and were able to prove their skills and ability in Kigali, and in the field, on a daily basis.⁴



Able Seaman Andrew Hind helps Sergeant Terry McKeown to board an aircraft for return to Australia. McKeown was injured when a detonator exploded in his hand. (Photo ADF)







The Australian accommodation buildings at Kigali. One building was occupied by Australian officers, senior noncommissioned officers and all female personnel. The other building was used by the male junior personnel who also shared with Ghanaian and later Indian personnel. (Photo Rick Nichols)

Living conditions were spartan with washing of clothes conducted in buckets and only bottled water was safe to drink. The threat of disease, mainly Malaria, was ever present. The Australians set up a bar where they could all meet and relax, when off duty, and the standard two alcoholic drinks were allowed for the following day's nonduty personnel.

There was no canteen so personnel relied heavily on 'care packages' from family and friends for various items such as confectionery, toiletries, reading material and the like. The local street hawkers also sold a variety of items as well: with US dollars the preferred currency in a 'war zone'.



Lieutenant Roberts, Leading Seaman La Fontaine and Able Seaman Yates with a Congolese interpreter. As English was not the first language of many of the UN contingents the use of interpreters was essential. (Photo David Roberts)

The conditions at the field clinics were even more austere with the Australians living in whatever buildings still had a roof and sleeping in camp stretchers with a mosquito net covering them.



Leading Seaman Rick Nichols (right) with two other Australians at a field clinic in Rwanda. Rick was later awarded a Land Commanders Commendation for his service in Rwanda during 1994-95. (Photo Rick Nichols)

In the days before mobile phones and email, the communication with family and friends was generally by letter and parcel; which families could send for the local cost to the Sydney Mail Centre. A few TELSTRA pay phones, utilising pre-paid phone cards (with a \$USD 20 card lasting about five minutes), were installed in the accommodation area. With the inevitable queue and limited call time, to allow all to get a chance to use them, the ability to 'phone home' was generally only once a week.

By Christmas 1994 the security situation in Rwanda had stabilised and preparations were underway for the second Australian contingent's rotation, to arrive in February 1995. The advance party of the second contingent arrived on 11 February followed by the main group a few days later under the command of Colonel Peter Warfe. By 22 February 1995 the bulk of the first contingent had arrived back in Townsville via charter flight.

The following five members of the RAN served in Rwanda (rank at time of service) during the second rotation:

Lieutenant John Francis Ashley, RAN (Nursing Officer) 29 January 1995 – 27 August 1995

Petty Officer Dental Technician Winston McCoy Stone 29 January 1995 – 27 August 1995

Leading Seaman Medical Ric Alexander Gallaway 29 January 1995 – 27 August 1995

Able Seaman Medical Toni Leanne Grover 29 January 1995 – 27 August 1995

Able Seaman Medical Lynette Joy Theresa Le Lievre-Healey 29 January 1995 – 27 August 1995

In addition to these personnel two RAN Reserve medical officers also served in Rwanda on short term specialist rotations. They were:

Lieutenant Commander David Michael Griffiths, RANR (Medical Officer) 16 December 1994 – 12 February 1995

Commander Donald Kingsley Faithfull, RANR (Medical Officer & Orthopaedic Surgeon) 21 April 1995 – 18 June 1995







Lieutenant Commander David Griffiths, RANR (Far Left) is issued with a Steyr rifle after arriving for an eight week secondment to UNAMIR II. (Photo ADF)

Commander Faithfull recalled that "We treated people coming out of the jungle with old infected wounds from the genocide, new gunshot and machete wounds and children who had been playing with ordnance such as hand grenades and rifle rounds lying around everywhere. The most ghastly were the land mine injuries usually caused to the young girls who were working in the vegetable patches unaware that a small plastic landmine had been washed in during the last rain storm."⁵



Commander Don Faithful at Kigali markets May 1995; armed with a Steyr rifle. (Photo Don Faithfull)

The operating conditions for the first contingent had been bad but for the second contingent the situation in Rwanda was soon to worsen. The Australian's began to increase their presence in Kigali's central hospital within the civilian wards and outpatient clinics were undertaken. Work in civilian wards was an issue as weapons were not able to be carried and communication with the Australian Headquarters was limited. The requirement to educate the civilian nurses and carers was complicated by their own trauma, injuries and fears.

The RPF military compound was next to the Australian compound and only separated by a barbed wire fence. Security was provided by soldiers from 2/4 Battalion Royal Australian Regiment and a small Special Air Service detachment; however the RPF soldiers became more active and aggressive. Commander Faithful recalled being advised that if the situation deteriorated, and the Australians were not able to get out by air, that the

Australian security detachment would escort the medical and logistics personnel to Uganda.⁶

Additionally the work load increased as more civilians emerged from hiding and arrived at the hospital with wound and injuries many months old. At one point the members of the second contingent lived off combat ration packs for six weeks when the UN supplied fresh rations system failed.



RAN and RAAF personnel in the female accommodation block at Kigali. From back to front Tracy Smart (later Air Vice Marshall), Able Seaman Lynette Le Lievre-Healey, Able Seaman Toni Grover, Margaret Koimans and Lucy Wong. (Photo Lynette Le Lievre-Healey)

Tensions between the RPF and the UN forces continued to mount and would lead to the now infamous Kibeho Displaced Persons Camp massacre in April 1995. The RPF soldiers could be best described as heavily armed rabble with limited adherence to their officer's orders. They were violent, unpredictable and killed without remorse or reason. Throughout March and April they increased restrictions on the movement of UN personnel and became more aggressive towards peacekeepers especially those of non-African background.



ADF personnel in the operating theatre at Kigali Hospital. The horrific wounds and injuries, especially to children, shocked even the most hardened Australian medical personnel. (Photo 'Ric' Gallaway)

On 19 April 1995 a group of 32 Australians (medical personnel with infantry for protection) were sent to the Kibeho Displaced Persons Camp some 30 kilometres





south-west of Butare to provide medical support to a company of Zambian soldiers, about 120 men, who were supervising the camp. The RPF had dispatched over 2000 soldiers to Kibeho with the intention of clearing the camp of its displaced people and forcing them to return to their homes. Many of those in the camp were women and children, but there were several former Hutu soldiers and Interhawe, who had taken part in the civil war, hiding amongst the civilians.



Displaced persons at Kibeho Camp in mid-April 1995. (Photo AWM)

Conditions in the Kibeho camp were squalid with the estimated 100,000 inhabitants living in makeshift shacks or under tarpaulins with little food and water and no sanitation. On 20 April RPF soldiers began to clear the camp.

At first the re-location activity proceeded in an orderly manner with RPF soldiers moving the displaced people to trucks for return to their villages; but frequently Hutu men were singled out and taken away to be executed. The situation deteriorated on the 21st with an increase in killings by RPF soldiers. The Australians had set up a casualty clearing point in the Zambian compound and it was here that the badly wounded civilians were brought for treatment.

On 22 April any semblance of order at Kibeho collapsed when RPF soldiers assaulted the camp searching for armed Hutu Interhawe known to be hiding amongst the civilians. Machetes, pistols, light and heavy machine guns, rocket propelled grenades and 60 mm mortars were used on the camp's occupants with the Australians and Zambians powerless to retaliate due to the UN rules of engagement allocated to them.

In some cases RPF soldiers deliberately taunted the UN personnel by executing civilians in front of them hoping to goad them into opening fire. The UN personnel were in an invidious position but obeyed the orders of their superiors and did not open fire.

The frenzied killing went on into the night and the Australian personnel did their best to recover the wounded and injured for treatment. The morning of 23 April dawned with the bodies of thousands of men, women and children littering the camp.



An Australian casualty clearing point at the Kibeho Displaced Persons Camp. (Photo ADF)

The UN personnel began to move through the camp recovering the wounded, nearly 700 of them, for treatment and evacuation to Kigali. A body count began and over 4000 dead were identified before RPF soldiers stopped the activity and many more bodies were seen to be removed by RPF personnel. Additionally the UN personnel now had to bury the dead with the Zambians digging several mass graves.

More Australian personnel, including Able Seaman Toni Grover, arrived at Kibeho on the 24th to relieve those who had been there since the 19th. Additionally the UN Deputy Force Commander Major General Henry Anyidoho from Ghana, personnel from a number of non-government organisations and senior RPF officials also arrived and the previously aggressive stance by the RPF soldiers ceased now that details and imagery of the massacre were being relayed to the world media.



Able Seaman Toni Grover at Kibeho with a sick baby found strapped to the back of her dead mother – "A true miracle in amongst such tragedy". (Photo and Quote - Toni Grover)

The Australian Land Commander, Major General Peter Arnison arrived at Kibeho on 25 April 1995 on what was a pre-planned visit to Rwanda to visit the Australian personnel for ANZAC Day. The sheer number of victims, in an area less than one square kilometre in size, appalled all who saw it and the fact that it took place in front of UN personnel, journalists and photographers did and continues to beggar belief. Arnison spoke with as many of the Australians as he could to remind them of the





valuable work they were doing to try and restore law and order in Rwanda.

Media commentators later stated that the presence of the UN peacekeepers at Kibeho stopped the wholesale slaughter of all those in the camp but this was cold comfort for the Australians who witnessed the massacre. Australian personnel remained at Kibeho until 9 May when the last of the displaced people departed the camp.



A young survivor of the massacre at Kibeho on 25 April 1995. (Photo United Press)

One of the Australians at Kibeho later stated *"Everywhere we looked, in every room and area, there were horrifically injured people. We began to sift through the human tragedy, selecting only Priority Three patients who we knew could be treated quickly. We knew that some of the injured left to wait were going to die because of the decisions we made".*⁷



Leading Seaman Ric Gallaway in preparation for the ANZAC Day service at Nairobi, Kenya 1995. (Photo 'Ric' Gallaway)

25 April 1995 was also the 80th anniversary of the ANZAC's landing at Gallipoli in 1915. The Australians in Rwanda had already committed to providing the

catafalque guard at the Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Nairobi, Kenya along with other members of the contingent also attending the service. Leading Seaman Ric Gallaway was chosen to represent the Royal Australian Navy at this event as a member of the guard. Of note is that of the over 2000 graves in the Nairobi cemetery there was only one Australian grave. That is of 27 year old Able Seaman Victor Jarius who died from illness, on 13 March 1943, while serving in the corvette HMAS *Ipswich*.

On 20 May 1995 a medal parade was held in Kigali to present the United Nations Medal for Rwanda to the Australian second contingent personnel. 90 days service was required for the award of this medal.



The United Nations Medal awarded for service in Rwanda 1994 - 1996

The remaining few months in Rwanda for the Australians continued to be difficult as the RPF soldiers increased their hostility towards the peacekeepers.



Able Seaman Medic Lynette Le Lievre-Healey and two young Rwandan boys. (Photo ADF)

On 9 June 1995 the UNAMIR II mandate was due to expire, but a new UN agreement extended it by another six months. The force was to be reduced to 2300 personnel by September and to 1800 by October. Medical support was to be provided by a group of 100 personnel only; however a donor country to replace the Australians had not been identified. The Australian





Government advised the UN that its medical contingent would not be extended and would leave Rwanda in late August of that year.

At the beginning of August four Australian personnel were seized by RPF soldiers. In what was a routine road movement within Kigali an Australian land rover was stopped and those on board dragged out of the vehicle and one of the Australian's (Corporal Mark Larson) was beaten unconscious by RPF soldiers. The four personnel, their vehicle and weapons were then seized. The Indian Ready Reaction Force was placed on standby but army Lieutenant Elizabeth Saltness (one of those seized by the RPF soldiers) was able to negotiate with an RPF officer to have all personnel, their weapons and the vehicle released. What could have been a disaster for the Australian peacekeepers was averted by a junior officer acting with great courage and sound judgement in a difficult situation.

Eventually a 30 person civilian medical team from Norway was identified to replace the Australians and the second contingent began preparations to return to Australia. This included cleaning all vehicles in order to pass Australia's strict but essential quarantine standards. Quarantine, customs and immigration staff deployed to Rwanda to provide advice and assistance to 2nd Contingent staff on the processes to be adhered to. A large quantity of the medical equipment was gifted to the Rwanda Government rather than being returned to Australia.



The Australian compound at Kigali in mid-1995. (Photo Ric Gallaway)

On 23 August 1995 the second contingent departed Rwanda in a UN chartered 747 and flew to Townsville where they were met by family and friends and thanked by Prime Minister Keating for their service.

The Australians had left Rwanda but for many of those who served there Rwanda would not leave them. Over the next 25 years the misery, suffering and death that the Australians saw, and were often powerless to stop, played heavily on the minds of most; leading to post traumatic stress disorder for many and sadly caused some to take their own lives.

Support for such issues and trauma, from the ADF, was then in its infancy after decades of relative 'peace'. Ric Gallaway stated "Another thing which I think is so important, is what happened to us on return to Australia. The difficulties we felt of trying to just slot back into where we left off. There wasn't a support network identified for us and, at no fault of Defence, understanding of the issues we were going through weren't fully understood then, as no other mission had occurred like this before us."⁸

On 23 May 2006 the Australian Service Medal (Clasp Rwanda) was rescinded and the Australian Active Service Medal (Clasp Rwanda) issued in its place to reflect the true nature of the service in Rwanda. As a result the eligibility criteria was also reduced from 30 days to 1 day of service.

Today Rwanda is a stable country led by President Paul Kagame but no dissent or opposition is tolerated. It is a highly controlled democracy; but the Rwandan people now have stability and economic security where even the poorest person is generally better off than they were before the Genocide. For Rwanda it has been long road to this point, however, the terrible days of 1993-1995 have not and cannot be forgotten.

Further Reading:

Jean Bou et al *The Limits of Peacekeeping: Australian Missions in Africa and the Americas* 1992-2005.

Phil Clark & Zachary D. Kaufmann (Ed.) *After Genocide: Transitional Justice post Conflict, Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond.*

Romeo Dallaire Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda.

Gavin Fry Rwanda: The Australian Contingent 1994-1995.

Simon Kelly The Long Road to Rwanda.

Peter Londey Other People's Wars: A History of Australian Peacekeeping.

Kevin O'Halloran Rwanda - UNAMIR 1994/95.

Kevin O'Halloran Pure Massacre - Aussie Soldiers reflect on the Rwandan Genocide.

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Greg Swinden





¹ There was also a much smaller minority group known as the Twa that were at the very bottom of the countries indigenous structure.

² Start date is when posted to the Australian Contingent undergoing preparation at Townsville. End date is when the member actually departed Rwanda.

³ A Naval Peacekeeper's life in Rwanda (David Roberts), *Australia's Navy* 1995, pages 43-45.

⁴ Comments provided by several of the RAN personnel deployed on Operation TAMAR during 1994-1995.

⁵ Article – *The Leading Physicians of the World*, International Association of Healthcare Professionals, 2019.

⁶ Private Practice to Rwanda (Donald Faithfull), *Radius*, July 2011, Page 28.

⁷ Quote from an Australian peacekeeper in *Rwanda – UNAMIR* 1994/95 by Kevin O'Halloran, page 147.

⁸ Quote by former Leading Seaman Medic 'Ric' Gallaway in 2019.