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## A WELCOME MOVE TO BUILD UPON

### France Arrests Two Prominent Rwandese Genocide Suspects

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#### INTRODUCTION

*African Rights* has welcomed the decision of the French government to arrest, on Friday 20 July, two of the leading Rwandese genocide suspects in France, Laurent Bucyibaruta and Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka. The director of the organization, Rakiya Omaar, described the initiative as “a gesture of respect to the victims and survivors of the 1994 genocide.” “It is also”, she added, “a lesson that we must persist in our efforts, whatever the setbacks and frustrations, to ensure that justice prevails in the face of genocide.”

*African Rights*, a human rights group, has been researching and documenting the genocide and its human, political, economic and social consequences since April 1994. Shortly after the genocide, it published the first detailed accounts of some of the allegations against Munyeshyaka, a Roman Catholic priest in charge of the Parish of Ste. Famille in the centre of the capital, Kigali, and Bucyibaruta, the préfet (governor) of the region of Gikongoro, and in October 1995, and in April 1999, it released two reports devoted specifically to the numerous charges that have been made, repeatedly and consistently, against Munyeshyaka by a wide range of survivors. *Backwards and Forwards, The Struggle for Justice: Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka is Arrested and Released in France*, was later followed by *Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka: In the Eyes of the Survivors of Sainte Famille*. *African Rights*' most recent book, published for this year's 13<sup>th</sup> commemoration in April, is a detailed account of one of the massacres which Bucyibaruta planned, organized and personally supervised. “*Go. If You Die, Perhaps I Will Survive: A Collective Account of Genocide and Survival in Murambi, Gikongoro, April-July 1994*” tells the story of how an estimated 50,000 Tutsi men, women and children were taken, and then murdered, at a school under construction in Murambi by a group of men led by Bucyibaruta and other senior officials.

*African Rights* regards the arrest of Munyeshyaka and Bucyibaruta, at the request of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), as a critical breakthrough in the prosecution of Rwandese genocide suspects in France. There are, however, many other Rwandese genocide suspects whose cases are equally deserving of urgent attention and action. A large number of senior military officers, politicians and civil servants who served in the interim government which orchestrated and implemented the genocide, as well as professionals, businessmen and militia leaders, have sought asylum in France. Some went there directly in 1994, and others made their way to France from Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Zambia and, amongst other countries, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

In addition to Bucyibaruta and Munyeshyaka, this short report highlights the accusations that have been levelled against three other key genocide suspects in France:

- Dominique Ntawukuriryayo, a deputy-préfet in Gisagara, Butare, the third man the ICTR requested France to arrest;
- Dr. Sosthène Munyemana, a gynaecologist/obstetrician at the University Hospital in Butare;
- François Ndayisenga, a lecturer at the National University of Butare.

There is, in addition, a substantial body of evidence that a number of other Rwandese living in France were active in inciting and preparing the massacres, or that they themselves took an active part in the killings. These individuals include:

- Callixte Mbarushimana, a computer technician at the UNDP office in Kigali;
- Dr. Eugène Rwamucyo, in charge of hygiene in Butare;
- Lt. Col. Marcel Bivugabagabo, responsible for Bigogwe military camp in Ruhengeri; Fr. Martin Kabalira, a military chaplain in Butare;
- Charles Mugenzi, alias Madesi, who owned a bar in Gitwe, commune Murama in Gitarama.

*African Rights* is calling on the Government of France to investigate the accusations of complicity in the genocide against these particular individuals, and others that may have come to its attention, and to provide survivors, and the relatives of victims, a measure of justice, and to give the accused the opportunity to answer the charges in a court of law.

## LAURENT BUCYIBARUTA



The fact that the genocide in the préfecture of Gikongoro was comprehensive, methodical and highly efficient is due, in large part, to Laurent Bucyibaruta, the préfet of Gikongoro. He worked in close concert with Col. Aloys Simba<sup>1</sup>, a retired officer who was appointed during the genocide as the head of civil defence for the préfectures of Gikongoro and Butare and Captain Faustin Sebhura<sup>2</sup>, the deputy head of the gendarmerie for Gikongoro. These three men, who joined forces at every stage as the massacres unfolded, provided the critical leadership which made Gikongoro aspire to be “the No.1 préfecture in carrying out the genocide”, in the words of a former official. Bucyibaruta, 63, comes from Musanze in Gikongoro.

The meetings which gave structure, direction and legitimacy to the killings in Gikongoro were organized by Bucyibaruta; most took place at the office of the préfecture, in a training centre for commune personnel known as CIPEP. Simba and Sebhura were always in attendance. Given the agenda and the decisions that were taken in these meetings, deputy-préfets and bourgmestres (mayors) in charge of communes did not hesitate to let the militia massacre the Tutsis who had assembled in various sanctuaries, or who remained in their homes and hills. In the early days, some officials opposed the policy of genocide and imprisoned trouble-makers. The préfet criticized these men publicly, a move that convinced the interahamwe, according to many of these same officials, that they could eliminate Tutsis without fear of sanctions. Furthermore, they say, each time a bourgmestre asked him to intervene to maintain security, he sent them to see either Pierre-Célestin Mushenguzi, the deputy-préfet in charge of administrative affairs or Captain Sebhura, two central players in the genocide.

The meeting which, according to one bourgmestre “officially sanctioned the start of the massacre of Tutsis” began at 9:00 a.m. on 13 April. Chaired by Bucyibaruta, with the assistance of Simba and Sebhura, it took place at CIPEP and was attended by all the

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Aloys Simba, arrested in Senegal in November 2001, was given a 25 year sentence by the ICTR in December 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Faustin Sebhura is now a senior figure in the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), an armed group based in eastern DRC and led by officers who were prominent leaders of the 1994 genocide. For details about the FDLR and commentary on Sebhura, see *African Rights'* letter to the President of the Security Council, 19 October 2005.

bourgmestres, most of the deputy-préfets and other senior civil servants. The discussion centred on the strategies to be used in Gikongoro to accomplish the goals of the genocide.

The ground rules, which would be followed to the letter by local government officials throughout Gikongoro between April and July, were spelt out by Bucyibaruta, Simba and Sebhura on 13 April. They included the instructions to establish a network of roadblocks to monitor the movement of Tutsis, to make escape and rescue impossible and to provide a convenient killing site for those who were captured on the spot. Désiré Ngezahayo, the bourgmestre of commune Karama, spoke of another critical directive.

Through their speeches, we received instructions to encourage Tutsis to seek refuge in churches. Simba reassured us that getting the Tutsis to congregate in the same place was a way of setting an effective trap for them.

The meeting ended abruptly at about 1:00 p.m. when a parliamentarian came to inform the préfet that more than 70 Tutsis at the Pentecostal Parish of Maheresho in commune Rukondo had just been murdered. Bucyibaruta, Simba, Sebhura and several bourgmestres left immediately for Maheresho. Instead of arresting the men responsible for the massacre, Bucyibaruta instead asked them to clean up the area after they had buried the victims. No official could be left in any doubt that the elimination of Tutsis was now official policy.

In many areas which had not experienced outright violence until then, Tutsis came under siege from the evening of 13 April onwards. They abandoned their homes and, encouraged by the authorities to gather in public buildings like churches, schools and hospitals, they continued to look to their officials for protection and succour. The refugees at the Parish of Kibeho in Mubuga were decimated as early as 14 and 15 April by men who came from the various communes of Gikongoro, highlighting the fact that the killing of Tutsis was now regarded as a collective endeavour in Gikongoro.

19 April was another defining moment, marked by a crucial meeting attended by the president of the interim government, Dr Théodore Sindikubwabo. Sindikubwabo and Bucyibaruta gave the green light for preparations to be made which would pave the way for massacres on a grand scale. Immediately afterwards, Joseph Ntegeyintwari, a deputy préfet, cut off the water supply to the refugees at the Parish of Cyanika in Karama. Félicien Semakwavu, the bourgmestre of commune Nyamagabe, where the town of Gikongoro is located, similarly severed the water pipes to a school under construction in Murambi where about 50,000 men, women and children who he, Bucyibaruta, Simba and Sebhura had assembled.

A series of massacres, in which tens of thousands died occurred within hours of each other on 21 April in Gikongoro. The carnage began at 3 :00 a.m. when virtually all the refugees in Murambi died in a highly organized military-style assault, prepared with care and supervised personally by Bucyibaruta, Sebhura, Simba and Semakwavu. At the end, the préfet publicly thanked everyone, and especially the interahamwe from commune Mudasonwa<sup>3</sup> for what one militiaman described as their “sterling performance” in Murambi. As a reward, Bucyibaruta told the men from Mudasonwa that he was sending them to the Parish of Cyanika where the second massacre of the day was already underway. Vehicles were provided to transport them to Cyanika to seal the fate of 10,000

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<sup>3</sup> The bourgmestre of Mudasonwa, Emmanuel Nteziryayo, was arrested in Britain on 28 December 2006 and is currently in detention awaiting extradition hearings.

refugees. Still on the 21<sup>st</sup>, an estimated 15,000 people died at the Parish of Kaduha, commune Karambo, in an assault that began at 4:30 a.m.

On 26 April, Bucyibaruta called his officials together at the CIPEP hall to review the progress of the genocide. He asked the bourgmestres to give an estimate of the numbers of victims killed in organized massacres in their communes. “The total number of victims cited that day was 87,500, but this did not include the true figure for Murambi”, commented Ngezahayo, who added:.

The general atmosphere at the meeting on the 26<sup>th</sup> was one of contentment. We had some visitors from Butare, including Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi<sup>4</sup>, [the officer in charge of operations for Butare and Gikongoro and head of the Junior Officers’ Academy, ESO], who were impressed with what Gikongoro had done. Muvunyi told us that Gikongoro would serve as an example to Butare. Afterwards, we had beer and lots of meat. It was felt that we had achieved a great deal. Our officials were very happy as they had become convinced that Gikongoro would in fact be regarded as the préfecture that had done the most in the genocide.

As for future strategies, Bucyibaruta, Simba and Sebhura told the participants to declare a truce, a way of luring survivors out of their hiding places, after which they were killed. Bucyibaruta gave two other commands: that the homes of Tutsis should be completely demolished and that victims should be buried far from the main roads in order to hide the evidence from foreign visitors. It was also agreed that military reservists and communal policemen would give military training to selected young men to guard roadblocks.

On 4 May, Bucyibaruta led a powerful delegation which included Sebhura and the Catholic Bishop of Gikongoro, Mgr Augustin Misago, to the College of Kibeho where 90 Tutsi pupils, aged between 12-20, had been isolated and were living in fear. The youngsters made an emotional appeal for protection and asked to be evacuated. Both the Bishop and the préfet calmed them and a new group of 10 gendarmes arrived. Three days later, on 7 May, a gendarme shepherded all the students into the dining room. Then a massive crowd of local people, waving machetes and other weapons, stormed the dining room. The gendarmes shot into the air to prevent the students from getting out. Within a few hours, 82 of them lay dead.

Most of the Tutsis of Gikongoro had died by the end of April.<sup>5</sup> As in all the other regions of Rwanda, May and June were dedicated to combing houses, forests, banana plantations and bushes for surviving Tutsis, and to convincing Hutus to give up the relatives, friends and neighbours they might be caring for. Bucyibaruta addressed himself to both these concerns on 3 June during the swearing in ceremony of a new bourgmestre, Innocent Bakundukize, in commune Mubuga. Bakundukize remembers his speech.

He asked Hutus to maintain their unity so that it would be impossible for an enemy to hide in their midst.

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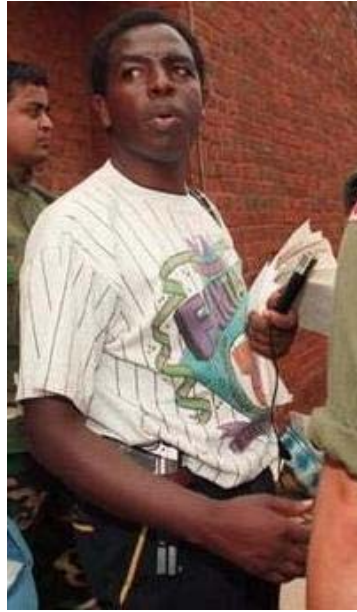
<sup>4</sup> Lt.Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi was arrested in London in February 2000 at the request of the ICTR and subsequently transferred to stand trial at the ICTR in Arusha, Tanzania. In September 2006, he was given a 12 year sentence.

<sup>5</sup> All the large-scale massacres in which tens of thousands were killed were committed by the end of April, with the exception of the massacres in the Bisesero region of Kibuye.

He also spoke about another issue which the ceremony in Mubuga illustrated, the danger of violence between Hutus as they fought over the property of Tutsi victims of the genocide. Bakundukize's predecessor, Charles Nyiridandi, was assassinated by militiamen after such a dispute.

Bucyibaruta advised Hutus against internal conflicts as they struggled over the belongings of Tutsis.

## FR. WENCESLAS MUNYESHYAKA



The Catholic Parish of Ste. Famille sits on a hill overlooking central Kigali, close to the commercial centre in what was then sector Rugenge, commune Nyarugenge. Set in extensive grounds and surrounded by a high wall, it is one of the largest churches in the city. It must have seemed like the ideal sanctuary when the violence started on 7 April. And indeed, members of the political opposition and residents fearful of the war between government soldiers and the Rwandese Patriotic Front, which broke out in the afternoon of the 7<sup>th</sup>, made their way to the church immediately. As the pattern of the killings quickly became apparent, Tutsis came in droves to escape the genocide. There was only one entrance to the church and this was closely guarded. As the church became more crowded, many refugees were turned away. Of the Tutsis who did gain entrance, most had to pay a bribe at the gate.

Fr. Wenceslas Munyeshyaka took charge of Ste. Famille early on in April, after the parish priest, Fr. Anaclet Mwumvaneza, was forced into hiding by threats from militiamen. Fr. Munyeshyaka, 49, grew up in Ngoma, Butare. He first came to Ste. Famille at the end of 1992. Clad in a flak jacket and armed with a pistol at all times, even when he officiated at mass, he was an intimidating figure who, from the beginning, divided the refugees according to ethnicity and appeared openly hostile towards Tutsis. One of them described him as “a chaplain of the militia.” Serious and substantial allegations of complicity in the genocide surfaced as early as July 1994 and have continued to be levelled against him ever since.

The militia wandered freely around the parish while Munyeshyaka held regular meetings at the parish with the civilian and military officials who came to supervise the abduction and execution of Tutsis at Ste. Famille, including the préfet, Col. Tharcisse Renzaho<sup>6</sup>; Col.

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<sup>6</sup> Col. Tharcisse Renzaho was arrested on 26 September 2002 and handed over to the ICTR on 29 September 2002.

Laurent Munyakazi<sup>7</sup>, head of the gendarmerie in Muhima; Odette Nyirabagenzi, the councillor of sector Rugenge and an inspector of schools, Angéline Mukandutiye.<sup>8</sup> He insisted that Tutsi men man the roadblock at the church, alongside the interahamwe even though he knew the dangers that awaited them.

Munyeshyaka was often seen sharing beer and meat with the militia and the parish stores were full of provisions. And yet he withheld food and water from Tutsi refugees, threatening to shoot one desperate man who tried to climb up to get water from the reservoir.

Munyeshyaka was physically present on almost all the occasions when massacres were carried out, or men and boys were abducted. But he did nothing to prevent or protest against these murders. Although he had a phone, refugees say he made no effort to call for help.

On the morning of 22 April, Munyeshyaka arrived at the missionary Centre for the Teaching of African Languages (CELA)<sup>9</sup>, near Ste. Famille, with Renzaho, Nyirabagenzi, Mukandutiye, interahamwe militiamen and soldiers. More than 35 boys and men were taken away in vans, never to be seen again. Survivors of CELA say that Munyeshyaka watched from outside the fence. The victims included the husband of Rose Rwanga, a businessman called Charles Rwanga, and her two sons, Degroot and Wilson. André Karangwa recalled Munyeshyaka's words upon his return to CELA shortly afterwards: "You innocent ones who are still here, come and take refuge at Ste. Famille. He thought those who had just been killed were guilty." The remaining women, children and men flooded into Ste. Famille.

An RPF raid on the church of St. Paul's, located close to Ste. Famille, on 16 June evacuated about 1600 people. Early the following morning, Munyeshyaka announced at Ste. Famille that the RPF had killed all the Hutus at St. Paul's, which was untrue, but was an inflammatory comment guaranteed to exacerbate tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi refugees at Ste. Famille. He said the Tutsis should expect reprisals. Soon afterwards Munyakazi came to meet with Munyeshyaka. At about 10:00 a.m., the interahamwe arrived and Munyeshyaka disappeared. Between 70-100 Tutsi men and boys were assassinated along with two women, one of them Rose Rwanga's 16-year old daughter, Hyacinthe, her only surviving child. When he came back at midday, he claimed that the Tutsis had "killed themselves." Worried about the arrival of troops of the United Nations Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) who were due to take some of the refugees, and western journalists who accompanied them, he ordered a group of men to put the corpses in a garage, promising some of them that they would be taken in return.

On 19 June, Munyakazi and Mukandutiye picked out 17 young boys that Mukandutiye said shot at her at night; after she had them searched, they were taken away by Munyakazi and murdered. Munyeshyaka, who was present, made no intervention on their behalf.

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<sup>7</sup> Laurent Munyakazi, who had risen to the rank of major-general, was arrested on 5 September 2005 on the orders of the gacaca jurisdiction of sector Rugenge which classified him as a category one genocide suspect. He was tried in 2006 by the Military Prosecutor's office and has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

<sup>8</sup> For details about the role of Odette Nyirabagenzi and Angéline Mukandutiye in the genocide, see African Rights: *Rwanda: Not So Innocent, When Women Become Killers*, August 1995.

<sup>9</sup> CELA was run by the White Fathers who left Rwanda on 12 April.



Fr. Munyeshyaka could and did save lives—principally the lives of a select number of women and young girls who the refugees say were given special treatment: food, water and accommodation. They were given priority on the UNAMIR evacuation lists. However, there was a price for these privileges: Fr. Munyeshyaka demanded sexual favours.

Munyeshyaka's handling of the evacuations out of Ste. Famille can only be described as an attempt to cripple the chances of rescue, especially for Tutsi men. He would disappear on the relevant days even though UNAMIR needed his permission to transport the refugees. He would delete the names of Tutsi men on lists of refugees to be taken to safety and insisted on making women and girls a priority even though men and boys were the principle target. He exposed the refugees to mortal danger in the presence of the militia, for example by publicly naming those who had opted to be evacuated to areas under the control of the RPF.

The first UNAMIR convoy left in early June for the RPF zone. When the radio reported news of the escape, many more refugees came to Ste. Famille. However, on the second attempt the interahamwe surrounded the vans, and Fr. Munyeshyaka publicly identified those who had chosen the RPF zone as "*inyenzi*", meaning "cockroach", a term of abuse for the RPF.

## DOMNIQUE NTAWUKURYAYO

In 1994, Dominique Ntawukuriryayo, 65, was the sous-préfet (deputy governor) of Gisagara, in the préfecture of Butare. The sous-préfecture of Gisagara consisted of the communes of Ndora, Kibayi, Muganza, Nyaruhengeri and Muyaga. Ntawukuriryayo comes from Mubuga in Gikongoro and was previously a member of parliament.

For the first two weeks of the genocide, Butare remained mostly calm, due to the efforts of its préfet. Refugees came from Kigali, Greater Kigali, Gitarama, Gikongoro and elsewhere. On 19 April, the president of the interim government, Théodore Sindikubwabo, visited Butare to pressure local officials, soldiers and residents to follow the example of the rest of the country. Ntawukuriryayo accompanied Sindikubwabo, himself a native of Ndora, when he visited Gisagara on the 20<sup>th</sup>, urging Hutus to turn on their Tutsi neighbours. Almost immediately, tens of thousands of Tutsis throughout Butare, including Gisagara, sought sanctuary in their parishes, commune offices, health centres and congregated on strategic hills to better organize their self-defence. Most of them died in well-organized large-scale massacres planned and implemented by senior officials, the army and the gendarmerie, backed by thousands of militiamen and local residents. In Gisagara, they perished, for example, at the Parish of Gisagara in Ndora; Mount Kabuye in Ndora; the commune office of Muyaga and the Parish of Gakoma in Muyaga, and the Parish of Kansi in Nyaruhengeri.

In Ndora, where he lived and where his office was located, Ntawukuriryayo began by setting up a roadblock outside his home. He encouraged Tutsis on the move to gather for protection at the Parish of Gisagara and in nearby Mount Kabuye. He offered to take old friends into his own home or offered to drive them to Butare town himself. He personally patrolled the road leading to Burundi and persuaded those who were trying to escape to go instead to the parish, especially educated or well-off Tutsis. At the same time, he held a series of meetings with officials in Gisagara and Butare town, including officers from the Junior Officers' Academy (ESO), the main army base in Butare.

Between 20-24 April, thousands of Tutsis from the communes of Gisagara flocked to the parish, persuaded by Ntawukuriryayo's assurances and convinced that proximity to the office of the sous-préfecture meant greater security. Ntawukuriryayo visited the parish together with Major Cyriaque Habyarabatuma<sup>10</sup>, head of the gendarmerie in Butare, and Callixte Karimanzira<sup>11</sup>, a senior civil servant who lived in Kigali but came from Ndora, a visit which furthered bolstered the refugees' confidence. They also brought a group of gendarmes armed with guns from Butare.

At about 11:00 a.m. on Sunday, 24 April, the parish was encircled by militiamen with machetes, clubs and spears. Ntawukuriryayo accompanied the gendarmes from Butare, the communal policemen of Ndora and a mass of militiamen as they stormed the parish to kill the refugees. He stayed at the parish throughout the massacre, leaving only when the interahamwe began to finish off the wounded.

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<sup>10</sup> Habyarabatuma is currently in detention in Rwanda in connection with the genocide.

<sup>11</sup> Callixte Karimanzira was the acting minister of the interior. He was arrested in Arusha in November 2005; his trial at the ICTR has not begun.

Within hours, Ntawukuriryayo was already laying the groundwork for the second massacre in Ndora on the 24<sup>th</sup>, this time on Mount Kabuye. In addition to Gisagara, there were thousands of Tutsis on Mount Kabuye from other communes in Butare like Nyakizu, Runyinya, Mugusa and Ngoma. There were also people from Kigali who had hoped to cross the Akanyaru river into Burundi.

The attacks had begun on Mount Kabuye on 21 April, but using stones and their sheer numbers, the refugees drove back the communal policemen of Gisagara and militiamen. On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Ntawukuriryayo travelled to Butare town to bring soldiers from ESO as reinforcements. After he had arranged the transport of five ESO soldiers to Kabuye, he then brought a group of gendarmes in his own vehicle and linked up with the ESO soldiers at Kabuye. He also took charge of the mobilization of a substantial number of interahamwe, reinforced by a formidable contingent of Burundian refugees who inspired particular fear during the genocide.

The soldiers arrived in the late afternoon. Armed with a variety of guns, they encircled the refugees, killing most of them. The soldiers left in the evening. But Ntawukuriryayo, who was present throughout the massacre, was determined to ensure that no Tutsi escaped. He housed the militiamen in buildings close to Ndora's commune office and made provisions available so they could capture any remaining Tutsis the following day.

Prisoners, communal work parties and Caterpillar bulldozers buried the corpses before the mass exodus to Zaire in July 1994. 26,000 bodies, found on Mount Kabuye and the vicinity, were given a decent burial after the genocide.

The families and individuals who Ntawukuriryayo offered to take to his home or to Butare, all perished. They include the family of François Munyarukiko; Mme Alphonse Rutsindura and her two children; Rutsindura's younger brother and his wife; Eliyakemu from Muganza, his wife, two daughters and four sons. He also took to Ndora a number of old acquaintances, from his home commune of Mubuga and the neighbouring commune of Rwamiko, who were waiting out the genocide in the office of the préfecture in Butare town. They were subsequently murdered. They include Sylvestre Ntakirutinka, an agronomist who had retired from the tea factory in Mata, Gikongoro.

Towards the end of May, Ntawukuriryayo toured Gisagara together with Col. Tharcisse Muvunyi, the officer in charge of ESO, and the préfet of Butare, Col. Alphonse Nteziryayo<sup>12</sup> in an effort to maintain popular commitment to the policy of genocide. At the Gikore sector office in Nyaruhengeri, for example, they asked the population not to hide Tutsis, to destroy their homes, to farm their land and to obliterate every trace of the genocide. In Nyaruhengeri, as elsewhere, their incendiary speeches, accompanied by threats against Hutus who shielded Tutsis, were quickly followed by action: the Tutsis still under protection were eliminated.

The bones of the people killed in Gisagara under Ntawukuriryayo's supervision continue to be unearthed in mass graves and toilets as late as February 2007.

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<sup>12</sup> Col. Alphonse Nteziryayo was arrested in April 1998 in Burkina Faso. He is currently on trial at the ICTR.

## DR SOSTHÈNE MUNYEMANA

Dr Sosthène Munyemana<sup>13</sup> was a gynaecologist/obstetrician at the University Hospital of Butare, Rwanda's principal teaching hospital, where he also worked as a researcher. He was trained at the University of Bordeaux II in France. He lived in sector Tumba, an area of the urban commune of Ngoma popular with doctors and university lecturers. Aged 51, he is originally from Musambira in Gitarama. He was an early supporter of the hard-line faction of the Democratic Republican Movement (MDR), known as "Power", led by Jean Kambanda. In 1994, when Kambanda became the prime minister of the interim government, Munyemana collaborated closely with him. When Kambanda visited Butare on several occasions to win over allies for the genocide, he stayed at Munyemana's home. Kambanda later pleaded guilty to genocide charges at the ICTR, including conspiracy.

Dr Munyemana was one of the most active killers in Tumba. Witnesses remember the incendiary speech he delivered on 17 April, at the end of a meeting of Tumba residents to discuss measures to maintain security in their sector. Asking each participant to look at his neighbour, he told Hutus that "our enemies are in our sector and should be pointed out." He urged them to be vigilant, adding that the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), which was waging war against the interim government, was slaughtering Hutus fleeing to Burundi. To underline his message, he claimed that he himself had just given shelter to 15 Hutus from Kigeme wounded by the RPF during a massacre. Munyemana's speech on the 17<sup>th</sup> increased tension, hostility and fear and is widely regarded in Tumba as a critical turning point. "He was", said one witness, "in charge of security in Tumba, but was the first person to disrupt this peace."

In Tumba, as elsewhere in Ngoma, the massacre of Tutsis began in earnest on 21 April after Sindikubwabo's visit, described earlier, which resulted in the dismissal of the préfet who had struggled to keep the genocide out of Butare. Munyemana made a significant contribution, which included murdering people with his own hands. Clad in a long black coat, armed with a machete, or an iron bar shaped like a pipe, a sword or a gun, he wore banana leaves to motivate peasants. He worked closely with a group of men who were at the forefront of the killings in Tumba, in particular Siméon Remera, alias "CDR", a medical assistant and president in Butare of the ultra-extremist Committee for the Defence of the Republic (CDR); Joseph Hitimana, alias "Ruganzu", the head of agricultural services at the office of the préfecture in Ngoma; François Bwanakeye, the councillor of Tumba; Félicien Kubwimana, a former councillor of Tumba and Speratus Kabirigi, a carpenter at the University Centre for Public Health (CUSP) as well as officials, soldiers and gendarmes based in Ngoma. Munyemana distributed ammunition, compiled lists of Tutsis to be eliminated, pointed out the homes of Tutsis to militiamen and searched places of shelter in Tumba in pursuit of Tutsis. He was often present at the massacres, particularly those targeting Tutsi intellectuals in Tumba. He led the night patrols and often specified who should be abducted.

François Karanganwa, an elderly and wealthy cattle breeder, his wife and five of his children were the first people to be killed in Tumba. They were tied up and taken by Munyemana, wielding a long metal iron bar, Siméon Remera and others to Karanganwa's home behind the sector office. Many other people died in Tumba on the 21<sup>st</sup>, especially the

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<sup>13</sup> For details, see African Rights' *Witness to Genocide*, Issue 2, February 1996.

early targets of the genocide—businessmen and educated Tutsis—including Philippe Nyagahakwa from Gitarama who worked at the university.

On 22 April, Munyemana, with a machete in one hand and with lists of wanted people in the other, led a large group of men as they conducted a house to house search in Tumba, looking in particular for educated Tutsis. The fact that he had been responsible for security on his street and neighbourhood since 7 April facilitated his task. Some of the victims were thrown down toilets; one man, Aloys Kamongi, was thrown alive into a septic tank. The individual murders continued until the end of April, after which Munyemana and his group sought to persuade Hutus who were hiding Tutsis that calm had been restored and people should return to their homes, assurances which led to their deaths. Other Hutus were intimidated into denouncing the Tutsis they were sheltering.

Munyemana, in charge of the night patrols in the area around the sector office, was one of three people with a key to this office, situated close to his house. He is accused, by a wide range of witnesses, of using the sector office as a private prison to lock up many of the Tutsis captured by the night patrols. They were taken out at night and murdered nearby. Large solar lamps were used to minimize the chances of escape. The victims included Alphonsine, one of Karanganwa's daughters; Innocent, a welder; Gasirabo, who sold beer at Rango; Sudi, a mechanic and a man known as "Metero."

Vincent Kageruka is one of the few people detained by Munyemana who lived to describe their ordeal. A few hours after Munyemana locked Vincent inside what he described as a "dungeon", he brought Vincent's older brother, Innocent Ntidendereza, amongst others. That evening alone, said Vincent, "Munyemana, with a big sword in one hand, the key in the other, wearing banana leaves and a very bright flash-light on his forehead like a miner", made four trips to the sector office, imprisoning 11 men altogether.

Munyemana did not limit his activities to Tumba. At about 5:00 p.m. on 22 April, well-armed soldiers and gendarmes, communal policemen, interahamwe and civilians descended on Kabakobwa hill which straddles sectors Nkubi and Sahera in Ngoma to lay siege to the Tutsis who had sought safety there. Some of the survivors, including Providence Mukandoli, a hospital worker, and her father, Joseph Bitara, a retired employee of Butare University laboratory, ran to Nkubi sector office. Civilians with machetes, clubs and axes lay in wait for them. Providence and other survivors from Tumba recognized several men from their sector among the civilians, including Munyemana and a man known as "Maître."

Dr Munyemana visited Musambira commune, his place of origin, between April and July to reinforce the campaign to rid Musambira of Tutsis and to supervise the overall progress of the genocide. He met regularly and openly with the men at the helm in Musambira, including Abdirahman Iyakaremye, the bourgmestre and Dominique Karani, a former bourgmestre. During one trip, he advised that corpses should not be strewn around the Parish of Musambira but thrown far away. Afterwards, a mass grave was dug in the forest of Gatikinkuba, behind the commune office.

## FRANÇOIS NDAYISENGA

François Ndayisenga, a lecturer at the National University in Butare, is the undisputed leader of the genocide in his home area of sector Gatoki, commune Shyanda in the préfecture of Butare. He had been an assistant lecturer at the Nyakinama campus of the National University in Ruhengeri. But the campus relocated to Butare following the outbreak of war in October 1990 between government forces and the RPF which had invaded from Uganda on 1 October. He settled in Save and became an active member in Butare of MDR-Power, the wing of the Democratic Republican Movement which had embraced the ideology of Hutu extremism. Ndayisenga did not hide his antipathy to Tutsis, telling Hutus to look upon them as the “enemies of Rwanda”, urging them not to use their shops and bars but instead to get ready “to eliminate them.” He himself was married to a Tutsi. In Butare, he became known under the nickname of “Carrefour”, the name of the bar he established in Gatoki.

The first Catholic parish in Rwanda, the Parish of Save, is located in sector Gatoki. In addition to the church itself, there are a large number of religious and educational institutions in Save, including the convent of the Benebikira Sisters, the Sainte Bernadette Groupe Scolaire run by the Benebikira nuns, the noviciat of the Marist monks, secondary schools which belong to the monks etc... Because of the concentration of schools in Save, it was home to a large number of teachers.

In 1993 and early 1994, Carrefour, a busy and prosperous bar with a large clientele, was used as a meeting point by the teachers in Save, including Burundian teachers, who shared Ndayisenga’s politics. Ndayisenga also used it as a forum to gain support for MDR-Power. His links with Burundian teachers intensified after the assassination, in October 1993, of Burundi’s Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye. Between April and July 1994, Carrefour was the nerve centre of the genocide in Save; it is where the planning meetings were held and it served as a base for recruiting militiamen.

Ndayisenga was such a central and visible pillar of the genocide in Gatoki that there is virtual unanimity among local residents about his unwavering commitment to the genocide and his critical role in inciting and encouraging the Hutu population to betray, and then murder, their Tutsi friends and neighbours. He worked closely with the bourgmestre of Shyanda, Théophile Shyirambere; Fr. François Munyaburanga, a priest at the Parish of Nyumba, commune Gishamvu, who was then living in Save where he comes from; Denis Ntakica, a Marist monk, and a group of teachers from schools in Save.

From 8 April, Ndayisenga established contact with a number of senior civil servants to help him sensitize the people of Gatoki, in particular, François Ndungutse, the director-general of the Ministry of Agriculture, and Gaspard Ndengejeho from the Ministry of Information. Military officers who would, in time, provide him with the weapons and ammunition necessary to kill the Tutsis of Gatoki, visited him regularly.

Between 8-25 April, Ndayisenga had four roadblocks set up between the tarmac road from Butare town and Save, in order to control the movement of Tutsis. The most deadly was the roadblock directly in front of his bar, Carrefour. The others were located on the border between Shyanda and the commune of Rusatira; in cellule Karama, at the spot where the offices of the NGO, Duhozanye, currently stand, and in front of the home of the Marist

monks. Ndayisenga visited these roadblocks frequently in his role as supervisor of the genocide in Gatoki.

The green light for the genocide in Butare was given on 19 April by the president of the interim government, Théodore Sindikubwabo, at a gathering of all senior military and civilian officials. Ndungutse, who attended the meeting, returned to Gatoki to deliver the same message. But, in the words of Joseph Sindikubwabo, a businessman in Save: “the Hutus of Gatoki told them they didn’t have time to chase after innocent people when they were hungry.” To provide the necessary material inducements, Shyirambere and Ndayisenga told them to take what they wanted from the parish, church stores and numerous church buildings, and schools in Save. On the first day, Shyirambere came to Save, accompanied by policemen, and helped Ndayisenga oversee the looting sprees, after which Ndayisenga continued the work. Kizitio Nemeyimana, a prisoner who acknowledges his own crimes in Save, had this to say about Ndayisenga.

I saw François Ndayisenga with my own eyes leading all the attacks which cleaned out the belongings of all the secondary schools, the convents and the monks’ homes in Save. It was about two or three days before the Tutsis of Gatoki were executed [on 25 April]. Ndayisenga was telling the militiamen to take what they could so they would have the energy to kill the Tutsis. Everything of any real value was stocked at Ndayisenga’s home.

On the morning of 25 April, Ndayisenga and a group of militiamen took the Tutsis of Gatoki, more than 60 people, to the trading centre in Karama. From there they were led to a well, known as the Duchamps well after the man who built it, where they were thrown in after they had been tortured. The victims included about 30 members of the Rwabutogo family; about 15 members of the Nyirinkindi family; six members of the Sentore family and more than eight members of the Nocodème family. Afterwards, Ndayisenga continued to discourage Hutus from hiding Tutsis. Those who were captured were handed over to him and were then also dumped in the well. He led assaults on the Benebikira convent in search of Tutsis, forcing the nuns to abandon their convent. They came back, but only after paying Ndayisenga off.

On 7 May Fr. Justin Furaha, a priest who had been protecting a group of children at Save parish, was detained at Karubanda central prison in Butare town and later assassinated. Shortly afterwards, the children were taken away by a group led by Ndayisenga, with the complicity of Fr. Munyaburanga and a group of young men who had been brought over in buses from Ruhengeri. The children were then murdered.

Determined until the very end, Ndayisenga is accused of shooting people he suspected of being Tutsi amongst the crowds fleeing Shyanda towards Butare town, after Shyanda fell to the RPF. Gaspard Ntabomvura, who has pleaded guilty to taking part in the killings in Save, said he “saw Ndayisenga pick out individuals he believed were Tutsis among the convoy of people heading from Shyanda to Butare.”