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# EXONERATING RWANDA

The Spyware Case of  
Carine Kanimba

Jonathan Boyd Scott



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Jonathan Boyd Scott

December, 15<sup>th</sup> 2022

# Exonerating Rwanda: The spyware case of Carine Kanimba

Abstract	3
Prelude	4
Carine's Father	5
Lore	8
La Bataille de l'Hôtel des Mille Collines	9
The Mapping Report	13
FLN Leader	16
The Infections	18
Conflation	18
Infection #1	21
Infection #2	22
Infection #3	25
Timeline of Events	26
Withholding Evidence	28
Conclusion	30
References	31

## Abstract

450 people are said to have been targeted or infected with NSO Group's Pegasus Spyware. The aggregated list of confirmed infections released by Haaretz.com<sup>1</sup> mentions Amazon's Jeff Bezos, New York Times journalist Ben Hubbard, a Catholic priest and many more. Pegasus spyware has been consistently trending for the past 2 years, but saw a large spike in global interest<sup>2</sup> July of 2021. News outlets such as The Guardian have sensationalized Pegasus spyware infections, and contributed to the increase in global fear of mobile device surveillance<sup>3</sup>.

Since 2021, The Citizen Lab<sup>4</sup>, a global affairs and public policy institution at The University of Toronto, and Amnesty International<sup>5</sup> claimed to have identified individuals infected with Pegasus spyware from Mexico, El Salvador, Bahrain, Jordan, United Kingdom, Spain, Thailand, Morocco-Western Sahara, Poland, Palestine, The United States and more.

Carine Kanimba is the latest American said to have been infected with Pegasus May, 2022 while attending the OSLO Freedom Forum in Oslo, Norway. May, 2022 is not the first time Carine Kanimba was alleged to have had been infected with Pegasus spyware. Amnesty, The Citizen Lab, and a group of Journalists from Forbidden Stories known as The Pegasus Project<sup>6</sup>, first confirmed Kanimba's Pegasus spyware infection February, 2021, and unequivocally attributed the origin of infection to The Republic of Rwanda government.

This is an analysis and review of events, forensics reports, testimonies, and related documents submitted to The United States House Intelligence Committee & The European Parliament by Carine Kanimba, The Citizen Lab, Amnesty International, and their associates.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/tech-news/2022-04-05/ty-article-magazine/nso-pegasus-spyware-file-complete-list-of-individuals-targeted/0000017f-ed7a-d3be-ad7f-ff7b5a600000>

<sup>2</sup> <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2021-01-27%202021-12-27&q=Pegasus%20Spyware>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2021/jul/18/huge-data-leak-shatters-lie-innocent-need-not-fear-surveillance>

<sup>4</sup> <https://citizenlab.ca/?s=pegasus>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/07/the-pegasus-project-one-year-on-spyware-crisis-continues-after-failure-to-clamp-down-on-surveillance-industry/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://forbiddenstories.org/about-the-pegasus-project/>

## Prelude

Reviewing the history and events that have surrounded and preceded the Carine Kanimba Pegasus spyware case was paramount as the testimony and impact statements given by Kanimba always started with a story of her father. Public forum speeches, media interviews, government testimonies, lawsuits, and podcasts follow the same order, ~90% asking for her father's release from prison, and the remainder about her spyware infection.

Kanimba was invited to give testimony in a hearing before The US House Intelligence Committee to serve as support for **House Bill H.R. 8367**<sup>7</sup>. The purpose of the house bill is as follows. *“To authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2023 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government, the Community Management Account, and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes.”* The house bill asks for *“Authorization of [financial] Appropriations”* for 2023 in a total amount of \$1.18B<sup>8</sup> USD. The bill speaks about direct

threats from foreign nations among *other* things, and calls for a need to develop OSINT (Open-Source Intelligence) tools that monitor China and Russia's publicly available data in order to perform an AI analysis on the content. Interestingly, the bill includes a section of *other matters*<sup>9</sup>, which calls for the documentation and disclosure of all unidentified aerospace-undersea phenomena since the 1950's.

Only 11 of 132 documents submitted (8.33%) by Carine Kanimba to The United States House Intelligence Committee had any relation to her alleged phone hacking. All other documents submitted, directly related to her father Paul Rusesabagina and her cousin Jean Paul Nsonzerumpa.

Kanimba ends her testimony by saying, *“I am very grateful, once again, to share my story and the story of my father, Paul Rusesabagina. I hope you find it useful to consider how to regulate the types of tools used to target my family. We are also grateful that the House of Representatives has already twice passed Resolutions demanding my father's release and I promise you all that*

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/8367/text/H3E6E8D6E42C54CB38DDF13C7C5AF212F>

<sup>8</sup> (Combined amounts from Sec. 103 and Sec 201 – H.R. 8367)

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/4503/text/id20014132DA124EE2BA66DFF493572715>

*we will not stop advocating for him until he is home*<sup>10</sup>.”

Carine’s father Paul Rusesabagina had become such a staple in this spyware case I needed to review the facts about him, and find how this man fit into the global allegations. Kanimba’s documents submitted to the House Intel Committee provided an outline that allowed for a precise review of her signed truth in testimony statement.

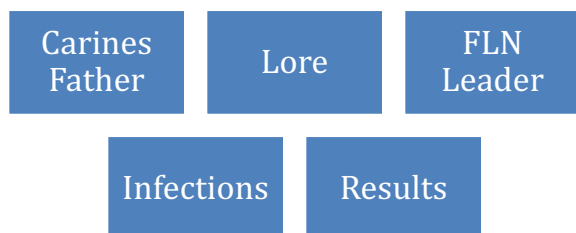


Figure 1 Carine Kanimba Derived Outline

### Carine’s Father

Carine Kanimba is the adopted daughter of convicted and currently imprisoned Rwandan terrorist Paul Rusesabagina<sup>11</sup>. Since late August, 2020 Carine Kanimba has been petitioning human rights organizations and governments around the world to help free her father from prison

in Kigali, Rwanda. Kanimba declares that her father is a political prisoner and began to make the claim that her father was kidnapped “*From San Antonio, Texas through Dubai*<sup>12</sup>,” illicitly by the Rwandan government. The same narrative of Paul Rusesabagina being kidnapped would be elevated by senior researcher John Scott-Railton of The Citizen Lab. Scott-Railton would say, “*Remember, Rwanda kidnapped US resident Paul Rusesabagina, His daughter @ckanimba [Carine Kanimba], an American citizen was hacked with #Pegasus spyware*<sup>13</sup>.”

Director of The Citizen Lab Ron Deibert would also bolster the claim Paul Rusesabagina was kidnapped<sup>14</sup> without any proof of attestation.

Democratic Congressman Joaquin Castro among many others around the world maintained that Paul Rusesabagina was kidnapped in Dubai and transferred to Kigali against his will by the Rwandan government and was allegedly tortured for 3 days<sup>15</sup>.

According to the Associated Press, Kanimba “*didn’t provide evidence to support*

<sup>10</sup><https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf>

<sup>11</sup><https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/sep/20/rwandan-court-finds-hotel-rwanda-hero-guilty-of-terror-related-charges>

<sup>12</sup><https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luP3eGhzsOo&t=773s>

<sup>13</sup><https://twitter.com/jsrailton/status/1588814980111269889?s=20&t=V9AMETb0JUSspwTh1Rbhyg>

<sup>14</sup><https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/autocrat-in-your-iphone-mercenary-spyware-ronald-deibert> [§2]

<sup>15</sup><https://castro.house.gov/news/videos/watch/congressman-castro-calls-for-the-release-of-paul-rusesabagina>

*her claim that he [Paul Rusesabagina] was kidnapped<sup>16</sup>*” (Anna, 2020).

The accusations of kidnapping started when Rusesabagina appeared in a video released by Kigali Today<sup>17</sup>. The video shows Rusesabagina in handcuffs being charged with acts of terrorism. Global Media, NGOs, Human Rights Organizations, and United States Government Officials were immediately contacted on behalf of Paul Rusesabagina. Paul, and his family have influential and prominent American allies, one of which includes the wife of former U.S. Senator Bob Krueger, D-Texas, who served as U.S. ambassador to Burundi in the 1990s (Marini, 2020). Kathleen Krueger is the God Mother of Paul Rusesabagina’s wife Taciana.

September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2020, the day after Rusesabagina was charged with terrorism, Kathleen Krueger was interviewed by the San Antonio Express-News and stated, *“If the situation wasn’t so serious, I’d laugh at those (terrorism) charges. We want President Kagame to know that the world is watching. And that this was a kidnapping of a global hero, not the arrest of a terrorist<sup>18</sup>.”*

Kathleen Krueger’s late husband Ambassador Bob Krueger had an affinity for Paul Rusesabagina, and disdain for the President of Rwanda Paul Kagame. In 2016, Paul Rusesabagina announced his run for the Rwandan Presidency and the San Antonio Express-News featured him in an article titled, **African hero, now living in S.A., will run for Rwanda presidency.**<sup>19</sup> Despite not being eligible to run for the Rwandan Presidency, due in part to not being a Rwandan resident at time of candidacy submission,<sup>20</sup> Ambassador Bob Krueger endorsed Rusesabagina stating, Paul Kagame is *“The most ruthless, murderous dictator on the huge continent of Africa...He needs to be replaced, not by killing him and not by revolution but by honest elections in Rwanda overseen by a large, intensive, multinational force of international observers.”* Rusesabagina followed up the endorsement by telling his supporters and journalists that The United States and government leaders around the world need to halt foreign aid to Rwanda and stop their support for President Paul Kagame.

<sup>16</sup> <https://apnews.com/article/international-news-entertainment-africa-f966359bb1245ba1470be4816097191d>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJvatVJ9Qqs>

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/Friends-and-family-fear-for-Hotel-Rwanda-15528857.php>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/African-hero-now-living-in-S-A-will-run-for-6791393.php>

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.thecommonwealth-ilibrary.org/index.php/comsec/catalog/download/288/285/2284?inline=1> [pg. 4 § 1]



Kathleen Krueger continued to engage her political contacts without knowing the facts surrounding Rusesabagina's terrorism charges and she admits to contacting the "*State Department's Bureau of African Affairs [and] former Education Secretary Margaret Spellings in hopes of contacting former President Bush.*" Krueger said she was "*Trying to reach President Clinton, to make phone calls straight to the Rwandan president and say, you don't want to be doing this.*"

Alongside Kathleen Krueger, September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2020, Texas Congressman Joaquin Castro also stated without any evidence, "*Paul has been flagrantly denied due process, and I am working to ensure his fair treatment. Paul [...] has been held without necessary medication. I am in communication with the Rusesabagina family, U.S. State Department, and Rwandan government to make my concerns about his well-being clear*<sup>21</sup>." Congressman Joaquin Castro is a member of The House Intelligence Committee where Carine Kanimba would give her spyware victim testimony 2 years later in July of 2022.

Media from around the world immediately started to run headlines. BBC News wrote **Paul Rusesabagina: Hotel Rwanda hero 'abducted in Dubai'**<sup>22</sup>. Despite not having any facts to corroborate an abduction or a kidnapping Kanimba would continue to sensationalize the events leading to her father's arrest and rally international support.

In an interview with Ruhumutwa Mbonyumutwa of Jambo News, Carine admits to presenting a narrative of her father's kidnapping even before knowing any details. Kanimba says, "*Before having investigated, we knew that the version of the Rwandan authorities did not hold water, my father would never have gone to Rwanda by himself, knowing that the regime has been trying to kill him for several years.*" Mbonyumutwa writes about the efforts that international media, American politicians, and others have made, to free the Hotel Rwanda "*Hero [who holds a] permanent residence in the United States*<sup>23</sup>."

Members of Congress and Kanimba, would call Paul Rusesabagina a hero, an ideal that cannot be challenged with science, but yet written testimony of such opinions would

<sup>21</sup> <https://news4sanantonio.com/news/local/hotel-rwanda-hero-called-san-antonio-home-before-family-says-he-was-kidnapped>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-53978707>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.jambonews.net/actualites/20201231-carine-kanimba-au-nom-de-mon-pere-paul-rusesabagina-heros-du-film-hotel-rwanda/>

be allowed as supporting factual and truthful evidence in a computer science-based spyware case.

I learned that Paul Rusesabagina was the inspiration for the movie *Hotel Rwanda*. I had never seen the film, but it became necessary to review, as the movie and hotel are mentioned a combined total of 16 times<sup>24</sup> in documents to the US House Intelligence Committee.

### Lore

Kanimba had testified that her father Paul Rusesabagina saved the lives of 1,268 people.<sup>25</sup> Kanimba also stated that her father risked “*his own life every day to push back the militia who were waiting outside.*”<sup>26</sup>

Saving 1,268 people and risking one’s own life by pushing back militia daily, trumps Oscar Schindler who saved 1,098 Jews during World War II<sup>27</sup>.

After viewing the movie *Hotel Rwanda*, I could not validate the claim that Paul Rusesabagina pushed back militia outside of The Hôtel des Mille Collines, but I could not rely on a fictional Hollywood script as a source of valid historical information. I conducted an archival analysis as a secondary

source in an attempt to validate the claim Carine Kanimba had made.

Paul Rusesabagina gained worldwide fame as the living character in the film *Hotel Rwanda*. The *Hotel Rwanda* all-star cast includes Oscar nominees Don Cheadle, and Nick Nolte. The film also includes Oscar Award winner Joaquin Phoenix, among others. **Movie Synopsis:** “*Paul Rusesabagina (Don Cheadle), a Hutu, manages the Hôtel des Mille Collines and lives a happy life with his Tutsi wife (Sophie Okonedo) and their three children. But when Hutu military forces initiate a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Tutsi minority, Paul is compelled to allow refugees to take shelter in his hotel. As the U.N. pulls out, Paul must struggle alone to protect the Tutsi refugees in the face of the escalating violence later known as the Rwandan genocide*”<sup>28</sup>.

After the film’s release in 2004, American and international media began to refer to Paul Rusesabagina as a hero. They praised Rusesabagina, the “Hotel manager who saved the lives of 1,200 people”<sup>29</sup> (Ebert, 2004). In 2005, President George W. Bush awarded Rusesabagina with the Medal

<sup>24</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/Committee/Calendar/ByEvent.aspx?EventID=115048> (Carine’s Testimony + References created the Sum)

<sup>25</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg 1. § 8]

<sup>26</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg 1. § 8]

<sup>27</sup> <https://time.com/5470613/schindlers-list-true-story/>

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.google.com/search?q=hotel+rwanda>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/hotel-rwanda-2004>

of Freedom stating, “*He risked his own life to shelter more than 1,000 fellow Rwandans targeted for murder*”<sup>30</sup>. I was unable to find any evidence of Rusesabagina pushing back militia daily in any of the documents released by the Whitehouse during the award ceremony, but I did not end my historical analysis there.

### **La Bataille de l'Hôtel des Mille Collines**

Testimony from people that had been in the hotel at time of the Rwandan genocide began to surface after the release of the movie *Hotel Rwanda*. Many eye witnesses<sup>31</sup>, journalists<sup>32</sup>, academics<sup>33</sup>, authors<sup>34</sup>, and war veterans<sup>35</sup> said that Rusesabagina was not the one who saved journalists, Tutsi's and few Hutus, but instead it was The United Nations Peacekeepers, Belgian Soldiers, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front who were protecting the hotel. First person accounts of Paul Rusesabagina profiteering from the Tutsi's seeking a safe haven in the Hôtel des Mille Collines was documented by American

investigative journalist Maggie Rulli in an ABC News Prime segment<sup>36</sup>.

Declassified Top-Secret documents were released by the US National Archives in 2014 regarding the Rwandan conflict that lasted from 1990-1994. In the declassified documents, Director of the National Security Archive Tom Blanton has a documented conversation with Lieutenant-General Roméo Dallaire, a force commander of UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) during the Rwandan genocide. Lieutenant-General Roméo Dallaire states, “*I would like you to acknowledge the role played by those UNAMIR troops who stayed in Rwanda, including the troops from Congo-Brazzaville who were the ones who saved the people at the Hotel Mille Collines – not the hotel manager, Paul Rusesabagina*”<sup>37</sup> (Dallaire, 2014). This first-hand account from General Dallaire would corroborate statements and claims made by many others who experienced the events in the Hotel Rwanda.

<sup>30</sup> [https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/11/images/20051109-2\\_p110905pm-0363jpg-515h.html](https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/11/images/20051109-2_p110905pm-0363jpg-515h.html)

<sup>31</sup> [https://thegreatlakeseye.com/post?s=-Rusesabagina--was--not--a--hero%3B--Rwanda--genocide--survivors--say\\_78](https://thegreatlakeseye.com/post?s=-Rusesabagina--was--not--a--hero%3B--Rwanda--genocide--survivors--say_78) (Yolande Mukagasana)

<sup>32</sup> <https://africanarguments.org/2020/09/correcting-the-depiction-of-the-hotel-rwanda-hero/> (Jos Van Oijen)

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.salzburgglobal.org/index.php?id=949&userID=34726&eventID=8265> (Tom Ndahiro)

<sup>34</sup> <https://lindamelvern.com/books/intent-to-deceive/> (Linda Melvern)

<sup>35</sup> <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB508/docs/Rwanda%20Final%20Transcript%20Day%202.pdf> (Lieutenant-General Roméo Dallaire)

<sup>36</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/International/jailed-hero-hotel-rwanda-claims-tortured-slaughterhouse-arriving/story?id=77748884>

<sup>37</sup> <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB508/docs/Rwanda%20Final%20Transcript%20Day%202.pdf>

A confidential document released by the US National Archives further details the events that transpired at the Hôtel des Mille Collines.

*“The UNAMIR continued its efforts to evacuate people caught between the lines and had evacuated 246 people from the Hotel Mille Collines and 290 from the stadium in Kigali yesterday. The situation in Kigali was tense and there was exchange of heavy artillery fire yesterday. Some government forces had been seen moving south but there was no significant changes in positions. The militia was still maintaining roadblocks in government held areas. The RPF advances continued and they had been reported as having taken control of some portions of important roads to Gitarama and Butare. Otherwise, there was no change in positions in other parts of the country. **One UNAMIR officer, a Senegalese, had been killed today (Tues) at 11:15am** local time when the vehicle he was travelling in between the Hotel Mill Collines and UNAMIR HQ was hit by a mortar bomb. UNAMIR was trying to arrange an investigation<sup>38</sup>.”*

In a declassified secret document titled **MRGW01 RWANDA MONITORING GROUP** released by the

US National Archives, more facts about the events at the Hôtel des Mille Collines can be read. The document is dated and timestamped providing a detailed record of events. One entry stamped 04/14/94 06:50 is an account of UN forces trying to evacuate journalists from the Hôtel des Mille Collines. It describes the intense fighting happening between The Rwandan Patriotic Front and the Rebels. The account says bullets were hitting the Hôtel des Mille Collines and a UN soldier was radioing for an armored extraction of those in the Hotel.

*“Telecom between Sonja Rix and Mr. [REDACTED]. He spoke with the journalists at 5am our time. The situation at that time was deteriorating rapidly. The Rwandan Army was at the bottom of the hill, being "pounded" by the rebel forces. The Army was backing up the hill and rounds were hitting the hotel. A UN Person (Congolese) was on the radio at the hotel Mille Collines trying to convince the UN HQ at the Meridian Hotel to send an Armored Personnel Carrier to pick up those at Mille Collines. There was too much fighting between the two hotels. The journalists were concerned about the noon deadline for all foreigners to depart Kigali, and since the Belgians had not arrived at the*

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<sup>38</sup><https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB472/pdf/nzc04529.pdf>

*hotel, they were considering leaving the hotel. The road to the airport appeared to be open, while the roads to the ICRC hospital and the Meridian were blocked. Confirmed through his contacts that the journalists are part of the Belgian evacuation plan. The journalists should be advised to stay at the hotel and stop using the phone since the Belgians are having trouble reaching them via phone. [REDACTED] concerned that the journalists may have left the hotel, but he cannot confirm this. He has been unable to re-establish communications with the hotel. He has contacts working through the UN and the Ops Ctr in Brussels to do all they can to contact the journalists and facilitate their evacuation.<sup>39</sup>*

A reporter from Reuters wrote on April 14<sup>th</sup>, 1994, “Eleven U.S. journalists were evacuated to Kigali airport after being blocked in a hotel in the Rwandan capital[...] They were saved by Belgian paratroops. The journalists refused to leave the Hotel Mille Collines when urged to. So on Wednesday Belgian paratroops [went] on a rescue mission in central Kigali.<sup>40</sup>”

A fax sent from General Dallaire to the UN in New York June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1994 read, “About 1300 HRS about 30 militia and Interahamwe forced their way into Hotel Mille Collines and started firing indiscriminately. They also started dragging away all the Tutsi seeking refuge in the hotel. COS RGF intervened and this situation is now under control. The situation is being monitored<sup>41</sup>.”

On January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1997 General Dallaire speaks as a witness at The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda<sup>42</sup>. He is asked many questions about events during the genocide, and describes in detail who was protecting the Hôtel des Mille Collines.

**Q:** *Later that day did you go to the Hotel Mille Collines?*

**A:** *Yes, I did. I had decided -- because by then the patriates who were staying in a house where I had been before were leaving and I did not want to leave but I did not want to stay there by myself and because other journalists were arriving and staying at the Hotel Mille*

<sup>39</sup><https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB500/docs/Document%2008.pdf>

<sup>40</sup> <https://francegenocidetutsi.org/1994-04-14ReutersUSjournalistsEvacuated.pdf>

<sup>41</sup><https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB466/pdf/19940617s.pdf>

<sup>42</sup><https://ucr.irmct.org/LegalRef/CMSDocStore/Public/English/Transcript/NotIndexable/ICTR-96-04/TRS16316R0000613641.PDF>

*Collines, I went there to stay in the same place with them.*

*Q: And the Hotel Mille Collines, is that in Kigali?*

*A: That is in the central of Kigali, yes.*

*Q: Can you describe what you found at the Mille Collines?*

*A: There was a roadblock just outside the Hotel, which appeared to be manned by men in plain clothes. There were also soldiers around and there were armed men or men carrying clubs and sticks, I recall, around that area, and there were also Rwandan soldiers [Rwandan Patriotic Front]. There were also U.N. soldiers in and around the hotel. Inside the hotel there were large numbers of Rwandans who were sheltering there. They were taking refuge in the hotel for fear of being killed.*

*Q: Do you know what the ethnicity these Rwandans were?*

*A: I think that the majority, but not all of those Rwandans were Tutsis. I bumped into one person I knew, who worked for UNICEF, who was extremely distressed and cried when*

*she saw me. I really don't know whether she was Hutu or Tutsis. She and I both, by then, had heard news of people we knew who had been killed. We both cried. And then the people in the hotel crammed into the rooms were, as I said, I think, I was told that most of them were Tutsis, but I think that there were also some Hutus who were regarded as being opponents of the government and they also feared for their lives.*

I was unable to validate the events that had earned Paul Rusesabagina a medal of Freedom. Furthermore, I was unable to validate the testimony from Carine Kanimba, Congressman Castro, and Senator Bob Krueger's wife Kathleen, claiming Rusesabagina had saved over 1000 lives. General Dallaire and his men brought people to the Hôtel des Mille Collines, and provided 24/7 protection until they were able to evacuate everyone safely. There was no evidence documented stating that Paul Rusesabagina single handedly or with others pushed back militia daily outside of the hotel. The only evidence of any person or group of people saving lives at the Hôtel des Mille Collines is of The United Nations Peacekeepers, Belgian Soldiers, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

By the time The United States had declassified these documents Rusesabagina



had already risen to fame and as Carine states, he became known as a man of “*peace and virtue*.”<sup>43</sup> The New York Times said, “*He [Rusesabagina] gave paid speeches at Universities, think tanks and corporate gatherings; he started the Hotel Rwanda Rusesabagina Foundation; [and] he collected awards and honorary degrees*”<sup>44</sup>.”

I continued to Kanimba’s next claim in her testimony where she speaks about why her father Paul Rusesabagina would be targeted by the Rwandan government. Kanimba says, “*My father was given a platform and he used it for good. He was critical of what he saw as an increasing violation of the human rights of Rwandans, calling loudly for democracy, freedom of speech and press, as well truth and reconciliation for all Rwandans, without regard to their ethnic origins. This criticism turned him into a target of Rwandan President Paul Kagame*”<sup>45</sup>.”

I began to conduct another historical analysis with the intent of understanding how peaceful disagreements with the Rwandan government and its politics would lead Rusesabagina to becoming a target of

President Paul Kagame. My research found evidence of reverse targeting, and organized violent acts planned by Rusesabagina to forcefully overthrow The Republic of Rwanda, and President Kagame. Kanimba, and many others around the world have not been forthcoming when addressing politicians around the world. Moreover, I found global media campaigns initiated by the United Nations and Paul Rusesabagina accusing President Paul Kagame of a Hutu genocide in the Congo.

### The Mapping Report

In a keynote lecture Rusesabagina gave to the University of Michigan Ford School in 2014, he spoke about President Kagame targeting and killing more than 300,000 Hutu refugees that were hiding in eastern Congo over a span of 2-3 years<sup>46</sup>. Rusesabagina says that a United Nations mapping report corroborates what he is claiming, and says, “*If this was examined by a competent institution it would be also called a genocide*”<sup>47</sup>.”

<sup>43</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg. 1 § 10]

<sup>44</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/magazine/he-was-the-hero-of-hotel-rwanda-now-hes-accused-of-terrorism.html>

<sup>45</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg. 1 § 11]

<sup>46</sup> <https://youtu.be/SE8L55QwrG0?t=1676>

<sup>47</sup> <https://youtu.be/SE8L55QwrG0?t=1694>

Rusesabagina was a contributor to the UN Mapping report<sup>48</sup> he speaks about as stated in a \$400M USD lawsuit filed by Carine Kanimba and family, against The Republic of Rwanda, President Paul Kagame, Minister of Justice Johnston Busingye, Colonel Jeannot Ruhunga, and Brig. Gen Joseph Nzabamwita. The law firm representing Kanimba, Cohen Milstein is known for filing lawsuits that are “*No issue worthy of review*”<sup>49</sup> as stated by The United States Supreme Court when they dismissed a lawsuit Cohen Milstein filed against President Donald Trump.

The United Nations draft mapping report had been leaked before it’s full publication and The Guardian ran an article titled; **Leaked UN report accuses Rwanda of possible genocide in Congo.**<sup>50</sup> The source of the Guardian’s article comes from French publication La Monde who initially wrote about the mapping report leak. They said, “*A UN report, which "Le Monde" has obtained, provides new and damning information on the murders, rapes and massive looting of the period 1993-2003 in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) [...] For*

*weeks, Rwanda has been deploying its networks and its energy to try to stifle this report which risks reaching the heart of the regime of President Paul Kagame, Rwanda's strongman since 1994*”<sup>51</sup>.

In an Unclassified//SBU (Sensitive but Unclassified) document released on Wikileaks, the International Criminal Tribunal Office of the Prosecutor sent a cable titled **ICTR SEES "NO VALUE" IN COMMUNICATIONS FROM PAUL**<sup>52</sup> regarding his criminal claims against the government of Rwanda and President Paul Kagame.

“*Mr. Paul Rusesabagina did write to the ICTR Prosecutor in November 2006 with copies to many individuals, including the UN Secretary General. As a matter of routine, the Office of the Prosecutor acknowledges all communications, including those from individuals, offering information that might be useful in the prosecution of cases before the Tribunal. Our response to Mr. Rusesabagina, asked him to submit whatever information he possessed concerning crimes allegedly committed in Rwanda falling under the statutory mandate of the ICTR.*

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.cohenmilstein.com/sites/default/files/Hotel%20Rwanda%20Foundation%20Complaint%20-%202002222022.pdf> [pg. 7 § 2]

<sup>49</sup> [https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/20/20-330/163730/20201214161313407\\_20-330%20Trump%20v.%20CREW%20BIO.pdf](https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/20/20-330/163730/20201214161313407_20-330%20Trump%20v.%20CREW%20BIO.pdf) [pg. 9 § 2]

<sup>50</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/aug/26/un-report-rwanda-congo-hutus>

<sup>51</sup> [https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2010/08/26/l-acte-d-accusation-de-dix-ans-de-crimes-au-congo-rdc\\_1402933\\_3212.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2010/08/26/l-acte-d-accusation-de-dix-ans-de-crimes-au-congo-rdc_1402933_3212.html)

<sup>52</sup> [https://wikileaks.jcvignoli.com/cable\\_07KIGALI645?amp=1](https://wikileaks.jcvignoli.com/cable_07KIGALI645?amp=1)



*The OTP took the further step of sending a team of investigators to meet with Mr. Rusesabagina to receive his information. He offered nothing more than "hearsay" information that is of no value in our work.<sup>53</sup>*

The criminal claims Paul Rusesabagina has been globally asserting against Rwanda and President Paul Kagame are shown to be unsubstantiated in a Confidential memo disclosed by Wikileaks written by American Ambassador to Rwanda Michael R. Arietti.

*"Paul Rusesabagina, principal character of the film Hotel Rwanda and present political opponent of the Kagame government, has written from Brussels to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) prosecutor, calling upon him to pursue Kagame and other GOR officials for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide... This call for action appears to be an attempt to embarrass Kagame, now visiting Brussels, and to raise Rusesabagina's political profile as a determined adversary of the Rwandan government... This letter does demonstrate Rusesabagina's continued transformation from apolitical and self-described "non-*

*hero" of the genocide, to a determined political foe of the Kagame regime. For example, his denunciation of the present human rights situation in Rwanda strikes us as extreme and unfair in many ways (i.e., his description of the gacaca genocide courts as "a state sponsored crime against Hutus. "). Rusesabagina's increasing participation in the fractured world of expatriate Rwandan politics appears to be as great a motivator for action as any wish he may have to see justice done in Rwanda.<sup>54</sup>*

These 3<sup>rd</sup> party communications from the International Criminal Tribunal Office of the Prosecutor, and from American Ambassador to Rwanda Michael R. Arietti regarding Paul Rusesabagina, show efforts by international law makers to consider Rusesabagina's claims, but ultimately there was no evidence to corroborate anything he alleged.

The mapping report released August, 2010 accusing Paul Kagame of perpetuating a Hutu genocide<sup>55</sup> was written in collaboration with Paul Rusesabagina, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and Open Society Foundation (provides funding to The Citizen Lab) among

<sup>53</sup> [https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07KIGALI645\\_a.html](https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07KIGALI645_a.html)

<sup>54</sup> [https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06KIGALI1110\\_a.html](https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06KIGALI1110_a.html)

<sup>55</sup> [https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Countries/CD/DRC\\_MAPPING\\_REPORT\\_FINAL\\_EN.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Countries/CD/DRC_MAPPING_REPORT_FINAL_EN.pdf) (mapping report)

others. These same organizations would again accuse the Rwandan government of abducting Paul Rusesabagina, and spying on his Daughter Carine Kanimba 10 years later. The ideals of a Hutu genocide were the foundation for Rusesabagina's political movement that would result in the death of 9 people.

### FLN Leader

As written by Amnesty International, in 2006 Rusesabagina formed Parti Démocratique au Rwanda or PDR-Ihumure, and in 2018 formed the (Mouvement Rwandais pour la Changement Démocratique) or MRDC<sup>56</sup>. Paul Rusesabagina and 20 other individuals were tried in connection with armed attacks in 2018 and 2019 in southern Rwanda attributed to the armed wing of the MRCD, known as the National Liberation Forces (FLN), in which nine people were killed.

In an interview posted on Italian media Il Fatto Quotidiano, Carine Kanimba is quoted speaking about the political party Paul Rusesabagina founded, *"Dad's party in 2018 entered a coalition in which there was also a small party linked to a militia: it was*

*the pretext to accuse my father*<sup>57</sup>" (Baioni, 2021). The militia Kanimba speaks about is called the FLN. An article written by BBC news states, *"The FLN was accused of carrying out attacks in 2018 and 2019 in which the authorities said nine people were killed. Rusesabagina said he never asked anyone to target civilians but did admit to sending the group money*<sup>58</sup>" (Samba, 2021).

Paul Rusesabagina is recognized by his political party M.R.C.D-UBUMWE (Mouvement Rwandais pour la Changement Démocratique) as their Executive Vice-President. In a blog post written November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2019 on the M.R.C.D official website, the FLN claim responsibility for killing Rwandan Defense Force (RDF) soldiers located in the Bweyeye sector in the Rusizi (Cyangugu) region<sup>59</sup>. The Rwandan Government's Demobilization and Reintegration Commission confirmed the attacks in their Quarterly News Magazine stating, *"The FLN attacked Bweyeye Sector, Nyamasheke District, Southern Province in October 2019 and RUD-Uranana attacked Kinigi, in Musanze District. These attacks had limited success but were supposed to*

<sup>56</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2020/09/rwanda-paul-rusesabagina-must-be-guaranteed-a-fair-trial/>

<sup>57</sup> <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2021/03/17/paul-rusesabagina-leroe-di-hotel-rwanda-detenuto-e-accusato-di-terrorismo-mio-padre-vivo-solo-grazie-alle-pressioni-internazionali/6133065/>

<sup>58</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-58624691>

<sup>59</sup> <https://mrkd-ubumwe.org/archives/241>

*send a message that the Armed Groups were of consequence and needed to be treated as genuine political entities.<sup>60</sup>*

Another blog post written December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2019 on the M.R.C.D official website provides information about the FLN's bases, their intentions, and leaders<sup>61</sup>. The post is written by the 4 leaders of the MRCD-FLN and is a reassurance that the FLN forces have not been destroyed.

[The following text is a translation to American English from Kinyarwanda]

*“For those who do not know, MRCD informs you that from now on everyone should know that the FLN forces are fighting in Rwanda, and that this is where the FLN forces have their bases, which are located in the southwest of Rwanda. So it is clear that the attacks RDF of Paul Kagame is carrying out in Congo are to kill defenseless Rwandan refugees. The FLN struggle is supported by the youth who have learned the truth about the lies of Paul Kagame's regime and the RPF. The struggle to liberate Rwandans from*

*the shackles of the Kagame RPF is ongoing and it is getting stronger<sup>62</sup>.”*

*Brussels, this 14th day of December, 2019*

*Wilson Command, General Manager*

*Paul Rusesabagina, Executive Vice President*

*Kassim Butoyi, Deputy Director General*

*Faustin Twagiramungu, Deputy Director and Spokesperson*

Paul Rusesabagina was an active member in a terrorist organization before his arrest in 2020, and his fight against Rwandan President Paul Kagame and the Rwandan government has been a decades long endeavor.

October 5th, 2020 the Rwandan National Public Prosecution Authority (NPPA) issued a press release<sup>63</sup> stating, *“Paul Rusesabagina will be charged with various criminal offences, including terrorism, financing terrorism, recruiting child soldiers, kidnapping, arson, and forming terror groups. This is in connection with his leadership role in the armed group known as MRCD/FLN. I would like to thank*

<sup>60</sup> [https://demobrwnda.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/demoba/gallery/images/Quarterly\\_News\\_Magazine\\_English\\_2020.pdf](https://demobrwnda.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/demoba/gallery/images/Quarterly_News_Magazine_English_2020.pdf)

<sup>61</sup> <https://mrcd-ubumwe.org/archives/1863>

<sup>62</sup> <https://mrcd-ubumwe.org/archives/1863>

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.nppa.gov.rw/1/agenewe-abanyamakuru>

*the Rwandan law enforcement agencies involved in his arrest. I also thank my counterpart in Belgium for responding to our request for international judicial cooperation to conduct a search of Mr. Rusesabagina's residence. The evidence collected during this search will be presented in court<sup>64</sup>.*"

After the arrest of Carine Kanimba's father in 2020, articles about the Rwandan government deploying spyware to be used on Paul Rusesabagina started to be written.

### **The Infections**

September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2020 The Guardian released an article suggesting that Carine Kanimba's father, Paul Rusesabagina, was under surveillance with spyware deployed by the Rwandan government<sup>65</sup>. The article speaks about NSO Group's Pegasus software as one of the most well-known spyware technologies available, but the article explicitly states, "*There is no evidence that the NSO Group's software was used to monitor Rusesabagina*" (Kirchgaessner & Burke, 2020).

Regardless of having any proof, Kanimba stated that her father Paul Rusesabagina was spied on with NSO Group

Pegasus software in her \$400M USD lawsuit. It states, "*Upon information and belief, in violation of the U.S. criminal code at 18 U.S.C. § 2511, the Rwandan government spied on Mr. Rusesabagina through software called Pegasus, created by the NSO Group, which among other things allowed the Rwandan government to read his WhatsApp messages<sup>66</sup>.*"

As I continued to meticulously research each of Carine's claims in her testimony to the US House Intelligence Committee, I reach the segment in which she speaks about her initial spyware infection.

### **Conflation**

Kanimba states in testimony, "*In February of 2021, I was contacted by a collective of journalists called Forbidden Stories, working with Amnesty International and Citizen Lab on the Pegasus project. They had reason to believe I was being spied on. They asked to conduct a forensics analysis on my phone and I agreed. It then was discovered that the Pegasus surveillance had been used to target me. I was mortified to*

<sup>64</sup><https://www.nppa.gov.rw/index.php?eID=dumpFile&t=f&f=51604&token=9826402234a32b2c9dbbc736eefec49fb1e7ce5a>

<sup>65</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/03/rwanda-dissidents-suspect-paul-rusesabagina-was-under-surveillance>

<sup>66</sup> <https://www.cohenmilstein.com/sites/default/files/Hotel%20Rwanda%20Foundation%20Complaint%20-%202002222022.pdf> [pg.27 § 2]

*learn that I was a victim of this powerful surveillance malware.<sup>67</sup>*

As I watched the House Intelligence Hearing, listened to Carine, John Scott-Railton, and other members of congress, I immediately recognized a fallacy in the entirety of this spyware case, and it was the continual conflation of matters presented.

Joaquin Castro has been fervently leading the effort politically to have Paul released from prison in Kigali. During the House Intel Committee meeting July of 2022, Representative Castro conflates the status of green card holder and an American citizen among other critical points in Kanimba's spyware case as he addresses her and says, *"Ms. Kanimba, your father Paul Rusesabagina is a resident of San Antonio, and a constituent of mine, and for two years my staff and I have worked with you and your family to secure his release from prison in Rwanda. This month the US House of Representatives passed a bipartisan resolution condemning his arrest, and calling for his release on humanitarian grounds. I raise this because NSO Group claims, that spyware cannot be used against Americans,*

*and you said earlier than you are an American citizen. Your experience is clear evidence that this is simply not true[...] You mentioned in your opening statement that Belgian intelligence among others confirmed that your phone was compromised and the forensics evidence that you provided [...] corresponds to emails that me and my staff had sent to you regarding what actions myself and other members of Congress were taking to raise your father's imprisonment with the Rwandan government, the FBI, and this committee<sup>68</sup>.*"

Castro calls Paul Rusesabagina a constituent of his, and discloses he has been fighting for Paul's release from prison for 2 years. As a matter of principal, it is important to note that a constituent is someone that is able to vote in an election<sup>69</sup>. Green-card holders, or lawful permanent residents cannot vote<sup>70</sup>, they do not have the legal ability to exercise the right given to a lawful American citizen therefore Paul Rusesabagina is not a constituent of Congressman Castro.

Castro states that Carine Kanimba's experience of being hacked with NSO Pegasus spyware is clear evidence that shows

<sup>67</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg. 2 § 4]

<sup>68</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Q52iuUumAw&t=5025s>

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/us/dictionary/english/constituent>

<sup>70</sup> <https://www.uscis.gov/green-card/after-we-grant-your-green-card/rights-and-responsibilities-of-a-green-card-holder-permanent-resident> [accordion 2]

NSO Group was lying when they said their software could not be used against Americans. The notion that Kanimba's experience holds more validity than scientific facts may seem negligible, but it is far more complex than how it is presented.

**1. NSO Group has stated their software cannot target American phone numbers with the country code (+1)<sup>71</sup>.**

**2. Castro says Belgian intelligence confirmed the infection, and that the forensics timeline presented matches with the timeline when he and his staff were working with Carine Kanimba to help free her father.**

**3. The phone that was allegedly targeted, and the forensics evidence Congressman Castro speaks about came from a Belgian phone with a Belgian phone number (+32), and was examined by the Belgian government<sup>72</sup>.**

At this juncture the entire reasoning for inviting Carine Kanimba to give her testimony as a victim who had their American phone number hacked with Pegasus spyware became nullified. In all 132 documents Carine Kanimba presented there

was no evidence that an American phone number was ever targeted by Pegasus.

Pegasus software has the ability to collect data from a target's phone number. The country code prefix is the determining factor as to which phone numbers can be targeted during a lawful surveillance. The country code of a phone number does not provide information as to how many passports the user of that phone number has. Kanimba admits while speaking at The Oslo Freedom Forum<sup>73</sup>, and in a radio podcast with therecord.media<sup>74</sup>, the first time Pegasus was discovered by Amnesty International and their team was on her Belgian phone.

The evidence presented to the House Intelligence Committee by Carine Kanimba, and John Scott-Railton of The Citizen Lab, alleging the Rwandan Government targeted an American is baseless and fails largely due to the lack of science in the allegations. The testimonies given by Kanimba and Scott-Railton were never based on science, they were based on a conflated idea that a person's nationality is targeted by Pegasus.

The conflated allegations made by Scott-Railton and Kanimba were taken as

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<sup>71</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2021/07/19/us-phone-numbers-nso/>

<sup>72</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg. 127, 128]

<sup>73</sup> <https://youtu.be/IKH806qKBZ0?t=1136>

<sup>74</sup> <https://therecord.media/pegasus-is-listening-a-q-and-a-with-paul-rusesabaginas-daughter-carine-kanimba/>



truth in testimony by Democratic Congresswoman Jackie Speier, and Democratic Congressman Jim Himes. Kanimba stated that the American tax payers need to know 160 million USD were sent to Rwanda in foreign aid, and the Rwandan government was using that foreign aid to spy on her<sup>75</sup>. Himes and Speier stated that recalling foreign aid to Rwanda would a step in the right direction<sup>76</sup>.

### Infection #1

Kanimba had not disclosed to the US House Intelligence Committee that she had been working with Citizen Lab since September of 2020 and they had allegedly discovered Pegasus on her cellphone almost a year before she claims she was contacted. Kanimba had an interview with Le Monde, and the reporter wrote, *“Already in September 2020, when Carine Kanimba was preparing the defense of her father, who had just been imprisoned in Kigali, security specialists had “found an SMS with a suspicious link, on which she had not clicked”. After destroying the device, the young woman buys an iPhone X. There was a*

*risk that it in turn would be put under surveillance, but she had “no choice”, she believes<sup>77</sup>.”*

The forensics documents submitted to the US House Intelligence Committee contained 2 devices that had been analyzed, and it was indicative by 2 different serial numbers. Only 1 device was mentioned, and it was Carine’s Belgian phone.

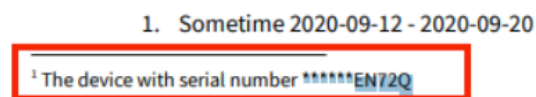


Figure 2 Infected Device #1

serial number : G6WVXYXJJCL9, IOS 14.6).

Figure 3 Infected Device #2

Ron Deibert of The Citizen Lab wrote a blog post confirming that The Citizen Lab had been working with Kanimba prior to Amnesty contacting her in Feb, 2021. His blog post says, *“Forensic analysis revealed that the phone belonging to Rusesabagina’s daughter Carine Kanimba had been infected by the spyware around the time her father was kidnapped and again when she was trying to secure his release and was meeting*

<sup>75</sup> <https://youtu.be/3Q52iuUumAw?t=2056>

<sup>76</sup> <https://youtu.be/3Q52iuUumAw?t=4361>

<sup>77</sup> [https://www.lemonde.fr/projet-pegasus/article/2021/07/19/la-fille-d-un-opposant-rwandais-espionnee-par-pegasus-en-belgique\\_6088774\\_6088648.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/projet-pegasus/article/2021/07/19/la-fille-d-un-opposant-rwandais-espionnee-par-pegasus-en-belgique_6088774_6088648.html)

*with high-level officials in Europe and the U.S.*<sup>78</sup>”

There are many unanswered questions now that I have been able to confirm this information.

1. Where are the samples taken from this infected device?
2. Which unaffiliated organization independently verified the device was infected with Pegasus?
3. Why was this information excluded from The House Intelligence Committee?
4. Why was the device destroyed rather than quarantined for further analysis?
5. Where is the chain of custody documents from the examiner and the analyst?
6. What methods were used to confirm the infection?
7. What were the indicators of compromise found on the device?
8. What was the operating system, and model of the device?
9. Where was this forensics analysis conducted?

## Infection #2

July 18<sup>th</sup>, 2021 Amnesty Tech released Carine Kanimba’s forensics report<sup>79</sup> that was mixed in with over 40 other Pegasus victims’ forensic reports. This report was independently verified and co-signed by The Citizen Lab for validity.

On July 19<sup>th</sup>, 2021 Amnesty International published a press release titled **Pegasus Project: Rwandan authorities chose thousands of activists, journalists and politicians to target with NSO spyware**<sup>80</sup>. The press release stated that a list of NSO Group’s Pegasus spyware phone numbers were leaked. These phone numbers were said to be “*phone numbers of potential surveillance targets*” (2021 Amnesty Press Release). The leaked list contained 50,000 phone numbers and allegedly the Rwandan government had selected 3,500 of those phone numbers to targeted with NSO Pegasus spyware. Amnesty further states the following, “*The investigation also found that the phones of Paul Rusesabagina’s daughter, Carine Kanimba, who lives in Belgium, and several of his associates were targeted with NSO Group’s Pegasus spyware.*

<sup>78</sup> <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/autocrat-in-your-iphone-mercenary-spyware-ronald-deibert>

<sup>79</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/doc10/4487/2021/en/>

<sup>80</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2021/07/rwandan-authorities-chose-thousands-of-activists-journalists-and-politicians-to-target-with-nso-spyware/>



*Rusesabagina, of Hotel Rwanda fame, is currently detained in prison in Kigali where he faces life imprisonment on terrorism-related charges.”*

The list of 50,000 potential targets was a discovery made by The Pegasus Project<sup>81</sup>. The Pegasus project is a consortium of 17 organizations and 80 journalists from 10 different countries. The mission of this consortium is to, “*Shine a harsh light on the business of NSO Group*” (Forbidden Stories, 2022).

As one of the media partners of The Pegasus Project, the OCCRP or Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project was one of the main sources that identified targeted individuals from the 50,000 NSO targeted list.

June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2022 Deputy Editor in Chief, Miranda Patrucic of the OCCRP hosted a panel at the Atlantic Council Forum and said that it took months to identify the targets on the list<sup>82</sup>. Among the panel of speakers was Carine Kanimba.

The OCCRP Rwanda Pegasus Project page confirms what Amnesty International posted in their press release but also provides

more information. “*More than 3,500 Rwandan phone numbers appeared on the leaked Pegasus list, indicating that they were potential targets of the software. Among them is cell phone belonging to the daughter of Paul Rusesabagina, an outspoken Kagame critic, which was forensically confirmed to have been compromised multiple times*”<sup>83</sup> (OCCRP, 2021). This is the first time Carine Kanimba was definitively said to be on the 50,000 NSO Pegasus target list. This information was also published by CNN in an interview with Carine Kanimba July 22, 2021<sup>84</sup> and in an article by The Times of Israel<sup>85</sup>. The CNN interview states, “*Carine Kanimba’s phone number was among “more than 3,500 phone numbers of activists, journalists, political opponents, foreign politicians, and diplomats” allegedly targeted by Pegasus at the behest of the Rwandan government since 2016, according to report by Amnesty International and Paris-based journalism network Forbidden Stories*” (Busari & Princewill, 2021).

July 19<sup>th</sup>, 2021 OCCRP released an article titled **Israeli Spy Tech Used Against Daughter of Man Who Inspired “Hotel**

<sup>81</sup> <https://forbiddenstories.org/about-the-pegasus-project/>

<sup>82</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luP3eGhzsOo>

<sup>83</sup> <https://cdn.occrp.org/projects/project-p/#/countries/RW>

<sup>84</sup> <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/07/22/africa/daughter-hotel-rwanda-hero-pegasus-intl/index.html>

<sup>85</sup> [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/hotel-rwanda-activists-daughter-targeted-by-israeli-spyware/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hotel-rwanda-activists-daughter-targeted-by-israeli-spyware/)

**Rwanda**<sup>86</sup>. The article speaks about the 50,000 number list and specifically on the phone numbers found to belong to Rwandans. One of the most conflicting statements in this article said, “*Reporters were unable to conduct forensic analyses to verify infection on these [Rwandan] phones, but the extent and nature of the Rwandan numbers in the data strongly suggests that the Rwandan government was a client of NSO Group*” (Tiourina, 2021).

If the Rwandan government had a list of 3,500 Rwandan phone numbers they were targeting, and Kanimba was on the list of Rwandan phone numbers, how is it that her Belgian phone number was infected with Pegasus spyware? The list of phone numbers did not contain names; thus, this is why Miranda Patrucic of the OCCRP stated that it took months to identify who was associated.

Kanimba has never stated that she had a Rwandan phone number, but yet she was identified on as someone with a Rwandan phone number in which media around the world elevated and sensationalized.

Patterns of reporting different information by Forbidden Stories start to emerge. Further into the OCCRP article **Israeli Spy Tech Used Against Daughter of**

**Man Who Inspired “Hotel Rwanda”** we are presented with new and again differing information.

Now Carine Kanimba is said to not have been on the NSO list of potential targets. After international media has sent the message around the world that her Rwandan phone number was on a targeted Pegasus list. “*Kanimba’s number was not on the list of potential targets, but The Pegasus Project decided to approach her separately as a likely victim. A subsequent forensic analysis verified that her phone was infected. Many others on the list were not approached to conduct forensics before publication out of concern that a leak could undermine the security of the journalistic collaboration, or put targets in danger*” (Tiourina, 2021).

For Clarity, Kanimba was not on the Pegasus list, but The Pegasus project decided to approach her out of suspicion of her being targeted. Many other owners of a Rwandan phone numbers were not contacted because The Pegasus Project believed they were not trustworthy and information about their investigation could be leaked.

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<sup>86</sup> <https://www.occrp.org/en/the-pegasus-project/israeli-spy-tech-used-against-daughter-of-man-who-inspired-hotel-rwanda>

### Infection #3

May 26<sup>th</sup>, 2022 Another one of Carine Kanimba's phones is infected and she shows a live Audience at the Oslo Freedom Forum. Before Carine displays her device, The master of ceremonies speaks about the booth The Citizen Lab has setup at the Oslo Freedom Forum, and they have been checking mobile devices for Pegasus spyware. He says, The Citizen Lab without connecting your phone can look through your phone and tell you if you have Pegasus spyware on it. The MC then states that there were 2 people in the past 48 hours that were diagnosed with Pegasus, and Carine Kanimba was one who had the spyware.<sup>87</sup> Carine acknowledges, and says that this is her 2<sup>nd</sup> phone to infected with Pegasus, and that Amnesty International had confirmed another phone the previous year.

As we have already proven, this would be Kanimba's 3<sup>rd</sup> infected phone, and

not her 2<sup>nd</sup>. Kanimba takes out her iPhone, and says this *"Means that Paul Kagame is listening to us right now, do you want to talk to him?"* The MC says, *"Hi Paul, we'd like to send you the love that your father never gave you, and we hope that you can find and come to peace and stop the activities that you're doing."*

1. If a phone is infected with Pegasus, why did The Citizen Lab give the device back to the alleged victim?
2. How did The Citizen Lab conduct their investigations without performing a logical or physical data analysis on the device?
3. Was this infection reported to the police? If so, where is the police report?
4. Why was there no chain of custody?
5. What are the details of the device, model and operating system version?

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<sup>87</sup> <https://youtu.be/IKH806qKBZ0?t=1111>

## Timeline of Events

Table 1 Timeline of Events

Date	Description
Feb, 2021	Infection #2, Carine Kanimba's iPhone X running iOS 14.6 is confirmed by Amnesty Tech and Citizen Lab to be infected with Pegasus Spyware <sup>88</sup>
May 24th, 2021	iOS 14.6 is released <sup>89</sup>
July 18th, 2021	Carine Kanimba's mobile forensics report is released to the public by Amnesty International and confirmed by The Citizen Lab <sup>90</sup>
July 21st, 2021	A false positive indicator in Carine Kanimba's forensics report was found by mobile security research firm ZecOps <sup>91</sup>
July 22nd, 2021	Amnesty Tech removes the false positive indicator from their code base, but Carine Kanimba's forensics report never changes and there is no public statement mentioning the results of the forensics report are false. <sup>92</sup>
October 6th, 2021	The European Parliament proposes a Joint Motion for Resolution in regards to the Pegasus phone hacking of Carine Kanimba <sup>93</sup>
October 7th, 2021	The European Parliament adopts the Motion for Resolution and rules against Rwanda for the Pegasus phone hacking of Carine Kanimba. The false positive indicator was never mentioned during this resolution against Rwanda <sup>94</sup>
November 4th, 2021	Amnesty Tech puts back the false positive indicator stating that they accidentally removed it <sup>95</sup>

<sup>88</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HHRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf>

<sup>89</sup> <https://support.apple.com/en-us/HT212528>

<sup>90</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/doc10/4487/2021/en/> [pg. 22-26,78-81]

<sup>91</sup> <https://twitter.com/ZecOps/status/1417849130118877185?s=20&t=BU4EZ73lsZsIRpRNOFUKsA>

<sup>92</sup> <https://github.com/AmnestyTech/investigations/commit/ba749a926cec4bf43920c9300922296689fdc57b>

<sup>93</sup> [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/RC-9-2021-0500\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/RC-9-2021-0500_EN.pdf) [pg. 5]

<sup>94</sup> [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0418\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0418_EN.pdf)

<sup>95</sup> <https://github.com/AmnestyTech/investigations/commit/6914279c3c3226c2c88a28f0fb008ef9bc4bc8e5>

December 8th, 2021	Belgian Intelligence conducts a forensics analysis on Carine Kanimba's iPhone X, iOS Version 14.6 phone. They find 3 indicators of compromise that Amnesty and Citizen Lab have told them to look for, but they conclude that they cannot confirm the source of any attack <sup>96</sup>
December 21st, 2021	Carine Kanimba states that her phone was infected by a Rwandan email address, but she never saw the email <sup>97</sup>
May 15th, 2022	Citizen Lab Director Ron Deibert says in an interview that Citizen Lab never has false positive results <sup>98</sup>
May 25th, 2022	Infection #3 - Carine Kanimba Publicly states that her 2nd Phone has just been analyzed by The Citizen Lab at the OSLO Freedom Forum in Oslo, Norway, and The Citizen Lab confirmed her Phone is infected with Pegasus spyware. Kanimba states that the President of Rwanda Paul Kagame is actively listening to her and everyone around her <sup>99</sup>
June 15th, 2022	Carine Kanimba speaks at the Atlantic Council Forum and shows the audience her 2nd Phone that is currently infected <sup>100</sup>
July 17th, 2022	Infection #1 Documentation is written by The Citizen Lab just 1 day before testifying in front of the United States House Intelligence Committee. <sup>101</sup> The documentation for infection #1 was written almost a year after the said infection, but no one catches this, and infection #1 was never spoken about.
July 18th, 2022	Carine Kanimba testifies to Infection #2 in front of The United States House Intelligence Committee <sup>102</sup> while knowing that the information she is presenting is <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. False – This is not the first time she was said to be infected</li> </ol>

<sup>96</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg. 127-128]

<sup>97</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/dec/21/hotel-rwanda-hero-to-terrorist-show-trial-paul-rusesabaginas-daughters-on-the-fight-for-his-freedom>

<sup>98</sup> <https://elpais.com/espana/2022-05-15/ronald-deibert-fundador-de-citizen-lab-los-gobiernos-usan-pegasus-porque-tienen-apetito-de-espiar.html>

<sup>99</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IKH806qKBZ0&t=1090s>

<sup>100</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luP3eGhzsOo&list=PLNwNuA1U24tyMgt1dkiATBH8L55LFpcAn&t=2123s>

<sup>101</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf> [pg. 56-59]

<sup>102</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20220727/115048/HRG-117-IG00-Wstate-KanimbaC-20220727.pdf>

	2. Misleading – Infection #2 was not an American phone number that was allegedly targeted it was a Belgian phone number, Pegasus does not target nationalities, it targets phone numbers
August 30th, 2022	Carine Kanimba testifies to Infection #2 in front of The European Parliament <sup>103</sup> and never mentions any of the other alleged infections, or false positive results that were found.

### Withholding Evidence

Kanimba admittedly stated her father was involved with a terrorist organization and does not reveal this information when testifying and pleading for help in front of The United States House Intelligence Committee, or the European Parliament. The truth about why her father is in prison is never mentioned, and the accusations of Rwanda spying on Rusesabagina with Pegasus are also never disclosed. Kanimba does not reveal that a false positive indicator was found in her Pegasus spyware forensics report<sup>104</sup>, and does not mention the European Parliament has already ruled against Rwanda for specifically spying on her, all whilst having the knowledge of a false positive result. Kanimba does not reveal that the it is impossible to have forensically confirmed an

iPhone with iOS 14.6 in February of 2021 when iOS 14.6 was not released until May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2021. Kanimba testifies to being targeted as an American while knowing that the information submitted to the committee was not linked to an American phone number, and Pegasus does not target nationalities, thus she was not targeted as an American. The forensics documents submitted to the House Intel Committee cannot be confirmed as they are based off of 2 different devices, with an impossible operating system version on one of them. All of the data integrity has been compromised, and cannot be used in any scientific analysis. The **Witness Truth in Testimony**<sup>105</sup> document Carine Kanimba had signed when appearing in front of The US House

<sup>103</sup> [https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/en/webstreaming/committee-of-inquiry-to-investigate-the-use-of-the-pegasus-and-equivalent-surveillance-spyware\\_20220830-1500-COMMITTEE-PEGA](https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/en/webstreaming/committee-of-inquiry-to-investigate-the-use-of-the-pegasus-and-equivalent-surveillance-spyware_20220830-1500-COMMITTEE-PEGA)

<sup>104</sup> <https://github.com/AmnestyTech/investigations/commit/ba749a926cec4bf43920c9300922296689fdc57b>

<sup>105</sup> <https://docs.house.gov/Committee/Calendar/ByEvent.aspx?EventID=115048>

Intelligence Committee states, “*Knowingly providing materially false information to this committee/subcommittee, or knowingly concealing material information from this committee/subcommittee, is a crime (18 U.S.C. § 1001).*”

## Conclusion

As of October 14<sup>th</sup>, 2022 from The United States International Trade Administration, shows that Rwanda is one of the world's largest producers of (3Ts). Tin, tantalum, and tungsten are vital to the manufacturing of all electronics and electronic components in the world<sup>106</sup>. If an international conflict between Rwanda and The United States were to arise over conflated arguments of alleged espionage without scientific evidence of the claim, the impact of this conflict will be felt around the world. Without the minerals Rwanda provides, there would be a global reduction in technology manufacturing, development and advancements. Providing a detailed review and analysis of the allegations that The Citizen Lab, Amnesty International, and The Pegasus Project release is paramount for the leaders of the world. As scientists we are trained to develop methodologies, record our results, and provide all of the documentation for other qualified scientists to validate or refute the data that we have derived. There is no science in this spyware case, there are no methodologies that can be followed, the entire premise of this case revolves around a

terrorist, and a fictitious movie that American politicians viewed as truth. The spyware case of Carine Kanimba cannot be validated, or replicated. The case lacks the implementation of fundamental digital forensics science processes, scientific rigor, independent impartial review, and judicial oversight. For all of these reasons any judgments, resolutions, or sanctions placed on The Republic of Rwanda due to allegations of digital espionage should be reversed, and all who have made the false claims should be brought to justice. If digital espionage has become a global crisis as written by Amnesty International<sup>107</sup>, why are unaffiliated, qualified scientists restricted from reviewing and analyzing the infection samples and data collected by Amnesty International and The Citizen Lab? If we have reached pandemic levels of digital espionage, why are the same institutions always finding the infections, and dismissing anyone who questions their results? If all of the infected data samples results are independently verified by a 3<sup>rd</sup> party, why is the 3<sup>rd</sup> party always the same, and why are the institutions always funded by the same politically motivated think tanks?

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<sup>106</sup> <https://www.oecd.org/daf/inv/mne/ListProductsContaining3Ts.pdf>

<sup>107</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/10/100000-people-urge-un-states-to-end-spyware-crisis/>



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