

**CHAD: REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE CRIMES AND MISAPPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTED BY EX-PRESIDENT HABRÉ, HIS
ACCOMPLICES AND/OR ACCESSORIES**

*Investigation of Crimes Against the Physical and
Mental Integrity of Persons and their Possessions*

(May 7, 1992)

Introduction

Before entering into the main subject of the report, it would be useful to give the reader of this document and annexes a brief overview of modern-day Chad.

Brief Overview of Chad

Area:	11,284,000 km ²
Population:	about 6 million
Religions:	Islam, Christianity, animism
Capital:	Ndjamena
Principal towns:	Sarh, Moundou, Abéché
Official languages:	French and Arabic. But several other unwritten languages are spoken in Chad.
Political parties:	Chad is governed currently by the Patriotic Movement of Salvation (MPS); several political parties were established and legalized in late 1991. These are: - Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP) headed by Lol Mahamat Choua; - Union for Democracy of the Chadian People (UDPT) headed by Elie Romba; - National Rally for Democracy and Progress (RNDP) headed by Nouradine Kassiré Delwa Coumakoye; - Union for Democracy and Rally (UDR) headed by Jean Bawoyeu Alingué; Others have been formed and are awaiting legalization.
Head of State:	Idriss Déby

Succinct Chronology of Successive Political Regimes

Chad is an African country which faced problems of every kind in the first years of independence: guerrilla movements, civil wars, and fratricidal, murderous and interminable struggles for control of the central government. In addition, there has been an almost steady stream of natural calamities such as drought and famine.

All these misfortunes have wounded, weakened, and retarded it politically, economically, and socially for entire decades. Until quite recently, Chad has suffered 26 years of instability and insecurity. Few countries have known such a wretched fate.

These painful events, which have left such deep scars on Chad, may be summarized briefly as follows:

11 August 1960: Chad is proclaimed independent. Mr. François Tombalbaye becomes first president of the republic. He is a native of southern Chad.

Late October 1965: Exasperated by excessive assessments of civic taxes (head taxes), the peasants of Mangalmé (a locality in central Chad) rise up against the local administrative authorities, massacring several of them.

22 June 1966: creation at Nyala (Sudan) of the Chadian National Liberation Front ("FROLINAT"). Initially, this front includes natives of the central, east-central and northern parts of the country, which feel marginalized and oppressed by those in power, their fellow citizens from the south.

This is the beginning of a long, very long period of political instability.

1 September 1969: Colonel Qadhdhafi seizes power in Libya and topples King Idriss from his throne. Qadhdhafi's coming to power would have incalculable repercussions on Chad's political future. Qadhdhafi would continually support armed movements that wanted to take power.

13 April 1975: The military take power and kill Tombalbaye. General Malloum is named president of the republic and president of the Higher Military Council (CSM).

28 August 1978: Hissein Habré, rebel leader of an armed dissident faction, joins forces with the government. He is named prime minister.

12 February 1979: Beginning of the armed conflict between supporters of President Malloum and partisans of Prime Minister Hissein Habré. This conflict would allow FROLINAT to enter Ndjamená without a fight and lead to the removal of the military from the government.

10 November 1979: A Transitional National Union Government (GUNT) is created. The president is Goukouni Oueddeï, ex-rebel leader; Colonel Kamougué is vice president; Hissein Habré, minister of State for defense; Mahabat Abba, minister of State for interior; Acyl Ahmat, minister of foreign affairs. This new government confirms the victory of FROLINAT, as all key positions are taken by leaders of this armed movement.

21 March 1980: War breaks out in Ndjamená, the capital, between the Northern Armed Forces (FAN) of Hissein Habré and the People's Armed Forces (FAP) of Goukouni Oueddeï, who was president of the country. This civil war is extremely murderous. It leaves thousands dead and wounded

and drives hundreds of thousands to seek refuge in neighboring countries. Ndjamena, the capital city, is destroyed.

14 December 1980: Hissein Habré, beaten by GUNT's forces, retreats to eastern Chad, to the Sudan border. Outraged Ndjamena residents discover a large burial ground on the banks of the river, not far from Habré's residence in the Sabangali quarter. This is the work of Hissein Habré.

7 June 1982: Hissein Habré seizes power in Ndjamena as Goukouni Oueddeï flees to Cameroon.

1 December 1990: Eight years later, the all-powerful Habré flees Ndjamena and takes refuge in Cameroon; taking with him the entire treasury of the Chadian State and killing in cold blood all the political prisoners detained at the presidency. His former commander in chief of the Chadian National Armed Forces, Colonel Idriss Déby, who launched his rebellion on 1 April 1989, takes power.

The Commission of Inquiry

After Hissein Habré took flight, the new government headed by Colonel Idriss Déby created, in Decree No. 014/P.CE/CJ/90 of 29 December 1990, a Commission called "Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes and Misappropriations Committed by Ex-President Habré, his Accomplices and/or Accessories."

The mandate of the Commission is:

- to investigate the illegal imprisonments, detentions, assassinations, disappearances, tortures and practices of acts of barbarity, the mistreatment, other attacks on the physical or mental integrity of persons, and all violations of human rights and illicit trafficking in narcotics;
- to collect documentation, archives and exploit them;
- to confiscate and secure under seal all objects and premises required for elucidating the truth;
- to preserve in their present condition the torture chambers and equipment utilized;
- to hear testimony from all victims and invite them to produce documentation attesting to their physical and mental condition following their detention;
- to take the testimony of interested parties and invite them to furnish any relevant or necessary documents;
- to hear testimony from any person whose deposition may be useful to elucidation of the truth;
- to determine the total cost of the war effort and how the money was spent beginning in 1986;
- to audit the financial operations and bank accounts of the ex-president, his accomplices and/or accessories;
- to take inventory of all the goods and properties, both in country and abroad, belonging to or having belonged to the ex-president, his accomplices and/or accessories.

The Commission was composed initially of 12 members, including two magistrates, four officers of the judicial police, two civil administrative officers, two records clerks, and two secretaries.

It was given 6 months to submit its report. Due to lack of resources and office space, it was unable to begin its work until 1 March 1991, 2 months late. Unable to find anything better, it was obliged to set up its offices, after some hasty reconstruction work, in the former offices of the loathsome Directorate of Documentation and Security (DDS), the political police of the Habré regime.

After many *démarches* to the authorities concerned, the Commission was allocated operating funds totaling 4.8 million francs, to be disbursed in three installments.

With the financial problem partly resolved, it was the lack of transport that paralyzed the Commission for a considerable time. At the start, the Commission was furnished two small urban automobiles, a 504 and a small Suzuki, whereas all-terrain vehicles were actually required for travel to the provinces and the outskirts of Ndjamena.

On 25 August 1991 a Toyota all-terrain vehicle was put at the disposal of the Commission. But during the events of 13 October 1991, unfortunately, the Toyota and the little Suzuki were taken off by combatants. A month later the Toyota was recovered, but the Suzuki was not found until 3 January 1992. This act of brigandage, which deprived the Commission of its means of transportation, paralyzed it for several more months. This is why the Commission was unable to send investigators to the interior of the country during the entire initial period.

In the course of its investigations, the Commission ran into many obstacles, both material and psychological. The victims of Habré's repression were afraid to give testimony because they had doubts about the Commission's precise mission. They feared it might be a trap designed to identify them and persecute them afterward. They also feared Habré would come back for the "nth" time and their lives would be forfeit. Others, however, did not want to talk about these painful sufferings because they were loath to revive the trauma and violent shocks they endured.

It must also be conceded that the location of the Commission headquarters itself was not such as to encourage victims to come forward with depositions. As mentioned above, due to the shortage of available sites, the Commission set up its offices in the former building of the sinister DDS. And it took a great deal of tactful persuasion to reassure and allay the anxieties of hesitant, frightened people.

Obtaining testimony from former DDS agents rehired in the new, rehabilitated intelligence service, called the General Directorate of the Center for Investigation and Intelligence Coordination, was a grueling ordeal for the Commission. These unscrupulous criminals believed—with good reason, moreover—that being "rehabilitated" they did not have to account to anyone for their actions. Some even tried to intimidate witnesses who had come to testify to the Commission. It was with great difficulty that we succeeded in interviewing the majority of them.

On several occasions, but without success, the Commission has drawn the attention of the competent authorities to the real danger involved in rehiring these agents, who in the recent past participated in acts of genocide against the Chadian people. The sad truth is that these agents were trained by Habré to kill, pillage and terrorize. Thus there are no grounds for hoping they will make a positive contribution.

Likewise, interviewing high-ranking former Habré officials who were hastily given responsible positions by the new government has not been easy.

Within the Commission, some members judged the task too hazardous and disappeared altogether. Others reappeared only at the end of the month to pick up their pay and vanished again.

This is why, when its 6-month mandate expired, the Commission through its president, requested the replacement of certain members and the enlargement of the Commission. This request was granted by the competent authorities, as a result of which the second decree, No. 382/PR/MJ/91 of 29 July 1991, was promulgated. This decree extended by 4 months the deadline for submission of the report. Three-fourths of the Commission members were replaced by new appointees, and their number was increased from 12 to 16.

The new composition of the Commission is as follows:...

The Commission's mission is essentially twofold:

The first mission relates to crimes against the physical and mental integrity of persons, such as arbitrary detentions, tortures, assassinations, disappearances, etc.

The second concerns misappropriations of public resources.

To meet this heavy responsibility, the members of the Commission divided into two sections, criminal and financial.

The methods followed in these investigations are those utilized in judicial proceedings, notably criminal proceedings. To wit, the taking of testimony from parties concerned, such as former political detainees, close relatives of people who died or were executed, former DDS agents, former high-ranking security officials, and even several ministers. In a word, the Commission listens to anyone able to throw light on the matter. It also collects written and material evidence such as lists of persons who were executed or died in prison, photographs of torture, burial ground premises, etc.

Generally, each investigator takes individual depositions from the attestant. But when the attestant conceals important information, a team of investigators, often headed by the president in person, conducts the cross-examination. This was done in the case of former directors and high officials of the DDS, several ministers, and survivors of mass executions.

After several months of intense investigation, and in order to further accelerate the work, the Commission drew up a series of questionnaires:

- for former political detainees;
- for close relatives of victims who died in detention or were executed;
- for prisoners of war;

- for former DDS agents.

With the help of these pre-established questionnaires the daily output of the Commission more than quintupled.

But the work of the Commission would be incomplete if it did not include the provinces in its program of investigation. That is why a team of investigators composed of two magistrates and an officer of the judicial police was dispatched to the southern part of the country on 19 November 1991. It stayed there more than a month to scour the prefectures and subprefectures. It produced an impressively large volume of work. More than 700 persons were heard, and four prefectures and 10 subprefectures were visited, namely:

- Prefecture of Moyen-Chari: Sarh, Kyabé, Maro, Koumra, Moïssala
- Prefecture of Logone Occidental: Moundou, Beinamar, Bénoyé,
- Prefecture of Logone Oriental: Doba, Bébidja, Goré, Mbaibokoum
- Prefecture of Tandjilé: Laï, Kélo

As in the rest of the country, the repression in the south was both brutal and disastrous. Entire villages were burned with their inhabitants, worshippers praying in churches or temples were locked inside and burned alive. (The reader will find ample details in the chapter reserved for the provinces.) It should also be noted that the investigators did not have time to visit Mayo-Kebbi, although it did not escape the murderous madness of Habréist agents, particularly the administrative station at Galal;

Another team composed of a judicial police officer and two gendarmes was dispatched on 24 December 1991 to the central, east-central and extreme northeast parts of the country. It was on the road for 21 days, during which it combed the following localities: Abéché, Biltine, Tiné, Arada, Oum-Hadjer, Ati, Djaddaâ.

For reasons of security, investigators did not visit the Guerra region. That zone was the victim of an odious genocide that lasted several years. The Commission however was able to gather a great deal of testimony from natives of Guerra living in Ndjamena. This will to some extent make up for this large gap. But the enthusiasm of the young investigators sent to the central part of the country was crushed by the numerous obstacles they encountered on their journey. The first difficulty: Arriving at Tiné (a locality situated in the extreme northeast of the country near the Sudanese border), their driver suddenly died on 29 December 1991 after a short illness. The second major obstacle: the armed attacks unleashed at Lake Chad by partisans of Hissein Habré in late 1991. This attempt to return Habré to Ndjamena created anxiety and made many victims of the Habré regime understandably unwilling to talk for fear of reprisal. Bichara Djibrine Ahmat, a survivor of a mass murder, felt too threatened even in Ndjamena to make a deposition before the Commission.

For all these reasons, the results of this trip were very meager, though nevertheless instructive. In all, 143 people were interviewed, including 120 relatives of victims, 21 former political detainees, and two former prisoners of war. The investigators located two mass graves, a pit excavated to provide a place for burning regime opponents alive. They took the names of 420 persons who died in detention or were executed.

In bringing its investigation to a close, the Commission summarizes its hearings as follows:

- 662 former political detainees or prisoners of conscience;
- 786 close relatives of victims who died in prison or were executed;
- 236 former prisoners of war;
- 30 former DDS agents;
- 12 former holders of high political position under Habré.

Altogether, the testimony of 1,726 attestants was recorded by the Commission. The Commission located several charnel-houses in the vicinity of the capital city, Ndjamená, and open-air execution sites where remains of victims trail off into the bush.

Also noteworthy were the corpses floating on the Chari river near Milézi after summary executions, a daily sight for inhabitants living on the banks.

On the outskirts of Ndjamená alone, the Commission counted five large charnel-houses and four open-air execution sites (the executioners did not even condescend to bury them).

At the Commission's behest, three exhumations were performed just outside Ndjamená. The first, performed on 15 July 1991 at the Hamral-Goz cemetery about ten kilometers northwest of Ndjamená, uncovered the corpses of political detainees buried in large plastic bags. On 16 January 1992 a second exhumation was performed, again at Hamral-Goz, where 30 bodies were counted in two adjacent mass graves. On 6 February 1992, a final exhumation took place 25 km northwest of Ndjamená and one kilometer from the village of Ambing, where 150 people were executed summarily by the DDS in 1983.

The Commission at first believed it was dealing with a major massacre. But the further the investigation proceeded, the clearer it became that it was a veritable genocide carried out against the Chadian people. It is only honest to point out to the reader that this investigation actually covers only an infinitesimal part of the actions committed by the dictator Habré. Neither the time given to the Commission nor the means at its disposal nor its access to victims was sufficient to carry out such an exhaustive labor.

This work covers only 10 percent of the crimes of the tyrant Habré.

The current government should be given credit for having taken this initiative to enlighten the Chadian public concerning the disastrous reign of the tyrant Habré.

It would also be appropriate to ensure very wide distribution of this report so that the public—in Chad, first of all, but internationally as well—will know what the Chadian people as a whole endured during these interminable eight years of despotism.

Readers should also be advised that this first part of the report deals only with crimes against the physical and mental integrity of persons, and their property; the second part will be devoted to misappropriation of public funds.

Chapter One: The Hisssein Habré Regime

When Hisssein Habré seized power on 7 June 1982, many Chadians foresaw the tragedy that would engulf Chad under his rule, for he is a man without scruples. In working to achieve his ends, neither law nor religion could restrain his impulsiveness. Thus he would join with the armed rebellion one moment and with the government the next. To win over public sympathy, he portrayed himself by turns as a convinced Maoist and a fervent Muslim.

His long and tumultuous path to power is filled with conspiracies, intrigues, perfidies, and the physical elimination of his adversaries. It was he in 1976 who slipped out on his fellow rebel, Goukouni Oueddeï, to join the central government headed by General Félix Malloum. Named prime minister under the provisions of the 1978 Khartoum (Sudan) accords, Hisssein took advantage of his entry into Ndjamenà to declare war on Gen. Malloum, who had extended the open hand of friendship. Realizing the inadequacy of his forces, owing to attrition in the ranks of his soldiers, Hisssein turned the battle into a civil war between Muslims and Christians (Hisssein is a Muslim from the north, President Malloum a Christian from the south). He fanned and in a remarkably machiavellian way exploited ethnic, religious, and regional cleavages, setting Chadians against each other. Unfortunately, Muslim Chadians naively followed him, and there was a rupture between north and south.

Following these events, the government of Gen. Malloum was pushed aside, allowing all the armed factions that had been vegetating in the central, east-central and northern part of the country to enter Ndjamenà. Now it was necessary to redistribute the political prizes and ensure that each faction had a position in the new government. Thus a new government was born on 10 November 1979: the "Government of National Union and Transition," or GUNT, headed by former rebel leader Goukouni Oueddeï. Hisssein occupied the position of minister of State for defense in that government.

Goukouni and Habré came from the same prefecture, they spoke the same language, and they practiced the same religion, Islam. But none of these similarities and affinities stopped Habré from declaring war against him in March 1980, only 5 months after having engineered the sudden fall of Gen. Malloum. The most murderous war in the country's history was fought between its president (Goukouni) and its defense minister (Habré). The great majority of casualties in this massacre were northerners.

Chadians have not forgotten, nor will they ever forget, that it was Habré who in December 1980, beaten by the GUNT coalition forces, left behind him a horrible charnel-house near his residence in the Sabangali quarter of Ndjamenà. It was he, in the same period, who physically liquidated a number of high-level officials, northerners and southerners, and decimated an entire family, the Djallals.

It is obvious that Habré's penchant for crime is not the result of special circumstances or blind chance, but rather an innate predisposition.

Taking over as head of State after sweeping out the heterogeneous GUNT coalition, which proved unable to govern the country, Habré quickly

focused on consolidating his own personal and absolute power. The enthusiasm of the allies whom he brought to power—mainly from the Hadjarai and Zaghawa—yielded very soon to disappointment and bitterness. They discovered early on that Habré trusted only his own ethnic group—the Goranes, especially the Anakaza—while for the others he had only distrust and contempt.

The reader should note that Habré is not illiterate; in fact, he is a cultivated intellectual, educated at distinguished French universities. In daily life, however, his comportment and thinking are not much different from those of a camel thief.

After just a few months under his rule, Chad became, to the great surprise of its citizens, an exclusively Gorane state. To ensure control and keep his grip on the whole country, Habré installed his brethren in all strategic governmental positions: in the security services, the army, and finance. He planned and maneuvered in such a way that no act or decision, however pedestrian, that affected their interests could be taken without their knowledge.

For example, the directorate of customs, the primary organ of government revenue collection, was never entrusted to anyone outside their family in all his years in power. But the worst part is that these officials, chosen because of their tribal connections, were often illiterate, with a resulting paralysis of institutions. The purpose of these appointments was to enable members of his own clan to enrich themselves by diverting revenue for their personal benefit.

Within the Chadian National Army, Habré created his personal army, the Presidential Security (SP), composed mainly of members of his tribe and those that had been won over to his cause. Elements of the SP not only enjoyed special rights and privileges but were allowed to engage in extortion, at a time when the rest of the army was reduced to beggary and abandoned to its own devices, without salary or other compensation. The principle of military hierarchy was turned upside down: high-ranking officers walking around in patched trousers while simple enlisted with no rank or training had vehicles and housing and issued orders to those who normally would be their superiors.

The whole country was painstakingly divided into security zones, and the populace was terrorized by those bloody agents of the political police, the DDS. This sinister institution watched everything people said and did. A single word deemed "out of place," the smallest gesture perceived as suspect, and its author's life would be forfeit.

The more he consolidated his power in blood and terror, the more Habré believed himself endowed with supernatural qualities comparable to those of God. He believed he was all-knowing and all-powerful. And at all his public appearances, the militants of his single party, the National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR), hailed him with slogans like "Hissein Habré the savior, Hissein Habré the liberator, Hissein Habré the messenger of peace," and even "With Hissein Habré can you have any doubts?" to which the public would chorus back in response "No! No!" But Habré's delusions of grandeur extended even further, as shown by this

slogan so dear to his heart: "Hissein Habré here, Hissein Habré there, Hissein Habré everywhere, Hissein Habré for always... for always," intoxicated by absolute and limitless power, Hissein Habré shamelessly and unabashedly usurped the attributes of God. He felt himself so strong, so durable, that he identified with Him.

But it was in daily life that the despotism of Hissein and his brethren was most revolting. There were in fact two distinct classes in Chadian society. The first was that of the rulers, the masters of the country. The second was that of the governed, the slaves. The slave class was subjected day after day to persecutions, humiliations, and arbitrary actions. To illustrate this depraved state of affairs, it suffices to cite a few examples selected at random:

- On 25 October 1989 an Issa KoKi of the Gorane ethnic group forced his victim, livestock specialist Dayangar Moudjinia, to kneel before his work colleagues, then murdered him in cold blood with a fire-arm. The motive for the public punishment of the victim was his refusal to tend the poultry of the Gorane master. The perpetrator has never been touched. He has been neither arrested nor tried. A master is not accountable for the murder of his subject.

- Law enforcement agencies, such as the judicial police and the gendarmerie, were in the hands of the same tribe. That is why they never intervened to arrest a Gorane, despite the urgent injunctions of magistrates. But if one of their own were in a tight spot, they would help him escape.

- Abdelkader Mahamat, a young man of about 30 from Abéché, was fatally stabbed in 1989 following a minor dispute with a Gorane soldier. The arrested offender was released a few days later by his brethren in the gendarmerie. He was never found again.

- On 23 January 1987, Jeremy Djere, a volunteer militiaman, was on duty with one of his colleagues in the second municipal arrondissement. They were asked to stop a brawl between some Goranes and private citizens at the "Domino Bar". Unfortunately, the brawl ended with a death on the Gorane side. The people panicked and everyone cleared out. The only thing the two militiamen did was report the facts. When the family of the victim learned the news, it reacted by abducting Jeremy and his companion. The latter was executed and thrown into the Chari river. As for Jeremy, he was brutally tortured before being assassinated. To hide their crime, the killers filled a large sack with pebbles and pieces of heavy iron, then tied the sack to the corpse's back before throwing him into the backwater next to the Diguel community building.

- The guilty parties were a group of Goranes headed by a close friend of Habré named Hissein Hamita. The criminals would go unpunished, to the great indignation of all Chadians.

People who did not live through the Habré regime cannot believe or even imagine what took place.

To the great stupefaction of magistrates, Gorane customs took precedence over the laws of the republic. They were enforceable by Kalachnikovs. Goranes did not recognize that a traffic accident might be solely the fault of the victim, nor did they accept self-defense, much less the statute of limitations.

If you had the misfortune to run over a Gorane, even if it was entirely his own fault, you had to come up straightway with 4 million francs in damages if you valued your life. This sum represents the value of 100 camels, according to their local customs. And so much the worse for you if the court declared you not guilty—the order would remain a dead letter.

Dizzy with power and arrogant with the impunity afforded them by the regime, the Goranes regarded their fellow citizens with disdain and treated them as slaves.

Section 1: Organs of Repression of the Habré Regime

The pillars of the dictatorship on which Habré built his regime were the Directorate of Documentation and Security (DDS) or political police, the Presidential Investigation Service (SIP), the security branch (RG) of the police force, and the State party, the National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR).

All these organs had the mission of controlling the people, keeping them under surveillance, watching their actions and attitudes even in the smallest matters, in order to flush out so-called enemies of the nation and neutralize them permanently.

I. DDS: The Principal Organ of Repression and Terror

Among all the oppressive institutions of the Habré regime, the DDS distinguished itself by its cruelty and its contempt for human life. It fully carried out its mission, which was to terrorize the population to make them better slaves.

Habré laid all the foundations for his future political police in the first days after he seized power. Initially it existed in embryonic form as the "Documentation and Intelligence Service" headed by Mahamat Fadil and Saleh Batraki. The said service was attached at the time to the Directorate of National Security. The DDS as it is known today was created by Decree No. 005/PR of 26 January 1983.

A. Functions and Structures of the DDS...

At the National Level

No sector public or private, not one scrap near or far, escaped the eye of the DDS. Agents were everywhere in the country, beginning with the prefectures, the subprefectures, the cantons and even the villages. It had a branch in every electoral borough. To oversee its territory, it recruited local agents as spies and informers. Each branch was composed of a chief and a deputy. In addition to the salaries of its staff, the branch each month received operating funds totaling between 50,000 and 100,000 CFA francs, depending on the size of the urban area, to be used for paying snitches.

In terms of nationwide surveillance, Saleh Younouss, ex-director of the DDS, says "we placed agents in every sector: administration, neighborhood,

shopping center, etc. At the start, it was we who placed them, but later on people came forward on their own to offer their services. Some earned promotions with the information they furnished."

Finally, a powerful transceiver installed at DDS headquarters collected the daily reports from the provincial branches....

DDS Attached Directly to the Office of the President

Article 1 of the decree creating the DDS provided that it was responsible to the Office of the Presidency because of the confidential nature of its activities. There were no intermediaries between the DDS and Hissein Habré; communication between them was direct. He transmitted all his orders and directives to it; in turn, the DDS sent memoranda to him every day reporting back all their activities in fullest detail. The DDS was his personal affair; nobody else was involved in managing it. The all-powerful Djimé Togou, ex-minister of interior and ex-commissioner for orientation and mass organizations in UNIR, confirmed this, telling the Commission of Inquiry: "Everything having to do with the DDS was reserved for the president, and no one at the time, regardless of rank or function, was allowed to meddle in the affairs of that directorate."

The Structures of the DDS

...At the time of its creation in 1983, the DDS had only three services and four secretariats.... Six years later, this oppressive apparatus had grown astonishingly. The number of services had increased from 3 to 23. The authorities had created an average of three new services per year....

A constant atmosphere of distrust and suspicion reigned at the DDS; each agent had to be on his guard. To avoid indiscretions and intelligence leaks, services were rigidly compartmentalized, and there were no horizontal communications between them. Each service was responsible only to the directorate.

From its creation to the end of the Habré regime, DDS had four directors, successively:

- Saleh Younouss
- Guihini Koreï
- Ahmat Allatchi
- Toke Dadi.

All these directors came from Habré's ethnic group, a fact that says a great deal about the latter's distrust of Chadians from different groups.

The Personnel of DDS

The Commission of Inquiry enumerated 1,076 permanent civilian agents, and 584 soldiers belonging to the redoubtable BSIR, the armed branch of the DDS.

Naturally, one finds in this organization Chadians from all over the country, but the majority of agents were recruited in Gorane areas and

Kanembou. Their educational level is generally very low, and it is rare to find any with more than a secondary education.

The director of DDS had a great deal of latitude in recruitment. There were no objective criteria for hiring; the factors determining the decision were personal connections or friendship, tribal connections, and militancy in the UNIR....

Except for a few policemen and gendarmes seconded to DDS, most personnel had absolutely no understanding of the delicate mission that was to be entrusted to them. There was nothing in their recent path to predispose them to such activities. Their erstwhile trades say a lot about them: peddlers, stock growers, peasants, students who failed to complete primary school, simple soldiers, and the jobless.

No plans for training, not even short courses, were envisaged at the time of their recruitment. It was only several years later that officials decided to train a few hand-picked elements. The personnel were relatively young, often immature, and without any experience in life. The average age varied between about 25 and 35.

Professional Training

Professional training was not a priority in this directorate. It was doled out sparingly and only to a select few. The hierarchy preferred to have blind robots always ready to carry out whatever dirty work needed doing rather than deal with educated, principled and responsible men. Moreover, many of these agents were not intelligent enough to be trained....

Oath Taking

Beginning in early 1990, all DDS agents were required to take an oath. Agents swore on the Bible, Koran, or "Diro" depending on whether they were Christian, Muslim or animist. This oath was taken before a three-member commission consisting of Adoum Galmaye, the controller; Warou Fodou Ali, head of the investigations service; and Mbang Ilanan, head of the training and recruitment service.

The language of the oath was as follows:

"On my honor I swear loyalty and devotion to the president and the institutions of the Third Republic. I solemnly pledge to uphold and never betray the confidentiality of all DDS activities, whatever the circumstances, regardless of the consequences."

The DDS director or his proxy accepts the oath by pronouncing the following words: "in the name of the president, I acknowledge your oath."

The purpose behind the administration of this oath was apparently to put an end to leaks of information about the atrocities for which the organization was responsible.

Habré, irritated by the constant flood of correspondence addressed to him by active members of Amnesty International calling on him to end summary executions and other violations of human rights, believed these indiscretions came from DDS employees, hence the resort to an oath.

B. DDS Budget for 1988

The DDS had a substantial budget consisting of operations and personnel funds. The funds came from multiple sources: the general treasury, the presidency, money confiscated from persons arrested, and so-called friendly countries like the United States and Iraq....

Money Confiscated from Arrested Persons

Arrestees were systematically stripped of their possessions, especially money. The director of DDS put it into a strong-box and prepared a memo to Habré, who controlled its utilization. Often this money was enough to offset the directorate's entire budget allocation. The Commission estimates the value of funds arbitrarily confiscated at more than 1 billion CFA francs per year....

In short, the total budget for DDS for 1988 (operating funds plus personnel expenses) was close to 688,100,000 CFA francs.

Aid from Foreign Countries to DDS

The United States of America heads the list of countries that actively provided DDS with financial, material, and technical support.

America took the DDS under its wing in the very first months of its existence. It trained it, supported it, and contributed effectively to its growth, up to the time of the dictator's fall. As was mentioned earlier in the paragraph on "DDS Budget," the world's greatest power did not scrimp on resources for its protégé. It provided 5 million CFA francs per month. According to some sources, this sum was raised to 10 million in 1989. Add to that vehicles, arms, clothing, and other sophisticated observation and communication devices too numerous to mention....

America also provided training for many intelligence agents.

In addition, France, Egypt, Iraq, and Zaire all contributed (depending on their means and experience) financing, training, and equipment, or shared information.

Security cooperation between the intelligence services of the above-mentioned states and the DDS was intense and continued right up to the departure of the ex-tyrant....

C. Deviation of the DDS from Its Initial Mission to Become an Instrument of Terror and Oppression

The powers of the DDS as envisioned by the Decree of 26 January 1983 scarcely differ from those of similar services in countries where democracy and respect for human rights are venerated. A vigilant observer who looks through the list of this intelligence service's original competencies will find nothing disquieting or mysterious. No hint of what it would become.

However, it would be a serious mistake to rely only on this eloquently and brilliantly drafted decree, to fail to recognize the congenital duplicity of Habré, who has always been two-faced. He projects a legalist and conformist image for public consumption, but hidden behind it is his true face, the incarnation of evil.

The espionage and counter-espionage directorate, whose mission was to thwart the destabilizing activities of Libya, was transformed within just a few months of its creation into an instrument of terror and oppression.

Among the critical factors which led DDS to veer off from its initial functions and become an oppressive monster were the tyrannical and perverse character of Habré on the one hand, and the frustration and greed of DDS agents on the other.

Hissein Habré cultivated a unique philosophy about his real and imagined political enemies, which consisted of physically eliminating them. This philosophy may be summed up as follows:

Hissein is a man determined to exterminate all who do not share his opinions; according to Habré, those who don't think like him are against him, and those who are against him don't deserve to live.

During his 8 years in power, Hissein Habré did not change by one iota his macabre attitudes, which led him to subject the 6 million people of Chad to total enslavement by establishing terror and insecurity throughout the country.

By way of example, on 10 August 1983, 150 Chadian prisoners of war, who had been captured in the northern part of the country and represented many different ethnic groups, were taken out one afternoon from the jail in Ndjamena to be executed 25 km northeast of the capital near Ambing village. Their corpses were abandoned in the open air for nearly 2 years. No one could approach them to bury them, no one dared say a word.

It was these kinds of actions that Hissein Habré liked to carry out to deter his potential adversaries. Thus DDS became a privileged instrument of terror, by which Habré meant to govern the country.

DDS agents, coming from the most disadvantaged social classes, had always been on the margins of Chadian society. When suddenly they were propelled, with no preparation, to the forefront of the national scene and given absolute, unlimited power, they believed that Chad was their personal property. And that they could do whatever they wanted with people and their possessions. Such power, such nectar of the gods, could not fail to pervert the humblest of citizens. Inflated by all that, and disposing of a weapon as terrifying as the DDS, these latter could neither contain nor master their impulse to take vengeance on those who not too long ago had considered them trash.

Very soon they began arresting people all over the place, day and night, usually without cause or for trivial reasons that had nothing to do with the security of the state. Once the unfortunate was arrested, the possessions for which he had worked long, hard years were pillaged; but that was not all: "Roomers" at DDS had no chance of getting out alive.

The objective pursued by DDS was quickly attained. The people were terrorized; every citizen was apprehensive and knew not what tomorrow might bring. With every passing day their anxiety increased.

This life of deliberately maintained terror and oppression was summed up by former DDS director Saleh Younouss, who says: "It must be admitted that the original mission assigned to the DDS was gradually modified by the president (Hissein Habré) himself. At first, the directorate was supposed to concern itself with the country's internal and external security, and in particular to thwart any operation by Libyans against Chad. But little by little the president himself gave a new orientation to the directorate and made it into an instrument of terror."

II. Auxiliary Organs of the DDS

In its daily activities, the DDS was often back-stopped or reinforced by other parallel security organs. These auxiliary organs were the Police Security Branch (RG), the Presidential Investigation Service (SIP), and the National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR).

Habré is a paranoid who could not be satisfied with just one intelligence service, hence the proliferation of these organs....

B. Presidential Investigation Service (SIP)

This is a parallel intelligence service whose powers are somewhat unclear; this service, which had its finger in everything, was attached directly to the Office of the President.

SIP was also an organ of terror; its mandate in matters of oppression knew no limits.

The other services, such as DDS and RG, though they committed their share of atrocities, constantly complained to Habré about SIP interference in their own special domains. SIP, as noted above, was interested in everything: politics, contraband, diversion of public funds, social problems. In short, it did whatever it wanted.

Mr. Abdel-Aziz Ahmat, a young economist arbitrarily arrested by the SIP, summarizes for us the service's activities during the course of one night: "The first person I encountered in the cell was arrested for public drunkenness. She came in 2 days ahead of me, and when I was freed 48 hours later, she was still there. I have the impression she had been forgotten. As for the two other people arrested at the same time as me, the first was accused of falsifying his motor-bike registration and the second, a mere driver, of having removed the effects of the late Ibrahim Mahamat Itno, a former minister of interior and territorial administration whom Habré assassinated during the events of April 1989.

"The same night, SIP agents brought in a group of people who were arguing about a 'DIA' affair (damages awarded to relatives of the person killed). These people were beaten all night long, they shouted, howled, and cried.

"Finally, they arrested two young people suspected of using drugs. They too were tortured all night. By morning their faces were swollen, and they had wounds all over their bodies."

Arrestees were transferred to the president's detention center after interrogation and torture.

It should also be noted that SIP does not occupy an official building: Its headquarters are situated on private property belonging to a certain Doudji, a Treasury employee; this property is located in a slum neighborhood called "Moursal." The personnel in this service all belonged to Habré's praetorian guard, the Presidential Security (SP). It is headed by Captain Hissein Ramadan, Mahamat Hassaballah Oudi, and a certain "Allatchi" of the Tubu ethnic group.

C. National Union For Independence and Revolution (UNIR)

The National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR) is a State party created on 22 June 1984 in Ndjamena, after the dissolution of the political-military movement called "Northern Armed Forces" [FAN] which carried Hissein Habré to power.

When this State party was created, all Chadians were obliged to join; those who refused or dragged their feet were watched and considered enemies of the regime. All Chadians knew what happens to unfortunates tagged with that label. To avoid problems with the DDS and be left in peace, the majority of Chadians took out UNIR membership cards whether they wanted to or not.

The most important mission for UNIR militants was to keep watch on the people, to unmask enemies of the party, i.e. opponents of the Habré regime. Thus all so-called "earnest" militants were eyes and ears of the despot. They constituted the main reservoir of informants for the intelligence services.

Interrogated on this subject, Saleh Younouss, ex-director of the DDS, says: "Our informers were mostly UNIR militants. They received bonuses from the Directorate, the amount depending on the importance of the information furnished."

Section 2: The Directorate of Documentation and Security in Action

I. Arrests and Interrogations

A. Arrests

In Chad, legal and procedural provisions for arrest are specified in the Code of Criminal Procedures. All persons arrested are theoretically subject to these provisions. But in practice, this procedure was never applied to political prisoners or prisoners of conscience....

Every DDS Agent had Power of Arrest

Arrests could be ordered by the president, who often gave out instructions over the telephone.

In that connection, Abbass Abougrène, ex-DDS agent, says: "On 1 April 1989 at 0600 hours, Guihini Koreï, ex-director of the DDS, summoned all the service chiefs and told them to arrest all Zaghawa nationals without exception. He told them these were the instructions of the president."

The director had unlimited powers of arrest. Finally, the service chiefs and even simple agents could make an arrest, so long as they could answer for it to the director. Once the individual was arrested, no one, whatever his political or social standing, dared inquire as to the place of detention or reason behind the arrest: He might incur the same fate....

A commission was created in 1987 to take charge of arresting members of the Hadjarai ethnic group. It was composed of Al Hadj Djada (president), Mahamat Wakai, Mahamat Djibrine, Absakine Abdoulaye, Warrant Officer Sabre Ribe, and Lieutenant Ketté Moïse.

In 1989, an analogous commission was created to deal with the Zaghawa problem. This commission was composed of Mahamat Djibrine, Ndojigoto Haunan, Mahamat Sakher, Issa Arawai, Warou Fodou, Doudet Yalade, Abdelaziz Philippe, Mbang Elina Jérémie, Ndjinan Jérôme, and Saleh Nambe.

Grounds for Arrest

Grounds for arrest were generally trivial, even laughable. Arrests were often motivated by desire for self-enrichment or simply score-settling....

Some examples:

Ngaressoum Ngarkol: Government employee working in Mao, was arrested by the DDS branch in the said locality on 30 September 1987. He was accused of having said in a tavern that Hissein Habré's father was a southerner. Transferred to Ndjamená and held at DDS headquarters, he died on 11 August 1988.

Dilnodji Belaloum: arrested on 5 September 1987 in Ndjamená for having stolen kerosene, died on 13 January 1988....

Guidéo Pierre: was arrested on 27 February 1986 at Pala. He was accused of having listened to Radio Bardai....

Brahim Bourma: who tried to travel to the CAR from Maro without a pass, was arrested on 18 January 1988. Transferred to Ndjamená and held at DDS headquarters, he succumbed on 12 July 1988.

Moussa Ahmat: was arrested by the DDS in Dourbali on 21 May 1988 for having expressed his joy at [news of] the death of Hissein Habré's father. He succumbed on 20 August 1988....

As we have noted, none of the above-mentioned charges has the least connection with the security of the state, the ostensible reason people were arrested at all hours of the day and night. Thus they were arbitrary arrests, motivated solely by the whim of those who felt themselves invested with the power of life and death over their fellow citizens.

B. The Interrogators

Everyone arrested had to be interrogated. Interrogations were instituted by DDS to force detainees to admit the allegations made against them, to denounce their accomplices, and to sign confessions. In the view of DDS, anyone suspected or accused was presumed guilty....

Generally, detainees were interrogated late at night. Under exceptional circumstances, for example during political crises, interrogations were held during the day.

It was during interrogation that the torturers practiced their arts....

Interrogations were conducted in such a way that it was impossible for detainees to deny the allegations made against them. Victims were usually forced, by means of torture and abuse, to admit the facts and allegations, none of which were true, simply to end their agony.

The Commission noted, in reading numerous investigative reports prepared by DDS, that the following accusations reappear time and again:

- Performing magical rites to aid the enemy
- Transmitting information to the enemy
- Agent in the pay of the enemy
- Crossing the border without documents
- Sheltering suspects
- Fraudulent importation of merchandise
- Comments maligning the Goranes, the president, or his regime
- Recruitment of elements for the Islamic Legion
- Listening to enemy radio stations....

Interrogation reports were generally sent to the director of DDS, who decided what was to be done. When the case was of great importance, or when the detainee was arrested on orders from Habré, the director of documentation and security forwarded the reports to him. Once the report on a detainee was sent to Hissein Habré, his fate was in the president's hands.

Questioned on this subject, Saleh Younouss, ex-director of the DDS, said: "I could not release a detainee unless the offense was minor, and only before a report went to the president, because after that, he alone could decide the detainee's fate."

II. Torture and Arbitrary Detention

Torture was an institutional practice in the DDS. Arrestees were systematically tortured, then kept in tiny cells under terrible and inhumane conditions.

A. Torture

This was the procedure of choice used by DDS to obtain confessions, or quite simply to inflict suffering.

Most DDS detainees, the great majority of whom were arrested arbitrarily, had no knowledge of the deeds they were alleged to have committed—if indeed they were even accused of a specific misdeed. A great number of people were arrested without being accused of any criminal act, simply because of their ethnic background or wealth.

Those accused of an offense were tortured so they would admit their guilt, regardless of the consequences, and sign confessions, in many cases despite their obvious innocence; after all, their innocence was irrelevant: What mattered was getting the confession. Often, even after a spontaneous confession, detainees were tortured atrociously.

Those arrested because of their ethnic affiliation or wealth were tortured as a reprisal or with a view to intimidation: In other words, the DDS elevated torture virtually to the status of a standard procedure, and almost all detainees were subjected to it one way or another, regardless of sex or age.

1. Who Ordered People Tortured?

Actually, within the DDS, torture was a natural concomitant of the very mission of the interrogators. In fact, DDS had a permanent commission responsible for interrogation of detainees.

Its role being to make detainees "confess," it resorted systematically to torture during its interrogations. The commission had no need to order detainees tortured, since the practice was routine. However, the president and the director often gave specific instructions to torture a particular individual, group of individuals, or ethnic group.

In the provinces, apart from instructions received from the director, the heads of DDS branches also arrested and tortured people on their own initiative.

2. Agents Responsible for Torture

Within the DDS, interrogations and torture were primarily the responsibility of the above-mentioned commission. Members of this commission included Abakar Torbo, Mahamat Sakher ("Bidon"), Mahamat Djibrine ("El Djonto"), Issa Arawai, and Adoum Galmaye.

Apart from this commission, special interrogation and torture missions were often entrusted to specific service chiefs trusted by the president or the director. People like Issa Arawai.

One particular form of torture, the "black diet," was also practiced by the penitentiary service under Abakar Torbo, its chief.

3. Torture of Arrestees was Systematic

Everyone arrested by the DDS, in Ndjamena or in the provinces, was systematically subjected to at least one interrogation session, following which an interrogation report was prepared. Torture being the tool of choice during interrogation, DDS agents resorted to it systematically.

A number of former DDS detainees told the Commission of Inquiry about the torture and abuse to which they were subjected during their detention. Scars from these tortures and medical examinations have corroborated their testimony....

5. Diverse Forms of Torture

To extract confessions during interrogation, DDS agents used an infinite variety of tortures. Sometimes they resorted to these atrocities out of pure sadism, simply to make their prisoners suffer.

Here are some of the methods of torture practiced.

a) The "Arbatachar" Binding

This is a form of torture that consists in tying the two arms to the back, pulling the cord until the two elbows are almost touching behind the prisoner and his chest is thrust out as far as it can go. A variant of the "arbatachar" involves tying the arms to a piece of wood set crosswise behind the back.

Several persons subjected to this torture for long enough periods of time completely lost the use of their arms; others remained deformed, their chests permanently stuck out.

b) Forced Swallowing of Water

After being tightly bound, the detainee is laid down on his back with his mouth held wide open and his torturers make him swallow an incredible amount of water, often until he faints. Sometimes, a torturer would get on top of his distended stomach, ultimately smothering him.

c) Spraying of Gas

Some detainees, after being tightly bound, had gas sprayed in their eyes, nose, ears and mouth. Many died, and almost all of those few that survived lost their eyesight.

d) Exhaust Pipe

This form of torture consists in forcing the mouth of the tied-up detainee around the end of the exhaust pipe of a car whose engine is running. A little pressure on the accelerator is enough to make the wretched victim lose consciousness and inevitably burns his mouth.

e) Burns with Incandescent Objects

Burning match sticks and lit cigarettes were frequently used to torture DDS prisoners. These burns were inflicted on the most sensitive parts of the body.

f) *Cohabitation with Corpses*

This is an especially odious form of mental torture which consists in not removing bodies from the cells of prisoners for several days, while the corpse reaches an advanced stage of decomposition.

g) *The Chopsticks Torture*

This form of torture consists in placing a piece of wood over each temple and attaching the ends to ropes. As the ropes are pulled tighter, the victim begins to feel as if his head is going to explode.

Other tortures included the black diet, which consists of allowing the victim to die of hunger and thirst, roughing-up, flagellation, deprivation of oxygen, electric shocks, and as many other forms of torment as the sadistic imaginations of the torturers could devise.

6. The Most Feared Torturers

By their cruelty, sadism and inhumanity, certain DDS agents have acquired a sad notoriety among former political detainees, who speak of them constantly. To these pitiless tormentors, the life of a prisoner means very little. The list includes:

- Guihini Koreï (former DDS director)
- Mahamat Sakher alias "Bidon" (deputy commander of BSIR)
- Mahamat Djibrine alias "El-Djonto" (coordinator)
- Issa Arawai (chief of documentation service)
- Abakar Torbo (head of penitentiary service)
- Abba Moussa (penitentiary service agent)
- Adoum Galmaye (controller)
- Warou Fodou (head of investigations service)
- Yaldé Samuel (head of training and recruitment)
- Doudé Yaladé (deputy chief of internal security service)
- Bandjim Bandoum (chief of exploitation service)
- Mahamat Fadil (ex-director of National Security)
- Nodjigoto Haunan (ex-director of National Security)
- Bichara Chaïbo (ex-deputy director of DDS)

B. Detention Centers and Living Conditions

One of the characteristics of the Habré dictatorship was the proliferation of detention centers throughout the country. In Ndjama alone there are seven detention centers, not to mention additional incarceration facilities such as the interrogation cells of the judicial police and the prisons.

Once arrests were made, detainees were sent to different detention centers and divided up according to the threat they posed to the regime.

Once the prisoner, alone or with others, was assigned to a cell, he was not allowed to leave it.

1. Detention Centers

...*Underground Prison or "Swimming Pool."* This is located on the DDS premises across from USAID. It is an old swimming pool from the colonial era that was turned into an underground detention facility in 1987 and covered with a reinforced concrete slab. The building measures 21.47 meters in length and 9.62 m in width. It has 10 cells with tiny barred windows. The dimensions of the cells vary between 2.98 and 3.13 m in length, and between 2.97 and 3.2 m in width. The windows in the cells measure 75 cm in length and 34 cm in width. A double door 1.38 m wide and 1.96 m high gives access to the cells.

These cells, which theoretically should not hold more than 15 people, were often crammed with 90 or more. When the weather was hot, especially in March, April and May, the cells were veritable furnaces, the atmosphere was stifling and quickly became fatal for human beings. Barring a miracle, the prisoners died one by one of asphyxiation.

The blind repression did not spare the weaker sex or children. Thus women were held in the same prisons as the men. Some of them even gave birth to a child in this macabre setting.

Such an event serves to remind us all of the sacred value of human life, because while babies were being born in complete innocence, men were being sent to their death by their fellows to satisfy their base ends.

To lighten their suffering, detainees sometimes resorted to pathetic ploys. Thus, doubtless in hope of currying favor with her jailer, when detainee Billah Hamit gave birth to a child, she named the newborn after the head of the penal system, Abakar Torbo, a dreaded torturer. In the absence of testimony, it is impossible to say whether this gesture succeeded in bringing out the man's more humane sentiments, because by their very nature all DDS agents are perverted beings, insensitive to the suffering of others....

2. Living Conditions in the Detention Centers

When someone was interned in the DDS jails, he had little prospect of ever returning to the world of the living. If he withstood the tortures, the heat, the suffocating, and disease, he died of starvation....

b) Clothing

Before being locked into the cells, any valuable personal possessions were taken from the prisoners, except for their clothing. After that, they never got another change of clothes. However long they were in detention, they continued to wear that one outfit. As prisoners never washed, their clothes became filthy and veritable breeding grounds for lice, which caused skin maladies. Eventually, prisoners were reduced to wearing rags.

Thus some prisoners, when they were released on 1 December 1990, were in tatters and others almost naked, which made them unrecognizable and quite pathetic....

k) Released Prisoners had to take Oath

To avoid any leakage of information concerning the dark activities of the DDS, the latter imposed a black-out on everything happening within its precincts. To enforce this, it forced the few prisoners it released to take oaths. The Commission brought to light the case of 12 prisoners from the first army who were ordered released on 20 November 1989. Their names were Moussa Youssouf Adoum, Souleymane Issa Moussa, Alio Taltal Ali, Mahamat Abdoulaye Djibrine, Annour Gaday Rado, Adef Abdelkerim Doudoum, Alhabo Sanda Alkidjer, Moussa Ali Acyl, Khalil Adoum Ibrahim, Wal Ibedou Diare, Ahmat Hassan Moussa, and Abdoulaye Idriss.

These prisoners were administered the following oath, which was termed a "Solemn pledge":

By these presents I, the undersigned Souleymane Issa Moussa, born in 1962 at Karal (Chari-Baguirmi), solemnly swear, on being released this day, 20 November 1989, from the custody of the Directorate of Documentation and Security, that I have seen and heard nothing, and will say nothing whatsoever about the facilities or the detainees remaining in prison.

I swear by God never to say anything about what happens there.

By my signature I acknowledge my responsibility before God, and subject myself moreover to prosecution under the law as provided in your statutes, in the event I should reveal any of these secrets.

Done on 19 November 1989

Subject

Chief of DDS Penitentiary Service

After which, prisoners affixed their signature or thumbprint on the document. Thus prisoners, after their release, were always followed by the DDS. If they violated their oath, culprits were subject to capital punishment. This is why some agents and prisoners, having witnessed the death of their relatives, have chosen to keep quiet, in order to save their own lives and those of their families.

3. Physical and Emotional Consequences of Torture and Detention

Detention under abominable conditions, torture, and ill treatment have in the case of many prisoners left profound physical and psychological after-effects from which they will continue to suffer for the rest of their lives, unless appropriate medical assistance could alleviate their suffering.

In that connection, the president of the Commission, at the recommendation of Amnesty International, appealed on 10 June 1991 to "AVRE," a French humanitarian organization dedicated to providing care for victims of political repression, to come to Chad to treat the many victims of the Habré regime. The request was favorably received, and the response was

immediate. Thus Dr. Hélène Jaffé, accompanied by her assistant, Sibel Agrali, came to our country in July 1991 to evaluate the situation and make contact with Chadian authorities.

At the conclusion of this visit, it was agreed the practitioner and her team would spend 2 weeks in Ndjamena every 2 months.

By the end of January 1992, 242 patients had been examined and received free medical care and medicines. Thanks to the solicitude of Dr. Jaffé and her team, patients were given new hope, comforted, and reassured of gradual improvement in their condition.

We must also mention the case of our two seriously ill countrymen, whose condition requires treatment at a specialized hospital complex, for which AVRE obtained financial assistance from the French Government, which will allow them to be evacuated very soon to France....

III. Deliberate Determination to Exterminate So-Called Opponents of the Regime

During his 8-year reign, Hisssein Habré created a regime where adherence to any political opinions contrary to his own could mean physical liquidation. Thus, from the time he came to power in June 1982 through November 1990 when he fled, a large number of Chadians were persecuted for their efforts to modify his autocratic policies. That is why entire families were arrested and imprisoned with no trial of any kind, or simply hunted down and wiped out. This policy, based mainly on tribalism and regionalism, forced other Chadians, some of them his former comrades in arms, to flee into exile.

Individuals arrested by DDS had very little chance of coming out alive. This sad reality was known to all Chadians. Detainees died in one of two ways: either slowly, following days or months of imprisonment, or quickly, in the first few days after arrest, at the hands of Hisssein Habré's executioners.

Death by Physical Exhaustion, Asphyxiation or as a Result of Torture

Testimony from former political prisoners has provided ample evidence about the ways their comrades died in prison. Some died of physical exhaustion due to inhuman prison conditions, inadequate and poor-quality food, or the total lack of hygiene and medical attention. The body, weakened and with all its defenses run down, was assailed by a host of maladies that lead inexorably to death. Others died from asphyxiation. Packed into minuscule cells with no ventilation for 2 or 3 days in intense heat approaching 45° in the shade, deprived moreover of water and nourishment, prisoners died one after another.

Lacking gas chambers like those of Hitler, Hisssein Habré—an equally demonic man—simply substituted airless cells....

Prisoners Died Every Day

...DDS regulations did not permit the body of a prisoner to be turned over to his relatives, or relatives even to be informed of his death. Thus families of detainees continued to hope for their return and were often cheated and swindled by DDS agents.

Poisoning of Prisoners

Habré and his torturers stopped at nothing that could help them exterminate their adversaries. They even resorted to poisoning.

Godi Bani, arrested in 1987 and held at Bitkine (Guéra subprefecture), recounts: "I miraculously escaped poisoning, since one day our jailers served us poisoned millet; 93 of our comrades who ate that ration died. We spent 3 days among the corpses.

"At the end of the fourth day, our guards came to select several prisoners to bury the decomposed bodies. After the burials, our executioners told us: 'Let this be a lesson to anyone who dares to revolt against the government of Hisssein Habré.'"

In corroboration of this testimony, the Commission of Inquiry has found, in the notebook of DDS controller Adoum Galmaye, the names of poisoned prisoners....

The Cemetery of Hamral-Goz

The bodies of prisoners who died in DDS prisons were generally taken away 24-48 hours later, in a state of advanced decomposition, by Moussa Adoum Seïd, alias "Abba Moussa," with the help of a few prisoners who were still healthy. After bundling them up in two large empty plastic bags, the bodies would be loaded into the sinister 404 covered pick-up with license plates RT 1247 AP to be thrown into a common grave, usually on the northwest outskirts of Ndjamená, more specifically at Hamral-Goz. Traditional funeral rites were never allowed; the pits were shallow, and the bodies were thrown one over another in all positions. No prayers were said over the victims, whether Muslim or Christian.

The Commission of Inquiry during its investigations discovered several grave sites, the largest of which was the ... one at Hamrol-Goz, located about 5 km west of the French military base, in a civilian cemetery.

The huge charnel house—140 meters long and 41 meters wide—is marked out with pits where four, five, 10 or even more people were buried. Thanks to information furnished by former detainees who provided the manpower for DDS to inter its victims, the Commission of Inquiry conducted two exhumations in this cemetery. The first took place on 15 July 1991, when the Commission found several bodies wrapped in plastic bags. The second exhumation, carried out on 16 January 1992, uncovered human skeletons, including 30 skulls, in two adjacent pits....

The Executioners

These were confidential agents of Habré, recruited if possible from Goranes in the BSIR or Presidential Security. At various times they worked under the direction of Guihini Koreï, Issa Arawai, or Mahamat Saker. But other agents often took their place, such as Mahamat Djibrine alias "El-Djonto," Adoum Galmaye, Warou Ali Fodou, Lieutenant Ketté Ndoji, and personally directed the slaughter....

Another investigation undertaken [by the Commission of Inquiry] at villages along a 20-km stretch of the Chari river west of "Ndjamena Abba Djellou" village confirmed the executions carried out in these localities. People living near the river unanimously report that "human corpses, decomposing, floating on the river, carried by the current toward Lake Chad," were an almost-daily spectacle during the 8 years of Habré's reign. They also say that some corpses, during times when the water level was low, "ran aground on the sand banks and were devoured by birds." The powerless and terrorized river-dwellers could not approach the corpses for fear of meeting the same fate.

The Discovery of Written Documents about the Executions and the Destruction of Villages

As a result of investigations of the archives of the ex-DDS, the Commission of Inquiry discovered documents concerning the executions and the destruction of villages. One hand-written three-page document, undated, which we reproduce here in its entirety, discusses the number of persons arrested or killed as well as villages destroyed or abandoned....

Another important document was discovered in the DDS archives, in which the informant provides details to his superiors on the massacre that took place at Koumra (Moyen-Chari subprefecture).

Reproduced below is the full text of the said document:...

All the executions, the physical eliminations, and the poisonings were ordered directly by Hissein Habré. In that connection, the former director of DDS, Saleh Younouss, a trusted confidential agent of Habré, told the Commission of Inquiry: "It is true that many prisoners died of exhaustion or maladies in DDS jails. But others were removed at night from the jails or directly from their homes and disappeared. These operations, or more precisely these executions, were always ordered by President Hissein Habré and frequently carried out by Issa Arawai."

Mahamat Djibrine, alias "El-Djonto," the redoubtable coordinator of the DDS, greatly feared by the political detainees, confirmed the revelations made by his director: "It is the head of State who personally gave the order for liquidations," he asserts.

IV. Physical Elimination of Opponents

Opponents of Habré were hunted down wherever they might be; in Chad or outside the country. Public awareness campaigns were often

undertaken to persuade people who had fled into exile abroad to return to the fold. It was part of the famous national reconciliation policy that was a constant theme in the speeches of Habré and his supporters, but once former opponents returned to Ndjamena, their actions and words were systematically monitored and they were arrested at the least provocation. As for those who never allowed themselves to be taken in by these idle promises and soothing words, they were abducted and transferred to Ndjamena or killed wherever they were found. Thus the "headhunters" in the "Terrorist Mission" service were sent to different countries to track down dissidents. The victims include members of the opposition, their relatives and friends, and simple traders suspected of having sheltered opponents.

The political and administrative authorities of the countries concerned, deluded by Habré's deceitful rhetoric, closed their eyes to the tragedy overtaking Chadians within their borders.

To carry out abductions and assassinations abroad more effectively, DDS created a special service, Terrorist Mission, known by the acronym "MT."... MT was responsible for a number of abductions and executions committed abroad. The majority were abducted or killed while residing in countries that share borders with Chad. Dissident refugees in Togo, Benin, and even Saudi Arabia were victims of DDS revenge....

Arabic instructor Mahamat Issa, a native of Ouaddaï, paid with his life for his opposition to the Habré regime. He was killed at Fotokol, Cameroon, in 1987, while he and several other persons were worshipping in a mosque....

Survivors of Executions Testify

In the course of its investigations, the Commission of Inquiry encountered several former prisoners of conscience and political detainees who miraculously escaped the massacres organized by the DDS. All these miraculously saved persons will carry on their bodies for the rest of their lives the indelible scars of the executioners' bullets. Four survivors presented their testimony; their gripping accounts are incredible but true.

By reason of the importance of these affidavits, the Commission deemed it indispensable to reproduce them in their entirety....

Neldi Wa Moramngar: another survivor of a mass execution in the subprefecture of Moïssala in Moyen-Chari, recounts:

On 27 July 1985, while I was on vacation in the village of Ngalo, 52 km from Moïssala, about twenty soldiers in two vehicles swarmed into the village and rounded up the entire population. Next they pulled aside the women and some children. That done, the soldiers stripped us of all the belongings we had on our persons, that is watches, glasses, and shoes. All the houses were also pillaged; then, after about 1-1/2 hours, that is close to 1600 hours, and after first being tied up hands behind our backs, we were taken to a clearing about 300 meters west of the village. After packing us close together in the clearing, the soldiers began executing us in groups of five. The first group of five was shot, then a second, and when the soldiers ran into a little resistance with the third group, they decided to open fire on all of us huddled together. An AA52 (1952

automatic weapon) was pulled into firing position, and several people were riddled with bullets, then those who were not hit by the AA52 were shot at almost point-blank range by two rows of soldiers. Then we were sprayed with an insecticide, ULV, and they set fire to us.

For my part, I was only wounded on the right buttock, because when the fusillade was fired I was under my big brother, who was killed by a bullet in the throat, and whose blood completely covered me.

When the fire was ignited, the hair on my left side caught fire but I quickly turned over on that side and extinguished the flame.

Noticing that I was not dead, the soldiers began firing on me, but I was only hit in the buttock, as I said earlier.

Their despicable work finished, the soldiers retired. Several minutes after they left, the survivors, including me, picked ourselves up. We were eight men and a child.

The same night, about midnight, after burying our dead relatives, I left the village on foot and went to Bédaya, an administrative post about 25 km away. Next I went to Sarh, where I stayed for a month before returning to the village.

Such was the sad reality, such was the curse, that laid low a submissive population shattered and terrorized by a tyranny without precedent in the history of our country.

Chapter Two: Extent of the Calamity of the Habré Regime

The Hissein Habré regime was a veritable hecatomb for the Chadian people; thousands of people died, thousands of others suffered in mind and body and continue to suffer.

Throughout this dark reign, in Ndjama and everywhere else in the country, systematic repression was the rule for all opponents or suspected opponents of the regime.

The possessions of persons arrested or hunted were pillaged and their relatives persecuted. Entire families were decimated.

In the interior, villages were completely burned down and their populations massacred. Nothing was immune to this murderous madness, and the entire country was in a state of terror.

Section 1: More than a Massacre, Habré Committed Genocide against the Chadian People

During his eight years of bloody dictatorship, Hissein Habré committed a veritable genocide against the Chadian people. Never in the history of Chad have there been so many deaths, never have there been so many innocent victims. When the Commission of Inquiry began its work, it believed that at worst it would be dealing with massacres, but the further it proceeded in its investigations, the larger loomed the dimensions of the disaster, until finally it was a question of extermination. No ethnic group, no tribe, no family was spared, except the Goranes and their allies. The killing machine made no distinction between men, women, and children. The mildest protest was equated with revolt and triggered horrible reprisals. The

silenced and submissive population watched powerless its own gradual asphyxiation. Starting in 1982, political prisons sprang up all over Chad, and they were not emptied until the fall of the regime in 1990. In Ndjamena as well as the provinces, arrests were made at a frenetic pace. People were arrested on any pretext, even without any pretext. A slip of the tongue, an old grudge never forgiven by a Gorane or DDS agent, even an incident fabricated of whole cloth was enough for one to find himself in the grim dungeons of the DDS.

In these dungeons, a very large number of people died. The number of political prisoners counted by the Commission of Inquiry for the period 1982-1990 and the number who died during the same period boggle the imagination.

I. The Statistics Speak for Themselves

During the whole time the Commission of Inquiry was given to carry out its mission, it worked tirelessly, first in Ndjamena and later in the provinces, to get as many names as possible of people killed by the Hissein Habré regime, as well as those arbitrarily detained.

A. The Number of Deaths Recorded by the Commission for the Period 1982 to 1990

It should be kept in mind that these figures do not include opponents who died fighting, to whose memory the nation remains profoundly grateful.

These are only innocent victims of the regime, persons who died in prison or were killed for their beliefs, and prisoners of war assassinated in cold blood after their capture.

1. Nationals

The Commission of Inquiry counted no less than 3,780 dead.

2. Foreigners

The Commission also counted 26 foreigners who died in DDS prisons or were executed, including 6 Cameroonians, 5 Libyans, 4 Central Africans, 2 Senegalese, 2 Nigerians, 1 Malian, 1 Nigerian, 1 Zairian, 1 Ethiopian, 1 Syrian, 1 Yemeni, and 1 Frenchman.

3. Estimated Number

Far from being an exhaustive enumeration of the atrocities committed by the Habré regime, the figures published by the Commission of Inquiry constitute only an indicator giving some idea of the scope of the calamity.

The Commission estimates in fact that the work it has done covers no more than 10 percent of everything that happened, because many people for

diverse reasons did not come forward to testify before the Commission. Some people saw no need to give such testimony; others did not want to revive evil memories; most numerous, finally, are those whose abstention is motivated by fear or distrust. In the view of the latter, the work of the Commission might serve only to identify all the malcontents of the old regime with a view to possible future repression. Some of them went so far as to call the Commission merely a new version of the DDS.

Thus, by the reckoning of the Commission, the number of persons who died in prison or were executed by the Habré regime is estimated at more than 40,000 nationwide.

B. The Number of Political Prisoners Counted by the Commission for the Period 1982-1990

The number of detainees (living or dead) counted under the Habré regime is more than 54,000.

II. Suspected Individuals Deprived of Their Possessions

During the Habré era, mere suspicion was sufficient to bring on arrest. An arrested person had no rights. He therefore lost ownership of all his possessions: Looting, theft of belongings, and arbitrary occupation of others' houses became commonplace.

A. Houses of Arrested Persons Systematically Sacked

When someone was arrested, DDS agents and elements of Presidential Security (SP) quickly descended on his house and stripped it of all effects so rapidly that one is often led to wonder what was the real reason for the arrest.

1. Orders to Plunder came from Higher Up

The looting and theft of the possessions of arrestees was not carried out solely at the initiative of the agents who perpetrated it; they received orders for the arrest of high officials and important businessmen from their service chiefs or from the DDS director himself, who in turn received them from the head of state.

2. Beneficiaries of the Plundering

The plundering was carried out both by DDS agents and by elements of the Presidential Investigation Service (SIP) or Presidential Security (SP).

When the plundering was done by the SIP or SP, the objects collected were taken directly to the office of the president. When the DDS went to work, the pillaged goods were first of all taken to the DDS then put in a storehouse used for this purpose. Then the booty was evaluated and divided up into what strictly speaking were shares.

Goods of great value (deluxe carpets, vehicles, gold jewelry, etc.) went to the presidency, the rest being divided between the director and his close associates. From time to time the agents too received a portion of these goods, but they first had to submit a written request to the director, who decided whether it was appropriate....

Several relatives of victims and a few survivors of the DDS jails brought the Commission of Inquiry testimony regarding the pillaging, including the following examples:...

In addition to this testimony amassed by the Commission of Inquiry, several documents relative to the plundering have been discovered in the archives of DDS, among them an inventory report dated 22 April 1989, from which we reproduce several extracts:...

Documents itemizing the contents of DDS storehouses were also found. In reality, the DDS had three storehouses for storing confiscated goods: one at the DDS, another at BSIR, and a third at the National Police College.

An accounting prepared by the DDS controller's office itemizes the contents of these storehouses as of 4 August 1990. The following inventory of the National Police College is reproduced as an example....

B. Families of Arrestees Evicted from Their Own Homes

When someone was arrested, his family was evicted from the house. No distinction was made between a person's own house and the house of a relative with whom the family was living. So women and children were thrown homeless into the street and exposed to inclement weather, disease, and poverty.

1. The Habré Dictatorship did not Stop with Punishing the Suspect Alone

As soon as an individual was sought or arrested, whether for good cause or no, all the members of his family were punished with him. In fact, making the whole family suffer was a typical example of Habré's sadism and cynicism. It was a sort of collective punishment: Everyone had to pay. This sanction, which frequently entailed pillaging the family's possessions and expelling it from the house, was inflicted with the intention of making sure the arrestee was not the only one to suffer.

2. Arbitrary Occupations of Detainees' Houses

As soon as the wretched family was expelled from its abode, it was quickly occupied.

The new occupants were generally members of the president's ethnic group. These takeovers were not as anarchic as they might seem. Records discovered by the Commission of Inquiry in DDS archives indicate these houses were assigned to a variety of petitioners. The DDS director chose recipients carefully. In fact, several requests sent to him asking for assignment to these houses were also discovered. For example, on 10 July 1983, one Abakar Tchotoya, who was already unlawfully occupying

someone else's house, wrote to the director, first to inform him that the house he occupied had just fallen to pieces, and second to ask him for "one of the houses that has just been inventoried."

Some of these houses were rented to individuals by UNIR, which collected the rent each month. Others were rented by close associates of the president.

Found in DDS archives was a report dated 25 February 1985 and signed by Police Chief Tamia Animba, head of the commission assigned to inventory properties of opponents seized in Ndjamena, which mentions 436 properties already recorded. The report was summarized in a detailed chart giving for each property the first and last name and nationality of the dissident, location of the property (quarter, arrondissement, block, property number), first and last name and profession of the new occupant, and "remarks."

Under this last category one can read "gratis" or "so many francs per month to UNIR" depending on whether the house was provided free of charge or in consideration of rent paid to UNIR....

The practice of arbitrary occupation of houses enabled Hissein Habré to provide cost-free lodgings to newly arrived members of his ethnic group, who generally had nowhere to stay....

III. Repression in the Provinces

Outside the capital, the provinces did not escape the heavy hand of the DDS. Repression there was equally if not more barbarous.

A. DDS Branches Established Throughout the Country

DDS was a monstrous and tentacular organization that covered the length and breadth of the country. Its branches were installed in every city and all the big market towns of the country. Local agents were recruited in almost every remote village and reported regularly on everything the people said and did.

B. Repression in Central and East-Central Chad

In 1987, several military and political officials from Guéra, harassed by the government, entered into rebellion against the regime.

The origin of this discontent goes back some years, to 1984 and the sudden disappearance of Idriss Miskine, one of Hissein Habré's comrades in arms, the circumstances of his death remaining a mystery to this day. Some accused ex-president Hissein Habré himself of being responsible for his death. Members of the Hadjarai community maintain that on 7 January 1984, Idriss Miskine was poisoned with cyanide, though the allegation was never formally proven. Nevertheless, this incident, along with all the daily extortion and injustice, led to a revolt among the Hadjarai in 1987. This revolt precipitated a brutal and overwhelming reaction on the part of the regime. A veritable manhunt was organized. At first, only members of the

intellectual elite and the bourgeoisie were affected, but the pogrom was rapidly extended until it became blind repression against all the Hadjarai. All Hadjarai were considered to be enemies of the regime. These so-called enemies, the majority of whom had no idea what was happening, were first hunted down in Ndjamená, and later throughout the country, particularly in Guéra, where several dozen villages were destroyed and their populations massacred;...

C. Repression in the Extreme Northeast

There were also arrests, arbitrary detentions, and summary executions in the extreme northeast part of the country.

In 1989 occurred an event that would trigger an outburst of violence in the region. On 1 April 1989, driven to desperation by the regime, a number of Zaghawa civilian and military officials, among them Hassan Djamous, Idriss Déby and Ibrahim Mahamat Itno, decided to launch a guerrilla campaign; it was the only course open. Hissein Habré quickly branded it treason—he who had deliberately pushed them to that point. The same day, at 0600 hours, according to the testimony of former DDS agents (including Abbas Abougrène, chief of the waterway security service), Guihini Koreï, former DDS director, convoked all the service chiefs and told them to arrest all Zaghawa indiscriminately. He then told them that these were the instructions of the president himself. The Zaghawa were hunted down all over the country. There were mass arrests, they were tortured and executed, or at best kept in prison under deplorable conditions.

In the prefecture of Biltine, where hundreds of Zaghawa died, the repression was particularly horrible. Innocent victims for the most part, these people were in many cases summarily executed and sometimes burned alive. In fact, about 300 meters from Tiné, on a hill between the transit camp and the squadron, a hole was carved out of the rocks and turned into a crematory oven. The individuals were tightly bound, doused with kerosene or gasoline, and pushed into the pit. Then a lit match stick was tossed into the hole and the victims were burned to death.

Three members of the Commission of Inquiry traveled to this macabre site and verified the truth of the testimony. This was during an investigatory mission that took place between 24 December 1991 and 14 January 1992 in the prefectures of Batha, Biltine, and Ouaddai.

D. Repression in the South

A mission similar to the one sent to the northeast visited southern Chad from 19 November to 22 December and combed the prefectures of Moyen-Chari, Logone Occidental and Oriental, and Tandjilé. The testimony of several hundred witnesses was taken, and facts were physically verified.

In the south, repression began in 1982, when Habré came to power, and started to intensify in 1984. Throughout almost the entire south, arrests, executions, and exactions were carried out with such fury, such murderous

madness, during the month of September 1984 that it was called "Black September."

In Moyen-Chari, the repression was especially inhuman: Dozens of villages were burned and their inhabitants massacred. This was the case for several villages in the subprefectures of Maro and Moïssala, where after having executed the villagers at point-blank range, soldiers carried off objects of value and then set fire to the livestock and provisions.

In the canton of Bédjo in Maro subprefecture, the entire population was rounded up and gunned down. Only one person survived this massacre.

In Ngalo village in Moïssala subprefecture, on 27 July 1985, after rounding up all the inhabitants of the village on the pretext of communicating instructions from the government, FAN combatants held them at gunpoint while tying them up in groups of three to five people, before mowing them down with their AA52s (1952 automatic weapons). Several victims were then burned while writhing in their death throes. Despite the ruthless actions of the soldiers, a few people miraculously survived the barbarism....

Finally, at Kélo, worshippers performing religious observances were locked inside their church and burned alive.

To justify this series of massacres, the government of the day accused the natives of this zone of being in collusion with the armed opposition groups known as "codos." These reprisals had a twofold objective: first to subjugate these populations, which had always challenged Hissein Habré's authority, and second to further isolate the codos, the better to hunt them down.

IV. Social Consequences of the Repression of the Habré Regime

Naturally, the regime of a man as bloodthirsty as Hissein Habré left many victims in its wake. Virtually no family in Chad was spared, and throughout these 8 long years of absolute dictatorship, the people mourned an ever growing number of their sons and daughters. This reign engendered the largest number of orphans, widows and destitutes in the country's history.

A. Orphans

The Commission of Inquiry recorded 3,519 orphans who lost father or mother in DDS cells, or in some unknown place or clearing in the bush converted to an execution site. However, that is only a small part of it. The Commission estimates there are more than 80,000 orphans.

B. Widows

The Habré dictatorship made widows of hundreds of women. The Commission has recorded 807 widows, but this is nowhere near the real figure, which is estimated at more than 30,000. These poor women generally had no idea why their mates died. Some never knew where their spouses

were imprisoned, others were cheated ruthlessly for years by DDS agents who brought them false news about their husbands, some of whom were long dead. Many others continued to nourish hope of seeing them again one day, but their hopes evaporated with the fall of the Habré regime.

C. Dependents Deprived of All Support

The genocide perpetrated by Hissein Habré on the Chadian people deprived a great number of persons of their moral and material support. Chadian families, like families everywhere in Africa, are typically large. The paterfamilias not only supports his children and wives, but provides for the whole extended family: father and mother, uncles and aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces. The approximate number of individuals deprived of support is on the order of 200,000.

Thus the Hissein Habré regime precipitated a real social calamity. Many of these unfortunates have become homeless and destitute. There are orphans living in the streets who survive only by begging. Some have become drug users, others have turned to prostitution.

Section 2: National and International Reaction

Undeniably, the great political changes that have taken place in East Europe and especially in Africa could not have occurred without popular pressure—or without pressure from the international community. It took nationwide clamor and persistence to force authoritarian regimes to step aside.

International opinion has been an equally indispensable support in facilitating a democratic transition....

A. Reaction of Domestic Opinion

The Habré regime nurtured an ignoble culture of denunciation and mutual suspicion between all strata of society, to the point that everyone was afraid of everyone else, even of his own shadow. Everyone withdrew into himself, and no one dared mention the tyranny reigning in the country for fear of reprisals.

Reaction of the Average Citizen

The average citizen soon felt himself under suspicion and became suspicious of everyone else. There seemed no hope for a rapid change of regime, so his attitude became one of powerlessness, indifference, and resignation.

Despite the climate of terror that reigned, some Chadians—both individuals and groups—conquered their fears. They opted for peaceful struggle, resorting to tracts, open letters, and consciousness-raising journals published by opposition groups in exile in France, Belgium, Libya, Nigeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, and Congo (Brazzaville).

We will give a few examples....

Some citizens who had enough of the dictatorship and its police methods distributed tracts denouncing the totalitarian regime of Hissein Habré and his regime's flagrant and repeated violations of human rights. As a result of their courageous stand, the authors were arrested on 16 August 1990.

They survived only because the Patriotic Movement of Salvation (MPS) headed by Colonel Idriss Déby came to power.

Others went into armed rebellion against the regime....

Hissein Habré ran an implacable dictatorship, surrounding himself with men of the Gorane ethnic group. Other groups were subjected to savage repression to secure their total submission to the regime. Habré did not even shrink from physical elimination of his old comrades in arms, once they became an annoyance. Repression was visited on the Hadjarai in 1987 and the Zaghawa in 1989. These massacres led his former companions to denounce the autocratic regime and its police-state methods. They entered into open rebellion against him....

Culpable Passivity of High Officials

Human history teaches us that the advance of national liberation movements has helped bring about the advent of liberal and democratic societies.

In the face of the tyranny and oppression of the Habré regime, the Chadian people reacted in some instances with violence, in others by waging a political struggle based on nonviolence to obtain a peaceful change of institutions.

Except for a very timid reaction from the average citizen—very quickly nipped in the bud—high officials kept quiet while everything was destroyed before their eyes.

By their culpable passivity, the country's administrative, political, and military leaders abetted and contributed to the survival of one of the bloodiest dictatorships on the African continent. They maintained a conspiratorial silence in the selfish hope of continuing to enjoy the privileges accorded by the regime, to the detriment of the suffering majority.

To hang onto their positions in government or the bureaucracy, or even to obtain favors and boons from the regime, some officials went so far as to issue scathing denials of reports concerning the human rights violations and atrocities committed by Hissein Habré and exposed by the mass media and international humanitarian organizations.

In that regard, one of Chad's most prominent diplomats in Europe, while denying prisoners were subjected to torture and extrajudicial execution, admitted in August 1989 that there were what he called "exceptional detentions" of government opponents. He gave people to understand that these cases did not fall under the ordinary criminal code and that the participation of these individuals in the armed opposition justified the "exceptional" treatment they received; others practiced an ostrich policy, closing their eyes and ears to atrocities, despite the urgent

letters of Amnesty International. As examples, here are summaries of five letters sent by members of Amnesty International to Djime Togou, Nouradine Kassire Coumakoye, Gouara Lassou, Ahmed Korom, and Youssouf Sidi Gougoumi—respectively the former minister of interior and territorial administration, the minister of justice and keeper of the seals, the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, special presidential delegate to the Inspectorate General and Government Auditing Office, and the secretary general of the Ministry of Government....

B. Reaction of International Opinion

Two contradictory attitudes are observed in this domain, one positive and the other negative.

The people of the Western countries deeply feel for the suffering endured by the Chadians. Without exception, their reaction to the violations of human rights perpetrated by Hissein Habré has been magnificent and fortifying. By contrast, their governments nevertheless continued to support this pariah regime, even though their vital interests were not threatened.

Attitude of the Western Powers

It is unthinkable that the great Western powers represented by their chancelleries in our country can have failed to realize what was happening in Chad. Were they deluded by Hissein Habré into letting him do whatever he wanted, or did they willingly close their eyes to what was transpiring, because their own interests were not threatened and the massacre of innocent victims was not a compelling enough argument to move them?

The answer probably lies in the machiavellianism of Hissein Habré, who deceived everyone. In fact, to stay in power, Hissein Habré was continually brandishing in the face of the Western countries and the Americans the specter of international terrorism and the threat of Qadhdhafi's Islamic Legion. He presented himself as the only bulwark against the Libyan invader.

Their guard lowered, Western countries and the United States thought they had found in him a solid ally. So they closed their eyes to the horrible crimes he was committing, thus allowing a despotic and bloodthirsty regime to continue.

Reaction of International Humanitarian Organizations, Notably Amnesty International

Although the Western and American governments failed to react at all, international humanitarian organizations made many energetic démarches. Among the international humanitarian organizations, Amnesty International was probably first to understand what was happening in the jails of Hissein Habré, and it tried in vain to get the Western countries and the United States to turn their attention to the genocide already under way in Chad. Amnesty

International's energy and commitment to humanitarian solidarity gave new hope to thousands of detainees and their families.

The Commission has enumerated 50,092 pieces of correspondence addressed to Hissein Habré, including 32,915 cards and 17,177 letters divided as shown in the table on the following page:

Summary Table of Cards and Letters Sent to Ex-President Hissein Habré and His Close Collaborators by Members of Amnesty International Demanding the Release of Prisoners of Conscience, Speedy and Fair Trials of Political Detainees, and an End to Torture and Summary Executions

Rank Order	Country	Cards	Letters	Total
01	Sweden	6,864	917	7,781
02	Germany	4,024	3,439	7,463
03	Netherlands	6,604	723	7,327
04	England	3,450	1,481	4,931
05	Australia	4,200	586	4,786
06	Canada	2,196	1,940	4,136
07	France	1,185	2,740	3,925
08	United States	170	3,391	3,561
09	Belgium	1,678	554	2,232
10	Finland	1,111	109	1,220
11	Norway	606	195	801
12	Israel	510		510
13	Italy	200	194	394
14	Denmark	32	331	363
15	Switzerland	24	233	257
16	Portugal		180	180
17	New Zealand	3	58	61
18	Greece		44	44
19	Japan	12	29	41
20	Luxembourg	3	27	30
21	Ivory Coast	20		20
22	Egypt	17		17
23	Brazil	4	6	10
24	Mauritius	2		2
TOTALS		32,915	17,177	50,092

However, this figure is not exhaustive, because a large number of cards and letters sent to the authorities were never answered and were destroyed by the latter.

With its back to the wall, the regime continued to run from the pressures of international organizations.

It is fitting at this point to pay glowing tribute to Amnesty International and exhort it to persevere in the struggle for the defense of human rights with the same determination and dedication. The Commission of Inquiry

expresses its thanks to these men and women residing in countries as diverse as they are distant who sympathized with the misfortunes of the Chadians and mobilized on their own initiative to send tens of thousands of letters and postcards to Hissein Habré and the authorities to demand the release of prisoners of conscience, an end to the torture and summary executions, speedy and fair trials for political detainees, and respect for defendants' rights. Likewise, we cannot omit mention of the humanitarian operations mounted on behalf of prisoners of war by the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva and its representatives in our country, which made it possible to renew contacts and correspondence between detainees and their families, and also increased pressure for their eventual release. Thanks to its unselfish efforts beginning in March 1984, the International Red Cross saved the lives of thousands of prisoners. There could be no better place to pay homage to the ICRC for its humanitarian action and its humanism.

Chadians Must Do Everything Possible to Prevent the Rise of Another Dictatorship

The reign of terror and despotism that came to an end on 1 December 1990 was knowingly maintained and encouraged by small, corrupt cliques that were more concerned about protecting their privileges than with the survival of the nation. Motivated too, we should add, by indifference, contempt for others, and fear, all of which helped perpetuate a despotic regime reviled by all. This deplorable fact causes us to wonder about the future of our country. The time has come for everyone to leave his egoism behind and give priority to the general interest, while at the same time cultivating national solidarity. Chadians must feel themselves to be parts of a greater whole, concerned by the sufferings and misfortunes of their fellow citizens.

In the jails of DDS, no distinction was made between Christians and Muslims. All were subject to the same treatment and bound for the same tragic end.

In the face of adversity and death, a spirit of brotherhood and active solidarity arose to bind them to each other. We will never know how many Muslims breathed their last breath in the arms of Christian brothers, and vice versa, with no regard for ethnic or religious affiliation. Such behavior should excite the admiration of all and encourage us to continue on the same path.

Already, the feeling of belonging to a nationwide community and faith in a common destiny urges every citizen to struggle against culpable indifference and to banish forever the "every man for himself" ethic. In a world increasingly ruled by the law of the jungle, nothing comes without effort and struggle. Freedom is not given: It must be grasped, sometimes at the cost of one's life. So every Chadian should be willing to make minimal sacrifices to prevent the resurgence of dictatorship.

However, it must be acknowledged that dictatorship has a thick skin and must be extirpated at its deepest roots. The Habré system was supported

by a special service responsible for internal and external security. The DDS quickly became the regime's political police. The authorities' retention of the old DDS structures and personnel in the new special service may pose a mortal danger to nascent democracy.

***DDS Structures and Personnel
Should Step Aside for New Men***

Intended originally to be a counter-espionage service whose mission would be to thwart subversive intrigues and Libyan expansionism, DDS metamorphosed into a formidable political police dedicated solely to the service of one man: Hissein Habré. It is composed of a bunch of unscrupulous men with no training. Such agents know only how to kill and pillage. Many of them blithely continue to this day to enjoy with impunity the goods they amassed on all sides. Some have returned to their former functions in the army, the gendarmerie and the police; others have been rehabilitated by the new government, which has recruited them into its own intelligence services. They continue to exhibit the same contempt and arrogance as in the past for the relatives of victims and for the public....

[T]he collective memory cannot forget the crimes and atrocities committed. DDS agents were thieves, torturers, and executioners, and as such, they should be excluded from the new special service.

Certainly, a country like ours cannot do without a modern and effective intelligence service staffed by competent personnel. To ensure that it does its job properly, however, the structures, the methods, and the personnel should be changed. To avoid repeating the errors of the past, the General Directorate of the Center for Investigation and Intelligence Coordination (DGCRCR) should do away entirely with the old DDS structures and methods, especially its reliance on illiterate, untrained men with no professional scruples and no consideration or respect for the individual or human life. Such men, even if they have close ties to the regime, should be discarded to make room for educated, intellectually mature and morally irreproachable men.

Therefore, the CRCR should establish new structures and operate with transparent methods and new men thoroughly trained in their mission.

Conclusion

The record of Habré's 8-year reign is terrifying. The Commission still wonders how a citizen, a child of the country, could have committed so much evil, so much cruelty, against his own people. The stereotype of the hard-core revolutionary idealist quickly gave way to that of a shabby and sanguinary tyrant.

Recapitulating the evils he has wrought on his fellow citizens, the toll is heavy and the record grim:

- more than 40,000 victims
- more than 80,000 orphans

- more than 30,000 widows
- more than 200,000 people left with no moral or material support as a result of this repression.

Add to that the movable and immovable goods plundered and confiscated from peaceful citizens—an amount estimated at ONE BILLION CFA FRANCS each year.

Eight years of rule, 8 years of tyranny, genocide, terror and plunder on all sides. Why so much evil, so much hatred of his own people? Was it worth the pain of struggling for a whole decade to win power, just to do that? For what ideal and to what end was Habré fighting?

In seeking power and taking it, Habré was satisfying a personal and selfish ambition. Today, after his fall, only his tribe, which he elevated above all others, misses him. And a handful of cynical profiteers who encouraged and applauded him while he shed the blood of innocents for no reason.

Yesterday Habré and his tribe acted like conquerors; they trampled on their compatriots and allowed themselves to take whatever they wanted, because they naively thought they would stay in power forever. They had no regard or consideration for other Chadians, whom they treated as second-class citizens. What have they reaped, now that the regime has fallen, but hatred—yes, the hatred of all other Chadian communities without exception? Today the Goranes walk with heads down, hugging the walls. They are ashamed, they are afraid, and they even avoid the main roads.

The Habré regime and what became of it should serve as a lesson to all Chadians, and in particular to the country's rulers. A wise man once said: "Power is like a shadow, and shadows are never eternal."

Recommendations

To prevent Chad from falling again into the horrors and injustice of the past;

To guarantee present and future generations that their basic rights and dignity will be respected;

To enable Chad and Chadians to return to peace, stability, and national concord;

And finally to bar the road to any sanguinary and despotic regime in the future, the Commission of Inquiry recommends:

1) the establishment of a real democracy and an independent and sovereign judiciary, which are essential if Chadians are to be guaranteed a stable and happy life; to do so, it exhorts the current authorities to accelerate and strengthen the democratic process now under way so that the country may rapidly reach the haven of peace and stability;

2) creation now of a National Human Rights Commission, whose mission will be:

- to investigate violations of human rights;
- to protect and promote human rights at the national level;
- to issue advisories and make proposals in the domain of human rights, to bring suits in court for violations of said rights;

3) an end to illegal occupation of houses and confiscation of others' possessions;

4) speedy establishment of a Commission whose task will be to restore to the rightful owners those movable and immovable goods illegally confiscated or plundered under both the old and the current regime;

5) sequestration, after full inventory has been taken, of the movable and immovable goods belonging to former DDS agents implicated in crimes and looting, which possessions will be held in trust by the Ministry of Justice pending the outcome of legal proceedings;

6) prosecution without delay of the authors of this horrible genocide, who are guilty of crimes against humanity;

7) erection of a monument to the memory of the victims of the Habré repression, and the promulgation of a decree making the second Sunday of December a day of prayer and remembrance for the said victims;

8) conversion of the old DDS headquarters and subterranean prison into a museum to remind people of Habré's dark reign;

9) re-examination of the powers and structures of the new special service, the General Directorate of the Center for Investigation and Intelligence Coordination (DGCRRCR), so that this institution may become an instrument in the service of the people and their well-being, not a machine of oppression and torture;

10) removal from their positions, once the present report is published, of all former DDS agents who have been rehabilitated and employed by the DGCRRCR;

11) respect for and enforcement of the laws in force (Criminal Code, Code of Criminal Procedures), with regard to offenses against the internal or external security of the state;

12) elimination of detention centers under the control of the DGCRRCR and the Police Security Branch (RG), maintaining only those provided for in the Code of Criminal Procedures;

13) initiation and promotion of the teaching of human rights in the schools, universities, police academies, and gendarmerie, as well as in the army;

14) Finally, we recommend that His Excellency, the Head of State, guarantor of the institutions of the republic and the security of all Chadians, take all necessary steps to punish impartially anyone guilty of human rights violations, especially assassinations, abductions, sequestrations, and torture.

DONE IN NDJAMENA, 7 May 1992