

SECRET

PAGE 01 BUJUMB 02708 01 OF 04 111704Z
ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	ANHR-01
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	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	SR-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4260
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 BUJUMBURA 002708

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, A/S MOOSE, A/S SHATTUCK,
AF DAS BUSHNELL

DEPARTMENT PLEASE ALSO PASS NSC FOR D. STEINBERG

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PEF, PREL, PINR, PHUM, BY
SUBJECT: [REDACTED] DOCUMENTS
ATROCITIES PERPETRATED OR PERMITTED BY RPF FORCES IN
SOUTHERN RWANDA AND BURUNDI

B1

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BUJUMB 02708 01 OF 04 111704Z

2. SUMMARY: [REDACTED] (PROTECT
ABSOLUTELY) HAS, AT REQUEST OF AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,
BRIEFED A/S SHATTUCK AND HAS MADE AVAILABLE HIS
EXTENSIVE AND DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF CONTINUING
ATROCITIES BY RPF FORCES IN SOUTHEASTERN RWANDA AND
BURUNDI. [REDACTED] BELIEVES RPF IS PURSUING
CONSCIOUS POLICY OF TERRIFYING HUTUS IN SOUTHEASTERN
RWANDA, ENCOURAGING THEIR EXILE, AND TURNING OVER THE
HOMES, POSSESSIONS, AND LANDS OF EXILED HUTUS TO TUTSIS
NOW IN EXILE IN BURUNDI, TO ENCOURAGE THEIR RETURN TO
RWANDA. END SUMMARY.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 11 OCT 2016
DATE/CASE ID: 05 MAY 2011 201005065

3. [REDACTED] (REPEAT: ABSOLUTELY PROTECT)
 IS PROBABLY THE BEST INFORMED, MOST BALANCED, AND MOST
 UNPREJUDICED OF ANY [REDACTED] I HAVE
 ENCOUNTERED HERE. HE HAS UNUSUALLY GOOD CONTACTS NOT
 ONLY WITH HIS [REDACTED] BUT WITH
 BURUNDI LEADERS. MOREOVER, HE SEEMS TO BE THE ONLY
 [REDACTED] I HAVE ENCOUNTERED WHO ACTUALLY LEAVES
 BUJUMBURA AND GOES, AT LEAST OCCASIONALLY, INTO THE
 COUNTRYSIDE.

[REDACTED] HAS DRAWN HIS INFORMATION FROM
 MISSIONARIES, NUNS, PHYSICIANS, AND OTHER EXPATRIATES
 WHO HAVE LIVED FOR MANY YEARS IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI.
 HE OBSERVES THAT SOUTHEASTERN RWANDA HAS FEW ROADS,
 VERY POOR COMMUNICATION, AND VERY FEW FOREIGNERS LIVING
 THERE. ALMOST NO FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAVE TRAVELLED
 THERE; THOSE WHO HAVE WERE ACCOMPANIED, HE SAYS, BY THE
 RPF, AND SUBJECT TO THEIR GUIDANCE AND CONTROL. HE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 02708 01 OF 04 111704Z
 OBSERVES, CORRECTLY I BELIEVE, THAT HIS SOURCES OF
 INFORMATION ARE PEOPLE WHOSE LIVES HAVE DEMONSTRATED
 ALTRUISTIC INTENT, AND WHO HAVE NO INTEREST, AS SUCH,
 IN TAKING SIDES BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS OR POLITICAL
 FACTIONS. THEY HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES TO HELP THE
 LIVES OF OTHERS. THEY ARE THEREFORE CREDIBLE, FIRST-
 HAND WITNESSES. AND THEIR LIVES WOULD BE ENDANGERED
 WERE THEIR IDENTITIES KNOWN.

CONSEQUENCES OF INFORMATION, IF ACCURATE

4. HIS ACCOUNT IS, TO ME, CHILLING. FOR ALL OF THE
 VIOLENCE AND PERFIDY THAT I HAVE OBSERVED OR HEARD
 REPEATED DURING MY 7 WEEKS HERE, NOTHING EQUALS THE
 INTENTIONAL CRUELTY AND DEVIOS PURPOSE IN HIS ACCOUNT
 OF ACTIVITIES CONTINUING INTO RECENT WEEKS IN
 SOUTHEASTERN RWANDA. ONE NEED NOT AGREE WITH HIS
 CONCLUSION THAT THE RPF IS UNDERTAKING TO CARVE OUT A
 "TUTSI LAND" IN SOUTHEAST RWANDA. NEVERTHELESS, HIS
 REPORTS THAT RWANDAN TUTSIS WHO HAVE LIVED IN BURUNDI
 FOR AS LONG AS 30 YEARS ARE BEING ENCOURAGED (OR
 "ORDERED") TO RETURN TO RWANDA MAY ACCOUNT FOR AT LEAST
 SOME OF THE SIGNIFICANT EXODUS OF RWANDAN TUTSIS FROM
 BUJUMBURA (INCLUDING A FEW LONG-TIME US EMBASSY

EMPLOYEES) WHO HAVE ALREADY RETURNED THERE.

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B1

IF [REDACTED] REPORT IS ACCURATE (AND I HAVE NEVER KNOWN HIM TO EXAGGERATE OR BE IRRESPONSIBLE), IT SUGGESTS THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR OUR GOVERNMENT TO ADDRESS THESE QUESTIONS WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 BUJUMB 02708 01 OF 04 111704Z

5. IN ADDITION, I SHALL TAKE UP WITH THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES HERE THE REPORT THAT RPF FORCES HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO ENTER BURUNDI IN ORDER TO TERRORIZE RWANDA REFUGEES.

6. FOLLOWING IS OUR EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF HIS REPORT.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THROUGH FPR IN RWANDA.

SUMMARY:

THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT A NUMBER OF MURDERS AND ACTS OF PILLAGE WERE COMMITTED BY THE FPR AGAINST HUTUS. IT SEEMS THAT THE FPR ATTEMPTS TO SYSTEMATICALLY ENFORCE A "TUTSI LAND-POLICY" IN

THE BORDER REGIONS TOWARDS BURUNDI- TO THE SOUTHEAST OF KIGALI - BY FORCING HUTUS OUT OF THAT REGION OR BY KILLING THEM AND RESETTLING TUTSI REFUGEES THERE. IT SEEMS THAT THESE ATTACKS ARE NOT SO MUCH CARRIED OUT BY THE FPR SOLDIERS THEMSELVES BUT RATHER BY GANGS OF RETURNING TUTSI REFUGEES, WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FPR.

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SECRET

PAGE 01 BUJUMB 02708 02 OF 04 111704Z
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I. AFTER THE FPR HAD ALREADY TAKEN OVER ALL OF RWANDA
BY BEGINNING/MIDDLE JULY, ANOTHER 100,000 HUTU REFUGEES
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BUJUMB 02708 02 OF 04 111704Z
REACHED BURUNDI. ON CERTAIN DAYS THEY NUMBERED 5,000
(LARGE NUMBERS ALSO WENT TO TANZANIA). IT CAN BE
ASSUMED THAT SOME OF THESE 100,000 TOOK THE ANTI-FPR-
PROPAGANDA TO HEART.

OTHER REFUGEES, MORE NUMEROUS FROM THE AREAS IN THE
SOUTHEAST OF KIGALI, IN THE NORTH OF THE BURUNDI
PROVINCES OF KIRUNDO AND MUYINGO, REPORT ATROCITIES
COMMITTED AGAINST HUTUS, NOT SO MUCH BY FPR SOLDIERS AS
BY GANGS OF RETURNING TUTSI REFUGEES.

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II. IN THE AREA TO THE SOUTH-EAST OF KIGALI NEAR LAKE RWERU (SOUTHEAST OF THE PREFECT OF KIGALI AND SOUTH-WEST OF THAT OF KIBUNGO).

1. ACCORDING TO THREE EUROPEAN EYE WITNESSES A GROUP OF 20,000 REFUGEES ARRIVED IN BURUNDI (BORDER TRIANGLE WITH BURUNDI) ON AUGUST 3. (THIS NUMBER MIGHT BE EXAGGERATED AS OTHER SOURCES TALK ABOUT "HUNDREDS" OF REFUGEES.) A NUMBER OF THESE REFUGEES IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN WOUNDED.

2. (HERE FOLLOW SOME TESTIMONIES IN FRENCH)

A) NZEYIMANA, 9 YEAR-OLD BOY, FROM SAKA COMMUNE, MBUYE HILL HAD A BULLET WOUND IN LOWER LEG, ALL HIS FAMILY WERE KILLED.

B) MUSABIMANA, JEAN DAMASCENE, 16 YEARS, BIRENGA COMMUNE, NGAHARARA, WITNESSED TEN PERSONS WITH HANDS BOUND, THROWN IN A DITCH AND SPRAYED WITH BULLETS. JEAN DAMASCENE ESCAPED DURING THE NIGHT WITH A WOUND IN HIS THIGH (AUG 1).

C) MASAKA, JEANNE, 25 YEARS, GASHORA COMMUNE, RWERU HILL: HER HUSBAND WAS KILLED AS WELL AS A CHILD OF ONE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 02708 02 OF 04 111704Z
MONTH AND ANOTHER OF 4 YEARS, SHE SUSTAINED MACHETE WOUNDS IN THE HAMSTRINGS.

D) UWAMAHORO, TEN YEAR OLD GIRL, COMMUNE MUGESERA, IERAMBO HILL, RECEIVED MACHETE BLOWS TO THE HEAD.

E) THE BOATS OF TWO BURUNDIANS FERRYING PEOPLE ON THE KAGERA WERE DESTROYED BY THE INKOTANYI, WHO BURNED THE ENTIRE HILLSIDE FACING KIJAKUJUHA (BURUNDI) SO FUGITIVES COULD NOT HIDE.

THE RWANDAN ASSAILANTS WORE MILITARY UNIFORM, IN FACT, ACCORDING TO TESTIMONY OF FUGITIVES, THEY WERE PREVIOUS RWANDAN REFUGEES TO BURUNDI.

A RWANDAN BOY OF 6 OR 7 ACCOMPANIED BY HIS FATHER ARRIVED IN RUZO ON JULY 24. HE HAD TWO MACHETE WOUNDS. THE REST OF THE FAMILY (MOTHER AND CHILDREN) WERE MASSACRED IN RWANDA.

JULY 25: A BURUNDI REFUGEE ARRIVED FROM RWANDA WITH SERIOUS BULLET AND MACHETE WOUNDS. THE SAME DAY SHOTS WERE HEARD FROM RWANDA AND BETWEEN 10AM AND 2PM THE RED CROSS IN MUGANO RECEIVED SEVERAL CASES WOUNDS AT RUZO-GITERANYI

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JULY 27: A RWANDAN WOMAN ARRIVED AT RUZO WITH SEVERAL MACHETE WOUNDS. HER FIVE CHILDREN WERE KILLED.

JULY 28: A RWANDAN MAN ARRIVED AT RUZO WITH A BULLET WOUND IN THE TEMPLE. MUBARYONSABA, VISTINA; 5 YEARS OLD, ARRIVED AT RUZO FROM SHIRYAKABIRI, SAKE COMMUNE, WITH A MACHETE WOUND IN THE BACK OF THE NECK. HER FATHER, JEAN-BAPTISTE BAZIRAHUNYUKA, WAS KILLED.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 BUJUMB 02708 02 OF 04 111704Z

JULY 29: SENTARE GASPARI, A RWANDAN REFUGEE ARRIVED AT RUZO FROM NGANGA, GASHORA COMMUNE, WITH A BULLET IN HIS BACK.

WEEK OF JULY 25 TO 30, IN TANZANIA: A VISITOR IN A CAR PASSED A LINE OF RWANDAN REFUGEES STRETCHING 8 KMS TOWARD NGARA-BENAKO. ALWAYS THE SAME TESTIMONY: "THEY'RE KILLING US IN RWANDA."

3. IT IS RUMORED THAT THE FPR MURDERED THOUSANDS OF BURUNDIAN HUTUS (THIS FIGURE AGAIN MIGHT BE EXAGGERATED) IN A LARGE CAMP FOR REFUGEES TO THE NORTH OF LAKE RWERU (SOUTH OF SAKE) WHEN THIS AREA WAS OCCUPIED BY THE FPR AND BEFORE THESE HUTU REFUGEES COULD FLEE BACK TO BURUNDI.

4. A EUROPEAN WHO HAD OBTAINED PERMISSION BY THE FPR REPRESENTATIVE IN BUJUMBURA TO RETURN TO HIS PLACE OF WORK IN THAT SAME AREA, WAS ASTONISHED WHEN FPR SOLDIERS REFUSED TO LET HIM PASS AT THAT FRONTIER. AFTER FOUR DAYS THEY ACCOMPANIED HIM TO THAT PLACE. ENROUTE HE OBSERVED WHAT HE BELIEVED TO BE SEVERAL FRESH MASS GRAVES. (HE BELIEVES THE DELAY AT THE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 01 BUJUMB 02708 03 OF 04 111705Z
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B1

BORDER WAS TO GIVE THEM TIME TO BURY THE DEAD.) ONCE
HE WAS BACK AT HIS PLACE, HE VENTURED OUT ALONE INTO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BUJUMB 02708 03 OF 04 111705Z
THE SURROUNDINGS AND OBSERVED NUMEROUS FRESH CORPSES
LYING AROUND IN THE OPEN.

5. IN BURUNDI IT IS NOTED THAT THE FPR IS CALLING BACK
MANY OF THE "OLD" TUTSI REFUGEES FROM RWANDA (1959-63).
THIS HAS CREATED ALREADY BOTTLENECKS IN THE HEALTH CARE
AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF BURUNDI. IT IS NOTED IN
BUJUMBURA (AS OBSERVED SYSTEMATICALLY BY SOME
EUROPEANS) THAT THESE "OLD" REFUGEES WHO HAVE LIVED

HERE FOR MANY YEARS AND MANY OF WHOM HAVE CONTRIBUTED MONEY REGULARLY TO THE FPR, RECEIVE "ORDERS" THAT ON A FIXED DAY AT A FIXED TIME A BUS WILL TAKE THEM TO A FIXED LOCATION IN RWANDA (AT THE COST OF BUFR.2,500 PER PERSON). AT THAT PLACE A CERTAIN HOUSE, HUT OR PIECE OF PROPERTY WAS "FREE" FOR THEM TO USE.

INTERESTING TO OBSERVE IS THE FACT THAT MANY OF THESE DESTINATIONS ARE AGAIN IN THE SOUTH- EAST OF KIGALI OR NEAR KIBUNGO (OR FURTHERMORE IN KIGALI OR BUTARE.)

6. EVALUATION:

ONE HAS TO ASSUME THAT THE FPR IS TRYING TO CREATE IN THAT AREA A "TUTSI LAND" BY SYSTEMATICALLY CHASING OUT OR KILLING HUTUS. (THIS AREA AROUND LAKE RWERU AND ALSO TO THE NORTH OF LAKE MUGESERA PROVIDES EXCELLENT PASTURE AND HAS BEEN TRADITIONALLY PREFERRED BY TUTSI.) THIS IS DONE BY RESETTLING THE "OLD" TUTSI REFUGEES (1959-63) THERE AND BY GIVING THEM THE PROPERTIES OF HUTUS THAT HAVE FLED OR HAVE BEEN MURDERED.

7. AS FAR AS CAN BE OBSERVED FROM BUJUMBURA, THIS PARTICULAR AREA -IN CONTRAST TO OTHER AREAS OF RWANDA -
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 02708 03 OF 04 111705Z
IS HARDLY EVER VISITED BY FOREIGNERS (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE EUROPEANS MENTIONED EARLIER AND SOME JOURNALISTS CAREFULLY "GUARDED" BY THE FPR, WHO IN JUNE WERE PERMITTED TO PROCEED FROM BUJUMBURA VIA KINUNDO-KANAZI INTO THE FPR-CONTROLLED AREAS OF KIGALI OR GITERAMA.)

IN MY OPINION, REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS OR MEMBERS OF THE TO-BE-REOPENED EMBASSY IN KIGALI SHOULD PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THIS AREA.

III

1. AS IS ALREADY KNOWN INTERNATIONALLY, THE ARCHBISHOP OF KIGALI AND THE BISHOPS OF BYUMA AND KABGAYI TOGETHER WITH 10 PRIESTS AND OTHER LAYMEN WERE MURDERED BY FPR SOLDIERS ON JUNE 5.

2. NOT AS WELL PUBLICIZED IS THE MURDER CARRIED OUT BY FPR SOLDIERS OF THE SPANISH PRIEST JOAQUIM VALLIMAJO TOGETHER WITH 2 RWANDESE PRIESTS ON APRIL 26 IN KAGEYO NEAR BYUMBA. ALL THREE WERE IN RWESERO AND WERE INSULTED AT LENGTH AND IN PUBLIC BEFORE BEING MURDERED.

3. RELIABLE SOURCES STATE THAT ON JULY 15 IN CENDAJURU (BURUNDI) NEAR THE FRONTIER CROSSING OF AKANYARU 45

HUTU REFUGEES (AMONG THEM WOMEN AND CHILDREN) WERE MASSACRED BY FPR SOLDIERS WHO HAD CROSSED THE BORDER. 41 OF THOSE HUTUS HAD BEEN ENTICED TO ENTER THE PROTESTANT CHURCH THERE UNDER THE PRETEXT OF FINDING FOOD THERE, AND THEN WERE KILLED BY GRENADES AND GUNS, THE OTHER FOUR WERE KILLED NEARBY. THE SAME SOURCE AND OTHERS CONFIRM THAT FPR SOLDIERS WITH THE COVERT CONSENT OF THE BURUNDIAN ARMY FREQUENTLY CROSS THE BORDER IN ORDER TO LIQUIDATE AMONG

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 BUJUMB 02708 03 OF 04 111705Z
THE NEWLY ARRIVED HUTU REFUGEES THOSE THAT ARE SUSPECTED OF HAVING BEEN "INTERHAMWE".
4. THERE ARE REPEATED REPORTS (PERHAPS NOT ALL OF THEM RELIABLE) MADE BY HUTU REFUGEES FROM RWANDA THAT:
- AFTER HAVING OCCUPIED A CERTAIN AREA, THE FPR HAD CALLED TOGETHER A "PEACE MEETING" AT WHICH MANY MEN WERE TAKEN AWAY WHO SUBSEQUENTLY DISAPPEARED. AT TIMES IT IS SAID THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS AT SUCH MEETINGS, INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN, HAVE BEEN LIQUIDATED. WITNESSES CLAIM THEY ONLY SURVIVED THANKS TO SOME FORTUNATE CIRCUMSTANCES.

- THE FPR HAD TAKEN INTO CUSTODY CERTAIN GROUPS OF MEN AND THEN KILLED THEM (ONE CAN ASSUME THAT THESE EXTRA-LEGAL EXECUTIONS OF PERCEIVED HUTU "WAR CRIMINALS" ARE BEING CARRIED OUT BASED SOLELY ON DENUNCIATIONS).

5. INDEPENDENT EYE WITNESS REPORTS MENTION WELL-ORGANIZED PILLAGES OF PLACES THAT HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED BY HE FPR. THIS SEEMS TO APPLY IN PARTICULAR TO BUTARE, WHERE SEVERAL EUROPEANS WITNESSED THAT THE FPR CARRIED OUT HOUSE-TO-HOUSE PILLAGES (EVEN OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS LIKE A SECONDARY SCHOOL). THESE ACTIONS WERE WELL ORGANIZED AS THE STOLEN ITEMS WERE CARRIED

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PAGE 01 BUJUMB 02708 04 OF 04 111705Z
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AWAY ON TRUCKS. SIMILAR REPORTS CONCERNING OTHER
PLACES INCLUDING THE CAPITAL KIGALI WERE MADE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BUJUMB 02708 04 OF 04 111705Z
6. IT APPLIES TO KIGALI AND OTHER PLACES ALIKE THAT
HOUSES BELONGING TO FLEEING OR KILLED HUTUS ARE PLACED
AT THE DISPOSITION OF FPR SOLDIERS OR RETURNING TUTSI
REFUGEES.

7. HOUSES AND BUSINESSES BELONGING TO PROMINENT HUTUS
IN KIGALI, GITARAMA OR BUTARE WERE DESTROYED BY
GRENADES. THIS IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN THE CASE WITH

A BUSINESS THAT BELONGED TO THE BROTHER-IN-LAW OF HABYRIMANA IN KIGALI.

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8. SEVERAL EYEWITNESSES STATED THAT MOST OF THE FPR SOLDIERS IN CONTRAST TO EARLIER TIMES ARE NOW WEARING WRIST WATCHES (TAKEN FROM FLEEING OR KILLED HUTUS?).

9. THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN FAMILIAR WITH THE FPR STATE THAT THE DISCIPLINE IN THE FPR IS DROPPING: MANY MORE FPR SOLDIERS ARE SEEN DRINKING BEER OR ALREADY DRUNK DURING THE MORNING HOURS, OR WEARING SOME SEMI WESTERN OUTFITS (PLUNDERED?) INSTEAD OF THE CORRECT UNIFORM, I.E. T-SHIRTS INSTEAD OF UNIFORM JACKETS.

10. EVALUATION: IT SEEMS THAT OUTSIDE OF THE AREA MENTIONED UNDER II, THE FPR IS COMMITTING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BUT THIS HAPPENS WITHOUT US BEING ABLE TO TALK ABOUT "GENERAL" BEHAVIOR OR A "SYSTEMATIC POLICY" ON PART OF THE FPR. (THE CLOSEST TO THAT WOULD BE PILFERING OF EMPTY HUTU HOUSES AND PLACING RETURNING TUTSI REFUGEES IN SUCH HOMES.)

IV. IN MY OPINION IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE INQUIRING INTO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 02708 04 OF 04 111705Z
THE ORIGINS OF THE COUNTLESS BODIES THAT WERE CARRIED VIA THE AKAGERA RIVER INTO LAKE VICTORIA IN MAY. THESE CORPSES CREATED A LOT OF ATTENTION IN THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA ASKED FOR INTERNATIONAL AID IN REMOVING THEM. IF I REMEMBER CORRECTLY, THE EAST OF RWANDA AT THAT TIME WAS ALREADY IN THE HANDS OF THE FPR.

V. AN EXPLANATION FOR THESE VIOLATIONS MIGHT BE THE FACT THAT THE FPR - KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN A WELL-DISCIPLINED REBEL FORCE- INCREASED BY 50% DURING THE CIVIL WAR BY THE INFLUX OF YOUNG TUTSIS, OFTEN TIMES HATEFILLED BY HAVING WITNESSED ATROCITIES, AND THAT THERE HAD NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT TIME TO TRAIN AND DRILL THEM PROPERLY.

ONE FPR OFFICER ANSWERED A COMPLAINT LODGED BY A EUROPEAN CONCERNING THE PILFERAGE WITH, " ONE CANNOT CONTROL OUR YOUNG PEOPLE."

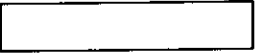
VI. THE FPR HAS TRADITIONALLY ESTABLISHED EXCELLENT

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PUBLIC RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA, A TALENT
ONE SHOULD DISTRUST. EVEN HERE IN BURUNDI TUTSIS
DISPLAY THE DESIRE - IN CONTRAST TO HUTUS - TO CREATE
A FAVORABLE PUBLIC IMAGE AND TO "SAVE FACE". THEY
MASTER THE ART OF PRESENTING THEMSELVES IN A FAVORABLE
LIGHT AND ABHOR NOTHING MORE THAN PUBLIC SCANDALS.

END OF TRANSLATION.



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PAGE 04 BUJUMB 02708 04 OF 04 111705Z

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