DT Kigali – Bruno Delaye From Ambassador Martres

Object: Mission from International Federation for Human Rights

I have met with Jean Carbonare, President of the movement « Survival and Development », member of the mission of the International Federation for Human Rights and who is currently in Rwanda to enquire about human rights violation in that country. Mister Carbonare, as a French citizen, has kept my in the loop regarding the results obtained so far by this mission, even though the mission is private as it is conducted by demand of Rwandan organizations for human rights, albeit with approval of the Head of State. Although the mission has encountered several obstacles (especially threats and acts of intimidation against people who guided the mission in the country), it has collected an impressive amount of information about the massacres that have occurred since the beginning of the war of October 1990 and in particular those perpetrated by the Bagogwe (group belonging to Tutsis) after the Ruhengeri attack in January 1991.

On facts alone, the report that the mission will deliver at the end of January in Belgium will only add horror to the horror we already know. On the other hand, Mister Carbonare says the mission was able to obtain the confessions of a "repentant" member of the "death squads", Janvier Africa, currently detained in jail in Kigali for different crimes. These confessions contradict the official thesis according to which ethnic violence was a result of the population reacting to FPR attacks seen as the work of Tutsis.

According to Janvier Africa, President Habyarimana himself ordered the massacres during a meeting with his collaborators. Mister Carbonare showed me a list of attendees (the President's two brothers-in-law, Casimir Bizimungu, Colonels Bagasora, Nsebgiyumva, Serubuga, etc.). During this meeting, the operation would have been planned, including the order to carry out a systematic genocide using, if necessary, military strength and involving local populations in the massacres, probably to create a sense of national solidarity in the fight against the Tutsi enemy.

It seems the mission will not verify the authenticity of Janvier Africa's accusations, as they should. Nevertheless, the mission will most likely voice conclusions that will seriously damage the Head of State. He will undoubtedly deny these accusations, basing his defense on the fact that the mission only met Tutsis on the ground or parties to the opposition. But a big fuss is to be expected in Belgium press.

Moreover, the report will emphasize the "neutrality" of the French army in those massacres, considered as proof of French "duplicity". Monsieur Carbonare himself is quite hostile to our military presence in Rwanda and wishes this presence would be justified by a humanitarian action larger than the mere protection of expatriates.

It should also be expected that the ripples following the publication of the report would reinforce the feeling of isolation of northern Hutus who feel no remorse and consider that they acted in self-defense. Renewed violence is a possible outcome.

Last but not least, the mission visited the FPR-occupied zone. The FPR made it possible for the mission to meet a few inhabitants who were relocated to their lands, showing conditions of total security that contrast with the exactions of the Rwandan Army against people at the borders. Those who consider the mission to be infiltrated by FPR will undoubtedly reject this observation. Nevertheless, the FPR will exploit this observation to its benefit.

Mister Carbonare would like to meet Mister Bruno Delaye as of January 25. It seems to me that President Mitterrand's adviser would do well to accept this meeting in regards to the seriousness of the charges the mission is able to make.

Martres