

Paris, February 1st, 1993

Mr. Bruno DELAYE
Advisor to the
President of the Republic

Subject: corrected document

From Jean CARBONARE.

The text (REPORT OF THE MISSION: “HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN RWANDA”) that you received earlier in the day includes several typographical errors.

You will find attached the corrected text.

First page: paragraph 7, read HABYARIMANA (not Habiyarimana).
paragraph 10, read no civil or military authority (not previous civil and military authority).

REPORT OF THE MISSION OF JEAN CARBONARE

“HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN RWANDA”

KIGALI – JANUARY 7-21, 1993

Attachment #1: Excerpts from the testimony of Janvier AFRIKA, collected January 14, 18 and 19, 1993.

We had the opportunity to record on video-cassette almost 6 hours of the interview with Janvier AFRIKA, currently incarcerated in the KIGALI prison, and we are now process of decrypting the document, which is extremely interesting because of the coherence that he gives to certain events in recent Rwandan history.

If this confession must be read with caution, it is because it implicates the highest authorities of the country and it confirms, in spite of everything else, what we have heard and also “read between the lines” in testimony received from elsewhere.

In our investigation, we will classify these interviews as ULTRA CONFIDENTIAL while waiting to decide all together how we will use them, taking into account the major risks incurred by those who were involved, close up or indirectly, in these meetings.

January 14, 1993: Philippe DAHINDEN, doctor of law, member of the International Commission of Jurists, and journalist at Radio-Télé Suisse, and I went to the central prison of Kigali, where we were received by the director, Mr. MUTAMBUKA, at 4 pm. We told him of our wish to see the detainee A.J. Our request was courteously received, and we interviewed the prisoner until 6 pm.

He introduced himself: surname, first name, place of origin. He then told us that he had been held since September 15, 1992. The reasons for his incarceration are linked to an offense to do with the press.

Next, he told us about his itinerary from SABENA to the death squads, having the interpreter carefully note all the chiefs’ names in my notebook:

HABYARIMANA Juvénal, NZIRORERA Joseph, SAGATWA Elie, RWABUKUMBA Séraphin, SERUBUGA Laurent, Major NKUNDIYE, NSENGIYUMVA Anatole, ZIGIRANYIRAZO Protais, Colonel BAGOSORA, Deputy RUCAGU Boniface, Minister BIZIMUNGU, Captain SIMBIKANGWA, MUGESERA Léon, NGIRUMHASTE Mathieu, NDUWAYEZU, HABIYAMBERE Joseph, NTLIVAMUNDA Alphonse, Madame RUSHINGABIGWI Chantal, Doctor LIWIMANA – these for the most part.

A.J. participated in meetings and was asked to execute certain decisions.

The meetings took place at night “at the synagogue” at the home of the captain SIMBIKAMGWA.

The decisions that were made were supposed to be carried out without input from any civil or military authority.

Concerning the massacre of all the Bagogwes, the following was decided:

1. Those responsible for the operation: the prefect of Ruhengeri: NZABAGARAZA, Joseph; the prefect of Gisenyi: BIZIMUNGU, Come; NZIRORERA, Joseph; BIZIMUNGU, Casimir (current Minister of Health); the deputy of Ruhengeri: RUCAGU, Boniface.

2. Operational chiefs: mayors.

They will:

- Establish lists of Bagogwes-Tutsis,
- Seek out support from the population,
- Ask for help from the soldiers,
- Obtain assistance from the militias of the MRND and the CDR.

Kigali will send teams of militia from the MRND to get the operations running. The mayors will be in charge of welcoming and stewarding these militias.

3. A.J. was instructed to: send white arms (machetes...) and gasoline to the political militias, and to monitor results during the operation. He said, among other things, that he monitored, at the end of January, the mayors KAJELIJELI, of Mukingo and GASANA of Kinigui, where we have just finished excavating and exhuming bodies. His information overlaps exactly with received testimony and with the operations conducted on the ground.

During this first long interview, he, at one point, mentioned the name of an official in the militias of the MRND from Kigali “charged with a mission.” It was “the Zairian.” Now, a few days earlier, we had noted the same name during the testimony of a young man from the town of Kicukiro who was telling us about the murder of Sergeant-Major MUNYEMPANZI, committed on November 11, 1992, on the orders of Sublieutenant TURASTINZE of the Presidential Guard.

A.J. also mentioned one of the activities of the “death squads” which was to slowly make troublemakers “of a certain level” disappear quietly. The troublemakers are poisoned by a product from Hong Kong which rapidly blocks the victim’s veins without leaving the slightest trace. It was ZIGIRANYIRAZIO who was in charge of this task.

It is interesting to note that the mission was accompanied by a Belgian jurist doctor, who went to the hospital in Kigali to check the dossiers of the two deceased suspects: the major MUSHIRWA, François, 37 years old; and the commander RWANYGASORE, Innocent, 46 years old. The two files mention the same cause of death: “acute renal failure.”

A.J. then told us, at length and in detail, how the special operations were organized: fires in the forest of Gikongoro; the assassination of GATTERA David, younger brother of MUGENZI, president of P.L. and of other operations including massacres, arson etc...in other regions and with the same methods.

To the two hours of interview from January 14, three hours are added from the 18 and one hour from the 19. Little by little, the video-cassettes deliver up their contents, of which a part is already known, and which, for our interpreter (A.J. spoke in Kinyarwanda) constituted, with great consistency, a history of which we possess only fragments, and so until now which we did not always understand.

A great profusion of names, places, events, mechanisms of financing, of executions etc., will need to be sorted through and verified. This will take time and also financing. We will then see how all this will be used in the report that we will publish of all the collected information and testimony.

Attachment #2: Testimony of Father Joaquim VALLMAJO collected over the course of the day on January 20, 1993.

Father VALLMAJO has been in Rwanda for 22 years. He speaks the country's language perfectly and knows the whole population of the BYUMBA region. Very appreciated by the population, he has led several parishes in this zone and the details of its recent history are very familiar to him.

We had the chance to spend the day of January 20, 1993 together, and Father VALLMAJO served as chauffeur, guide, and interpreter.

Here is the substance of his testimony.

- He lived through practically all the events since the attack in October 1990, following the ebb and flow of certain parishes in the displaced persons camps in the KINYAMI zone.
- He also lived through the "battle of BYUMBA" and witnessed the pillaging of the city by the Rwandan army, with entire trucks full of loot picked up in the city.
- According to numerous testimonials and confessions that the Father received, he has concluded the following:

1/the suffering of displaced populations goes beyond the imagination: murder, rape, pillaging etc... committed by Rwandan soldiers in the region of the camps. To these, add hunger, sickness (malaria, scabies...), lack of water, deplorable sanitary conditions, and also the painful separation of families.

2/Those who wish to try to reenter the zone held by the R.P.F. are taking a double risk: that of being considered accomplices or friends of the rebels by the Rwandan army, and that of the welcome that will be reserved for them on the other side.

3/Concerning the abuses committed by the R.P.F., having believed the official truths, and saying clearly that "those opposite are no saints" – and that he believes certain facts that have been

attributed to them to be true – he has since received testimony that “poses some questions” and introduces, in his own words, “confusion.”

This confusion would come from irregular Ugandan groups coming to pillage homes, harvests, and herds abandoned by the population. These irregulars are also armed and sometimes clash at night with peasants who take great risks trying to recover part of their property.

These same “questions” were remembered by Father Jef VLEUGELS, who we met on the 20th in the evening, and who also had his own certainties and doubts.

4/ After more than twenty years spent in the country, Father VALLPAJO thinks that the current powers have “gone too far” into violence and all the human rights violations to “be able to go backwards.” The only path that remains for them is to sink even further into this violence, putting the country to fire and blood, and sabotaging all the agreements and attempts at reconciliation and pacification.

We noted, throughout the journey, human rights violations, which will be detailed in the general report, attributable to the players in the field: the Rwandan army, the R.P.F., political militias and irregular groups.

It seems desirable that an investigatory commission should meet there to collect testimony from the two priests and the population, to verify the foregoing.