



REPUBLIC OF RWANDA
*National Commission
for the Fight against Genocide*
-CNLG-



RWANDA
1991- 1994

PREPARATION AND EXECUTION
OF THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED
AGAINST TUTSI IN RWANDA

January, 2021



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PREFACE

This document contains five chapters. The first chapter takes up some of the important events that marked the planning of the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi since 1990 at the start of the war of liberation. The second chapter takes up some of the massacres committed during the implementation of the Genocide. The third chapter looks at the leading role played by some members of the genocidal government, while the fourth chapter shows the role of some doctors and other staff from hospitals and health centers. Finally, the fifth chapter demonstrates France's support for the genocidal government, as well as the UN's delay in recognizing that genocide was being committed against the Tutsi, before accepting evidences of that genocide.

The Genocide against the Tutsi was not an accident or a result of a plane crash that carried President Habyarimana, but a long-term plan. The organizers of the genocide have also spoken out in public. Colonel Bagosora Theoneste, who in January 1993 was one of Rwanda's envoys in Arusha to a meeting that ratified a part of the peace agreement on power-sharing, did not accept the outcome, he rather said in anger: "I am returning home to prepare the apocalypse". As soon as Colonel Bagosora returned to Kigali from Arusha, he held various meetings with his extremist comrades to form the Rwandan Armed Forces Association called AMASASU. This association was at the forefront of spreading the ideology of genocide in the Rwandan army and mobilizing the military not to accept to live with the Inkotanyi, but instead prepare them selves to exterminate the Tutsi because they were considered as accomplices of the INKOTANYI.

Repeated massacres targeting Tutsi were committed between 1991 and 1994. Thus, in March 1991 277 Tutsi were killed in various communes of Ruhengeri Prefecture (Nkuli, Kinigi, Mukingo) and Gisenyi (Gaseke, Giciye, Karago, Mutura, Kanama, Rwerere). The night of March 4 to 5, 1992 was marked by the massacre of more than 500 Tutsi in Bugesera. The killings were carried out by the Interahamwe in collaboration with the bodyguards of the President and soldiers of the Gako military base. Mbogo commune, nowadays Rulindo District, was hit hard by the 1992 and 1993 massacres of Tutsi.

Habyarimana's Government even killed foreigners who opposed his plan to exterminate the Tutsi: for example, Antonia Locatelli from Italy, who was the Director of the Nyamata Vocational Training Center (CERAI), was killed on the night of March 9 to 10, 1992, by the gendarme Epimaque Ulimubenshi. She was

killed due to the advocacy done for Tutsi Massacre on Radio France Internationale (RFI).

Some of the extremist newspapers also contributed to the sowing of Tutsi hatred, such as the Interahamwe, Kangura, Kamarampaka, *La Médaille Nyiramacibiri*, Echos des Mille Collines, Umurwanashyaka, RTLM and others, which spread hatred and sensitization of genocide. For example, on January 27, 1994, the RTLM broadcasted hate programs calling on all Hutu to unite and fight until the last minute because the blue helmets of the Belgian contingent of UNAMIR had a plan to give the country to the Tutsi.

Meetings of Hutu power parties inciting hatred of Tutsi were also carried out through which weapons to kill Tutsi were distributed. For instance, during the meeting held in Kigali in January 1994, a large number of weapons were distributed to all Hutu Power members of the MRND, CDR, MDR, PSD, PDC and PL parties. In February 1992, the so-called *Coalition pour la défense de la République* (CDR) party was formed and in Kinyarwanda it was called “*Impuzamugambi ziharanira Repubulika*” which played a major role in the genocide campaign, both in its preparation and in mobilizing Hutu to unite and kill the Tutsi. The party was formed by a group of Hutu extremist intellectuals from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri prefectures who were working in various government institutions and were united by hatred for the Tutsi.

In January 1992, an Auto-defense Civile Steering Committee was set up to oversee the provision of weapons and military training to the people. In addition, between January 1993 and March 1994, 581 tons of machetes were imported into Rwanda and were distributed to the population who used them during the Genocide.

Rwanda's intelligence services had ordered the supply of weapons and military training to young people. On March 18, 1991, the Director of the Investigation service in Ruhengeri Prefecture, Eugene Munyangoga, wrote a report containing the idea of arming the people of Ruhengeri prefecture. He added that the operation should begin in Ruhengeri, and if it was a success, it was going to be distributed in all other prefectures of Rwanda, from those near the Northern and Eastern borders, namely Gisenyi, Byumba and Kibungo. The plan was successful because the Interahamwe and the Impuzamugambi united by their hatred for Tutsi were established throughout the country, were given military training and weapons, and thus joined forces with the military and gendarmes to exterminate Tutsi throughout the country.

There is no doubt that Habyarimana was not interested in the Arusha Peace Accords, as the increase in weapons in the country and among the Hutu population was for no other purpose than to exterminate the Tutsi and those who tried to stop the plan.

On the night of April 6 to 7, 1994, following the downing of a Falcon 50 plane carrying President Habyarimana Juvenal, the Interahamwe and soldiers of President Habyarimana's bodyguard began to set up roadblocks in many parts of Kigali City, and killing Tutsi, and from this date the massacres were spread all over the country. The killings were coordinated by the state administration (Ministers, Prefects, Burgomasters, Municipal councilors), the army and the gendarmery.

In an effort to kill politicians who did not support Habyarimana's government and who did not support the Genocide plot, on April 07, 1994, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana, the President of the Constitutional Court, Kavaruganda Joseph, and democratic Ministers Frederic Nzamurambaho, the former President of PSD party, Me. Félicien Ngango, the former vice president of PSD party and his wife Odette Ubonabenshi, Faustin Rucogoza, the former Minister of information and member of the non-extremist trend of the MDR Party as well as Landouard Ndasingwa of PL Party were assassinated.

On April 8, 1994, the genocidal Government termed "Saviours government" has been established, with Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo as President of the Republic, and Jean Kambanda as the Prime Minister.

That government had only one mission: to coordinate the implementation of the Genocide countrywide, to distribute arms, to mobilize people to commit Genocide and to explain what was happening to the international community.

On 18/4/1994, members of the criminal regime, including Edouard Karemera, who was supposed to be the Minister of internal administration, went to Gitarama to incite people to commit Genocide.

On the same day, President Théodore Sindikubwabo went to Gikongoro to hold meeting with the authorities of Gikongoro prefecture, in order to plan how the Genocide should be carried out in Kaduha, Murambi, Cyanika and in the entire Gikongoro Prefecture. From Gikongoro, Sindikubwabo went to the Nyakizu (Butare) Commune office to encourage the killers to start the Genocide. Such acts of inciting people to carry out Genocide were carried out in public by Sindikubwabo to the people mobilized by the communal authorities to meet with the president.

April 21, 1994 was the day when many Tutsi were killed simultaneously in the country. More than 50,000 Tutsi were killed in Murambi (Nyamagabe, Gikongoro), more than 35,000 were killed in Cyanika Catholic Parish in Nyamagabe, and more than 47,000 were killed in Kaduha Catholic Parish in Nyamagabe.

The genocidal government continued to find ways to acquire weapons to use in the battle to kill Tutsi. In its policy of Tutsi extermination, they used the so-called "auto-defense civile", which was a criminal program aimed at involving the majority of Hutu population into massacre. Through this program, weapons and money were distributed to expedite the killing of Tutsi so that wherever the RPF liberates, would find all the Tutsi exterminated.

Gradually, as the genocidal government was losing the battle, it did its best to expedite the killings of Tutsi in its controlled areas. To achieve this soon, The Prime Minister Jean Kambanda assigned each Minister to a given area to monitor and ensure that Tutsi were exterminated as planned. Therefore, some of them were instrumental in the implementation of the Genocide in their home areas, such as Mrs. Pauline Nyiramasuhuko in Butare, Karemera Edouard and Niyitegeka Eliezer in Kibuye, Nzabonimana Callixte in Gitarama, Augustin Ngirabatware in Gisenyi, etc.

The genocidal government tightened strategies to exterminate the Tutsi by setting up committees that were responsible for the killings, from hiding the killing evidences like demolishing houses and destroying the bodies of killed Tutsi.

As part of extermination of the surviving Tutsi, the Government meeting of June 17, 1994 decided that the Tutsi of Bisesero, who had been fighting the killers for more than two months, should be killed as soon as possible. The execution of that massacre was speeded up as much as possible by the Kambanda Government and its soldiers. More than 2,000 surviving Tutsi in Bisesero were killed in front of French soldiers who were camping in Gishyita region and the French did nothing to help them.

The soldiers of Operation Turquoise especially in Murambi and Nyarushishi camps showed many acts of misconduct towards Tutsi refugees and yet they were supposed to protect them. These include letting the Interahamwe and soldiers kidnap Tutsi from the camps, they killed some and raped Tutsi girls and women in refugee camps.

One of the hallmarks of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was that it was carried out everywhere be it in churches, chapels, hospitals and clinics. Even more serious is the fact that some professionals who were responsible for protecting human lives, including doctors who have sworn in their professions, have been at the forefront of committing Genocide, especially in hospitals, health centers and clinics.

The killings took place all over Rwanda. Nationwide, the number of doctors known to have committed the Genocide is fifty-nine (59), including twenty-five (25) who committed the Genocide in the City of Butare. The total number of nurses and staff at the hospital and health facilities identified for having committed the genocide is seventy-four (74), including thirty-one (31) who committed the genocide in Butare City.

France continued to support the criminal government during the Genocide, France supplied weapons to Rwanda while the United Nations had banned it. Rwandan military envoys were received by senior French military officials to discuss the issue of armament, followed by sending French soldiers to Operation Turquoise under the cover of a humanitarian operation authorized by the UN. They were under cover of assistance but in reality they had come to support the genocidal Government. Operation Turquoise was intended to establish "Hutu land" and it was clear that the operation came as a result of continued military support that France had continuously provided to the criminal government and its forces since the beginning of the war in 1990.

The United Nations took long to acknowledge that Tutsi in Rwanda were being subjected to genocide. The United Nations Security Council had been ignoring the issue of the Genocide against the Tutsi since April 7, 1994, and had also reduced the capacity of UNAMIR to leave only 250 soldiers. Unending discussions went on and some powerful countries like France and United Nations refused to identify the massacre of Tutsi in Rwanda as Genocide and yet they were given tangible information on the massacre. On May 25, 1994, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, declared the killings in Rwanda as genocide. It was later confirmed by René DégniSégui, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights after he had returned from Rwanda in an investigation and confirmed that genocide against the Tutsi was being committed.

The document states that the Genocide against the Tutsi was planned by the government for a long time, and then later the same government implemented it

nationwide, especially with the help of leaders from various levels, the state army, armed groups such as the Interahamwe and the Impuzamugambi and the civilian population were incited to exterminate Tutsi .This document also refutes various statements of deniers of the Genocide against the Tutsi who continue to spread their lies in disregard of the truth, as it clearly reflects the real history of the Genocide against the Tutsi .

We hope that this documentation on the elements of planning and execution of the genocide committed against the Tutsi will on the one hand help to preserve the memory of the genocide, and honor the victims. It will also provide young generations with the tools of knowledge of this tragic past enabling them to work for the continued reconstruction of a united and peaceful Rwanda.

Dr. BIZIMANA Jean Damascène
Executive Secretary



ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADEPR	: Association des Eglise de Pentecôte au Rwanda
AVP	: Association of Volunteers for Peace
BNP	: Banque Nationale de Paris
BRALIRWA	: Brasseries et Limonaderies du Rwanda
CARP	: Collectif des Associations Rwandaises aux Pays-Bas
CDR	: Coalition pour la Défense de la République
CELA	: Centre d'Etudes de Langues Africaines
CERAI	: Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré
CHUK	: Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de Kigali
CLADHO	:Collectif Rwandais des Ligues et Associations de Défense des droits de l'Homme
CLADHO	: Collectif des Ligues et Associations de Défense des Droits de l'Homme
CND	: Conseil National pour le Développement
CNLG	: Commission Nationale de Lutte contre le Génocide
COK	: Collège Officiel de Kigali
COS	: Commandement des Opérations Spéciales
CUSP	: Centre Universitaire de Santé Publique
CZN	: Crête Zaire Nil
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
ECHR	: European Court of Human Rights
EER	: Eglise Episcopale au Rwanda
EPR	: Eglise Presbyterienne au Rwanda
ESAPAG	: Ecole Secondaire de l'Association des Parents Adventistes de Gitwe
ESI	: Ecole des Sciences Infirmières
ESM	: Ecole Supérieure Militaire
ESO	: Ecole des Sous-Officiers
ESTM	: Ecole Supérieure des techniques Médicales
ETO	: Ecole Technique Officielle
FAR	: Forces Armées Rwandaises
FCCI	: Front Commun Contre les Inkotanyi
FDN	: Fonds de Défense Nationale
FEDERMO	: Fédération des Organisations Rwandaises aux Pays Bas,
FFDR	: Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Rwanda.
FPR	: Front Patriotique Rwandais
IRST	: Institute for Research and Technological Sciences

LABOPHAR	: Laboratoire National Pharmaceutique
MDR	: Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
MINEDUC	: Ministry of Education
MINIFINECO	: Ministère des Finances et de l'Economie
MINUAR	: Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda
MRNDD	: Mouvement Républicain National pour le Développement et la Démocratie
ONU	: Organisation des Nations Unies
ORINFOR	: Office Rwandais d'Information
OUA	: Organisation de l'Unité Africaine
PARMEHUTU	: Parti du Mouvement pour l'émancipation Hutu
PDAG	: Projet de Développement Agricole de Gikongoro
PDC	: Parti Démocratique Centriste
PECO	: Parti Ecologique
PL	: Parti Libéral
PNUD	: Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement
PRB	: Projet Rizicole de Butare
PSD	: Parti Social-Démocrate
RFI	: Radio France Internationale
RIFDP-NL	: Réseau International des Femmes pour la Démocratie et la Paix
RTL	: Radiotélévision Libre des Mille Collines
SONARWA	: Société Nationale d'Assurances du Rwanda
TPIR	: Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda
UBC	: Union bancaire privée
UNAMIR	: United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda

CHAPTER I:

PLANNING OF THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI BEFORE 1994

1.1. KEY HIGHLIGHTS OF PLANNING OF THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN 1991

Rwandan Army Massacred Tutsi in the vicinity of Bigogwe Military Camp

On the night of February 4, 1991, the para-commandos of the Bigogwe military camp fired into the air overnight to make it seem like it was an assault by RPF troops. This masquerade was prepared to provide a credible pretext for the massacres that were to follow.

The next day, these soldiers invaded Tutsi residences, massacred many after torturing them in the Kanzenze Sector, and claimed to have killed RPF combatants while they were innocent Tutsi civilians. The International Commission revealed in its 1993 report that the people who were then murdered had smashed skulls and faces, were disfigured and bloodied, and bore traces of the blunt objects with which they had been struck, various wounds on their bodies including those inflicted by the firearms that killed them. More than 300 were killed.

Assassination of 277 Tutsi in the Prefectures of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri

In January 1991, an international commission of enquiry under the Federation of Human Rights Leagues was conducted in the Gisenyi and Ruhengeri. In all, there were ten experts on the committee: Jean Carbonare (France), chairman of the group; Philippe Dahinden (Switzerland); René Dégni-Ségui (Côte d'Ivoire); Alison Des Forges (United States of America); Eric Gillet (Belgium); William Schabas (Canada); Halidou Ouedraogo (Burkina Faso); André Paradis (Canada); Rein Odink (Netherlands) and Paul Dodinval (Belgian).

The investigation of the commission found that in March 1991 only, 277 Tutsi Bagogwe were killed in Gisenyi and Ruhengeri. The committee found several unmarked graves in these prefectures. Examination of the bodies found that they were mostly young men, and most of them had multiple fractures to the face and skulls, caused by blunt instruments. These massacres had taken place in different communes of Ruhengeri, and Gisenyi, including, Nkuli, Kinigi, and Mukingo in Ruhengeri, Gaseke, Giciye, Karago, Mutura, Kanama, Rwerere in Gisenyi.

The Commission established that the local civil and military authorities, including the prefect of Ruhengeri, Charles Nzabagerageza and that of Gisenyi, Come Bizimungu, as well as the bourgmestres of the municipalities concerned, were involved in these killings. Prefect Nzabagerageza was President Habyarimana's cousin and had married his wife Agathe Kanziga's cousin. The Commission also noted the direct involvement of other dignitaries of the regime including the Minister of Public Works Joseph Nzirorera, Colonel Elie Sagatwa advisor to President Habyarimana and Protais Zigiranyirazo, the president's brother-in-law.

Let us recall that the massacres in this region had started in October 1990 following the liberation war started by the RPF and that they had made more than 362 victims in one week in the only Ngororero sub-prefecture, according to a secret report from the Rwandan intelligence services at the time.

The lies of Habyarimana Government on the massacres of Tutsi from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri

Since 1990, when Habyarimana government massacred Tutsi in the prefectures of Ruhengeri and Gisenyi, no one was allowed to access places of these massacres, except the officials of the prefectures, the soldiers and the agents of the security services who were responsible. Journalists also could not access it, except those from Radio Rwanda and Kangura. This explains why the massacres perpetrated by the Habyarimana government have long remained hidden.

On Radio Rwanda on March 12, 1991, the authorities of the Ruhengeri prefecture, the same who carried out the massacres, stated that there was no ethnic unrest in this prefecture. The head of the primary schools in this prefecture said that all the teachers were at their posts, that none of them was missing. Yet, all the Tutsi teachers had been put in prison supposedly for complicity with the Inkotanyi, only to be killed afterwards. Because their lie had just been exposed, those who led the massacres declared that there had indeed been Tutsi who had been killed, but that they had been killed because some of them were fighting alongside the Inkotanyi, while others had joined them.

This lie was used by Habyarimana to the international community, as he did in his letter to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. There was never an investigation because the prefect of the Ruhengeri prefecture, Nzabagerageza Charles, said, during a so called-security meeting, that no investigation should be carried out because there was no reason to “*unearth events that were no longer current and that could cause unrest among the population.*”

The Rwandan intelligence services have ordered to train Hutu youth militarily

On March 18, 1991, the head of the intelligence service in Ruhengeri Prefecture, Munyangoga Eugène, sent his director general in Kigali a report in which he suggested distributing weapons to the people of Ruhengeri.

In this report, Munyangoga affirmed that the young people between 18 and 25 years old are robust and that they should receive military training, an operation which had to be coordinated by the local authorities: mayors, advisers and cell heads. According to the report, after their training, young people should return to their areas of origin, receive weapons but continue to put on civilian clothes. Munyangoga also planned this operation in the communes close to the border between Rwanda and Uganda, that are Kinigi, Nkumba, Kidaho and Butaro, by specifying the sectors mainly concerned in the following way:

- Kinigi Commune: Nyarugina, Bisate, Kanyamiheto, Nyabisinde, Kabwende, Kagano and Gasiza;
- Nkumba Commune: Gatete, Musanzu, Rutambo;
- Kidaho Commune: Gitaraga, Burambi, Cyanika, Butenga and Kagogo;
- Commune Butaro: Rugendabase, Rutovu, Kandoyi, Butandi and Buhita.

For the first time, Munyangoga used the term “*militia*” to designate this youth, saying that it will be useful for the government and the army, which will not cost the state much at the moment. that these young people will not receive wages. He asked that this youth be entrusted to the command of the Rwandan army which will use it in due course. He added that “the operation would fight against the Inkotanyi who used to infiltrate at night to rob and kill.

This report also affirms that this operation was to begin in Ruhengeri, and, after evaluation, continue in all the other prefectures of Rwanda, starting from those which are close to the borders of North and the East, i.e. Gisenyi, Byumba and Kibungo. The document ends by suggesting that the bourgmestres should be mobilized for this operation, and collaborate with army commanders to quickly implement it.

This operation was indeed carried out because the Interahamweand Impuzamugambi militias, full of hatred for the Tutsi , were created across the country, and were trained militarily to assist the soldiers and the gendarmes in the extermination of Tutsi everywhere country.

1.2. KEY HIGHLIGHTS OF PLANNING OF THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN 1992

Distribution of weapons to fight those opposing Habyarimana's regime

On 8th January 1992, political parties that were not in the same streak with the MRND (Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement) carried out strong demonstrations in Kigali, Butare and Gitarama towns. These political parties were denouncing the way president Habyarimana and his party were impeding the peace-talks and sharing of power which had taken place in Arusha Tanzania, yet President Habyarimana had agreed to reshuffle the government and include some members from opposition Parties. Habyarimana definitely changed the Government on December 30, 1991 and appointed Sylvestre Nsanzimana the Prime Minister, but almost all the ministers came from the MRND, apart from one, Gaspard Ruhumuriza who came from the PDC.

To control the demonstrations, president Habyarimana ordered that strong youth from MRND should be selected and equipped with guns and training to counter those from the opposition and those he called Inkotanyi accomplices. Over 300 guns were distributed and used in acts of massacre and riot.

Foundation of the INTERAHAMWE Newspaper

In January 1992, a newspaper called *INTERAHAMWE* was created which was affiliated to the MRND political party headed by Robert KAJUGA a leader of Interahamwemilitia at national level. This newspaper together with others such as Kangura, Kamarampaka, *La Médaille Nyiramacibiri*, *Echos des Mille Collines*, *Umurwanashyaka*, *RTL*, etc. is among the media that fanned hate propaganda and the incitement of Hutu population to commit genocide.

Distribution of weapons to the population of Byumba

A secret document written on February 7, 1992 by the head of Byumba Intelligence services, Rwirahira Vincent, describes a meeting held on the same date in the offices of Muvumba Commune. The participants in this meeting were informed of the status of progress of the organization of civil self-defense in the Mutara region after the distribution of 300 guns made available by the Ministry of Defense.

These guns were distributed as follows: 76 to Muvumba Commune, 40 to Kivuye Commune, 40 others to Kiyombe Commune and finally 24 to Cyumba Commune.

Regarding the Muvumba Commune, a group of 250 people were selected by the Bourgmestre Onesphore Rwabukombe and sent for training to Gabiro from January 29 to February 5, 1992, to be trained in the use of guns. These weapons were used to kill the Tutsi in Byumba.

The launch of the extremist CDR Party

The extremist party which has proclaimed itself *Coalition for the Defense of the Republic* (CDR) has played a big role in genocidal propaganda, whether in its preparation, whether by calling on the Hutu to join forces in order to exterminate the Tutsi. The idea to create the CDR was born from different meetings which were held at the National University of Rwanda, Nyakinama campus, between 22/10/1991 and 17/1/1992.

These meetings brought together Hutu extremists from Ruhengeri and Gisenyi who were in the public administration, united by hatred of Tutsi. This small group has given itself the name of Circle of Progressive Republicans, directed by Charles Ndereyehe Ntahontuye from the former commune of Cyabingo, Ruhengeri. He was in charge of the Gikongoro agricultural project (PDAG: Gikongoro agricultural development project).

On 22nd February, 1992, the validation meeting of the structure of the CDR Party took place at Urugwiro Hotel in Kigali, gathering 10 most extremist members who proclaimed that they created the *Coalition for the Defense of the Republic* (CDR) in French, in Kinyarwanda they adopted the name *Impuzamugambi Ziharanira Repubulika*. These people who created the CDR are: Bucyana Martin, Nahimana Théoneste, Misago Rutegisha Antoine, Mugimba Jean Baptiste, Uwamariya Béatrice, Higiro Céléstin, Nzaramba Céléstin, Akimanizanye Emmanuel, Hitimama Athanase and Simbizi Stanislas. We will always remember those people who stood out in the most abject wickedness, creating the extremist party which organized the genocide which killed more than a million victims between April and July 1994

Putting in place the Steering Committee in charge of ‘Auto-defense civile’

On 20th January 1992, the Minister of local government, Faustin Munyazesa wrote a letter that was designated to the prefects of RUHENGERI and GISENYI prefectures informing them that they had to work closely with army commanders in these prefectures so they could receive regulations to continue the distribution of arms to civilians and how military training would proceed. He was requesting them to follow up on this activity themselves and inform him via fax without loitering, the strategies taken to choose the youths who would be taken to trainings as well as the proceedings of those trainings. In conclusion, minister Munyazesa requested

the Prefects that stringent measures be taken so that the weapons be neither stolen nor go missing.

In order to improve the flow of this activity, there was established in the Ministry of Defense, a commission that was dubbed “*AUTO-DEFENSE CIVILE*”, which was tasked to follow up its course across the country. This commission was made by Lt Col Ephrem Rwabalinda, Major Paul Rwarakabije, Major Alphonse Nteziryayo and Major Ruth Kankwanzi who was head of accountancy services within Rwanda armed forces.

On 22nd January 1992, Col Bernard CUSSAC, who was in charge of military cooperation between France and Rwanda, operating from France’s embassy to Rwanda in Kigali, wrote an official letter designated to the Ministry of Defense in France, in which he said that the guns were distributed to Interahamwe militia, by Rwandan armed forces and local leaders who were members of the MRND.

The Rwandan Government planned the Genocide while the Arusha peace negotiations were in progress

Even though the Arusha negotiations seemed to be going well, the Rwandan government was preparing for war. It was in this context that on February 19, 1992, President Habyarimana went to Egypt to request that Rwanda be able to buy weapons there and received a positive response to his request. Thus, in March 1992, the Ministry of Defense bought weapons in Egypt worth six million US dollars. Among these weapons were rifles, rockets and grenades which were distributed to the population.

This shows that Habyarimanaparticipated in the Arusha peace negotiations while unwilling to abide by its terms, and that he was preparing for war as well as genocide. This is what he confirmed during the meeting of November 17, 1992 in Ruhengeri, during which he declared to the partisans of the MRND that he did not accept the results of the peace negotiations, which he called "just papers", adding that peace could not depend on pieces of papers. He added that for him when the time comes he will gather his Interahamwe after dressing them in uniform, and they will go down to the village. He said nothing else but to give his Interahamwe the right to go all over the country to exterminate Tutsi and kill Hutu belonging in parties which did not want to commit Genocide.

Massacre of more than 500 Tutsi in Bugesera

The night of March 4 to 5, 1992 was marked by systematic massacres of Tutsi in Bugesera. The massacres were committed by the Interahamwe, the presidential

guard and soldiers from Gako military camp. They were preceded by the reading of a press release inciting the killings broadcasted on 3 March 1992 on Radio Rwanda by a journalist Jean Baptiste Bamwanga under the orders of Ferdinand Nahimana, then director of the Rwandan Information Office.

Bamwanga commented on the false document, explaining that it had been published by the RPF leadership and that it mentioned the names of the high authorities of the Habyarimanaregime that the RPF planned to eliminate, in collaboration with its accomplices inside the country. Bamwanga said that the document was found in Nyamata at the home of a Tutsi businessman François Gahima who was the local president of the Liberal Party (PL). This false information was actually a direct incitement to killings.

The figures published by a governmental commission initiated by Kigali Prefecture on May 5, 1992, indicated that these killings had caused the following victims and damage:

In Kanzenze commune:

- People massacred: 62
- Residential houses burnt: 309
- Kitchens burnt: 573
- Disappeared Livestock: 165 cows, 268 goats and 2 pigs.

In Ngenda commune:

- People massacred: 36
- Residential houses burnt: 74
- Kitchens burnt: 119
- Disappeared Livestock: 112 cows, 111 goats and 16 pigs.

In Gashora Commune:

- People massacred: 84
- Residential houses burnt: 216
- Kitchens burnt: 288
- Disappeared Livestock: 188 cows, 325 goats and 28 pigs.

The report found that 16, 239 Tutsi had fled their homes to seek refuge in different administrative and church buildings in Nyamata, Maranyundo, Ruhuha, Musenyi, Karama, Gitagata, Mayange, Rango, Ntarama, Murago, Kigusa and Kayenzi.

The commission was composed of:

- François Karera, Sub-prefect, president ;

- Dancille Mukarushema, Sub-prefect of Kigali Prefecture;
- Djuma Gasana, sub-prefect of Kanazi Sub-prefecture (Nyamata);
- Gratien Mwongereza, vice-president of the Nyamata Court of First Instance;
- Daniel Shumbusho, deputy public prosecutor at the Nyamata prosecution;
- Dominique Muhawenimana, head of the intelligence service in the Kanazi sub-prefecture;
- Bernard Gatanazi, interim mayor of Kanzenze.

From its composition by the only members of the agents of the State, some of whom had been clearly implicated in the massacres, it is clear that it could not be neither neutral nor objective.

Among the senior officials responsible for the assassinations of Tutsi at Bugesera, we can cite:

- Minister of the Interior and Communal Development Faustin Munyazesa who supported the plan of the massacres because he did not punish the criminal authorities who were under his responsibility;
- The Minister of Justice, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, who did not take the necessary measures to prosecute the perpetrators of the massacres;
- Prefect Emmanuel Bagambiki who led meetings which prepared the massacres;
- The sub-prefect Faustin Sekagina of Kanazi who seconded the prefect Bagambiki;
- The mayor of Kanzenze Fidèle Rwambuka, direct supervisor of the massacres;
- Colonel Pierre-Célestin Rwagafirita, chief of staff of the gendarmerie, for failing to deploy gendarmes to put an end to the abuses and safeguard the security of property and people;
- Colonel Venant Musonera, commander-in-chief of the Gako military camp, whose soldiers were heavily involved in the massacres;
- Ferdinand Nahimana, director of ORINFOR;
- Jean-Baptiste Bamwanga and Jean-Baptiste Nubahumpatse, journalists of Radio Rwanda who respectively read on Radio Rwanda the press release as direct and public incitement to the massacres;
- Dominique Muhawenimana, head of the intelligence service in Kanazi sub-prefecture, who spread lies that the Tutsi - especially the Liberal Party (PL) leaders in Nyamata, including Gahima - intended to exterminate the Hutu;
- The first deputy of the Nyamata Prosecutor, Déogratias Ndimubanzi, was also denounced by human rights associations and by the private press for having participated in the Bugesera massacres.

The MRND has created a genocidal group in Butare City

The MDR and PL parties published a so-called special press release on March 14, 1992, denouncing the creation by the MRND, in the town of Butare, of a group of criminals called "*Common Front against the Inkotanyi (FCCI)*", made up mainly of students from the National University of Rwanda. This group's mission was to harass students who were not members of the MRND, and in particular the Tutsi . This group was created by Dr. Jean-Berchmans Nshimyumuremyi who was vice-rector of the University.

These Interahamwehad the support of their leaders at the national level, and some of these, such as Kajuga Robert, Mbonabaryi Léon, Mudahinyuka Jean-Marie-Vianney, Akingeneye Eugène and Rutaganda Georges, frequently held meetings in Butare with members of this group. One such meeting was held on March 12, 1992, after which Tutsi students and others who were members of opposition parties were attacked and beaten.

These events were preceded by a meeting held on March 8, 1992, organized by two MRND deputies from Butare, Laurent Baravuga from Kigembe, and Bernadette Mukarurangwa from Ndora. On February 8, 1992, Baravuga organized a meeting in Kigembe Commune, Kigali sector, and urged all participants in this meeting to "take their machetes, their bows and spears, and hunt down people who were not members of the MRND , and not to be impressed by shops and vehicles. " During the genocide, these two deputies played a major role in inciting the population to kill the Tutsi .

Another MDR press release of March 10, 1992 denounces the leaders of the MRND who in Butare caused disturbances in the localities where they were influential, even though the MRND held meetings in numerous communes causing unrest among the population. This press release states that these actions began in the Muganza Commune (Butare) under the leadership of the president of this party in Butare, Amandin Rugira, who said that "the MDR has allied with the PL. They will give birth to stillborn babies "or that" Whoever is going to burn the husbands, begins by piling them together ". This is to sow discord between the Tutsi and the Hutu.

This statement explained that "*It is truly deplorable to see certain prefecture and commune authorities, including the prefect Temahagali, continue to lean on the same side, and terrorize the members of the other parties.*" The press release ends by warning Temahagari "*that he must learn that Butare of 1992 has nothing in common with Gikongoro of 1963.*" This to allude to the fact that in 1963, it was Justin Temahagari who replaced André Nkeramugaba at post of prefect of Gikongoro Prefecture in which a genocide was committed during the month of December 1963.

Investigation of Independent Human Rights Associations reports the death of more than 300 Tutsi in Bugesera by the Government

After the systematic massacres of Tutsi in Bugesera on the night of March 4 to 5, 1992 five independent human rights organizations, ADL LICHREDOR, ARDHO, Kanyarwanda and AVP investigated the massacres, and published two reports, one on 10th March 1992, and a further report on the 30th March 1993.

The 10th March report confirmed that 300 Tutsi had been murdered. Some had been thrown in local rivers to drown, some burned alive in their homes. The report put the number of displaced at 15,000 souls. It notes that the displaced, especially those who had sought refuge in schools in Nyamata, Maranyundo, Ruhuha, and Rilima, were in desperate condition.

The report heavily criticizes the authorities responsible for the massacres, including Fidèle Rwambuka, the mayor of Kanzenze Commune of, Faustin Sekagina, the sub-prefect of Kanazi, Déogratias Ndimubanzi, the first deputy prosecutor in Kanazi, and Dominique Muhawenimana the head of the intelligence service in Kanazi sub-prefecture.

Following the 30th March 1993 investigations, the Human Rights organizations found that the Tutsi were still kept out of their properties, and remained in extreme danger from the CDR, which continued to use the pretext that the Tutsi were RPF collaborators. Attacks included rapes, some of them by soldiers from Gako military camp against underage girls.

The Habyarimana Government eliminated those who were opposed to his Tutsi extermination plan

Planning the genocide went hand in hand with silencing anyone who might stand in the way. Many of them were murdered, others were thrown in jail, especially journalists who revealed the truth, for example Kameya André, the editor of the newspaper *Rwanda Rushya*. It was in this context that Antonia Locatelli was murdered. Antonia Locatelli, of Italian nationality, was the director of the Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré (CERAI) in Nyamata. Her assassination occurred on the night of March 9-10, 1992, shot dead by a gendarme Épimaque Ulimubenshi.

This Italian educator in Nyamata had welcomed Tutsi refugees fleeing the killers and had alerted several public and private institutions, including the Archdiocese of Kigali on which CERAI Nyamata depended. Antonia Locatelli had also provided information on the massacres against the Tutsi to Radio France Internationale

(RFI). She was killed immediately after the broadcast of her interview in the evening newspaper of RFI. Herkiller was never worried, a sign that it was a remote-controlled act and supported act by the Rwandan regime.

Besides Antonia Locatelli, another foreigner, Brother François Cardinal, a Canadian, who ran the Butamwa Rural Youth Training Center in which young people were learning various trades, was also murdered. He lived in this center with three other brothers including the Canadian Paul Latraverse and the Rwandan Karake Evariste and Rwibandira Pierre Servillien.

As stated in the letter of 2 December 1992 from Dr Iyamuremye Augustin, director general of the intelligence service, on the night of 29 to 30 November 1992, Brother Cardinal, aged 50, had been murdered by a group of nearly 6 people wearing military uniforms. He was shot in front of the room he lived in. His assassins then entered his room and stole between 200 and 400 thousand Rwandan francs. In this letter the director general of the intelligence service ends by affirming that the population of the region complained of the poor functioning of the security services and the criminal investigation police and suspected that these services were accomplices of the criminals and other offenders.

The assassination of Brother Cardinal does not seem to have surprised those who knew him, in particular diplomats accredited to Rwanda. On November 30, 1992, the day after his assassination, the newspaper Kinyamateka met with diplomats who had gone to Butamwa to the place where he had died the day before. Kinyamateka reveals that one of these diplomats affirmed that this assassination was foreseeable as long as the brother was repeatedly warned on the phone that he will be killed, and that his death had been guided by Colonel Elie Sagatwa, the brother in law and personal advisor to President Habyarimana.

The genocide took place in 1994 before the assassins of Brother Cardinal were prosecuted, which proves that in its article, Kinyamateka was correct in claiming that high authorities were behind his assassination.

1.3. KEY HIGHLIGHTS OF PLANNING OF THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN 1993

Bagosora back from Arusha, declared that he will prepare an apocalypse for Tutsi

On 9th January 1993 is a date that should never be forgotten in the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi. On this date, in Arusha Tanzania, a part of the Arusha peace agreement regarding power-sharing had been signed. Col Théoneste Bagosora who was part of the talks but not convinced with the resolutions,

infuriated, got out of the room saying: “*I am returning home to prepare for an apocalypse*”.

One of the resolutions that furious Bagosora was that MRND had been given only five seats of ministers out of 21 ministries that would make up the transitional government and only 11 seats out of 70 deputies for the transitional parliament. Bagosora did not agree with this power-sharing. He instead accused Boniface Ngulinzira, the then Minister of foreign affairs of having sold the country.

As soon as he returned to Kigali from Arusha on 9th January 1993, Col Bagosora held several meetings with his faction of extremists including senior military officers like Col Dr Laurent Baransaritse who was the Director of Kanombe Military Hospital, Lt Col Anatole Nsengiyumva who was at the time the Commandant of the army in Gisenyi military region, Major Protais Mpiranya who was the commandant of the presidential guard, Major Aloys Ntabakuze who was the commandant of Paracomandos battalion, Major Augustin Ntibihora who was the commandant of the military engineering regiment; they jointly founded an association of killings within the Rwanda armed forces and named it AMASASU (Association of soldiers annoyed by the secular acts of the Unarists).

The group was led by Bagosora, nicknamed Commandant MIKE TANGO, who was at the forefront of spreading the genocidal ideology in the Rwandan army and urging the military not to accept living with the Inkotanyi, but to prepare for the extermination of Tutsi because they were accomplices of Inkotanyi.

13 January 1993: Documents targeting Butare Prefect Dr Habyarimana Jean Baptiste were circulated

Dr Habyarimana Jean Baptiste was appointed *Prefet* on 3 July 1993. He was the sole Tutsi Prefet among the 11 who headed the prefectures. He belonged to *Parti liberal* (PL) political party. Since he took the responsibilities, he was heavily targeted for being a Tutsi and for his being against the MRND and CDR extremists that propagated hostile genocide ideology in Butare town. Notable of these extremists include Capt. Nizeyimana Ildephonse, Alphonse Higaniro the General Manager of SORWAL matchbox factory, Ndereyehe Charles Ntahontuye former Director of ISAR, Dr Jean Berchmas Nshimyumuremyi Vice Rector of the National University of Rwanda, Dr Eugène Rwamucyo, and others. This clique together with others worked hard to sabotage Dr Habyarimana Jean Baptiste by employing multiple methods including frequently sending him malicious letters meant to castigate him. One of those letters was written on 13 January 1993 by 10 senior employees of Butare and Nyanza towns including three *Sous-Prefets* that were under *Prefet* Habyarimana.

The letter was titled: **Scathing letter directed to Mr Habyarimana Jean Baptist, Prefet of Butare Prefecture.**

Among the accusations against *Prefet* Habyarimana included urging citizens to collaborate with Inkotanyi. “*You yourself Hon Prefect, in a meeting you held with citizens of Nyaruhengeri Commune when you went to introduce yourself, in response to a question you were asked concerning young people joining Inkotanyi, you said that those people have no problem and nobody should prevent them because if it was a problem the government would not have gone into peace talks with the Inkotanyi.*” The letter said in part.

The fact that Habyarimana urged citizens not to treat Inkotanyi as aliens and anti-Rwanda but welcome them as fellow Rwandans and accord them all the rights a human being deserves wasn't a crime. All sane leaders ought to have done the same. His being targeted for seeking to treat all humans equal was part of the plan of genocide.

The second accusation was tribalism where they alleged him of dismissing Hutu employees. This is how it read: “after being apportioned Butare Prefecture, every Hutu had his/her position changed and these were replaced by unexperienced Tutsi from different areas, even with less qualifications than those they replaced.” They ended their letter with the following words: “***It's our hope Mr Prefect, that going forward, given the proficiency and acumen citizens expected from you, either you change the discourse or declare publically that you have failed.***”

Such threats were issued by senior staff of the Prefecture close to *Prefet* Habyarimana, instead of jointly working together to fulfil their duties, they preferred to fight him in order to give strength to their extremist ideas. Authors of the letter are the following:

- 1) Nyilinkwaya Zéphanie, sous-prefet
- 2) Halindintwali Céléstin, inspector of bridges and causeway
- 3) Mutabaruka Bernard, inspector of bridges and roads
- 4) Ndahayo Naphtal, Head of communication services in Butare;
- 5) Muyamagana Wilson, Director of CPDFP in Butare;
- 6) Uwimana Aloys, Head of youth and cooperatives in Butare;
- 7) Habumugisha Michel, *sous-prefet* of Nyabisindu Sous-Prefecture;
- 8) Ngiruwonsanga Vincent, *bourgmestre* of Nyabisindu Commune;
- 9) Simbalikure Assiel, *sous-prefet* of Busoro Prefecture;
- 10) Harelimana Rostal, whose position was not mentioned.

Almost all these people have participated in the genocide against the Tutsi. ISIBO newspaper No 83 of 9-16 January 1993 by Sixbert Musangamfura which is known to have been hostile to Tutsi people, wrote that the authors of this letter wanted to

have as many signatories but those they approached objected. ISIBO also reiterates that those who signed the letter were members of MRND/CDR political party apart from Nyilinkwaya Zéphanie who was member of PSD which later declared to have dissociated from the content of the letter.

ISIBO continue to explain that the reason behind the animosity against *Prefet* Habyarimanawas his stance against corruption, divisionism and other forms of injustice that were being committed by those employees. Instead of changing their attitude, they decided to throw him into the mud, alleging him of the crimes they were committing instead. Briefly, the ISIBO newspaper showed faults of each among those who signed the letter, indicating that the intention of the letter was to sow confusion and conflict in a commune that was generally peaceful. It called for these people to be closely monitored so that they don't spread their harmful propaganda to other employees. It applauded the PSD party for distancing themselves from Nyilinkwaya saying that his political views are not aligned with those of the Party.

January 14, 1993: MRND calls for apportioning a position in the Government to extremist political parties

In the communiqué issued by MRND general secretariat with a title: “*MRND Bemusement about Arusha Peace Talks*”, it said that MRND will fight the peace agreement so long as the Hutu extremists have not been given a position in the government. “*If these peace talks are meant to unite Rwandans, Inkotanyi should accept CDR. That they call CDR an enemy, they should accept PECO, PADER and PARERWA since they consider these to be allies of the enemy MRND. (...) those who were displaced have been forgotten by Ngulinzira. What's the essence of such accord that does not take into account the vulnerable at his hometown of Butaro?*”

This strategy of wanting to integrate the CDR into the transitional government aimed at creating a boycott for the failure of the establishment of transitional institutions, and ultimately to promote the conditions for the perpetration of the genocide.

January 15, 1993: MRND General Secretariat issued another communiqué titled: “*The Betrayal in Arusha Peace Accord.*”

In that communiqué, MRND voiced their displeasure toward Minister Ngulinzira saying that his only motive is to hand over Rwanda into the hands of Inkotanyi. That he will not relent until the entire nation falls into the hands of Inkotanyi. According to them, he will not rest until he has delivered the whole country to

them:"When he realized that political parties have started to oppose the agreements, he said to himself: that's it, I'm going to have problems because I'm not going to be able to fulfill the promises I made for Inkotanyi. He and Nsengiyaremye then began to distribute the ministries. And the Interior Ministry was assigned to the Inkotanyi! After assigning it, he thought to himself: I have finished the job since I have delivered the country. This is not what he had to do: it is a betrayal (...) Patriots, we must fight this betrayal. Minister Ngulinzira and the Inkotanyi must not unite with impunity against us. Ngulinzira sold the country. Ngulinzira did not go to negotiate peace, he went to make agreements which should lead to a new war. Why does he want the Rwandans killed? "

Ngulinzira had become victim for his refusal to segregate Rwandans along ethnic or regional lines as it was the political ideology of MRND. Reason why they always said he doesn't consider his people from Butaro where he hailed because he pursued the path of peace for all Rwandans. His recognition of Inkotanyi as fellow Rwandans who deserve their rights as any other Rwandan attracted anger from those who were opposed to the idea. This hatred toward him by MRND members increased over time and even reached the President of the Republic Habyarimana Juvenal. He was killed during the Genocide as well as other Hutu politicians who rejected the genocidal ideology.

January 15, 1993: MRND also attacked Prefect Dr. Habyarimana Jean Baptiste

MRND leadership in Butare Prefecture wrote to *Prefect Habyarimana* a letter discrediting him with false accusations. The letter was widely circulated in newspapers as well. The title of the letter was: "*Our Concern for your Actions.*" It was signed by Dr Butare Innocent claiming to have written it on behalf of the President of MRND party in the Prefecture, Mr. Rugira Amandin.

In the letter, Butare Innocent Cautioned *Prefect Habyarimana* alleging that in his decisions, he is influenced by PL party members in Butare Prefecture including Dr Munyeshuli Vincent, Niyonizeye Gaetan, Kurawige Jean Baptiste and Nkulikiyimana Deo. The letter did not divulge the reason that could prohibit *prefect Habyarimana* from talking to the mentioned individuals which shows that its real intent was to prevent Habyarimana from talking to his fellow party members yet the law regulating political parties wasn't against it.

Another unfounded allegation BUTARE Innocent raised against *Prefect Habyarimana* was regarding transfer of Criminal Investigation Inspectors (IPJ) in Communes such as Shyanda, Mbazi, Huye, Ngoma, Ndora, and

Gashamvu. He claimed that all were from PL Party yet that was impossible. Appointing these Inspectors and transferring them was not in his mandate as Prefect. They were affiliated to the Ministry of Justice which was the appointing authority with the mandate of transferring them.

BUTARE's letter concludes saying that those allegations against the *Prefect* indicate that his objective was to destroy MRND and its members, adding that he won't achieve his goal. In fact, the purpose of the letter clearly indicated that he wanted to portray the *Prefect* as someone who was against people who don't come from Butare and he was against MRND. This served to rally all people working in Butare but not born from Butare to stand up and fight the *Prefect* and his PL Party.

He called for unity among *Hutu Power* members, a tactic used to support the divisive politics by MRND/CDR by installing in top positions members from these political parties who come from Ruhengeri and Gisenyi. This confirmed what was written by ISIBO newspaper as it was earlier explained.

January 19, 1993: Killings of Tutsi in various parts of the country

On 10 January 1993, in Arusha Tanzania, where peace talks between RPF-Inkotanyi and the Government of Rwanda were taking place, where they signed a power sharing agreement. MRND Party mobilized its members countrywide to carry out demonstrations denouncing the provisions of the agreement, which was an indication that MRND was against the peace accord, instead it pursued killings as a solution to the political problem.

Demonstrations spread across all major towns with many criminal acts targeting Tutsi and Hutu who were opposed to MRND. The demonstrations were followed by killings of Tutsi in various parts of the country especially in Ruhengeri, Gisenyi, Byumba in Tumba Commune, Kibuye in Rutsiro Commune, and Kigali Ngali in Bumbogo and Buliza. This killing of Tutsi in various places was used by the Habyarimanaregime as a sign of how the Genocide was prepared and implemented.

These acts of violence and genocide planning were denounced by the local Human Rights Organizations including PRO-FEMMES Twese Hamwe, CLADHO and CCOAIB

The Rwandan army draws up lists of Tutsi and Hutu opponents throughout the country

On February 2, 1993, Prime Minister Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye addressed a letter to the Minister of Defense, James Gasana from the MRND presidential party, a letter of protest against a measure taken by the chief of staff of the Rwandan army addressed to all the units consisting in providing the list of all the alleged "accomplices" of the RPF. When the Rwandan regime spoke of accomplices of the RPF, it meant first all the Tutsi, then secondly the Hutu who were opposed to the ideology of genocide. Thus, this measure was aimed at inciting the army to draw up lists of all Tutsi and Hutu opponents with a view to exterminating them when the time came.

In his letter, the Prime Minister requested the Minister of Defense to stop what he called "witch hunting" and demanded that all the lists already made be withdrawn and transmitted to the Minister of Justice so that the appropriate measures be taken. The army didn't respond to this request, rather they continued to identify Tutsi and opponents to the genocidal project with an extermination aim.

International experts alarmed the International Community on the genocidal plan

On the dates of 7th to 21st January 1993, a delegation of international experts composed of Jean CARBONARE (France), Dr Philippe DAHINDEN (Sweden), Prof. René DEGNI-SEGUI (Ivory coast), Me Eric GILLET (Belgium), Dr Alison DES FORGES (USA), Dr Pol DODINVAL (Belgium), Rein ODINK (Netherlands), Halidou OUEDRAOGO (Burkina Faso), André PARADIS (Canada), and Prof. William SCHABAS (Canada) conducted an investigation on killings in Rwanda at the time

The head of this delegation, Jean CARBONARE, on his return to France on 24th January 1993, was invited to the State owned TV (France2) and declared that in Rwanda, for a period of three weeks that they had spent there conducting investigations into the massacres that were carried out, found some of the mass graves into which the killed Tutsi were dumped, and confirmed that there were facts proving that there was a plan of genocide to exterminate the Tutsi, and that those involved in that plan were top leaders spearheaded by president Juvénal Habyarimana himself and his wife Agathe Kanziga.

He was the first person to state that the Genocide was being perpetrated in Rwanda; he said it in these words:

“What struck us very much in Rwanda was the scale, the systematization, the organization, of these massacres! [...] There is a mechanism which is set in motion [...] We have talked about ethnic cleansing, genocide, crimes against humanity [...] we insist very much on these words”. “Our country, which militarily and financially supports this system, has a responsibility. [...] Our country can, if it wants, influence this situation “. “I insist a lot: we are responsible! You too, Mr. Masure, you can do something, you must do something ..., for this situation to change, because we can change it if we want! [...] We can do something; we have to do something ... ”.

Jean CARBONARE died on 18th January 2009 at 82 years old. We will always remember him.

CDR spread false news, which invent imaginary crimes attributed to the RPF, as part of their mobilization to commit the Genocide

On February 19, 1993, the CDR published a false statement which gave the alleged number of Hutu massacred, 800 in the town of Ruhengeri, 200 in the Commune Kidaho, 600 in the Commune Nkumba, 500 in the Commune Kinigi and 800 in the Commune Nyarutovu. The CDR added another lie that in Kinyami Commune, Byumba Prefecture, there were 800 others who had been massacred. After having listed these completely false figures, the CDR concluded by urging all Hutus to defend themselves, which meant killing the Tutsi. This shows that the CDR, with these figures fabricated from scratch, had the objective of inciting the population hatred of the RPF and the Tutsi, as well as inciting the Hutu to commit genocide.

On February 20, 1993, the CDR continued its mobilization to commit the genocide by publishing another press release warning the Hutu from Cyangugu and Kibuye that the RPF would also attack these regions, asking them to defend themselves, which meant killing the Tutsi. These CDR press releases were followed by massacres of Tutsi in these regions.

Distribution of arms to Interahamwe continued, UNAMIR knew it but did not confiscate them

On 24th January 1993, the envoy of the Secretary General of the United Nations, Jacques Roger Booh-Booh said that the stockpiles of arms in Kigali and its surroundings were many and worrisome.

On 25th January 1993, Belgian Ambassador to Rwanda, Johann Swinnen informed Belgian foreign affairs minister that Dallaire continuously requests the United Nations to entrust him with the power to seize weapons that were hidden in Kigali, or if not so, he and UNAMIR troops would return home. This envoy also said that he had talks with Donat Murego, the Secretary General of MRND who told him that Interahamwe were preparing to cause a war inside the country, and that this war would target also Belgian soldiers within UNAMIR.

Minister Ngurinzira dismissed from the headship of Rwandan delegation in Peace talks

From January 31, 1993 until February 13, 1993, by decision of President Habyarimana, and under pressure from Colonel Bagosora, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Boniface Ngurinzira was relieved of his duties as head of delegation of representatives of the Rwanda in the peace talks. He was replaced by the Minister of Defense James Gasana from MRND. This decision was decried by the Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye. At that time, the talks had to relate to the fusion of the armies, however, the extremists did not want Ngurinzira because it was an integrated person who wanted that the RPF Inkotanyi is integrated into the army, and that all the political problems are solved by negotiation. The extremist wing of Habyarimana and Bagosora were opposed to it even if Habyarimana lied saying that he wanted to negotiate and accused him of selling the country.

The decision to dismiss Ngurinzira and replace him with Gasana shows that Habyarimana and other extremists were unhappy with the way in which Ngurinzira conducted the talks, falsely accusing him of betraying the country, because he supported power sharing between the MRND and the opposition. The resistance of extremists of the MRND and other political parties of Hutu Power is one of the instruments which was widely used in the preparation of the genocide.

As we prepare to commemorate for the 26th time the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, it is necessary to fully understand the events as they happened so that we can contradict those who participated in them and who falsify the truth for their personal interests.

The actions against journalists who denounced the participation of French military personnel to the fighting on the side of the Rwandan Armed Forces

On February 9, 1993, in its number 4, the newspaper *Le Flambeau*, close to the opposition to the Rwandan government, explained, with supporting photos, that the French soldiers were fighting alongside the Rwandan army against the RPF-Inkotanyi. During the day, a French gendarme, Major CORRIERE, seconded to the

judicial police service of the Rwandan gendarmerie, went to the editorial office of this newspaper to harass journalists and order them to reveal him who had informed them and provided photos of French soldiers alongside the Rwandan army.

The editor of the aforementioned newspaper, Rangira Adrien, immediately called for help the Group of Neutral Military Observers (GOMN) of the Organization of the African Union (OAU) who intervened and asked Major CORRIERE to leave the journalists do their work independently and without any hindrance. But the French soldier did not stop there, he went to the PHOTOLAB photographic laboratory and accused two of his Tutsi employees, Rudasingwa Joseph and Byukusenge Anne Marie, of having provided the photos in question. These employees were taken to the office known as "Criminology" to be beaten and tortured, and were only released thanks to the International Red Cross (ICRC), which their families had alerted.

Let us precise that France had sent French gendarmes commanded by Colonel Michel Robardey to Rwanda, charged in particular with using technology to draw up a list of alleged accomplices of the Inkotanyi while mentioning their ethnicity. These lists were used during the Genocide in 1994.

A group of French citizens has unsuccessfully denounced the French commitment to support the Rwandan criminal regime

On 23rd February 1993, the "*Federation of French abroad*" Burundi section, sent a letter of protest to the Socialist Party of president Mitterrand, denouncing France's support for Rwandan criminal regime: "*Rwanda is more than ever on fire and drowning in blood. International organizations have rationalized away several mass graves. General Habyarimana's militias are massacring the Tutsi population with impunity. (...) the French military intervention in Rwanda has neither succeeded in avoiding massacres nor in restoring peace in the region. Worse, it now appears that the presence of French military in that country is using international protection as cover to allow General Habyarimana to order more atrocities*".

On 23rd February 1993, the right wing French Republican Party, also denounced France's role. "*The republican Party would like to express grave reservations about committing the French military to these missions which appear political, rather than humanitarian. The French Government seems locked into sending more and more troops, day by day. The Republican Party calls on the Government to realise that its support of a regime which has no interest in democracy, on the pretext of protecting French nationals, will prove detrimental to France's image in Africa*".

On 28th February 1993, the International Secretariat of the Socialist Party published a declaration with *Agence France Presse* (AFP), signed by Gérard Fuchs, head of French diaspora in Burundi. The declaration warned: *“I question the decision to send more French troops to Rwanda, given that human rights violations by general Habyarimana’s regime show no sign of stopping, and instead multiply. I hope our minister of cooperation will find more convincing reasons in Kigali for a military presence which at the moment appears designed to help a dictatorial regime, or have French forces pulled out”*.

All this shows that all French people, including those who were in France's governing bodies, did not agree with President Mitterrand on the military, political, financial and diplomatic aid that this country was giving to Rwanda. They should be thanked for this civic commitment.

The purchasing of 581 tons of machetes used during the genocide

In February 1994 a representative of CHILLINGTON, a manufacturing company which makes machetes among other things, reported that the company sold more machetes in one month than it had sold throughout the year 1993. Applications for import licenses examined by Human Rights Watch between January 1993 and March 1994 show that 581 tons of machetes were imported into Rwanda. These machetes were ordered for a total of 95 million Rwandan francs paid for by Félicien Kabuga, who was later found to be one of the chief funders of the genocide.

In a report on 24th November 1994, the *Sunday Times* newspaper in London reported that in 1993, CHILLINGTON sold 1600 machetes to two individuals, Eugène Mbarushimana and François Burasa. The two were employees of Rwanda export company, RWANDEX. One of the employees, Mbarushimana was also Kabuga’s son in law, and Secretary-general of the Interahamwe militias nationwide. The Interahamwe militias were main perpetrators of the genocide, the wielders of machetes and other implements of mass murder and torture.

François Burasa was also a dyed in the wool extremist. He was a member of the CDR, and brother to the party’s leader, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza. This was a party which took issue with other extremist organisations for their lack of sufficient vigour and enthusiasm for exterminating the Tutsi. The machetes were to be distributed to civilians who had been given military training, and formed into the so called civil self-defence, who in reality were murder squads. These were the same ‘civilian defense forces’ in Bagosora’s plan in which some of them would be equipped with fire arms while others would be supplied with cold weapons including machetes.

Tutsi massacres in the Mbogo Commune, Kigali Rural Prefecture

The Mbogo Commune, current District of Rulindo, experienced bloody massacres of Tutsi in 1992, but in February-March 1993 they became widespread in order to systematically kill well-targeted Tutsi families, especially in the Ruhanya sector, Bukoro cell. During the nights of February 25, 26 and 27, 1993, the family of old Gatanazi was attacked. Eight people were burned alive in their homes. Only two children survived, Antoine Kabanda and his sister Vénantie Gasengayire. The victims were: Michel Gatanazi, an 80-year-old man, Charlotte Kabanyana, wife of Antoine Kabanda, Agnès Gatanazi Kamurenzi, 74 years old, Tharcisse Nilingiyimana, Félix Niyibizi, 6 years old, Olive Nyirahene, grand daughter of Gatanazi (one of Kabanda's four children), Jacqueline Tuyizere and Béata Uwingabire.

Apart from Gatanazi's family from Mbogo commune, other Tutsi were killed during the night of March 1 to 2, 1993. The victims were Jean Habimana's wife, Catherine Mukamana; her child Muganajabo, 4 years old; her infant Ndayambaje, 9 months; Nyirabandi, 62; Uzayisenga, daughter of Habimana, born in 1958; Donata Musabyimana, sister of Habimana and Mushatsi, son of Habimana, born in 1986. The only survivor of this family was the son of Habimana, born 1990, but he was gravely burnt and injured.

After the Gatanazi family massacre, the mayor of Mbogo commune, Vincent Twizeyimana, was informed, but he never went to the massacre site to bury the victims. Even the neighbors let the bodies decompose in the open air. The sector councilor and the head of the cell were not affected at all by this barbarity. Alerted by human rights associations and journalists who had gone to investigate the massacre, the bodies were buried by other Tutsi who had come from Shyorongi where they had taken refuge.

Senior authorities from Mbogo Commune were at the head of the planners of these killings, including: Major and member of the national assembly Stanislas Kinyoni, member of the MRND, the bourgmestre of Mbogo Vincent Twizeyimana and the sub-prefect Alexis Kanyamibwa who headed the sub-Murambi Prefecture in which Mbogo Commune was located.

Intellectuals from Ruhengeri and Byumba invent a plan of genocide against the Hutu with a view to mobilizing for the extermination of the Tutsi

On March 4, 1993, intellectuals from Byumba and Ruhengeri signed a mobilization document for Hutu from the northern to participate in *Auto defence Civile* program, which they entitled: "*Distress call for nationals of the disaster areas of Ruhengeri*

and Byumba". Its authors were: Charles Ndereyehe Ntahontuye, Jean-Bosco Bicamumpaka, Faustin Musekura, Phocas Kayinamura, Christophe Ndagali and Stanislas Sinibagiwe. The document was also signed by the prefect of Ruhengeri, Baliyanga Sylvestre and that of Byumba, Bizimana Augustin. The document reproduced the content of the minutes of a meeting held in Kigali on March 4, 1993, which brought together several nationals of the prefectures of Ruhengeri and Byumba, as well as their prefects.

In this document, the RPF is completely demonized of all evils and an appeal is launched for civil self-defense, which means putting in place the instruments to kill those who were qualified by extremists as the country's enemies, namely the Indiscriminately Tutsi and opponents of the regime.

To push the population of the northern region of the country to support this hatred that these intellectuals were disseminating, they would on the negative effects of the war, the displacement of populations, to lie that the RPF is preparing a genocide against the Hutu. This lie would play an important role in the conscience of the Hutu populations in order to participate in the extermination of the Tutsi, in particular among the displaced people from Nyacyonga who played a crucial role in the genocide against the Tutsi since April 1994.

Here is the essence of the message that the minutes revealed:

"The RPF wants at all costs to take power by force of arms and to purely and simply annex Rwanda to Uganda in order to realize the Machiavellian dreams of Museveni and to erect a Hamite empire in the interlacustrine region. The Inkotanyi are part of the Ugandan army. It was Uganda that attacked us. (...) The Banyaruhengeri and the Banyarbyumba regret that, since October 1, 1990, the Rwandan government has not denounced the responsibility of Uganda in this conflict.

Political, administrative and other officials must take all necessary measures to make Rwandans aware of the gravity of the situation and to feel fully involved in the defense of the country.

There is a need to mobilize the population to provide defense and civil protection in order to guarantee national sovereignty. (...) There is a genocide taking place which prevents the children of Ruhengeri and Byumba from continuing their studies because of the war. This intellectual genocide cannot continue."

A group of Rwandan academics from Butare supported the genocide ideology backed by Habyarimana regime

On 1st March 1993, a group of mainly academics and staff from various institutions working in Butare issued a press notification, condemning the ongoing peace talks between the government and the RPF at Arusha. The group had been formed earlier in 1992. It was made of University lecturers, and their students, academic researchers, and employees from various institutions based in Butare. The group demanded that the French military be kept in Rwanda, noting French support for the Rwanda government both in Rwanda, and internationally. They claimed that RPF fighters were not Rwandans, rather that the country had been attacked by Uganda. They repudiated the RPF's identity as Rwandans.

On 1st March 1993, the group sent a letter to President François Mitterrand of France, asking that the French military remain in Rwanda. The letter was signed by 34 University lecturers, 30 different members of the University staff, 12 researchers, and staff from the Institute for Research and Technological Sciences (IRST), 14 teachers from Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare, in which they sought the retention of his soldiers in Rwanda. The letter was signed by 34 University lecturers, 30 University staff, 12 researchers and agents from the Institute for Research and Technological Sciences (IRST), 14 teachers from *Groupe Scolaire* Butare, 25 from other public administrative departments in the town of Butare and nearly 300 students. The vast majority of these intellectuals were actively involved in the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994.

Tutsi were gradually massacred under pretext that they wanted to join RPF army. Some of the victims identified included Nyabyenda and Anastase who had worked for a senior official in the Ministry of Finance (MINECOFIN), Mbarute. A well known local figure Butera was murdered by soldiers in Ngenda, Nyarutarama, on 6th March 1993. Several people were badly beaten and left disabled. One of these was an elderly man, Mutabazi, who on 21st February of 1993 was badly beaten by police at the Kanzenze Commune offices.

Justifying these murders and violent attacks, the commandant of Gako military camp, Lieutenant Colonel Claudien Singirankabo, said that they were caused by the RPF war. He also claimed that his mother had been killed by the RPF in Ruhengeri.

Prime Minister Nsengiyaremye Dismas denounced the distribution of weapons

On March 25, 1993, Prime Minister Nsengiyaremye Dismas wrote to the Minister of Defense, Dr James Gasana, complaining about the distribution of weapons to the population then underway in the country, in the context of planning massacres under the guise of what it was called "civil self-defense". As he had done in

writing to Defense Minister James Gasana on March 2, 1993 asking him to stop making the list of those whom Habyarimana called the accomplices of the Inkotanyi, in the same way he denounced the distribution weapons to the population and military training for them. The population was trained to later kill the Tutsi .

The same day, Prudence Bushnell, then United States Under-Secretary of State for Africa, met with President Habyarimana in Kigali. He urged him to quickly establish a transitional government and expressed his country's concerns over the upsurge in violence in Rwanda. On the same day, Habyarimana opposed the swearing in of the transitional government. On March 26, 1994, Romeo Dallaire asked the United Nations to provide an emergency plan to provide assistance when needed. He never got an answer and that shows how the UN became powerless in the execution of its mandate to prevent genocide.

Ferdinand Nahimana asked the high authorities to collaborate with local authorities to mobilize the population to commit genocide against the Tutsi

On March 28, 1994, Ferdinand Nahimana circulated to members of the elite his "self-defense" proposal, previously circulated in February 1993, and requested that suggestions be made to provide a "final solution" to the problems at hand. In it, he called for national unity, condemned the "Tutsi league" in his intention to create a "Hima empire" and urged the elite not to remain "unaffected", but to work with local administrators to alert the population about the dangers of war.

France continued to support Habyarimana's government which was preparing genocide against the Tutsi

April 2, 1993 After François Léotard, France's defense minister announced that the RPF "*is progressing towards Kigali with troops disguised in civilian clothes.* ", Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, supported by President François Mitterrand, decides to strengthen the French military system in Rwanda as well as military cooperation.

On April 3, 1993 -Juvénal Habyarimana receives in his residence Ambassador Georges Martres, Defense Attaché Colonel Bernard Cussac, Advisor to the FAR Chief of Staff Colonel Jean Jacques Maurin and Michel Robardey to thank them for France's help in countering the RPF's attack of February 8, 1993 when the RPF troops carried out a defeatful offensive to Habyarimana's army until Shyorongi in the gateways of Kigali.

This continued support of France to the government of Rwanda led the regime to feel that it could carry on preparations for the genocide without obstacles as it was backed by a powerful country like France.

1.4. KEY HIGHLIGHTS OF PLANNING OF THE GENOCIDE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI BEFORE APRIL 7, 1994

Demonstrations by Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militia and killings in Kigali

On 8th January 1994, Belgium intelligence institutions wrote a confidential statement indicating that on 7th January there had been a meeting at MRND headquarters that was convened MRND president, Mathieu Ndirumpatse, Defense Minister Augustin BIZIMANA, Chief of defense Staff General Déogratias Nsabimana, Gendarmerie chief of staff General Augustin Ndindiriyimana, Robert Kajuga, the commandant of Interahamwe at national level and other high ranking military and gendarmes.

During the meeting, it was resolved that the arms store should not be made known to the UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda), and should rather be shifted to be stored in houses of top military and gendarmerie officers who were good and faithful members of the MRND. It was also resolved that they should make propaganda among the civilians so that they could denounce UNAMIR, especially Belgian soldiers in the mission.

The meeting was followed by terrible demonstrations conducted on 8th January 1994 in the city of Kigali; backed by leaders of Kigali City Prefecture and soldiers from the presidential guard disguised as civilians that injured several people in the city of Kigali using grenades, batons and other killing tools.

Declaration of preparation of genocide in UN

On 11th January 1994, one of the powerful leaders of Interahamwe in the city of Kigali, Abubakar Turatsinze, alias Jean Pierre disclosed secret to General Romeo DALLAIRE who was the commander in chief of UN troops in Rwanda that Interahamwe had been well prepared to kill about 20,000 Tutsi per day, that they had enough weapons stored in Gikondo at Kabuga's house, that list of Tutsi to be killed had been prepared. He added that since UNAMIR was deployed to Rwanda, over 17,000 militiamen had been trained to complement with several others who had been trained before. General DALLAIRE wrote a statement requesting for the right to confiscate those weapons and stop groundworks on the genocide.

On 12th January 1994, DALLAIRE was given an answer that had been signed by one of the UN top leaders called Iqbal LIZA who was the deputy to Koffi ANNAN, then head of UN peace keeping services requesting general DALLAIRE of not involving UNAMIR in confiscation of arms. Iqbal added that the only thing

DALLAIRE had to do was to discuss it with president Habyarimana and ambassadors of France, Belgium and The United States, to Rwanda. DALLAIRE kept silence until the genocide happened and claimed lives of the people he was mandated to protect.

These acts stated above comprise a small portion of a series of acts committed by the Government that prepared and executed the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in its evil plan to exterminate the Tutsi. They thus show that the Genocide committed against the Tutsi was neither an accident nor caused by the shooting down of president Habyarimana's plane; they rather show that the Genocide against the Tutsi had been thoroughly planned. They also recall everyone, especially countries, of their international obligations to prosecute and arraign to courts its perpetrators by respecting their obligations provided for by the UN Security Council's Resolution 2150 adopted on 16th April 2014.

January 12, 1994: A report by the French Ambassador to Rwanda expressed the intentions of Rwandan government to commit a genocide in which more than 1,000 people will be killed in the first hour.

French Ambassador to Rwanda Jean Michel Marlaud wrote a telegram to the Minister of Foreign Affairs describing the situation in Rwanda. Ambassador Marlaud explained that he had obtained confidential but reliable information with concrete evidence, indicating that there was a conspiracy to commit murder in the country. Ambassador Marlaud said the plan would be preceded by the provocation of RPF forces in Kigali to enable them to defend themselves, and then a reason to kill Tutsi starting from those in Kigali City. The ambassador added that the Rwandan Armed Forces had organized the operation as 1,700 Interahamwe in Kigali City were trained and armed to kill Tutsi, and they had the capacity to kill at least 1,000 people within an hour of the massacres.

January 16, 1994: Meeting of *Hutu Power* political parties in Kigali City called for cautiousness towards Tutsi and Belgians, weapons to kill Tutsi were distributed

On 16 January 1994, a meeting was held bringing together a big number of people from all parts of the city and suburbs, who were members of Hutu Power. It took place at Regional Stadium in Nyamirambo. In the meeting, Justin Mugenzi who was the head of Hutu Power faction in PL party took on to stage and urged people to exercise cautiousness towards Tutsi and Belgians from UNAMIR. In the same meeting, weapons were distributed to all *Power* members from political parties including MRND, CDR, PSD, PDC and PL. Such distribution of weapons had also

been confirmed on 15 January 1994 by the Belgian ambassador in his letter to the Foreign Affairs Minister of his country, informing him of the continued distribution of weapons to Interahamwe, pleading that UNAMIR should be given mandate to intervene and halt the distribution.

It's the same that Gen Dallaire who headed the UN Mission in Rwanda had written to the UN Security Council on 11 January 1994 requesting for authority to confiscate the weapons, but Koffi Annan who was in charge of Peace Keeping Operations did not attend to the demands.

Investigation by UNAMIR Belgians revealed the genocidal plan within Rwandan Armed Forces

Belgian troops within UNAMIR had an officer who followed up on daily basis what was happening in Rwanda and reported to his superior. The 1997 report by the Belgian Senate on the role of Belgium in the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, revealed that the responsible for this task, Lt NEES, produced 29 reports between 19th January 1994 and 11th March 1994 before he was replaced by Lt De Cuyper. All the information gathered by Lt NEES was submitted to the Chief of Staff of Belgian Defense Forces.

The report of Belgian Senate read and analysed all the daily information written by Lt NEES and deduced that he demonstrated on daily basis facts that proved that the Government of Rwanda was plotting implementation of the plan to exterminate the Tutsi. Lt NEES explained that the leadership of Rwandan Armed Forces did not support ARUSHA Peace Agreement and that he saw a letter that was given to him by high ranking officers in the Rwandan Armed Forces, which confirmed that opinion.

This information was also confirmed by Colonel Walter Balis who was among the high ranking Belgian officers within the UNAMIR, in the testimonies he gave to Belgian Senate in 1997, which he reiterated in the testimonies he gave to the Mucyo Commission in 2007.

The Belgian intelligence services give information on the support of the presidential guard to the Interahamwe

On February 2, 1994, Major Hock of the Belgian General Intelligence and Security Service prepared a thirteen-page report which he gave to various Belgian senior officials, in particular General Mertens of the King's military house and the chief of staff of the cabinet in the Ministry of Defense in which he details all the mechanics of the Interahamwe militias.

This document gives elements of the plan that the Interahamwehad to launch the execution of the genocide, which consisted of different strategies. First, launch attacks on Belgian UNAMIR soldiers to incite them to withdraw from UNAMIR in order to weaken it. Next, attack the Tutsi and members of the opposition parties. The document specified that the Interahamwehad all the capacities to carry out this plan because they were armed and benefited from the support of members of the Rwandan army, the gendarmerie and especially the presidential guard of Habyarimana.

UNAMIR officials inform the UN of Habyarimana's refusal to guarantee peace and security of people and property

On February 2, 1994, the same day the Belgian report was drafted, the UN Secretary-General's special representative in Rwanda, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, sent a telegram to New York in which he reported that President Habyarimana was not doing nothing either to investigate the perpetrators of the unrest in the country or to guarantee the safety of people and property. Booh-Booh meant in other words that Habyarimana was the source of the insecurity plaguing the country, including all preparations for the genocide.

The next day, 3 February 1994, General Dallaire sent a dispatch to the UN Security Council in which he reported almost the same information as Booh-Booh, stating that there is an obvious risk of violent attacks on the grenade and armed attack against ethnic and political groups, in other words targeting Tutsi and Hutu from the opposition. Dallaire spoke very clearly of assassinations and attacks that risked reaching UNAMIR facilities. He insisted that each day that delays the seizure of weapons by UNAMIR contributes to the deterioration of the security situation especially since the weapons, he said, continued to be distributed. Dallaire concluded by sounding the alarm that if things continued this way, UNAMIR would be unable to fulfill its humanitarian mandate.

The UN gave a limited response to Dallaire by forbidding UNAMIR to seize the weapons alone, but to ask the Rwandan authorities to recover them while assisting them in this task. This was impossible since it was the same Rwandan authorities who distributed weapons to the militias for the purpose of genocide.

The Belgian Ambassador to Rwanda stresses the urgency of seizing arms

The report of the Belgian Senate published in 1997 establishes that the Belgian ambassador to Rwanda, Johann Swinnen, addressed on February 3, 1994 a report to his ministry for foreign affairs signaled the impotence of the UNAMIR in front of the gravity of the situation. The ambassador said at the same time that it was

urgent to end the distribution of weapons and to destroy existing stocks. The same report reports that on the same day, officers of the Belgian General Staff informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the grenade attacks were continuing in Kigali and resulted in what they called "*concerted action*".

Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) called upon Hutu to detest Tutsi and Belgians within UNAMIR

On 27th January 1994, RTLM aired full of hatred talk shows calling all the Hutu to unite and "fight until the last", arguing that Belgian soldiers within UNAMIR had the plan to offer the country to the Tutsi. These talk shows followed a meeting that brought together top leaders of MRND including its Secretary General, Joseph Nzirorera, vice president Edouard Karemera, Jean-Pierre Habyarimana (son of president Habyarimana) and Robert Kajuga who was the chairperson of the militia Interahamwe at national level. This meeting adopted agenda for propaganda among Interahamwe aimed to hate Belgian soldiers within UNAMIR.

Orders were issued saying that Interahamwe would no longer respect the orders given by Belgian soldiers within UNAMIR, and instead be ready to oppose them and do their best to incite the population to hate them. The objective pursued was that of inciting the withdrawal of UNAMIR, in order to be able to easily commit genocide, without the presence of a foreign force capable of militarily confronting the Rwandan armed forces and of preventing the genocide against the Tutsi.

Using the media to spread hatred against those they accused of being spies of RPF-Inkotanyi

The first group to be persecuted because of the Liberation war conducted by RPF-Inkotanyi, is that of Narcisse Munyambaraga, former Director General of postal office. There were several allegations against them in particular attack on the security of the State. However, the government falsely accused him and his colleagues.

Munyambaraga Narcisse and his co-accused had file number RMPSE. 177.PROGERAL. Their file indicates that they were prosecuted for three crimes: they were accused of being accomplices in an attack against the Republic of Rwanda, to be in intelligence with the enemy in order to support war against the Republic of Rwanda, to be linked to the plot to destroy the authority and Constitution using great terrorism and war. All these were false allegations aimed to harm them simply because they were Tutsi.

More people have suffered the worst defamation through the pro-government press. In this sense, Imvaho No 897 of 28th January-3rd February 1991, published an article signed by Gaspard Gahigi and Kantano Habimana, about the case of Narcisse Munyambaraga and his colleagues, which was entitled “*death penalty was sought against Munyambaraga and colleagues*”. It is observed in this article that the accused were not given the right to defend themselves as provided for by laws. There was a purported trial, the accused were confirmed guilty before the trial and were forced to plead guilty. Even their lawyers were also considered to be traitors even though law authorizes the presence of lawyers who must work in full independence.

The article sadistically added that the “1930 prison” where they were detained served them as a school for pleading. Almost immediately they were transferred to the special prison of Ruhengeri, well known for the cruel and inhuman conditions of detainees, no contact between the detainees, living in a small cell without the right to go outside.

Gaspard Gahigi and Kantano Habimana, concludes their article supporting the sentence given to Narcisse Munyambaraga and colleagues saying: “(...) *people think that this trial was a waste of time, that they should only be executed*”. More particularly, Gaspard Gahigi worked for the newspaper *Umurwanashyaka* of MRND and was member of the Central Committee of MRND at national level representing Byumba Prefecture.

It is to note that all these journalists were notorious killers during the genocide. They had shifted from Radio Rwanda to the inflammatory RTLM. Gahigi Gaspard was editor-in-chief of RTLM and had also previously worked for the MRND newspaper called *Umurwanashyaka*; he was also a member of the MRND Central Committee representing Byumba prefecture.

Belgium informed the United Nations that the Rwandan authorities are planning large-scale massacres and asked UNAMIR to strengthen security

On February 11, 1994, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Willy Claes, informed the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, that the high Rwandan authorities had confided to him that the political problems in Rwanda were the cause of the non-installation of the transitional institutions provided for in the Arusha peace agreements and that this situation will cause in the country massacres of great magnitude. Minister Willy Claes asked Boutros-Boutros Ghali to give instructions to his special envoy to Rwanda, Jacques Roger Booh-Booh, so that he can ensure that UNAMIR strengthens the security of the population.

On February 14, 1994, the Belgian Ambassador to the United Nations revealed that the General Secretariat of the United Nations had not welcomed Belgium's proposal, on the pretext that General Dallaire had not reiterated his request, that he previously made, to strengthen the mandate of UNAMIR. The United Nations added that the Rwandan authorities were showing good will for having accepted that General Dallaire collaborate with them to search and seize the weapons held by the Interahamwe. However, these promises were not translated into action because there were never any searches and seizures of Interahamwe weapons by the Rwandan authorities or UNAMIR.

The Rwandan army places its military in Genocide alert

On 17 February 1994, a document bearing the number 17 issued by the Belgian intelligence services provides information according to which the Chief of Staff of the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR), General Deogratias Nsabimana, had put on alert all Rwandan army units, including the gendarmerie, to prepare for a major event. General Nsabimana also asked that soldiers and gendarmes who left on leave return to their barracks as quickly as possible. He also ordered an audit of the stocks of FAR weapons, ammunition and war material. Finally, he demanded that the army recruit new soldiers to strengthen the FAR.

It is clear that all these measures taken two months before the genocide were aimed at setting up the murderous machine so that it was ready once the order to start the genocide was launched.

President Habyarimana announces Genocide to the Rwandan Gendarmery officers

On February 17, 1994, President Habyarimana chaired a meeting of senior officers of the national gendarmerie commanded by General Augustin Ndindiriyimana. He talked to them, among other things, about the ongoing blockage of the establishment of transitional institutions and the possibility of resumption of the war. Habyarimana alerted them in these terms: « *If the RPF starts the war, we have plans to deal with their accomplices* ».

In these remarks, the genocide is announced in very clear terms, killing the Tutsi had become a state affair, which enabled the gendarmes normally responsible for providing security, to massacre the Tutsi as soon as the authorities gave them order to start doing it.

French Intelligence services recognized the killing of 300 civilians by the Rwandan Army

On February 18, 1994, the Directorate General of External Security of the French Intelligence Services (DGSE) established a secret note reporting real ethnic massacres that had claimed the lives of more than 300 dead in the previous weeks. In this note, the DGSE announces that these massacres are part of a plan aiming at the total extermination of Tutsi: *"It would be an element of a vast program of ethnic purification directed against Tutsi "*.

The next day, February 19, 1994, General Christian Quesnot, Chief of Private Staff of President Mitterrand as well as Dominique Pin who is number two in the Africa Department of the French Presidency (Elysée), present two main options to President Mitterrand concerning the Rwanda.

The first consists in evacuating French nationals and withdrawing the military equipment from Operation Noroît, but at the same time Quesnot and Pin reject it, advising President Mitterrand not to consider it: *"It is the failure of our presence and our politics in Rwanda. Our credibility on the continent would suffer."*

The second option is that in which Dominique Pin thinks of the capture of Kigali by the RPF; immediately he assures that in such cases, the ethnic massacres will increase and that consequently France must increase the effort to support the regime more than ever so that the RPF does not take Kigali. Clearly, the French authorities knew that President Habyarimana's regime was considering genocide, but persisted in their desire to unconditionally support it.

The newspaper *Kangura* announced certain methods which would be used during the genocide

The *Kangura* newspaper for the month of February 1994 published a caricature in which the Prime Minister, the late Agathe Uwilingiyimana, and the Minister of Finance, Marc Rugenera, appeared in the guise of rats. They were both persecuted because they were members of the MDR and the PSD respectively, parties not aligned with the Hutu Power of Hutu extremists who planned the genocide.

In the same picture also appeared a man armed with a cudgel, commonly called "Nta mpongano y'umwanzi", literally "No mercy on the enemy", and ready to use it to beat these two people. This kind of cudgel was one of the weapons with which the killers cruelly killed their victims during the genocide.

The chief of Rwandan army showed to his cousin Jean Birara the list of people to be eliminated

With preparations for genocide well under way, the chief of staff of the Rwandan army, general Déogratias Nsabimana, presented to his cousin, Jean Berchmas BIRARA, former governor of the National Bank of Rwanda, a list of 1500 people marked out for murder. In an interview with Belgian Newspaper, La Libre Belgique, on 24th May 1994, Birara testifies that he gave the information to a number of western diplomats seated in Kigali, including the Belgian Embassy. In questioning before the Belgian senate in 1997, the Belgian ambassador to Rwanda at the time, Johann SWINNEN confirmed that he did receive such information.

An Agenda of Colonel Bagosora dated in 1994 stated the planning of the Genocide

In a diary of 21st February 1994, (found in his archives in Kigali), Bagosora noted the need to begin “identification of reservists” who would be reintegrated into the army; a clear indication that he was preparing for war. At the same time, UNAMIR reports show evidence of an organized network of death squads for the extermination of Tutsi and senior members of the political opposition. Massacres of Tutsi raged in all regions of the country. These massacres were carried out by soldiers, Interahamwemilitias of the MRND and Impuzamugambi militias of the CDR.

On February 19, 1993, soldiers killed 5 people in Tumba. Between 20 and 22 February, serious acts of violence were committed in Kigali by Interahamwe and members of the CDR, while other assassinations were carried out in Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibuye and Byumba.

It was in this context that on February 21, 1994, the president of the PSD, Gatabazi Félicien, was assassinated by members of the presidential guard. The next day, 22 February 1994, CDR president Martin Bucyana was assassinated by the people of Mbazi who accused him of having assassinated Gatabazi.

The creation of Hutu Power bringing together the parties MRND, CDR, MDR, PSD and PL

On 25th February 1994, the leadership of Interahamwe held an important meeting, under the chairmanship of their overall leader, Robert Kajuga. The meeting urged all the Interahamweto keep all Tutsi under close observation, especially those who had been already put on lists to be murdered. They were put on standby, ready to

use the distributed fire arms, and other weapons. They were reminded to work closely with Impuzamugambi, the extremist CDR's own militia, and all the political parties which shared, or were supportive of the extremist Hutu Power ideology. Parties like MDR (Republican Democratic Movement), PSD (Social Democratic Party) and PL (Liberal Party).

This union of forces joined that of the small parties allied to the MRND, namely the PECO (Ecological Party), PDI (Islamic Democratic Party), PADER (Rwandan Democratic Party), RTD (Workers' Rally for Democracy), MFBP (Movement of Women and lower people) and PPJR (Progressive Party for Rwandan Youth).

On the same date, the Association of Peace Volunteers (AVP), a Rwandan human rights organization, issued a statement in which it denounced the existence of a plan for massacres, hate speech broadcast on the extremist RTLM radio. They published a list of the victims of state orchestrated murders, especially around Kigali, and sent an urgent appeal to UNAMIR to bring to an end the state sponsored murders.

On 27/2/1994, responsables of the Interahamwe, as well as other senior MRND officials including Michel Bagaragaza, Joseph Nzirorera, Augustin Ndirabatware, Claver Mvuyekure, Pasteur Musabe, Seraphin Rwabukumba and Kajuga Robert met at the Rebero Hotel and decided to create and finance a force to exterminate the Tutsi.

Continued purchase of weapons against the United Nations embargo

On 27th February 1994, a memorandum from the Belgian intelligence services outlined the continuing traffic of arms to the Rwandan army in spite of a UN Security Council arms embargo. To bypass the embargo, arms were purchased through the Angolan rebel movement of Jonas Savimbi, UNITA, which was fighting the left wing government of Angola, with western support; the arms went through Kamina military camp in the democratic Republic of Congo, then Zaïre, through to Goma airport, and then across the border into Rwanda via Gisenyi. And all this was done with full knowledge of the UN mission in Rwanda, UNAMIR, and Western diplomatic missions in Rwanda.

On this date, General Dallaire again requested permission to confiscate weapons and expressed his fears of the imminence of a civil war. The United Nations reminded him that his mandate was limited to overseeing the establishment of the transitional institutions.

Between February 25-28, 1994, massacres and violence against Tutsi forced them to seek refuge with UNAMIR. This is how it opened two reception sites, one next to the AMAHORO national stadium; the other in MAGERWA warehouses in Gikondo

Preparations for genocide intensification in the eyes of UNAMIR

The reports from foreign embassies in Rwanda in 1994 show that the month of March saw increased incitement to genocide. In a telex sent on 1st March Belgian Ambassador to Rwanda, Johann Swinnen, informed Belgian authorities of broadcasts on the extremist Radio Television Libre de Mille Collines (RTLM) which were *“inflammatory statements calling for hatred, even the extermination of the other part of the population”*.

A document from the Belgian intelligence services dated 2nd March 1994 cited an informant from the ruling MRND who had revealed to the Belgian authorities that the MRND had drawn up a plan for the extermination of Tutsi in Kigali should the RPF open hostilities. According to the informant, *“If things go wrong, the Hutu will massacre them without mercy”* adding that *“regional divisions no longer exist and the morale of the army has never been so high”*.

On 3rd March 1994, Major Podevijn of UNAMIR informed his commander, General Romeo Dallaire, that weapons had been distributed to the militia in the Gikondo neighborhood, one of the most important areas of support for CDR. On 10th March, UNAMIR discovered several quantities of heavy weapons destined for the Rwandan army and, reported increased recruitment of militia and military personnel. Dallaire requested authorization from the UN to seize these weapons, and asked for reinforcements for the peacekeepers. He never got a positive response.

International Human Rights Organizations denounce the massacres perpetrated by the Habyarimana Government

March 15, 1994: organizers of the International Commission on Human Rights Violations in Rwanda: *Human Rights Watch*, the International Federation for Human Rights Leagues, the International Center for Human Rights and Development Union and the Inter-African Union for Human and Peoples' Rights published with Amnesty International a declaration in which they deplored the increase in violence in Rwanda, the distribution of weapons, the delay in the implementation of the Agreements of Arusha and the MRND's attempts to obtain a promise of amnesty for those who were implicated in previous human rights violations.

The Habyarimana Government continued to prepare for war and Genocide

On March 10, 1994, a list of heavy weapons for the Habyarimana army was revealed. Belgian intelligence said that the number of weapons was increasing, as well as the number of soldiers. General Dallaire, who commanded UN forces, requested permission to seize the proliferation of weapons in the city of Kigali, which was denied to him by the UN Secretary-General. This was revealed by the Belgian Minister of Defense who, upon returning from visiting Rwanda, said that there were a large number of weapons in Kigali, which was contrary to the Arusha peace accords.

UNAMIR attempted to seize weapons intended for the Rwandan army which had been sent by the English companies Mil-Tec and French Dyl-Invest. There is no doubt that Habyarimana did not count on the Arusha peace accords, because the increase in arms in the country and in the population was solely aimed at exterminating the Tutsi and those who were there hostile. France continued to support the Habyarimana government by pleading its cause to increase the supply of weapons and the number of soldiers to continue the fighting.

On March 11, 1992, the Director in charge of Africa and Madagascar at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paul Dijoud, advised the Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas to increase France's military support to Rwanda and to send a high-ranking military adviser to the Rwandan army headquarters.

The Government of Habyarimana harassed Belgian UNAMIR contingent, with the purpose to force them to leave the country in order to perpetrate genocide easier

On March 22, 1994, Georges Ruggiu, A Belgian broadcaster on RTL, warned that "the Belgians wanted to impose an RPF government of bandits and killers on Rwanda, and that the Belgian ambassador had prepared a coup".

This kind of lies was broadcasted on RTL and Radio Rwanda, as part of the planning of the Genocide, to provoke the departure of the Belgian contingent, and thus deprive UNAMIR of the Belgian soldiers who were among the best armed. Habyarimana's government used these kinds of tricks to be able to carry out the Genocide against the Tutsi without any witnesses. The Belgian government had started to denounce the massacres carried out by the Habyarimana regime and the role of president Habyarimana who never wanted the implementation of the Arusha peace agreements.

Ruggiu called on the Belgians to wake up and return to their country, otherwise they would be faced with a "merciless" war and "limitless hatred".

Habyarimana unvalued the substance of the Arusha peace agreement

UNAMIR noted that in March 1994, large quantities of ammunition had been smuggled from the armories of the Kanombe military camp and distributed without the knowledge of UNAMIR to the various military camps in the interior of the country, especially that of Gitarama. These arms distributions were aimed at preparing for war, fight against the Arusha peace agreements and distributing the weapons that will be used during the Genocide.

Belgian Adjutant Benoit DAUBIE, who was responsible for the maintenance of weapons at the Kanombe military camp, testified before the Belgian military auditor: *"I had access to all the ammunition stores in Kanombe before the attack. (...) A large part of the deposit had been emptied of its content. The quantities of ammunition extracted were very large. I take as an example the distribution of 1000 mortar shells of 120 mm on Gitarama. About 20% of the ammunition remained in the depot. It was about a month before the Habyarimanaplane bombing and it took a whole week for transportation. A FAR lieutenant told me that it was in preparation for an RPF attack, but I personally believe that this action was done to escape the control of UN observers. I know that the figures provided by the FAR headquarters to the United Nations were false because they did not take into account what had been distributed in mass. The only thing that mattered was the almost empty store. Many movements of ammunition were made during the night revealed to me German military cooperation."*

The purpose of hiding weapons from UNAMIR was to prevent them from controlling their use, so that the Rwandan army could use them for massacres that could not be prevented by UNAMIR, whose mandate required it to focus mainly on the city of Kigali.

The Minister of Defense and high military ranking extremists warned UNAMIR that there will be a genocide to be finished in 15 days

Lieutenant Colonel BEAUDOUIN Jacques-Albert who was Belgian technical cooperant in Rwanda as adviser to General Gratien Kabiligi G3 of the FAR General Staff was heard by the Belgian military prosecutor on May 05, 1994, in his investigation into the assassination of the ten Belgian peacekeepers and he revealed that the Rwandan minister of defense publicly announced that there will be genocide if ever the RPF does not stop the war:

"a month or two before the attack, I attended an evening at General Nsabimana's house, with the Belgian ambassador, Colonel Vincent, Colonel Marshal (UNAMIR), Colonel Le Roy, President Habyarimana, Bizimana (MINADEF) and a

few Rwandan officers. In fact, on this occasion, it appeared or rather it was reaffirmed that ARUSHA could not be accepted by Rwandans. Bizimana told me, after a few glasses of champagne, that he was ready to engage the Rwandan army if the RPF did not play the game.

Ten days before the attack, on the last Friday of March, Colonel Vincent [Head of the Belgian Military Cooperation in Rwanda] invited General Nsabimana and G3 Colonel Kabiligi to his house and at that meeting they still clearly asserted that Arusha was not possible, that eventually they would accept early elections and that if they wanted to impose ARUSHA, they could eliminate the RPF and the Tutsi and it would take a maximum of two weeks. They seemed safe from them”.

The diplomatic corp called on President Habyarimanato apply the peace agreements which he had deliberately refused

On March 28, 1994, Habyarimana again opposed the establishment of the transitional government. Solemn appeal of the diplomatic community, gathered at the French Embassy, in favor of the application of the peace agreements, signed by J.-R. Booh-Booh, the Apostolic Nuncio and the ambassadors of France, Belgium, the USA, Germany, Tanzania, Zaire, Uganda and Burundi.

The undersigned request the Government of Rwanda to settle their differences and to apply the agreements. They demand that all the political parties approved in Rwanda on the date of signing of the power-sharing protocol and the RPF be represented in the transitional institutions. They recommend the establishment of a commission on National Unity and Reconciliation which will ensure that each party respects the principles of the code of political ethics. President Habyarimana did not follow the directives sent to him and continued his plan to prepare for the genocide in order to defeat the Peace Agreement.

General Deogratias Nsabimana chaired a high level meeting to kick off the genocide

On March 29, 1993, General Deogratias Nsabimana, then chief of staff of the Rwandan armed forces chaired a meeting to streamline operations of “civil self defense”, which aimed at inciting the population to kill the Tutsi and to lie to them that they could defeat the RPF. In this meeting that brought together the leaders of the city of Kigali, top military leaders, members of the parties in Hutu Powergroup, Impuzamugambi, and Interahamwe, additional weapons that would soon be distributed to the killers were provided.

This clandestine meeting was reported in the report by French deputies led by Paul Quiles in 1998 where they reported that the meeting was held in great secret, and that French had its minutes. This report by French deputies reminds that the distribution of weapons to Interahamwe militias was reported from January 22, 1992 in the telegram sent by Colonel Bernard Cussac who was a senior employee of the French embassy in Kigali where he was head of military cooperation between Rwanda and France.

In his Telegram, Colonel Cussac reported that the distribution of weapons was led by Rwanda's the Minister for interior and communal development, and carried out in prefectures of the North of the country namely, Gisenyi, Ruhengeri and Byumba; and distributed to men and young men selected by authorities while those who were given weapons were trained on their use by Rwandan armed forces.

Basing on this, Colonel Cussac confirmed that there was remarkable collaboration between government authorities, military leaders and Interahamwe; he deduced that Interahamwe would undoubtedly use the weapons to kill the people. This time around was in 1992, which clearly shows that the genocidal plan to exterminate the Tutsi is not for April 1994, it rather started years before that year.

The distribution of weapons to Interahamwe militias was recalled by General Dallaire on January 11, 1994 in a Telegram he sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, requesting that UNAMIR be given the right to confiscate these weapons, but he was not given such right.

President Habyarimana accepted representation of CDR in parliament in breach of Arusha peace accords

On March 29, 1994, president Habyarimana who continued to brush aside the establishment of transitional institutions as provided for by the Arusha Peace Accord, despite the fact that the sponsors of Rwanda continuously put pressure on him, accepted representation of the CDR in the transitional parliament in contrary to the provisions of the Arusha Peace Accord; CDR opposed the Accord.

This shows that Habyarimana too was in the CDR's plan to reject the Accord and to exterminate the Tutsi. CDR was a party that never ceased to denounce this Accord that aimed to seek solutions in peaceful ways. CDR argued that peace would only be brought by countering the Inkotanyi to force them back to Uganda in conjunction with extermination of the Tutsi. This was yet another sign of President Habyarimana's extremism and his relentlessness to commit genocide in order to stay in power.

The prefect of the City of Kigali, Colonel Renzaho Tharcisse, prepared the genocide in Kigali

On 30th March 1994, Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho the prefect of the City of Kigali, sent a list of people, including reservists, to be included in a so called civil self defence force to Army Chief of Staff, Colonel Déogratias Nsabimana. “Self Defence force” was a euphemism for murder squads. Renzaho’s letter followed a broadcast by Ferdinand Nahimana on 28th March 1994, in which he had called for the self defence of the population, in preparation for the “final solution” to the “Tutsi league” which wanted to create “a Hima Empire” in countries that make up the Great Lakes Region. This unfounded ideology is still propagated by extremist adversaries of the top leadership of Rwanda. Nahimana Ferdinand called on all local authorities to exhort the population to this cause, a barely indirect call for the Hutu to unite and exterminate the Tutsi.

CLADHO, a human rights umbrella organization in Rwanda denounced the killings committed by Habyarimana’s army

Also on 30th March 1994, CLADHO published a press release denouncing the attacks by soldiers, including those of the Presidential Guard, and the Interahamwe. CLADHO again demanded that disciplinary measures be taken against the soldiers and demanded the disarmament of the militias. Habyarimana’s regime neglected the CLADHO’s call and carried on distribution of arms to the populations, giving them military training and inciting them to commit genocide in case the authorities would issue orders to do that. This is one add on to the many proofs that clearly show that Habyarimana’s government prepared the genocide and executed through its institutions.

On March 31,1994, as UNAMIR's mandate was nearing completion, officials of Rwandan human rights organizations and other non-governmental organizations appealed to the Security Council so 'it “maintains” and “strengthens” UNAMIR, whose withdrawal would be interpreted as abandoning the civilian population to the worst calamities.

Extremists of the Hutu-power parties used RTLM to incite Hutu on killing, lying that they had discovered the plan of Tutsi to kill Hutu

On April 3, 1994: RTLM predicted that the RPF would do “a little thing” with its bullets and grenades from April 3 to 5 and then from April 7 to 8, 1994. It was probably a “*mirror accusation*” according to the procedure advocated by the disciple of expert Muchiell, by which the radical Hutu claimed that the Tutsi were preparing to do what they themselves intended to do.

This lie spread by RTLM increased fear among the populations and led them to wrongfully accept that the Tutsi had the plan to kill the Hutu, this led to massive participation of the population in extermination of the Tutsi. At the time, there had already been a tense environment following the lies spread by CDR and MRND parties.

People who felt in danger sent their children away from Kigali, while others took refuge in safe places. When the genocide began, no place was spared, the whole country was ravaged.

On the same day, the German ambassador, speaking on behalf of the European Union, corresponds to part of his concerns regarding the increase in insecurity, the proliferation of weapons and the *"unacceptable role of certain media"*. He suggests that the support of the European Union would depend on the application of the Accords. It was a way to put pressure onto the Government so it could stop preparing massacres, but it did not pay off.

Colonel Bagosora said that the only plausible solution to Rwanda was genocide

On **April 4, 1994**, at a reception organized to celebrate the national holiday of Senegal, Colonel Bagosora who was the director of cabinet in the ministry of defense who firmly opposed the Arusha Peace Accord, announced to people that *"the only plausible solution for Rwanda would be the extermination of the Tutsi "*. Among those present who confirmed Bagosora's words in testimonies they gave to the ICTR or in different publications, were Dallaire, the commander of UNAMIR, Jacques Roger Booh-Booh who was the special envoy of the Secretary General of the United Nations, Colonel Luc Marchal, a Belgian who was commander of the Belgian contingent within the UNAMIR, he was also deputy to Dallaire.

CHAPTER II:

IMPLEMENTATION OF GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI ACROSS THE COUNTRY

2.1. APRIL 7, 1994: BEGINNING OF GENOCIDE ACROSS THE COUNTRY IS A PROOF THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAD PLANNED THE EXTERMINATION OF TUTSI

Soldiers of the presidential guard at the forefront of extermination of Tutsi residing in the City of Kigali

On the night of April 6 to 7, 1994, after President Habyarimana's Falcon 50 was shot down, Interahamwe militias and members of the Presidential Guard placed numerous barriers in the city of Kigali and began to kill Tutsi.

The Interahamwe and members of the Presidential Guard intended in particular to exterminate the Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Amahoro Stadium in Remera, where UNAMIR soldiers had taken up positions. This plan was thwarted by fighting by RPF Inkotanyi troops against members of the Presidential Guard, which saved many Tutsi and other members of the population who had taken refuge at Amahoro Stadium.

Among those who had taken refuge there and who were saved by the RPF Inkotanyi, is the Belgian François Veriter who was a consultant in the field of governance, responsible for the supervision of various projects in Rwanda funded by the United Nations Program Development (UNDP).

On the same date, Major Aloys Ntabakuze, commander of the para commando battalion which was installed at the Kanombe military camp, ordered the members of this battalion to kill the Tutsi and the members of the opposition who lived near this camp military, in the locality called Kajagari.

As of this date, nearly 17 Tutsi, including many religious, were killed at the Christus Jesuit Center in Remera. Among those who were killed was Father Jesuit Chrysologue Mahame, aged 67, who directed this center and who was among the

founders of the “Association of Volunteers for Peace” (AVP), dedicated to defending the rights of person and the promotion of peace. They were all killed by members of the Presidential Guard and the Kanombe para-commando battalion, in collaboration with Interahamwe.

Assassination of politicians opposed to the genocide plot

Within the framework of getting purge of politician members of the opposition to the Habyarimana Government and who were opposed to execution of the Genocide, first the Prime Minister, Mrs. Uwilingiyimana Agathe, were immediately killed as well as the ten soldiers of the Belgian contingent of troops from the UN who were responsible for its protection. They were first tortured before being massacred by Rwandan army soldiers commanded by Major Bernard Ntuyahaga, who was sentenced to 20 years in prison in 2007 by a Belgian court. After serving his sentence, he was sent to Rwanda where he currently resides.

Among those who were killed are also Kavaruganda Joseph, President of the Constitutional Court, Minister Frédéric Nzamurambaho, President of the PSD party, Me Félicien Ngango, Vice-President of the PSD, and his wife Odette Ubonabenshi, Faustin Rucogoza, Minister of the information and member of the MDR, as well as Landouard Ndasingwa, member of the PL and who was very quickly assassinated by members of the Presidential Guard.

Radio Muhabura of the RPF Inkotanyi was the first to denounce the massacres of Tutsi and Hutu politicians opposed to the Genocide. The commander-in-chief of the RPF Inkotanyi troops declared that the RPF had the prominent duty to protect the innocent members of the population who were being killed, and he gave his instructions to stop the Genocide.

The extermination of Tutsi began nationwide after the death of president Habyarimana was announced

On the night of April 6, 1994, radio stations Rwanda and RTLM broadcast a press release signed by Colonel Theoneste Bagosora, director of cabinet to the Minister of Defense, on his behalf, announcing the death of President Juvenal Habyarimana and asking the population to stay at home, in order to organize the massacre of Tutsi without them being able to flee; immediately, through the city of Kigali, especially in the localities of Kacyiru and Kimihurura, the Interahamwe installed barriers and began to kill the Tutsi. At the same time, the massacres of Tutsi began throughout the country. The massacres were coordinated by the “bourgmestres” and the other local authorities.

The massacres immediately started in Giciye Commune, in Gisenyi Prefecture, many Tutsi were killed, including the wife of Bazivamo Christophe, then head of an agro-pastoral project in this region. In Bicumbi Commune, in Prefecture de Kigali, the Juvenal Rugambarara Bourgmestre started to implement the Genocide against the Tutsi. This same Rugambarara confessed before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to have personally killed nearly 100 Tutsi, and he was sentenced for the crime of genocide.

On April 7, 1994, the Tutsi massacres reached Nyamata, in Bugesera, and Sake, in Kibungo Prefecture.

In the former Runda Commune, in Kamonyi, Gitarama Prefecture, the massacres also started on April 7, 1994. The Tutsi who resided there were killed in the localities of Biharabuge, near the Nyabarongo river, in Ruramba, in Isenga, on the bridge from Nyabarongo, in Gasharara, in Idongo, at the petrol station of Runda, at the roadblock of Bishenyi, while others were thrown into Cyabariza river.

Renowned genocidaires from Runda who started the Genocide in the area, we can name Kamana Claver, a construction entrepreneur, Uwimana Pélage, a teacher, and Ndayambaje Sixbert, the former bourgmestre of Runda.

On the same day in the former Kayenzi Commune, in Gitarama, Tutsi were massacred in Cocobeka and Intwari, near the Nyabarongo river, currently in Kamonyi District. In Gisuma Commune, in Cyangugu Prefecture, the gendarmes began to kill the Tutsi just as in Ruramba in the Nyaruguru in Gikongoro prefecture.

In Muko Commune, in Gikongoro Prefecture, currently in Nyamagabe District, nearly 100 killers, led by the chief of the communal police and the mayor Kayihura Albert, killed seven Tutsi who had taken refuge in the parish of Mushubi, among them the accountant of the commune, Michel Gacendeli, and his family.

In the city of Gisenyi, Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, who commanded the Gisenyi military camp, immediately organized a meeting attended by Interahamwe, Impuzamugambi, soldiers and gendarmes, and during which it was decided to install barriers everywhere in town and start killing all Tutsi. Most of the Tutsi were killed in their homes, vehicles transported the bodies of the victims to throw them in graves dug for this purpose in the cemetery of Gisenyi which was now called by the killers, "*Commune Rouge*".

At Nyundo, the massacres began immediately and continued for the next few days. More than 800 Tutsi, including many women and children, had taken refuge at the Catholic Parish of Nyundo and were almost all massacred. This massacre was planned and coordinated by Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva.

On the evening of April 7, 1994, nearly 50 Tutsi were also killed at the catholic minor seminary of Nyundo while some 150 others were massacred in the Catholic Parish of Busasamana, Nyundo Diocese.

Also on the same day, in Kabasheja, currently in the Rugerero sector, in Gisenyi, Tutsi who had been brought from the Rubavu Commune by Interahamwewere killed while others were killed in the Center St Pierre, in a house in the bishopric, in the old building of Rwandex Gisenyi, at the church of Stella Maris Parish and in the area called “*Commune Rouge*” in the City of Gisenyi.

Massacres also took place in the Mutura and Rwerere regions, in Mudende and in the Bigogwe region, where the Tutsi were killed by soldiers from the Bigogwe military camp commanded by Lt Colonel Alphonse Nzungize.

The extermination of Tutsi was initiated in Mukingo Commune after a meeting chaired by Nzirorera Joseph, MRND General Secretary

On April 7, 1994, a meeting was chaired by Nzirorera Joseph who was Secretary General of MRND, and in which participated Colonel Ephrem Setako, Harerimana Emmanuel, Bourgmestre of Mukingo Commune, Colonel Augustin Bizimungu, Casimir Bizimungu, Jean Baptiste Nyabusore, Esdras Baheza, Jonathan Bambonye, Jean Damascène Niyoyita, Dominique Gatsimbanyi, Bourgmestre of Commune Nkuli, Assiel Ndisetse and Lazare Ndangiza.

The Interahamwe stayed outside, awaiting the decisions that would be made. It was decided to start the massacres of the Tutsi, to distribute weapons to the population and to install barriers in various places. Colonel Bizimungu was appointed to implement the decisions taken, and after the meeting he distributed weapons to the population and to the leaders of the Interahamwe, including bourgmestre Juvénal Kajerijeri and Baheza Esdras, a business man of Byangabo.

All the Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Livestock ISAE Busogo were killed while police and Interahamwe killed some 43 others who had taken refuge in the catholic parish of Busogo.

On that date of April 7, 1994, around 3 p.m., all the Tutsi in the region of Busogo had been killed, so that the Interahamwe who called themselves Amahindure, a group of killers from the Mukingo Commune, went to kill in other regions of Ruhengeri Prefecture; it was in this context that they went to kill the Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Court of Appeal in the town of Ruhengeri, as well as in Nyabihu, Musumba (Nkuri) and Nyakinama.

Tutsi who had taken refuge in Bugarama in Cyangugu Prefecture, currently in Rusizi District, after having been chased, were removed from their homes to be killed and thrown into the Rusizi, Ruhwa and Rubyi rivers. These massacres were organized by Yussuf Munyakazi and the director of the CIMERWA factory, Marcel Sebatware who fled to Belgium from which he received naturalization.

Tutsi were also killed in Gikundamvura (Hinduka) in Cyangugu Prefecture, in Rusizi District, in the center of Kivuruga in Gakenke District, at the Musasa Commune office, in the former Kigali Ngari Prefecture and its surroundings, in Muhondo in Gakenke District, at the Tare Commune office in Kigali Ngari, at Nemba hospital and in the center of Gakenke.

On the same day, Tutsi were also killed in Kananira in the Nkunku region (Cyangugu), as were other Tutsi who had taken refuge in the Adventist church of Heshu, currently in Mukamira Sector after being brought from the Nanga sector in Ruhengeri Prefecture (currently in Nyabihu District), like other Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Adventist church of Gisizi in Muringa Sector, Nyabihu District, other Tutsi who had been arrested and brought at the military camp of Mukamira, just like those who had taken refuge in the church of Rambura in Sector Rambura in District of Nyabihu, those who had been taken to the military camp of Bigogwe in Prefecture Gisenyi, and the Tutsi who had taken refuge at Byahi Sector in Gisenyi Prefecture, currently in Rubavu District.

2.2. APRIL 8, 1994: GENOCIDE WAS SPREAD THROUGH OUT THE COUNTRY, MILITARIES AND INTERAHAMWE EXTERMINATING TUTSI

Soldiers of the Presidential Guard and the Interahamwe joined forces to kill the Tutsi who lived in Nyamirambo

On **April 8, 1994**, Interahamwe and soldiers killed Tutsi in Nyamirambo, in the various places where they had taken refuge, in particular at the Catholic Parish of Saint Charles Lwanga, the convent of the Josephite brothers and the Saint André College. On the same day, the Interahamwe began to massacre the Tutsi who had taken refuge in the Catholic parish of Ruhuha, in Bugesera.

The massacre of Tutsi who had taken refuge at "Kiryamocyzovu", in Taba area

The massacres in Taba Commune, in former Gitarama Prefecture began on April 8, 1994. The Interahamwe installed barriers at various locations including Rwabashyashya, Buguri, Gishyeshye and around the Remera hospital in Rukoma.

Kubwimana Silas, chairman of the MRND in the Taba Commune and very influential person, organized a meeting in Kiryamocyinzovu, and declared that the Tutsi is the enemy, that he must be denounced; he continued with the lie that the Tutsi had dug pits into which they were going to throw the bodies of the Hutu. Since April 8, the Tutsi have been gradually brought to Kiryamocyinzovu, which now bears the nickname CND, to be massacred there.

Kubwimana Silas was the head of the killers and coordinated the massacres, it was he who designated who should die: "Kill this one, save this other that I will kill myself later." The killers came to the commune to wait for Kubwimana's orders to go and kill. Many Tutsi came to take refuge in the commune but found there Interahamwe who were waiting for them and who had received instructions to bring them to Kiryamocyinzovu to massacre them. Some of them had been designated to kill, while others were to bury the bodies of the victims huddled in a long ditch. The weapons used to kill were clubs, hoes and guns.

Bourgmestre Mubiligi Jean-Napoleon of the Kamembe Commune had Tutsi killed at the Parish of Nkanka

In the old Kamembe Commune, currently in Rusizi District, Tutsi were killed in the Parish of Nkanka, in the Kamembe Commune and in the locality of Busekanka. From April 8, the Tutsi began to take refuge in the Parish of Nkanka because the massacres and the burning of the houses had started in Gitwa and Murambi.

The Tutsi took refuge in the Parish of Nkanka because they had become used to finding a safe refuge there, and that the Mayor of the Kamembe Commune, Mubiligi Jean Napoléon, had declared that the Tutsi had to go to take refuge in the parish and even sent police there to protect them. But that was not what he wanted, because he wanted to know how many Tutsi there were and prevent them from being able to flee to Zaire

Bourgmestre Mubiligi Jean-Napoléon and the parish priest of Nkanka, Ngirinshuti Thaddée, organized a meeting with the leaders of the Interahamwe of Kamembe Commune and planned the extermination of the Tutsi. The day after the Interahamwe attacked the Tutsi and killed them with grenades, clubs called "*Nta mpongano y'umwanz'i*" i.e "Merciless", machetes, swords and other various weapons.

So that the Tutsi could not defend themselves during the attacks, Father Ngirinshuti Thaddée took from the Tutsi all the weapons (spears, machetes, sticks and bows with arrows) which they had carried with them, and said to them: "All refugees must not carry weapons". He wanted to take away all of their defenses. The police

officers supposed to protect them had in a room made available to them by the parish priest, numerous rifles, grenades, which were then used by the Interahamwe who came to kill the Tutsi. In Kamembe commune, 60 Tutsi who had taken refuge there were killed.

Yussuf Munyakazi and Marcel Sebatware, who ran the CIMERWA cement factory, exterminated Tutsi who had taken refuge in this factory

In the Rusizi district, Muganza sector, Shara cell, in the former Bugarama commune, Muganza sector, the Tutsi were killed at a place called "Specialized cell". It was the place where the infamous Yussuf Munyakazi was born. The Tutsi in this locality were unable to flee and join others with whom they could have confronted the Interahamwe and defended themselves, but rather, as of April 8, 1994, were removed from their homes and brought CIMERWA to be killed there.

The director general of CIMERWA, Marcel Sebatware, originally from the Mukingo Commune and currently residing in Belgium, and the Ntawumenyumunsi technical director Jean Marie Pascal, originally from Rubavu and currently residing in Holland, have drawn up the list of Tutsi who were employed there for let them be killed, and ask the other employees to take them out and give them to the Interahamwe. Among more than 500 staff, this factory employed some 80 Tutsi who were almost all killed, except a few who had escaped before. It was at CIMERWA that the most terrible barrier in the Muganza Sector was installed in 1994.

Many Tutsi were killed in the locality of Buhinga, in Cyangugu

Buhinga is located at the intersection of the three main roads from Rusizi, Nyamasheke and Nyungwe. In Buhinga was installed a barrier guarded by many Interahamwe, including the famous Makambira, Damien alias Shitani (Satan), Muhutu who was a teacher, Gitare and Mugenzi.

At this barrier, from April 7, 1994, Tutsi who passed there to pick tea leaves were harassed and beaten, some of them were stripped naked and ordered to dance in front of their torturers. On April 8, 1994, 4 Tutsi were killed there. Tutsi whose houses had not yet been burnt down began to be massacred. The Interahamwe of the Bushekeri Sector began to surround the Tutsi of this locality. The Tutsi from the Ruvumbu, Rundwa and Nyanza cells were also surrounded. All those who were taken were brought to Buhinga, killed and thrown into a quarry dug in Buhinga. The Interahamwe were instructed to kill Tutsi together in large numbers so that they could chase the others who were hiding.

In this career, some were thrown alive, some had been injured in the feet and arms so that once in the career they would not have the strength to rise to the surface, and would die in the worst suffering.

Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva ordered the extermination of Tutsi who lived in Nyundo

Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva ordered the soldiers and the Interahamwe to exterminate all the Tutsi who were in Nyundo, at the minor seminary, at the hospital, in the schools and among the population.

On April 7, 1994, Tutsi took refuge in the Nyundo seminary and were killed the same day. On April 8, 1994, the survivors went to the Diocese to join others and spent their day fighting against the Interahamwe. A group of killers entered the church with soldiers and killed the Tutsi who had taken refuge there.

A priest by the name of Deogratias Twagirayezu was the first who was killed at the minor seminary by Interahamwe from Kibilira.

Among the Interahamwe who coordinated the Nyundo massacres, there is Nkundabanyanga Fidèle, a medical assistat, Kabiligi Stanislas, Councilor of Muhira Sector, Mpozembizi Marc, Mayor of Rubavu Commune and Father Nturiye Edouard alias Simba. The latter is imprisoned in Rwanda for the crime of genocide and was sentenced to a lifetime in prison.

Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva and LT Colonel Alphonse Nzungize coordinated the massacres of Tutsi at Adventist University of Mudende

Part of the Adventist University of Mudende was built in the Mudende Sector, while the other was built in the Mugongo Sector, in Mutura Commune, Gisenyi Prefecture. Currently, it is in the Mudende Sector, in the Rubavu district.

During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the killers began attacking the Tutsi at their homes, which led them to take refuge in the Adventist University hoping to find a safe refuge there given that they were also foreigners mostly Americans who worked there. Arrived there, an American confiscated their sticks and tried to hide them in different premises. At around 3 p.m. a group of killers attacked the university, and before this event the American rushed to give back the sticks to the Tutsi refugees who tried to defend themselves.

Men fought with their sticks while women and girls threw stones and bricks. They repelled three (3) attacks and each time the killers retreated. On April 8, 1994, the

attack was carried out by a group of soldiers from the Bigogwe military camp commanded by Lt Colonel Alphonse Nzungize, and the acts of violence increased in intensity. They attacked with grenades and by firing numerous bullets, many Tutsi perished.

The killers included the Bourgmestre of the Mutura Commune, Bakiye Jean Berchmans, and other advisers and officials who incited the population to kill the Tutsi. The victims of these massacres at the University of Mudende were buried with dignity at the Kanzenze memorial, in Kanzenze Sector.

Many Tutsi were killed at Mizingo roadblock, in Mutura Commune

At the place called Mizingo, in Kanyirabigogo cell, in Kanzenze sector, in Mutura commune, currently in Mizingo village, Kanyirabigogo cell, Kanzenze sector, there was a barrier led by Ntamaherezo, president of the MRND in Mutura commune. The meetings which planned the Genocide were organized at his home. Since the barrier was installed in 1990, Ntamaherezo has killed or saved whomever he wanted.

At this roadblock, Tutsi were assaulted until around 8 a.m. on April 8, 1994, many Tutsi were killed there, some of whom had escaped the massacres in the church of Bweramana.

The Interahamwe killed many Tutsi in Mashyuza, Nyamyumba Commune, and at BRALIRWA,

On April 8, 1994, at BRALIRWA, eleven truck drivers who had come from different parts of the country to take loads of drinks were killed there. The Interahamwe took them out of the small hotels where they were staying to bring them to Mashyuza and kill them. The killers included Musafiri and Sibomana. The bodies of the victims were buried with dignity at the Kanzenze memorial.

Kinyinya is one of the sites where many Tutsi were killed on April 8, 1994

On April 8, 1994, in the Kinyinya sector, nearly 200 Tutsi took refuge on German Radio Deutsche Welle because they believed they had found a safe refuge. Two days later, soldiers from the Kami military camp asked the management of Deutsche Welle to drive the Tutsi who had taken refuge there from their buildings. The Germans were evacuated and left the guard of their buildings to their employee named Uwimfura Callixte. After leaving by plane, this employee quickly called other Interahamwe from Kinyinya to help him kill the many Tutsi who had taken refuge there. They massacred them all and there were only three survivors.

In the locality of Kinyinya there were, already before the outbreak of the Genocide, two renowned Interahamwe: Uwimfura who had the Tutsi killed at Deutsche Welle and Chief Warrant Officer Zirimwabagabo who was the instructor of the Interahamwe. Zirimwabagabo when he went to a bar and made his dog taste his beer before sharing it with a Tutsi. When the latter refused to drink it he was beaten to the point that his ribs were broken and became a handicapped person. Communal police are among those who killed many Tutsi in Kinyinya. So far, the Tutsi from Kinyinya who have been killed and who have been buried at the memorial are 441, but others, apparently 77, have been missing.

In Gatonde, Mugunga Sector, in Ruhengeri Prefecture, Tutsi were thrown into the Mukungwa river

The Tutsi who lived in Mugunga, in the former Gatonde Commune, near Ndusu, were thrown into the Mukungwa River at the place called Bukeri, near the Vunga shopping center and market. Bukeri is a bridge over the Mukungwa river which connects the Sectors of Shyira (Nyabihu) and Mugunga (Gakenke). From April 8 until April 22, 1994, Tutsi were gathered, tied up and thrown into the Mukungwa River; their torturers told them they were sending them to Arusha for peace negotiations. Those who were going to die were gathered on the bridge connecting the Gatonde and Ndusu Communes.

Among those responsible for these massacres, there is Councilor Nsanzubukire Ernest, Bourgmestre Nizeyimana Jean Bosco who directed the MRND in Ndusu Commune, Nizeyimana Gaspard alias Kaguta, the Sub-prefect Nzanana Dismas, the Prefect of Ruhengeri Nsabumugisha Basile and FARABARUKA who was a prison guard.

Zigiranyirazo Protais at the head of those who exterminated the Tutsi of Kesho, Muhanda Sector, in Ngororero Commune

On the hill of Kesho, called Rubaya, there are tea plantations and a tea factory. It was in the former Gaseke Commune where the Tutsi Bagogwe (near Mount Bigogwe, at the ends of the Ngororero District) defended themselves with stones and spears, until they were killed on the 8 April 1994 by military armed with firearms.

Zigiranyirazo Protais, the brother of Agathe Kanziga the wife of President Habyalimana the bourgmestre of Gaseke Commune Bazubahande Ignace and Djaribu Anastase director of the Rubaya tea factory, coordinated the massacres in this region.

Throughout the country, massacres were committed with the violence of those who wanted to exterminate Tutsi

Since April 8, 1994, the massacres have spread throughout the country.

In Rwankuba, in the Murambi Sector, more than 500 Tutsi were killed by Interahamwe and their neighbors. The killers were led by Councilor Bizimungu Jean who rounded up the Tutsi and burned them alive.

In Kiziguro, in Rukungu, currently Ndatemwa Cell, Kiziguro Sector, in just 2 hours almost all the Tutsi who lived there had been killed. They were killed by the Interahamwe of Bishenyi and Rukunku led by Gakwerere Aloys and Muganga Manasse and others militia from Rugurarama, and others still sent by Byansi Valens.

On the same day, Tutsi were killed in Kaje, Rwamitereri cell, Murambi Sector and in the center of Rugwiro where the Tutsi were gathered under the pretext of protecting them when in reality it was better to kill them together.

The massacres were planned by Gatete Jean Baptiste and Councilor Nkubana Jérôme. Gatete Jean Baptiste, the former bourgmestre of Murambi Commune was condemned by the ICTR to 40 years in jail. He had been condemned in first instance to life imprisonment.

Tutsi were killed at the orphanage, in Gakenke Cell, Kiramuruzi sector. Many Tutsi had taken refuge in this orphanage believing they were escaping death, but they were decimated and some of them were brought to Kiziguro church to be massacred.

Among the organizers of the massacres was Gatete Jean Baptiste, who travelled his car to incite Hutu to kill Tutsi, Councilor Munyabuhoro Pierre Claver and other Interahamwe who were escorting him and who were led by police officers Rusagara and Deo Niyonzima.

On April 8, 1994, Tutsi who had taken refuge at Mata tea factory in the Nyaruguru region were massacred just like those who had taken refuge on Nyawera hill, Mwiri sector, Kayonza district.

The same day, nearly 5000 Tutsi who had taken refuge in the Adventist church of Cyambara, Bigogwe sector, Gisenyi Prefecture, were massacred just like those who had taken refuge in Shyira hospital in Ruhengeri Prefecture, currently in Nyabihu district. Also on the same day, the massacres of Tutsi began in Rutsiro Commune, in Kibuye Prefecture.

The killings that took place at Zaza Catholic Parish and Zaza *Petit Seminaire*

Zaza Parish is one of the first Catholic parishes in Rwanda taken as a home of intelligence due to the high number of schools around mainly built by Catholic Church and other theologians. Yet it did not preclude the accommodation of the divisions and ideologies of Tutsi hatred.

During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, on April 8, 1994, the massacre began in daylight in Zaza Parish. On April 9 and 10, 1994, heavy attacks on Tutsi who had taken refuge in the Parish killed many Tutsi and seriously injured many others using traditional weapons, guns and grenades. On April 11, 1994, the rest of the victims of the attacks on the Parish fled to the Zaza Seminary and that day no attacks were directed to them. On April 12 and 13, 1994, Interahamwe entered the Seminary and killed the refugees, dumping the bodies in the school's Water Fund.

On April 19, 1994, those who had taken refuge at the Health Center were taken from the hospital to be killed outside. These were the key dates on which the massacre of many Tutsi who had fled to the Parish, the Seminary and the Health Center took place. Others were killed in rural areas in various locations where they were seeking refuge.

On April 27 and 28, 1994, the Inkotanyi were able to rescue those who were hiding in the bushes and elsewhere. It was on May 2, 1994 when the Inkotanyi Forces took them to Kabarondo to provide protect them, treat the wounded, comfort them and bring them back to normal life. The Zaza Memorial is home to more than 12,000 Tutsi bodies from Mugesera, Gashanda, Karembo and Zaza sectors.

At the forefront of the massacre of Tutsi buried in the Zaza memorial are the following:

- Member of Parliament Jyamubandi Jean Bosco;
- Bourgmester of Mugesera commune, Gakware Leonard;
- Thomas Ngendahimana, the manager of *Banque Populaire* and former communal police;
- Prominent Interahamwe including *Nyiramubande* and many others.

2.3. APRIL 9, 1994: NUMEROUS MASSACRES WERE PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI CITY, KIBUNGO, RUHENGERI AND KIBUYE PREFECTURES

The French Operation “Amaryllis” abandoned Tutsi in the hands of the killers

April 9 marks the start of the French operation dubbed *Amaryllis*, which continued until April 12, 1994. The official justification for this operation was the evacuation of the French and other foreigners. This operation took place while massacres were being carried out systematically and on a massive scale in Kigali and throughout Rwandan territory by the government army and militiamen. The French did not want to intervene to stop the massacres being committed in front of their eyes, especially in front of Kanombe airport, and all along the road connecting the airport to the city center of the capital. They left several victims in the hands of the killers.

Tutsi who had succeeded to get into the trucks of French soldiers had forcibly descended at the first roadblock, they were killed in front of the French soldiers. Mixed couples between French and Rwandans were separated or left behind, European women were forced to abandon their Tutsi and their mixed-race children. French Embassy workers, mainly Tutsi, were abandoned.

Meanwhile, the French Embassy opened its doors to the family of late President Juvenal Habyarimana, members of the regime’s death squad, members of the criminal presidential circle, called *Akazu*. Tutsi who tried to hang on to the gate of the French Embassy were repelled and killed by the militiamen.

Employees of the *Ste Agathe* orphanage belonging to Agathe Kanziga, wife of the president Habyarimana, were evacuated, but France refused political asylum to the children of Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, murdered two days earlier by members of the Rwandan army led by Major Bernard Ntuyahaga.

The decision to evacuate French and other foreigners was not made after the death of President Habyarimana, or the two days that followed. French military and political officials have taken their time to analyse the situation with a vision to react at the right time. By doing so, the French wanted to strengthen the position of the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) in the war.

On April 9, 1994, the Habyarimana family, including Agathe Habyarimana, and several Hutu extremists who had just launched massacres against Tutsi were evacuated to the capital of the Central African Republic, Bangui, and transferred to Paris.

Among them were the sponsor of the genocide, Félicien Kabuga who was at the same time one of the tough guys in power and was president of the Provisional Committee of the National Defense Fund (FDN) and president of the Initiative Committee of Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM), the regime's sinister propaganda tool. This same Félicien Kabuga, was the importer of 25 tons of machetes in November 1993 as well as 50,000 other machetes in March 1994. Félicien Kabuga was still wanted by the international justice for 26 years and was arrested on 17 May 2020 in Paris suburb. He is accused of genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, attempted genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide and crimes against humanity (persecution, extermination).

Also included on the list was Ferdinand Nahimana, renowned scholar and professor of history at the National University of Rwanda. Nahimana was the director of the Rwandan Information Office and founder of RTLM. He used radio, the medium of communication that reaches the largest number of people, to spread hatred and violence. Nahimana was sentenced at the end of his trial to 30 years imprisonment *"for directly and publicly inciting the execution of genocide and for persecution constituting a crime against humanity through RTLM broadcasts."*

Investiture of the genocidal government composed by Hutu-Power extremists led by Jean Kambanda

Early in the morning of April 8, 1994, Bagosora brought together leaders of political parties of the Hutu-Power tendency to form a government, all, unsurprisingly, on the side of the extremists. The composition of this government took place in the premises of the French Embassy in Rwanda with the supervision of the Ambassador of France in Rwanda, Jean Pierre Marlaud.

The MRND was represented by its president Mathieu Ndirumutse, Edouard Karemera its vice-president and Joseph Nzirorera, its secretary general; the MDR by its Hutu-Power wing leaders, Froduald Karamira, Donat Murego, the PL by, Justin Mugenzi and Agnès Ntamabyaliro. The PSD was represented by two extremists, François Ntungutse and Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki, while the PDC was represented by Jean-Marie Vianney Sibomana, Célestin Kabanda and Gaspard Ruhumuliza.

On the recommendation of the MRND leaders, the group decided to install Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo, as President of the Republic. Colonel Bagosora appointed Jean Kambanda to the post of Prime Minister.

This government's sole agenda was the coordination and spread of the genocide against the Tutsi across the country. Its members have crisscrossed the country, inciting massacres, distributing weapons to militiamen, and justifying on the international scene the criminal acts that were being committed in Rwanda.

Tutsi were killed at the *Saint Vincent de Pallotti* Catholic Parish in Gikondo, in Kigali in the eyes of UN observers

On April 9, 1994, Interahamwe, soldiers and the gendarms killed Tutsi who had taken refuge in the Vincent de Pallotti Catholic Parish in Gikondo, these refugees were about 500. Today, UN troops witnessed the massacre of Tutsi, including many children, in this church in Gikondo. Also on that date, soldiers burnt Tutsi who had taken refuge in the village of Nyakabanda II, below the Baobab Hotel.

The French Daily Liberation was the first foreign newspaper to qualify these killings as genocide from the pen of journalist Jean Philippe Ceppi who was in Rwanda during these bloody massacres.

Tutsi continued to be massacred across the country: in Kibungo, Kigali, Ruhengeri and Kibuye

On that date Tutsi who had taken refuge on the hills of Murama, Murundi, Mwiri, Nyamirama and Kabare in the District of Kayonza, just like those who had taken refuge in the Catholic Parish of Kabuye in Sector Jabana, District of Gasabo, been massacred.

Interahamwe killed Tutsi in Nyagatare Sector in Nyagatare District, as did those who had taken refuge in Zaza, in Kibungo, where since April 9, 1994, the massacres continued, and from 500 to 800 Tutsi perished.

Since April 9, 1994, Interahamwe began the massacre of Tutsi who had taken refuge in Kiramuruzi, in Gatsibo District, as well as those who had taken refuge on Nyamagumba hill in Mabanza Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. Refugees resisted for five days (9-14 April) and during the days that followed, more than 12,000 Tutsi were killed.

On the same day, Tutsi who had taken refuge in Nyabikenke, at the office of the former Karama Sector in the Bumbogo region, were also killed, as in several other localities, such as in Cyabingo, in Ruhengeri Prefecture, at the Rusiza Baptist Church in Kabumba, in Gisenyi Prefecture, in and around Nyundo Church, as well as in Nyundo Maternity Hospital in Gisenyi Prefecture, currently in Rubavu District.

In the locality of Kivuruga in Cyabingo commune, there were very many soldiers who arrested the Tutsi to prevent them from fleeing. Tutsi were killed both at this barrier and in Cyabingo and Busengo. The Interahamwe who had just killed them continued towards Mukinga, on the asphalt road, armed with the hands of the Tutsi whom they had cut after having massacred them; before going to Rwaza Catholic Parish, in the former Ruhondo Commune, to go kill others.

2.4. APRIL 10, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI NGARI, GIKONGORO, GISENYI, BYUMBA, KIBUNGO AND CYANGUGU PREFECTURES

The French continued to support the genocidal government of Jean Kambanda

Evacuations to Paris continued, 94 orphans (mostly children of FAR soldiers) from the Sainte-Agathe orphanage, sponsored by Agathe Kanziga, wife of the late president, were evacuated via Bangui to Paris. They were accompanied by 34 people, whose identity has never been revealed.

On April 10, Jérôme Bicomumpaka, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the genocidal government of Jean Kambanda, met with the French Ambassador to Rwanda, Jean Michel Marlaud, and asked him for the intervention of French forces to "*control the situation*". Which meant direct intervention alongside the Rwandan armed forces in the fighting against the RPF. France was not asking for an end to the massacres, which for the genocidaires gave them moral support to continue committing massacre without any fear.

Catholic bishops expressed their sadness towards Habyarimana's death, but did not denounce the genocide against the Tutsi

In a press release written on April 10 by Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva, Bishop of Kabgayi, and published in French in the Catholic Church Journal *Osservatore Romano*, the Catholic bishops of Rwanda said they were dismayed following the death of his Excellence Juvenal Habyarimana and shocked "*by the number of assassinations perpetrated since that day*". They did not speak of massacres of Tutsi, but of disturbances, and did not name the perpetrators of massacres.

They "*paid tribute to the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) who took security issues at heart*". The bishops said nothing about the role of FAR in the massacres. They

"welcome the establishment of a new government, to which they pledge their support. They asked all Rwandans to lighten the load of the new leaders by responding favorably to their calls and by helping them in carrying out the task they have assigned to the new government, namely: the restoration of peace and security, the fight against hunger and negotiations with the RPF ”.

This was a clear stand for the genocidaires because the Catholic bishops were supporting an army which kills, and a government which massacres the Tutsi civilian population.

The massacre of Tutsi in the Rushashi Sector, former Rushashi Commune, Kigali Ngari

On March 10, 1994, many Tutsi were killed in Rwankuba at the Catholic parish, near the offices of the Rushashi Sector where there was formerly the Rushashi Sub-prefecture and a court, in Shyombwe and also at the Kinyari shopping center. The place was called "CND" in 1994.

Meetings planning the massacres of Tutsi were organized in Rushashi, some at the Bourgmestre of the former Musasa Commune, Havugimana Aloys and at the commune office, while others were organized at the headquarters of the Kigali Ngali Prefecture which were led by the Prefect Karera Francois, also at the office of the Rushashi Sub-prefecture, at that of the Rushashi Commune, at the Shyombwe Sector, at the EAV Rushashi and at the office of the Joma Sector.

Note that the prefect Karera Francois was tried and found guilty of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and died in custody.

Mugirangabo Silas, the Bourgmester of the Rwamiko Commune, and the Sub-prefect Biniga Damien exterminated the Tutsi at the Ruramba Health Center in Rwamiko Commune

On April 10, 1994, Tutsi were killed who had taken refuge at the Ruramba nutritional center in Rwamiko Commune, Gikongoro Prefecture. Among those responsible for this massacre are Mugirangabo Silas, Mayor of the Rwamiko Commune, the Sub-prefect Biniga Damien, Mutaganda, Ruramba Advisor, Gafaranga Innocent School Inspector in the Rwamiko Commune, Nkurikiyinka Célestin, teacher, Kidahenda Oswald, member of the Impuzamugambi from CDR,

Kabuga Leodomir (CDR), Nkuriza Félicien, Ndabarinze, director of the Mata tea factory and Nkuriza Anatole, youth supervisor.

The meetings, organized by the authorities and which planned the massacres of the Tutsi , were held in the center of Ruramba, where currently a market has been built, and were chaired by the Sub-prefect Biniga Damien.

In Ruramba there is a memorial of the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi , in which between 1200 and 1500 bodies of victims were buried.

Tutsi were massacred in Ngororero, Commune Satinskyi

From 8 to 10 April 1994, in Ngororero where there was the old palace of the MRND and the office of the Ngororero Sub-prefecture, in Gisenyi Prefecture, many Tutsi from the Satinskyi, Ramba and Gaseke Communes were killed and in surroundings; some of them were burned to death in gasoline in these buildings in which they believed to have found hiding. Many meetings which planned these massacres were held in the offices of what were formerly the Sub-prefecture of Ngororero and the Communes Ramba, Gaseke and Satinskyi.

Most of the Tutsi were killed on April 10, 1994, and it was this date that was chosen by the District to commemorate their memory.

Among them are Rwangarinda Berchmans, a teacher, and his family, the trader Bizimungu Martin, the family of Rukara and others who, after taking refuge there, returned to their homes. Tutsi were gathered at the office of the former Ngororero Sub-prefecture and were killed after meetings organized at the offices of the Ramba, Gaseke and Satinskyi Communes.

Gako soldiers massacred Tutsi on Rebero Hill, in the Mayange Sector, Bugesera

Rebero is located in the Bugesera District, in the Mayange Sector. In 1994, when the Genocide had just started, the Tutsi who lived near Rebero, those of Mayange, Kibenga, Mbyo and some of Nyamata and others, took refuge on the hill of Rebero for join the local Tutsi and be able to defend themselves.

On April 8, 1994, many Tutsi arrived on Rebero Hill and gathered, and on the same day they were attacked by a group of killers but resisted and repelled the attack.

On April 10, 1994, soldiers from the Gako military camp attacked and shot the Tutsi who were on Rebero Hill. There were very few survivors because the soldiers fired on them and were followed by Interahamwe who finished with stabbing those who were still breathing. The main organizer of this massacre was Lieutenant-Colonel Pheneas Munyarugarama who commanded the Gako military camp.

The extermination of Tutsi at Gahanga Church, Kigali

Since April 8, 1994, when the Genocide had intensified, many Tutsi from Gahanga and various other localities took refuge in the church of Gahanga. They were both Tutsi and Hutu who had not yet understood who was targeted by the massacres. On April 9, 1994, the local authorities and the Interahamwe asked the Hutu to leave the church. And when they got out, sometimes there were Hutu men who came to recover their wives and children who had taken refuge in the church. The Tutsi were not allowed to go out and on April 10, 1994 all the Hutu who had taken refuge there were left, and only the Tutsi remained in the church.

On the same day of April 10, 1994, the Tutsi began to be killed, but they resisted and repelled the Interahamwe, who claimed that they were stopping the attacks and that they would not return. It was Councilor Buregeya who then asked for the reinforcement of soldiers who would come to kill the Tutsi using firearms.

On the same day of April 10, 1994 soldiers arrived and shot at the Tutsi in the church, many were killed, and after the Interahamwe came to finish with still weapons those who were still breathing. Almost all of the Tutsi who were in the church were massacred and the few survivors were seriously injured. The Genocide Memorial built on the site of the church contains more than 7,000 bodies of victims.

Interahamweled by Gatete Jean Baptiste massacred Tutsi in Rwinkeke, Karambi, Murundi Sector, Kayonza District

In Rwinkeke in Karambi, Murundi Sector, there was a Catholic church. On April 8 and 9, 1994, many Tutsi took refuge there. On April 10, 1994, the local Hutu, supported by Interahamwe from Murambi at Gatete Jean Baptiste's house, exterminated all these Tutsi and threw them into latrine pits which had been dug near the church. At the head of the killers was Gahirwa Appolinaire who was convicted of the crime of genocide, but has now completed his sentence and has been released, as well as the man named Gakwandi who has never been arrested to be brought to justice.

The massacres were committed in other parts of the country

Massacres were perpetrated at the Nyarubuye Parish, Rusumo. The killings were organized by the bourgmestre Sylvestre Gacumbitsi. On the same day, the Interahamwe massacred the Tutsi in Karambi, Cyimbogo Commune (Cyangugu). Between April 10-11, there was massacre in the church of Zaza (Kibungo), more than 1,000 dead. On April 10, the great massacre took place at the Kiziguro Parish organized by Jean-Baptiste Gatete, bourgmestre of Murambi, 3,500 to 3,700 dead.

2.5. APRIL 11, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI CITY, BYUMBA, CYANGUGU AND KIBUNGO PREFECTURES

The withdrawal of the Belgian contingent from ETO Kicukiro, Kigali, the massacres in Kicukiro and Nyanza, Kicukiro

The Official Technical School of Kigali, ETO in acronym, was managed by the Salesian Fathers. Since 1963 the Tutsi have taken refuge there and were well received and assisted. As soon as the Tutsi took refuge there on April 8, 1994, gathered in the same place, they were shot, in particular they were shot with arrows, until April 11, 1994 where they were brought to the place named Nyanza of Kicukiro where they were systematically massacred.

In 1994, within the ETO compound, there was a post of UNAMIR troops who had come in the framework of peacekeeping that is why the Tutsi had taken refuge there in large numbers, hoping to be protected by these well-armed UN soldiers. Afterwards, UNAMIR abandoned them in the hands of Interahamwe and soldiers ready to massacre them on April 11, 1994. Colonel Rusatira Leonidas brought in numerous soldiers who prevented the Tutsi from fleeing to join the CND, the Rwandan Parliament where the RPF soldiers were accommodated, the Tutsi were killed little by little from SONATUBES, on the way towards Nyanza de Kicukiro where they were brought to be exterminated there with grenades before the Interahamwestrip the victims and finish those who were still breathing.

The Belgian contingent stationed at ETO was led by Lieutenant Luc Lemaire, himself commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Dewez, himself under the responsibility of colonel Luc Marshall deputy of general Dallaire commander of the UNAMIR. They are the first to be held responsible for the massacre of 2,000 killed on April 11, 1994.

Massacres at the Church of Kiziguro Catholic Parish, Byumba Diocese

From 7 to 10 April 1994, the Tutsi, coming from different localities, began to take refuge in the church of Kiziguro where they were told that they were going to be protected there but it was a question of letting them gather in large number because on April 11, 1994 they were killed, the massacres lasted from 10 am to 4 pm.

They were killed by the Interahamwemobilized by the former bourgmestre Gatete Jean Baptiste, Rwabukombe Onesphore mayor of Muvumba, Mwangi Jean de Dieu, Sibomana Martin, Nkundabazungu Augustin businessman, Niyonzima Deogratias (Brigadier of Commune Murambi), Munyakazi (policier), Mbuguje Jean Damascene (businessman), Muganga Manasse, Mirasano Emmanuel, Biramahire Kaguru, Karekezi Augustin, Munyabuhoro Pierre Claver, Gakombe Balthazar, Gakwerere Aloys, Mutsinzi Emmanuel, Karengera Paulin (inspector of primary school), Musoni Francois, Manihura Habib, Kabalira Sylvain, etc.

The massacres were supervised by soldiers from Gabiro military camp sent by Major Nkundiye Leonard, the former commander of the presidential guard of Habyarimana.

They were massacred in the courtyard of the parish, near water tanks, in the garden, at the dispensary, near the statue of the Virgin Mary and elsewhere behind the fence wall. There was a small wood. Those who were killed were buried in holes of 60 cm deep, below the primary school. Many Tutsi were thrown in the pit and most of them were thrown alive. Doctor Rwamakuba Emmanuel, Sekamana and Fidèle Karangwa alias Gasongo, as well as others from Kiyombe, are often cited among those who killed near the pit.

Massacre of Tutsi at ADPR Shagasha, Cyangugu

The Shagasha ADPR was a church where many Christians went to pray, among them many Tutsi, which is why they took refuge there. The Tutsi who took refuge in the ADPR were women and children, the men feared they would be killed there.

About 60 Tutsi women and children took refuge there from April 11, 1994 when Tutsi started to be killed and their homes burnt down. Even if they were women and children, the Interahamwe would come and select male children to go and kill them. In order to prevent them from being killed, they were clothed in dresses to be taken as girls.

In addition, male Tutsi who had been captured in the Shagasha, Munyove and Rwahi Sectors were brought at ADPR Shagasha to be massacred, many Tutsi coming from these Sectors were thus killed at this church.

Massacre of Tutsi in Save, in Gisuma, Cyangugu

In the former Gisuma Commune, in Ruharambuga Sector, Gihinga Cell, Cyangugu Prefecture, currently in Nyamasheke District, Ruharambuga Sector, Save Cell, were gathered on April 11, 1994 near 50 Tutsi in the house of Mukandagara Odette, who all been killed. They had previously been surrounded in this cell before they were all brought to this house and were killed there.

In the former Nyamuhunga Sector, Kimpundu Cell were also killed over 1,000 Tutsi who had been rounded up by Interahamwe from this locality.

The Tutsi had taken refuge there from the evening of April 9, 1994, and after their number had increased, they were all surrounded and killed on April 11, 1994 in broad daylight. They were killed by Interahamwe who came from cells close to this sector, and by municipal police. The Interahamwe were led by the councilor of Sector, Rujigo Francois. The communal police had previously arrived at the Tutsi refugees, reassuring them that they were coming to protect them while it was a trick to keep them together so that they did not flee to other places and then be killed massively.

Massacre of more than 15,000 Tutsi at Hanika Parish, Cyangugu

At Hanika Parish, currently in Nyamasheke District, in the Macuba sector, nearly 15,000 Tutsi who had taken refuge there were killed in the premises they occupied: the premises of the priests, the health center and the nutritional center, locals who all belonged to the Hanika Parish.

Among the Interahamwe who killed them was Alphonse alias Rasta, son of Pasteur who was a soldier. It was he who grenade killed Tutsi Ngoboka Xavier and Gasheme, son of Basabose, the latter was an employee of Gatera Fabien. Among other Interahamwe are Hatunguramyé Joseph, Hanyurwa Valens, Nkerabahizi Oscar, Michel Bahimaya, Mukono, trader in Kirambo, who offered beer to the Interahamwe so that they could go and kill with high morale.

The Tutsi of the Gatara Commune began to take refuge in the Hanika Parish on April 8 and 9, 1994, when they noticed that the Hutu had started to form groups and to denounce the Tutsi as what they would have killed the Father of the Nation, in other words: president Habyarimana. On April 9, 1994, a young man who had been killed with a sword by one of his neighbors was buried on April 10, 1994 in the locality of Muramba-Gitwa; the Tutsi who attended the funeral were mocked by Hutu who told them that now they were going to bury theirs forever.

On April 11, 1994, the Bourgmestre of the former Gatare Commune, Rugwizangoga Fabien, arrived on the scene around 12 noon, he had just met with Emmanuel Bagambiki, the Prefect of Cyangugu. Sometime later, around 3 p.m., when the bourgmestre had just left the locality, a group of killers attacked the Tutsi refugees to massacre them.

Among the killers was a woman by the name of Marigarita, who had been a counselor even before the outbreak of the liberation war in 1990, and who was reputed to have imprisoned many Tutsi on the false pretext that they were accomplices of the Inkotanyi.

Massacre of Tutsi at Midiho, EAR Nyagatovu, Kayonza, Kibungo

In the Mukarange Sector, at the place called Midiho, in the Nyagatovu Cell, on April 11, 1994, more than 200 Tutsi who had taken refuge in the EAR Nyagatovu were killed, and at the head of the killers was the merchant Kanyengoga Thomas from the Kayonza shopping center. Until today, the bodies of the victims of this massacre have never been found to be buried in dignity.

2.6. APRIL 12, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI CITY, KIBUNGO, CYANGUGU, KIBUYE, KIGALI NGARI, BYUMBA AND GITARAMA PREFECTURES

Frodouald Karamira and MDR-Power called on all Hutu extremists to exterminate Tutsi

Since 7/4/1994, political and government leaders have started to mobilize citizens support for the genocide. By inciting the people against the Tutsi, they clarified the indirect message delivered the day before to the administrators. Speaking on Radio Rwanda early on the morning of April 12, MDR-Power leader Frodauld Karamira told his listeners that the war was “*everyone’s responsibility*,” an idea that would be repeated frequently in the next few weeks. He called upon Hutu “*not fight among themselves*” but rather to “*assist the armed forces to finish their work*.” This was a directive to the MDR-Power supporters to forget their differences with the MRND and the CDR and to collaborate with them in tracking Tutsi. Without this collaboration, advocated by Karamira on “*Hutu Power*” speech in October, 1993, the genocide would have remained limited to strongholds of the MRND and the CDR.

The same day, Radio Rwanda broadcast a press release from the Ministry of Defense. It denied "lies" about divisions in the armed forces and among Hutu generally and insisted that: "*Soldiers, gendarmes [National Police], and all Rwandans have decided to fight their common enemy in unison and all have identified him. The enemy is still the same. He is the one who has always been trying to return the monarch who was overthrown....the Ministry of Defence asks Rwandans, soldiers and gendarmes the following: citizens are asked to act together, carry out patrols and fight the enemy*".

On April 12, 1994, the genocidal government left Kigali and settled in Gitarama where it continued to coordinate the extermination of Tutsi in all prefectures.

In Kigali, corpses were thrown into dumpsters by prisoners and dumped in trenches dug by machines

On the 12th April 1994, General Dallaire learns from UN military observers that massacres were underway in Gisenyi and Kibungo. He reports that in Kigali, corpses were thrown into dumpsters by prisoners and dumped in trenches dug by machines. These dumpsters were from the service of bridges and roads of the Ministry of Public Works (MINITRAPE) under the responsibility of Ntirivamunda Alphonse the son-in-law of President Juvenal Habyarimana who fled to Belgium.

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali proposes withdrawal of UNAMIR contingents at the beginning of the genocide

In Bonn, Germany, Willy Claes, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, told Boutros Boutros-Ghali: "UNAMIR has become useless. [...] UNAMIR is in danger. [...] There is an anti-Belgian climate. " He proposed "the suspension and withdrawal of UNAMIR." Boutros-Ghali replied: "I share your analysis. " Until then, the United Nations has consistently refused to strengthen the mandate of UNAMIR despite relentless appeals from General Dallaire.

Boutros-Boutros Ghali was out of his office in the United States all the while, continuing his travels abroad despite alarming reports from UNAMIR reporting several deaths since 7/4/1994.

The Tutsi were massacred in Nyawera and Mukarange, Kayonza

In Nyawera and Mukarange sectors, Kayonza District, the dates of 11-12/04/1994 were marked with extremely cruel killings. The Interahamwe killed a mother named Murebwayire who was pregnant and they disemboweled her with a machete and removed the infant then burnt them in front of the public.

At Mukarange Catholic Parish, the Tutsi started to take refuge there between April 7 and 9, 1994, and they were attacked by militiamen and began to defend themselves with stones, bricks and other means but the Interahamwe got the upper hand because they were supported by the gendarmes and the soldiers.

On April 12, 1994, the local authorities led by Bourgmestre Senkware Célestin, supported by soldiers, gendarmes and militiamen carried out an attack on the Mukarange presbytery to kill the Tutsi. They violently beat the Parish priest Joseph Gatare who was at the same time the director of the secondary school in Mukarange who died shortly after. The Hutu vicar of the parish, Munyaneza Jean Bosco intervened to save his colleague and the Tutsi they were sheltering. He was shot on the spot, followed by mass extermination.

The group of the militias Interahamwe who was in charge of the killings included all local leaders from all professional sectors namely: Senkware Célestin (bourgmestre), Kanyangoga Thomas (businessman), Ngabonzima Augustin (diplomate) and his son Ngabonzima Jean Claude (teacher), Lieutenant gendarme Twahirwa, Sgt Nsengiyumva Edouard, Kayisabe Côme (teacher), Nsabimana alias Kiyoni (primary school inspector), Simparikubwabo alias Simba (teacher), Mutaganzwa (businessman), Gashumba Samson (conseiller Mukarange), Kanyogote Nsabimana (conseiller Nyagatovu), Rudasingwa (director of CERAI Mukarange), Tuyishime Joseph (teacher CERAI Mukarange), Mugenzi (former director of CERAI Mukarange), Gahigi Samuel (teacher), Gafaranga (teacher), Kanyanzira (businessman), Rwabagabo (brigadier), Rwayihuku (former soldier), Ndakaza Ignace, Migabo (teacher), etc.

Munyankindi Alphonse, director of Mukarange health center, provided the ambulance of the health center to transport militiamen wherever they went to commit genocide.

Massacres of Tutsi in Nyabitekeri Sector, where the former Mukoma Sector office was located, Nyamasheke, Cyangugu

Many Tutsi were killed in the Nyabitekeri Sector at the location of the office of the former Mukoma Sector (Mariba). These Tutsi were killed on April 12, 1994, forced to leave their homes to participate in the so called security meeting to which all Tutsi men were invited. They left at 8 am and asked all women and children to take refuge in the Seventh-day Adventist church; since April 10, 1994, all families spent their nights in this church trying to keep them safe, men spent their nights watching to prevent any attack to which they would respond, while women and children rested.

When they arrived at the supposed meeting place, the Tutsi men noticed that there was no meeting but that Interahamwe armed with traditional weapons were waiting for them to kill them. The Councilor by the name of Kanyarurembo Joseph asked them to enter the old sector office where they were locked up, after which the killers wanted to set this office on fire with its occupants; but apparently the petrol in their possession was of poor quality and did not burn. Councilor Kanyarurembo then asked a military reservist named Torero Theodore to throw a grenade in the building.

He threw two grenades after which they opened the doors and killed all Tutsi who wanted to escape and finished off those who were still breathing. More than 400 Tutsi men were massacred. The same day there were massacres at Karemera Claver's place, who lived in Nyabitekero Sector, Nyamasheke District, Mukoma Cell. Several Tutsi who had taken refuge were killed by a group of criminals from PIMA, who then went on to massacre those who had taken refuge in the Adventist church.

Massacre of Tutsi ordered by Prefect Bagambiki in Ngoma, Bushekeri Sector, Nyamasheke

It was on the main road from Kinini to Ngoma primary school, in Bushekeri Sector, Nyamasheke District. During the Genocide there was a roadblock and a stone quarry of over 15 m deep. The Tutsi of this sector, currently Nyarusange Cell, were all gathered and brought to be killed in Mugina after the Prefect Bagambiki Emmanuel went around Cyangugu to ask the Hutu to start killing. From 12 to 18 April 1994, those who had come from the Ngoma sector, especially from the Keshero cell, which was inhabited by many Tutsi, were surrounded and taken to the barrier where they were immediately killed.

Among the Interahamwe responsible for these massacres are Mazera, Ndayishimiye Emmanuel, Bazambanza and others.

The Tutsi perished in excruciating pain, men had their genitals and their arms cut with a machete, some of them were enucleated, women were first raped while the young children were taken from their mothers to be thrown alive in the pit, so that night and day we could hear the screams and tears of these children.

The Bourgmestre FURERE Abel of Commune Rwamatamu kills Tutsi in Rwamatamu, Gihombo Sector, Kibuye

The former Rwamatamu commune, in Kibuye Prefecture, is one of the communes which were populated by many Tutsi who owned a lot of property. Since 1959, during the attacks, Tutsi in the region took refuge in parishes and commune office and survived; however, their cattle were consumed by their torturers, their

property looted and most of their houses burnt down. In 1994, this commune was led by bourgmestre FURERE Abel.

On April 12, 1994, a meeting was held at the Rwamatamu Commune which began at 10 a.m. and ended at 1.20 p.m. The Councilors, Hutu agents from the Commune, important Hutu traders and leaders of the Interahamwe participated. At the end of the meeting, the Councilors went to reassure Tutsi refugees by telling them that peace has returned and that they should therefore return home. But some time after the Tutsi who had taken refuge at Kibingo Parish began to be killed. A vehicle carrying soldiers and Interahamwe arrived at the commune who were led by Ruzindana Obed, an important businessman in Mugonero. He had taken care to sabotage the telephone line of the commune so that Tutsi could not call theirs for reinforcement or warn the international community which would thus learn what is happening. Shots began to be heard.

On April 12, 1994, despite Tutsi resistance, more than 250 Tutsi were killed, including those who were in the commune and many children and women who had taken refuge in the church. Ruzindana Obed was found guilty of genocide and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.

From 7 to 12 April 1994, the killers who massacred Tutsi were led by Kayishema André, teacher, Ntaganzwa Charles, Ruhumuriza Celestin, former soldier, Ruzindana Obed, the reservist Gikeri, the Interahamwe Murego and Murwanashyaka. But on April 12, 1994, other Interahamwe joined the killers including: Kibati Jean Paul, the reservist Nsonera Christophe, Bimenyimana and many others.

Tutsi were massacred in Buharabuge, Rugarika in Kamonyi District

In Buharabuge, village of Kigarama, Sheri cell, Rugarika sector, Kamonyi district, a large number of Tutsi from this locality were massacred there in a plot which began on April 7, 1994 under the responsibility of the bourgmestre of Runda Commune Ndayambaje Sixbert as well as other notables like Claver Kamana who was a successful entrepreneur.

The militiamen who carried out the massacres were driven in traders' vehicles, in particular that of Sharangabo businessman in Rugarika. After having gathered the Tutsi in the center of Buharabuge and making sure that they were all present, the militiamen started to execute them with traditional weapons: clubs, stones, machetes, hoes, swords,... The carnage started on April 12, 1994 at around 1 p.m. and continued until the early evening around 7 p.m. More than 1,000 Tutsi perished that day.

After the massacre they took their clothes off, after a vehicle loaded all the bodies, including those who were still alive and threw them into a pond which was reserved to be a watering place for cows, called Cyabariza.

The massacre officials were bourgmestre Ndayambaje Sixbert of Runda Commune, assistant Burgmestre Habyarimana Vivien, a teacher Uwimana Pelage, a businessman Kamana Claver, Joseph Setiba and other Interahamwe.

Most Tutsi from Runda were thrown into the Nyabarongo River

On April 12, 1994, a large number of Tutsi took refuge in the premises of Kigese health center. They were taken out en masse to the Nyabarongo River using several usual paths leading there and they were killed and dumped there. The best-known site on the Nyabarongo river where the Tutsi were rounded up before being thrown into this river is Ruramba. These killings were always preceded by atrocious humiliations causing physical and mental degradation of the victims. The militia made men, old people, women, children walk for very long hours along the Nyabarongo river, undressed them and threw them one by one into Nyabarongo river on the arduous journey till the last Tutsi. Along the way they were beaten, accompanied by shouts and insults and some were drowned alive, stoned, others were cut out on the banks of the river and thrown into the river.

The massacre of Tutsi from Kabuga, Bumbogo Sector, Gasabo

Since April 10-11, 1994, Tutsi who lived in different corners of the Bumbogo Sector started to be killed, at *Kabuga ka Nyabikenke*, where Karama Sector office was located, over 4500 Tutsi have been killed. Those who were killed had come from Bumbogo, Kanombe, Musave, Kimironko and Ndera between April 10 and 11, 1994 and they had been told that they would be protected there.

From April 12, 1994, Tutsi from Nkuzuzu and Gishaka also joined. At nightfall, the attack began and was led by a gendarme called Emmanuel who brought a bag of grenades on a motorcycle, then a van driven by a certain militia Thaddée, arrived filled with killers with machetes. The latter had just come from Gishaka church where they had just murdered Tutsi who had taken refuge there. The massacre started on the evening of April 12 and ended in the morning of April 13, 1994.

Among the reknowned killers included Mutaganira, Muyoboke Augustin, Karangwa Theophile, Rwabutogo and many others.

The massacre of Tutsi from Musenyi in Bugesera and Muhura in Gatsibo

Bugesera is known in the history of Rwanda to be a zone of containment, exclusion and massacres of Tutsi . In 1994, there were no exceptions. After the news of President Habyarimana's death, the houses of Tutsi notables in Musenyi were attacked and burnt. The responsible of Musenyi cell Karangwa played the clever way by appealing to Tutsi to take refuge in his home, but it was with the very deliberate aim of regrouping them there to kill them massively. Karangwa had planned how to kill them, he called killers at his home. On April 12, 1994, the attack was carried out and more than 500 Tutsi perished there. Few of the Tutsi who remained in Kagusa began to flee to Nyamata, but several were killed on the way and never arrived.

On the same date, nearly 80 km from Musenyi, precisely in Rwarenga cell, Remera sector, Muhura commune, Byumba prefecture, Bourgmestre Ndayishimiye was leading the massacre of his Tutsi citizens. After the genocide, there were 252 bodies of Tutsi killed who had been thrown into a mass grave. A memorial is erected today at the site of the massacre.

2.7. APRIL 13, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI CITY, KIGALI NGARI, GISENYI, KIBUNGO, CYANGUGU, KIBUYE AND GIKONGORO PREFECTURES

The massacres of Tutsi at *Collège Saint André* in Nyamirambo

In Nyamirambo Sector at Collège St André and at church Charles Lwanga, many Tutsi were killed during the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in 1994. These Tutsi had come from Butamwa, Nyamirambo (Kivugiza, Mumena), Nyakabanda, Rwezamenyo, Kabusunzu, Nyarugenge (Biryogo)... The Tutsi were distributed to the church, the college and the St Joseph convent of the Josephite brothers is located in Nyamirambo.

the Tutsi who were killed at Charles Lwanga church were less numerous compared to those killed at St André college, but these were even less numerous than those who were killed at St Joseph convent. The Tutsi had learned that there were many Tutsi refugees at St Joseph and that they were well assisted by the Josephite brothers, and they did everything they could to take refuge there, believing that they could survive. After having killed the Tutsi at St André college and Charles

Lwanga church, the killers rushed to St Joseph convent and exterminated the Tutsi who had taken refuge there, and they also killed Josephite brothers who refused to allow the Tutsi to be killed.

Some of the survivors claim that there were more than 2,000 Tutsirefugees, because after the carnage the corpses were very many and piled on top of each other.

The massacres of Tutsi in Kanyinya, Nyarugenge Commune

In 1994, in the Kanyinya Sector, many Tutsi, from the locality and others from the Jali Sector, Gasabo District, who had taken refuge there, were killed. The Councilor Nzabamwita Joseph had asked them to call everyone else while lying to them that they will be kept safe. On April 13, 1994, after noting that no other Tutsi were to come, the Counselor Nzabamwita told them that he was going to look for gendarmes who would protect them at a place where they would be gathered for this purpose. They were told that they were going to be brought to the place called *Kana* located between the hills and which was supposed to be unknown to the Interahamwe. They were brought there, and upon arrival they were asked to wait for the supplies that were to arrive. But in the evening it was the Interahamwe who arrived and killed them with traditional weapons overnight. Soldiers stationed themselves in the surrounding hills to shoot anyone who tried to escape. The Tutsi were all killed, apart from four children who survived, lying next to their parents' corpses, they were covered in blood and passed for dead.

The massacres of Tutsi at Gishaka Church, in Bumbogo, Kigali

many Tutsi lived in Bumbogo Sector, Nkuzuzu Cell before the Genocide. On the morning of April 7, 1994, the day after Habyarimana's death, Interahamwe began to blow their whistles, a signal agreed to kill the Tutsi; these gathered on the hill of Nkuzuzu. They resisted, using stones, spears and arrow bows. Among the Interahamwe included Nyundo, Vianney, Rubanguza, Karangwa, Gashumba, Rwiyamirira Michel, Habarurema, Emile, Ruhamanya and Rwabuhahi.

The Tutsi have resisted since the evening of April 7, 1994. The Interahamwe, having noted on April 12, 1994 that they were in danger of being defeated, they called to the rescue of the soldiers of Habyarimana who, on April 13, 1994, attacked and killed Tutsi with guns, it was for them the most fatal day.

The few survivors went to take refuge in the Gishaka Parish, where Father Michel, an expatriated religious, welcomed them and gathered them with other Tutsi who had come from Rutunga, Rubungo, Nduba and Jurwe, had taken refuge in the

church. The priest sought them supplies and began to pray for their souls since the night of April 13, 1994. The next day, April 14, 1994, the Interahamwe and police officers from Gikomero Commune, including Nyarwaya Michel, Brigadier of the municipal police, Rubanguka Mathias, accountant of Gikomero Commune, Rusatsi, a medical assistant at Gishaka Health Center, the fearsome Interahamwe Sevara attacked them. All of them have collaborated with Rutaganira Téléspore, bourgoumestre of Gikomero Commune and the police officers of Gikomero.

The massacres of Tutsi at Musha Catholic Church, Kigali

On April 12-13, 1994, over 8,000 Tutsi were killed in the Parish of the Catholic Church in Musha. At the head of the killers, there were in particular Bisengimana Paul, bourgoumestre of Gikoro Commune and head of militias Interahamwe, Mukemba, driver of the commune and Makombe, in charge of youth. The Interahamwe first attacked women and girls and molested them, raped them, under the eyes of their parents, and some of them were brought to the bottom of the quarries to be killed there. The Tutsi who had taken refuge in the church were thus exterminated.

Paul Bisengimana, bourgmestre of Gikoro since 1981, and father of ten children pleaded guilty to genocide before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison and has completed his sentence.

The massacres of Tutsi in Muhororo, Kibilira, Ngororero

In the former Kibirira Commune, there was a test of the genocide before April 1994, especially in 1992 after the speech of Dr Mugesera Leon in Kabaya during MRND meeting; many Tutsi were killed, among them those who lived in of Ramba and Gaseke Communes. Even before this speech, there were massacres of many Tutsi between 11 and 13 October 1990 in Kibirira, massacres were again repeated in January 1993, in Giciye, Satinskyi, Ramba, Kanama, Kayove and Kibilira Communes, in the former Gisenyi Prefecture.

Some were thrown into Nyabarongo river at the place called Cyome, in Gatumba, among those who were killed at Muhororo hospital, in Kibirira were sick people, medical staff and other employees of the hospital. Among those who were killed in the homes of the religious were sisters and priests.

Some among the Tutsi of Kibirira were locked up in the premises of the IGA population training center in Gatumba, located near Gatumba Sector; the killers wanted to burn them alive but Tutsi broke the window glasses and were able to escape.

The meetings planning the massacres took place in the offices of Ramba and Kibirira Communes, office of MRND political party, in the office of the district inspector and elsewhere in the homes of local authorities, as well as at the Bar Ituze located near the former Kibirira Commune, which was managed by Abishuka Charles and belonged to Rwanyagatare.

At the church of Muhororo, nuns and priests were killed. The religious of the community *Benebikira* of Muhororo first resisted before succumbing to the firearms which notably brought the Brigadier of Kibirira Commune, Mutabaruka, alias Libenge, while others had been distributed by Hondero, Rwanyagatare and Dusabemungu who resided in the center of Rusumo / Gatumba

The massacres of Tutsi at Rukara Catholic church, Kayonza

Many Tutsi had taken refuge at Rukara church, near Gahini. They had come from different localities before they were all killed. Twelve of them were first killed while fighting against the Interahamwe who wanted to take over their cattle herd. The Interahamwe then seized all of the refugees' property before massacring them on April 13, 1994. The massacres were coordinated by Mpambara Jean, bourgmestre of the Rukara Commune, and the Interahamwe from Murambi led by Gatete Jean Baptiste.

Even if Jean Mpambara was acquitted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the survivors affirm that he was at the head of the massacres and that he collaborated closely with Minister Justin Mugenzi, himself from Gahini. Mpambara was seen among the defense witnesses of Ngenzi Octavien and Tito Barahira during their trial in France, they led the implementation of Genocide in Kabarondo and were sentenced to life imprisonment by the *Cour d'Assise de Paris*.

The massacres of Tutsi at Ruharambuga, Nyamasheke

On April 13, 1994, the Interahamwe of Rukoma led by Gasarasi Wellars surrounded more than 60 Tutsi, gathered them at Nyirandimubenshi Astérie's home and they massacred them. After having had these Tutsi killed, Gasarasi brought together Interahamwe, thanked them for what they had just accomplished, authorized them to seize the property of Tutsi, and urged them to continue to chase any Tutsi wherever he is located.

In Ruharambuga Sector I, in Kigabiro Cell, 41 Tutsi children were abducted from their parents, on the pretext of driving them away to protect them, but others were taken by force; all were brought to a large pit dug by Hutu extremists near Nyungwe forest at a place called *Gasarabuye*, a pit into which children were

thrown alive and then burned alive with dry herbs which were dumped on them; large stones were then thrown at the children to finish off those who were still breathing.

The massacres of Tutsi in Nyakanyinya, Mururu, Rusizi

In Mururu Sector, at Nyakanyinya, there was a school and a branch of the Catholic church within which Tutsi in the region had been used to taking refuge since 1959. On April 13, 1994, the Tutsi who had already taken refuge in Nyakanyinya were identified by Patrice, son of Gatukura, and there were nearly 800. Their cattle herd had been confiscated by Councilor Harerimana Jean Bosco, Sendege and other Interahamwe accompanying them.

Killers including many Interahamwe who came from Mururu, Nyakanyinya and Miko, and gendarmes who came from Gihundwe, gathered at the place called Hangari, and attacked the refugees in Nyakanyinya. They began to kill them mercilessly, using grenades, firearms and traditional weapons, the refugees had indeed already been previously surrounded by very many Interahamwe, and the weapons which they carried with them had been seized.

Women and children had taken refuge in the school and the church which was there, the Interahamwe went up on the roof, removed tiles and threw fire inside so that the Tutsi who were hiding inside get out in order to kill them easily. As Tutsi were not getting out enough for the killers' taste, the latter sent a swarm of bees inside which sowed panic among the refugees, most of whom were then killed; women and children who had taken refuge in the church were burnt alive. The Interahamwe profaned the bodies of their victims and raped lifeless bodies of Tutsi women and girls whom they had just killed. For example, after having killed a teacher called Thacienne in the worst suffering manner, they raped her on the pretext that she had in the past refused to have sex with them.

The massacres of Tutsi in Kirinda, Karongi

Kirinda is located in the former Bwakira Commune in the former Kibuye Prefecture, currently in Murambi Sector, Karongi District. There was a hospital and the national headquarters of the *Eglise Presbyterienne au Rwanda* (EPR) church. During the genocide, the bourgmestre of Bwakira Commune was Kabasha Tharcisse. During the Genocide, many Tutsi had taken refuge in Kirinda secondary school, others in Kirinda hospital. They had been promised that their safety would be assured, but after they were killed and their bodies were thrown into Nyabarongo river.

Among those responsible for these massacres is Nyiringabo Amani and in particular the businessman Semirindi Moise who notably supplied machetes and whose vehicles were used to transport the bodies to Nyabarongo river.

At Kirinda there was a most toughroadblock called "*Intebe y'urupfu*" or "*the chair of death*", where many Tutsi were killed. The outbreak of the Genocide coincided with a meeting in Kirinda of EPR pastors at the national level, and pastors who participated were killed with their families. One of the instigators of these massacres was the national leader of the EPR, Pastor Twagirayesu Michel.

The massacres of Tutsi at the Gitwa Chapelle, Rutsiro

During the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, many Tutsi took refuge in the Catholic “Chapelle” of Gitwa and were massacred there. The place was called Gitwa but changed its name to Nyamagumba, in the old Bugina Cell, Kibingo Sector, Mabanza Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. This “Chapelle” was affiliated with the Catholic Parish of Congo Nile led by a French priest by the name of Maindrion Gabriel who had his responsibilities in the implementation of the Genocide.

Gitwa was inhabited by many Catholic Tutsi, which is why they took refuge in Gitwa “Chapelle”, believing that they would be protected, but the opposite happened. Another reason was that the chapel was located high up, which should allow to see groups of killers from far and prepare to counterattack if necessary.

The Tutsi who had taken refuge at GitwaChapel had arrived from different localities including Gitwa, Gitarama Cell, Buhoro, Ruhingo, and Kabiraho from Mabanza Commune and also from elsewhere. From April 11, 1994 until April 13, 1994, Gitwa Chapel was attacked. The bourgmestre of Mabanza Commune Bagirishema Ignace went to meet the Tutsi refugees, they told him that they had gone to Gitwa Chapel, after what Bagirishema exclaimed: “They took refuge at the top of Nyamagumba hill! “referring to another hill in Ruhengeri on which the Tutsi had been regularly massacred since 1959. The place has now taken the name of Nyamagumba, and even today some people continue to call it like that. Witnesses claim that bodies of more than 9,304 Tutsi who perished there lie in the Genocide memorial instituted there.

Witnesses continue to affirm that the Bourgmestre Bagirishema bears great responsibility for these massacres even though he was acquitted by the ICTR. Among others who participated, there is Brigadier Rwamakuba Emmanuel, Hakizimana Deo who was the secretary of Mabanza Commune, Benimana Raphael, bourgmestre of Rutsiro commune, Maburakindi Isidore, bourgmestre of Kayove Commune and others.

The massacres of Tutsi at Mbogo primary school, Kinyamakara, Gikongoro

On April 13, 1994 many Tutsi from the former Kinyamakara Commune and others who had come from the city of Gikongoro and other places were gathered at the Kinyamakara Commune, Mbogo primary School and on the hill of Mbogo in general, and they were massacred there. The Kinyamakara Commune was led by Bourgmestre Munyaneza Charles, and it was he who went to call reinforcements from soldiers and gendarmes, including Colonel Simba Aloys, who shot and killed Tutsi refugees, in collaboration with Interahamwe armed with machetes, clubs, cutters and other hoes. On April 13, 1994, nearly 3,000 Tutsi were killed there.

Leading the killers included Brigadier of communal police Mugemana, OPJ Munyakanyinya, youth leader Gasasira Alphonse, primary school teacher Gasirabo Jonathan and others.

The massacres of Tutsi at the place called “Escalier”, in Muhima, Nyarugenge and at Nkomangwa, Kayonza

From 13 to 14 April 1994, Tutsi who lived in Muhima below the old Nyarugenge prison, in the Umwezi village in the old Ruhurura cell, Interahamwe and soldiers gathered Tutsi there, brought them down to a place that was called “Escalier” where the Tutsi were cut with machetes, their heads smashed on the asphalt road or killed with a gun.

A large number of Tutsi were killed at this place, on this road where a roadblock had been installed to arrest and kill those passing by the asphalt road and after the bodies of the victims were piled up by the roadside. What saddens the families of the victims to this day is that these bodies have never been found to be buried with dignity.

Among the Interahamwe who participated in these massacres, there is their leader, Ndemeye Nicodeme, Gashayija Etienne, a person called Charles, Rurangirwa Jean Paul sentenced to life imprisonment by ICTR and serves his sentence at the Mageragere prison and others.

In the Nkomangwa Cell, in Kayonza District on April 13 and 14, 1994, very many Tutsi were thrown into Lake Muhazi, and young children were supposedly invited to go to school while in reality they were brought at Muhazi Lake. More than 136 of them are said to have come from Munyiginya Sector while the rest, whose number is not specified, came from different localities.

2.8. APRIL 14, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI NGARI, GIKONGORO, KIBUYE, KIBUNGO AND CYANGUGU PREFECTURES

The massacres of Tutsi at ADEPR Maheresho, Nyamagabe

On April 14, 1994, the Tutsi massacres began in Maheresho where victims were killed by Interahamwe and gendarmes called for this purpose by Hategekimana Didace, Mayor of the Rukondo Commune. That day, at the home of the parents of the Minister of Agriculture and Livestock, Nzamurambaho Frédéric, who was also among the leaders of the PSD, more than 37 Tutsi who had fled there hoping to find safety, were killed.

Among those responsible for this massacre is Bourgmestre Hategekimana Didace, Munyambuga Jean Baptiste, MDR representative in Rukondo Commune, his son Twagiramungu Jean, leader of the Interahamweyouth, Kagimbura Martin deputy president of MDR in Rukondo Commune and teacher, Munyandinda Joel, inspector of primary school Rukondo, Nyagatare Cyprien teacher, Hakizayezu Jean, Mageza Onesphore, Bukeye Alphonse, Gashugi Damien, Ntahampagaze Marcel, Ntahompagaze Antoine, and others. The massacres were committed by these killers and gendarmes who had come from Gikongorogendarmery.

The massacres of Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Mata Tea Factory, Nyamagabe

On April 14, 1994, Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Mata tea factory and others who lived nearby, began to be massacred. The victims who have been identified and whose bodies lie at the genocide memorial of this factory are 380.

Among those responsible for these massacres, there is the Sous-préfet of Munini, Biniga Damien, Ndabarinze Juvenal, Director of the Mata tea factory, Mugirangabo Silas, bourgmestre of Rwamiko Commune, Hakizimana Sylvestre, president of MDR Power in Rwamiko Commune, Surwumwe Sylvestre, chairman of the MRND, Muriro, chairman of the CDR, Museruka, OPJ in Rwamiko Commune and other Interahamwe.

The massacres of Tutsi who had taken refuge at Gati Sector, Rwamagana

On April 14, 1994, Tutsi were killed in the Gati Sector, in the Rwamagana District. The massacres were directed by Rutagengwa Jean Marie Vianney who led MRND. He is the one who incited people to kill Tutsi in Gati. The Interahamwe whom he led asked him for permission to check the identity of Concessa Mukandori, a Tutsi. They wanted to examine what the brains of a Tutsi look like; he gave them authorization and the Interahamwe cut off the victim's head and cut off the victim to examine the brain; Rwabukame, Concessa's husband, was also immediately killed. Among the killers were Bigabiro Joshua, Kabugari, Nibivugire and the one who was the director of Gati school.

The massacres of Tutsi in Birambo, Karongi

On April 14, 1994, Tutsi who had taken refuge in the school of the Birambo sisters of Benebikira community were attacked by Interahamwe, soldiers and gendarmes, led by the bourgmestre of Bwakira Commune, Kabasha Tharcisse. They were killed with guns, machetes, spears, grenades and other weapons.

More than 5,000 Tutsi were killed there. Numerous bodies of the victims were burnt with gasoline, and devices were brought in to dig pits in which the bodies of the victims were buried near the school buildings. As the bodies had become too numerous, another grave was dug near the Urumuri school. It was traders' vehicles which transported these bodies to the pits.

The massacres of Tutsi at the Kibeho Catholic Church, Nyaruguru

On April 14, 1994, at the Kibeho church, the Interahamwe and local authorities exterminated more than 25,000 Tutsi who had taken refuge at the church and in the buildings of the Kibeho Parish. The Tutsi first defended themselves using the weapons within their reach, and were able to repel the attack of April 12, 1994. The Interahamwe of Kibeho went to seek reinforcements and the authorities of Munini *Sous-préfecture* led by Sous-préfet Biniga Damien helped them to mobilize gendarmes and other Interahamwe from Mata, Ruramba, Mudasomwa and elsewhere, who attacked the Tutsi refugees with firearms and grenades.

The attack started at 1 p.m. and lasted till evening. Father Pierre Ngoga asked the survivors of these massacres to consider how to flee to Burundi, and took some in his vehicle and brought them to Butare, where he was assassinated, betrayed by his colleague, Father Anaclet Sebahinde, who was originally from Kibeho.

Among the killers of Kibeho there is the Sous-préfet Damien Biniga, the Bourgmestre of Mubuga Charles Nyiridandi, the Bourgmestre of Rwamiko, Silas Mugerangabo, Juvénal Ndarbarinze, director of the Mata tea factory, the agronomist Bakundukize Innocent, Father Emmanuel Uwayezu who led *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merciof* Kibeho, medical assistant Mutazihana Nathanaël, Kayigamba Francois Xavier, the director of studies at *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci*, Karekezi Fabien, director of discipline of the same school, Fatikaramu Hormisdas a teacher in the same school, municipal police officer Athanase Saba and others.

The massacres of Tutsi in Munyiginya Sector, Rwamagana Sector

In Munyiginya Sector, the place called SAYI is located at the crossroads of the power lines that serve the District of Rwamagana. In 1994, the place was heavily guarded by gendarmes. When the Genocide broke out, the Tutsi from Munyiginya took refuge in Sayi, hoping that the soldiers who guarded the place would protect them. From 10 to 12 April 1994, many Tutsi, including women and children, took refuge there and more than 100 of them were killed.

During the night of April 14, 1994, Tutsi who had taken refuge there were killed by the Interahamwe and the soldiers who were there helped them in their threatening task.

The massacres of Tutsi at Kibungo Sector, Ngoma

On April 14, 1994, around 8 a.m., a group of Interahamwe killers armed with various weapons entered the Kibungo Hospital and brought out those who had hidden there, from the maternity ward, and made them sit under a tree at a place called “*Muduha*” until 10 am. At this time the Tutsi were not killed, their torturers wanted to know the exact number to come back later to massacre them. At around 3:00 p.m. the Interahamwe returned and began killing Tutsi refugees, notably throwing grenades at them, as they did against those who had taken refuge in Birenga Commune office.

The next day, April 15, 1994, a group of killers led by the fearsome Interahamwe Cyasa sent teams to kill in different places: at the hospital, in Rukira, at the Economat and elsewhere. The Interahamwe Shumbusho, Birasa and others boasted of their sinister exploits at Birenga Commune and at the Economat General. The Interahamwe killed those in the hospital, including Marie and her little sister Nyirankware who were daughters of Gatare, Mukankuranga and others who had come from Kazo and Karama.

On April 21, 1994, RPF Inkotanyi troops arrived at the hospital and were able to rescue the few survivors. The Inkotanyi brought other survivors to Kibungo hospital to provide them with the necessary care.

2.9. APRIL 15, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER RUHENGERI, KIBUYE, KIBUNGO, KIGALI NGARI, BUTARE, GITARAMA, KIGALI CITY AND GIKONGORO

The massacre of Tutsi at the former Ruhengeri Court of Appeal, Musanze

Musanze High Court building formerly called Ruhengeri Court of Appeal was the killing site of over 400 Tutsi who were moved from different communes of Ruhengeri Prefecture as a part of strategy to easily kill them. Most of them were from Busengo Sub-prefecture (in the current Gakenke District) who were seeking refuge there hoping to be safe.

The then *Sous-prefet* of Busengo Dismas Nzanana ensured protection to all who were seeking refuge and told them that nothing bad would happen to them while at the same time he was talking to the former Ruhengeri Prefect Zigiranyirazo Protais behind their back asking him to send all Tutsi in Ruhengeri city so that they can be killed there.

Nzanana told Tutsi that he will provide transport to seek refuge in the former Zaïre (current Democratic Republic of Congo) and instead government owned buses took them to the former Ruhengeri Court of Appeal. On April 15, 1994 Interahamwemilitia from everywhere in Ruhengeri including the so called « *Amahindure* » group who had already killed Tutsi in the former Mukingo Commune came to help Interahamwe to kill all Tutsi in the court building.

Those who survived were taken to Ruhengeri hospital and later killed at Mukungwa river after firing grenades to them at the hospital and smashing children on the walls.

Tutsi massacre at Nyange, former Kivumu Commune

The history of Nyange at the catholic church as well as its neighboring area during Genocide is unique. It is in the former Kivumu Commune, Birambo Sub-prefecture which was composed of three communes namely: Bwakira, Kivumu and Mwendu in Kibuye Prefecture.

After the death of Rwanda's President Habyarimana Juvenal on April 6, 1994, mass killing of Tutsi started immediately in Kivumu Commune and took the lives of many civilians during the first days including Grégoire Ndakubana, Martin Karekezi and Thomas Mwendezi. The Tutsi lived the ordeal before being able to take refuge in the church of Nyange where they hoped to be safe.

Due to those attacks, Tutsi from various sectors of Kivumu Commune fled from their homes to administrative buildings and churches including Nyange church whose Priest was Athanase Seromba hoping to be safe. The bourgmestre of Kivumu Commune along with communal police gathered all Tutsi refugees from various sectors of Kivumu and took them to Nyange Parish. Arriving there, the Priest Athanase Seromba requested information on Tutsi who had not yet arrived at the Parish and wrote their names on a list which he handed to the bourgmestre Grégoire Ndahimana to search and bring them at the Parish to kill them easily in the church. They were killed by an excavator which demolished the church over them on orders of the priest Seromba.

The attacks were led by various people especially a businessman called Gaspard Kanyarukiga, a teacher called Téléphore Ndungutse and Anastase Nkinamubanzi who worked for an Association called Astaldi that was constructing the road connecting Rubengera and Gisenyi and he is the one who brought the caterpillar that demolished Nyange church. Seromba conspired with Grégoire Ndahimana who was the bourgmestre of Kivumu Commune, Fulgence Kayishema who was the investigation officer (OPG) in the same commune, Téléphore Ndungutse, Gaspard Kanyarukiga and many more to kill the Tutsi. Athanase Serombawas sentenced to life imprisonment by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Massacre of Tutsi at Ruhanga Anglican Church (EER Ruhanga)

In 1994, many Tutsi lived on the hill of Ruhanga and other surrounding hills in the former Gikoro commune. When the Genocide started, some Tutsi took their spears and arrow bows with and fled to Ruhanga hill. When the Interahamwe started to attack them, they took children, women and older people inside the church and started to fight back using their traditional weapons and stones.

After Interahamwe realized that the Tutsi resisted the killing, they called upon the support from Rwamagana gendarmery and the helicopter came to shoot the Tutsi and the survivors were chopped with machetes by Interahamwe. After that, killers went to the church and used petrol to burn alive those who were there and very few survived. Among the victims, there were also a Hutu pastor Renzaho Sosthène

and his family members who opposed the killing of Tutsi and decided to stay with them and died there. The church was later on transformed into a genocide memorial.

Massacre of Tutsi at Ntarama Catholic Church

When Genocide started, Tutsi from Ntarama, Bugesera tried to resist and fought Interahamwemilitia back. When the fight became harder for Tutsi as Interahamwe were reinforced by soldiers, they started to enter in the church of Ntarama. The fact that the massacre was continuously increasing across Bugesera, other Tutsi from Kanzeze, Kayumba and Nyamata were all gathering in Ntarama to seek refuge. On April 15, 1994, buses full of Interahamwe and soldiers from elsewhere as well as those from Ntarama massacred about 3000 Tutsi refugees who were in the church. They used guns, grenades as well as traditional weapons.

On 15 April 1994, at Cyugaro school, many Tutsi were killed including those who lived near the school and those who had just survived from the massacre of Ntarama church. Those who survived at Cyugaro school took refuge in the papyrus swamps called CND during Genocide and they would return back at night to look for food. The vast majority of them perished in this massacre.

Massacre of Tutsi at Cyahinda Parish, Nyaruguru

Between 14 and 15 April 1994, Interahamwe killed about 32,000 Tutsi who have taken refuge at Cyahinda church. Those killed in Cyahinda Church were from Nyakizu and its neighboring communes like Mubuga, Kivu and Nshili. Those who commanded the killings are Ntaganda Ladislav who was the bourgmestre of Nyakizu commune, Busoro Sous-prefect Assiel Simbarikure, Festus Nyamukaza who worked closely with Ntaganzwa, Pastor Francois Bazaramba of Union of Baptist Churches in Rwanda (UEBR Nyantanga), Celestin Batakanwa, Geoffrey Dusabe, Célestin Rucyahana (a former military) and many others.

In order for Tutsi to be gathered at Cyahinda Parish, bourgmestre Ntaganzwa and other Interahamwe had closed all pathways to Burundi and sensitized Tutsi to go to Cyahinda where they were told to be protected. After gathering them all, Ntaganzwa requested support of gendarmes from Butare with the help of Major Cyriaque Habyarabatura and they exterminated all Tutsi who were at Cyahinda Parish.

Another aspect of Genocide in Cyahinda was the survival of Priest Charles Nshogoza who tried to escape by hiding at the parish's staff called Alexis until the bourgmestre Ntaganzwa searched for him in collaboration with Sergeant Corneille Ndindayino until they found him and brought him at the parish, tortured him and finally killed him. It was in May 1994.

Massacre of Tutsi in Kiryamocyinzovu, Kamonyi

Kiryamocyinzovu is opposite the former office of Taba Commune led by the bourgmestre Jean Paul Akayesu during the time. The killing in Taba Commune became harsh from April 8, 1994. The roadblocks were put in place everywhere especially at Rwabashyashya, Buguri, Gishyeshye and near Remera-Rukoma Hospital.

From April 13, it was very tough and many Tutsi started seeking refuge at Taba Commune office. KUBWIMANA Silas who led MRND in Taba Commune held a meeting in Kiryamocyinzovu and said that the enemy is a Tutsi who should be killed before they put Hutu in the pits already dug by the former. From then, they started taking few Tutsi at the killing site in Kiryamocyinzovu where they have named CND to kill them and especially from 8 to 15 April a big number of Tutsi was killed.

Kubwimana was the killer leader and ordered who to kill, and who to spare for him to kill later. Killers were staying at the commune waiting for Kubwimana's daily killing instructions.

On April 14, 1994, Tutsi came in big numbers at Taba Commune and found Interahamwethere waiting for them. Interahamwe were instructed to take any Tutsi who comes at the commune to Kiryamocyinzovu and kill them. Some of Interahamwe were in charge of killing while others were in charge of covering bodies with slight topsoil. After using various weapons including guns, machetes and clubs, bodies were dumped in the long trench and covered with soil. The weapons used were clubs, hoes and guns.

Jean Paul Akayesu, Taba Commune bourgmestre was the coordinator of these massacres and he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the ICTR.

Massacre of Tutsi at Gasetza, in the former Kigarama Commune of Kibungo

In Remera Sector, over seven thousand (7000) Tutsi were killed from April 8, 1994 and the real end took place between 14 and 15 April 1994. The history of Genocide against the Tutsi preparation and implementation in Remera Sector, especially in Gasetza Centre, is based on actions of former authorities originating from there. They led all the preparations and implementation of Genocide against Tutsi in

Gasetsa centre. Among them there was ColRwagafirita Pierre Célestin, Col Renzaho Tharcisse, the minister, Mugiraneza Prosper, Kabagema Ferdinand, Mugiraneza Emmanuel, Mulinda and Murwanashyaka. The Interahamwe framed by the above different authorities who carried out the attacks and killed Tutsi using various weapons including clubs, hammers, cutters, machetes, spears, arrow bows, grenades and others.

Massacre of Tutsi at Gihara, Kamonyi

Gihara Parish is located in Runda Sector, Kamonyi District. When the Genocide was becoming harsh, Tutsi started to flee towards Gihara Parish. They arrived on April 10, 1994 and the Spanish Priest called SINAWOLA Leonard welcomed them and did his best to feed them. However, his staff were not happy about it until they refused to buy food for Tutsi refugees even though he had given them money to do so. There was a local criminal group who called themselves *Abajepo* (name used for Presidential Guards) that was led by Nyecumi, Kanani and Eugene and started to attack Tutsi refugees at the Parish. They were using Kamana Claver car which was driven by his young brother Kayitani.

The killers chopped men and young boys with machetes without killing them and when they become very weak, killers packed them in a car and throw them in Cyoganyoni water dump located in Bishenyi marshlands. Alternatively, they would take them to Nyabarongo river in which a big number of Tutsi were thrown.

During the massacre, Priest SINAWOLA Leonard went back home, and the killings continued once men were completely wiped out at the Parish, the killers started to take women and threw them alive in Nyabarongo river. As soon as they arrived at Nyabarongo, some were thrown alive, others were put in a small house near Nyabarongo river known as Ruriba bridge and they were raped, and also later thrown in the river.

April 15, 1994 was the last day for all Tutsi who had taken refuge at Gihara Parish as well as those across Runda.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nyabikenke, Muhanga

When Genocide started from April 10, 1994, Tutsi were seeking refuge at Nyabikenke Commune. The killers started attacking them from April 14 but on April 15 they were all killed; some at the same place others who managed to escape were killed on the way to Kabgayi. Kiyumba Genocide memorial was constructed in the area and 717 Tutsi are buried there in dignity. Most were killed around the memorial and others were escorted to a place called Budende and thrown in Nyabarongo river.

Those who led the killing of Tutsi in Nyabikenke Commune were the former Minister of youth Nzabonimana Callixte, the bourgmestre of Nyabikenke Commune Karuganda Anatole, Ngarambe Vincent, and Kamari Isaac who worked for the Ministry of Public works and was the brother in law of Col. Bagosora Theoneste and other killers.

Tutsi massacre in Muyongwe Sector in the former Tare Commune - Gakenke

Many Tutsi from Muyongwe were killed after being tortured by Interahamwe. They were killed by attacks from Rushashi in a place called Kinyari, preparations and trainings were given at Kigali Ngari *Sous-prefecture*. During their refuge seeking journey, many Tutsi were tortured. The meetings planning the massacre were led by Rushashi *Sous-prefecture* authorities and bourgmestres of its communes as well as sector councilors of Shyombwe and Joma. These areas of Shyombwe and Kinyari commercial center were called CND.

Tutsi massacre at Muhazi Commune, Gishari/ Rwamagana

From 12 to 14 April 1994, many Tutsi were seeking refuge at Muhazi commune. From 15 to 16 April 1994 they were killed after being attacked by Interahamwe, a Tutsi Kanamugire who was one of Habyarimana's soldiers broke into the communal building and took some guns which he gave to Come Ndayambaje and Gatete Anaclet and they used the guns to disperse Interahamwe.

This allowed Tutsi who were in the Commune building to escape and headed to Muhazi Lake hoping to use the boats in the lake to join Inkotanyi at the other shore in Murambi. However, they met government soldiers, a Warrant Officer Mutabaruka and Kananura and fought them towards Muhazi Lake to take the boat, but boats were all locked and others broken.

After running out of bullets, they found a small boat which they managed to put few people in and took them to Murambi as Inkotanyi had already embarked there. Meanwhile, Interahamwe followed them from the commune to the shore of Kavumu where many Tutsi hoped to escape to the other shore of Muhazi, but all of them were thrown in Muhazi.

Although some Tutsi tried to escape using the small boat, Interahamwe swam following them and killed them slowly in the boat. All of these including those from the Commune Muhazi building and on the shore of the lake were all killed at the shore of Kavumu on 16 April 1994.

Tutsi massacre in Kigali Sector, Kitabi center, Nyarugenge

There was a roadblock located in Kigali Sector, Kitabi centre on top of Nyamirambo hill near Mount Kigali next to the Military camp which was led by Interahamwe militiamen called Rubayiza Hassani and Kibuye Karungu. Rubayiza was the chief at the roadblock and all Tutsi from Mwendo in Kigali, Kabusunzu and Nyamirambo and those in the surrounding area were put in a tent built there to cover for the rain. Later, Interahamwewere brought and helped to chop and dump Tutsi in the mining pits nearby.

Many Tutsi were killed at this roadblock and Rubayiza would call on soldiers' support whenever some Tutsi resisted. No Tutsi could survive at the roadblock. The killing occurred from 15 to 17 April 1994. Rubayiza was convicted by Gacaca Courts for Genocide crimes and has been sentenced to special life imprisonment in Mageragere.

Massacres of Tutsi at NYARUBUYE Catholic Parish

From April 10, 1994, the Nyarubuye Catholic Parish welcomed very many Tutsi who came from the communes of Rukira, Rusumo, Mugesera and Birenga; the latter being survivors fleeing the massacres which had taken place on April 12 and 13 in the city of Kibungo and at Zaza Catholic Parish. These killings took place after the meeting held on April 12, 1994 at Huye military camp. It was chaired by Colonel Pierre Celestin Rwagafirita and Anselme Nkuliye Kubona in the presence of the bourgmestres of Birenga, Melchiade Tahimana, Rusumo, Sylvestre Gacumbitsi, Kigarama, Mugiraneza Emmanuel, Mugesera, Gakware Léopold, Sake, Sylvain Mutabaruka and many others in which was decided to accentuate the genocide.

On April 14, 1994, another meeting took place at Huye military camp, bringing together the same people certainly to assess the progress of massacres and accentuate the genocide where it was not yet completely being carried out like Nyarubuye. On the morning of April 14, there were several attempts to attack by militiamen in Nyarubuye and were repelled by the Tutsi. Militiamen went to ask for reinforcement at the gendarmerie station located in Nasho. A gathering of gendarmes, soldiers and militiamen has taken place since April 14 at Nyarutunga, a commercial center under the supervision of bourgmestre Sylvestre Gacumbitsi and other Hutu power leaders and prepared for the assault on Nyarubuye.

In the early afternoon of April 15, 1994, the attack on Nyarubuye began with the participation of bourgmestre Gacumbitsi himself, who killed on the spot with a machete an old well-respected Tutsi in Nyarubuye, named Murefu. The Hutu leaders of Nyarubuye participated in this attack, including the named Evariste Rubanguka judge of Rusumo cantonal court, Karamage Isaïe, Nyarubuye Sector counsellor, Rugayumukama Daniel militia leader, Edmond Bugingo, a teacher, Ntezimana Léonidas, Hakizamungu Antoine, Gisagara François, Ryamugwiza Déogratias Jean alias Misumari, and many others.

Research carried out by Professor Paul Rutayisire and Privat Rutazibwa in 2007 identified 742 genocidaires who were actively involved in the genocide in Nyarubuye.

Massacre of Tutsi at Muganza Catholic Parish, Nyaruguru

The Tutsi from the former Kivu Commune where Muganza parish was located began to take refuge there from April 7 fleeing the attacks which threatened them. Several Tutsi houses were already burned down under the supervision of bourgmestre Juvenal Muhitira and Father Joseph Sagahutu currently living in Belgium. Sub-prefect Biniga Damian also came to the scene at the very beginning of the genocide and held a night meeting with the bourgmestre Muhitira and Father Sagahutu during which the hunt for Tutsi was decided. Muhitira and Sagahutu studied together at Runyombyi college and had known each other since that time in the years 1976-1978.

As of April 11, 1994, 8,600 Tutsi refugees were registered in the parish in the morning and their number increased daily until reaching 11,000 in the evening of the same day. It was on this day that Muganza Parish suffered the first attack and Tutsi defended themselves. The next day April 12, another major attack led by bourgmestre Muhitira and the Sous-prefect Biniga Damien took place and it failed because there was another attack at the neighboring Kibeho parish at the same time and the Tutsi refugees managed to defend themselves. Biniga and Muhitira then decided to focus on Kibeho first and come to settle Muganza massacre once the Kibeho massacre is over.

On April 15, the day after the extermination of Kibeho, a gang of killers supported by soldiers stormed Muganza parish and decimated the Tutsi refugees there.

2.10. APRIL 16, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI NGARI, KIBUYE AND KIBUNGO PREFECTURES

Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Nyamata

On 07th April 1994, Tutsi of Nyamata started to flee to different places, some of them tried to fight back against the attacks but were overpowered by the perpetrators. Most of them fled to Kayumba hill.

On 9th, 10th, the Tutsi at kayumbahill tried to defend themselves and the Interahamwewere forced to withdraw their attacks and in fact some of them were injured, finally the Interahamwesought for assistance from Gako saying that Inkotanyi have occupied Kayumba bushy hill. On 11th at around 11a.m, a combined attack of Interahamweand soldiers from Gako landed from government buses.

They fired at the Tutsi who were at Kayumba, those who managed to survive descended to the grounds in front of former Kanzenze commune, at around 3pm, the former bourgoumestre Gatanazi came to address them: « *remove your dirt in front of the commune* », they replied him saying they don't have where to go. He then told them *that wherever they will go, they shall be killed.*

The communal police immediately started shooting at them, and the Tutsi all ran towards the church. But the doors of the church were closed, the European priest refused to open for them, arguing that in Ririma Tutsi had been killed in their establishment. The Tutsi then climbed over the fence and fell back inside the parish enclosure. At around 5 p.m., the priest finally opened the doors of the church to the Tutsi refugees who rushed into it. There were too many of them and at one point men and young boys left the church to the women and children while they stayed outside. Others moved to the pastoral center.

On 12th those with children were given rice to cook, as they were preparing to feed the children around 10 a.m they were attacked by Interahamwe for 30 minutes, throwing grenades and shooting at them, some died, others got injured, after the killers left all cooking pans upside down.

On 13th the Tutsi organized themselves and started cooking, also the Interahamwe raided an attack on them at around mid-day, which also lasted for about 30 minutes, they shot the herdsmen (shepherds) around the cemetery, they threw grenades at the church and some Tutsi died while others got injured, cooking pans

of mid cooked food were overturned. On that date 13th there arrived the Tutsi escorted by Soldiers from Kanazi.

On 14th other Tutsi arrived from Maranyundo, and some were among those who had survived from Rebero hill. On that date 14th again it is when the white priests left Nyamata.

According to what Kayitare explains, on April 15th, it was on Friday, they were attacked by soldiers from Gako, Interahamwe had put on uniforms made from ibitenge, and the local people had put on banana leaves to differentiate themselves from those to be killed. Some came from the road aside the cemetery and others came from the road passing through Nyamata catholic school and surrounded the Tutsi it was at around 11a.m. The soldiers shot first, the Tutsi men first defended themselves by throwing stones at them, later they got tired and entered the church, and the killers followed them and started to fire tear gas, throwing grenades, they broke into the door because some Tutsi men had held the door resisting the perpetrators from entering, then the Interahamwe blew whistles and together with Hutu entered with machetes and clubs with nails, they killed up to 4pm. There were also Hutu women and girls who removed clothes from the corpse as well as checking from the pockets of the corpse whether there was money.

On 16th the killings continued at the centre pastoral, perpetrators arrived at around 2pm, Tutsi men who had resisted were struck by wood pieces, soldiers and Interahamwe threw grenades to them and most of them died, then they broke the gate entered, chopped those inside and left at 6pm. It was on 16th that when Tutsi who had fled to the Benebikira sisters at Sister Agnes Maternity were killed.

On 17th, the Interahamwe returned announcing that those still alive should get out because peace had been restored and that they have come to take them home, they came outside and made them sit at compound and then finished them off. On this date of 17th they had also brought a caterpillar to dig holes behind the church where they could throw the corps because they had started smelling bad, those who were carrying the corpse included prisoners in black uniforms. As for the survivors who had been promised that their lives will be saved, it was decided to bring them to the pits and throw them in as it was easier than transporting the heavy decomposing bodies on branches on which there were remains of the bodies.

Currently more than 45000 Tutsi are buried in Nyamata genocide memorial site including more than 10,000 who were killed in the church and its surroundings and those from different places including Mayange, Rebero, Maranyundo, Kayumba, Kanazi, Murama, Mwogo and other places.

Some of convicted master minders of the genocide in Nyamata are: Gasana Djuma (*sous-prefetof* Kanazi), Gatanazi Bernard (Kanzenze Bourgmestre), Karerangabo Vincent (inspector), Bizimana Jean de la Croix (Director of Nyamata primary school), Ngombwa Gervais (businessman), Janvier (staff of the Ministry of Public Works, currently resides abroad. He is the one who brought the machine which dug pits in which bodies of the victims were thrown), Ntambara (Policeman, he has served his sentence, he admits having killed unknown number of Tutsi), Rwabidadi (Military, serving his sentence in Ririma), Rwarakabije Bernard (Interahamwe militia), Mugaga (Interahamwe, currently resides in Malawi), Pasteur Uwinkindi Jean (transferred in Rwanda by ICTR), Nzarora Laurent (reservist), Wacawaseme (Driver of Kanzenze Commune), Niyibizi Cleophas (councilor of Kanazi Sector), Murangira Richard (businessman), Pierre (staff of agent of the Sodephar Pharmacy), Rwamwaga (businessman).

The slaughter of Tutsi at Mugonero/Karongi

During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, Mugonero was a major Seventh Day Adventist establishment that contained a church, a hospital, and a branch of the Adventist Nurses Higher institution. The church was led by the head Pastor, Elizaphan Ntakirutimana, and his son Gerard Ntakirutimana who was the Director of Mugonero Hospital. Most of Tutsi who had taken refuge there were from Gishyita, Gisovu and Rwamatamu Communes. Tutsi started to flee to church from April 8, 1994.

On April 15, 1994 Pastor Ntakirutimana Elizaphan together with the gendarmes who had ensured security of the area attended a meeting at the Pefecture office and returned back around seven in the evening. Some of the gendarmes informed Tutsi that the meeting attended was about to exterminate them on the Sabbath of April 16, 1994.

Among the people who got the information, there were Tutsi Pastors who immediately wrote a letter to the Head Pastor Ntakirutimana requesting him to protect Tutsi refugees and to avoid shedding their blood on Sabbath. They also requested him to talk with the bourgmestre of Gishyita, Sikubwabo Charles on the issue as they were very close and the latter's father was also a Pastor at Mugonero church. In his indifferent response, Pastor Elizaphan Ntakirutimana told them that there is nothing he can do about it as it had been already decided to kill them.

On April 16, 1994 from 8 am to 1pm, Tutsi tried to resist the attacks of Interahamwe until the latter called for support from Kibuye military camp. The soldiers and gendarmes came to support Interahamwe with many weapons and

hence defeated Tutsi and started killing those who were at the hospital, the church as well as in the nurses' school. On the Sabbath day, killers entered the church and shoot with guns, threw grenades on Tutsi and many of them died others were very injured. They continued to kill Tutsi who were hiding in the hospital and in the school including students.

Those who headed the attacks include: Dr Kayishema Clement the Kibuye Prefect, the bourgmestre Sikubwabo Charles, Pastor Ntakirutimana Elizaphan, Dr Ntakirutimana Gerard, a businessman Ruzindana Obed and many more. The bourgmestre entered in the church and requested Hutu women who had married Tutsi men to get out and 2 women got out leaving their children behind.

Among the killers there were soldiers, gendarmes and Interahamwe. They entered the church firing and throwing grenades, and many Tutsi perished while others were seriously injured and were killed. They continued to kill Tutsi who had been hiding in the hospital and at the nurses' school, including students.

Massacre of Tutsi at Home St Jean and at Kibuye Catholic Church / Karongi

Many Tutsi were killed at Kibuye Catholic Church and Home St Jean, which is affiliated with the former. Approximately 11,400 Tutsi took refuge there and came mainly from the Gitesi, Mabanza, Gisovu and Gishyita communes.

Many Tutsi arrived at the church on Tuesday April 12, 1994 and on Thursday April 14, 1994, they were really hungry. Kibuye Parish Priest Senyenzi went to inform the bourgmestre of Gitesi called Karara Augustin with the purpose of requesting him for nourishment and security for Tutsi refugees but in vain.

The then Prefect Kayishema Clément wrote a letter to Father Senyenzi and bourgmestre Karara imposing them to send all Tutsi who were in the church to Gatwaro Stadium to ensure their maximum protection. However, Father Senyenzi requested them to stay at the church.

The President of Kibuye Court of first instance Mihigo Juvenal told his Tutsi close friend Joachim Rugabagaba to flee because the plan to kill them was being prepared. The latter was a Tutsi who was living with Father Senyenzi. He fled but Father Senyenzi reminded him that he shouldn't leave behind other Tutsi considering that he was taken as a God-chosen shepherd meant to sacrifice for others.

Tutsi who had taken refuge at Home Saint Jean were sustained by a Belgian lady called Emma who worked at the Home as a manager. When she went outdoor, she gathered news and informed Father Senyenzi on the plan of exterminating Tutsi who had taken refuge there. She was later tortured by Interahamweby beating her, destroying her house and burning her car at Home Saint Jean saying that she helped Tutsi. She was evacuated by Belgian Embassy through United Nations Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) and she was very saddened by leaving behind helpless Tutsi refugees who had taken refuge at Home Saint Jean.

On April 12, 1994, the water tank located in Kibuye Military Camp through which Refugees at Home Saint Jean acquired water was shut down. Many meetings at Gitesi Commune led by the Bourgmestre Karara Augustin, Rusezera Innocent, Kayihura Bernard and others were held to arrange their killing.

On Saturday April 16, 1994 men and young boys who had taken refuge at the church successfully counterattacked approximately 100 Interahamwe and other killers who had come to kill them. After being defeated on that day, they held other meetings for reorganization and came back on Sunday April 17, 1994. This time the attacks were composed of armed soldiers, gendarmes, prison guards and Interahamwe with guns, grenades, machetes and many other weapons. Kibuye Prefect Kayishema Clément came at the church and told killers that he had been instructed to kill all Tutsi and authorized them to start the killing.

The attacks started with gun shoots outside the church and in the church after everyone had entered the church. Soldiers from the nearby Military camp on Gatwaro Hill also started to fire bombs at the church as well tear gas and many Tutsi were killed that day.

Rukundo Emmanuel who led Interahamwe instructed them to enter in the church and start stabbing those who were still breathing with machetes and children were piled under dead bodies in agony.

Women and girls were raped before being killed and their clothes were taken away by killers like they did for men. Babies were sucking the breasts of their dead mothers. Interahamwe were deployed on the shore lines of Lake Kivu to prevent any Tutsi escape or to go and drink water from the lake as the area is surrounded by the Lake except the pathway to the church only. After the killing, the authorities and Red Cross collected the bodies and threw them in the mass graves already prepared. Nearly 150 Tutsi children were brought from Home St Jean to Kibuye hospital to be killed.

Massacre of Tutsi in Rukumberi

Rukumberi is one of the sectors of the former Sake Commune in Kibungo Prefecture. Being bordered by Mugesera and Sake lakes as well as Akagera river, made it easier for Interahamweto exterminate more than 35.000 Tutsi who lived there. Inkotanyi were only able to save approximately 700 Tutsi including those who were very injured.

The massacre of Tutsi in Rukumberi started on the morning of April 7, 1994 in Ntovi Cell. Due to the huge number of Tutsi who lived there, they tried to resist at first. Interahamwe and municipal policemen comprising of Butoyi, Ignace and Uwimana had carried guns with but did not manage to kill many Tutsi on that day. They only killed two families of teachers specifically Nyiramuroli Elisabeth and that of Ntaganda Celestin who was the Director of Rwintashya Primary School.

On April 8, 1994, Interahamwe came from Sake Commune equipped with traditional weapons, the municipal police led by bourgmestre Ernest Rutayisire and the Member of Parliament (MP) Mutabaruka Sylvain met with Birindabagabo Jean Paul who had brought the army with and they were all gathered at Rwintashya ADPER church. The church was located in Rukumberi Sector and many Tutsi especially ADPER supporters had taken refuge in the church busy praying with a Tutsi Pastor called Yaramba. Birindabagabo who was also a member of the church gunshot the door and entered the church to launch the massacre and immediately shot dead Pastor Yaramba who was at the altar. Interahamwe started to throw grenades among the Tutsi and whoever tried to escape was sliced with machetes by Interahamwe who had fenced the church. On that day, over 1800 Tutsi were killed.

On April 10, 1994, the bourgmestre of Sake Commune Ernest Rutayisire, the MP Mutabaruka Sylvain and Birindabagabo Jean Paul brought back Interahamwe in Rukumberi, Ntovi Cell. On that day, they came along with Burundian refugees who were camping at Sake Commune to help in the killing. Many Tutsi were massacred that day within their hiding places especially in sorghum plantations. When the killers reached the home of Ruhumuriza, they killed more than 200 Tutsi who had taken refuge there especially women and other less energetic who could not run.

On April 11, 1994, Mutabaruka, Rutayisire and Birindabagabo called for help of the army from Kibungo military camp, they said the Tutsi of Rukumberi are tough to exterminate as they were mixed with inyenzi-Cockroaches (as they termed Inkotanyi). They were provided with approximately 4 buses full of soldiers equipped with several war equipments and that was the extermination of Rukumberi Tutsi, destruction of houses using bombs and others mass killing weapons. On the same day, the attackers killed many Tutsi who had taken refuge in the chapel of a teacher Gasarasi Osée which they also set on fire afterwards.

Twahirwa François from Rukumberi who worked in the Ministry of labour appeared in the attacks and was supervising how the massacre was being carried out.

On April 16, 1994, Rukumberi Tutsi were weakened by daily attacks, the one of 16 April, 1994 aimed at wiping out possible survivor as assumed by Mutabaruka the MP. On that date, Mugesera Lake connecting Sake, Mugesera and Bicumbi was very busy with Interahamweships from Mugesera and Bicumbi to provide support in extermination of Rukumberi Tutsi. Interahamwe exposed and killed all Tutsi even those who were hiding in the papyrus swamps and in sorghum plantations. On that day, Tutsi were helpless and many of them decided to throw themselves in water fearing to be tortured. In addition, many Tutsi especially women, children and elder people were gathered at the home of a Tutsi called Mushoza. The attack led by MP Mutabaruka and the army killed all Tutsi who were there and Hutu women accompanied killers to take away victims' belongings especially clothes. After that attack, MP Mutabaruka Sylvain set up seats in the center of road and placed beer order to celebrate the extermination of Rukumberi. Over 10,000 Tutsi from Rukumberi Sector were massacred on that day.

During the subsequent days, killers continued to come and had to cut sorghum plantations all over Rukumberi to deprive any possible hiding place for possible surviving Tutsi. Other Tutsi were killed in the houses like Cyabatende Mariana's, Nyagasaza's and other homes where less energetic Tutsi like children, women and injured people who couldn't run were left inside houses. Sorghum and banana plantations were cut down to deprive any hiding from Tutsi.

If RPF- Inkotanyi soldiers had not arrived on May 5, 1994, there wouldn't had been any survivor in Rukumberi since Interahamwe had decided to burn down the papyrus plantation after sorghum and banana plantations were concluded.

Some of the serial killers in Rukumberi were: The Deputy bourgmestre Albert from Jarama, Sake, the Inspector Bizimana Andre, a policeman called Butoyi, a driver of Rukoma Health Center Dorisi, Gapfizi and Gasirabo Twaha who were businessmen and the latter owned a car that transported Interahamwe at the killing sites. There was also a teacher called Habimana Edward, Mugwato cell leader Habyalimana, a soldier called Hadigi, who is not yet arrested and lives in Kimisagara, Nyabugogo, Harerimana Ezechiel who was a teacher, Hategekimana Gaspard a businessman at Rubona market. Additionally, Sake Commune *Brigadier* called Ignace, Isidoli: the driver of Sake commune, a businessman called Kagorora, a teacher called Kamanzi Stanislas and Kampayana Cyprien the former leader of Sholi Sector who substituted the bourgmestre whenever he was not around were also included.

Furthermore, there was a teacher called Rusatsi, Karegeya Augustin Interahamwe President in Sake Commune who currently lives in USA as informed by Semuhungu from Sake. Kiruguya, a Burundian leading the refugee camp, Mabeyi son of Rulinda, Misago: the vice president of Interahamwe in Sake Commune who lives in Malawi, Mugabushaka Innocent, the former Sake tax collector, the reserve force Munyankwiro, Ngendahimana Jeremiah who led Rwintashya school participated.

Nizeyimana Augustin: a businessman whose car transported Interahamwe at the killing sites who currently lives in Malawi, Nkezabera and Nzabagumira who were businessmen, Rurinda, the former Rukongi Cell leader, Rutuku who led the attacks from Bicumbi via Mugesera Lake, Rwabuzisoni Ladislav who hosted meetings, Rwasibo who was a businessman and Shirimpaka who was a businessman in Gafunzo.

Last but not least, Turatsinze: Nizeyimana's driver, a lady called Mariyamu, Uwimana, the municipal police and Yeremiya the former teacher who run-away from Gacaca.

The Massacre of Tutsi in Rwamagana

Turatsinze Francois the former leader of Kigabiro Sector in Rwamagana guaranteed security to many Tutsi who had taken refuge at his home and they were later killed. Also many small children were killed there after snatching them from their mothers and threw them alive in the toilet. This was monitored by Rutonde Commune bourgmestre Bizimana Jean Baptiste. Tutsi who were in Rwamagana Hospital (patients and their guards as well others who had taken refuge there from Rwamagana city) were all killed.

Tutsi who had taken refuge at Groupe Scolaire St Aloys from around Rwamagana, Nyarusange, Gishali and Mwirire were all killed. The leading killers includes: Nkundabakuru named Nkunda, Karorishoti, the former Rwikubo Sector leader, Munyambo and gendarmes from Rwamagana gendarmery.

Approximately 3000 Tutsi were killed at the shore lines of Muhazi Lake in Muhazi Sector of Rwamagana. Naked Tutsi were escorted to die by Interahamwe at the same time hitting them and chopping their heels with machetes till they were thrown in Muhazi Lake. Mothers who carried their babies at the back were thrown alive in Muhazi to drown. Others were knotted with heavy stones and thrown in water to drown deep whether alive or dead.

Those who had taken refuge at "Bitare bya Rutonde hill" fought with Interahamwe from April 12 to April 15 as they were many from various areas and

were defeated and killed on April 16, 1994 with very few survivors left. The leading Interahamwewe were Mugwaneza; a policeman, Habiya Kare, Ruhatana, Sibomana, Rusatsi, Ntihabose, Mudaheranwa and many others.

2.11. APRIL 17, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI CITY, KIGALI NGARI, GIKONGORO AND CYANGUGU PREFECTURES

The criminal government instated new prefects to speed up the implementation of Genocide throughout Prefectures

On April 17, 1994, the criminal government held a meeting in which some prefects were replaced by others considered as serial killers who would speed up the implementation of genocide in their respective prefectures. This is the reason why Jean-Baptiste Habyalimana, the former Butare Prefect and Godefroid Ruzindana of Kibungo were substituted and were later on wiped out together with their families. New extremist Prefects from Hutu-Power were inaugurated. Those included François Karera for Kigali Ngari, Sylvain Nsabimana for Butare, Anacleto Rudakubana for Kibungo, Elie Nyirimbibi for Byumba, Basile Nsabumugisha for Ruhengeri and Dr Charles Zirimwabagabo for Gisenyi.

François Karera was convicted of Genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and was sentenced for life imprisonment while Sylvain Nsabimana was sentenced to 18 years of imprisonment and Dr. Charles Zirimwabagabo was tried by Gacaca courts and sentenced for life imprisonment. Others are fugitives and under international arrest warrant.

Massacre of Tutsi at Muhima mass grave near Rugenge Cell (CND) and at Kigali Sector, Kitabi Centre

Many Tutsi were killed at the mass grave in Muhima near Rugenge Cell. This mass grave was named after Inkotanyi who were living in CND and it accommodated all Tutsi from Kimihurura, Kimicanga and those around Muhima who were not taken to Sainte Famille church and Saint Paul centre. In addition, bodies of those killed at *Centre Pastoral Saint Paul* and JOC (Jeunesse Ouvrière catholique) were also taken to Muhima mass grave.

Between April 15 and 17, 1994, Rubayiza Hassani; the chief and Kibuye Karungu had established a roadblock in Kitabi centre near Mont Kigali and Military camp. They killed many Tutsi there who were coming from Mwendo, Kigali, Kabusunzu,

the upper Nyamirambo area as well as those from kitabi and they were thrown in the mining pits nearby. Interahamwe were backed by the army to kill all Tutsi.

Massacre of Tutsi at the home of Calcutta Sisters below Sainte Famille Catholic Church

A number of Tutsi had taken refuge at the home of Calcutta Sisters below Ste Famille catholic church. Interahamwe descended them towards the so called CND mass grave at Muhima whereas women and children were killed at Calcutta's. These Interahamwe attacks were headed by Nyirabagenzi Odette (Councilor of Rugenge Sector) and Angeline Mukandutiye (The Inspector of Nyarugenge Schools) and the latter also supplied guns to Interahamwe and her home was called "*étatmajor*".

After the Genocide, Angeline Mukandutiye exiled to Zaire (Current Democratic Republic of Congo) and came back end of 2019 and was handed over to Mageragere Prison to serve Gacaca sentence of life imprisonment that she was assigned to her in absentia. All the Tutsi corpses thrown in CND mass grave at Muhima were later exhumed and buried in dignity at Kigali Genocide Memorial (Gisozi). The leading Interahamwe included Nkeshimana a.k.a Gikongoro, Gatari Fidele, Bugondo, Rwagatera Faustin who escorted Tutsi to the mass grave.

Massacre of Tutsi at CHUK Hospital

On April 17, 1994, many Tutsi including patients, those who cared for patients and those who had taken refuge at CHUK were massacred there. Most of the Hospital staff were characterized by genocide ideology and hatred. Towards the end of 1993, some Doctors were supplied with guns allegedly for their own protection. Dr Kanyangabo Faustin, the former Director of the Hospital allowed armed soldiers to reside at the hospital saying that it is for security purposes.

In April 1994, the soldiers led by Ndagijimana Frederic also called Kamashini started the census of Tutsi to avoid killing Hutu mistakenly. Interahamwe were camping near the Hospital waiting to kill all Tutsi thrown out by the doctors.

Nteziryayo Benoit, Edithe Mukakabera (the nurse) and Maternity supervisor worked with the soldier, Kamashini Pierre to check patients' ethnic group through their IDs throughout the night. After checking, Hutu were given their IDs back. As for Tutsi, their IDs were kept by the nurse Edithe and discharged them immediately on grounds that no disease was found. They were killed by Interahamwe near the hospital on the spot.

Most of them were killed on April 17, 1994. Doctors, nurses and hospital staff who took part in killing Tutsi at CHUK hospital were Dr Ntezayabo Benoit (was sentenced by Nyarugenge Gacaca court in absentia for 30 years of imprisonment). Dr Habyarimana Theoneste who was sentenced by Rugenge Gacaca court in absentia for special life imprisonment after being convicted of Genocide crimes including raping and killing Marie Jeanne Mukarango and killing Murwanyashyaka Antoine on May 12, 1994 and establishing roadblocks to kill Tutsi.

Dr Augustin Cyimana carried out Genocide at CHUK and continued in Ntongwe where he helped Martin Ndamage the Bourgmestre of Mugina. After the Genocide, he fled to Zambia and was a founder and a leader of FDLR in Zambia. He first worked in Lusaka Hospital. Additionally, Dr Ernest Muvunandinda, Dr Laurent Ruboneza and Dr Buvenge Gerard also Committed genocide.

Among the nurses we noted: Ndayambaje Stephanie from Gihinga /Rutsiro District, she was a nurse and the chief of staff at CHUK. She took part in the killing of her Tutsi colleagues at CHUK as well as teachers of Lycee Notre Dame des Citeaux School. She collaborated with the soldiers at the entrance by giving them a list of Tutsi to be killed. She was convicted by Gacaca with the following crimes: preparation of Tutsi list, torturing Tutsi, participating in the attacks to kill Tutsi in CHUK and causing the killing of a lady who was left in CHUK by the sisters. On June 21, 2008, Kiyovu Gacaca court convicted her with a sentence of 30 years.

Bananeza Marie Josee: from Bulinga Commune former Gitarama, caused the death of many Tutsi patients, CHUK staff and those who had taken refuge at CHUK. Edith Mukakabera, Philomene Mukandamage from Byumba and Marie Josee Bananeza were in charge of crossing patients' beds asking for IDs and consequently preparing a list of Tutsi which they handed over to the military led by ***Kamashini***, the serial killer.

Josephine Mukaruhungo: from Kibilira, exterminated many Tutsi including a teacher called Edith and her children as well as the kids of Kamatari in Kivugiza. She participated in the genocide preparatory meetings held at Gaspard Nsengiyumva's (the serial killer) place in Kivugiza. In 1990, she took part in imprisoning her Tutsi colleagues on grounds that they were inkotanyi's accomplices.

Massacre of Tutsi at CARAES Ndera/Gasabo

In 1994, many Tutsi from Ndera, Rubungu, Jurwe, Murindi, Gasogi, Kanombe and Remera took refuge at CARAES Ndera centre hoping to be safe because it was for religious people. They flew to the centre from April 8 to 10, 1994 and on April 10, Interahamwe started to attack them from outside of the fence but they could not kill many as they also tried to fight back using their traditional weapons.

On April 11, 1994, Belgian soldiers came to fetch Belgian Religious Brothers and patients as well as their dogs. After realizing that all the white religious were gone, Interahamwe continued to attack them and their resistance went on. Interahamwe decided to call soldiers from Kanombe Military camp on April 17, 1994. When they arrived, the fence was immediately demolished and started throwing grenades while getting them outside. After realizing that many Tutsi were killed, soldiers left Interahamwe to finish them off and went back. They also killed all Tutsi like patients in the hospital. Approximately 3500 Tutsi were killed at CARAES.

Some of Habyarimana's high ranking soldiers inhabited on the hill of Ndera and they sensitized citizens to kill Tutsi even before the genocide. Additionally, higher authorities like Mbonampeka Stanislas (former Minister of justice), the bourgmestre of Rubungu commune, Rurenganganizi Valens among others lived in Ndera and took part in the killing of Tutsi who had taken refuge at Petit Seminaire de Ndera.

Massacre of Tutsi in Munini, Nyaruguru, Gikongoro

All the killings that took place in the former Munini Sub-prefecture which was composed of Mubuga, Rwamiko, Kivu and Nshili communes were masterminded by the former sous-prefet Damian Biniga.

On April 11, 1994, the sous-prefet Biniga and the bourgmestre of Mubuga Commune Nyiridandi Charles held a meeting with those who had attended Monday market in Munini commercial centre and told them to kill Tutsi and to burn their houses. From then, Tutsi were encouraged by the leaders of Kibirizi, Gisizi and Gasave sectors to seek refuge at Munini *Sous prefecture* where they were told they would be protected. Those who tried to go to Burundi were diverted at *Sous prefecture* by Kibirizi councilor. Others who fled there were from Rwamiko and Kivu communes close to Mubuga.

On April 12, gendarmes were sent in Tutsi households to ascertain that they had all moved to the sous-prefecture, whoever found was not killed rather taken at Munini. Arriving there, they lived a miserable life, dying with thirsty because all water pipes were cut. The sub prefect Biniga would come in from time to time, observe them for a while and leave. They wanted to flee to Burundi and while they were approaching the border, Nshili bourgmestre Kadogi sent Interahamweto bring them back. They gathered them at a place called “*giti cy’urubanza*”, surrounded them and killed them with traditional weapons, grenades and machetes.

Between April 16 and 17, 1994, Hutu who lived in Munini in collaboration with local Interahamwe and those who killed Tutsi in Kibeho and Cyahinda, killed those who had taken refuge at Munini *Sous- prefecture*. The killing at Munini was led by Biniga (sous-prefet), Charles Nyiridandi (the bourgmestre of Mubuga commune), the councilor of Kibirizi, Ndahayo Athanase, Ntidendereza of Gisizi, that of Gasave among others.

Tutsi massacred in Rwamatamu Commune, Nyamasheke, Cyangugu

Rwamatamu was one of Kibuye communes which harboured many Tutsi. From April 7, 1994, Interahamwe attacks started to invade their homes. On April 17, 1994 Interahamwe attack at Rwamatamu Commune exterminated Tutsi who had taken refuge there. All possible torturing acts like killing children, raping women and girls and then wounding their private parts with long and sharp sticks. The killing was carried out by gendarmes from Gishyita and Interahamwe led by Obed Ruzindana who was convicted of genocide crime by TPIR and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment.

Massacre of Tutsi at Bweyeye, Rusizi, Cyangugu

Bweyeye is surrounded by Nyungwe forest close to Burundi. A big number of Tutsi were killed at ADEPR-Kiyabo, Bweyeye. From April 8, 1994, Tutsi were told that they had killed Habyarimana (*the Father of the Nation*) and that they must pay for it, that is when they fled to Bweyeye where they prayed day and night. In the night of April 12, 1994, Interahamwe attacked them and they screamed a lot to the extent that a gendarme fired in the air and Interahamwe backed off after killing 2 Tutsi: Nyirinkindi Augustin and Mukakarera Petronile whom they took behind the church and raped her one by one before chopping her with a machete. She wasn't dead that night however, she was taken at the hospital but was killed some other time.

On April 17, 1994 around 9 am, a tough attack came to kill them and left no one. Before they were killed, the leader of Kiyabo cell Ntawutazamutora Philippe together with Majyambere Juvenal (a Soldier from Bweyeye who was on official leave) held a preparatory meeting in a bar to kill them. Next day, Interahamwe from Bweyeye led by Ayobahorana Jonas a.k.a Gisangani (a second hand clothes seller who also had gone for military courses) chopped everyone with a machete.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kayonza, Nyamirama Sector, Ruramira lake and Kabazeyi, Rwamagana, Kibungo

From April 9 to 17,1994, between 2500 and 3000 Tutsi from Nyamirama, Ruramira and Nyarusange, Rwamagana district were thrown in the barrage located between Nyamirama Sector and Ruramira. At the barrage, Interahamwefrom all above mentioned sectors were present to separate their Tutsi neighbors and threw them in the barrage.

Many Tutsi were also killed in Munyaga Sector, inside Kabazeyi government owned forest between April 12 and 13, 1994, Over 50 Tutsi were gathered there and killed under the command of the Director of Rweru Primary School Rusine Jean Bosco. On April 17, 1994, between 300 and 400 Tutsi were killed at Kaduha Sector using traditional weapons like bows and arrows, machetes, clubs with nails among other weapons.

2.12. APRIL 18, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIBUYE, GITARAMA, CYANGUGU, BUTARE, AND KIGALI NGARI PREFECTURES

The criminal government continued to incite citizens to commit Genocide

On April 18, 1994, members of criminal government including Édouard Karemera, who was supposed to be the Minister of local Government visited Gitarama to sensitize people to start genocide. On that day, president Théodore Sindikubwabo visited Gikongoro and held a meeting with the authorities of Gikongoro Prefecture to arrange the killings at Kaduha, Murambi, Cyanika and all sites of Gikongoro Prefecture.

Prefect Kayishema Clement exterminated Tutsi at Gatwaro, Kibuye

Gatwaro stadium was built in former Bwishyura Sector, Gitesi commune, Kibuye Prefecture currently Karongi District, Bwishyura Sector, Kibuye cell and Gatwaro village. Tutsi were taken to the stadium by the authorities especially Prefect Kayishema Clément under pretext that they want to maintain their security while they are assembled at the same place. Most of refugees who fled to Gatwaro stadium had survived from elsewhere like Kibuye Church, Home Saint Jean and Mubuga Church. Many others came from Mabanza Commune and walked a distance of 19 Km towards Kibuye Prefecture and then to Gatwaro stadium.

Before entering the stadium, all their belongings were taken away including their batons. In the following days, all water pipes supplying the stadium were cut and they got very sick due to dirtiness and those who were injured or sick tried to go to Kibuye Hospital nearby the stadium but were shoot and returned back or got killed on the way.

The prefect Kayishema would not allow any well-wisher to provide anything to refugees. A Germany doctor Wolfgang Blam together with Dr Hitimana Léonard continued to care for Tutsi who were injured in difficult conditions. They killed Dr Blam's wife first because she was a Tutsi and later the doctor and their children were killed too.

Among the killers there were Joseph Mpambara Interahamwe from Mugonero, a brother to Obed Ruzindana who was convicted of Genocide crime by the ICTR and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Joseph Mpambara fled to the Netherlands, and was convicted by the local courts on July 9, 2011 for the crime of genocide and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

On April 18, 1994, Kayishema Clément launched the massacre in Gatwaro stadium by shooting dead an Adventist Pastor Munyakaragwe Ezechiel with the gun that he requested from a gendarme. He came with armed Interahamwe, gendarmes, police, military and other Hutu civilians. They surrounded the stadium and others went on Gatwaro hill above the stadium.

Prefect Kayishema authorized them to start killing Tutsi. They were killed with guns, grenades, machetes, pangas and other various traditional weapons. On that very day, they killed Tutsi till 6 pm. Afterwards, some soldiers left while Interahamwe stayed overnight to check for any survivor who would escape during the night. At night, surviving Tutsi gathered the corpses of their colleagues and tried to give first aid at hand to those who were seriously injured.

Later on during night, Interahamwe decided to leave the stadium to come back in the morning. They went to celebrate at the neighbouring bar. Early morning on April 19, 1994 around 6 am, they came back at the stadium to finish off those who were breathing.

Kayishema was convicted of genocide crime by the ICTR and sentenced for life imprisonment. He died in Prison in Mali.

Massacre of Tutsi in Kamonyi, Kayumbu

Kayumbu bridge is located in Nyarusange village, Karengera cell, Musambira Sector, Kamonyi District. On April 18, 1994, the head Priest Pio Ntahobari together with Rwakayigamba (a teacher) and a church secretary called Nyagahene denied entrance in the church for Tutsi refugees saying that they would destroy it. They camped in the market opposite the church. Killers were not satisfied and chased them away saying that Tutsi 's God is at Kabgayi that they should go there instead. They descended towards Kibuza (There is Kamonyi Genocide memorial) where they met an attack which they managed to escape before they could meet another one at Gaperi, killers here killed men and boys only. The survivors of those attacks arrived at Musambira Parish where they met the head priest and they were lucky to have the church opened for them.

Next morning on April 19, a truck full of soldiers arrived at the church and held a meeting with war displaced Hutu from Kivuye (Byumba). After the meeting, the Priest told Tutsi refugees to leave especially those who had come last. Interahamwerun after them with machetes while soldiers and presidential guards went to Kayumbu bridge and started shooting them one by one until bodies were all over the bridge. After the shooting, soldiers left the surviving ones to local citizens and Interahamweto use traditional weapons and take away their possessions.

Most of the killers at Kayumbu bridge were not known in the area because many were soldiers who were not from the area.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nkanka Parish, Rusizi

In the former Kamembe commune, many Tutsi were killed at Nkanka Parish, at the commune and at Busekanka. From April 8, 1994, Tutsi started fleeing at Nkanka Parish because the killings had already started in Gitwa and Murambi and Interahamwehad started burning their houses. All Tutsi came at the Parish because

the bourgmestre had told them that they will be protected as he had sent police at the Parish supposedly to protect them. His purpose was to be aware of the exact number of Tutsi and to prevent them from fleeing to DR Congo (former Zaïre).

On April 17, 1994 the bourgmestre of Kamembe Commune Mubiligi Jean Napoléon and the head priest of Nkanka Parish Ngirinshuti Thaddée held a meeting with local notorious Interahamweto kill Tutsi. The next day on April 18, 1994 Interahamwe killed them using grenades, wooden clubs, machetes and other weapons.

Before they would be given refuge, father Ngirinshuti Thaddée took away all their weapons including (sticks, spears, machetes, bows and arrows to prevent them from self-protection in case they are attacked. In addition, the room of police men who were at the Parish was full of guns, grenades which were used by Interahamwe on April 18.

The same day, 60 Tutsi who had taken refuge at Kamembe Commune were killed. They were first hidden by a staff of the Commune Gatera Casimir who was intimidated by the bourgmestre saying that he should send them out before Interahamwe destroy the entire office searching for them. They were released and killed on spot.

On April 18, 1994, Tutsi were slaughtered at Nyabitimba parish, Karengera (Cyangugu) Mibilizi hospital, Cyimbogo.

Massacre of Tutsi in Simbi Sector, Maraba Commune, Huye

Simbi Sector was located in the former Maraba Commune led by the bourgmestre Habineza Jean Marie Vianey since September 1990. He used to oppress Tutsi as if it was one of his duties since appointment. Habineza together with policemen went to Simbi CERAI- considered as TVET (Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré) and took Mazimpaka Gregoire (the principal) as well as teacher called Kanobayire Jean Baptiste of Cyendajuru and tied them behind saying that they are confiscating guns given by Inkotanyi illegally.

He closely monitored and trained Interahamweto make traditional weapons that were used to kill Tutsi like wooden clubs called “*Nta mpongano*” translated as “without *mercy*”, bows and arrows, spears, and supplied them with other equipments which includes machetes, guns and grenades. Habineza also prepared Tutsi list and identified their location to ease their killing when the time comes.

Since the attack of Inkotanyi, no Tutsi from Maraba was allowed to leave Maraba Commune without a laissez passer supplied by communal authorities.

Between April 10 and 17, 1994, all Tutsi from Maraba were gathered at Simbi church. Three policemen Nkuriza, Kanani Antoine and Nyirimana Canisius ensured security of the refugees at the church and they only killed them after the visit of the President Sindikubwabo who blamed them for taking long to kill Tutsi. He then sent soldiers to help Interahamweto kill them.

On April 18, 1994 Interahamwefrom Gikongoro and Maraba, soldiers, gendarmes and policemen attacked them at the church. It was on a daylight when two Interahamweclimbed over the church and took off iron sheets and poured petrol over them. In addition, Bushakiro poured chilli powder amongst them and suffocated them. Afterwards, Interahamwesmashed doors and threw grenades, stones on them and entered the church to chop those who were breathing. About 40,000 Tutsi were massacred there.

After killing Tutsi in Simbi church, the bourgmestreHabineza sent one of InterahamweRuzindana Celestin to the Sisters' home to inform the latter that the next to be killed are Tutsi at Simbi Health Centre. They immediately went and killed Sister Peter Claver, Sister Paul and Sister Pelagie. Sister Gervais was hit on head by a club and did not die on spot but she became blind. Tutsi who had taken refuge in the health center were also killed.

The master minders were:

Former municipal policemen: Nkuriza, Antoine Kanani, Nyirimana Canisius, Sebarinda Célestin, Nshimyumukiza Clément: the assistantbourgmestre, Rwabuhungu Sylvestre (President of MDR Power), Mujoyambere Antoine former teacher and the president of MRND and others who had come from Gikongoro. Between 2000 and 3000 Tutsi were killed on that day in Kigembe Commune and Butare.

Massacre of Tutsi at OPROVIA, Rusizi

Many Tutsi from around Kamembe town and Rusizi were killed at Kamembe. From April 18, 1994 Interahamwestarted to attack Tutsi in their homes and snatched them to kill them at Kamembe near the new market and in the nearby coffee plantations next to Kamembe Sector. They were led by Napoléon Mubirigi, the former Kamembe bourgmestre, Haruna Rizinde who represented MRND in Kamembe, Councillor of Kamembe Sector called Muruku.

The killers in Kamembe town included local Interahamweand Burundians who had taken refuge in Rwanda. The most prominent Interahamwewere Kanyarukiko Cassim, Ngenzenuku Hassan, Haluna Nsengiyumva alias Cenga, Shuwayibu alias Epis, Kimputu, Nsengiyumva and many others.

Massacre of Tutsi in Rwamagana, Mwurire and at Sovu School

Shortly before the genocide, Tutsi who lived in the former Bicumbi Commune were very oppressed by the former bourgmestre Semanza. After Habyarimana's plane crash, all Tutsi were ordered to stay in their homes. On April 7, 1994 Hutu attacks started to invade Tutsi homes and killed them. However, some Hutu joined their Tutsi colleagues to fight back the killers with the purpose of suppressing the attacks in Mwurire Sector. Those Hutu were called in a meeting by Interahamweand MRND leaders to inform them to avoid supporting Tutsi and Tutsi resisted for about two weeks.

Tutsi from Mwurire, Nzige, Gahengeli, Rubona, Rutonde and Bicumbi were all gathered on the hill of Gisanza where they got killed on April 18, 1994 by municipal police and Interahamwe who were given guns. Tutsi became weakened by the killers' gunshots as their weapons which included stones, sticks got finished.

Over 15,000 Tutsi got killed on the spot. Others got killed at the roadblocks like the one located near Baptist church whereby over 400 Tutsi were killed. Over 50,000 Tutsi were killed in Kabuya swamp and in the home of the councillor Bakundukize Jean.

The same day, Tutsiwho had taken refuge at Sovu School, Rwamagana were killed especially children, women and old women. Before killing them, girls and women were raped and killers would throw chilli powder in their private parts afterwards. On April 18, 1994 those who had killed Tutsi of Mwurire supported local Hutu of Sovu to exterminate those who were at the school.

On April 18, 1994, Tutsi were killed at Nyabitimba Parish, Karengera in Cyangugu, Mibilizi Hospital in Cyimbogo Commune, Cyangugu, the massacres continued until April 20-30, 1994. The same day in the Kigembe Commune, in Butare prefecture, between 2,000 and 3,000 Tutsi were killed.

2.13. APRIL 19, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER BUTARE, GITARAMA, GIKONGORO AND CYANGUGU PREFECTURES

The hate speech of President Sindikubwabo in Butare, inciting people of Butare to exterminate Tutsi, the appointment of extremist Prefect who was to carry out the Genocide in Butare

On April 19, 1994, the criminal government removed Prefect Habyarimana Jean Baptiste, who had tried to prevent the killings in Butare, although he was also being hunted down because he was a Tutsi, and replaced him with Sylvain Nsabimana who was a member of the Social Democratic Party (PSD). He became the prefect of Butare and led the massacre between April 19 to June 17, 1994. He was arrested in Kenya on July 18, 1997 by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) which convicted him with genocide crime and was sentenced to 18 years of imprisonment.

Prefect Sylvain Nsabimana worked with Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Shalom Arsène Ntahobali, André Rwamakuba, Alphonse Nteziryayo, Joseph Kanyabashi, Ladislav Ntaganzwa and Elie Ndayambaje. They were also together with soldiers including Major Tharcisse Muvunyi who was in the *Ecole des Sous Officiers* (ESO), to eliminate Tutsi of Butare Prefecture.

On April 19, 1994, the President of the criminal government Theodore Sindikubwabo, called on people of Butare to exterminate Tutsi: In his speech, he called the public to participate in the killings and reminded them not to act as if it is not their business. Later, soldiers joined by Hutu Interahamwemilitia killed many Tutsi civilians living in Butare and refugees from other parts of the country.

Among those who participated in the inauguration ceremony of the new Prefect included members of the criminal government, who shared the same ideology of extermination of Tutsi, such as Mugenzi Justin, Prosper Mugiraneza and Pauline Nyiramasuhuko. Shortly after the speech of Sindikubwabo, Tutsi were massacred in Butare town.

The same day, soldiers of the criminal government threw bombs at Amahoro Stadium where 19 people under protection of United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) were killed.

Massacre of Tutsi at Ngoma Sector, Kigembe Commune, Butare

Ngoma Sector is currently located in Nyaruguru District but during the Genocide against the Tutsi it was located in Kigembe Commune, Butare Prefecture and was led by bourgmestre Semanyenzi. Ngoma Sector had about two places where many Tutsi were killed during the genocide. Many Tutsi were killed at Nkomero in Ngoma Sector, Nyaruguru District, on the Huye-Akanyaru road.

During the Genocide against the Tutsi, some Tutsi refugees who wanted to cross to Burundi passed by Nkomero. On April 16, 1994, Tutsi who had survived the massacres in Mubuga, Gikongoro, Cyahinda, Rwamiko communes and the people of Nkomero who wanted to flee to Burundi through Akanyaru border, were prohibited from crossing the border and stayed into the Akanyaru Valley.

The next day on April 17, 1994 they were evacuated and brought to the courtyard in Nkomero. On the same day, the Prefect of Butare, Habyarimana Jean Baptiste arrived at the site and promised the refugees that he would find a way to put them in a camp for security purposes. However, he also was immediately removed and slaughtered in the following days.

On April 18 and 19, 1994 more than 3360 Tutsi gathered at Nkomero ground were killed with the involvement of:

- The bourgmestre of Kigembe Commune Semanyenzi Straton;
- Ngoma Sector Councillor called Munyengango Leonard;
- Fugi Sector Councillor called Beninka;
- The Councillor of Kivu named Philémon;
- A teacher called Mugemanshuro Godefroid;
- A businessman called Kayitana John and other Interahamwe militia.

Few Tutsi who had survived Nkomero massacre were killed in the valley of Akanyaru while trying to cross the border to Burundi on April 19, 1994.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kigembe, Gacurabwenge Sector, Musambira, Kamonyi

Kigembe is located in Gacurabwenge Sector, Kamonyi District, formerly in Musambira Commune. This was a well-known residence for the tribes of the Abatsobe and Abasinga. Tutsi who lived in Kigembe were killed in April 1994 by attacks led by the former Councillor Ndahayo. On the first day many Tutsi were killed, and the rest fled to the bushes. Ndahayo, the councillor, later said that harmony was back and called upon all those who were hiding to come out of their hidings. They came out and gathered at the home of an old man called Gatarabirwa. Many Tutsi were informed that others had gone to the old man Gatarabirwa and they chose to join them increasing their number to more than a 100.

Ndahayo brought the biggest attack around 1pm including the soldiers. The attacks were distributed; another attack went to kill Tutsi who were gathered at Kabera's (a Tutsi) home. They took them to Gatarabirwa's son called Vincent and ordered them to dig for themselves but they refused. The Interahamwe started digging for them from 2 pm and started killing them around 5 pm. They started with boys; they stripped the parents of their clothes and then tied the children up like fire wood, and then Hutu carried them like luggage and threw them into the pit alive. After killing children, they started with adults and then tried to cover the pit even though the corpses were many and did not fit in.

The most notorious of these killers was a man called Abudrahaman of Musambira, councillors Ndahayo, Philippe and Janvier. It was after the Genocide that all Tutsi killed in Kigembe were buried but later transferred to Kibuzza Memorial.

Massacre of Tutsi at *Urutare rw'Abarenga* in Kamonyi, near Nyabarongo

Rutare rw'Abarenga is a wide rock close to the river of Nyabarongo and the water is so deep so that none could get out of it easily. The rock is located in Fukwe village. Many people from Karangara and Musenyi were taken there.

On April 19, 1994 the massacre started in Rwezamenyo (at Nyabarongo), Kamonyi, now in Nyabitare, Marembo cell where many Tutsi from Kirwa of Kayenzi area were killed. These areas located in Ngamba Sector, Kamonyi District on the shores of the Nyabarongo River, were formerly located in Taba Commune which was led by Akayesu Jean Paul who was convicted by the Arusha Tribunal for genocide crime and sentenced to life imprisonment. Many Tutsi from Ngamba Sector were thrown into Nyabarongo river. Not only these but also others from Kayenzi Commune and elsewhere were dumped in Nyabarongo.

The massacre started on April 19, 1994 until RPF liberated the area by the end of June 1994. Those who were thrown in Nyabarongo were not killed but handcuffed. The number of people dumped in Nyabarongo in Ngamba is high because all Tutsi from Rukoma, Kayenzi and Ngamba were taken there.

The main perpetrators of the Ngamba massacre at Nyabarongo are: Mutijima (a secretary at the commune); Ruvugama Cyrille (an MP), Rurangirwa (a policeman), Twagirayezu Vincent alias Kagozi, Mbarubukeye (a teacher); Manyukane Stany, Rumumba Samuel, Munyaburanga (a teacher); Munyankumburwa and Hategeka (teachers in Marembo), Nsengiyaremye (a councillor), Ndahayo called Pilate, Kayibanda, Ntarizaboneka and others.

Massacre of Tutsi in Karutare Forest (Cyibihanga), Kamonyi

This place was called “Cyibihanga” and is located in Muyange cell, Kayumbu Sector. About a hundred Tutsi were killed here, including members of the Abasinga tribe who lived nearby, as well as others who had come from around. On April 19, Tutsi who were hiding in the forest were attacked by Interahamwemilitias of Rutobwe and others from Nyabikenke. These people were cruelly killed with machetes and clubs.

After killing them, they threw them into the pit and others were buried in the trenches in the forest. After the genocide, bodies dumped in the forest were exhumed and buried in dignity at the Kibuza memorial in Gacurabwenge Sector, Kamonyi District.

Massacre of Tutsi in Kamonyi centre (ku Masuka)

The Kamonyi Center is located in Kamonyi Village, Nkingo Cell, Gacurabwenge Sector, but was formerly located in Taba Commune. From the main road to Kamonyi Parish and Nturo Center, many Tutsi were killed during Genocide. The center is also linked with Nyamugari hill, which haboured refugees from Kivuye, where Tutsi were killed.

The massacre took place from April 19, 1994 until the end of the Genocide. There were two roadblocks: one at the main road and the other one behind Kamonyi Parish. One day Tutsi from Kamonyi and others from Kigembe were gathered and killed opposite the Parish near the statue of virgin Mary. They were not killed inside the church because the existing priest, Pie Ntahobari, refused to allow them to enter the church and closed it. Many Tutsi from all around continued to be captured at the roadblocks and killed and then dumped in the pits in Kamonyi forest.

Massacre of Tutsi at Mushishiro Parish (Muhanga)

Killers ‘roadblock was located in Buringa at Kabadaha center and is now in Kabadaha village, Munazi cell, Mushishiro Sector, Muhanga District. Before the genocide it was in Buringa Commune. When the genocide started on april 9, 1994, many Tutsi from Kibilira and Buringa communes took refuge in Kabadaha village in which the headquarter of the commune was built.

The bourgmestre of Buringa Commune accompanied all the Tutsi who had taken refuge in the commune to Kabgayi. After that, the former deputy bourgmestre Ntabashwa Jean conducted the subsequent massacre in the area.

From April 10, 1994, a large military roadblock was established at the centre precisely at the Karamira Frodouald's mini-hotel where he was born and represented MDR power. Karamira is the one who supplied weapons used in the massacre of Tutsi there. The roadblock was intended to kill Tutsi from all around, including refugees from Kabgayi, those from Kigali and elsewhere.

Between 180 and 200 Tutsi were killed at the roadblock and dumped in a pit at Karamira hotel, which was normally intended to dispose of animal's and food remains from the hotel. Those who exhumed the bodies found the bodies mixed with chicken wings and much more.

Apart from those Tutsi killed there, there were many roadblocks everywhere in Buringa commune: There were roadblocks at Buringa commune, Munazi, in Nyagasozi Sector and in Nyagako where many Tutsi were killed by refugees who had fled to Buringa. Additionally, roadblocks were established at Rwigerero (near the cell office) and another one near the market, at Mushishiro Parish – it was set up by a Burundian priest named Jérémie Nduwabike. other roadblocks were established at a place called *Mu Nama* at Rukaragata, at Nyabarongo, at Karombozi, at Rwasare, Matyazo and many others. Tutsi were killed at all the roadblocks; others were thrown in Nyabarongo.

Some of the most prominent participants in the genocide in that area are: Ntabashwa Jean (Deputy bourgmestre), Karamira Frodouard, Gasiribanyi Alex, Munyankumburwa Faustin, Kamonyo Fidele, Mutimura Claver, Father Nduwabike Jérémie (Burundian), MP Major Ukurikiyeyezu Jean Damascène, Nyaminani Felicien who had been the bourgmestre of Buringa, Sebazungu Cyril (*Chef of Electrogaz I Kigali*).

Massacre of Tutsi in Kayenzi Commune, Gitwa, Gashinge, Kirwa, Kamonyi

Since April 13, 1994, the massacre of Tutsi had started in Gitwa (Kirwa Cell) in Kayenzi Sector. Tutsi had taken refuge in the home of a Tutsi man who was the director of the Gitwa school called Ugirashebuja Felicien. They have been resisting attacks from Musasa in Gakenke from April 13, but the situation worsened as Kayenzi people also launched attacks on them. A harsh attack took place on April 19, 1994 and Tutsi retaliated it but another major attack was planned ahead of a meeting held at Gitwa Primary school ground led by Nkundiramye Alphonse and Munyakazi Leopold.

When the attack came, Tutsi saw it and went to *Beyite* forest, while others went to the home of a Tutsi called Kajugiro. The attackers killed them all from their hiding especially in *Beyite* forest.

The main perpetrators of the massacre in Kayenzi Commune are the bourgmestre Mbarubukeye Jean and the perpetrators of the massacre in Kirwa are Mpabarezi, Rwagakwandi, Hitimana Jean Damascene, Ngendo, Rucumugambi Aloys, Nzabanita Cyrille, Nkundiramye Alphonse, Uwayezu Leonidas and others.

The massacre of Tutsi who had taken refuge at Muko Commune office, Nyamagabe

On 7 April, 1994, there was a massacre of ten people at Mushubi Catholic Parish, Muko Commune, Gikongoro Prefecture. On April 8, 1994 many Tutsi immediately fled at Muko Commune headquarter but most of them also fled to Kaduha Parish because they had learned that bourgmestre Kayihura Albert was involved in the killing of those at Mushubi Parish and they felt they would not be safe. Residents who could not go to Kaduha continued to flee from the sectors of Muko and Musebeya Commune area as its headquarter was built near the border of the two communes. They had promised refugees that they would be protected at the headquarter and those who were hiding in the bushes came out. But this was a plot to collect them for easy killing.

On April 19, 1994 an attack led by a notorious killer nicknamed Rukokoma was singing the following words: "*What do you want?*" *They replied: the cockroaches. Where are they? At Muko Commune, they replied! Why are you looking for them? To slaughter them; replied the killers...* The attack did not kill anyone at the Commune because their security guards refused to give them up for reasons that were not known by refugees.

The Bourgmestre Kayihura Albert, Musonera, the director of Primary School, Rukokoma and others immediately held a meeting and decided that they would kill men first and then kill women and children later. The attackers went back to change the killing plan and refugees thought they had escaped but attackers went to a place called Gishwati to reorganise.

Men and boys were packed in three vehicles falsely telling them that they are taken to Kaduha Parish because there was no security in Mushubi. About three miles away at a place called Gishwati, they found an attack waiting for them and killed them with traditional weapons, leaving only one survivor who jumped and run away. Others could not get through because the killers had surrounded cars.

Women and children who had remained at the commune lived a very bad life; women were raped and later killed on April 19, 1994. The attack was led by Munyarihamye Pascal, who was in charge of Mushubi Cell, and carried about 500 women and children to Mushubi Health Center where they were killed.

Among those at the forefront of inciting the massacre of Tutsi were the Sous prefet of Munini *Sous prefecture* Biniga Damien who was born in Muko Commune, Bourgmestre of Muko Commune Kayihura Albert, Musonera Etienne (the principal of Rugano Primary School) who was sentenced by the Gacaca Courts to 15 years in prison, councillors and cell leaders, including Hakizimana (Councillor of Sovu) and others. Some renowned killers are Sekanyambo, Muberandinda, Mbaraga, Habimana, Kanyamanza, Rukokoma, Munyabihame, Muberandinda, Munyembaraga, Ruhigisha, Sebera Aloys and others.

Mushubi Genocide Memorial is now home to more than 14,152 bodies of the victims of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Massacre of Tutsi in Nyakanyinya, Mururu Sector, Rusizi

The massacre in Nyakanyinya had started on April 13, 1994. A large number of Interahamwemilitia came from Mururu and started to brutally kill Tutsi with grenades, guns and traditional weapons. On April 19, 1994 Interahamwereturned to exterminate the wounded and others who had not been able to escape thinking that the killing was over.

Similarly, on April 19, 1994 Tutsi were massacred in Nyamukumba in Ruhango. On the way to Ruhango, there were a valley where many Tutsi were killed because all sides were bordered by the Interahamweand there were dangerous roadblocks.

2.14. APRIL 20, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER BUTARE, CYANGUGU AND GITARAMA

President Theodore Sindikubwabo and his government continued to incite Hutu to exterminate Tutsi

On April 20, 1994, the former president of the criminal government visited Ndora and Shyanda communes in Gisagara district to urge Hutu to exterminate Tutsi. On the same day in Butare town, Prefect Nsabimana, who was instated by Sindikubwabo the previous night, held a meeting which aimed at planning how the Genocide was to be carried out in Butare prefecture.

The assassination of Queen Rosalie Gicanda in Butare

It was on April 20, 1994 that Queen Rosalie Gicanda got murdered. Queen Rosalie Gicanda was killed at the instructions of Captain Ildephonse Nizeyimana at the military training school called the “*École des Sous-Officiers*” (ESO) in Butare. During the genocide, Nizeyimana joined militaries who were involved in the killings, including Lt. Colonel Muvunyi Tharcisse and soldiers from Ngoma military base commanded by Lieutenant Ildephonse Hategekimana and Gendarmery led by Major Cyriaque Habyarabatuma as well as Interahamwe.

Captain Nizeyimana instructed the soldiers to kill Queen Rosalie Gicanda at her home which was near Ngoma Commune office. Those who went there include Lieutenant Bizimana, nicknamed "Rwatsi", Lieutenant Gakwerere, Corporal Aloys Mazimpaka, and Dr. Kageruka. Other victims were identified as Jean Damascène Paris, Alphonse Sayidiya, Marie Gasibirege, Aurelie Mukaremera and Callixte Kayigamba.

Captain Nizeyimana was convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and sentenced to 35 years in prison. Lt. Colonel Muvunyi was convicted of genocide crime and sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Massacre of Tutsi at Mugombwa Church, Gisagara

Tutsi refugees from the former Muganza, Kibayi and Nyaruhengeri communes as well as those who lived on Nyange hill near Kabogobogo River took refuge at Mugombwa Church between April 19 and 20, 1994 in Gisagara. The head Priest Titiano Pagolalo (Italian), confined Tutsi inside the Church, and padlocked all doors and handed the keys to the famous killer businessman in Mugombwa center called Byiyingoma. When Interahamwe and the military arrived at the church, they demolished the church gates using guns and grenades and then burnt the church with fuel.

Approximately 26,700 Tutsi were killed at Mugombwa Parish.

The perpetrators of the killings were Ndayambaje Elie, former Bourgmestre of Muganza Commune, Singirankabo Viateur who was the Councilor, Rwakaronkano, Byiyingoma, Bigirimana Pierre, Mukundiye Yohani (the head of the Interahamwe), Kabirigi Antoine, Habiyaambere Céléstin, Mbarushimana Emmanuel, Munyaneza Théobald and many others. Additionally, Burundian Hutu refugees who lived in the camp (Saga Cell), also played a key role in the massacre of Mugombwa Tutsi.

Burundian refugees who committed the genocide were supported by a Belgian Brother called Constant Julius Goetschalckx also called Brother Stan from the Charity Brothers, “*Frères de la Charité*” of the “Groupe Scolaire” of Butare. This Brother was a close friend to the Bourgmestre Ndayambaje and Nyiramasuhuko and also testified at the ICTR in 2008 in their favour. Brother Stan was involved with the killers of Tutsi refugees in Mugombwa Church. In July 1994, Brother Stan left Rwanda for Kigoma, Tanzania to establish a Rwandan refugee school in which he received his friends from genocidal government.

A report by the United Nations experts released in November, 2009 (S / 2009/603) identified brother Stan as one of the religious who continued to support the FDLR in its plan to destabilize Rwanda. Elie Ndayambaje has been sentenced to 47 years in prison by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

Massacre of Tutsi in Busekanka, Nkanka Sector, Rusizi

Busekanka is near Lake Kivu, on the port from Nkanka to Nkombo and in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Tutsi were killed while fleeing to Zaïre, while others were taken from their homes to be killed at the lake. There was no roadblock at the site, but Interahamwewould shout and go to the site immediately whenever they saw Tutsi fleeing.

The first Tutsi were killed from April 20, 1994 till the end of May 1994 in Busekanka. The local Interahamwemassacred Tutsi with immense cruelty: they tied their legs and arms and threw them in Kivu, others cut off their legs and took out their eyes and then throw them alive to watch how they die.

Tutsi killedat RUTABO, called CND, Kinazi Sector, Ruhango

There was a huge pit in which Tutsi were thrown both dead and alive. The pit was excavated near Rutabo Primary School by a teacher named Nsabimana Jacques who was the president of the CDR in Ntongwe commune, which he called a toilet pit.

Tutsi who were killed at the school site were from Ntongwe, Mugina, Bugesera communes and elsewhere. After killing them they were thrown into a pit with others who were killed at various roadblocks and the surroundings. The pit was called CND to mean that they should join their Inkotanyi relatives who lived at CND Kigali. They were killed by gendarmes, Interahamweand Burundian refugees who were in Nyagahama camp.

Among the perpetrators included the Bourgmestre of Ntongwe Commune Charles Kagabo, the president of the CDR, Nsabimana Jacques and others.

Massacre of Tutsi at the Nyumba Catholic Parish, Gishamvu Commune, Butare

At Gishamvu there was Nyumba Parish, Major Seminary of Nyakibanda, Gishamvu Commune, and Busoro sous prefecture. This commune is the birthplace of Jean Kambanda, the former Prime Minister of criminal government. Tutsi refugees came from Kigembe, Runyinya, Nyakizu, Rwamiko, Mubuga and Gishamvu communes. Between 25,000 and 30,000 Tutsi were shot dead by guns which were located on the hills opposite Nyakibanda.

Noticeable in the killings were Kambanda Pascal, Bourgmestre of Gishamvu Commune, Simbarikure Assiel (Busoro Sous prefet), Nzavugejo Pierre Céléstin, Medical Assistant Officer at Busoro Health Center, Kubwimana Laurent (a teacher) who during genocide became the sous prefet. Nshimiyimana Alexis from Gisenyi who worked for MINITRAPE, Iyamuremye Vianney who distributed a lot of axes to the population, Gatabazi Evariste a driver at the commune, Kubwimana nicknamed Cyuma, Gishamvu Councilor, Nyamwasa Joseph (a police officer), Ushizimpumu Jean, Shori councilor, Namahungu Martin (a security guard at the Post office), Murara Gabriel a medical doctor in Butare, members of Twa tribe from Kibuye cya Shari led by Tabaro, Barirwanda Marc who worked at the Bank of Kigali and his young brother Ndayisenga Samuel as well as Sekimonyo who owned a gun and shot many Tutsi.

Tutsi priests, Tutsi seminarists and Tutsi refugees who had taken refuge at the Major Seminary of Nyakibanda were killed. Among the perpetrators was Father Thaddée Rusingizandekwe, a native of Kibeho, and was a professor at Major Seminary of Nyakibanda.

Massacre of Tutsi at ADEPR Shagasha, Gihundwe, Cyangugu

The ADEPR Shagasha Church was attended by many Pentecostal Christians including many Tutsi, which is why they took refuge at the church. The Tutsi who had taken refuge at the ADEPR were women and children men were fearing to be killed there.

About 60 Tutsi women and children took refuge there from April 11, 1994 when Tutsi started to be killed and their houses burned down.

On April 20, 1994, a group of killers, who had just killed in Nkanka, arrived with gasoline to burn them alive inside the church, but fortunately they could not use it

because it was accidentally dumped on the ground. They mercilessly killed Tutsi refugees from the church.

2.15. APRIL 21, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER GIKONGORO, BUTARE AND GITARAMA PREFECTURES

UN Security Council amended UNAMIR mandate and withdrew some of its troops from Rwanda

On April 21, 1994, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution of 912 amending the UNAMIR mandate and leaving it with only 250 troops. However, General Dallaire who led UNAMIR sent a daily report to the United Nations on the killings of Tutsi in Rwanda. He claimed that the Habyarimanaguards and Interahamwemilitia had become like a "virus" which was spreading quickly. The UN, which did not value the information from Dallaire, decided to abandon Rwanda and the killings continued on a daylight.

Massacre of Tutsi at Murambi, Gikongoro, Nyamagabe

When the genocide started in Murambi area, local Tutsi and those from Mudasomwa, Kinyamakara, Musebeya, Muko and other communes started to seek refuge at Murambi. Those who fled to Murambi were told by their authorities that they would be able to keep their security while they are together but it was a lie because the former president of criminal government Sindikubwabo Theodore together with his Prime Minister Jean Kambanda had visited Gikongoro and instructed people to start the genocide.

It was after the meeting that the authorities encouraged the Tutsi to flee to Murambi, lying to them that they would be kept safe. Those who had fled to various communal and church offices and those who had been hidden by the Hutu were taken to Murambi by car or brought by others. Everywhere they passed on the way to Murambi, they were stoned by Interahamwe. When they arrived in Murambi, Interahamwe immediately cut off all water pipes supplying Murambi so that they get weakened by thirsty before they can be killed. Tutsi refugees decided to slaughter their cows after realizing that they were starving to death.

In the following days, Interahamwewould attack them and they fought back with stones and Interahamwewould go back. In the dawn of April 20 towards 21, 1994 around 3 am gendarmes started firing grenades and shooting on Tutsi refugees.

Interahamwe, CDR supporters and civilians carrying clubs, machetes, spears and axes started to finish off those who were not killed with gunshots and the wounded.

Those who participated in the killing of more than 50,000 Tutsi who had taken refuge at Murambi were the former Prefect of Gikongoro Prefecture Bucyibaruta Laurent (lives in France), Semakwavu Felicien, the former Bourgmestre of Nyamagabe Commune, Captain Faustin Sebhura who led Gikongoro Gendarmerie, Colonel Simba Aloys, Justin Ayurugari, who was in charge of Electrogaz Gikongoro, Venuste Nyombayire (in charge of SOS Gikongoro Children's Center), David Karangwa the registrar in Gikongoro Court, Celse Semigabo the prosecutor in Gikongoro, Alphonse Nsengumukiza (worked in Electrogaz), gendarms and Interahamwe including Munyangoga, Musekura Aloys, Ngirumpatse Venuste and others.

Murambi was also the campsite of French military in the “*Zone Turquoise*” where they claimed to have come to protect Tutsi who were being killed but that did not happen because a few Tutsi who had survived went to Murambi but were kidnapped and killed by the Interahamwe and the French soldiers did nothing about it.

Some French soldiers raped Tutsi girls and women and committed various other crimes, according to a report by “Mucyo commission”. At the end of their mission, they asked people who were in Murambi camp to cross over to Congo and assured them that they would help them return to Rwanda. Interahamwe escorted them to Congo with many other refugees because they were told that Inkotanyi would kill them but the purpose was to help killers take them as hostages for when they would arrive in the Congolese jungles.

Murambi genocide memorial is a home for more than 50,000 Tutsi genocide victims who were killed there and those exhumed from Gasaka memorial.

Tutsi massacre at Cyanika Catholic Parish, Nyamagabe

This Parish has a special history even in the previous massacres of Tutsi because in 1963 there was a mass massacre which took away lives of many Tutsi who lived there and it was reported in the international reports and in the media that it was genocide. The survivors named it *bloody Christmas*.

From 1990-1994 Tutsi who lived in Cyanika were again persecuted under the leadership of Bourgmestre of Karama Commune Desire Ngezahayo. They were called Inkotanyi accomplices as it happened in 1963 by calling them accomplices of the cockroaches (Inyenzi) and imprisoning others.

On April 8, 1994, Tutsi refugees from Karama, Kinyamakara, Nyamagabe, Rukondo, Karambo and other communes were gathered at the Parish and were welcomed by Father Joseph Niyomugabo.

The reason why many fled was that Bourgmestre Ngezahayo and the councillors toured the entire commune and demanded that those hiding to come at Cyanika Parish using loudspeakers pretending to protect them at the parish.

On April 11, 1994, the sous prefect of Karaba *Sous prefecture* Joseph Ntegeyintwari held a meeting with the Bourgmestre of Rukondo, Karama and Kinyamakara communes at Cyanika football ground (Murizo) to polish their plan to kill Tutsi. There was also a terrorist group called MINUAR commanded by Ntaganira Emmanuel also alias Muturage and Rubera who received arms from Col. Simba and handed them over to people. The group was in charge of killing Tutsi and to reinforce where the killing was slow because they were using grenades especially Interahamwe called Kazungu.

In the dawn of April 20 to 21 Tutsi who had taken refuge at Murambi were killed and the killers headed to Cyanika on April 21, 1994 at around 10 am and started to kill refugees who had taken refuge at the parish where they used grenades and traditional weapons. More than 35,000 Tutsi were killed and they are buried in Cyanika Genocide memorial.

Those who participated in the planning and killing of Tutsi who had taken refuge at Cyanika Catholic Parish were led by the former prefect of Gikongoro Laurent Bucyibaruta, Col Simba Aloys, sous prefet Joseph Ntegeyintwari, Bourgmestre Ngezahayo Desire, MP Marc Hanyurwimfura, Munyandinda Joel inspector of primary school of Rukondo commune, Nkurikiyimana Jean Bosco director of Cyanika health Centre, Charles Ugirindege (Deputy Bourgmestre of Rukondo), his brother in-law Sebakiga Jean Bosco also called Kinigamazi (veterinary of Karama commune), Munyaneza Jean Bosco, Mpakaniye Frodouard former youth mobiliser of Karama commune, Jean Baptiste Kayigamba who worked at the Cyanika Health Center, Gahamanyi Callixte – a businessman, Councillors including Munyankindi Callixte, Bashimubwabo Jean Baptiste, Murindababisha - the Director of GS Cyanika, Hishamunda Charles youth mobiliser in Gikongoro, Gatari Jean Damascene (Agronomist), Gashara Alphonse - a teacher in Mbazi, Nzungize Azaria - a secretary in Karaba sous prefecture, Karekezi Kizito a student at the University and a player of Mukura, Mageza Onesphore - Rukondo police officer, Mudenge Juvenal (reservist), Police officers: Habimana and Munyaneza Cyprien and some cell and sector leaders of Cyanika, Kibingo, Gitega, Ngoma, Muganza, Kiraro, Kiyumba and Nyanzoga.

Interahamwe who took part in killing Tutsi of Cyanika were : Demokarasi Joseph alias Rubera, Ulinzwenimana Etienne alias Kazungu, Ntaganira Emmanuel alias Muturage, Nkuriza Anastase alias Serufirira, Kabera Vianney and his elder brother Gasurira, Nizeyimana Athanase alias Musebeya, Musoni Anselme, Mugambira Apollinaire, Bizimana alias Munyu, Karamira Maurice, Kayihura Joseph, Mugenga Joseph, Mubirigi Zacharie, Rwamakuza Cyriaque, Rudahanwa Telesphore, Bukeye Alphonse, Mutajugire Francois alias Rupajyama, Miyeri, Nambaje Alphonse, AloysSekaganda son of Ntwarabashi, Rutebuka Martin, Rwagasana Venant, Bizimana alias Nderema, Muhaya son of Mishogoro, Dominique son of Busizori, Rukara Mariko, Senyana son of Butuyu and others.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kaduha Catholic Parish, Nyamagabe

Kaduha Parish is located in the former Karambo commune, Kaduha *Sous prefecture* Gikongoro prefecture. Tutsi who had taken refuge there came from Muko, Musange, Karambo and Musebeya communes. They started to arrive on April 8, 1994. On April 17, 1994 a gendarm took away their traditional weapons saying that they are already protected

Before that date, refugees were sharing what they had brought from their homes and a German Sister Milghita who led the Health Center prepared porridge for children. The priests had sufficient rice but starved refugees because there was a Burundian priest Nyandwi Athanase Robert, who was one of the organizers of the killing plot.

On April 20, 1994 the priest asked them to buy rice at 5 Rwandan francs per kilo and he knew they were going to kill them shortly. They used the money they had to buy the rice and finished it all.

On April 21, 1994 an extensive attack of gendarmes, reservists, and Interahamwe with various weapons from Muko, Karambo, Musange and Musebeya communes took place. They first surrounded refugees and then killed around 45,000 Tutsi at Kaduha Parish. Only a few of them survived.

The killings were motivated and led by intellectuals including Father Nyandwi Robert, Sous prefet Joachim Hategekimana, PDAG project staff called Katasi famous for his assassination in Kaduha. Ngezahayo Straton a former soldier, Karangwa François a court staff, a reservist named Gervais, Kayihura, Albert Bourgmestre of Muko commune, Interahamwe called Rukokoma, Ntawera, Matabaro, along with other Interahamwe as well as students from Ruhengeri who had taken refuge there due to the war. All of them were led by gendarmes from

Gikongoro on April 8/4/1994 under the command of Colonel Simba Aloys who was in charge of the so-called civil defence in Gikongoro and Butare.

Currently, the death toll at the Kaduha Genocide Memorial has risen to 47,311. Survivors in the area continued to be killed as Kaduha was in a French-controlled area called “Zone Turquoise” and that prevented the RPF-Inkotanyi from saving them in due time.

Massacre of Tutsi at various places in Ntongwe Commune, Ruhango

At Ntongwe mountains:

From April 18 to 20, 1994 some Tutsi went to the mountains and tried to defend themselves. Some of the mountains included Nyiranduga where a large gathering of Tutsi from Gisali, Kibanda, Mbuye, Mukinga (in the former Mugina Commune), where they spent four (4) days fighting the attacks and defeated them. Afterwards, the former Bourgmestre of Ntongwe Commune Kagabo Charles and the sous prefet of Ruhango *Sous prefecture* called Placide Koroni and the gendarms, told Tutsi to go to the Commune for easy protection but it was a plan to kill them at once.

Another hill from which Tutsi tried to resist against Interahamwe attacks was the *Gacuriro ya Nyakabungo hill*, but they were removed by Bourgmestre Kagabo lying to them that they will be protected at the commune and that they should go there. It was on April 19, 1994.

Ntungamo ya Kayenzi in Nyabitare is also another mountain on which Tutsi tried to fight back Interahamwe. They used spear, bows and especially stones and other Interahamwe attacks from Nyakabungo and Ntongwe Sector came and spread Tutsi where some continued to Tambwe and Ruhango and others were killed slowly.

Massacre of Tutsi at the former Ntongwe Commune office, Ruhango:

Tutsi started to flee to Ntongwe Commune office from April 10, 1994 because Hutu had started to burn their houses, to kill them and slaughter their cows. At some hills Tutsi started to defend themselves but the former Bourgmestre Kagabo Charles and the sous prefet Placide Koroni through sectoral councillors sent them to the Commune lying to them that their security will be ensured there. The last Tutsi who arrived at the Commune on April 19 and 20, 1994 even those who were hiding elsewhere joined.

From April 17 to 19, 1994 Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Commune first defended themselves to their best with stones and repelled the attacks until April 20, 1994. The more authorities gathered Tutsi at Ntongwe commune, the more they also gathered killers: Interahamwefrom Bugesera, Burundians from Nyagahama camp, people and gendarms from Nyanza. They all gathered at Ntongwe Commune on the night of April 20, 1994 to April 21, 1994 and attacked the Tutsi and destroyed them. The attack was planned at a meeting held in Mitima between April 17 and 19, 1994 led by gendarmes including Bourgmestre Kagabo and Burundian refugees. They crossed Gako instead of Nyakabungo so that Tutsi could not hear the noise of the car and flee, when they reached Mitima, they stopped their cars and walked by foot under Kagabo's command.

On the night of April 20 to 21, 1994, all the attacks met at the commune. Soldiers and police officers shot in the cloud, threw grenades and those who tried to escape were waited by killers with machetes and other traditional weapons the killing was very systematic and well planned during Mitima meeting.

Massacre of Tutsi in the valley of Nyamukumba, Ruhango

The killings took place on 21/04/1994. Nyamukumba is at 2 km from the Ntongwe Commune office on the way to Ruhango. It is a place where there is a huge valley. The place was named "*the apocalypse of Tutsi*" due to a huge number of Tutsi who got killed there after escaping from grenades, bullets and machetes from the attack at the commune.

Cruelly, the soldiers installed guns on the hills around Nyamukumba, so that wherever you flee to they will be watching you because it is a big valley surrounded by hills, those who were not killed at the Commune were turned into that valley and other escape ways were all closed. The Interahamwedominated by Burundians at the shops of Kinazi, at Nyagahama there was also other Burundians, Interahamwefrom Bugesera, soldiers and gendarmes fired at them and turned them into Nyamukumba valley. When they all arrived at Nyamukumba, those in the mountains who were ready to shoot them, fired at once, then Interahamwewith machetes, clubs and spears finished off the survivors of gun shots. There was a lot of crying and a lot of people died. The place was given the name of "*Imperuka ya Nyamukumba*" slightly translated as "apocalypse of Nyamukumba".

Massacre of Tutsi atRutabo "CND", Ruhango

The so-called CND pit was excavated in 1992 and was located behind the Primary School of Rutabo A. Many Tutsi were killed and dumped in the pit even those killed elsewhere were brought at the pit. The place was named after the CND of Kigali where the RPF forces who came to protect the RPF leaders lived. In other

words, according to the criminal reasoning of the genocidaires, to take the Tutsi there to kill them was to meet their so-called relatives in CND Kigali.

The attack on that pit was led by Nsabimana Jacques who led CDR in Ntongwe known as Pilate because any one who was going to be killed on that CND pit was first tortured by him.

Some of the most prominent names in the massacre were Kagabo Charles who was the Bourgmestre of Ntongwe Commune, Placide Koroni who was the sous prefet of Ruhango sous prefecture, Councillors who governed all 13 sectors of Ntongwe Commune, Soldiers like Hitabatuma, Rucyeragabiro of Nyabusingu at Kamugunga, Vincent from Birara Vianney also from Nyabusingu, ... a citizen named Ntintanguranwa who burned a baby on the charcoal stove at Gishari of Kareba, Kareba Councilor Kanyandekwe Zéphanie and Kageruka, Teacher Nsabimana Jacques (nicknamed Pilate), a businessman called Simon Munyentama and his elder brother from Kareba, Nahayo Florent, unknown Burundians who lived in Nyagahama camp; these grilled and ate hearts of killed Tutsi.

Massacre of Tutsi at Karama Catholic Church, Runyinya, Huye

On April 8, 1994, Tutsi refugees started arriving in Karama. They came from Ramba and Gikongoro refecture to Karama Parish. Once they arrived, they were exhausted, hungry, traumatised and some of them seriously injured.

On April 10, 1994, Hategekimana Deogratias, the former Bourgmestre of Runyinya, invited all Hutu concillors and cell leaders, all Hutu dignitaries, including the Director of the APAREC Secondary School and Businessmen, to the Genocide Preparation meeting. No Tutsi was allowed to attend it because by the time the meeting was held, two roadblocks were established, one at the commune courtyard, and the other at the center where they were controlled by police. Serutwa Damien who led Umuyange cell was denied entry because he was a Tutsi.

On April 11, 1994, Bourgmestre Hategekimana Deogratias took a policeman named Gatitiba Thomas on a commune motorcycle to Ramba and ordered Tutsi refugees to go to Karama. Many refugees arrived that day, including many wounded. Father Ngomirakiza Francois took the critically injured to the University Hospital in Butare and at the same time he was seeking help to assist a large number of refugees in Karama.

From April 14 to 16, 1994 Tutsi houses were set on fire in all the areas around Karama and started on the same day: Nyarusange-Mukongoro-Kibingo-Buhoro-

Bunazi-Uwarugondo ... all refugees gathered at Karama church, in classes, at the market had come from Gikongoro and Butare Communes: Runyinya, Rwamiko, Mubuga, Kinyamakara, Huye (Muyogoro), Maraba, Mudasomwa, Nyakizu (Rusenge), Kivu. They were all counted and classified according to their Sector of origin.

On April 16, 1994, the first Tutsi in Karama, called Myandagara was killed at a bar in Kibingo. On April 18, 1994 the Bourgmestre and the police took a treasurer of a cooperative called KOPIARU to show them the keys to the coffre fort and immediately killed him.

The killers cut a water pipe and poured pesticides into the Agatenga River to kill the refugees with thirsty. Bourgmestre Hategekimana Deo brought gendarmes who were born in Karama including Twagirumukiza Charles they brought bullets and guns and Bourgmestre slaughtered a cow for them and lied to Tutsi that gendarms had come to protect them.

On April 20, 1994, the gendarmes led by Rwasamanzi and Kimasa, who worked in APAREC project went to Bunazi to kill Tutsi who had taken refuge there with grenades. Survivors came and joined others in Karama. That night Father Ngomirakiza told refugees that there was no refuge at the Parish, and those who tried to flee were returned at Rugondo's roadblock while stoning them.

On April 21, 1994, a large number of Hutu carrying clubs and machetes entered the refugee camp. Around 9 am, many attacks of Interahamwewearing dried banana leaves and surrounded the camp and killed them. They then took the children who had survived the massacre and put them together, cooked porridge for them but they had poured poison (acid) in the porridge and then gave it to them and all kids died. Bodies of about 70,000 Tutsi are buried at the Karama Genocide Memorial.

Massacres of Tutsi at Gashinge Hill, Kamonyi

Gashinge is a hill located in Gasharu Village, Nyamirembe Cell, Karama Sector, Kamonyi District but in the past it was located in Kayenzi Commune which was governed by Mbarubukeye Jean.

On April 19, 1994, Tutsi fled to the Gashinge hill from Nyabikenke, Rutobwe, Musasa, Taba communes and elsewhere. They were attacked on April 19, 1994, by Hutu from their communes. The Tutsi defended themselves using stones and defeated them, and the attackers decided to cut down banana plantations and the forest in that area.

On April 21, 1994, a major attack took place comprising of soldiers, police, and civilians, led by Buyumbu, who also led the Bibare attacks. In order to exterminate Tutsi, they first used grenades, guns and Interahamweused other weapons including machetes, small hoes, sharp sticks, axes, spears and more. The killings started in early morning and finished in the afternoon. Survivors and others who were taken from their homes were taken to Nyabarongo and others were gathered and taken to Nyamirembe Sector ground called CND.

Massacre of Tutsi at Cyakabiri, Rutobwe, Gitarama, Muhanga

Cyakabiri is located in Kigarama cell, Cyeza sector, Muhanga District. This is a well known place in the area due to the heavy roadblock at which about a hundred Tutsi were killed. This was because Cyakabiri connected Kayumbu and Cyeza and hence they had to kill Tutsi who fled to Kabgayi from Rutobwe, Nyabikenke, Kayenzi and Rukoma.

The roadblock was set up on April 14, 1994, as the massacre in Rutobwe started on April 13, but most people were killed at the roadblock on April 21, 1994 even though before and after Tutsi continued to be killed there until RPF stopped killing in the area. Those killed were thrown in the nearby pit called CND after being killed brutally, tortured with traditional weapons wooden clubs with nails called “*Nta mpongano y’umwanzi*”, sickles, sharp sticks, machetes and others. Generally, Tutsi in that area were heartlessly killed by cutting off their body parts like ears, heels, slowly and they return to kill them gradually. Another specialty in the area is that Tutsi were poisoned, the killers took a traditional pesticide diluted it in bottles and made Tutsi drink it saying that they should drink milk as they love it!

The perpetrators of the massacre included the former Minister of Youth and Associations Nzabonimana Callixte who was at the forefront of the Rutobwe massacre. He was using his “Kombe” car on which he mounted speakers and mobilised people while going to his home in Nyakabanda commune, urging the Hutu that their enemy is a Tutsi. Nzabonimana also brought many machetes in the car, which he distributed to citizens on the road. In addition, he also had grenades which he gave to few people who knew how to use them. There were others like Seromba Barthazar who was the MDR secretary in the Commune, Muvuzampama, MDR vice president, Mparabanyi, Ayidini, Dusabe, Kampayana, Harindikije and others.

After the genocide, the bodies were exhumed from Cyakabiri pit and buried in Kayumbu memorial which include 428 bodies from Rutobwe. The memorial is built in Kayumbu Sector in Kamonyi District.

Massacre of Tutsi in Tumba Sector (Mpare and Musange), Huye

Mpare is currently located in Tumba Sector of the former Huye Commune. As the genocide commenced in the area, all people had joined efforts and went to Muyogoro to avert the killers from Nyaruguru.

On April 20, 1994, Bourgmestre Ruremesha Jonathan who governed Huye commune, born in Mpare, held a meeting for Hutu people only after expelling the Tutsi. On April 21, 1994, all the Hutu set fire to Tutsi homes, and immediately started killing, looting and destroying their houses. Soldiers, gendarmes and civilians joined in the massacre of Tutsi. Soldiers and gendarmes went to the top of the hill (Nganzagihendo) and shoot on Tutsi who were gathered. The Tutsi killed were from Musange, Mpare, Vumbi, Gishamvu, and Nyaruguru. More than 11,000 were killed.

At the forefront of planning and implementing the Genocide are Bourgmestre Ruremesha Jonathan and MP Banyangiriki Zacharie (born in Mpare). He held a meeting in Kabuga to incite Hutu to kill Tutsi, where he openly said: "The enemy we are fighting is a Tutsi wherever he is".

The killers involved were Harindintwari Theogene who went to Butare town to fetch the fuel to burn Tutsi homes. He got it from Ntahobari Maurice. Buyenge Charles who was the Concillor of Musange Sector, Nzabahimana Vianney who was the Concillor of Mpare Sector, Hangimana Chrisostome who fled to Zambia, Bungurubwenge Augustin escaped from prison and fled to South Africa, Mondi Mazuru was a driver in the gricultural project- DGB who fled to Malawi and others.

Massacre of Tutsi at Gishubi, Gisagara

The Gishubi Sector during the Genocide was led by Councilor Ugirashebuja Francois who also led the killings in collaboration with his colleague Ndayishimiye Augustin, the Councilor of Nyaranzi Sector sharing borders. Genocide preparatory meetings were held in Gabiro at the home of Innocent Mukurarinda, the accountant of Kibayi Commune.

Renowned for killing Tutsi at Gishubi are: Ugirashebuja Francois, the councillor of Gishubi Sector, Mukurarinda Innocent who fled to Uganda, Police Officer Ubarijoro Gaspard who shot many Tutsi, Nkurikiyinka Viateur who alias MDR, Ntahobavukira Jerome, Matene of Rubayi, Yoboka Anasthase, Munyagandwi Anasthase, Ndekezi Augustin, Nyandwi Francois, Rwamakuba, Bugirimfura Vincent, Semicaca, Kabandana Jean Bosco, Nyirishema Xavier, Ugaragaye

Emmanuel, Shyirambere Francois alias Nyabarongo, Mwumvaneza Alexandre, a teacher, Ngwenyerezi Vianey, Rukundo son of Njogori, Niyongira Bonaventure, a police officer, Mbanzwirikeba Cassien who was a soldier, Ruzindana son of Nzirumbanje who fled to South Africa, Rugira Emmanuel sentenced to life imprisonment but escaped from the prison and fled to Europe, Havugimana Anatole a student at the university but he died, Rutebuka Alexandre, youth mobiliser at Muganza commune, Munyagandwi Venuste who pleaded guilty and his sentence was reduced, Burundians from the family of Mushatsi who shot many Tutsi using bows. Among them, there were Karuhije, Macumi, Sekimonyo, Muhitira, Ndururutse and they returned to Burundi.

On April 20, 1994, they spent the whole night burning down Tutsi houses and started killing them on April 21, 1994. The Tutsi killed in Gishubi were local residents and others from elsewhere including those from Ndora, Musha, Gikongoro. They were killed in huge numbers on Thursday April 21, 1994 and they were finished off on Friday April 22, 1994. After that they continued to kill Tutsi in Musha on Saturday April 23, 1994 and then continued in Kabuye. More than 2,000 Tutsi were killed in and around Gishubi Sector.

At each road junction, roadblocks were set up: at the Sector office, there were two at the center in Gabiro, at Busave, at Gafita, at Gatara, at Muswa, at Zanwe on the road to Kigozi, at Mbonwa and at Bitare.

Gishubi is exceptional because no Tutsi survived there. A local Tutsi whom they could not find among the corpses, they went to hunt him down in other Sectors bordering Gishubi until they find and kill him. The one who survived is the one who managed to get out of the sector and flee elsewhere.

Massacre of Tutsi in Musha, Mugusa Commune, Gisagara

The genocide planning meetings were held at the IGA building, chaired by MRND President Muramba Augustin. It was attended by Kanyabikari Telesphore, Ngango Viateur, Mukasangwa Alice, Sekamana Jean Marie Vianney, Muzigirwa Francois, Muhozi Bernard and others.

Massacre of many Tutsi took place at Musha Business Center, at Cyayi Sector, Murama and Musha Health Center.

At the forefront of the killings were Kabayiza André, the Bourgmestre of Mugusa Commune, Ngango Viateur, the Councilor of Musha Sector, Muramba Augustin, the inspector of primary schools, Kanyabikari Telesphore, the Director of primary school. There were also police officers including Gasasira, Panueri and Emmanuel Nsanzimana. There was also Sibomana Ignace who led the attacks and Habyarimana Stanislas who controlled the roadblocks at Musha center.

Massacre of Tutsi at various places in Butare Town, Huye

On April 19, 1994, Theodore Sindikubwabo, who was the President of the so called “*Abatabazi*” Government convened a meeting in the conference hall of Butare Prefecture. Prefecture authorities of different administrative levels were invited and given instructions to start conducting Genocide. They were instructed to kill all Tutsi and that any person who opposes or tries to save Tutsi would be killed as well.

The meeting started with an announcement to remove Dr. Jean Baptiste Habyarimana, who was a Tutsi, from the leadership of Butare Prefecture, and was replaced by Nsabimana Sylvain. On 20th April 1994, the new prefect immediately called a meeting of all bourgmestres and laid out the genocide plan. The same day all sector leaders had meetings with cell leaders on the same agenda. In all these meetings no Tutsi was allowed to attend, even if he would be part of the leadership.

In Butare town many Tutsi were killed at the Prefecture headquarters, at the Butare Hospital (Currently CHUB, the University Hospital of Butare), at the Military School (ESSO), in Arboretum forest, within the Rwanda National University, in SORWAL (the match boxes factory), in EAV Kabutare, in Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare, in the forest around CARAES Butare, in the museum forest, at Ngoma Catholic Parish, at Matyazo Health Center, at Cyarwa; a place called Gateme and at different roadblocks that were set up at Faucon, at the University, at Mukoni, in front of Dr Sindikubwabo Theodore house, in front of Ntahobari Maurice house and Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Bihira Juvenal building, at the upper side of the National Museum, in front of house in Rwabuye, etc.

Tutsi who had fled at the *Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare* started being killed on April 21st, 1994. They were killed by many Interahamwe militia together with soldiers. The same day, Tutsi at the National University of Rwanda were also killed. Many of Hutu lectures and professors helped killers to identify their Tutsi colleagues. Many of Hutu lectures and students of the university were stationed at roadblocks at Mukoni and at Rugira Amandin (now it is a building of Sebukangaga). Some Tutsi who could survive a day were being surrounded at the Prefecture headquarters, at the Anglican Church and at the Butare hospital (CHUB). At the hospital they have been set up a tent in front of dermatology and pediatry services. At night, some would be killed and in the morning at around 9 am the truck would come to carry the bodies of killed Tutsi to be disposed in mass graves.

Tutsi arrived at the Butare Prefecture headquarters on April 19, 1994 and they were being killed while women would be raped every day. Every night a car would come to pick those to be killed and the car was always supervised by Arsene Shalom Ntahobari, Nyiramasuhuko Paulina, Joseph Kanyabashi, Jumapili and Nsengiyumva. The massacre was overall led by the Prefet Nsabimana, gendarms and soldiers.

Nyiramasuhuko went to EAR and ordered all refugees to be removed there as they were dirty in the town. She used a megaphone and called on all Hutu community residents to cut the bushes and remove dirt from town. All Tutsi refugees left to seek refuge at the Prefecture headquarters but they eventually suffered there. Later, authorities brought buses without chairs inside and took all Tutsi refugees, on Kanyabashi orders, and they were taken to a place called Nyange, but killers escorted the buses carrying weapons and went to kill them at Kibirizi. Very few who survived were brought back at the prefecture. Later again, the authorities came to clean the city and took the few survived Tutsi at Rango where they lived a terrible life until RPF soldiers arrived and saved them in the beginning of July.

On 30th April 1994, Tutsi who had fled at Ngoma Parish were killed.

Some who were leading the killings in Butare town include Bourgouestre Kanyabashi Joseph, Munyagasheke Isaac and his son Désiré Munyaneza, Ntahobari Arsene Shalom, Nyiramasuhuko Pauline, Ntiruhanwe Jean, Kayibanda Jules Nkiko, Joseph Nzabirinda alias Biroto, Remera Siméon, Semwaga Félix, Karabaranga Isaie, Murangwa Innocent, Emmanuel Setakwe, Jacques Habimana who was the Ngoma Sector councilor and others. There were also soldiers and Burundian refugees.

The following are the places in Butare town where many Tutsi were killed on 21st April 1994:

- At Butare Prefecture Headquarters: Many Tutsi from various places were gathered there (those from Kigali, Nyaruguru, Gikongoro, Butare, Karama...). At the prefecture Tutsi suffered with hunger and thirsty, women were raped, and every time a car would come to pick some to be killed. Later, buses without chairs inside came and took Tutsi to be killed at Nyange of Kibirizi and at Gateme in Cyarwa.
- In the University Hospital of Butare (CHUB): there was an extreme genocide, apart from Tutsi patients, patient assistants, doctors & nurses, a number of other Tutsi took refuge there including seriously wounded ones

who needed treatment. Those who were refugees were built a tent and gathered there. Others were put within dermatology and surgical rooms and others in front of the morgue. Every morning at 9 am, a blue Daihatsu truck would come and pick dead bodies of Tutsi who had been killed and went to dispose them. Seriously wounded people would suffer with no assistance. Many would be taken to ESSO and in IRST forest. Others were taken by authorities at the Prefecture headquarters. They would be killed by soldiers, Burundi refugees and Interahamwe from Butare town.

- At EAR Butare: Tutsi were killed by hunger and thirsty. No one was there to give them anything. Nyiramasuhuko came and spoke through a loud speaker and called on killers to remove dirty from EAR. They removed them and beat them all the way to the Prefecture Headquarters, then packed them in cars and went to kill them far away. They were taken to Nyange of Kibirizi and Interahamwe killed them there.
- In Arboretum forest and in the National University of Rwanda: Genocide here was so excessive. The university was surrounded by heavy roadblocks. One was at the front of Sebukangaga building, another at Mukoni. So many Tutsi were killed at the university, in Arboretum forest and at the above mentioned roadblocks. Tutsi students, teachers/lecturers, university staff and Tutsi refugees were all killed there. A special operation was conducted to find out all the Tutsi who were hiding in the Arboretum forest. The killers made one big line and moved step by step to ensure all hiding Tutsi were found out and all were captured and killed.
- In EAV Kabutare: there was also extreme genocide at this place. EAV Students and those who were brought there from *Groupe Scolaire de la Salle, Byumba*, which was a war zone, all were killed under the order of the school director Theophile Mbarushimana, who was the son of Gitera Joseph Habyarimana, the founder of APROSOMA, and the one who introduced the 10 Hutu commandments in 1959. In this school there is a genocide memorial with Tutsi students and teachers killed there and buried in dignity.
- In IPRC (ESSO): During the Genocide, government soldiers who were injured from the war were brought there and joined others. At ESSO, Tutsi were brought and killed and women were raped and then killed.

Massacre of Tutsi at Rugango Catholic Church, Huye

At Rugango, Tutsi started seeking refuge on Sunday 17th April 1994 in the afternoon. They were coming from Maraba Commune. On the following day, all those from the hills of Rugango Parish started to seek refuge at the parish. They started living in the workshop area and in schools. Many others had fled to Gihindamuyaga Monastery, and they camped in what they called “*camp des jeunes*”, others had fled to Sovu at the health center of Benedict Sisters. Tutsi who had taken refuge at Rugango Parish were massacred on 21st April 1994 in the morning, from around 8 am. Killers were led by Rekeraho Emmanuel who also led other attacks that killed Tutsi in the communes of Maraba, Mbazi, Huye and Ruhashya.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kibirizi, Gisagara

Many Tutsi who were from the former Nyaruhengeri Commune were ordered by Bourgoumestre Kabeza Charles to flee to the commune headquarters, and they were killed in the night of 21st April 1994. Victims were tortured while women were raped and got killed after. They were asked to dig pits in which they would be thrown after getting killed. Others were thrown live in the deep toilet pits, and so on. Sector councillors used loud speakers to tell citizens that peace had been restored to ensure the hiding Tutsi would come out. And once they come they immediately got killed. Dogs were used to hunt and discover Tutsi who were hiding in bushes.

The roadblocks were established at:

- “*Ku Giti cy’umukiza*”, there was a roadblock led by a female called Jacqueline, a sister to Gapiri;
- At Bashingwa, there was a roadblock controlled by ladies including Mukamuganga Felicité, Musanganire, Furaha, and Dusabe...
- At a place called “*Mu Mbeho*” there was a roadblock led by Karambizi Alphonse;
- At Nyaruhengeri Sector, there was a roadblock led by Rucyahana Nicodeme.

The leading killers included: Kabeza Charles, who was the Bourgoumestre of Nyaruhengeri Commune; Mujoyugamba Pascal, who was commune brigadier; Ruberahizi Venuste, commune veterinary; Nsabumukunzi Faustin, councilor of Kibirizi Sector; Hakizayezu Augustin, Sematama Gaspard, who came from Kansi to kill at Kibirizi, Kavamahanga Charles, Musonera Barthazar, Habyarimana Noël, Munyashyaka Francois, etc.

2.16. APRIL 22, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI CITY, BUTARE AND GITARAMA PREFECTURES

Massacre of Tutsi at "*Centre d'Etudes des Langues Africaines*" (CELA), near "Centre National de Pastorale Saint-Paul, Kigali

On April 22, 1994, the militia Interahamwe killed male Tutsi refugees who had taken refuge in "CELA", Kigali, under the instructions of authorities including the prefect of Kigali, Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho, the killing was controlled by Major Laurent Munyakazi, Councilor Odette Nyirabagenzi; the Interahamwe leader, inspector Angeline Mukandutiye, Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka and Jean Bizimana, Bourgmestre of Nyarugenge Commune.

Massacre of Tutsi at the former office of Huye Commune

Tutsi fled to Huye Commune from Huye, Mbazi, Butare Ville Ngoma/Matyazo, and Gikongoro. Police and soldiers confined the area for three days after cutting all water pipes to let them die of thirst and hunger.

On April 22, 1994, around 3pm, a convoy full of soldiers and notorious Interahamwe including Nkurikiyinka Tharcisse, Semakaba Deo, Muganga Joseph, Kampayana Aloys, Gakwaya Hyacinthe, Kabanza Ildéphonse, Pascal Karekezia soldier born in Huye and others who were led by Bourgmestre Ruresha Jonathan attacked. On that day, more than 35,000 Tutsi were killed, some of whom were burned with petrol to death and became ashes, which (ash) was later buried in dignity after the Genocide. About 42,008 bodies were buried at the local Genocide Memorial.

There were also massacres of Tutsi who had taken refuge in Groupe Scolaire Rukira. About 326 children and women were killed in Muyogoro Cell, and the killers immediately set their bodies on fire and dumped them in a pit in Akagarama Village.

The leading killers who incited people to kill Tutsi were: Baravuga, who was a councilor; Bizimana Joseph, was a brigadier; Ruresha Jonathan, was the Bourgmestre of Huye Commune; Dr. Cyprien, he lived near the Commune. Genocide planning meetings were held at his home;

The militias Interahamwe: Kampayana Aloys, Nkurikiyinka Tharcisse, Rugengamanzi Vianney, Uzabakiriho Vedaste, Devota, Sebera Canisius, Karemera alias Tariyani, Kamanayo Jean Baptiste, Muvunyi Christophe, Ngiruwigize Innocent, Gahondogo Paul, Mugerwa Boniface.

Massacre of Tutsi at Sovu in Benedictines Sisters' Monastery and at Health Center

The Tutsi had taken refuge in the Benedictine Sisters' Monastery in Sovu and at their Health Center. The nun in charge of the monastery, Mukangango Consolata (Sister Gertrude) and her partner Mukabutera Julienne (Sister Kizito) refused to receive them, but Tutsi convincingly entered the monastery, while others went to the health center.

Approximately 5000 and 6000 refugees had also taken refuge in the Catholic parishes of Rugango and Gihindamuyaga. On April 22, 1994, at 8:00 am, the monastery and health center were surrounded by Interahamwe, soldiers sent by Lt Col Muvunyi Tharcisse from ESSO, communal police, gendarmes and civilians in order to kill Tutsi.

The killers who were involved were Rekeraho Emmanuel, the former MDR president in Huye Commune who accepted his role in genocide and is imprisoned, Sisters Mukangango Consolata and Mukabutera Julienne, Rusanganwa Gaspard (alias Nyiramati), Jonas Ndayisaba, Councilor Jean Baptiste Muvunyi and others. Mukangango Consolata (Sister Gertrude) was convicted of genocide crime in 2001 by a Belgian court and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Her colleague Mukabutera Julienne (Sister Kizito) was also convicted of genocide crime and sentenced to 12 years in prison.

Massacre Tutsi at Gisagara, Kansi Sector

The Genocide against Tutsi in Kansi Sector was most severe on April 22, 1994 across the Sector. Tutsi were killed at Lake Cyamwakizi: and most of them were from Huye, Nyaruguru, Nyamagabe and other parts of Gisagara.

When they arrived at the Gikore Center, Interahamwe took away all their belongings, tied them up, tortured them, and dragged them down the road to Cyamwakizi naked and tied behind. They were killed one by one on the way and when they arrived to Cyamwakizi they chopped and threw the remaining into the water. Those who were surviving were followed by the killers on the boat and killed them with spears in the lake. Countless Tutsi were killed there and many bodies could not be found to be buried in dignity.

Genocide planning meetings chaired by Hakizayezu Augustin also called Mvaravara took place in different places: Mbeho za Nyaruhengeri and at Karambizi. Nyange, meeting took place at Oscar Murekezi's home and was led by Mujyarugamba, a Brigadier of Nyaruhengeri Commune. At school (Linganwe), meetings were chaired by Sebera Ferdinand.

The prominent killers included: Sematama Gaspard, Hakizimana Augustin, Sebera Ferdinand, Rugemintwaza Gaspard, Kajuga Pierre, Kabandana Emmanuel, Habinshuti Beda, Habimana Simon, Bisomimbwa Antoine, Gakwaya Narcisse, Bikorimana, Sikubwabo alias Sagihobe, Munyaneza Joseph who killed many people in Nyange.

Those who led the killing: Bisomimbwa Antoine, a Councilor, Munyaneza Joseph, a police officer, Gakwaya Narcisse, a Councilor, Bikorimana, the veterinary, Sebera Ferdinand, a Councilor, Jerome from Nkundabagenzi who was a police officer.

The genocide was so unhuman that the killers killed even their nephews from mixed couples. Those who were going to be killed were told that they were going to board them in the buses to Burundi. At one point, people were informed that peace was restored and those who were in hiding should come out. They did their best to ensure that no Tutsi would survive. Most people were killed at Lake Cyamwikizi, Kansi Parish, Munini wa Nyange, Nyakibingo, at Mbeho and Gahehe.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nzaratsi Hill, Ruhango

Tutsi who fled to Nzaratsi Hill tried to defend themselves using stones, bows and other few traditional tools but later were killed by the Interahamwe. Some Tutsi arrived on the night of 20th April, 1994 and that night was a nightmare, some continued to Byimana but they were expelled by the High Priest of Byimana Parish called Ndagijimana Joseph and returned to Nzaratsi Hill. The mountain was called Calvary by the killers because of the Tutsi who were taken from its bottom up to the top. More than 800 Tutsi from different parts of the country were massacred there.

Massacre of Tutsi at Bibare Hill (Bunyonga), Kamonyi

Bibare Mountain is located in Nyenyeri Village, Bunyonga Cell, Kamonyi District, but in the past it was in Kayenzi Commune which was ruled by Mbarubukeye Jean. Tutsi from Rutobwe, Nyabikenke, Musambira Communes were among those who fled to Bibare Hill and joined Tutsi who already lived there. The genocide started on April 17, 1994, but they fled to Mount Bibare on April 18, 1994. On that day,

an attack led by Buyumbu came and Tutsi defended themselves and the attack was repelled. On April 21, 1994, Buyumbu went to the Commune to appeal, claiming that Bibare had become Nyamagumba. He then brought a major attack involving Bourgmestre Mbarubukeye Jean, soldiers, police and a large number of civilians.

The identified soldier was Sergeant Major Misago. The attack of April 22, 1994, was a major one attended by a large number of Hutu and Twa civilians, one attack came from Rutobwe Commune, another from Marenga, another from Nyabihunyira and one from Iraro. All the attacks met on the hill and surrounded it.

Hutu women were put in front on the attacks and Tutsi killed some of the Hutu which made the killers use grenades and guns. After using heavy weapons, population started to use traditional weapons to finish off those who were still breathing. There were also many roadblocks in the area so that no one could escape. A major roadblock was established at Nduguri, another one in Cyanika Center, there was a roadblock at Sebazungu place and Rukokwe. In general, there was a roadblock in every Center and in the junction of Sectors.

Perpetrators of massacre in Bibare and Kayenzi in general include Bourgmestre Mbarubukeye Jean, Buyumbu Evariste sentenced to 30 years, Gashagaza Theoneste, Councilor Mbonyiyeze Deogratias, Twagirimana, Kayanire, cell leaders like Nzikoruhari Barthazar, Mugarura, Habimana Cyrille and many others.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kabakobwa Hill, Huye

Tutsi refugees fleeing the massacre from Nyaruguru started to increase from April 17 to April 19, 1994 and were dispersed in Sahera and Nkubi Sectors of Ngoma Commune, Butare Prefecture. The Bourgmestre of Ngoma Commune, Kanyabashi Joseph, ordered that refugees should be grouped and taken to Kabakobwa Hill and cell leaders would go house to house to inform Tutsi that they should join others at Kabakobwa Hill.

On the 22nd April, 1994, many killers, dominated by soldiers, gendarmes, police and the Interahamwe, surrounded them and gunshot them. Soldiers were led by Lt. Colonel Muvunyi Tharcisse, Interahamwe from Nkubi and Sahera, Habyarimana Pascal who was the councilor of Sahera, Uraye Edouard, Ribera Simeon, Major Cyriaque Habyarabatuma who was in charge of the Gendarmery, policemen including Nsanzahizi Mathias and Bizumuremyi Pascal.

2.17. APRIL 23, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER BUTARE, GIKONGORO AND GITARAMA PREFECTURES

Massacre of Tutsi in Kabuye Sector, Gisagara

Kabuye is located in the former Ndora Commune, Butare Prefecture. It started with the arrival of many refugees from the Nyaruguru where the massacre had already started, some took refuge among their relatives, others were gathered at the site on which the market was built. At that time, there were dangerous patrols that were supposedly said to be guarding against the infiltration of rebels. During those patrols, plans to kill Tutsi were polished.

On April 21, 1994 President Sindikubwabo Théodore visited Gisagara Sous prefecture and initiated the Genocide. After the meeting which incited Hutu to kill Tutsi, the next day on 22nd April, 1994 Uwizeye Fidel (a mechanic) brought the Commune car with police and arrested all the youths who had taken refuge there and they were put in the police station but were eventually killed in the evening in Rwasave forest.

Uwizeye Fidèle inspected all roadblocks and reported to the highest military and civilian levels. He collaborated with Manariyo François, Ndayisaba Antoine, Kamanzi Joseph (former leaders of Ndora Commune). Fidèle was later appointed Bourgmestre for his passion in committing the Genocide, replacing Rwankubito Célestin.

On April 23, 1994, Ntawukuriryayo Dominique (Gisagara sous prefet), Callixte Kalimanzira and Rwankubito Pierre (Bourgmestre of Ndora Commune), ordered Tutsi to go to Kabuye Hill. They then brought soldiers and police to shoot them, the killings continued and the next day people came to kill the survivors. Murderers from all over met at Kabuye: an attack came from Muganza Commune led by Bourgmestre Ndayambaje Elie, Burundians from Kibayi camp also came and members of a militia group called "*Jaguar*".

At the forefront of the killings were President Sindikubwabo, Ntawukuriryayo Dominique (Gisagara sous prefet), Callixte Kalimanzira, Rwankubito Pierre (Bourgmestre of Ndora Commune), Uwihoreye Gaëtan - a businessman, Albert (the secretary for Gisagara Sous prefecture) along with his wife Agatha and their two sons (Claude and Francois). Manigabe Vincent had a gun and he shot many Tutsi in Kabuye, Singirankabo Laurent - the head of the MRND, Rutagengwa Anathole (a police officer), Karemanzira who was in charge of ELECTROGAZ, Kubwimana Jean alias Bikomagu, Sindikubwabo Vianney - the president of MDR,

Hategekimana Isaac (Dahwe cell leader) and others. Former MP Mukarurangwa Bernadette would come to monitor the progress of the Genocide implementation in Ndora Commune.

Dominique Ntawukuriryayo was convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Massacre of Tutsi in Rwaniro Sector (Mwendo), Huye

Rwaniro was attacked on 20th April, 1994 by the attack that came from Gikongoro in Kinyamakara Commune; the entire population started to fight back regardless of ethnicity, but, day after day the attack became stronger. On April 22, 1994, a major attack with many guns led by the commanding officer of Gikongoro Gendarmery Sebhura, accompanied by the Bourgmestre Munyaneza Charles, who was leading Kinyamakara Commune arrived. In addition, Mucumankiko Silas who was the manager of Tabarwanda (a cigarette manufacturing factory).

Others fled and passed Rwaniro, crossed Rusuri river and spent the night on Rubaba Hill. Many of those who did not go to Rubaba went to Ruhashya Commune and to ISAR Rubona. People from Gikongoro crossed and joined killers from Maraba Commune to set fire on Tutsi houses, they continued to Rubaba and called upon Hutu to separate from the Tutsi and to come and help them kill.

Tutsi from the former Rwaniro Sector were killed progressively. Those who survived at Rubaba fled to Rusatira Commune and encountered the attack of the former Rusatira Bourgmestre Nyawenda Esdron who collaborated with Munyakyanza (who led Ruhashya Health Center). The survivors fled to ISAR Songa. When killers started killing in Songa, some Tutsi took the way to Mayaga.

The prominent killers in Rwaniro were Mugemana Tharcisse alias Mabiye, a teacher in Rwaniro, Ngenzi Godefroid (MONAGRI), Nsengiyumva Venuste, a businessman, Interahamwe: Munyakyanza Joseph, Ntamukunzi Aloys, Munyankindi Michel, and Ntahobavukira Emmanuel.

Massacre of Tutsi at the former Musange Commune office, Nyamagabe, Gikongoro

It is located in the former Musange Commune, Kaduha Sous prefecture in Gikongoro Prefecture. Tutsi started to flee to Musange Commune office on April 9, 1994. On the same day, Bourgmestre Bizimana Bernard took a car and toured all the sectors with a loudspeaker urging all Tutsi to flee to the commune's office so that they can be protected. Many of them started seeking refuge at the commune, others went at the court premises where they lived in difficult conditions.

Mbayire Longine, the Interahamwe, cut all water pipes and they started fetching water from Muhura River but Bourgmestre Bizimana immediately fenced it and ordered the police to shoot whoever crosses it.

On April 23, 1994 around 10 am, many Interahamwe and soldiers, gunshot refugees for 30 minutes and then civilians with machetes, wooden clubs with nails, small hoes and other weapons killed the surviving ones. They massacred Tutsi up to 5pm because it was raining. During the night, survivors took their way to Nyanza, Butare but many were killed at Nyamagana pond.

Leaders involved in the massacre were Bourgmestre Bizimana Bernard, former Kaduha Sous prefet Hategekimana Joachim, Munyangoga Dominique (Director of BNR) and he was also born from Musange, the Director of Musange Health Center called Mugwaneza, the agronomist called Akimana, the former Inspector of Education called Rwamuhungu and others.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nyamagana Lake, Nyanza

The Nyamagana lake was set up during the reign of King Mutara III Rudahigwa for watering the crops but during the Genocide many Tutsi were thrown in and there was a very dangerous roadblock. The lake was located in Kigoma Commune, Remera Sector currently in Nyanza District, Busasamana Sector. During the Genocide, many Tutsi from Gikongoro Prefecture, especially Rukondo and Kinyamakara Communes, fled to Nyanza hoping for the protection like back in 1959. Some of the survivors of Kaduha Parish attack also fled to Nyanza.

At Nyamagana, there was a dangerous roadblock. Tutsi were told that they should not be frightened because they had arrived into the hands of the authorities but it was a trick to pull them together because they were later killed with guns, machetes, clubs and other weapons.

Apart from those at the roadblock, there were many other Tutsi who lived on the coasts of the lake, those brought by killers from their hiding places in the sorghum and elsewhere, those hiding at their neighbors because many Tutsi houses had been burnt down. Killers pursued them, run after them and others would shout at them and eventually thrown in the lake.

For example, Mudacumura Eraste was thrown into water after being chased here and there around the lake and later they mocked him for committing suicide. Some Tutsi who were able to swim, were stoned along the way until they get tired and drowned.

They were killed by gendarmes who included Haguma and Captain Birikunzira Francois Xavier in collaboration with an Interahamwe group called "*Imberebere*."

Massacre of Tutsi at Bitsibo Primary School, Kamonyi

The former Bitsibo Primary School is located in Nkomane Village, Rukambura Cell, Musambira Sector, Kamonyi District. Massacre on the Hill of Bitsibo started on 20th April, 1994. It was then that the Tutsi started to flee to various places: bushes, at neighbors' homes, others were taken to Musambira Commune by commune leaders to be killed there.

On April 23, 1994, the authorities declared that peace had been restored, that information made survivors who were hiding in the bushes, and in other places to return to their previously abandoned homes. On the evening of April 23rd, 1994, killers gathered all Tutsi who were promised to return home for the reason that peace had been restored and took them to Bitsibo School. They were killed the whole evening and thrown in a pit which was excavated when the school was being built. Tutsi killed in Bitsibo are many because survivors of the Kayenzi Commune massacre of the 21st and 22nd April had also come to Bitsibo, as well as some Tutsi from Gacurabwenge Sector who had come to Bitsibo. Tutsi killed at the school were killed by traditional weapons, including machetes, clubs and more. Some of the perpetrators included: Minani, Mbuguje, Badege Augustin (shop owner), Aloys who led the cell, Rutagengwa Bertin and others.

2.18. APRIL 24, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER GITARAMA PREFECTURE

Massacre of Tutsi at Mayunzwe, Ruhango

Mayunzwe was one of the six sectors of Tambwe Commune, which was home to many Tutsi. In 1994, Tambwe was led by the former brigadier of the commune, Murekambanze François, who is in exile and has played a key role in the massacre of many Tutsi. More than 850 people were killed in the sector, most of them were killed at a place called "Calvary" on April 24, 1994.

Tutsi had been evacuated from their homes from 21/4/1994 and were taken to the mountain called Calvary. They were killed by wooden clubs called "*Nta mpongano y'umwanz'i*", machetes and other traditional weapons.

The main perpetrators of the killings were Sebhuku who led the attacks and a member of the MDR, Murekambanze Francois, Hitimana Fulgence alias Rubara, Mundanikure Faustin, Sibomana Alphonse, Rwagahungu Pascal alias Gace,

Niyonsenga Selemani, Rwasa Cyprien, Nyandwi alias Caporal, Ntwari and others. There were other killers from other places who did not live in Mayunzwe like Uwayisaba of Bamwara and Gasuguri from Rukaza and others.

Murekambanze François, who played a key role in the massacre of many Tutsi, is in exile and is being hunted by justice.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kabgayi, Muhanga

There were many Tutsi refugees at St Léon Petit Séminaire, Kabgayi, at St Joseph College, at Major Seminary Philosophicum Kabgayi, in the former TRAFIPRO buildings (later changed name to CND during the Genocide) and in Kabgayi Hospital. On the other hand, no Tutsi managed to take refuge at Kabgayi Cathedral because Bishop NsengiyumvaThaddée, the priest of Kabgayi, refused to take refugees inside. As soon as you entered Kabgayi there was a roadblock and many Tutsi could not even enter the above mentioned establishments. Tutsi arrived in Kabgayi from April 20, 1994.

Since their arrival, Interahamwe would come to pick some Tutsi and kill them inside and outside the schools mentioned and in the Kabgayi forest. Kabgayi was a refuge for Tutsi from different parts of the country; hence Interahamwe from other prefectures would come up with a list of Tutsi who had fled to Kabgayi and took them to be killed.

Apart from killing Tutsi, women and girls were taken to be raped and they would be brought back or never returned. Sometimes killers would throw grenades at the so called CND and killing hundreds of people. Many Tutsi at Kabgayi were also killed by famine and illness caused by lack of water. When the dead bodies became so many, the entire area started to smell bad. Then they decided to take Tutsi elsewhere to be killed. They brought a pickup to take them and they started with educated and rich appearing Tutsi, men and youth and went to kill them elsewhere. The most known are those who were taken to Ngororero at Nyabarongo and religious who were taken to Bukomero and other unknown places. There are some dates on which mass execution of Tutsi took place, these are: May 5, 1994, May 24, 1994 to June 1, 1994.

On June 2, 1994, after learning that Inkotanyi were close to Kabgayi, Hutu refugees woke up early and left. Only Tutsi were left and there was a plan to exterminate them and they were also prepared to die because they had been surrounded by the killers. So, when the bullets shots started, Tutsi thought they were starting to shoot at them, but they saw Inkotanyi from a place called CND at Kamazuru. The killers fled without implementing their plan to exterminate them all. Kabgayi genocide memorial is home to more than 10,000 people.

Religious were taken from Major Seminary, St Joseph and other Kabgayi houses to be killed after abandonment and betrayal by their colleagues. We can mention Father Emmanuel Rukundo, who committed massacre in Kabgayi, he raped Tutsi women before handing them over to be killed. On 2nd October, 2010 Rukundo was convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 23 years in prison.

Massacre of Tutsi at Bibungo bya Mukinga, Kamonyi

On April 24, 1994, a major attack on Mugina that killed Tutsi who had taken refuge in Mugina, some who had managed to get inside the church had managed to survive until killers ordered them to get out and they were immediately killed on the field. Killers said that they will not kill women and children, hence they decided to take them to Kabgayi. They were women, girls and children and many of whom were wounded.

When they arrived in Bibungo, they met Major Karangwa Pierre Claver, the head of National Gendarmery Investigation Service and asked them where they are taking them and killers told him that they are taking them to Kabgayi. Major Karangwa prohibited them and ordered Tutsi to be killed on spot, they took them into the nearby house of a Tutsi called Moko and others were put in the toilet pit alive. Major Karangwa provided petrol to burn them in the house as well as those in the toilet pit who were burnt alive.

Major Pierre Claver Karangwa fled to Netherlands and he has not yet been brought to justice.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nyakarekare, Ruhango

During genocide, more than 30 Tutsi took refuge at ADEPR Mbuye Church but were all killed. The killing was organised by Mafurebo Daniel, a former Councilor of Mbuye Sector in collaboration with Nyakarekare cell leader called Misago Emmanuel alias Rusumo. They were killed by local people, and thrown into a pit near the slaughter house.

2.19. APRIL 25, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER BUTARE, GITARAMA AND KIBUYE PREFECTURES

French continued to support the criminal government in the UN Security Council, opposing the use of the term "genocide"

Since the beginning of the genocide on April 7, 1994, French authorities have been concerned that RPF would win the war. They did not want to hear that Tutsi were being killed by the government that had already planned to terminate them, and French had all the information. Consequently, in order to fight their so-called "enemy": the RPF, France has made every effort to prevent any decision by the UN Security Council on the recognition of Genocide against the Tutsi.

This was especially evident on April 21, 1994, when the 921 resolution regarding the killings which were taking place in Rwanda was being discussed. The French ambassador to the Security Council Jean Bernard Mérimée, made every effort to prevent that the killings be called Genocide.

The UN Security Council followed advice given by the French Ambassador to the United Nations, and the resolution was taken as the UN Security Council was "saddened by the unrest" and "unnecessary killings" which were taking place in Rwanda. It was not clear who carried out the killings, or giving appropriate label of Genocide to the killings and yet the United Nations had all the necessary evidence for it to be called genocide.

Massacre of Tutsi at the former Commune Mbazi office, Huye

When the genocide started in Mbazi, all people were committed to stop the attacks from Maraba Commune. Initially all men including Hutu and Tutsi fought the attacks. Prefect Nsabimana Sylvain and Sibomana Antoine, the Bourgmestre of Mbazi Commune went to the junction of Mbazi and Maraba and told people who had come to fight attacks to go home and fight the enemy from their homes as the enemy was a Tutsi. It was around 3pm, and when they went home they started attacking Tutsi homes during the night and drove them out. The following day, Bourgmestre Sibomana Antoine told them that if they want to burn grasses they must first gather them, hence they gathered all Tutsi who were fleeing at the Byiza Stadium. He further said that when the snake is wrapped around the calabash used to separate milk and butter (very respected in Rwandan culture) you have to break it. He said this in order to frighten Hutu so that they don't hide Tutsi unless they chose to die with them.

On April 22, 1994, Prosecutor Bushishi Mathias accompanied by Sibomana Antoine (Bourgmestre) and Nsabimana Sylvan (Prefect) came to reassure the Tutsi refugees that they would be protected to prevent them from fleeing, but this was a plot to keep them together.

On April 25, 1994, early morning, a soldier with the rank of warrant officer called Gatwaza together with the residents of all sectors of Mbazi Commune surrounded Byiza Stadium and started throwing grenades and bullets, and traditional weapons (Clubs, machetes, spears ...) they killed until 10 am when the ammunition and grenades got finished. Gatwaza told Interahamwe to keep surrounding the stadium until he comes back with more ammunition from Ngoma Military base. When he came back at 2pm, killers were still killing with traditional weapons. More than 7,800 Tutsi were killed at Byiza Stadium.

Massacre of Tutsi at Save, Shyanda Commune, Butare

In the former Shyanda Commune where Save Sector is now located, the Genocide started late from April 20, 1994. Tutsi started to flee at the Commune and at Save Parish and their killing started from April 21 to 25, 1994. Those killed there had come from Ndora, Muganza, Nyaruguru and Ruhashya.

In Shyanda, Tutsi and Hutu were intermarried and the fact that Shyanda was dominated by PSD (Abakombozi) made the Tutsi feel that local Hutu would not kill them because PSD and MRND (Interahamwe) were not on good terms.

Shyanda people had not started killing Tutsi (saying that they were intermarried) until Sindikubwabo and Nyiramasuhuko Pauline came to Butare on April 19, 1994 and Shyanda respectively for mobilization to kill Tutsi. Paulina Nyiramasuhuko told them to kill Tutsi because some of them have married Tutsi and Hutu women will be given other Hutu partners.

Interahamwe went to the home of Paulina Nyiramasuhuko's sister-in-law called Léocadie, (Ntahobari's sister, Nyiramasuhuko's husband), who had married a Tutsi man called Xavier, and took their eldest daughter Epiphanie, who had just finished school and worked at the university and her brother and threw them into a lake called Disha and the young man was first molested before being thrown in a lake.

Interahamwe doubted Hutu of Shyanda with regards to implementing genocide, hence they appointed special leaders in each sector who were known for their cruelty and were responsible for leading the massacre and continuing to incite the Hutu to kill the Tutsi, and to control any Hutu who did not kill so that they can be questioned.

Those who led the killing were: Shyirambere Theophile, Shyanda Commune Bourgmestre, Ngiruwonsanga Xavier, the Gatoki Sector councilor, Hategekimana Jean, Nyabyenda, Rukundo Deo, Nkezabera, Nzabandora Pierre was the councilor, Ngirabanyiginya Antoine was the councilor, Gatera (veterinary), Habyarimana Claude (a student).

The school inspector called Batisita alias "type" was in charge for the massacre throughout Save. In Gisanze there was Nzabankebuka who had been the bourgmestre, and Zivu was the Deputy Bourgmestre.

The Interahamwe were ordered to gather all Tutsi at Shyanda Commune from the 20th. Gathering them together was a way of ensuring that everyone was there in order to look for the missing Tutsi.

On April 25, all Tutsi who had been gathered at the commune were taken to Rwasave in 2 phases; they took the first one and killed them and returned for the next to ensure they are all killed. Residents of Karama and Save were taken to Disha Lake. Many Tutsi were killed at Shyanda Commune and at Save Catholic Parish.

Roadblocks were established at Gatoki led by Ngayisenga Francois, on the main road at bus park (ku Cyapa) and it was led by councilor Ngiruwonsanga Xavier, in the junction of commune led by Nzabirinda Hyacinthe, at Musekera it was led by Matabaro Edouard.

Massacre of Tutsi in Gihisi, at the football ground, Nyanza

Gihisi, at the football play ground is in the former Kigoma Commune, there was a dangerous roadblock. A large number of Tutsi was gathered there mostly from Nyabisindu Commune and those living in Gihisi, Kigoma Commune. After gathering them in big numbers, they took them to the forest called Kinihira because it was a place where the RPF Inkotanyi forces used to meet with the Rwandan delegation in peace talks. It was the forest of Murwanashyaka who was also a prominent Interahamwe and played a key role in killing them. Others were killed in the forest called Arusha of Mivumbi who was also a key Interahamwe and massacred Tutsi in Gihisi. In particular, women and children were gathered in Muhimpundu's house near the roadblock and the playground and they were guarded by Interahamwe.

It was a tactic to gather them, rape them and then kill them after. They were later killed in Kinihira forest with traditional weapons. Prominent figures included Nzigiyimfura Vincent, a famous businessman in Nyanza and his car which carried Interahamwe militia when they went to kill Tutsi in various parts including Gihisi.

His car was also used to transport the killing equipment including machetes and more. Another person who participated in the killing was a gendarme called Barahira. Murwanashyaka who owned a forest in which Tutsi were killed was sentenced to life in prison in absentia and till now he hasn't faced justice.

Massacre of Tutsi in Muyira Commune, Nyanza

Tutsi of the former Muyira Commune started to flee on 20th April, 1994 to Muyira Commune office from various hills of Mututu, Mulinja, Busoro, Munyinya, Mukoma, Matara, Nyakibungo and elsewhere. Some were able to flee to Burundi because they lived near Akanyaru and crossed over to Burundi. Those who were not close to Burundi were attacked by killers but they tried to fight back. Local Hutu of Muyira did not immediately take part in the killings because in the early days they also helped Tutsi to defend themselves in the beginning because they were attacked by Bugesera people. However, some of them (Hutu) who were trained by Bandora, a prominent businessman at Ruhuha in Bugesera participated in the attacks.

Though Tutsi tried to defend themselves, on April 20th, 1994 soldiers killed some with gunshots and Interahamwe killed less energetic as they could not run fast.

On 21st April 1994 another attack from Bugesera and Busoro came but Tutsi defended themselves and reversed it though it left some casualties. On the same day, they immediately fled at Muyira Commune, others to the Mulinja Catholic Church, others to Nyamure Hill and some to ISAR.

On 22/4/1994 another attack comprising soldiers, killers from Bugesera and Muyira Communes, took place. Tutsi also tried to reverse the attack but it killed many people. On that day, a soldier made it clear to Hutu that they should not help Tutsi but should kill them and take over Tutsi property. All Hutu immediately transformed and started killing Tutsi like Twagirimana Jean. The more people dispersed in the attacks, the more they fled to different places, especially at Muyira Commune and Nyamure Hill.

On April 25, 1994, an attack killed about 50 Tutsi who were in Foyer's house, including those who had been active in defending during the previous attacks. Among the killers, included Hutu who first helped them to fight like Daniel, retired from the army and Twagirimana Jean. About 500 Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Mulinja Catholic Church were killed. They were taken from the church and misleadingly told that they are being taken to Muyira Commune to protect them, but the killers attacked them at Ruhubika and killed them.

On April 26, 1994, about 25,000 Tutsi who had taken refuge at Muyira Commune were slaughtered. A huge Interahamwe attack killed all the Tutsi without help from soldiers.

Muyira in the Mayaga region, there is a memorial site in which bodies of Tutsi are buried in dignity.

Those who were involved in the killings included: Berinkindi Claver, a businessman, he was sentenced to life in prison by a Norwegian Court, Muhutu Adalbert, a former MRND MP and he first led Muyira Commune, Rusatsi Hezekiah, a counselor who succeeded the Bourgmestre during the Genocide against the Tutsi. Ntawuyangira Augustin who was a teacher and is serving his sentence in Nyanza Prison, Rulinda Edouard who was a teacher and lives in Malawi, Rukemampunzi Jean, a businessman, Ruzindana Silas who was a businessman and now lives in Congo Brazzaville, Celestin who was a soldier, Bugirimfura who was the *brigadier* of Muyira Commune and many others.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nkomane, Ntyazo, Nyanza

During the night of April 25 to 26, 1994, more than a 100 Tutsi were killed at Nkomane at the former bridge of Nkomane river. The bridge linked Matyazo and Muyaga Communes currently Ntyazo Sector, Nyanza District. Most of them came from Ntyazo Commune, Karama Sector, Cyimvuzo, Rusatira, Ruhashya, Mugusa Communes and elsewhere. Some of them first fled to Karama Hill where many Tutsi also died.

As they were trying to run away from Interahamwe attacks, they went to ISAR Songa where they met other Tutsi. After that, they fled again to Burundi through Muhero at Akanyaru river. When they arrived at Nkomane, one and a half hour away from Akanyaru river, there was a roadblock and they were killed right there. Some of the prominent killers at the roadblock were Gasharu Cell leader called Ntamahungiro Paul. There were also killers like Muhanarite Augustin and Ngirabatinya.

The Interahamwe then requested support from those who owned guns including Muganza Joseph and trained Interahamwe called Rushagaza Epaphrodite and Nkomati. Tutsi were killed by guns, machetes, clubs and others weapons. After that their bodies were thrown in the bridge and in the trenches. It was hard to survive the attack because it was in the valley and other attacks had come from behind them.

Massacre of Tutsi in Butansinda, Nyanza

Many Tutsi from Kigoma Commune and its suburbs were massacred in Butansinda. There was a very dangerous roadblock surrounded with excavated pits in which dead bodies were thrown. Some of the killers included Nzaramba Isaac, Interahamwe leader and a businessman as well as Kalisa Aloys, school inspector.

Massacre of Tutsi at Ruhashya, Huye

In the early days of the Genocide, in Ruhashya the entire population, Tutsi and Hutu went to fight the killers from Kinyamakara Commune in Gikongoro. Bourgmestre Rudakubana Martin also joined forces with the people to avert the attacks, but after attending a meeting of April 19, 1994 at Butare, he returned as a changed person and he was wearing military uniform.

On Mwogo bridge, Tutsi were defending themselves but they were defeated when Bourgmestre Charles Munyaneza of Kinyamakara Commune shot on them and they were dispersed and started to flee. After learning that anyone to hunt was a Tutsi, Kinyamakara killers along with those from Ruhashya immediately started killing, looting and destroying their houses from Rwaniro Sector and continuing to Ruhashya Commune. The attacks were led by Col Simba Aloys, Charles Munyaneza who was the Bourgmestre of Kinyamakara, Mucumankiko Silas and other Interahamwe. They joined the leaders of massacre in Ruhashya Commune including Bourgmestre Rudakubana Martin, Batsinda Patrick, a gendarm called Ntibagororwa, Kibega and others. They killed Tutsi who were gathered at Ruhashya Commune from Gikongoro, Maraba, Ruhashya, Rusatira and Mbazi.

Massacre of Tutsi at EPR Gituntu, Karongi

More than 171 Tutsi fled to EPR Gituntu because they had hoped for peace and survival as some were members of the church and felt that they would be safe in the house of God. Tutsi had come from various parts of the country including the former Mutuntu, Mugano and other sectors.

The former church leader Rwamuhizi Alphonse was first killed and others were also killed while others tried to hide but were later killed with machetes and clubs. Muragizi Gabriel who was the Bourgmestre of Mwendo Commune ordered to kill them and among those who led the attacks was an evangelist named Bikorimana accompanied by various other killers.

2.20. APRIL 26, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER BUTARE, KIBUYE AND GITARAMA PREFECTURES

Massacre of Tutsi at Mugina Catholic Parish, Kamonyi

Mugina Parish is located in Mbat Cell, Mugina Sector, Kamonyi District. During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, many Tutsi from Bugesera, Kigali City, Kigali Ngari, and from the communes which surrounded Mugina Commune had taken refuge at Mugina Parish. They were so many and hence they thought they would defend themselves when the attacks would come. Those who had taken refuge at Mugina Parish tried to fight the attacks with the support of Mugina Bourgmestre called Ndagijimana Callixte who did not support the killing of Tutsi. He agreed to pay selected Hutu, Tutsi youth as well as police officers if they would continue to fight back killers' attacks which were coming from Mbat, Mukinga, Jenda and elsewhere to attack at Mugina Parish

The former Mugina Bourgmestre called Ngiruwonsanga Onesphore alias Gitaro held a meeting and ordered to cut off all water pipes saying that they cannot kill snakes without starving them. They locked all pathways using roadblocks and had many dogs around to hunt any Tutsi who would go look for nourishment. Tutsi refugee starved to death and they decided to slaughter their cows.

The attacks led by Ngiruwonsanga and Kanyanzira were persistent. Killers decided to kill the Bourgmestre Ndagijimana Callixte first and was killed in Ntongwe, then after, they called upon Burundian refugees who lived at Nyagahama, Kinazi to come and help them kill. About 14 trucks full of armed soldiers, Interahamwe as well as attacks from Kabugondo, Ngoma, Runda and elsewhere arrived at the Parish. From April 25, 1994, the killing started to intensify but they exterminated them on April 26, 1994.

Those who had fled to the parish were killed using various weapons including guns, grenades, machetes, sharp sticks, stones and many more as people hunted for any one surviving to finish them off. Some of the perpetrators include Major Karangwa Pierre Claver, Ngiruwonsanga Onesphore, Kanyanzira and others.

Massacre of Tutsi at ISAR Rubona (RAB), Huye

Before the Genocide, ISAR Rubona was located in Ruhashya Commune. Many Tutsi who worked at ISAR Rubona, those from Gikongoro, Maraba, Ruhashya, Rusatira, Mbazi and Mugusa had taken refuge there and they were gathered at mount Rubona. Many of them were reverted from Mugusa Commune while trying to cross to Burundi and they were brought to ISAR Rubona. These Tutsi at mount Rubona were killed by the attacks from the above mentioned communes. The killers would come to look for Tutsi from their communes after finishing off those who were at Ruhashya, Mbazi and Byiza.

On April 26, 1994 around 9 am, the attacks arrived yelling and whistling and they joined gendarms, soldiers and police officers and they killed Tutsi the whole day and night.

On April 27, 1994, the former Prefect of Butare Nsabimana Sylvain came to ISAR to observe how the genocide was being carried out. On that day, the surviving Tutsi were taken to Gakera below mount Rubona and they started constructing small huts using trees and grasses and toilets with the hope that killing was over. However, on May 2nd, 1994, more attacks came and killed them all.

Those who planned and implemented genocide against the Tutsi at ISAR Rubona were Ntahontuye Ndereyehe Charles, the Director General of ISAR, Mulindangabo Joseph, Rubona Chief of the station, Mugemana Didace, staff manager and he is the one who had prepared a list of Tutsi of ISAR to be killed, Ntunda Jacques, Rutunga Venant, Mukuralinda Aloys, Ndayizigiye alias Ajida, Musabyimana Thaddée, Nsengiyumva Innocent, who was a teacher. They were helped by the notorious Interahamwe led by Ruhoryongo, Kanyeperu, Nyangezi and others.

It is not easy to say the precise number of Tutsi who were killed at ISAR Rubona, however around 70 ISAR Rubona staff and their families are noticed. Some of the bodies of Tutsi killed in ISAR Rubona have not yet been found to be buried in dignity, only 120 are buried in the Genocide memorial of Rubona.

Ndereyehe Ntahontuye Charles played a key role in the massacre carried out at ISAR Rubona and he is continuing the genocide ideology where he lives in the Netherlands.

Ndereyehe Ntahontuye is from Cyabingo Commune in the former Ruhengeri Prefecture. In 1992, along with other intellectual extremists including Nahimana Ferdinand, Dr Rwamucyo Eugène, Dr Nshimyumuremyi Jean Berchmas and

others, Ndereyehe created and led a gang group called “*Cercles des Républicains Progressistes*” that incited students to plan genocide at the University in Nyakinama and Butare.

At the beginning, Ndereyehe was MRND member, however in 1992 he abandoned MRND to participate in the creation of another Hutu extremist party called “*Coalition pour la Défense de la République*” - CDR which participated massively in the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994.

Ndereyehe started the genocide planning before he was sent to ISAR. Prior to his deployment at ISAR, he was in charge of the Agricultural and Livestock Development Project in Gikongoro (PDAG). At the time, he was one of the civil servants who formed Interahamwe militia in Gikongoro, along with Captain Sebhura Faustin who was the deputy commander of the Gikongoro Gendarmery. Sebhura was from Mukingo Commune in Ruhengeri, the same region as Ndereyehe.

While forming Interahamwe group in Gikongoro, Ndereyehe was supported by the leaders of agricultural projects in Gikongoro especially Pierre Célestin Mutabaruka who led Crête Zaïre Nil project, Leaders of Mata Tea factory (Denis Kamodoka) and Kitabi Tea Factory (Juvénal Ndabarinze), various leaders in Gikongoro Prefecture including Ayurugari Justin, Chef of ELECTROGAZ and Celse Semigabo, a prosecutor. They have all been brought to justice.

Ndereyehe left Rwanda in 1994 after the criminal government and their army were defeated in the battle. When they were refugees in Zaïre on April 3, 1995, he participated in the creation of an extremist political and military group called the RDR founded on Genocide ideology. Currently, he lives in the Netherlands and he is one of the leaders of the FDU-INKINGI (a terrorist party) founded on genocide ideology.

In various FDU-INKINGI statements, Ndereyehe strongly denies the Genocide against the Tutsi, educates people to deny it and undermines the commemoration of the genocide by calling it a “*trade fund*” or a business.

In Netherlands, Ndereyehe coordinates Rwanda extremist groups which always advance racist ideology that led Rwanda to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Among the extremist groups include FEDERMO (Fédération des Organisations Rwandaises aux pays Bas), CARP (Collectif des Associations Rwandaises aux Pays-Bas), RIFDP-NL (Réseau International des Femmes pour la Démocratie et la Paix), DEN HAAG, Pro Justitia, FFDR (Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Rwanda).

On November 5, 2008, Ndereyehe was sentenced to life imprisonment in his absence by Gikirambwa Gacaca Court after he was found guilty of genocide crime carried out at the National Institute for Agricultural and Livestock Research (ISAR).

Since April 20, 2010, Rwandan Justice issued an International Arrest Warrant for Ndereyehe. He is also on the list of wanted by the International Police. That, however, does not stop him from continuing his extremist propaganda activities in Europe and elsewhere.

Massacre of Tutsi at Birambo Catholic Parish, Karongi

Birambo *Sous prefecture* was composed of the following three communes: Bwakira, Mwendo and Kivumu. During the Genocide against the Tutsi, it was governed by Sous prefet Rudakubana Anaclet, its headquarter was in Bwakira Commune led by Bourgoumestre Kabasha Tharcisse.

In Birambo, the genocide started a day after the death of the former president of Rwanda, extremist Hutu and Interahamwe immediately started killing Tutsi, looting property and burning houses. Tutsi believed that they could find assistance at the sous prefecture and at the Parish, hence all Tutsi from the surrounding areas started to seek refuge at Birambo Sous prefecture, at Birambo Catholic Parish and to the nearest schools of religious people. Although they thought they had found refuge, Interahamwe were plotting to kill them all.

Two top executive notorious killers at the national level were from Birambo: Enock Ruhigira and Edouard Karemera. Enock Ruhigira, who was the Director of Cabinet during Habyarimana's period, was born from Birambo and he instructed the existing authorities how the genocide was to be carried out. Edouard Karemera, the former First Vice-President of the MRND was from Mwendo Commune, one of the communes that making up Birambo Sous - prefecture. Karemera has been widely accused of inciting people to kill Tutsi in Birambo, and in Bisesero. He started the preparation of genocide in Birambo since 1993, as he and prefet André Kagimbangabo, Colonel Jean Marie Vianney Ndahimana, a CDR businessman called Amani Mugabo, and the Bourgmestre Kabasha, supplied fire arms, and set up a military training program for Interahamwe.

On April 14, 1994, the Interahamwe led by Bourgmestre Kabasha, Councilor of Nyabiranga Sector Munyankindi Cyprien, Councilor of Musasa Sector Mugabonake, MP Sebitabi Alphonse and Prosecutor Kwizera Aaron attacked Tutsi who had taken refuge in a Sisters' School called NP Birambo. Tutsi tried to defend

themselves and Interahamwe called upon soldiers and gendarms for support to kill the so-called enemy. They came back the next day on April 15, 1994 and killed all the Tutsi in NP Birambo and immediately setting fire on schools in an attempt to destroy everyone who could hide somewhere.

On 16 and 17 April 1994, the attack was also sent to kill Tutsi who had taken refuge at Birambo Parish and at the sous prefecture. Due to the cruelty of the genocide perpetrators, before killing the Tutsi in all the above-mentioned attacks, they first separated the religious according to their ethnicity; Tutsi nuns and priests were protected by the gendarmes so that they would not disappear and the Hutu were kept separate for their own safety. The next thing was to search for Tutsi who were hiding all over the place, gathering them together and arranging a day to exterminate them together with Tutsi religious.

On 26/04/1994 the attack led by Bourgmestre Kabasha, Councilor of Nyabiranga Sector Munyankindi Cyprien, Councilor of Musasa Mugabonake, MP Sebitabi Alphonse and Prosecutor Kwizera Aaron, in collaboration with Interahamwe, gendarms, soldiers tortured and killed the rest of Birambo Tutsi. Among the Priests killed were Father Ruberizesa Innocent and Father Sebatware Narcisse.

It is estimated that more than 6,000 Tutsi were killed by the above mentioned attacks. The killers were congratulated and celebrated the job that they had accomplished by giving them beers.

Enock Ruhigira fled in 1994 and is wanted by the justice. Edouard Karemera was convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and sentenced to life in prison. He died in Senegal prison on 31st August 2020.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kigoma Commune, Ruhango

Kigoma Commune was built in Butare Sector, Kabambati Cell in the former Gitarama Prefecture currently Ruhango District, Ruhango Sector, Rwoga Cell, Bihome village. During the genocide, some Tutsi fled to Kigoma Commune hoping to survive, others were brought by authorities after falsely promising them that they will be protected.

More than 475 Tutsi were killed at Kigoma Commune on April 26,1994 and during the days before. Those who were killed there had come from various sectors of Kigoma Commune which includes Gahombo, Mukingo, Kiruri, Ngwa and elsewhere. After gathering them, they were killed at the roadblock opposite the commune and bodies were thrown in the pits excavated nearby the commune offices.

Some of the perpetrators include the former Bourgmestre Ugirashebuja Celestin, soldiers who include Mugenzi, Mukerangoma and another nicknamed Kagoma. There was also a notorious Interahamwe called Nzaramba who called himself Cain (Gahini) who led the attacks.

Massacre of Tutsi at Tambwe Commune, Ruhango

More than 20,000 Tutsi were killed at Tambwe Commune. The first Tutsi was killed in front of the flag marking the launch of the killing and inciting Interahamwe and citizens to participate. Those who got killed had taken refuge at commune offices and others were brought there by authorities, others had taken refuge at Ruhango Sous-prefecture, Ruhango Church and elsewhere. After killing them, their bodies were thrown in the papyrus forest, in the pits and trenches.

Some of the perpetrators were the Bourgmestre of Tambwe Commune, Mugaba Nathan, an MP born in Tambwe called Kayondo, President of Ruhango Primary Court called Munyeshyaka Gregoire and a notorious Interahamwe called Nzaramba alias Gahini.

2.21. APRIL 27, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER BUTARE AND CYANGUGU PREFECTURES

During the genocide, the French Government hosted senior leaders of Hutu Power

France is the only country that continued to collaborate with the criminal government even though they knew the government was carrying out genocide. On April 27, 1994, 3 weeks after the beginning of genocide, two representatives of the criminal government i.e Jerome Bicomumpaka and Jean Bosco Barayagwiza were hosted in Paris, Champs Élysées and Matignon whereas America and Belgium had refused to give them visa. They held talks with French officials, including the Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, Foreign affairs Minister, Alain Juppe and Bruno Delaye, who headed the Office in charge of Africa at the Office of the President.

Barayagwiza, who was the director of administration and finance in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as one of CDR executive committee members, one of the founders of RTLM; a powerful tool for genocide propaganda. Bicomumpaka was a dedicated extremist, a member of MDR power as well as a minister of foreign affairs in the criminal government. During the United Nations council meeting, he fiercely said that Genocide against the Tutsi was imperative.

Human rights activist groups put pressure on France, and expressed a concern over France's hosting of murderous people. France said that they had received Rwandan delegation to continue talks with both sides. However, they later said it was a private visit. France knew very well who they were talking to, they also knew the political support needed by the criminal government to keep the genocide going.

Massacre of Tutsi at Gikonko, Gisagara

Mugusa Commune was led by the Bourgmestre Kabayiza André. Before becoming Bourgmestre, he was working in the prime Minister's Office in 1992 and had replaced Kanyamanza Onesphore. The former Bourgmestre Kanyamanza is the one who coordinated all activities related to planning and execution of genocide. They also brought soldiers, the one who was called "Adjida" and was later made the principal of Gikonko High School. He was from Gisenyi and was like the genocide commanding officer. He issued instructions relating to the establishment of roadblocks, trained Hutu youths on how they would kill Tutsi and so on.

The director of *Pojet Rizicole de Butare* (PRB): a rice processing center, called Nkusi Augustin helped soldiers to receive instructions related to genocide planning and implementation through his phone in the center. Also, genocide planning meetings were held at the factory. The list of Tutsi to be killed was compiled by the Bourgmestre Kabayiza André in collaboration with former bourgmestres and councilors.

It started in the Buhoro Sector which was inhabited by many Burundians. They started slaughtering and eating Tutsi cows. The councilor came to the Commune and he was given police officers and the agronomist. He took the Burundians at the commune and when they arrived, *Adjida* released them saying that they had made a mistake of eating cows while their owners are still alive. He told them to kill the owners first and then eat the cows. It happened during the first dates of April on April 8 or 9, 1994. Tutsi from Rusatira, Ruhashya, Shyanda, Mbazi and Mugusa Communes were gathered at the Gikonko Commune. More than 25,000 Tutsi were killed on April 27, 1994.

In order to gather them, councilors used loud speakers and called them to the football ground. After that, soldiers shot them from the upper side of the ground and other killers with traditional weapons had surrounded the ground.

The leading killers included the deputy bourgoumestre called Sylvestre, together with his father Mugenzi, the former Gikonko Councilor Twagirayezu, Kayitare Yusi, the director of CERAR School and he was the president of CDR in the commune. Brigadier of the commune called Athanase and school inspector called Muramba.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nyamure Hill, Muyira Sector, Nyanza District

Nyamure Hill was located in the former Butare Prefecture, Ntyazo Commune, Nyamure Sector, Gatare Cell. It is currently in Nyanza District, Muyira Sector, Nyamure Cell, Gatare Village. Many Tutsi started to flee to Nyamure Hill on April 20, 1994 and they joined others who had arrived before. They spent a week there till April 27, 1994 when a major attack came and killed them all. They had taken refuge there because they thought the genocide would not be very severe as it was and they thought it was just a short time conflict so that they would return home. In addition, many would have fled to Burundi which shared borders with Ntyazo, Muyira and Ntongwe Communes. They also thought it will be easier for them to defend themselves using the stones on that hill and that is what happened when they were attacked. Many Tutsi were from Muyira, Ntyazo and Rusatira Communes, Butare Prefecture and from Kigoma and Ntongwe Communes in Gitarama Prefecture and elsewhere.

Those who could, had brought little food which they shared with many others and got finished immediately. Due to hunger and thirsty as they were staying on the top of the hill far from their fields, they started to form small groups to go and fetch nourishment from their closest fields during the night but it was very scary as the attacks started on April 21, 1994. Later, they started to slaughter and eat their cows.

They arrived on April 20th and on the 21st major attacks mainly composed of many citizens and Interahamwe started to attack and kill them. They had machetes, clubs, spears and many other traditional weapons. Only guns were used after realizing that Tutsi were defending themselves using stones and few bows they had.

From April 22nd to 26, 1994, many attacks kept on coming and more Tutsi were still coming for refuge. More especially, on April 25th, 1994 killers had used another way and reached Tutsi refugees from the top of Nyamure Hill and Tutsi started to flee from Nyamure. Among those who fled to the side of the killers 10 were killed immediately and others were continuously killed on their way to fetch food from the fields. During the time, leaders and Interahamwe continued to lead the attacks and to mobilize people to kill.

At the forefront there was the Bourgmestre of Muyira Commune called Muhutu Adalbert, Twagiramungu Zacharie, MDR president in Ntyazo Commune, various councilors of Ntyazo Commune; Murindahabi, the councilor of Nyamure, Murindahabi Isaïe of Gatonde Sector and Mutabaruka who was the councilor of

Kayanza Sector. There were also many trained Interahamwe like Sendima, Munyaneza Gaspard and others. In addition, Ndahimana, who was the director of Nyamure Health Center sent a health center car to fetch Interahamwe and police officers from Muyira and Ntyazo Communes.

There was also Munyakayanza and Mbarubukeye (teachers at Nyamure Primary School) who played an important role in mobilizing people to kill and led attacks. More particularly, they participated in the killing of Tutsi who had taken refuge at Rwezamenyo Hill opposite to Nyamure Hill and students from Nyamure Primary School who believed that they would be protected by their teachers who in turn killed them. There was also a citizen called Gakuba who used grenades.

On April 26, 1994, killers spent a night at the base of the hill and surrounded Tutsi refugees to avoid that anyone could survive. On the morning of April 27, 1994, major attacks were directed to them using guns, grenades, traditional weapons and they were no longer able to defend themselves. Many soldiers and gendarms from Nyabisindu Sous prefecture, Nyanza and others who had spent two weeks at Muyira Commune with Bourgmestre Muhutu Adalbert, others were coming from Nyanza on the same day. There were also police officers from Muyira and Ntyazo Communes as well as Interahamwe from Bugesera via Busoro.

Soldiers set up a gun at Nyamure Primary School and started to shoot. Tutsi were very afraid due to high death toll and serious injuries and the remaining ones descended on the hill but they could not survive killers who had surrounded the hill. After the gunshots, killers climbed the hill to finish off those who were breathing and to take away their clothes. In general, nearly 22,378 Tutsi were killed at Nyamure Hill, their bodies were left lying around due to their huge number.

Those who led the attack included Bourgmestre of Muyira Commune, Muhutu Adalbert who was sentenced to life in prison but fled to Republic Democratic of Congo, Twagiramungu Zacharie, who was the president of MDR in Ntyazo Commune, Police officers of Muyira Commune led by Ruberandinda Claver, Gasanganwa, Bazarama and Bizoza. Ruzindana Silas, a major businessman in Muyira Centre, Nyamiyaga whose car also transported Interahamwe to Nyamure. He was also sentenced with life imprisonment but fled to Congo Brazzaville.

2.22. APRIL 28, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIBUYE AND BUTARE PREFECTURES

Oxfam denounced Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda

On April 28, 1994, US Secretary of State for Africa Prudence Bushnell called Colonel Théoneste Bagosora and told him to stop the killing that he was leading together with his criminal government. This warning was like wasting time because the massacre continued and the same day in Paris, France, Jérôme Bicomumpaka, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the criminal government held a press conference, furthering the lies of the government he represented, saying that there were no killings, and that the figures of more than 100,000 were false. Bagosora informed high ranking military that they should focus more on diplomacy, so that the massacre of Tutsi cannot be identified, and that they would find a way to get rid of it.

On April 28, 1994, OXFAM issued a statement condemning the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kizenga Hill, Rwamatamu and at the Lake Kivu, Kibuye

Kizenga is a high hill with dense forest, in 1994 Tutsi of the former Rwamatamu Commune (Gihombo and Mahembe Sectors) had gathered and fled to the hill. It was On April 28, 1994 that an attack led by Obed Ruzindana and Interahamwe from Mugonero, along with Interahamwe of Yusuf Munyakazi called by Obed Ruzindana and extremist Hutu of Mugonero, climbed up to the hill and killed them with guns and grenades. Those who survived headed towards the shore of Lake Kivu, which they could not cross because all the boats had been stolen and carefully hidden by the killers, who massacred them there.

Massacre of Tutsi at ISAR Songa, Huye

Interahamwe and Hutu from Maraba and Kinyamakara started to attack by crossing Mwogo and they had plans with some Hutu from Ruhashya and Rusatira. People came together regardless of ethnicity and went to fight them but it was in vain because one day they came in large numbers with soldiers and guns. Many Tutsi fled and camped on Rubaba and Sazange Hills waiting for the way forward. Next day, around nine o'clock in the morning, the attackers started from Rwaniro and Kibika, others went up to Gashoba and Kiboga looting, burning and killing the Tutsi everywhere they passed.

Tutsi who had taken refuge on Rubaba Hill including Rusagara Francois and George (clothe sellers), Sinzi Tharcisse and his older brother Butare Frederic sons of Gakwisi, Gatera and many others had decided to go and fight the killers. They divided themselves into two groups, one group containing Rushogoro Francois, who confronted the killers, had passed through Kiboga and the other group passed at Gashoba and descended towards the valley.

When they arrived at Rubayiza's house, they chased away killers who were looting and burning houses and sent them towards the valley. Near the valley, they met other killers who had already been defeated in Kiboga and the latter shot at them towards Rubaba.

On April 24, 1994, some Tutsi passed through Songa towards Mayaga and spent the night in Gatugunguru where local residents took away their cows. The soldiers and gendarms of Nyanza sent by François-Xavier Birikunzira, gathered all Tutsi in Songa and told them that if they did not go there they would eat their cows.

More than 40,000 Tutsi were killed in ISAR Songa. About 7,000 were on the top of the hill, while children and women were at the bottom of the hill at a place called Munyinya wa Songa. Every hour, the attacks would come, Sinzi Tharcisse would position all the young men on the borders of the camp to fight and would defeat them. The killers had brought guns but as they shot, Tutsi young men crawled down and caught them on spot. When the killers got defeated, they called for support from Nyanza Gendarmery.

The attack of 28 April, 1994 contained more than 60 gendarmes with heavy guns such as machine guns and *lance roquettes* and they killed them all. The attackers came in line and surrounded the camp and threw strims amongst them. The attackers came as if they had come to fight against powerful army because they had learnt that these particular Tutsi were very strong as they had retaliated many attacks from many places. On the other hand, there were a large number of Hutu armed with traditional weapons who have formed vertical lines.

Due to the heavy noise of the bullets that they were not familiar with, Tutsi were not able to flee and hence many were shot dead others were chopped by Interahamwe. Others were killed gradually as they marched and run for their lives hoping to flee to Burundi. Most of them were killed in Gakoma where they used to call "*kwa Kantano*" (RTL M journalist), while others were confronted in Ramba, Muyaga Commune. About 108 people were able to cross to Burundi.

Tutsi who were gathered in Songa had fled from all around: Gikongoro (Kinyamakara, Rukondo), Nyanza, Ruhashya, Rusatira, Ntyazo and Muyira. The Bourgmestre of Rusatira Nyawenda Esdrón as well as Nkusi Augustin, director of the rice project in Butare were among the main organizers of the genocide at Songa. Both live in Belgium.

2.23. APRIL 29, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER GISENYI AND CYANGUGU PREFECTURES

Massacre of Tutsi in Butotori Barracks (Marine), Rubavu

The Butotori Military base is located in Butotori Village, Rubona Cell, Nyamyumba Sector, Rubavu District. During Habyarimana's reign, Presidential guards lived in that military base and they are the ones who killed many Tutsi there during the genocide. A number of genocide planning meetings led by senior military officers such as Colonel Theoneste Bagosora, Colonel Nsengiyumva Anatole and others took place in the same barracks. The military base also provided military training to Interahamwe in collaboration with the military for the extermination of Tutsi.

On April 29, 1994 many Tutsi including the families of Nyaruzungu Laurent, Karekezi Jonathan, and Babonampoze André and his child were killed there. Those who participated in the killing of the above mentioned people were Major Kabera, who led the barracks, Lieutenant Minani who was born from Nyamyumba, Lt. Bizumuremyi Jean Berchmas a prominent killer since 1992 in Kibuye and the presidential guard called Patrice.

Massacre of Tutsi at Shangi Catholic Parish, Cyangugu

Before the Genocide against the Tutsi, Shangi Parish was located in Gafunzo Commune, Shangi Sector and it is currently in Nyamasheke District, Shangi Sector. Discrimination and persecution of Tutsi in Gafunzo was in place for long time but since the 1990 liberation struggle started, it became intense. During that time, MRND and MDR joined their efforts to persecute Tutsi. During 1992, educated Tutsi who occupied various posts in public institutions in Gafunzo Commune were fired from their jobs and those who were working in education were also fired. In addition, any Hutu who had married a Tutsi woman were requested to divorce them. A councilor called Bacamurwango Anicet led by example and sent away his wife because she was a Tutsi. However, some of the families did not implement the decision.

In 1993, Interahamwe started to be trained across the country and those from Gafunzo were trained in Shagasha Tea Factory. The former director of the factory Nsabimana Callixte from Gisenyi always said that he did not like Tutsi. He is the one who played a key role in training Interahamwe within the factory in collaboration with the Prefect Bagambiki Emmanuel, *Sous prefet* Gerard Terebura, *Sous prefet* Theodore Munyangabe and Lieutenant Samuel Imanishimwe.

From april 8, 1994 Interahamwe started to yell and sing “*Tubatsembatsembe*” loudly above the hills slightly translated as: “Let’s exterminate them”. At that time, Tutsi started to flee to Shangi Parish. Among the Interahamwe who shouted “*Tubatsembatsembe*” included Hutu from the clan called “Abanyumu” and roadblocks were established everywhere. The first roadblock was established at Teacher Bonaventure’s home who lived near Shangi Parish.

From April 12 to 13, 1994, Interahamwe and local Hutu started to attack Tutsi who had taken refuge at the parish to loot and kill but Tutsi tried to defend themselves and defeated them.

On April 14, 1994, a third major attack led by Interahamwe called Pima attacked Tutsi. Before killing Tutsi at Shangi Parish, Interahamwe passed by Gafunzo Commune to take guns and grenades to use. Bourgouestre Karorero Charles instructed brigadier of the commune to give weapons to Interahamwe. Interahamwe used the above mentioned weapons to kill Tutsi but some of them survived. The Pima attack had come from Nyamirundi.

Interahamwe locked all water pipes first so that Tutsi refugees at Shangi Parish may starve. Those who tried to go and fetch water from Lake Kivu below the Parish were immediately killed before they reach the place.

On April 18, 1994, the delegation from prefecture led by *Sous prefet* Munyengabe Theodore held a meeting with all councilors and requested the latter to write down a list of all Tutsi who fled their homes and where they had taken refuge.

During next days, Father Mategeko Aime, *Sous prefet* Munyangabe and commune staff would come every day and take strong men and boys as well as educated ones and kill them. They lied to Tutsi that those who were called are the ones who illegally had weapons like guns, grenades and other weapons to kill Hutu and that they have to go to Kamembe court to provide explanations about it. Among all those who were taken, none of them had returned.

On April 27, 1994 around 10am, another attack of Interahamwe from Shangi and Nyabitekeri came to the Parish but was defeated and sent back. On April 29, 1994 a major attack led by Yussuf Munyakazi from Bugarama carrying machetes, clubs, guns and grenades came in three trucks full. The survivors of the attack said that Interahamwe were singing: *“isi n’ibiyirimo byose ni iby’Abahutu”* meaning: “the world and everything in it belongs to the Hutu” and they started to throw grenades and using machetes. On that day, they stopped killing around 19h30 and took the surviving girls with them to rape them.

On April 30, 1994 Interahamwe came to kill those who were wounded and then brought all the people who were going to the market and told them to pick up bodies from the church and take them to a pit called Red Cross (a hole used to unfill toilets of Shangi Primary School) and dumped all bodies. When the pit was full, they excavated other ones and threw all bodies in order to clean up the church. Father Mategeko Aimé, a prominent killer at Shangi was convicted of genocide crime, sentenced for life imprisonment and serving the sentence in Nyanza Prison.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kamarampaka Stadium, Rusizi

Kamarampaka Stadium was located nearby Rusizi Court, Military base, the Gendarmery, Cyangugu Prefecture headquarter, Cyangugu Prison, Cyangugu Diocese and Kamembe business center. It was also close to the DRC border. This was the reason for many Tutsi to take refuge at the stadium because they thought they will be safe near administrative buildings. First Tutsi fled to the stadium on April 9, 1994 with their cattle as Hutu had started burning their houses.

On April 19, 1994 a military attack led by Prefect Bagambiki Emmanuel of Cyangugu arrived. They had a list of Tutsi men whom they wanted to kill first including the educated and those who appeared rich. Others were strong men who would be able to defend themselves.

Father Laurent Ntimugura mocked them when they told him to appeal for them and he told them that they are not the ones who should be depressed as Hutu had lost their so-called father of the nation (the president) they are the ones who should complain not Tutsi. However, his colleague Father Oscar Nkundayezu comforted and brought them food and gave repentance sacrament to those who wanted it. Father Laurent Ntimugura was sentenced to 20 years in prison and completed it, he is currently living with the Bishop of Cyangugu.

Tutsi who had taken refuge at Kamarampaka Stadium lived a miserable life as there was no water, no food, no toilets and they were facing dysentery epidemic due to dirtiness and many were very sick.

On April 26, 1994 another military attack came and was led by Lt. Imanishimwe Samuel, they took Tutsi men to be killed as usual. Prefect Bagambiki decided that Tutsi refugees who were at the stadium would not be given chances to flee to Zaïre and then sent them to Nyarushishi, far from the border so that none would flee to Zaïre.

On April 28, 1994, another military attack took other Tutsi men to be killed. Refugees held a meeting and agreed to flee to Zaïre. Around 3 am in the morning, they took the road to Zaïre but soldiers who watched them did not allow them. Bagambiki and soldiers had waited for them on the way and ordered them to go back at the stadium. On their way back, Interahamwe and soldiers started to kill them with guns, machetes, clubs and grenades. Those who survived were taken to Nyarushishi.

Imanishimwe Samuel was convicted of genocide crime by the ICTR and was sentenced to 12 years in prison.

2.24. APRIL 30, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER GISENYI, CYANGUGU, BUTARE AND KIGALI NGARI PREFECTURES

Massacre of Tutsi in Gisenyi Town, Rubavu

Gisenyi genocide memorial is located in Ruriba village, Rubavu cell, Gisenyi Sector in Rubavu District, that place was called “*Commune rouge*” during the genocide. The hatred towards Tutsi in this region of Rwanda started a long time ago especially because President Habyarimana was born from this region as well as other higher political and military officials of the “*Akazu government*” (a network of individuals well connected with Habyarimana mainly from his Hutu clan) who were at the forefront of hate politics in Rwanda.

The massacre was preceded by extended propaganda, abusive language, insults, hatred and everything else that led to the extermination of Tutsi, all of which was published by Kangura; with its Chief editor Hassan Ngeze from Nyakabungo, Gisenyi, Rubavu and is also one of the strong Hutu extremists.

Since 1990, when the liberation struggle started, Tutsi from the former Mutura and Rwerere Communes in Bigogwe, those from Kayove, Nyamyumba, Kibirira

(currently in Ngororero District) Communes were gradually killed claiming that they are Inkotanyi accomplices and their bodies were dumped in the pits that had been already excavated in Gisenyi cemetery as part of destruction of evidences. Some others were secretly killed in Gisenyi Prison and thrown in the above mentioned pits. Many Tutsi were killed in the city of Gisenyi during the genocide, in their homes and others were taken near the pits excavated in Gisenyi cemetery to be killed and thrown.

Colonel Nsengiyumva Anatole who was in charge of the Gisenyi military base played a key role in speeding up the implementation of genocide in Gisenyi. He is from Satinsyi Commune in Gisenyi Prefecture. Since 1990, Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, Colonel Theoneste Bagosora, Aloys Ntabakuze, Joseph Nzirorera had produced a plot to exterminate Tutsi in Gisenyi Prefecture. They started by disseminating hatred, causing riots, training the Interahamwe, handing over guns, preparing Tutsi lists, and killing Tutsi from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri communes.

In Gisenyi, Anatole Nsengiyumva, Bagosora, Ntabakuze and Nzirorera had formed a gang of killers consisting of: Omar Serushago, Bernard Munyagishari, Mabuye, Barnabé Samvura, and Thomas Mugiraneza.

On the night of April 6, 1994 to April 7, 1994, Colonel Nsengiyumva Anatole held a meeting at Gisenyi military base to polish the genocide plan. It was attended by soldiers from the Gisenyi, Gendarmery and senior officials of Interahamwe and CDR. Colonel Nsengiyumva instructed them to give guns to the Interahamwe, and to set up roadblocks everywhere in Gisenyi.

On April 7, 1994, another meeting was held at the former market of Gisenyi, Anatole Nsengiyumva ordered Interahamwe to start the killing of Tutsi and they went from house to house. A statement from the Ministry of Defense had ordered all residents to stay home and no one could get out except soldiers and Interahamwe who were killing Tutsi wherever they passed.

Colonel Nsengiyumva Anatole ordered the establishment of strong roadblocks on the border between Rwanda and Zaïre so that no one could cross the border to Zaïre. The killings were led by Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva himself, along with Major François Uwimana, Second Lieutenant Fidèle Udahemuka, Second Lieutenant Abel Rwasa and Interahamwe led by Bernard Munyagishari, Omar Serushago, Councilor Faziri, and Byahi Councilor.

Col Anatole drove around Gisenyi to monitor how the killing was taking place, asking Interahamwe at the roadblock how the so-called work was being done and how they were killing Tutsi. Major Uwimana François Xavier patrolled the area and monitored how the massacre of Tutsi was taking place. The Tutsi who lived near the Barracks and the Hospital were the first to be killed. The corpses were scattered everywhere and vehicles were picking them to throw them in the pits excavated at the "Commune Rouge".

On April 20, 1994, the attack led by Omar Serushago, Bernard Munyagishari and Thomas Mugiraneza attacked at Saint Pierre Monastery. Those who had taken refuge there including Felicité Niyitegeka were taken to the Commune Rouge for execution. Tutsi who were hiding in St. Fidele School along with others who were in Rwandex were killed under the supervision of Habimana Jean Pierre (alias Mustafa) who currently lives in Belgium.

On April 30, 1994, a truck with loudspeakers passed in Gisenyi town calling upon all Tutsi to unhide because peace had been restored and no Tutsi would be killed again. All those who came out of their hiding places were killed at Commune Rouge.

At the forefront of the killings were Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, Major François Uwimana, Second Lieutenant Fidèle Udahemuka, Second Lieutenant Abel Rwasa, Prefect Dr. Zirimwabagabo Charles, Sous prefects Rukabukira and Bikumbi, Hassan Ngeze, Barnabé Samvura, Bernard Munyagishari, Omar Serushago, Councilor Faziri, and Councilor of Byahi, together with citizens led by Interahamwe called Habimana Jean Pierre alias Mustafa who fled to Belgium.

Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva was convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and sentenced to life imprisonment, which was later reduced to 15 years on appeal. Omar Serushago was convicted of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), he pleaded guilty to genocide crime and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Bernard Munyagishari was extradited to Rwanda by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, and Rwandan courts convicted him of genocide crime and sentenced him to life imprisonment. In 2003, Hassan Ngeze was sentenced to life in prison after being convicted of genocide and other crimes against humanity, and in 2007 the sentence was reduced to 35 years in prison on appeal. These reductions of sentence on appeal are the result of the poor functioning of the ICTR Under the Presidency of Judge Theodore Meron.

Massacre of Tutsi at Mibilizi Parish, Cyangugu

On the morning of April 7, 1994, gendarmery trucks were circulating Mibilizi area without an apparent reason. They had a huge number of gendarmes, they would circulate, go back and come back again. The councilors immediately ordered that no one is allowed to leave home so that no one would flee outside Rwanda. As it had happened back in 1963, 1973, Tutsi of Mibilizi fled to the Parish thinking that they would survive there.

From April 8, 1994 to April 10, 1994, around 8000 Tutsi arrived at Mibilizi Parish with their cows. On 10th April, 1994, many Hutu led by the soldier called Dominique launched an attack that seemed to spy on the Tutsi power and their number. They used stones and other traditional weapons and retaliated the attack.

On April 12, 1994 at around 10am, another attack led by Dominique accompanied by a huge number of Hutu took off from a place called “ku Ngoro” near the parish and headed to Mibilizi Parish. They were armed with spears, bows, and Dominique had grenades. The Tutsi fought against it with stones and could defeat the attack. After realizing that they are defeated, Dominique threw grenades among them and many were injured including Dushimimana Concorde who finally died.

On 14/04/1994 around 3pm, many Hutu re-organized and attacked the refugees at Mibilizi Parish, the attack was more violent than before. The killers were from near the Parish at Ngoro, others from Runyanzovu, Munyinya, Muhanga, Cyato and elsewhere. The Tutsi also tried their best and retaliated the attack. A serial killer named Kayibanda from Kaboza who was known for killing many Tutsi threw grenades among them. One grenade immediately killed Dominique Nsabimana (Businessman at Ngoro) and killed others around him on the front row. The killers were again defeated and run away.

April 18, 1994 is a day that will never be forgotten in the history of Tutsi who had taken refuge at Mibilizi. Three major attacks in one day took the lives of thousands of Tutsi in Mibilizi. Around 10 am, Killers attacked Tutsi but were defeated after only killing a small number of them. Killers returned to Ngoro to reorganize and to get new instructions. At around 2 pm, the killers attacked Tutsi at the parish again in a very big number and threw grenades among them and killed many Tutsi. At last, killers were also defeated and retaliated. Around 3pm, former Sous prefet Theodore Munyangabe arrived in Mibilizi with other people. He immediately called on Tutsi to go back inside, so that he can hold talks with the killers to find a solution and stop the fighting. Tutsi did not realize it was a trap for them. As they were about to enter, thousands of Murderers immediately surrounded the area, threw grenades, others killed with swords, spears and killed anyone they met.

Some gunmen had climbed trees around Mibilizi Parish so that they could shoot properly those they wanted to terminate. The attackers had many guns and grenades and Tutsi could not defend themselves anymore.

A large number of Tutsi were killed in various places. On April 20, 1994, the killers in collaboration with gendarmes who were supposed to protect Tutsi refugees at the Parish, they gathered all the remaining Tutsi in the courtyard of the Priests at the parish. They brought a list and called out the names of anyone they wanted. More than 100 Tutsi were summoned on that date and they were taken to the killers who were waiting for them with swords, clubs, machetes and spears. The killers left dead bodies lying around and came to bury them the next day. Among the detainees on that day was a woman who was a teacher called Angela. On April 20, 1994, after torturing those they had called on the list, killers went to Mibilizi Hospital to kill Tutsi Doctors and nurses who were on duty and Tutsi patients in the hospital.

On April 30, 1994 few Tutsi who had survived were killed. The chief of Interahamwe Youssufu Munyakazi and his troops, who had just returned from killing Tutsi in Shangi where they had gone for support. On the way home, he decided to pass by Mibilizi to finish off any possible survivor. They were carried by a Daihatsu car and arrived around 5pm and killed about 60 Tutsi with swords and after they left bodies scattered in front of the Parish.

On 25/05/1994, the remaining 500 Tutsi, including the elderly, women and injured were packed in busses and taken to Nyarushishi.

Some of the prominent killers who planned and participated in the attacks at Mibilizi were the following:

- Bandetse Edouard (genocide planner), he was a businessman in Kamembe but he had moved to Mibilizi. He issued instructions, he had guns and meetings were held in his bar;
- Sous prefet Theodore Munyangabe;
- Dominique, a reservist who had deserted in the army but he was still equipped with guns;
- Somayire Celestin, a prominent Interahamwe and was a teacher at Mibilizi; he hated Tutsi;
- Munyoni Vianney, a police officer; he killed many Tutsi in the attack of April 18, 1994;
- Rwabukera Fabien, Interahamwe who lived in Kigali but he was born in Mibirizi;
- Kayibanda (A prominent interahamwe), he killed Tutsi using grenades during various attacks;

- Councilor of Mibilizi Sector, Ndagijimana Pacome, he organized attacks and attended meetings that falsely accused Tutsi of instigating insecurity;
- Cyato Sector councilor, Gakwaya Vianney who also led the attacks;
- Gendarms who were at the parish: the guns they were given to protect Tutsi were used to kill them during the attack of April 18, 1994;
- Somayire Richard, he was a teacher at APEMI;
- Gerard Ndagijimana, worked in Mibilizi Hospital and was very influential to the killers;
- Rukeratabaro Theodore from Winteko, he led the attacks which searched for Tutsi from Winteko who had taken refuge at Mibirizi. They hunted for Senuma and after killing him they took his shoes to show his relatives that they had killed him. Rukeratabaro was sentenced to life imprisonment by a Swedish court.

Massacre of Tutsi at Ngoma Catholic Parish

Many Tutsi who had taken refuge in Ngoma Parish, located in Ngoma Sector, Huye District were killed on April 30, 1994. When the massacre started, Tutsi who lived in Matyazo and Ngoma who had survived killings elsewhere fled to Ngoma Parish. They included many children, young and old who survived the attack of soldiers from Ngoma military base commanded by Lieutenant Ildephonse Hategekimana, gendarms and Interahamwe. On the 29th, Interahamwe and soldiers who lived at the ELECROGAZ roadblock attacked the Tutsi at the parish. The soldiers entered to check on the number of refugees, falsely telling them that they had come to keep their security.

On April 30, 1994, around 9am, a major attack arrived at Ngoma Parish led by Lt Hategekimana Ildephonse, and S/Lt Fabien Niyonteze forced their entrance in the church and started killing Tutsi while others were killed outside. There have been supernatural killings, such as grabbing a child and knocking him down on the road to death, and others would hit him with clubs and machetes. Girls were also raped before being killed.

At the forefront of the killings was Lt Hategekimana Ildephonse who was tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to life imprisonment. Gatera, Murekezi Fils, Donati, Vianey from Kibuye (a business man at the fourth street), Abdoulah from *Giswayire* area, many soldiers, Toni, the sons of Kiburugutu, Commander of the Airport, Ngoma Sector Councilor Habimana Jacques, and other Interahamwe. Among the crimes for which Hategekimana has been convicted include the murders of Salomé Mujawayezu and her cousins Alice Mukarwesa, and Jacqueline Mukaburasa, the rape of Nura

Sezirahiga as well as the massacres perpetrated in the Parish of Ngoma and at the *maison généralice* of Benebikira.

Massacre of Tutsi at Abenebikira Congregation Community, Taba, Butare

Many Tutsi including those from the families of some of Benebikira sisters had taken refuge at Benebikira Center in Butare (Taba) from April 14, 1994. After the assassination of Prof Karenzi, a former lecturer at the University (UNR) on April 21, 1994, his children and others who had taken refuge at his house fled to Benebikira center. The children were closely monitored by Professor Vincent Ntezimana who was teaching with Karenzi at UNR and Col Tharcisse Muvunyi. Prior to the assassination of Prof Karenzi, Ntezimana and other genocide organizers at UNR had asked Tutsi lecturers to provide a list of all the people that they are staying with so that they can help them to flee.

On April 30, 1994, an attack led by Captain Nizeyimana Ildephonse from ESO, including Lt Hategekimana Ildephonse who was in charge of the Ngoma military base, Lt Ndayambaje and Lt Ngendahimana, and other Interahamwe attacked Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Abenebikira center located at Itaba in Butare town. Hategekimana first selected those to be killed and took them to Kabutare and *Groupe Scolaire* where he killed them. The attackers were armed with guns and other traditional weapons like clubs, machetes and Jerrycans full of petrol.

At the forefront of the killings were Captain Nizeyimana Ildephonse, Lt Hategekimana Ildephonse, Lt Ndayambaje, Lt Ngendahimana, and Vincent Ntezimana and other Interahamwe. Vincent Ntezimanan was convicted of genocide crime by Belgian courts and sentenced to 12 years in prison. Captain Ildephonse Nizeyimana and Lt Ildephonse Hategekimana were convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and sentenced to 35 years (Cpt Nizeyimana) and life imprisonment (Lt Hategekimana) respectively.

Massacre of Tutsi in the papyrus swamps, Ntarama, Bugesera

As of April 22, 1994, Tutsi who had survived the killing in the mountains, in the sorghum plantations, in the churches and in other parts of Bugesera started to enter in the papyrus swamp because it was the only place they could find a hiding place. However, with the help of airplane which checked every day to see the whereabouts of many Tutsi, got the information that many Tutsi were in the swamps and they prepared a plan to massacre them. In the first days, they would attack and kill a few because they were initially afraid to go far into that papyrus swamp where you couldn't even see a person hiding near you.

On April 30, many Tutsi were massacred in the swamp named “CND” separating Ntarama, Rulindo and Mugina in Gitarama. Interahamwe and soldiers from different parts of the country (Gako, Ngenda and Gashora military bases, Gicumbi, Gikomero, Mbogo, Nyamabuye and other parts of Gitarama, Mugina and elsewhere gathered. In addition, refugees from Ruhuha and Nyacyonga came with ONATRACOM buses in huge numbers, shouting and whistling. When they all arrived, they formed groups of attackers and surrounded the papyrus swamp. There were also people from the Kanzenze, Rulindo and Musenyi sectors that surrounded the swamp and others on the Ntarama side. They attacked and killed them from around 10 am till 4 pm and only stopped because some of them were saying that they were coming from far away and they had to walk long hours to get home.

Soldiers shot and threw bombs in the swamp, and Interahamwe with machetes, spears, clubs with nails, swords and other traditional weapons killed them because they were not able to run in the swamp. Soldiers and Interahamwe searched Tutsi that they had already killed and took their clothes away. They raped girls before killing them by placing them in a little dry space or on top of the papyrus plants that they had cut, and they would finish up by killing them, torturing them, inserting sharp sticks in their private parts and leaving them naked.

The attacks in the papyrus swamp were led by the Commander-in-Chief of Gako Military Base colonel Pheneas Munyarugarama, the former Sous prefet of Kanazi sous prefecture, Gasana Djuma, Gatanazi Bernard who was the Bourgmestre of Kanzenze Commune, Karerangabo Vincent who was the inspector, Nsabyumuganwa the former director of Cyugaro Primary School, Bizimana, former principal of Nyamata Primary School, Pastor Uwinkindi Jean, Gasharankwanzi Sylvestre, a soldier named Sebugingo, Bizimungu who was a police officer and others.

2.25. MAY 1, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER GISENYI AND BUTARE PREFECTURES

Massacre of Tutsi at Karama Hill, Nyanza

Karama Hill was located in the former Butare Prefecture, Ntyazo Commune, Karama Sector and bordered by two cells i.e Kankima and Karuyumbu currently in Nyanza District, Ntyazo Sector, Cyotamakara Cell.

On April 18, 1994 while the Tutsi had gone for night patrol, they found out that the residents of Kankima cell in Karama Sector went to Gatonde Sector and those in Karuyumbu cell went to Gisasa and Ruyenzi Sectors. It was like betraying them and planning to attack Karama because it was inhabited by a large number of Tutsi and others who had taken refuge in Karama from different parts of the country including those who had joined their families. Tutsi who had gone for night patrols returned home and found that their families had fled to Mount Karama, they also joined them because of fear.

Before fleeing, a series of meetings which prepared the killings were held in Ntyazo and Migina Communes in Nyamure. In addition, they fled because before 18/04/1994, Tutsi houses were being burnt and the killing had started in the sectors bordering Karama like Gatonde and Gisasa.

On April 18, 1994, many Tutsi wanted to flee to Burundi via Kibilizi to Mpanda port on the Akanyaru River but when they arrived in Kibilizi they were forcibly sent back by Hitimana Ephron who was the Councilor of Kibilizi Sector together with Interahamwe after taking away their belongings. On April 19, 20 and 21, 1994, many Tutsi continued to flee from Ntyazo Commune from all its 13 sectors, especially Karama, Cyimvuzi and Gatonde Sectors. They also came from Muyira, Rusatira, Ruhashya, Maraba and Nyabisindu Communes of Butare Prefecture, Kigoma and Ntongwe Communes of Gitarama Prefecture and elsewhere.

Women, children and elderly (women and men) were housed in Tutsi homes living at the lower slopes of Karama Hill but the houses were few compared to the number of those people in such categories.

On April 20, 1994, a major attack composed of gendarms from Nyanza armed with guns, grenades and other military equipment arrived. They were led by Hategekimana Philippe alias Biguma who was the deputy commander of the gendarmery. They came in a Daihatsu car of Rutayisire who had been killed in Nyanza and they took over his car. The attack was also composed by Interahamwe from Karama and Gatonde armed with traditional weapons but Tutsi retaliated them and they did not reach Karama Hill. They tried to defend themselves using stones and bows and that day Tutsi killed Interahamwe called Karemera Fiston from Karama, wounded others and set one of the cars on fire. The killers went back to reorganize but shortly in the afternoon, the attack came back armed with fire arms and traditional weapons and they killed three Tutsi, namely Bikinga Maurice, Gahamanyi Augustin and Ntakirutimana, and injuring Rurangirwa Aimable who died of wounds the next day.

From 21 to 23 April 1994, attacks continued to come but consisted of Interahamwe and civilians who used only traditional weapons. Tutsi also continued to defend themselves and prevented the killers from reaching Karama Hill. On April 24, 1994, there were no attacks at Karama but Tutsi who had taken refuge at Karama Hill performed a special act of bravery by rescuing other Tutsi who were being attacked at Rwezamenyo hill which was about twenty minutes away from Karama. When they arrived, many Tutsi had been killed but joined those who were still fighting and tried to defend themselves and repelled the attacks and rescuing many whom they took to Karama including some with injuries.

From April 25 to 29, 1994, attacks continued but consisted of Interahamwe and civilians who used only traditional weapons without guns, which encouraged Tutsi to keep on repelling the attacks. On April 30, 1994, a fierce attack took place and killed 12 Tutsi, but they were also strong as they killed the Judicial Police Officer (OPJ) of Ntyazo Commune, Muganza Joseph, son of Nzaramba Athanase, a former Bourgmestre of Ntyazo Commune, who was also the MRND president in the commune at the time. The attacks were led by Ndahimana Mathieu with a gun and later became the Bourgmestre of Ntyazo Commune to replace Nyagasaza Narcisse who was killed during the genocide on April 23, 1994 because he was protecting Tutsi.

Mathieu Ndahimana called upon police and gendarmes from Ntyazo Commune and took part in the attacks on the Tutsi. They were joined by the former police chief Munyaneza Viateur, Ngirabatware Godefrey, Gatera Adalbert, a former police officer and former Bugari Sector Councilor. There was also Muganza Joseph, the Judicial Police Officer of the commune and was killed by those who were fighting for themselves. There were also Interahamwe and Burundian refugees from Ngoma camp in Bugari Sector.

On May 1, 1994, they were surrounded by a violent attack with the aim of exterminating them as they had blocked all ways leading to Karama Hill in an effort to prevent them from fleeing. Tutsi fought for a short time because of many bullets and the power of killers. The killers climbed the hill and started firing, throwing grenades and using traditional weapons and those who tried to flee were killed at the bottom of the hill. The assailants killed for more than four hours and were only stopped by the rain. After killing them they took their cows and other livestock, looting various items and taking away their clothes.

They were killed by many gendarms from Nyabisindu Sous prefecture, led by Hategekimana Philippe alias Biguma, who was the Chief Warrant Officer and

deputy director of the gendarmerie. In particular, on April 23, 1994, he captured the Bourgmestre of Ntyazo Commune Nyagasaza Narcisse when he was trying to flee to Burundi, and he killed him in Nyanza. He fled to France but has now been arrested and is under investigation in France.

Among the attackers, Ndahimana Mathieu, who became the bourgoumestre of Ntyazo Commune, replacing the late Narcisse killed in the genocide. Ordinarily, Ndahimana Mathieu was the director of Nyamure Health Center. They collaborated with the former leader of police in Ntyazo Commune called Munyaneza Viateur, a police officer called Ngirabatware Godefrey, currently serving his sentence in Nyanza Prison, Gatera Adalbert who was the councilor of Bugari Sector, Bizimana Nicodeme, the councilor of Ntyazo Sector, Ngendahimana, the councilor of Gisasa, Nzaramba Athanase, the former bourgoumestre of Ntyazo Commune and was the president of MRND during the genocide.

There were also many Interahamwe and Burundian refugees who lived in Ngoma camp in Bugari Sector. Some of the Interahamwe included Twagiramungu Zachée a teacher at Nyamure Primary School, Erikani who was a teacher at Gisasa Primary School and Sinzinkayo Sosthène who stayed in Ruyenzi.

Later, on 4/5/1994, the attackers came back to kill those who had survived. It was composed of gendarms, Police officers and interahamwe. They found that a few survived Tutsi had regrouped and they killed them again with guns and traditional weapons. A few survivors fled to the nearby forests and bushes.

In all, more than 30,000 Tutsi were killed at Karama Hill leaving their bodies lying around because they were so many to be buried and some were thrown in the trenches.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nyundo Catholic Church and its surroundings, Rubavu

From 1990 to April 1994, Tutsi of Nyundo area were not living harmoniously, some were arrested and imprisoned as accomplices of Inkotanyi. In 1991, Tutsi who lived in the former Kanama Commune started to be persecuted and later took refuge at *Petit Seminaire de Nyundo* and at the Brothers' Center called *Frères de l'Instruction Chretienne*. In 1992 the number of refugees continued to increase, the Bishop of Nyundo Diocese Karibushi Wenceslas received many Bagogwe and housed them for 3 years because until 1994 he was still living with them. In the meantime, some of their houses were burnt down, others were demolished, their cows eaten and when they returned home the Bishop helped them to rebuild.

In 1994, when the genocide against the Tutsi started on April 7, those who had fled to *Petit Seminaire de Nyundo* were killed that day. Survivors immediately joined others at the Diocese on April 8 and they spent the whole day fighting with Interahamwe using stones and pieces of tiles.

On the morning of April 9, 1994, the Prefect of Gisenyi Prefecture, came and took foreign priests from Nyundo Diocese. Afterwards, Col. Nsengiyumva Anatole came and asked the Tutsi: " *Are you angry that you want to fight?*" and Father Fabian said to him, " *What can we use to fight sir? Do you see any weapon with us?*" Immediately attackers who included soldiers and gendarmes with guns, grenades and traditional weapons entered the Church and killed Tutsi in the Church and Tutsi Priests including Father Aloys Nzaramba, Father Ferdinand Karekezi, Father Callixte Kalisa, Father Adrien Nzanana, Father Edouard Gakwandi and Father Clement Kanyabusozo.

There were also Sisters including Sister Yuliana, Sister Giovani, Sister Vianney, Sister Laetitia, Sister Candida and others. The survivors of the attack stayed there because they could not find a place at which to flee.

On May 1, 1994 they were killed even though they had started to hope they would survive as the ICRC had started discussing with them how to get them to Goma. Prior to the May 1, 1994 massacre, Interahamwe campaigned for those hiding in the bushes, houses and other places and told them to join others at Nyundo where they would be protected. Many heard the news and moved to Nyundo Diocese in big numbers. There were also those who came from Kivumu in Nyamyumba and elsewhere.

It was on 27/04/1994 that the ICRC had brought food and all those who had remained in hiding came out to get food as they thought the massacre had finished. Some of the refugees were educated and whenever they wanted to explain to the ICRC staff in foreign languages about their grief, the Prefect immediately would take the floor and shout them up.

On 1st May, 1994, at around 4pm, the attack of Interahamwe from Nyabihu, Kibirira, including the so-called "*Abanyakiganda*" came in two full Daihatsu belonging to Nyabihu Tea Factory. There were also local Interahamwe from Muhira, Mahoko, Rubumbati and elsewhere. The killings were initiated so that the ICRC would not take them to Congo before they would be killed. The first person who got shot that evening was a Mugogwe man called Serushyana, popularly known as the *Konseye* and was the leader of the refugees.

About 1,000 people were killed that night. Those who managed to survive were young people who jumped to the bushes around the church. Others survivors were the ones in the church who were piled up under the corpses and managed to come out at night because all the murderers and gendarms had already gone.

The massacre of Tutsi at Nyundo Diocese was carried out by soldiers from Gisenyi and gendarmes who lived in Nyundo since 1991, Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi of CDR. They were killed by grenades thrown in the Church and traditional weapons.

The most prominent in the killing of Tutsi at Nyundo were the following:

- The interim Prefect of Gisenyi Prefecture;
- Col. Nsengiyumva Anatole;
- Major Biganiro who commanded the Gendarms in Gisenyi;
- Lt Bizumuremyi Jean Berchmas alias Rutuku ;
- S/Lt Dusabeyezu Eustache;
- Nzabonimpa Marius who was the Bourgmestre of Kanama Commune;
- Nkundabanyanga Fidèle who was a medical assistant;
- Kabiligi Stanislas who was Councilor of Muhira Sector;
- Mpozembizi Marc who was the Bourgmestre of Rubavu Commune;
- Father Nturiye Edouard alias Simba and many others.

2.26. MAY 2, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER KIGALI CITY

Attempted assassination of Tutsi refugees at the Hôtel des Mille Collines in Kigali

On May 2, 1994, the government of the killers planned to massacre the Tutsi who had taken refuge at *Hôtel des Mille Collines* in Kigali. During the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi, some refugees, mainly the Tutsi took refuge at the Hotel des Mille Collines where they continued to pay Paul Rusesabagina to be able to be accommodated.

On May 2, 1994 the government of the killers wanted to massacre them but the French press, as well as the intervention of Dr Bernard Kouchner the former French Minister prevented the massacre disseminating the news in France, at the same time, the French Civil Society denounced this massacre, which obliged Mitterand to advise the Rwandan genocidal government not to kill these refugees for fear of international reactions.

The journalist Vincent Hugueux of the newspaper L'Express wrote on June 2, 1994 that on May 2, 1994, person in charge of Africa at the French presidency, Bruno Delaye told General Augustin Bizimungu the Rwandan chief of staff that if they kill the refugees from the *Hôtel des Mille Collines* that would give a bad image at

the international level, and consequently France would have difficulty continuing to assist Rwanda.

Another newspaper *Billets d'Afrique* published by the NGO Survie in France, confirmed this information in its number 31 published in February 1996. Another French newspaper, *Liberation*, of May 25, 1994 wrote that the genocidal government had placed its agents at the *Hôtel des Mille Collines* to monitor refugees.

Among the killers who frequently came to the Hôtel des Mille Collines was Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, heavily involved in massacres of Tutsi at Sainte Famille Church located not far from Hôtel des Mille Collines.

Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka participated in the massacre of Tutsi at the Sainte Famille Church and its surroundings

Several witnesses affirm that on various dates between April 8 and the first week of July 1994, at the Sainte Famille Parish, at Saint Paul Church and at CELA in Kigali, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka participated in meetings held to organize the massacres and kidnappings of Tutsi civilians with Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho, Odette Nyirabagenzi, Angeline Mukandutiye, Lieutenant Colonel Laurent Munyakazi, other soldiers and Interahamwe. Subsequently, Tutsi civilians who had taken refuge in the Sainte Famille Parish, the Saint Paul Pastoral Center and CELA in Kigali were massacred.

According to survivors of Sainte Famille massacres, on April 13, 1994, within the grounds of the Sainte Famille Parish, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, shot dead a young Tutsi. He also killed two young Tutsi, aged 18 and 20 respectively. The same day he shot a 22-year-old Tutsi girl.

On June 17, 1994, at the Sainte Famille Parish in Kigali, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka incited an Interahamwe to kill a Tutsi girl named Hyacinthe Rwangwa, alias Baby.

Rape and other sexual violence repeated on Tutsi girls

Victims of rape were able to testify that on April 21, 1994, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, at the Sainte Famille Parish, encouraged an Interahamwe to rape a young Tutsi civilian refugee. At the end of June 1994, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, raped a young girl at the Sainte-Famille Parish who herself testified to this rape. Throughout the genocide, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka raped girls he said he was protecting in his room.

Kidnappings followed by assassinations

On April 24, 1994, at the Saint Paul Pastoral Center in Kigali, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka helped Interahamwe, including Léonard Bagabo, to kidnap seven young Tutsi, including Emmanuel Rukundo, journalist, Aristarque Batsinduka, building and public works engineer, and Mazimpaka, student, knowing that these people would be killed. These people were taken to the Rugenge Sector office to be killed.

On June 14, 1994, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, helped soldiers search and identify Tutsi who had found refuge at the Saint Paul Pastoral Center in Kigali, while knowing that they were on the list of people to be killed.

On this occasion, 60 Tutsi civilians, including Antoine Marie, Zacharie Gasarabwe alias Gasindi, Charles Rutsitsi, Emmanuel Nyarwaya, Diogène Rubaduka, Twaha Sebjura and André Kameya, who had been identified by Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, were kidnapped by the attackers and killed.

Justification of the genocide and Negationism

On August 2, 1994, Wenceslas Munyeshyaka signed with 28 other Rwandan priests in Goma a negationist document sent to Pope John Paul II in which they justified the Genocide committed against the Tutsi and putting the responsibility for the killings on the RPF, thus exonerating the real perpetrators of the genocide. This document deeply shocked all international opinion.

The ambiguities of French justice about Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka crimes

France has always refused to try Wenceslas Munyeshyaka. Multiple warning signs have shown for almost twenty years that France did not want to try Wenceslas Munyeshyaka for the crimes he committed in Rwanda.

Indeed, it was on July 25, 1995 that information was opened against Munyeshyaka by the investigating judge of Privas (France) for "*genocide, crimes against humanity and participation in a group formed or in an agreement established in with a view to the preparation of these crimes on the basis of the principle of universal jurisdiction provided for in the New York Convention of 1984 against torture*".

After multiple signs of refusal to try Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, France has been condemned by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) for non-respect of the fair trial, in particular the non respect of the reasonable time. (ECHR, Yvonne Mutimura against France, judgment June 8, 2004).

On June 21, 2007, the ICTR issued arrest warrants against Wenceslas Munyeshyaka. Munyeshyaka's indictment has been under seal since 2005. At the insistence of France, we do not know legitimate reasons behind. On 20 November 2007, the ICTR relinquished the benefit of French justice of the proceedings against Munyeshyaka.

Countless rogatory letters have been conducted in Rwanda to hear nearly seventy witnesses and gather evidence to support the accusation. It is incomprehensible that the Paris Prosecutor's Office considers them unfounded when the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda had considered them serious and justifying the indictment of Wenceslas Munyeshyaka. The prosecution requested that Wenceslas Munyeshyaka not be returned to the assizes, which was confirmed by the investigating judges.

However, overwhelming testimony from survivors of the genocide, and even testimony from the genocidaires, is unanimous to confirm that Wenceslas Munyeshyaka himself committed or helped to commit mass killings and rapes on Tutsi refugees from the Sainte Famille Church and Saint Paul. These facts were confirmed by the Rwandan justice which found the guilt of Wenceslas Munyeshyaka and sentenced him in absentia to life imprisonment in the same trial as the late general Laurent Munyakazi.

The position of French justice therefore raises many questions as to the importance it attaches to the genocide committed against the Tutsi. A dismissal for a person like Wenceslas Munyeshyaka whose role in the genocide was demonstrated during several rogatory letters can only confirm the apprehensions of survivors that France does not want to judge the brains of the genocide.

This attitude can be explained, moreover, by knowing that the government of François Mitterrand helped and participated in the planning and execution of the Genocide committed against the Tutsi between October 1, 1990 and July 1994.

2.27. MAY 3, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER CYANGUGU AND BUTARE PREFECTURES

Massacre of Tutsi at ADEPR Church Gihundwe, Rusizi

ADEPR Gihundwe is now built in Rusizi District, Gihundwe Sector, where the ADEPR Church was originated in Rwanda. When the genocide started on April 7, 1994, many Tutsi from the former Cyimbogo Commune i.e. Nyakanyinya,

Mutimasi, Murangi, Ruganda and few from Kamembe took refuge at ADPER Gihundwe and in Groupe Scolaire Gihundwe.

They started to flee to Gihundwe on April 14, 1994 around 3pm, however the church authorities had initially refused to allow them to enter the church, but when it was late night, they were allowed to enter. The next day the Interahamwe came and killed one Tutsi and left. Tutsi then realized that the situation was difficult.

After learning that Tutsi had taken refuge in ADEPR Gihundwe and Groupe Scolaire Gihundwe, Prefect Bagambiki Emmanuel of Cyangugu, came and asked them to go to Kamarampaka Stadium because they would be kept safe, but they refused because they knew his cruelty.

On May 3rd, 1994 around 10am, 3 students who originated from the war zone whose parents were brought to Nyacyonga as refugees and they were led by a young student who was also accused of committing genocide all over Rusizi. They called upon soldiers and gendarms and when they arrived they gathered Tutsi who had taken refuge there and killed them in the student's kitchen using guns and grenades. Those who managed to survive fled around the Stadium and elsewhere.

The group of killers was coordinated by: Prefet Bagambiki Emmanuel, Sous-prefet Theodore Munyangabe and François Nzeyimana, Lieutenant Samuel Imanishimwe, Christophe Nyandwi, Elysée Bisengimana, Pastor Nsanzurwimo Joseph and his son Nsanzurwimo Jean, Tomson Mubiligi, Bareberaho Bantari Ripa, Pastor Remesha Simeon Ruhire Murwanashyaka, Pastor Seromba, Ndorimana Paul (Cyangugu prosecutor) and others.

Massacre of Tutsi at Ibambiro, Nyanza

Bambiro is in the former Butare Prefecture, Muyira Commune, Matara Sector, Rugunga Cell currently in Nyanza District, Kibilizi Sector, Cyeru Cell, Rutete Village. From April 7, 1994 when the Genocide against the Tutsi started in the country, it did not start immediately in Bambiro. They first took time to sensitize and mobilize people to kill.

The Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi started on April 19, 1994 after the speech of Sindikubwabo in Butare where he said that people were acting as if killing did not concern them. Tutsi started to be hunted down, killed, their houses burned, destroyed and looted. They immediately started to disperse, scattered, hiding and fleeing because they had been abandoned by the neighbors. The hunt for Tutsi continued, but in the midst, killers reassured them that women and children, especially girls would not be killed and that they will be protected at

Bambiro. As a result, those who were hiding went to Bambiro and some of the boys were dressed like girls to hide their real gender.

While they fled to Bambiro, they thought that they will be protected, and that belief made everyone to go there and as of May 1, 1994, their number was increased to more than 454 women and children. During those days at Bambiro, the killers would come and pick those they wanted and go to torture, rape and kill them afterwards. They had realized that their plan to gather women and children at Bambiro had succeeded and then they had to plot their assassination on May 3rd.

On 3/5/1994, killers came with traditional weapons of all kinds, wearing banana leaves, whistling, and surrounded Bambiro and started to kill them. They first harassed the parents, stripped their clothes off, raping them, torturing them with bad words like: (your arrogance, your insolence, your pride, ...) and after that they chopped them and threw them in the toilet while some of them were still alive. They killed them after putting them into age categories: children, teenagers, adult girls, adult women and older women last.

They killed them the entire day but before that, they first killed the old man Denis Nzaramba who was a very old man that they had left saying that he will serve as an example of who a “Tutsi” looked like after killing all others. They started by killing him and threw him in the toilet saying that he will cure them the misfortune of shedding blood of Tutsi women and children. He was the only man killed there.

When they saw Interahamwe wearing banana leaves, armed with traditional weapons and whistling, they were very terrified and some tried to escape but killers chased and killed some while bringing back others. Others who were less active stayed there and only believed in a prayer. Hence, they were killed and died silently like sheep as they had been used to the torture.

Those involved in the killings were:

- Safari Jean Bosco was a school inspector in Ntyazo Commune and was the son of a prominent businessman called Mubirigi Athanase who had introduced MDR in the area and later became MDR Power supporter. He always attended Bandora’s trainings in Ruhuha on how they would commit Genocide. He was arrested and served his sentence but when he got out of prison, he fled to Malawi to join his relatives;
- Kagenza Jean Nepomuscene who was also a prominent businessman, led the attacks;
- Ruduri Félicien was also a businessman and played a key role in the massacre;

- Hanyurwimfura Antoine was the nephew of Sindikubwabo Theodore and was a cleaner at Nyamiyaga court. He took part in all the attacks especially that of Muyira;
- Mirenzo and his sons (Burundian refugees) were very active in the killings;
- Ndolikimpa Aphrodice, the former brigadier of Ntyazo Commune;
- Ntabuye Sylvain was a teacher at the CERAI, he had just completed school and would come to choose girls that he wanted to rape and also participated in Bandora's trainings at Ruhuha in Bugesera;
- Nomani, Interahamwe from Bugesera had fled Inkotanyi and was with other Interahamwe with whom they came together from Bugesera;
- Gashushure Ernest, a teacher who used a loudspeaker to confuse Tutsi that peace was restored and that they should come out;
- Rugwizangoga; Bazindyiki Antoine and many others.
- There was also a young boy called Montfort, a grandson of Rutare, who raped children of his age and killed them after. He was imprisoned and later released as he was a minor of 10 years when he committed the crimes.

2.28. MAY 5, 1994: THE GENOCIDAL GOVERNMENT PUT MORE EFFORTS IN ACCELERATING GENOCIDE WHERE TUTSI WERE NOT YET KILLED AND MASSACRE OF TUTSI AT SOVU MONASTERY

RTLTM declared that the killing of the remaining Tutsi should be accelerated

On May 5, 1994, Radio RTLTM broadcasted a series of messages and speeches urging all Hutu Power leaders, political, military, gendarmery, Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi to speed up their efforts to kill Tutsi wherever they were. The radio message was followed by Simon Bikindi's songs aimed at stirring the minds of killers. RTLTM reporters also broadcasted messages from all over the country about the status of killings and acknowledging the work being done by killers through killing the so called accomplices of the enemy i.e. Tutsi. The most popular journalists were Noël Hitimana, Habimana Kantano, Valerie Bemeriki and Gaspard Gahigi in Kinyarwanda language. As for French language, RTLTM journalists who mobilized for speedy extermination of Tutsi were Emmanuel Nkomati, Philippe Mbirizi, Joel Hakizimana and Georges Ruggiu.

RTLTM was reinforced by Radio Rwanda during the programme of Jean Baptiste Bamwanga and in various messages delivered by extremist journalists of Radio

Rwanda including Froduald Ntawulikura, Augustin Hatari, Phocas Fashaho, Robert Simba and others.

On the same day, Human Rights Watch issued a statement denouncing RTLM's radio programmes calling for the immediate extermination of Tutsi across the country.

The Superior Sister of Sovu Monastery, Sister Gertrude Mukangango caused the death of Tutsi who had survived the massacre of April 22 and 25, 1994 at Sovu Monastery

The Monastery of the Benedictine Sisters is located in Huye District, at Sovu. As of April 17, 1994, more than 10,000 Tutsi had taken refuge in various houses of the Monastery, including the clinic and they were killed in various groupings.

From April 22, 1994, Tutsi refugees at Sovu were attacked three times. The Interahamwe first attacked those who had taken refuge at the health center and they fled into its garage. Interahamwe decided to burn them alive in the garage. Sister Gertrude (Consolata Mukangango) and Sister Kizito (Julienne Mukabutera) who were 42 and 36 years in 1994 respectively, brought two jerrycans of fuel. Sister Kizito poured the fuel in front of the garage and set it on fire. About 7,000 people died that day. Sister Kizito had their list and then she checked if all of them were dead.

On April 25, 1994, the leader of Interahamwe from Sovu, Emmanuel Rekeraho, his deputy Gaspard Rusanganwa alias Nyiramatwi and other Interahamwe militia, returned at the Monastery to kill the remaining Tutsi who were hiding inside the Monastery. Sister Gertrude and Sister Kizito spoke to Rekeraho and told him to help them get rid of the refugees because they no longer had food for them. The refugees begged but Sister Gertrude instructed to kill them. Interahamwe killed approximately 1,000 people that day. Only about 30 people relatives of Tutsi Sisters remained in the Monastery. Sister Gertrude put a lot of pressure on her fellow Sisters and ordered them to get rid of their relatives if not they would all be killed together, but Sisters refused.

On May 5, 1994, Sister Gertrude wrote a letter to the Bourgmestre of Huye Commune, Jonathan Ruremesha, urging him to come and expel the refugees. The letter looked like this:

Subject: Appeal to the authorities

Mr. Bourgmestre of Huye Commune, BUTARE

Mr. Bourgmestre,

In recent weeks, some people have come to the Sovu Monastery as regular visitors for less than a week, most of them on official missions, while others had come to rest or pray.

After the war that has ravaged the country started, there have been others who have come unexpectedly and they do not want to leave. In addition, we don't have enough resources to support them. I have been asking for days for the communal authorities to come and order them to go back home, or go elsewhere they want to live, because here in the Monastery we do not have any resources left.

I strongly request you Mr. Bourgmestre, to please help us on the matter not later than 6/5/1994, so that we can resume the usual work of the Monastery without any disturbance. We pray to God to protect you.

Head of Sovu Monastery. Soeur Gertrude Consolata MUKANGAGO (signature)"

On May 6, 1994, Bourgmestre Ruremesha brought police officers and Interahamwe to kill the Tutsi refugees who were the only left at Sovu Monastery. Hence, they were killed on the day that Sister Gertrude had asked the Bourgmestre Ruremesha to take them away so that the Monastery could continue its work.

Sister Gertrude's trial took place in Belgium in 2001 and disclosed that she is the one who went to show Interahamwe the rooms where the Tutsi were hiding in the Monastery.

Among the Tutsi killed in Sovu were many from *Abaha* tribe who lived near the Monastery. All of them were massacred with their families and many were employees of the Sovu Monastery for many years.

Some of the killers who assisted the Sisters Gerturde and Kizito in the Sovu massacre include:

Adjutant Emmanuel Rekeraho, Joseph Habyarimana who fled to France, Gaspard Rusanganwa alias Nyiramatwi, Innocent Nyundo, Pierre Rushyana, Jean Maniraho, Etienne Rugombyumugabo, Theoneste Kagina, Joseph Bizimana who was the brigadier of Huye Commune and their high-ranking leader was Bourgmestre Jonathan Ruremesha.

Sister Gertrude was sentenced to 15 years in prison in Belgium while Sister Kizito was sentenced to 12 years in prison. After their sentence, they are now released and live in Maredret Monastery, Belgium.

After serving her sentence, Sister Gertrude launched an attack on genocide survivors who testified against her during the trial

After release, Sister Gertrude returned to the Benedictine Monastery at Maredret, near Namur City in Belgium. With the support of a French journalist Jerome Castaldi, Sister Gertrude wrote a book entitled: *(Rwanda 1994. La parole de Soeur Gertrude*; slightly translated as: *Rwanda 1994. Sister Gertrude's opinion*) in 2018. This book demeans the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi, criticizes the justice system and strongly targets genocide survivors who have shown her involvement in the Genocide at Sovu, including her fellow Sisters of Sovu Monastery who testified against her.

Sister Gertrude's misconduct has been widely judged by many including her fellow colleagues. One of them, Kayitesi Bernadette, who lived with Sister Gertrude at Sovu Monastery, after reading the above mentioned book; she wrote a testimony containing the truth of genocide history in general and the role of Sister Gertrude in the massacre of Tutsi who had taken refuge in Sovu particularly, which should not be hidden.

Some of the statements from the testimony of Kayitesi Bernadette written on 05/12/2019 are the following:

"Sister Gertrude,

Let me tell you something about a book you wrote. It is unfortunate that after nearly 7 years in prison you have not changed a bit. There is a Rwandan saying which goes like: "Be kind to everyone and the future will pay you back". Stop lying to God and people, stop lying to the world. Let's look back at what happened in Sovu. The refugees started arriving on April 17, 1994, remember that Laurent Ntezimana brought many rice bags to feed refugees and you chose to lock them inside to starve refugees; also, remember the rain of April 20, 1994 when you refused to open for them for shelter. Sister Schola searched for the keys and opened for them but after you quarreled with her; Sister Mechtilde wept extremely and said that God will hold us accountable of our actions, subsequently, that is what you were held accountable for in court in 2001. If you call yourself innocent, where did the fuel that was used to burn people who had taken refuge in the health center come from? During the trial, women from the village claimed that it was

you who brought the fuel, and Sister Kizito lit a match to burn innocent people, and Interahamwe clapped for you saying that their Sisters had helped them.

Remember the screams and cries of SOVU, when the noise of bullets, grenades was the song and when people begged to be shot but it was not possible, when they were cut with axes and machetes; have you ever asked members of the Monastery what to do? On the morning of April 23, 1994, you told us to flee and that no one would show ID to interahamwe, and when we reached the roadblock, you were the first to show your ID to Interahamwe but God forbid no one else was asked for ID; we continued to Ngoma and 2 days after we wanted to return, remember how you talked with the soldiers for about two (2) hours and everyone was terrified.

Remember when we returned to Sovu on April 25, 1994, REKERAHO who was the chef of Interahamwe held a meeting with us in the Hotel Hall. Here is what he said: These people who took refuge in the Monastery, hide them in the ceiling or in the cave because no one in Sovu is asking me about them and they are not the ones who will restore the Tutsi regime. After saying this, he added: "What will convince you is that I will not return to see them." Why didn't you write about it in your book?

That night of the 25th April, 1994, you told me: Tell your brothers to get out and go to sleep among the corpses so that the car which will carry the corpses would throw them in the pit and they will get out and go. Are these really the words of a godly person? We continued to live such life until 06/05/1994.

After the morning prayer, you made the following bad statement: The Sisters who have their relatives with them, I urge you to discharge them when it is still possible, otherwise we will seek out authorities' power to do so. You did so and you caused death to about 25 people. I remember my two older brothers Gatete Deo and Placide Seth. I remember the father of Sister Fortunata, her mother and her sister. I remember Regine's dad and mom. I remember Chantal and her son Chrispin. I remember Aima Marie and her four children. I remember Candari the younger Sister of Sister Therese Mukarubibi. I remember the father of Sister Bernadette Nyirandamutsa her brother and young Sister. May God grant them all eternal rest. Why didn't you repeat the words that you said in the Church in your book?

You wrote that when you got to the prison you cried a lot, so how much do you think we cried when we saw our relatives taken outside to be killed? In Sovu we had some very wicked Sisters including Sister Gertrude and Sister Kizito, but we also had some very nice Sisters who were held accountable for what the two were doing. For example, Sister Liberatha and Sister Merchtilde were not among those

to be killed but you could see their suffering caused by what was happening. Sister Liberatha hid people in the ceiling and gave them water and food but when Sister Gertrude found out, she released them and they were killed.

I remember Sister Ermelinda, she was a good nun who prayed a lot and God would reveal her what will happen in the future through prayers. The Bishop had given her permission to keep the Holy Sacrament in her room.

Remember the pathway we took to escape to Central Africa and the article you wrote entitled: “Après les machetes le Ciel sera bon” literally translated as: “After the machetes, Heaven will be good”. I read what you wrote, it is all a lie! you have said: We sat with the nuns and talked about what happened and apologized, then embraced and now we live in harmony. Did that really happen? If so, where did it happen? If that had happened, then we would not be going to the courts in Belgium.

We fled until Maredret Monastery, the founder of SOVU Monastery. You never let us rest, but you chose to scatter the Sisters in various monasteries, so that you would wipe away the evidence, so that what you did with Sister KIZITO would not be known. But God did not approve of it, after eliminating all older nuns and staying with the young ones, you used them to document the good you did during the genocide with the help of Mother Aloys, a German. You wrote down all your wishes and took the document to the Belgian Court. What you ordered young nuns and Mother Aloys to write, was the same that witnessed against you in 2001 Court proceedings.

Remember when the judge asked you what you were up to while you wrote down the good you did and yet no one had asked you about it and you couldn't answer. I remember when Sister Domitilla was asked if she had written what she signed for, to which she replied: I told them in Kinyarwanda and may be they added their version and make us sign. Mother Aloys and Sister Gertrude were the writers. So, if you say that you are innocent, why have you prepared such documents.

Second: When the nuns returned back to Rwanda and you stayed with Sister Kizito alone, why didn't you come back if you had nothing to feel guilt for? Sister Domitilla's testimony was true and could have been a reason to dismiss her because she was among young nuns.

Still on court proceedings, I remember the testimony of Sister Solange who testified about the child who hid in your purple coule (nun's dress) and you threw him to the Interahamwe. We still remember that child but Sister Solange was the one who made it clear in Court.

Do you remember when I begged you to come back home and you told me that it was not possible and added that the current Government would never be endorsed? I wish you could come to Rwanda and see how far our President is taking the country! He is currently receiving various medals for good governance

and you are still in the early 1994s, you and those who acquit you including Father Linguyenzeza Venuste who never came to Sovu during the Genocide; what is the basis for his acquittal towards you?

So let me tell you the truth, the article that you wrote in Bangui, Central Africa (Après les machetes le Ciel sera bon) and the sale of the Monastery while members knew nothing about it are among the reasons why we decided to return to Rwanda to liberate SOVU. Sister Schola and Marie Bernard, who were in the council, were elected by the Council to go back and tell the truth because the truth always come out.

When we wanted to go home you refused to pay for the plane ticket, but you forgot that God could make ways where seems to be no way. When we arrived at Bishop Gahamanyi's house, we found a fax that you had sent him asking him not to receive us, and he replied: Who is this nun who asks the Bishop to commit cruelty in his home? Did you think that we decided to return without talking to him? We also had a letter confirming that he would accommodate us and help us to liberate Sovu. Indeed, he did so in collaboration with Bishop Mubirigi Felicien. We thank them for all they did for us and may God grant them eternal rest.

While we were at Bishop Gahamanyi's home, God revealed a great sign to us. We saw your letter of January 1996 delivering our people to be killed. That letter became an indelible mark and led to your trial in Belgium in 2001. And after all that you dare to call yourself innocent! Never forget that when Schola and Marie Bernard wanted to liberate Sovu, you wanted to completely destroy it and move it to Marone in Belgium. The Sovu Sisters are heroes who refused to stay with you and chose to return to their Motherland.

Once it was becoming hard for you, you send Father Comblin to convince us not to say the truth; it would not be possible because we would be silent over the blood of our people. Here's how I talked to Father Comblin: You have to do your best so that Sister Gertrude does not get imprisoned, because it would be a disgrace for the church. I replied, "What do you say about the dead? You are only concerned with someone who might be imprisoned, why didn't you condemn the Genocide against the Tutsi?" Why didn't you at least condemn it in writings? Then he replied: it is not us who killed them. And I said to him: Yes, it was not you but they were also created in the image of God and there is nothing more scandalous than chopping christians in the church or destroying it over them. We were not able to agree on the issues.

Let me conclude by thanking the Sisters of Sovu for not wanting to rebuild their community over a lie. I am a witness to this because I have followed what they told the Court.

I conclude by thanking everyone who played small or big role in bringing SOVU back to life. I thank Mrs. Nowork for the good work she has done for us and God will bless her seven times. I thank Bishop Gahamanyi so much, he hosted us for the whole year, may God give him eternal rest. I am very grateful to the Head of State, His Excellency Paul KAGAME, and all those who worked together to liberate the country because if they did not sacrifice, no one would have survived. May God continue to guide him in everything he does”.

Done at Kigali on 05/12/2019

KAYITESI Bernadette (Signature).

2.29. MAY 6, 1994: INTERAHAMWE WERE MOBILISED TO CONTINUE THE GENOCIDE AND THE UN ABANDONED TUTSI WHO WERE BEING MASSACRED

The criminal government continued to kill and mobilize Interahamwe to accelerate the killings

The Prime Minister Jean Kambanda spoke on Radio Rwanda urging the Interahamwe to accelerate the killings. “*We have men, ammunitions, a united government, a united army and we have to win. Everyone must be armed; it is the government’s priority to ensure there are enough weapons even if this prevents the importation of other goods*”. Jean Kambanda speaking from Kibuye. On this date, Radio Rwanda rebroadcasted the full speech of May 3rd, 1994 by Jean Kambanda at Kibuye which requested the acceleration of genocide in the country and kibuye particularly.

The UN Security Council has renounced its mandate to maintain peace and to assist the victims during the Genocide

On May 6, 1994, UN non permanent member states, Spain, New Zealand, Argentina, and the Czech Republic proposed a plan to strengthen military presence in Rwanda. However, some countries with a permanent seat in the UN Security Council rejected the idea but suggested that Rwanda's problems should be deliberated by the African Union Organisation (OAU). The Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Ghali, wrote to the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who was supposed to be the president of the organization.

Mubarak wrote to the OUA Secretary General, Salim Salim, and requested that African countries should find troops to send to Rwanda. Salim Salim told President Mubarak that Africa could not cope with the kind of massacres which was in Rwanda, rather the United Nations had the power to use political force and seek necessary support for action in Rwanda. He added that whenever such problems arose, the proposed method was used to solve them.

The ICRC criticized the behavior of international community for abandoning Rwanda and decided to help refugees where possible

During the first week of May, ICRC personnel from Kigali, Byumba, Gisenyi, Kabgayi and Kibungo tried to take care of the injured and patients who had been threatened by Interahamwe and soldiers.

The head of ICRC, Cornelio Sommaruga, spoke to Philippe Gaillard, who represented ICRC in Rwanda. He published an article in the International Herald Tribune denouncing media and governments that did not report on the massacre of Tutsi, saying that all countries were implicated.

Gaillard sent an assistance to about 30,000 refugees who had fled the massacre in Gitarama, but they were, surrounded by Interahamwe who were about to kill them. Refugees were provided with basic support. The Interahamwe continued to kidnap and kill some of the refugees, as well as raping women.

2.30. MAY 07, 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER GIKONGORO AND GITARAMA PREFECTURES

Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci Tutsi students in Kibeho were first protected by gendarmes

As the Tutsi population started to flee to Kibeho Church on April 8, 1994, students of *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci* started to wonder what had happened. They only got informed from April 10, 11 and 14, 1994 when Tutsi who had taken refuge at Kibeho Church got killed and they knew that their fate was equally dangerous. Since then, authorities sent gendarmes at the school to protect them. However, the Principal, Father Uwayezu Emmanuel has been meeting with teachers including Fatikaramu Hormisdas, Kayigamba François Xavier and some Hutu students who had left the campus at night to meet the Bourgmestre Nyiridandi Charles to plot for the killing of Tutsi students.

During the night of April 30, 1994, Hutu students started to speculate that Tutsi were about to be killed. On May 1, 1994, ten Tutsi students (9 boys and one girl) discovered the plan and decided to flee to Burundi that night. When the news broke that they had gone, gendarmes surrounded the school so that no one could escape.

Tutsi students tried to flee to Burundi but were banned

On May 2, 1994, Father Uwayezu Emmanuel held a meeting and told the students that fleeing was useless and that the Tutsi who fled at night were killed at *Akavuguto* River and that their bodies were being used to block roads. From then, none of the remaining Tutsi tried to flee again.

With the aim of stirring up students' minds and spreading hatred among them, on May 4, Tutsi were falsely accused of poisoning porridge to kill Hutu. Hutu students organised riots and used whistles and refused to eat porridge saying that it was poisoned by Tutsi and that they were leaving the school for the latter. Hutu students immediately rushed to another school on the opposite side of theirs, Collège des Lettres (currently *Mère du Verbe*), hence, their long time plan was fulfilled because, Tutsi were left alone at *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci*, while Hutu had left.

Father Uwayezu and some gendarmes followed Hutu students to persuade them to return to Marie Merci school because their belongings were still there. Hutu students agreed that they would return if there was no Tutsi student left at *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci*. Tutsi students were taken to *Ecole des Lettres*, while Hutu returned to *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci*. When Tutsi students arrived at the Collège des Lettres, the nun who was running the school Pierre de Vérone, refused to give them dormitories and put them in refectory where they slept on the floor without food or beddings.

School authorities betrayed Tutsi students

That situation could have caused Tutsi to flee and considering the information they had from outside. However, on May 4, 1994 the principal of the school, Father Uwayezu Emmanuel, and gendarms used a so-called consolation meeting to comfort them but in fact it was to blindfold them so that no one would think of escaping. Also present at the meeting were the former Prefect of Gikongoro Prefecture, Bucyibaruta Laurent, the Sous prefet of the Munini Sous prefecture, Biniga Damien, Bishop Misago Augustin of Gikongoro Diocese, the Bourgmestre of Rwamiko Commune Silas Munyurangabo, the Bourgmestre of Mubuga Commune Nyiridandi Charles, the Commander in Chief of Mubuga gendarmery, S/Lt Hitimana Anaclet, and other officials from the prefecture, Mubuga and Rwamiko Communes.

The prefect asked the student representative to express their problems. The latter explained that apart from fearing to be killed as they were always told, they were concerned by the fact that they are far from their families and they were not even sure that their relatives were still alive. The student representative added that if leaders chose for them to live they would live, and if they chose to let them die they would be killed. According to survivors from the school, Bishop Misago and Prefect Bucyibaruta told Tutsi students that the reason why Hutu chose to separate from them was that they no longer trusted Tutsi because the latter spent nights listening to Inkotanyi songs on Radio Muhabura, and that they could poison them.

Interahamwe militias from different parts of the country killed Tutsi students

On May 7, 1994, between 11am and 12, Interahamwe from various parts of the country including Rwamiko, Mubuga, Ndago and elsewhere attacked the students with various weapons and started killing them. Those who managed to escape were hunted by dogs and they discovered some of them who were seen by their Hutu colleagues while hiding.

Interahamwe wore dried and green banana leaves while all Hutu students from the *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci* wore red scarves so that anyone who might confuse them could easily identify Tutsi to kill. Hutu students themselves had weapons and used them to kill some of their classmates and tortured them. They first asked those who were about to be killed to kill each other and the one who kills others would not be killed. They first took off clothes of those whom they wanted to kill. They looted and hunted down fellow students who had been hiding in different places. They discovered some Tutsi who had taken refuge in the ceiling including Elias and Fidèle Castro from Ruhango. The latter was tortured to death by burying him alive and leaving his head outside the hole and killing him later. The victims of *Ecole des Lettres* were thrown into a pit behind the chapel.

Officials who were directly or indirectly involved in the killings

Father Uwayezu Emmanuel who was the Director of *Groupe Scolaire Marie Merci* lives in Italy and he changed his name to Emmanuel Mihigo Wayezu. The Prefect of Gikongoro Bucyibaruta Laurent, fled to France and he was initially prosecuted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and his case file was transferred to France, but he has not yet been brought to justice. There was also Biniga Damien, Munini Sous prefet, Hitimana Anaclet, in charge of Gendarmery in Mubuga, Bakundukize Innocent, who was the plantation manager in Mata Tea Factory and Nyilidandi Charles, the Bourgmestre of Mubuga Commune.

Additionally, there were Ndabalinze Juvénal, the director of Mata Tea Factory, Mutazihana Nathanael, the director of Kibeho Health Center, Kayigamba Francois, the director of studies, Karekezi Fabien alias Sagazi, who was the Prefect of Discipline, Fatikaramu Hormisdas, Geography teacher, Seraphine who was the English teacher and Kimbo who worked in the kitchen.

Students who were involved in the killings

Murindangabo Aimable, Byilingiro Theoneste alias Kofi, Harolimana Alexis alias Gifu who was the student representative (doyen), Hakizimana Jean de Dieu alias Rukokoma, Jean-Damascene Nsengiyumva, Misago Venuste, Nakabonye Alexis, Aaron Mundanikure, Michel Mutabazi and Hakizimana J. Damascene alias Gahinda. Uwamahoro Clement (son of Mutazihana Nathanael), Casimir Bizimungu, Butera Christophe, Esperance Nyiranziza, Joseline Byukusenge, Lucien (young brother of the Prefect of Discipline), Nsabimana Sylvestre, Balinda Janvier, Serushema Jean Bosco, Barayagamba Edouard were also involved. Lastly, there were Uwimana Emanuel, Gaudence Uwamahoro, Solange Uwamahoro (daughter of Rubanda), Bimenyimana J. Damascene, Niyirora Melanie, Habinshuti François Xavier, Twahirwa Gerard, Harelimana Gereade, Karerangabo Viateur, Munyarukiko François, Vuguziga Egide, Ndayambaje Eraste and others.

Massacre of Tutsi in Remera, Ngwa and Mpanga Sector

On May 6, 1994, the Bourgmestre of Kigoma Commune, Ugirashebuja Celestin, held a meeting in Remera Sector, Kigoma Commune. It was held at the field where they often call CCF. During the meeting, he said that peace was restored and that every Hutu who hid a Tutsi should let them go back home and register them with the councillor Mushorangabo. After the meeting, many Tutsi came out of hiding thinking that peace had been attained.

On 7/5/1994 very early in the morning, they arrived at 4:00 am, a group of attackers led by Rubagumya François, Silas alias Gahiri, Ngarambe, Gaspard, Esdras, Kanyandekwe and many other murderers from Nyamazi, Mpanga and Kinyinya headed to Rwabuhungu Mathias' house to gather all the Tutsi who were around. They included Mrs. Mukamanzi Costasie, her daughter Kayirangwa Thacienne and they escorted them towards the Adventist church. On the way to the church, the killers went to Bizimana Eustache's house and took Mrs. Kabayiro Marisiyana and her daughter Gasengayire Agnès with her two children to the church where they found Tutsi from a wide clan of *Abazuba* and the Interahamwe killed about 130 Tutsi there. After killing them, the killers continued in *Katiro* at Gasinzigwa Rogatien's house and killed his wife Mukanyarwaya Immaculée and his three children. The killers were sponsored by Gatabazi Philippe, a businessman who packed the tools used to kill the Tutsi in his red van.

The killers continued on their way to Nkinda which was inhabited by Tutsi from *Abagamba* and *Abanyoni* clans. When they arrived in Nkinda, they encountered other killers from all over the hills around Nkinda namely Remera, Mpanga, Nyamazi, Nyakabuye, Rushoka, Mukingo, Gasoro and Gatagara. It was early in the morning, the killers were led by Gakuba who was highly involved in the massacre, including Kamonyo, Gatoya, Frédéric and many others. They started from the home of an old man Athanase and killed 39 Tutsi (none survived here). They continued to the home of old man Rukangarajoro François and killed 36 Tutsi who were present. While some of the killers were killing Tutsi at Rukangarajoro home, others formed an attack to the home of old man Mutuhurana Alex, all present were terrified, each holding a young child in their arms, the Interahamwe surrounded them and lined them up and took them to a scene where they were to be killed. At Rukangarajoro François, there were cries, children crying, others apologizing and saying “*forgive us we will never do it again*”. The killers started killing the Tutsi who were from Mutuhurana, and when they saw that they were many and some of them could escape, they decided to put them in Aloys' house and killing one by one. After killing them, they dumped the bodies in the Aloys' toilet and after filling it other bodies were dumped in François' Toilet.

The killers later went to the house of Munyabitare Etienne and found 18 Tutsi including the old man, his wife Mukamajoro Marguerite, the wife of Munyabitare Bernard called Bamurange Primitiva and their children namely Uwineza César, Umugwaneza Solange, Munyabugingo Aristide, Shumbusho Dominique Régis. Also children of Placide Rucyahana who had fled to Munyabitare's house called Germain Busoro Micomyiza, Olivier Mugisha, John Rutayisire (*bébé*) and killed them near the pit in the back of Munyabitare's house. They killed 16 people, buried 3 alive but 2 of them died instantly, and one child was rescued by a domestic worker. They then took Munyabitare Bernard, who was still hiding on top of the house, when he saw that they had killed his entire family, and he went down and surrendered himself. They went to kill him at the roadblock at *Ikatiro*. Bernard was killed by François, the son of Nkundimandwa (Nyamazi Cell responsible). On Mount Nkinda, they killed about 200 Tutsi and only 4 children and one pregnant mother survived.

On May 7, 1994, the Mukingo killers went to Gatagara, where local killers helped them to kill women and children and throwing them into a pit at Muhiza Modeste's home. Among them were Mukaremera Marie and Alphonsine Mukagatare and their children, namely: Muhiza Omer, Muhiza Clément, Muhiza Roger, Zaninka Rosette (Kiki), Uwera Emmilienne, Muhiza Emery, Umuhire Aimée (Poussette) and Umuhire Jessica. After killing them, the killers objected that “*the Father of the Nation (Habyarimana) had slept over men and had to cover himself with women!*”

On May 7, 1994, Tutsi in Remera were again killed. The strongest attack from Mbaragansa (they were slaughterers of cows in Nyanza) was led by Nzigiymfura Vincent, Sebatware (brother of the bourgmestre Ugirashebuja Célestin) and Antoine Ntare took over Mount Remera wearing banana leaves and many dogs, killing many Tutsi from *Abanyakarama* community including Gihanamusango Joseph, Kayitare Jean, Mugorewera Françoise, Nibarere Laetitia, Kaboyi Habiyakare Clement, Kaboyi Hakuzimana Clémence, Mukamusoni Bertha, Musare Bernard, Umugwaneza Veneranda, Uwimana Claire, Mbonyi Judith, Umurungi Laetitia, Uwineza Assumpta, Mpinganzima Assumpta, Uwirora Benjamin, Habimana Déogratias, Nzigiymfura Martin, Mukarutamu Gaudance, Kabalisa Augustin, Uwimana Immaculée, Mukakabayiza Athanasie, Dadine and Simba.

They also killed the Tutsi of the Gasongantebyi Mudahindurwa Elias family. The old man was the one who had provided residence for Mutwa (Ugirashebuja's father), their homes were opposite one another. The attack was led by Sebatware, and all were found at Gasongantebyi's home where they killed them using a club. Gasongantebyi Mudahindurwa Elias, Nyirankezi Marguerite, Mugorewindekwe Antoinette, Mukakazina Concessa, Uwera Yvonne, Mugisha Yves, Ngabonzima Dieudonné, Mukamusoni Oda, Mukamana Emma Marie, Rwakazina Emmanuel, his wife Mukarugina Immaculée and their children Ngirabanyiginya Dominique, Mudahindwa Narcisse, Ruhanga Sylvestre, Mugiraneza Rwakazina Albert, Umubyeyi Rwakazina Leatitia, Gahaya Rwakazina Basile. After killing them they threw them in the toilet. After a long time, the killers remembered that Mugorewindekwe Antoinette had a heart supporter machine, they came back and took her body out of the toilet, cut it and removing the machine!

Tutsi were killed at the roadblock controlled by Gihana Anicet below Rusanganwa's place: Musonera Augustin, Mukeshimana Athanasie, the wife of Munyankindi Samuel called Marine and their children Mutoni, Belise, and also Christine the wife of Elias Kampayana was killed, Karoli and his wife Grace and their two children, Kampayana's daughter-in-law Umulisa and her son, Bucyana Anaclat, Mushimiyimana, Mugabo. All of these were thrown into a huge pit that Gihobe had dug to make it a toilet.

The perpetrators were Ugirashebuja Celestin who was the bourgmestre of Kigoma Commune, Kagwa André who worked at the Gatagara Disability Center and was in charge of the Department of Rehabilitation for the Disabled, brother Rutihunza Jean Baptiste who was the head of Gatagara Center, brothers of Ugirashebuja Celestin, Mushorangabo was the Councillor of Remera Sector, Nzigiymfura Vincent, Rurangwa was the Councillor of Mpanga Sector, Nzakamwita Japhet was a businessman, Gatabazi Philippe was a businessman and many others.

2.31. ON 7-8 MAY 1994: GENOCIDE AGAINST ORPHANED TUTSI CHILDREN AT VILLAGE D'ENFANTS SOS GIKONGORO

The SOS Gikongoro Center had become a hideout of genocidaires

The SOS center at Gikongoro was run by Venuste Nyombayire from the former Byumba Prefecture. It sheltered some children who were being raised there including Tutsi children. On the night of May 7 to 8, 1994, selected Tutsi orphans were killed. Prior to that date, Venuste Nyombayire was the Deputy Director of the SOS Center in Gikongoro where he had been deployed by the Ministry of local government from Kigali Ngari Prefecture. Nyombayire was brought to Gikongoro to cover for his allegations about his role in the Bugesera massacre where he worked as an official of the former “*Ministère de L'intérieur et du Développement Communal*”, during the March 1992 massacre of Tutsi. He was sent to SOS Gikongoro from “*Ministère de L'intérieur et du Développement Communal*” by Munyangabe Marcel who was the CEO of SOS at national level and was among prominent Interahamwe in Kacyiru.

As soon as he arrived in Gikongoro, Nyombayire did his best to discourage the former director of the center with the aim of replacing him. In order to reach the SOS top leadership position, Venuste Nyombayire harshly attacked the former SOS Gikongoro Director Marc Yirirwahandi, who was a Hutu from opposition party PSD, until he was severely wounded with a grenade on April 8, 1994. Marc Yirirwahandi who was not supporting the genocide plot from PSD (not Hutu power) decided to flee from Gikongoro to his home in Butare, Mbazi Commune. He was wounded by Nsengumuremyi Alphonse, employee of ELECTROGAZ Gikongoro who was a serial killer, following the plot of Nyombayire. After Marc Yirirwahandi escaped, Venuste Nyombayire took over as the Director of SOS, and started to kill whoever he wanted.

Venuste Nyombayire became a member of the extremist group in Gikongoro composed of people from various establishments in Gikongoro Prefecture. Members were mostly Bakiga from Ruhengeri, Gisenyi and Byumba who started planning genocide.

SOS Gikongoro had many spacious buildings in a quiet place, which they thought would be used to host genocide preparation meetings and other activities relating to the preparation of massacres.

The extremist group consisted of Prefect Bucyibaruta Laurent; Sous prefect Froduald Havugimana; Colonel Simba Aloys; Bourgmestre of Nyamagabe Félicien Semakwavu; Ndereyehe Charles Ntahontuye from Ruhengeri who was in charge of

the agricultural development project in Gikongoro – PDAG, before his transfer in ISAR Rubona, currently living in the Netherlands. There were also, Celestin Mutabaruka who headed the agricultural and livestock project in the borders of Crête Zaire Nil - CZN, now living in the UK; Captain Faustin Sebhura who was the Deputy Commander of the Gendarmery in Gikongoro, from Ruhengeri (died); Denis Kamodoka who was in charge of the Mata Tea Factory, from Mutura Commune in Gisenyi, Juvénal Ndabarinze who was in charge of the Kitabi Tea Factory from Nkumba Commune in Ruhengeri; Semigabo Celse who was the Prosecutor at Gikongoro.

Additionally, there was Justin Ayurugari from Ruhengeri, who was in charge of ELECTROGAZ in Gikongoro; Fabien Uwimana who was in charge of investigation, Innocent Tangishaka, worked at Migration office (Immigration and Emigration); Rurangwa Joseph, ran the CPDFP training center were part of the extremist group too.

Furthermore, Damien Biniga, Joseph Ntegeyintwali and Joachim Hategekimana, the Sous prefects of Munini, Karaba and Kaduha Sous prefectures respectively, David Karangwa who was the Registrar of Gikongoro court and others, were members to the group.

The above mentioned gang planned how the Genocide was going to be carried out in Gikongoro Prefecture, and Nyombayire joined the group around 1992.

Massacre of Tutsi orphans at *SOS Village d'Enfants* in Gikongoro

Most staff of SOS Gikongoro were Hutu and some few Tutsi were in the lower positions. On the night of May 7 to 8, 1994, Nyombayire Venuste brought Interahamwe attack in SOS and killed children in collaboration with Kabarere Venantie who was their teacher and has been convicted of genocide crime by Gacaca courts serving her sentence in Nyamagabe Prison. Venuste Nyombayire opened the room in which children were gathered and they immediately killed them. About ten (10) children were killed.

There were also eight (8) children from Kigali, SOS Kacyiru, who were said to have fled the fighting and brought to Gikongoro SOS, six (6) of them were selected as Tutsi and were killed. These children had been selected by Nyombayire and were put in a separate classroom around May 6, 1994, and apparently he knew the plot to kill them in due time.

On the evening of May 7, 1994, Nyombayire selected a 12-year old girl among the orphans and handed her over to Interahamwe called Ruzindana to thank him for killing the children and gave him the right to rape her all night before killing her the next day.

According to testimony from Kabarere Venantie, who was involved in the killing of those children, Ernestine, H  l  ne and Janson are some of the names of the victims she could remember.

Massacre of *SOS Village d'Enfants* Gikongoro Tutsi staff

That night, after the killers had finished killing children, they also killed SOS Tutsi staff who were on duty. That night, a security guard called Nyirimirera was killed, they also attacked his home and killed his wife and four children. Further, they killed a gardener called Ntaganda Pierre. The attackers included Ndiramiye Boniface, Mbigizembishaka Jean, Kanyamanza Damasc  ne, Athanase, Marc and others.

Children and Tutsi staff killed by Interahamwe attack brought by Venuste Nyombayire which consisted of: Munyangoga who was a security guard at ELECTROGAZ Gikongoro, Nsengumuremyi Alphonse who also worked in ELECTROGAZ and one of Interahamwe leaders in Gikongoro, Kanyamanza Jean Damascene, Habarurema Fid  le, Kakira Ildephonse and Habineza Alias Mapendu. There were also Rusatsi Juv  nal, Anastase alias Ruhabana, Gasana, son of Nyamwasa, Nyamuhene Vianney, Gasimba Fran  ois son of Nyarugwe, Ndayisaba alias Kinonko, Nahayo Elis  e, Ruberamanzi Innocent, Utazirubanda Emmanuel, Bishokankindi, Musabyimana alias Bisabo, Hashakimana, Mungwarareba.

Those militia Interahamwe were brought from Gatyazo Business Center by Nyombayire and they were led by Munyangoga F  licien.

On October 16, 2009, Venuste Nyombayire was sentenced by the Gacaca court in the Gasaka Sector to life imprisonment in absentia.

Bernard Kouchner's "humanitarian" mission in May

Bernard Kouchner came to Kigali from 12 to 16 May 1994 to try the evacuation of orphans by UNAMIR to France. The related negotiations failed on May 16 because Interahamwe opposed the idea. Bernard Kouchner traveled to Gitarama where he met the Prime Minister Jean Kambanda and President Sindikubwabo on May 15. He had come to save orphans by evacuating them to France.

2.32. ON 12 MAY 1994: MASSACRE OF TUTSI AT ADEPR NYABISINDU CHURCH - MUHANGA

Since the massacre in Nyamabuye Commune intensified from April 23, 1994, Tutsi started to flee to the ADEPR Nyabisindu Church located in Nyamabuye Sector, Muhanga District. Some Tutsi had taken refuge at the church but there were also the so called Kivuye and Nyacyonga refugees who were camping there. The latter

had fled from some of the war zone communes of Byumba Prefecture, comprising Kivuye Commune, where their appellation came from.

Hence, refugees at Nyabisindu became so many and some of them were living in the primary schools of the Church. ADEPR officials categorized the refugees based on their ethnicity. Pastor Sagahutu and another lady were sitting in front of the church, one was in charge of counting Hutu and the other in charge of Tutsi.

Hutu refugees from Kivuye and Nyacyonga as well as other refugees from Kigali were taken to a better place and they mistreated Tutsi refugees.

Among the Tutsi refugees, some were from various parts of Gitarama like Kibilira. Hutu refugees were involved in fetching the attackers that would kill Tutsi gradually till the last day when they massacred them all. Raping of women and girls was committed, and even young children were called to watch the transgression and some of the children were also forced to rape them.

Before the extermination date was reached, the Prefect of Gitarama Prefecture, Major Ukurikiyeyezu Jean Damascène and the Sous prefect Misago Rutegisha Antoine, together with the ADEPR head Pastor, called Nyandwi Enock, ordered that the Tutsi refugees should be taken to a place called “*Misizi*” because they intended to kill them far away from the city. They escorted the refugees, the killers accompanied them with traditional weapons including axes, one vehicle was in front of them and the other behind them, all the way to Gitarama town. Along the journey, killers would kill some and dump them in rain drainages.

When the refugees arrived in Gitarama town, at the market, they revolted as they refused to go to Misizi, they rather tried to flee towards Kabgayi by force and that is where some of them were killed but others managed to reach Kabgayi. They were the first refugees to be housed at the “CND” in Kabgayi. Because of awful life at CND and constant attacks that killed Tutsi gradually, some refugees decided to return to ADEPR in Nyabisindu secretly.

Consequently, on May 12, 1994, the Interahamwe attack with painted faces, wearing dried banana leaves armed with weapons like knives, axes, machetes and clubs with nails arrived and killed all the Tutsi. On that day, at around 2 pm, prisoners came to throw the corpses into the pits. They dragged them down and some of them were still breathing, some were asking for forgiveness, others were praying and others just crying out...

While killing the Tutsi who had taken refuge at ADEPR, they first left women and girls so that they could rape them first. Various tools were used to torture them including bottles, sharpened sticks and banana buds.

Around 121 ADEPR victims are buried at Nyabisindu Genocide Memorial.

Among the perpetrators of the massacre at ADEPR Nyabisindu were:

- The Prefect, Major Jean Damascène Ukurikiyeyezu;
- The Sous prefect Misago Rutegesha Antoine;
- Pastor Nsanzurwimo Joseph, national spokesperson of ADEPR (live in Belgium);
- Pastor Nyandwi Enoch;
- Pastor Gatere Simon Pierre;
- Upfuyisoni Marie Goretti who was a Member of Parliament and Secretary General of the UNSODC party created by ADEPR authorities (she lives in Belgium);
- Pastor Sagahutu Jean who led Nyabisindu Parish and lives in Zambia;
- Pastor Munyebayi Amon also living in Zambia;
- Pastor Kagurano Gerald;
- Pastor Gakwerere Cyprien (lives in Uganda);
- Pastor Utazirubanda Léon, who lives in Tanzania;
- Pastor Nkubito Noël;
- Nzigira who was a staff of Gitarama Prefecture;
- André also called Ruhurwinda;
- Niyirema Theodomir who was the Councillor;
- Rwajekare, Tito and others.

2.33. ON 13 MAY, 1994: MASSACRE OF TUTSI IN BISESERO, KIBUYE

Bisesero was a refuge to many Tutsi who fled the massacre

The Bisesero Mountains are located in the former Kibuye Prefecture, which was shared by two communes namely Gisovu and Gishyita. These mountains were covered by large dense forests. At the bottom of the mountains, inhabited people as well as pastures reserved for cows. Bisesero borders four Sectors of Karongi District namely Mubuga, Gishyita, Rwankuba and Twumba.

Bisesero was a home to Tutsi population of about 60,000, and during the Genocide there was a history of Tutsi self defense that reached the point where till May

killers were unable to break through. Many Tutsi had also fled to Bisesero and were all killed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

Many Tutsi decided to flee to Bisesero because there were many Tutsi living there and in 1959 and beyond, they were able to resist the massacre of Tutsi. Tutsi from different parts of Kibuye and Gikongoro Prefectures; Rubengera, Rutsiro, Rwamatamu, Gisovu, Gikongoro, Gishyita and Gitesi had taken refuge in Bisesero. They hoped that if they came together and join their efforts they would fight the attacks together and defeat them. This was even so because till May, killers had not been able to set fire on a single house or eat any of their cows.

On April 7, 1994, after the news broke that Habyarimana had died, in some areas of Kibuye and Gikongoro, local Tutsi started to be killed and fled to Bisesero. Soon, the Basesero also had to leave their homes and flee to Muyira and Gitwa hills. Other Tutsi who fled to Bisesero were survivors from other parts like Mubuga Church, Rwamatamu, Gitwa, Gatwaro Stadium, Kayove and elsewhere.

Tutsi who fled to Bisesero resisted the attacks

They spent a long time confronting killers' attacks and retaliating them and even killing some of the killers and taking away their guns even though they did not know how to use them for self-defense. Their history of self-defense lasted for long time, fighting against killers with various weapons including guns while Basesero used sticks, stones, spears and bows.

Tutsi from Gisovu and Rwankuba (the northern part of Bisesero) fought on Mount Muyira while others rallied on Mount Gitwa (southern part) and that is where they were fighting the Killers' attacks. Their tactic was to confront killers and fight them even though some would be killed but they also had to kill some of the assassins and they often defeated the killers and the latter became discouraged and ran away, especially since their weapons were taken away.

The Interahamwe attacks started on April 7, 1994, and the Tutsi of Bisesero would get together to identify the source of the attacks and stop them to prevent them from entering Bisesero. In the morning, when the killers came, the Tutsi would be gathered on the top of the mountains and assault them with stones and when the stones got finished, they would all go down the hill at once and confront them to prevent killers from killing women and children as well as their cows. They would fight until killers get tired and run away. The Tutsi who were about to be overpowered by the Interahamwe, would join their comrades on other hills and join forces to ensure their victory.

The attacks came from various places: from Gisovu Commune, Rwamatamu up to Ngoma, in Mubuga Commune, and others from Gishyita Commune. Despite the attacks were from the above mentioned areas, the killers were from all communes of Kibuye Prefecture and from some communes of Gikongoro. The Tutsi fighters were led by Birara Aminadabu, his son Nzigira, Segikware, Habiyambere and Paul Bitega who were later killed. There are also some survivors including Karamaga Simeon, Aron Gakoko and Vincent Munyaneza.

As Tutsi in Bisesero had been fighting the Interahamwe for days till the end of April, officials, including former Kibuye Prefect Kayishema Clement and others, wrote a letter to the former Minister of interior government Eduard Karemera who was from Kibuye. They requested him for help to expel the Inkotanyi from Bisesero (at that time Tutsi were called Inkotanyi who were threatening people's security in Bisesero), he also agreed that he would seek help from the former army chief in Gisenyi, Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva with whom they started to prepare it.

From 01/05/1994 to 12/05/1994, there were no further attacks on Bisesero, Tutsi started to rest and thought that there would be no more attacks and some started to return to their normal activities such as agriculture, animal husbandry and others. However, the killers had gone to plan for exterminating attacks. For the 2 weeks, the killers were planning to exterminate the Tutsi who had taken refuge in Bisesero.

Exterminating attacks on Bisesero on 13/5/1994

Friday 13/05/1994 was the first day of the relentless attacks on Bisesero, which consisted of soldiers, the Interahamwe from different parts and habituated killers from Bugarama in Cyangugu, Gisenyi, Ruhengeri and Gikongoro. The top leaders all possessed guns including Eliezer Niyitegeka, former minister, Clement Kayishema, Kibuye Prefect, Alfred Musema, who ran Gisovu Tea Factory, Obed Ruzindana, a prominent businessman, and his brother Joseph Mpambara, Charles Sikubwabo, the Bourgmestre of Gishyita commune, Aloys Ndimbati who was the Bourgmestre of Gisovu Commune, Gerard Ntakirutimana who was in charge of Mugonero Hospital, John Yusuf Munyakazi who was the leader of Interahamwe in Bugarama, Cyangugu and others.

All of these were familiar in leading attacks on Tutsi in different parts of Kibuye and Cyangugu. The killings started on April 13, 1994, from 9 am till 4pm. The ONATRACOM buses, trucks of Tutsi who had been killed, the COLAS trucks usually used to construct the Kibuye Gitarama road and other small vehicles full of

government officials, soldiers and many Interahamwe started killing Tutsi in Bisesero where they had taken refuge in the Muyira and Gitwa hills. Tutsi failed to hit them back as usual due to the fact that the attacks were so intense and they could not withstand the heavy weapons carried by killers.

The killers attacked the Tutsi while shouting "*Let us destroy them*". They shot on Tutsi, threw grenades at them and other killers used traditional weapons and the bodies of many children, women, and the elderly filled the place. The attack weakened the Basesero and killed many of them. More than 30,000 Tutsi reportedly were killed that day. The killings stopped at around 5:30 pm that day and afterwards killers had a meeting at a place called "*Ku Cyapa*" between Gishyita and Gisovu Communes to plan how the killings would be carried out next morning.

At that place, Eliezer Niyitegeka grabbed a Tutsi girl, stripped her off her clothes and raped her in front of other killers, and immediately threw her at the Interahamwe who cut her off.

The killers returned again on May 14, 1994 and also killed Tutsi leaving less than 10,000 Tutsi. Survivors of the massacre started to hide in the bushes and running in the mountains, fleeing from the Interahamwe who shot at them and killed them gradually. Those who had been injured were hunted by dogs.

Most of top perpetrators of genocide in Bisesero were convicted, others are still wanted:

- Karemera Edouard sentenced to life imprisonment by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, and died in prison;
- Niyitegeka Eliezer, sentenced to life imprisonment by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and died in the prison;
- Ntakirutimana Elizaphan, convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 10 years in prison;
- Col. Nsengiyumva Anatole, convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 15 years in prison.
- Ntakirutimana Gerard, convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 25 years in prison;
- Muhimana Mika, convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and was sentenced to life imprisonment;
- Mpambara Joseph, convicted of genocide by Dutch courts and sentenced to life imprisonment;
- Kayishema Clement, convicted of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to life imprisonment;

- Musema Alfred, convicted of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, sentenced to life imprisonment;
- Ruzindana Obedwas convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 25 years in prison;
- Munyakazi John Yusuf was convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 25 years in prison;
- Furere Abel (formerly the Bourgmestre of Rwamatamu Commune);
- Segatarama Simon (Was the councilor of Gitabura Sector);
- Sebahire John (was a Police Officer and died in Bisesero);
- Rutaganira Vincent (he was a Councilor of Mubuga Sector);
- Rukazamyambi (he was a Police Officer from Rutsiro and died in Bisesero).

Many perpetrators involved in the genocide against the Tutsi in Bisesero fled justice:

- Nyakana Habimana Joseph: former councilor of the Twumba sector, he is suspected to be living in Congo;
- Nzihonga Elysée: He was a teacher in the Gitabura sector, he lives in Congo forests;
- Musabyimana Pierre: An ex FAR from Gisovu Sector and he is suspected to be in the Congo forests;
- Ndamage: former Secretary of Gisovu Commune who fled and never returned;
- Kayigema Alexis: who was the Director of IGA Gisovu and lives in France;
- Kamili (son Mpamira) was a trader in Mubuga, fled to Uganda;
- Twagirayezu Jean Baptiste, was sentenced by Gacaca;
- Ngerageze Dan, former assistant bourmester of the Gishyita Commune;
- Bugingo Joseph ex bourgmestre of Gisovu Commune;
- Father Twagirayezu Marcel ex-parish priest of the Catholic Parish of Mubuga, fled to France;
- Bizimungu ex FAR;
- Karibana Uziah ex assistant bourgmestre of Gishyita Commune, fled after the genocide;
- Muhirwa Uzziel former advisor to the Musenyi Sector and others;
- Sikubwabo Charles, escaped justice and he is wanted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda;
- Ndimbati Aloys, escaped justice and is wanted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

2.34. ON 14-18 MAY, 1994: MASSACRE OF TUTSI AT MUSAMBIRA AND BYIMANA, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONTINUED TO REFUSE ASSISTANCE TO TUTSI DURING THE GENOCIDE

The massacre of Tutsi in Tumba and Cyarwa Sectors while the killers had falsely claimed to have provided security

From May 10 to 18, 1994, in the former Cyarwa and Tumba Sectors, the leaders of the massacre expressed their sympathies that no girl or woman would be killed in that area again and that they would get out of their hiding places and go back to their abandoned homes and the former keep their security

A man named Ryaragoye Joseph took the microphone and walked around the whole area of Cyarwa, urging Tutsi (women and girls) to get out of hiding because the government had restored peace. It was a way to get to know them and gather them. Ryaragoye Joseph was sentenced and had completed the sentence and now lives in Muhanga District from where he was born. Many went out of hiding at the time and went into their already abandoned homes throughout the two Sectors. In the family of *Abaturagara* of Bizimana Frédéric, the survivors went to the relics like everyone else. They were killed every day for about five days, they always came to see that no one had escaped and they counted them. The one who went to see them every morning was Minani Theoneste.

On May 14, 1994, in the early hours of the morning, Mukacyaka Xaverine was killed, and the rest of the girls were killed as boys were already killed. The girls were Uwiragiye Gaudiose (Jolie), Kankindi Symphrose, Musabwasoni and the old Nyiramirimo Suzanne, Nyirahabimana Therese and her two children; Gratia Mukantwari and Kayisire, Nyirabukangaga Yolanda. They were evacuated from their homes and thrown into a pit at a neighbour's house. They were killed by clubs, spears and many other traditional weapons which were found in the pit while their bodies were exhumed to be buried in dignity.

Other victims of the so-called comfort time were in hiding in Cyarwa Sector in various locations include Twagirumukiza Evariste, Gasana's wife Victoria, Mukankusi, Kagongo, Nyirakambigashya Marie, Nyirakabego Madeleine, Kabalisa, Benempinga Saverina, Gagali of Burara Martin, three children of Niyirora Vincent, Kanimba Ignace, Mitobotobo's wife Francine, her two children and others.

Jean Bosco Nyambere had been hiding in the village of Tumba and when he heard the death of others he also surrendered to killers. The perpetrators of the killings were Minani Theoneste and Ruzagiriza Télesphore who were their neighbors, they have now been sentenced by the Gacaca Courts, they served their sentences and have now been released. The other is Sehene Patrice who escaped justice now lives in Burundi.

Across the mountain on that date many women and girls were killed and dumped in public pits depending on where they were killed or placed in pits in different homes. There have also been men who had been discovered from their hiding and killed like a young teacher named Mugemana Jean Nepomuscene was killed in Kakarehe.

Cyarwa was inhabited by many Burundians who killed Tutsi but fled back to Burundi. Comfort was one of the most used tactics to exterminate the remaining Tutsi

Massacre of Tutsi at Musambira Health Center and Musambira Parish, Kamonyi

The last time the extreme killing in Musambira Commune took place was from April 18 to 20/1994.

On 14/05/1994, the killings also intensified. Some of the survivors of the massacre that took place across Musambira Commune, fled to the Musambira Health Center and at the nearby Musambira Commune office. In order to gather Tutsi again, the authorities told them to flee to the commune office and the health center, so that they can be protected and build shelters for them as their houses had been destroyed.

On 14/5/1994, the attack came and surrounded the Health Center and all men were killed that day. The corpses were so many that they were scattered all around even in the goats and cows market area and Tutsi women were instructed to pick up the corpses and most of them were their husbands. Women refused to pick them, and killers started to beat them up, triggering them to drag the bodies on the ground to the garbage dumps of the butchery and health center.

On the morning of 15/5/1994, killers brought a children's attack to kill the Tutsi children, because on 14/5/1994 only young boys and men were killed, children and women were left. Children came with machetes, clubs, but were led by adult killers. On that date all the children were killed by their fellow children, and again women and small children were left.

On 16/05/1994, the attack took women from Health Center and handed them over to the other killers at the roadblock in *Cyakabiri*, who also took them to Kagarama and Nyarubaka. They met another attack there and killed many women, stoned them, buried them alive and committed all possible evils. The killings continued in the area, and during the days that followed.

On 18/05/1995, Tutsi who had taken refuge at St. Kizito Musambira Parish were killed. Those who had taken refuge there were Tutsi from all around, including those already living in Musambira Commune and neighboring communes, plus those from Runda and Kigali who were heading to Kabgayi. They were killed by a variety of weapons including guns and traditional weapons. After the genocide the tomb where they were buried was transferred to Kibuza Memorial.

The main perpetrators of the Musambira massacre are:

- Nyandwi Charles Bourgmestre of Musambira;
- Karane Dominique, former Bourgmestre of Musambira;
- Iyakaremye Abudrahamani;
- Sekaziga;
- Rukundakuvuga Evariste;
- Ryumugabe Alphonse;
- Karambizi (former councilor);
- Muhozi Jafari;
- Harerimana Joseph alias Nturo;
- Frodouard who was a police officer;
- Landuwaridi, Vianney, Interahamwe and other Hutu citizens.

Massacre of Tutsi at *Ecole des Sciences de Byimana*

During the Genocide against the Tutsi, 105 Tutsi were killed in the fields of Byimana Secondary School in the forest. The school is located in the former Gitarama Prefecture, Mukingi Commune, Muhororo Sector, Kigarama Cell currently in Ruhango District, Byimana Sector, Bukomero Cell, Muhororo Village. It was run by Marist Brothers till now.

Many Tutsi, especially those evacuated from Kabgayi including Tutsi Marist brothers living in the Byimana Monastery and fled to Kabgayi on 24/04/1994 after being expelled from the monastery by their colleagues and were taken by Uwamungu Jean Bosco who was the head of Monastery.

On April 29, 1994, they first killed a teacher called Nteziyaremye Migabo Lazare and took him outside the school to kill him at the Byimana center where he lived.

Subsequently, on 13/05/1994, only Tutsi teachers who were teaching at the Byimana School were killed, including Rubayiza Etienne, who was killed in the school where he was hiding, Gasana Balthazar and Nyirakazungu Gloriose, who lived outside the campus, they were shot dead by soldiers who were in the campus. Gasana was killed together with his son Niragire Prudence.

There were also Gako Camp soldiers' wives and injured Ex-FAR who had fled after Bugesera was liberated and they participated in the killing.

On 24/5/1994 the soldiers evacuated Byimana Brothers from Kabgayi where they had taken refuge including Gatari Gaspard who was in charge of studies at Byimana School, Nyirinkindi Canisius and Bisengimana Fabien who were the Marist brothers and were killed in Byimana.

There were other brothers who worked in Kabgayi comprising of brother Munyanshongore Martin who was the head of the Josephites brothers in Rwanda with a headquarter in Kabgayi. Also Father Niyonshuti Celestin, a former missionary to the Catholic Parish of Byimana and a nun called Sister Benigne of the Abenebikira Congregation who was in charge of Kabgayi Nutrition Center were also killed in Byimana.

In general, brothers, priests, nuns and other Tutsi who had taken refuge there especially those who were already well-known, including Kalinda Viateur, a sports journalist for Radio Rwanda and others, were evacuated from Kabgayi to be killed.

Before bringing them back to be killed in Byimana, their fellow Brothers of Byimana used to supply them with food at Kabgayi. This allowed them to identify the refugees and monitor their information until they claimed that they should be executed in Byimana.

They were shot dead and killed by injured soldiers who had exiled in the monastery. Among them there was Lt Monique and a soldier called Nzayisenga who was born in Byimana.

Some of the others involved in the killings included:

Ntamugabumwe Emmanuel, Nduwamungu Emmanuel and Kibihira and they have all been convicted of genocide by Gacaca Courts. Others at the forefront of the planning of the massacre include the High Priest of Byimana Catholic Parish Ndagijimana Joseph who has been sentenced to life imprisonment by the ordinary courts and is currently being held at Nyanza Prison in Mpanga.

There was also Brother Nkusi François from Cyanika in Nyamagabe District and lived in monastery of Marists brothers in Byimana. He was sentenced by the Gacaca Court of Muhororo Sector to 25 years imprisonment and he is detained in Nyanza Prison.

Another one was Brother Uwamungu Bosco who lived in Byimana, who became a Priest after the Genocide; now living in the United States (USA) and was sentenced in absentia to 30 years in prison by the Gacaca Court of the Muhororo Sector.

Rugamba François, a driver of the Byimana School, was sentenced to 30 years in prison by the ordinary courts and is currently being held in Nyanza Prison. Ntiyamira Alexis, the former MDR President in Mukingi Commune and a teacher at *Groupe Scolaire Shyogwe*, was not convicted and fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Radio France Internationale (RFI) interviewed Interahamwe Leader who denied the killings

Radio France Internationale station (RFI), through its journalist who was in Rwanda Jean Helene, who worked in the criminals' section, continued to broadcast information supporting the government and gave them many exclusive interviews on RFI.

On May 15, 1994, the RFI hosted Interahamwe leader Robert Kajuga and he denied all the killings done by Kambanda government, its forces and the Interahamwe/Impuzamugambi and declared that only Inkotanyi and their accomplices were being killed but not civilians.

2.35. MAY 20, 1994: MASSACRE OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST TUTSI PASTORS AT GITWE, MASSACRE OF TUTSI WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT "DOUANE", RUHANGO DISTRICT

Massacre of Seventh-Day Adventist Tutsi Pastors at Gitwe

About 74 Seventh Day Adventist Pastors and their families were killed in Gitovu on May 20, 1994. Gitovu is in the former Gitarama Prefecture, Murama Commune, in Nkomero Sector, now in Nyanza District, Sector of Mukingo in Nkomero Cell.

The Tutsi pastors of the Seventh Day Adventist church and their families fled to Gitwe because there was a headquarter of the church called "*Field*" and they hoped to be protected and saved. Some of them did their pastoral work there and hoped that they would not be betrayed by their fellow Hutu Pastors. They also felt that the

killers would not dare to kill them at the church headquarters. Others from Masango, Tambwe Communes in Ruhango, and Ntongwe Commune, Nyanza and elsewhere.

The first arrived on April 18, 1994, but others continued to seek refuge there. They were assassinated on 20/05/1994 which means they spent a whole month. They were all gathered in the church house together. As they fled, only few pastors and their families and church teachers were allowed to enter, others including Kajeguhakwa Ezira, who lived in Buhanda who was also a member of their church were sent away.

They have lived a very difficult life. The church in which they had taken refuge provided them with very little food in proportion to their number. Ordinary civilians or christians did not supply them but were sometimes supplied food at night by Tutsi who had been hiding in those areas.

On May 19, 1994, less than a day before they were assassinated, a meeting of Hutu pastors from different parts of the country was held. The meeting was held at the church headquarters in Gitwe and was attended by the treasurer of the church, Mpayamaguru Salomon.

On 20/5/1994 they were going to be executed in Nkomero at Gitovu in order to avoid the shame of killing them at the church headquarters. Before taking them to Gitovu for massacre, they first killed Pastor Nzamwita Assiel who lived near the church house where they had taken refuge and he had remained at home with his family. He was shot dead by one of the gendarmes from Nyanza to set an example for others to be killed.

On the way to kill them, they took them in a car of Gitwe's parents' school called ESAPAG (*Ecole Secondaire de l'Association des Parents Adventistes de Gitwe*). They also used a HILUX car belonging to Buzizi Gratien who was a businessman living in Nkomero. Another vehicle belonged to Rugerinyange Amon, a Tutsi pastor who was a church leader at the headquarters in Gitwe and had fled to Ruhango. On their way, they were singing a song called "*We Are Going to Zion*". They were taken by the bourgmestre of Murama Commune, Rutiganda Jean Damascène, who was with the gendarmes from Nyanza and on the same day they went to Gitwe after killing women and children at a place called Douane in Murama Commune.

When they arrived at Nkomero, they found that a large number of Hutu civilians had been planned and armed with traditional weapons to kill them at the foot of Mount Gitovu. They were killed only by traditional weapons including clubs, axes, machetes and more. Some civilians were killing and others burying the bodies in the trenches. They were killed in the presence of bourgmestre and the gendarmes who surrounded them.

Some of those involved in the killings included Rutiganda Jean Damascène, a former bourgmestre of Murama commune, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in absentia. Ugirashebuja Eraste, a pastor in Gitwe sentenced to 19 years in prison and he fled. Mpayamaguru Salomon a treasurer of the church sentenced to 19 years in prison but now lives in the Philippines. Mugenzi Charles, a driver of ESAPAG (Ecole Secondaire de l'Association des Parents Adventistes de Gitwe) who also fled. There were also gendarmes from Nyanza and the Interahamwe. There is a genocide memorial site in Gitwe housing pastors killed and their families .

Massacre of Tutsi women and children at Douane in Ruhango District

At Douane on May 20, 1994, about 476 women and children were killed. Many of their men and boy children had been killed previously. It is located in the former Gitarama Prefecture, Murama Commune, Bweramana Sector in Rwavuningoma Cell and is now in Ruhango District, Bweramana Sector, Murama Cell in Gasharu Village.

The Tutsi who fled to Douane were from different Sectors of Murama Commune, especially in Bweramana Sector. Others were from Masango and Kigoma Communes of Gitarama Prefecture. Some of them had fled to the Nyabitare Adventist Church in Murama Commune but had started to be attacked. They had taken refuge there because there was no other secure place. They wanted to flee to Murama Commune office but were warned that there was no security and that they could be killed there. They fled at Douane in uncompleted house of Rukara.

As they arrived in different times, they spent almost two weeks there living in the worst conditions with their young children. They lived on begging for food from those who had left their fields to harvest who were not hunted, eating guava nearby and being supplied by a few neighbors but still it was not enough. Also out of fear some spent the day hiding in the bushes and joined others in the house when it was raining or dark.

On May 20, 1994, an assassination attempt was launched by Rutiganda Jean Damascène, former bourgmestre of Murama Commune. He was accompanied by gendarmes from Nyanza, the Interahamwe and the general public.

Before killing them, the bourgmestre first lied to them that he had come to have a meeting with them for the purpose of finding food for them because they had been there for a long time. This made even those who were hiding in the bushes to come out and join. As soon as the Tutsi entered the house, the Interahamwe and civilians immediately began killing them with traditional weapons and the gendarmes surrounded the house. After killing them they immediately put their bodies in holes that had been dug while making bricks to build the house where they had taken refuge. The bodies of the victims were laid to rest at the Nkomero Genocide Memorial.

The massacre was led by the Bourgmestre of Murama Commune Rutiganda Jean Damascène. He was also joined the gendarmes from Nyanza, the president of the MRND in Murama Commune, Ndungutse Anatole, who was also the school inspector in Murama Commune who was sentenced to life imprisonment and died in Nyanza prison. He was a brother to Interahamwe called Sekamonyo who was sentenced to life imprisonment in Nyanza Prison and died. There are also Interahamwe like Munyankindi Augustin who have been sentenced to life imprisonment and are being held in Nyanza Prison. Ngofero was also sentenced to life in prison and is currently being held in Nyanza Prison.

2.36. ON 22 MAY 1994: MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE FORMER GIKONGORO, GITARAMA, THE CAPTURE OF KANOMBE AIRPORT AND KANOMBE MILITARY CAMP

The capture of Kanombe Airport and Kanombe Military Camp, a fatal blow to the genocidal government

On Saturday May 21, 1994, RTL M urged to "*kill Dallaire*". The FAR fired on UNAMIR HQ. On May 22, 1994, Kigali Airport and Kanombe camp were taken by the RPF Inkotanyi. The capture of the Kanombe Airport and Military Camp is one of the great successes of the campaign against genocide undertaken by the RPF Inkotanyi.

The same day, Théodore Sindikubwabo wrote to President Mitterrand that his troops had withdrawn from the airport because of insufficient ammunition. He thanked him for the support "so far" and asked him for urgent help. He also called him.

Massacre of Tutsi at Kigeme Hospital, Nyamagabe

Kigeme Hospital is located in Nyamagabe District, Gasaka Sector in Kigeme Cell. On April 7, 1994, the killers started to massacre Tutsi in Mudasomwa Commune. Kigeme Hospital started to receive 8 wounded staff of EMUJECO who worked in Mudasomwa and more injured people from Kitabi Tea Factory.

On April 13, 1994, several other wounded Tutsi from Rukondo Commune, where the Tutsi had taken refuge at ADEPR Maheresho, started to arrive at the hospital. The injured people were so many that the hospital was obliged to call back staff who were on leave as well as intern students to help the injured.

During that time, although those who were injured were helped, some of them were taken away secretly to be killed after being treated. In addition, there was a car that used to come at night and take Tutsi who had been brought in for treatment and falsely claimed to have taken them to Murambi to keep their security but they were killed at Mwumba roadblock.

On May 22, 1994, on Pentecost day at around 6 am, Interahamwe attacks from Mudasomwa, center of Kigeme, Gatyazo and other places came. They carried Tutsi who were still alive along with their caterers and some Tutsi doctors who worked there and took them near the hospital's kitchen to be killed. Those who survived were hidden in the corners and under the beds, especially in the private rooms because the attackers did not enter inside.

After killing them, Prefect Bucyibaruta Laurent accompanied by Bourgmestre Semakwavu and Captain Sebhura Faustin came. Those who survived the attack were taken in a car to Murambi where many Tutsi were killed and among those taken there were injured people with wounds and yet they knew that they would not get doctors there or food. Till now, the victims killed in the hospital with their identities are about 29 but the death toll is more than that because the identities of injured people who were brought on a daily basis were not known.

Those who were involved in the killings included Twagiramungu Edson, who was the director of the hospital, Philippe, who was a businessman in the center of Kigeme, Zimbabwe was the driver of the Anglican Archbishop Kayumba

Normand, Gasana venuste was a businessman, Kamugi Christophe, Mukono son of Karamage, Kibuye, Munyentwari Rodrigue, Mutiganda Evariste, Ngoga of Gasarenda, Mbiligi, Munyenkware, who was sentenced by the Gacaca and died in Prison, Minani, Nyiraneza, some of the guards who include Karuranga David, the Interahamwe and the Hutu population.

Massacre of Tutsi at Nyamirembo - CND, Kamonyi

In early May, the killers came up with a plan to kill people who had not yet been killed and then said that peace was restored and that they would no longer kill women and girls because they had no race. At that time, many Tutsi, mostly women and children, came out of hiding, from their homes and bushes for about two weeks and some started to carry out household activities in the homes of their hosts, others started going to Kayenzi Church.

Before killing them, the killers gathered Tutsi at a place called CND at about 4 pm. Victims were first raped by all killers one by one and then Kanusu and his brother both sons of Karagizo suggested that there was a good way of torturing them using an ironing machine as they had done it to the Tutsi at the University of Butare. Hence, they took ironing machines with charcoal, Lini heated them up, and started burning their private parts like the breasts, the thighs and the genitals. While burning them, they were accusing them of illegal possession of firearms and a radio which they use to communicate with Inkotanyi and that their parents used to go to Kinihira and so on.

Because of pain, some of the girls and women, like Mukamanzi Eularia and Atharia, daughter of Munyankindi, admitted that they had all of those and they first took them to Eularia's house and dug up in the garden but they could not find any gun and again took them to Atharia's home in Gaji, where they also didn't find any. As the killers walked with the girls that night, they were naked and the whole body was suffering from iron machine injuries. After missing the guns at Atharia's home, they decided to kill them at Munyankindi's house. They dumped them in the Toilet at that house.

Some of the victims at the scene were identified as Mukamanzi Eularie, Atharia, Kanakuze, Mukanyonga, Rosette and others. Many Tutsi were killed that day but the above mentioned ones were very tortured. The perpetrators included Kanusu and his brother and Lini were in a big attack but those were at the forefront.

2.37. ON 25-30 MAY, 1994: ACCELERATION OF TUTSI EXTERMINATION IN AREAS NOT YET LIBERATED BY THE RPF

Publication of the genocide acceleration regulations in the so-called “*auto-defense civile*”

On May 25, 1994, the criminal government led by Jean Kambanda issued written instructions to all prefects giving them the directions to accelerate the extermination of Tutsi. The instructions were included in the so called "*auto-defense civile*" program (meaning: civilian self-protection) which was intended to intensify the mobilization of Hutu population by urging them to join the genocide plan falsely claiming it was kind for auto defending. They had made up a lie that Tutsi who had not yet been killed had established brigades all over the country trained by the Inkotanyi to kill the Hutu.

The second major feature of the instructions was the establishment of modalities to be applied while distributing weapons, grenades, ammunition and machetes to areas where there were still Tutsi like in Bisesero where they were still defending themselves using their traditional weapons.

The Ministers were instructed to travel to the prefectures not yet liberated by the RPF-INKOTANYI forces to announce the killing instructions and join forces with the criminal government soldiers and gendarms to provide necessary equipment to accelerate the genocide. Minister of Information Eliezer Niyitegeka and Edouard Karemera, who was the Minister of interior administration, were given a mission to accelerate the genocide among the Tutsi in Kibuye Prefecture.

Eliezer Niyitegeka and Edouard Karemera were prosecuted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and were convicted of genocide crime and sentenced to life in prison. Eliezer Niyitegeka died in prison in Mali on March 28, 2018 while Edouard Karemera died in detention in Senegal on 31st August 2020.

As for Minister Callixte Nzabonimana, the former Minister of the youth and organizations, was given special mission to continue leading the massacre of Tutsi in Gitarama Prefecture. Nzabonimana was also tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and sentenced to life imprisonment on May 31, 2012.

Butare Prefecture was in the hands of Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, the former Minister of family promotion who was also convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and sentenced to 47 years in prison.

Before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the former Prime Minister of the genocidal government, Jean Kambanda, pleaded guilty to the crimes committed in the context of civil self-defense during the genocide against the Tutsi, indicating that this program was of a criminal character planned by his Government with the aim of exterminating Tutsi.

Some Ex-FAR soldiers had split from the criminal government army and the country was progressively liberated by the RPF-INKOTANYI

On May 27, 1994, some of the high ranking Ex-FAR soldiers, including Captain François Munyurangabo split from those who were committing genocide. Captain Munyurangabo seized a Government - owned plane which he had taken to Dar-es-Salam and took it to Nairobi and announced that he had joined the RPF-INKOTANYI to continue the struggle for national liberation. He was reinstated in the new national army

On May 29, 1994, RPF-INKOTANYI forces captured the City of Nyanza and rescued few Tutsi who had not been killed. The next day, on May 30, 1994, RPF-INKOTANYI forces captured Ruhango City. The criminal government forces realised that the RPF-INKOTANYI forces were putting pressure on the former and defeated them day by day, stimulating the genocidal government to call on the United Nations to help them negotiate with the RPF-INKOTANYI.

2.38. MAY 1994: FAST IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLOT TO EXTERMINATE TUTSI THROUGH THE STRENGTHENING OF “*AUTO-DEFENSE CIVILE*” PROGRAM LAUNCHED IN 1991 BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA

« *Auto-defense Civile* » was launched by President Habyarimana

The coinciding so-called auto-defense civile operation and genocide was widely used to kill Tutsi across the country, but its experiment had started in the former Byumba and Ruhengeri Prefectures. The "*auto-defense civile*" was an operation aimed at selecting reliable and capable Hutu youth for military training and returning back in their communes after completing the course and being supplied with weapons to train other youth to use them in so-called anti enemy killings.

The "*auto defense civile*" was launched in 1991 following the advice given by Lt Col Gilbert Canovas who was an adviser to the Commander-in-Chief of the government forces. In his report of 30/04/1991 he suggested that there was a need to arm and train ordinary citizens from Umutara area especially in the former Muvumba and Rutare Communes.

The meeting was followed by another one of July 9, 1991 chaired by the Minister of Internal Security, Gen. Augustin Ndindiriyimana which took place at army headquarter. It brought together intelligence officials from the military and presidency. The minutes of that meeting indicated that it was meant to assess the speedy implementation of the President's proposal on national security where he said that "*Citizens should be provided with enough adequate equipment to fight for national sovereignty so that no one will dare to attack the country again in the future.*"

This implies that President Habyarimana himself ordered the selection of Hutu citizens to be given firearms. The military and political agencies only worked on accelerated implementation of the proposal.

The "*auto-defense civile*" endorsed that a Tutsi was an enemy of Rwanda and must be sought and killed

The meeting of higher officials of the army had decided that in order to implement the request of President Habyarimana, it was necessary to first carefully analyse the identity of the enemy, identify them and then determine the proper way to deal with them. The task was given to the Commander in Chief and the army to prepare a document aimed at establishing the enemy of Rwanda and how to fight them.

The document was prepared and secretly published on **September 21, 1992** signed by Colonel Deogratias Nsabimana, the former Commander in Chief of the Rwandan Armed Forces. He shared it to President Habyarimana, to military and gendarmery leaders across the country so that it can be taught to the soldiers and gendarms. The document is one of the highlights of the Genocide against the Tutsi preparation by the government which disseminated genocide ideology material.

The main points in the document were as follows: "*The enemy is no longer in Uganda only, but inside the country.*" This meant that a divisionism system has been launched to separate people and incite them to quarrel among themselves so that *the bad* (Tutsi) and *good people* (Hutu) appear and hence the good people would kill the bad under the pretext of getting rid of the enemy. Furthermore, the document said that "*the number of enemies inside the country has increased*" which meant that people in the *good part* must wake up and realize that there are

many in the *bad people's part* and that requires more efforts from each person of *the good* to get rid of *bad citizens*.

The document then continued to clearly define who the enemy was and where to look for him:

“The enemy consists of two parts: a) the main enemy = a Tutsi inside the country or abroad who has never accepted the 1959 revolution. Where to look for= Tutsi refugees, Ugandan troops, Tutsi inside the country, foreign men who married Tutsi women, Hutu who are not satisfied with the current regime, (...) foreigners of the same origin as Tutsi, criminals who fled the country.

b) The enemy's ally or accomplice = Anyone who gives him any help.”

This document is very important in the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi because it determined how a Tutsi would be called an enemy of the country and determined that anyone who would support a Tutsi in any way would be treated as enemy and killed.

“AUTO-DEFENSE CIVILE” was started by training killers and giving them the means and weapons to commit Genocide

Another document indicating the nature of the *Auto defense civile* was dated 29/09/1991 also written by Col. Deogratias Nsabimana who was the Chief of Defense Staff in Mutara. It was addressed to the Minister of Defense and outlined the recommendations of the meeting that was held to establish the procedure for the implementation of *Auto defense civile*. Nsabimana said the meeting had decided that during the selection of those who would be trained and given weapons the following should be ensured: at least one of the 10 houses (Nyumbakumi) selected by the Bourgmestre in collaboration with the commune council should be taken.

Colonel Nsabimana also indicated the number of weapons to be provided as follows: Muvumba Commune = 350; Muhura Commune = 580; Ngarama Commune = 530; Bwisige Commune = 300. **A total of 1760 were issued in 1991!**

In late January 1993 and early February 1993, Colonel Bagosora led an operation of firearms distribution to the Interahamwe of the northern region of the country. In his 1993 Agenda, which was presented as evidence against him in his case at the ICTR, some pages containing the information on the distribution of 500 weapons in Mutara, Giciye, Rubavu and Rwerere Communes of Gisenyi Prefecture were exposed.

January 1994 was marked by the joy of some Rwandans who had rejoiced that 600 INKOTANYI soldiers and their politicians had arrived in Kigali on December 28, 1993, where they were ready to join the Transitional structures as planned by Arusha peace agreement. As for the Rwandan government and its forces, they were unhappy, and started genocide mobilization activities, including intensification of Interahamwe training and arming them through the so-called *auto defense civile*. All of this was aimed at mobilizing Hutu population to understand that all Tutsi are enemies of the country and should be killed.

One of the key achievements was the appointment of leaders of the program throughout the country, especially responsible for the administration of arms distribution and training of killers. At the national level, the *Auto-Defense Civile* operation was assigned to Colonel Athanase Gasake assisted with other leaders in the prefectures.

In the City of Kigali, the commanding officer of the *Auto-Defense Civile* was Commander Bivamvagara in collaboration with the Prefect of the City Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho; in Kibungo the commanding officer was Colonel Pierre Céléstin Rwagafirita; in Kigali Ngari, the operation was led by Major Stanislas Kinyoni; in Cyangugu Auto defense civile was under the command of Colonel Singirankabo; in Gitarama it was led by Major Jean-Damascène Ukurikiyeyezu; in Butare and Gikongoro it was under the command of Colonel Aloys Simba who had deputies including Colonel Alphonse Nteziryayo who was appointed the Prefect of Butare during the Genocide. In Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Auto defense civile was commanded by the commanders of the military in those prefectures namely Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva in Gisenyi and Augustin Bizimungu in Ruhengeri who was later replaced by Colonel Marcel Bivugabagabo. These high ranking military were at the forefront of collaborating with the authorities of the Prefecture and the Commune to establish a mechanism for committing and accelerating the Genocide.

Modalities used to select the Interahamwe youth to be trained

A confidential report dated 07/02/1992 written by a former representative of the Byumba Investigation Service called Rwirahira Vincent from Kibilira Commune in Gisenyi, outlined the progress of the implementation of the “*auto defense civile*”. Rwirahira stated that the Ministry of Defense had agreed to supply 300 weapons to be delivered to selected population in Byumba and Ruhengeri Prefectures; 180 were to be given to the people of Byumba and another 220 to be given to the people of Ruhengeri.

According to the Rwirahira report, a meeting was held at Ngarama Sous Prefecture headquarter to assess the progress of the "*auto defense civile*" and to approve the selection of two hundred and fifty (250) young men. The selection process was done in secret by the bourgmestres in collaboration with the Security Council of the commune and send the selected ones to Gabiro Military Base, where they were to be trained in the use of firearms from 29/01 to 05/02/1992. Rwirahira continued to say that the meeting decided that the number of people to be trained should be increased gradually and that the bourgmestres would monitor the activity on a daily basis.

At the Gabiro camp, the Interahamwe training was led by Captain Engineer Faustin Ntirikina and Major Rwabukwisi Vincent. The two soldiers were very instrumental in the Genocide; Ntirikina is currently living in France and is one of the witnesses of Judge Bruguière in his false accusations against Rwanda.

During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, soldiers led by Major Ntirikina of the Huye Battalion camped at Mont Kigali and were among the perpetrators of the Tutsi massacre in Nyamirambo, Biryogo, Nyakabanda and elsewhere. Some of the Interahamwe trained in Gabiro were from Muvumba Commune including: Mwumvaneza Emmanuel, Nkurunziza Elias who was a councilor of Karama Sector, Munyandinda Sylvestre who was the agricultural monitor, Kaburame Jean Damascène, and others. These Interahamwe were trained in 1992.

One of the soldiers who trained them, Ndindabahizi Emmanuel who spoke to the Rwandan Commission investigating France's role in the Genocide (Mucyo Commission), said Interahamwe were being trained to shoot, but especially they were taught how to kill people in a short time using traditional tools. One of Gabiro's leading Interahamwe, Joseph Setiba, who led Interahamwe in Shyorongi Commune, told Mucyo Commission that the number of Interahamwe trained in Gabiro in 1992 was between 600 and 700.

Distribution of Machetes took place during the genocidal plan called "*auto defense civile*"

As part of the plan to carry out the genocide during the *auto defense civile*, Hutu youth were selected for military training and were given guns, ammunition and grenades but the government also set up a mechanism to buy machetes and distribute them to the public in a short period of time. Those machetes were used by the killers during the Genocide against the Tutsi.

In February 1994, an employee of the British company CHILLINGTON confirmed that their company had already sold many machetes to Rwanda in a few months,

more than those which had been imported throughout the entire 1993. Documents for import licenses reviewed by Human Rights Watch between January 1993 and March 1994 show that 581 tons of machetes were imported into Rwanda. The imported machetes costed 95 million Rwf donated by the sponsor Kabuga Félicien.

According to the British Newspaper, *The Sunday Times* of November 24, 1996, between August and December 1993, CHILLINGTON sold other machetes to two employees of the Rwandan company called RWANDEX, Eugène Mbarushimana and François Burasa. Mbarushimana who was an employee of RWANDEX was the son-in-law of Kabuga and the Secretary General of the Interahamweat the national level. Burasa, a retired soldier and a member of the Hutu extremist party CDR, and a brother of Jean Bosco Barayagwiza, one of the party's top leaders. The acquisitions and distribution of machetes among civilians who had been given military training was part of the "*auto defense civile*" program identified in the Bagosora agenda.

2.39. GENOCIDE INTENSIFIED IN THE SOUTHERN REGION OF THE COUNTRY AND INKOTANYI CONTINUED TO LIBERATE SOME PARTS OF THE NATION

Children killed in Gitega, Nyarubaka, Kamonyi

Gitega is located in Ruyanza Cell, Nyarubaka Sector, Kamonyi District. During the Genocide against the Tutsi, a roadblock was set up in Gitega, which prevented Tutsi from crossing from different ways to seek refuge in Kabgayi. At the time, Tutsi were choosing to cross the road to Nyarubaka, trying to bypass the roadblocks and soldiers on the main road to Gitarama. This means that many Tutsi were killed at the roadblock on different days.

There are well-known dates from 16/5/1994 to 18/5/1994, on which only boys were targeted at that roadblock. On 16/05/1994, women who were evacuated from the Musambira Health Center, the attackers ordered them to stop, telling them that whoever had a boy child should not go beyond that place. Because parents knew that the boys were most hunted, they had tried to dress them in girls' outfits.

On that roadblock, there was a woman called Mukangango Laurence, who started to undress every child to make sure they were not boys, whom they found to be boys were dragged into a pit nearby. Some of these children were thrown alive, and

some of the children who refused to go in peacefully were beheaded and thrown in the pit. The parents were asked to put the soil over the children to close the pit, they refused and started to be beaten severely until they agreed to do so. Parents who lost their kids there said that some of them were trying to get out of the hole but failed, while others shouted that if they were removed from the pit they would no longer be Tutsi and so on. Some of the parents also died there because they were severely beaten after refusing to bury their own children alive, there were also those who lost their teeth and many other physical injuries.

Because the plan was to kill only the boys, women were escorted after burying their children, they were continuously beaten all the way up to Nyarubaka Sector current office. There was a dense forest and some of women and girls died there while others continued. When they arrived in Musumba, they were seated and beaten severely in the presence of the former bourgmestre of Nyamabuye Commune, Muhigana who had held a meeting nearby and he never denounced it. A few who were able to survive arrived in Kabgayi, while others continued to wander in the forests until the genocide was over.

At Gitega roadblock, the massacre took place on the 16th, but until the 18th, the Interahamwe continued to traffic Tutsi refugees, and were killed during the three days. However, the roadblock remained there until the Genocide was stopped in the area in June.

After the Genocide, the pit in Gitega was exhumed, and they were able to count 82 children now buried in Kibuzza memorial as well as 1830 other bodies recovered from the nearby Gatagara Center where the Nyarubaka Sector was built and elsewhere in the sector.

Some of the perpetrators of the deaths of those children were: Mukangango Consolée who died in the police station before the trial, Mavuba Joseph, Kagabo Emmanuel and others who were instrumental in holding meetings at the Gataraga Center, the most prominent being Nkerabigwi Fidèle (businessman) and Aphrodis who was a teacher and they worked closely with Iyakaremye Abudrahamani who was the leader of Interahamwe in Musambira Commune.

Massacre of more than 500 Tutsi who had taken refuge in the houses of Catholic Church at Kabgayi

As the criminal government forces, Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi were losing the battle and the genocide was progressively being stopped by the RPF-INKOTANYI forces, many of the killers fled Kigali and killed any Tutsi that they met on the way. This is what happened to the Tutsi who had not yet been killed in

Kabgayi. By the end of May 1994 between 28 and 30, the Interahamwe took more than five hundred (500) Tutsi, some were trying to flee to Kabgayi and others were taken among Tutsi refugees who were camping in various houses of the Catholic Church in Kabgayi and killed them.

UNAMIR was the first to release the information on May 31, 1994, when one of its leaders, Dr. Abdul Kadia, who was the Second in command to General Dallaire told the media that more than 500 people had been killed by government forces in Gitarama, including many who were taken from Kabgayi. Dr Kadia said that UNAMIR was going to investigate the killings.

Various international radio stations reported the killings, including Radio France Internationale (RFI) in its May 31, 1994 news report. The German radio station, Deutsche Welle, confirmed the information in its broadcast of May 31, 1994 and said that UNAMIR had sent its envoys to Kabgayi to investigate the killings. The news was also confirmed by BBC Radio.

The testimony of survivors of the Genocide against the Tutsi in Kabgayi explains that at several times in 1994, after the arrival of Tutsi refugees at Kabgayi, the Interahamwe of MRND, the Impuzamugambi of CDR and other Hutu members of the Hutu Power Parties gradually came and took Tutsi by force to go and kill them. Many of them were killed at Nyabarongo and thrown into water. Many of the girls and women were thrown in Nyabarongo alive and others were raped before being killed. The RPF-INKOTANYI forces liberated Kabgayi on June 02, 1994.

RPF-Inkotanyi army constantly liberated parts of Kigali City and the criminal government fled to Kibuye

On May 26, 1994, the RPF-INKOTANYI forces completely captured parts of Kigali City namely Kicukiro and Gatenga and rescued some Tutsi and other citizens who were incarcerated by the killers. Gatenga was ravaged by many Interahamwe led by Twahirwa Seraphin the former employee of the Ministry of Public Service (MINITRAPE), who was recently arrested in Belgium. Soldiers of the criminal government and its Interahamwe started to flee from the City of Kigali and heading for Gitarama and Ruhengeri.

On May 27, 1994, the UNAMIR started to evacuate people who were hiding in Hotel des Mille Collines to their desired destinations. Some wanted to go to the territory that was still under the control of the criminal government, while others wanted to go to the territory that had been liberated by the RPF-INKOTANYI.

The RPF-INKOTANYI forces persistently demanded that government soldiers should lay down their arms and stop the killings, and work together to repair the damage and rebuild the country, but in vain. On this date, more than half of Rwanda had been liberated by the RPF - INKOTANYI forces. Also on the same day, UNAMIR announced that in the near future, the RPF-INKOTANYI forces will have taken control of the entire City of Kigali.

On May 28, 1994, Radio France Internationale (RFI) reported that members of the criminal government had left Gitarama and fled to Kibuye. The RFI correspondent Monique Mass, who was in Rwanda went to Nyamata and reported that more than half of the population of Nyamata town before the genocide had been exterminated by Interahamwe militias and government forces. This was also confirmed by a Belgian Professor Alain Verhaegen in an interview with RFI in Brussels after he had left Rwanda where he worked with the organization of Doctors Without Borders Belgium (MSF), which then worked in Bugesera.

On the same day, Ambassador Amuri Sued, who was among refugees evacuated from Hotel des Mille Collines by UNAMIR and chose to join the RPF-INKOTANYI, also reported to RFI the seriousness of the genocide against the Tutsi, perpetrated by the criminal government and the Interahamwe. He further commended that the RPF-INKOTANYI battle to stop the Genocide should be supported by the whole world.

Some foreign observers clearly confirmed that the killing of Tutsi in Rwanda was a government plan, but the criminal government continued to deny it

Since May 22, 1994, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights had convened a meeting to analyse the nature of the killings against the Tutsi in Rwanda. They also announced that the perpetrators of the killings in Rwanda could be brought to justice. During the meeting, Bishop Desmond Tutu, a South African, spoke out against the genocide in Rwanda and called for the perpetrators to be prosecuted.

Stanislas Mbonampeka, the former Second Vice President of P.L. Power, one of the envoys sent to the meeting by the criminal government condemned the statement by Desmond Tutu and falsely said that no killings were being carried out by the government he represented, that the RPF should be held accountable for the killings. Mbonampeka was aware that the massacres of Tutsi in Gitarama, Kibuye and elsewhere at that time were not taking place in the RPF-INKOTANYI controlled areas. He said that in order to confuse people and acquit the government he represented. Before returning to Rwanda after the Geneva meeting, Mbonampeka went to Paris.

On May 24, 1994, Radio France Internationale (RFI) reported that Amnesty International had condemned the killings by the Rwandan government and the criminal government.

On May 25, 1994, the UN envoy, Iqbar Riza, who was on a visit to Rwanda, met with representatives of the Rwandan government, but no decision regarding the cessation of the genocide was taken. Iqbar Riza met them in their hideout in Gitarama where they were camping.

2.40. EVACUATION OF THE REFUGEES FROM HOTEL DES MILLE COLLINES AND THE DEATH OF CAPITAIN MBAYE DIAGNE OF UNAMIR

Agreement to evacuate refugees from Hotel des Milles Collines

Since April 1994, Hotel des Mille Collines in Kigali had become a refuge for people from everywhere including mostly Tutsi and Hutu dissidents to the criminal government.

Let us recall that on May 2, 1994, the armed forces of the genocidal government, led by General Augustin Bizimungu, wanted to kill the Tutsi who had taken refuge at the Hôtel des Mille Collines but France prevented them from doing so. As the information was taken up by newspapers in France, including L'Express of June 2, 1994 and *Billets d'Afrique* number 31 which came out in February 1996, it is the Director General at the Presidency of the French Republic, Bruno Delaye, who had received a mission from President Mitterrand to ask General Augustin Bizimungu to stop this action.

Based on the achievements of the ongoing negotiations between the so-called Abatabazi Government and the RPF-INKOTANYI forces to relocate the refugees who had taken refuge at Hotel des Mille Collines and deport them to the desired areas, the operation took place from 27 May 1994.

Unfortunately, the genocidal government forces did not comply with the agreement because the Interahamwe and the Impuzamugambi continued to set up roadblocks at various locations in Kigali City, controlled by the criminal government forces, they removed the Tutsi from UNAMIR trucks and killed them.

Death of Captain Mbaye Diagne

Captain Mbaye Diagne tried to block the way for Interahamwe with the aim of preventing them from taking the Tutsi out of UNAMIR trucks to kill them, and was shot dead at the roadblock while protecting Tutsi from Interahamwe who wanted to kill them. Captain Mbaye Diagne died at the age of 36.

On July 4, 2010, His Excellency the President of the Republic awarded Captain Mbaye Diagne a Medal of *Guardian of pact* for his extraordinary bravery in saving lives during the Genocide against the Tutsi. If all UNAMIR soldiers had acted like Captain Mbaye Diagne, they would have stopped the Genocide, and many more would have survived.

2.41. THE GENOCIDAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS MILITIAS ACCELERATED THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI AND UN DEBATES ABOUT THE CATEGORIZATION OF THE KILLINGS IN RWANDA CAME TO AN END

While the genocidal government organized the population and gave them specific instructions on the systematic and widespread elimination of the Tutsi, the United Nations continued to procrastinate on the true nature of the massacres which were being perpetrated against the Tutsi.

The genocidal government had issued instructions on May 25, 1994 to all prefects to provide detailed plans of genocide acceleration. Although the world was well informed about the systematic and extensive massacres against the Tutsi, there was a desire to make the massacres less noticeable.

The Prime Minister of the genocidal government, Jean Kambanda, called on people to participate actively in the killings. After military training, the civilian populations were to be used to track down and kill Tutsi.

2.42. UNAMIR TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED THE EVACUATION OF PEOPLE FROM HOTEL DES MILLE COLLINES AND CONFIRMED THE MASSACRE OF TUTSI IN KABGAYI

On June 1, 1994, one day after the death of Captain Mbaye Diagne, UNAMIR announced that it had suspended the evacuation operation as long as the roadblocks were not removed from roads and that the government soldiers and Interahamwe had not stopped interfering with UNAMIR's work. The actions of the government forces and Interahamwe to impede the relocation of people to the RPF-INKOTANYI-controlled area, allowed the killers to continue the genocide against the Tutsi who were still hiding in Kigali.

The Tutsi killed on these dates could have been rescued sooner if the so called *Abatabazi* Government had complied with the cease fire agreement between the RPF-INKOTANYI and the government's military leadership to let UNAMIR relocate people to their desired area.

On the same day, various international radio stations, including Radio France Internationale (RFI), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America and Voice of Germany (Deutsche Welle), announced the contents of UNAMIR's declaration concerning the investigation into the assassination of Tutsi in Kabgayi camp.

In the declaration, UNAMIR clarified that its envoys to the Kabgayi Camp were aware of reports that some Tutsi had been evacuated from the camp and killed by the Interahamwe and the *Abatabazi* Government army. UNAMIR explained that its envoys were also able to find some of the bodies of killed people but refrained from disclosing much about the number of casualties. Nevertheless, reports from the media and international non-governmental organizations like the ICRC and OXFAM which operated in the camp had said that more than five hundred (500) Tutsi had been kidnapped and killed in a very short period of time.

Also the same day, the Minister of Defense of Canada arrived in Rwanda to assess the welfare of the Canadian Armed Forces in UNAMIR and analysing how Canada would send about three hundred communications experts in Rwanda. Canada had agreed to deploy communication experts in Rwanda in the context of strengthening the second UNAMIR II mandated by the United Nations to increase its troops and other UNAMIR staff.

The VOA news reported that Egypt had sold arms to the *Abatabazi* Government worth seven hundred and fifty thousand USD (\$ 750,000), in violation of a UN Security Council resolution. The United Nations had banned all countries from selling weapons to the Rwandan government and its forces for its role in the Genocide against the Tutsi.

2.43. JUNE 02, 1994: RPF-INKOTANYI TROOPS RESCUED TUTSI IN KABGAYI CONCENTRATION CAMP

The specificities of Kabgayi Concentration Camp

The Kabgayi refugees were accommodated in the following different houses of the Catholic Church: Kabgayi Primary School A, Kabgayi Primary School B, Saint Joseph Secondary School, *Petit Séminaire Saint Leon*, *Grand Séminaire de Kabgayi* (Philosophicum), at the Saint Kagwa Center formerly TRAFIPRO (known as CND), in the catechism schools, at a place called *Mu Gishumba* and the Kabgayi Hospital.

A part from Kagwa Center (CND), the Tutsi refugees were mixed with Hutu refugees from Nyacyonga in all other places. There were also soldiers living in in the Bishop's *Eveché*. Tutsi who had installed in Kabgayi Cathedral were expelled under orders of Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva who led Kabgayi Diocese so that it would not be destroyed.

Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva also commanded that the Tutsi should not be killed at the cathedral so that they would not cause pollution, which triggered killers to gradually take whoever they wanted to kill outside the Cathedral. In addition, there was a daily mass at the cathedral and the killers would attend the morning mass before going to find Tutsi to kill.

On the road linking Gitarama to Kabgayi, there were so many roadblocks at which many Tutsi were retained before being able to enter the camps. The roadblocks were set up at the following places: in Rugeramigozi on the road to Mbare, below the cemetery of the priests of Kabgayi, at the entrance of ESI-Kabgayi (*Ecole des Sciences Infirmières*), in front of the *Imprimerie de Kabgayi*, at the gate of the Kabgayi Hospital and on the road to *Grand Séminaire de Kabgayi*.

Significant dates which marked genocide execution in Kabgayi

There are some well-known dates characterized by severe massacres in Kabgayi:

In early April 1994, an attack composed of soldiers attacked at *Ecole des Sciences Infirmières* to track the school Matron called Umurungi Chantal. The former director of the school was a Hutu woman called Mukandanga Dorothee tried to cover for Chantal and preventing killers from taking her away and from raping other girls who were around and they immediately shot her dead along with Umurungi Chantal and her brother Mugunga Narcisse who had come to visit her. Both were the children of Muberuka Jean Baptiste of Nyanza.

On April 15, 1994, another attack came at Saint Joseph School and spent about five (5) hours screening refugees. The attack took many people including Rudahunga Louis' wife, a teacher called Justin of ETEKA School and others.

On 08/5/1994, soldiers again went to Saint Joseph School with a list of Tutsi to be taken away. On the same day in the morning, they took 27 Tutsi to the military base in Gitarama and they were beaten the whole day. In the evening, the victims were divided into three teams, some of whom were taken to Murambi of Gitarama, some to Byimana and others to Nyabarongo to be killed. Out of twenty-seven (27) Tutsi taken from Saint Joseph School, only one survived. Some of the victims were Rwicaninyoni Emmanuel who worked in the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) in the pedagogical office, Department of History, Gatsinzi Gervais who was teaching at ACEJ Karama, Niyoyita André, Ntibyiragwa Jean Marie Vianney alias Maso, Hodari, Nyakarashi Ignace, all of them were teachers at *Collège Saint-Joseph de Kabgayi* and others who were not known.

On 24/5/1994, Tutsi were removed from *Grand Séminaire de Kabgayi* to be executed in Byimana. The leaders of the Catholic Church in Kabgayi had declared that the priests would flee to the *Grand Séminaire*, but there were other Tutsi who had taken refuge there as well as other Hutu refugees from Kigali and elsewhere.

In addition, some members of the *Abatabazi* Government including Kambanda and Sindikubwabo had rooms at *Grand Séminaire de Kabgayi* and they often went there at night. Each ethnic group was given its own side except for the priests who lived together.

On the same day, *Grand Séminaire de Kabgayi* was surrounded by civilians and soldiers who arrived at 10 am, they took out the refugees and made them seat in the playground. There was a Hutu Seminarian called Adalbert Nemeyabahizi who brought a list of Tutsi names, they called them and took them away to be killed. Adalbert Nemeyabahizi was ordained a priest after the genocide and exiled in Belgium. He was sentenced in absentia to 19 years in prison by Gacaca court.

Among the priests killed, there were Jesuit Brothers Murekezi Fidèle, Mugabo Emmanuel, Munyanshongore Martin and Rusezerangabo Théophile. There were also Marist Brothers including Gatari Gaspard, Nyirinkindi Canisius and Bisengimana Fabien. They also took a *Benebikira* nun called Bénigne Nakana, Priests Niwenshuti Célestin, Musonera Callixte and Nyiribakwe Vedaste who was teaching at the *Grand Séminaire*. They also took Karinda Viateur who was a journalist for Radio Rwanda. All of them were summoned in the presence of Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva, who had come to hold a meeting with refugees and when he saw that the killers had surrounded the camp, he boarded a car and returned to his residence.

On 29/5/1994, another attack took place at Saint Joseph School. The killers had brought a bus to carry Tutsi to Nyabarongo to be killed. Among the captives were Rurangwa Alexis who was a judge, Rwagakiga Prudence who was a businessman in Ngororero, a woman called Mukobwajana Eugenie, Gasasira Vital, Mukangamije Beline who was a staff member at Saint Joseph School, Utazirubanda Léonard, Mucyurabuhoro son of Gatabazi, Munyeshuri Jean Marie Vianney who was an agronomist and others.

In May 1994, on unidentified date, soldiers took Tutsi including Isidore son of Ruyenzi, Kajangwe Célestin, Nizeyimana Jean Bosco and others at the former TRAFIPRO (CND) to kill them. Also in the same month, an attack was carried out at Kabgayi Primary School A by Mushubati killers who had called themselves "*Zulus*". They came several times to attack in Kabgayi camps. Among various attacks on Kabgayi, there was one that killed at least six people in the jungle below the Children's Center for the Disabled.

Two major attacks took place between May and June 1994 at the *Petit Séminaire Saint Léon de Kabgayi*. The one, which took place at the end of May 1994, took the lives of many Tutsi who were selected during the search operation at the center. They were killed in the forest of Byimana and elsewhere. The second attack was that of the so-called *Mushubati Zulus* Interahamwe, which also took the Tutsi from Mushubati who had taken refuge in Kabgayi to be executed.

The attack of May 30, 1994 crossed all Tutsi hideouts in Kabgayi, selected those who were going to be killed and put them on buses to be killed in Ngororero. The attack was led by the killers from Ngororero who claimed to have counted the bodies of the Tutsi victims and found out that some were missing and hence they thought that they had fled to Kabgayi. That is why they were taken to be killed in Ngororero but among them, there were some who lived elsewhere.

The Genocide carried out in Kabgayi was different from that carried out in other localities

Due to the influx of Tutsi from many parts of the country in Kabgayi, the commune authorities and the killers from other prefectures went there with lists of Tutsi who had fled to Kabgayi from their communes, the killers took them to other places to kill them. This means that in some cases the Tutsi were surrendered by the Hutu refugees from the liberated areas of the RPF-INKOTANYI who were living with them.

Among the killers, there were gendarms, soldiers and members of the *Abatabazi* Government. Apart from killing Tutsi, more severe actions related to raping women and girls were committed, killers often would take them away and bring them after raping them. At one point, they fired heavily at the CND and killing multitude of people. Another factor that contributed to the killing of Tutsi who had taken refuge in Kabgayi was hunger and diseases caused by pollution because they had no water.

Later the corpses became more and more and there was no more oxygen in the camp. The killers decided not to kill people there again, so they decided to bring cars and pack the Tutsi starting from the educated or those with visible financial position because they were already counted. Mostly young boys and men were taken to be killed elsewhere. Tutsi were killed every day and hence the exact numbers could not be known.

Some of the perpetrators of the Kabgayi massacre are:

- Sous prefect Rutegesha Misago Antoine: The Gacaca Court of Gitarama Sector sentenced him to life imprisonment;
- Sous prefect Gatera Gaspard: Gacaca Court of Gitarama Sector sentenced him to life imprisonment;
- Gahutu Emmanuel Demarere who was a spy: The Gacaca Court of Gihuma B Sector sentenced him to 30 years in prison;
- Sagahutu Thomas who worked at the Immigration Agency;
- Gilbert who represented the C.D.R party in Gitarama town;
- Sergeant Major called Karata;
- Seminarian Adalbert Nemeyabahizi who betrayed Tutsi priests and they got killed. He lives in Belgium;
- Gasirikare who was a Hutu refugee from Nyacyonga and disguised to stay with Tutsi who were living at TRAFIPRO and he is the one who betrayed them;
- Second lieutenant Musabyimana;
- Philippe son of Théopiste;

- Major Nyirahakizimana Anne-Marie was sentenced to life imprisonment and imprisoned;
- Tuyisenge Narcisse sentenced to 15 years in prison;
- Hakizimana Papias sentenced to 15 years;
- Nicolas alias Bob son of Rupaca Janvier sentenced to 19 years, Rindiro sentenced to 19 years in prison;
- Nigena Protogène was sentenced to 30 years. They were all sentenced by the Gatikabisi Gacaca court and others.

Among the killers from Mushubati who called themselves *Zulus* were Sadam, Mitterrand, Basesekaza, Twagirimana Clément, Protogène, Evode son of Revocat, Mutabaruka Hassan, two soldiers Rachidi and Semanyenzi Jean Claude, Mugemana, Kimonyo Tharcisse who was a driver, soldiers who were known by their nicknames of Shitani and Kajisho who lived in Gitarama camp were accompanied by a civilian called Gikeri, Nsanzineza Vincent and others.

2.44. THE CAPTURE OF KABGAYI DEVASTATED KAMBANDA'S GOVERNMENT AND PROMPTED THE ACCELERATION OF GENOCIDE AND AQUISITION OF MORE WEAPONS TO FULFIL THE GENOCIDE PLAN

Kambanda government decided to continue the massacre of Tutsi, and cabinet meetings put a lot of effort into achieving this priority

Nyiramasuhuko wrote in her diary that the Government meeting of June 1, 1994 approved that the Ministers would continue to monitor the execution of the genocide through the program called "*auto-defense civile*" across prefectures. Gitarama was to be monitored by Minister Callixte Nzabonimana. Gisenyi was assigned to two Ministers namely: Augustin Ngirabatware and Jean de Dieu Habineza. As for other prefectures, Ministers in charge were supposed to monitor the program as usual. In an effort to speed up "*auto-defense civile*", Nyiramasuhuko was in charge of monitoring the program in Butare Prefecture.

On May 31, 1994, Nyiramasuhuko wrote in her diary that she had held meetings in Muyaga, Rusatira, Ruhashya and Nyabisindu Communes. She did not mention people that she held meetings with but said that they discussed about the battle and wrote that "*it is impossible to supply food to those who are fighting, thus they have to eat what they find.*"

Nyiramasuhuko went on to describe how the Genocide should continue and said: "*to search all households, clearing bushes everywhere, cutting down forests, buying warm jackets for people, finding machetes, strengthening the security and finding about 2,000 young people reliable for no more than two days and wearing dried banana leaves as a mark for people with the same determination.*"

Nyiramasuhuko also mentioned the names of the authorities who should lead the search for youth in Butare to be added to those who were committing genocide in the communes and providing them with the agreed upon materials:

- Maraba Commune: the former director of Butare Prison called Munyeragwe was in charge of recruitment of 30 young men;
- Ruhashya Commune: 30 young men to be recruited by the Prosecutor in Butare called Mathias Bushishi;
- Rusatira Commune: 60 young men to be recruited and the activity to be led by Sylvain Harindintwali, the former head of Investigation Service in Butare;
- Mugusa Commune: 60 young men to be recruited and the activity to be led by the Prefect, Colonel Alphonse Nteziryayo;
- Runyinya and Gishamvu Communes: no number has been indicated but Nyiramasuhuko wrote that the operation would be led by Sous prefect Assiel Simbalikure.

This intention to increase the number of Interahamwe throughout the country was widespread because in Jean Kambanda's diary of 04 June 1994, he had written that in order to defeat the enemy, 30 young men should be recruited from each commune; i.e. young men $30 \times 145 = 4350$; this activity was assigned to Minister Nyiramasuhuko.

It was also reported that weapons imported from South Africa would arrive in Rwanda on Monday, June 7, 1994 before noon.

Nyiramasuhuko diary also stated that more attention should be paid to Ngoma Commune (Butare) to search for people who were hiding in the forests because $\frac{3}{4}$ of the land of Commune consisted of forests. She added that everyone should be responsible for something and that at least five (5) responsables should be appointed in each cell. She also revealed that the National University of Rwanda would like to receive firearms to prepare for "auto defense civile" and that the University was ready to provide funds for those guns.

This intention to accelerate the genocide of Tutsi who had not yet been killed on the mentioned dates was also reflected in the diary of Jean Kambanda who was the Prime Minister, Augustin Ngirabatware who was the Minister of Planning and

Edouard Karemera who was the Minister of Local administration. Kambanda and Karemera were sentenced to life imprisonment by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and Ndirabatware was sentenced to thirty-five (35) years in prison.

Cabinet meetings strengthened tactics for acquiring weapons and ammunitions from abroad to fight against FPR-Inkotanyi and fulfil the genocide plan

On June 1, 1994, Nyiramasuhuko wrote that a Government meeting was held to discuss the progress of the war and to be informed that the government forces in the 96th Battalion based in Muvumba had been defeated and fled to Byumba continuing to Rwamagana, Kibungo, Bugesera, Nyanza and Rukondo. Nyiramasuhuko noted that the Government meeting of June 1st, 1994 found that the soldiers needed equipment and that they had a problem with RPF accomplices in the military, and that there was lack of adequate coordination between the military and the government because some of them wanted to negotiate with the enemy on their own.

Nyiramasuhuko wrote that the meeting of Ministers of June 1, 1994 also discussed the purchase of firearms, ammunition and other military equipment. She wrote that the government had provided nine million US Dollars (\$ 9,000,000) for the purchase of weapons in Egypt. In addition, another four million and two hundred thousand US dollars (\$ 4,200,000) was put aside for the purchase of weapons through a French man Dominique Lemonnier and followed up by Colonel Bagosora and Lt. Colonel Jean Bosco engineer Ruhorahoza.

Nyiramasuhuko further wrote that there were another two million two hundred thousand US dollars (\$ 2,200,000) that had been given for the purchase of weapons for seven months, and that there was hope that those weapons would reach Rwanda (delivery guaranty). Nyiramasuhuko also indicated that Karamira was on a mission abroad to buy weapons but that he had not yet returned.

From Jean Kambanda's diary, it is clear that the June 1, 1994 government meeting decided that the Bank of Kigali should be forced to provide foreign currency to be able to buy those weapons.

The issue of where the Government would raise the money from was also written by Ndirabatware in his diary stating that in a meeting of June 06, 1994, the government decided that foreign currency in SONARWA should be withdrawn and used for the purpose.

In the Kambanda's diary on the Cabinet meeting held on June 4, 1994, it is written that the meeting also discussed the plan to recruit about 1,500 mercenaries to help government forces. At a meeting with Kambanda, the Chief of Defense Staff and the Gendarmery on June 5, 1994, as stated in his diary, it was agreed that the mercenaries would be recruited from the United States and the Belgium.

The meeting of June 4, 1994 also confirmed that the City of Gitarama was occupied by the RPF-INKOTANYI Armed Forces, which is why a military prefect, Major Ukurikiyezeu Jean Damascène, was appointed to replace Fidèle Uwizeye.

For the government meeting held on June 06, 1994, Jean Kambanda's diary indicated that a big amount of money had been spent on two contracts to import weapons in China. The first contract consisted of one million and six hundred thousand US dollars (\$ 1,600,000) and the other one for two million two hundred thousand US dollars (\$ 2,200,000). The meeting also revealed that there was a contract signed by the Government of Jean Kambanda with an unspecified Frenchman who was later identified as Dominique Yves Lemonnier, a former businessman and owner of DYL INVEST based in Annecy, France.

Cabinet meetings resolved for intensified teamwork in carrying out genocide and improve the image of the criminal government

In the diary of Kambanda, about discussed issues during the meeting of June 4, 1994, he wrote that his government's image was very bad abroad, and that efforts should be made to improve it. Kambanda did not say that the cause of the damage was the killings by his government, but that was it. Kambanda said that France was ready to help them but has demanded that him and his government would find evidences that Uganda was providing support to the RPF-INKOTANYI, and hence France would use that pretext to justify the aid that they were ready to give to the Kambanda government.

The strategies to ensure the telecommunications activity were clearly reflected in the diary of Ngirabatware where it is stated that the Government meeting of June 06, 1994 approved the signing of agreements of three companies from France and United States specializing in communication. They were supposed to help them cover up the genocide, and approved that the President and the Prime Minister should take action to explain the struggle that they were involved in, which was the Genocide.

It was also agreed that President Theodore Sindikubwabo should travel to Addis Ababa at the African Union office to carry out a so-called "lobbying" (advocacy) action among African countries, and to initiate media war.

Ngirabatware also wrote that the cabinet meeting found out that members of Interahamwe and the military were not treated equally which was leading to problems of misunderstanding and yet there was a need to unite in order to defeat the enemy.

The June 6, 1994 meeting also stated that there were accomplices among the Armed Forces, some of whom were Tutsi. As for *Banyanduga*, there were also accomplices due to the problem of north-south divisionism.

The issue was also written by Kambanda in his diary, where he said that there was divisionism in the military but added that "*the issue of accomplices in the gendarmery should not be exaggerated.*" Although Kambanda seemed to undermine the issue of divisionism in the Gendarmery, it was a lie. At various previous meetings, like the one of June 4, 1994, divisions in the gendarmery were widely discussed.

It is clear from the Kambanda diary that during this meeting they also considered replacing General Ndiririyimana Augustin at the leadership of the Gendarmery and considered the list of candidates who could replace him but they did not agree on any. Among the candidates discussed were: Colonel Nyirimanzi, Colonel Rutayisire, Colonel Ntiwiragabo and Colonel Rwarakabije.

Ngirabatware wrote that the June 6, 1994 meeting decided to intensify the functioning of the "*auto-defense civile*" and that the government would give means to the people to be able do it and encouraging the displaced people to go back to their homes. To that end, Ngirabatware wrote that the Government had decided to establish a system of "*auto defense civile*" in each Commune and each Sector, and that Ministers would reach out to the people, to monitor the day to day progress of the program, instead of daily Ministers meeting in the office.

2.45. JUNE 5, 1994: PRIME MINISTER JEAN KAMBANDA MET ALL ARMY AND GENDARMERY CHIEFS TO TIGHTEN WAR TACTICS AND TO CONCLUDE THE TERMINATION OF TUTSI WHO WERE STILL ALIVE

Decisions to increase military training for youth and equipping them with weapons

The meeting convened by the Prime Minister focused on two key issues. The first was to analyse how Kambanda Government and its forces would reposition themselves to ensure that they wouldn't continue to lose the war against the RPF-INKOTANYI forces; the second issue was to assess how the Genocide to exterminate the Tutsi could continue and be accelerated as much as possible.

They assessed the situation in the parts controlled by the Government namely Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Butare and the Western Kigali. In Kambanda's writings, he says they have found that the "enemy" was more powerful in military matters for a number of reasons. Among the strongest ones they mentioned were the fact that the government soldiers were getting discouraged. It was agreed that the army chiefs should explain to the military the danger to people if the whole country would be captured by the RPF.

They also highlighted the plight of the increasing number of their burglar soldiers who were especially stealing cars, and the problem of deserters who run away from the battle without being pursued, which further discourages the rest of soldiers on the battle of the war and genocide.

It was agreed that in the government-controlled areas, they would continue to focus on encouraging young people to join the military, provide them with training and weapons. They gave an example that in Butare and Gikongoro Prefectures about two hundred (200) people had started the training.

It was appreciated that the students who had been evacuated from Byumba in the *Groupe Scolaire de la Salle*, and were lodged in the School of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (EAVK), had started the military training at the school. The government demanded that it should be done elsewhere to ensure that the youth continue to receive military training and weapons.

The trained and armed young men were mostly used to provide assistance to the Interahamwe in the killings. It is in that way that Hutu students from EAVK killed

their fellow Tutsi students after the former Director of the school, Theophile Mbarushimana incited them to do so. He was the first to shoot a Tutsi student in an attempt to set a bad example for Hutu students to commit genocide and they had immediately killed their fellow Tutsi students and Tutsi who were evacuated from Byumba. Mbarushimana Theophile is the son of Joseph Habyarimana Gitera who enacted “*10 Hutu Commandments*” in 1959.

The meeting also decided that all banks should be relocated to Gisenyi near the Congolese border, to make it easier for them to immediately transfer public funds to Congo once they lose the war and that is exactly what happened. As a result, the army chiefs were determined to do everything possible to fight for the Kigali-Ruhengeri-Gisenyi road to prevent RPF INKOTANYI from capturing the area.

Resolutions to encourage Prefects and Bourgmestres to reinforce the massacre

Apart from military related measures taken, political measures including to continue encouraging all prefects and bourgmestres to accelerate the “*auto-defense civile*” program had been taken. This consisted of accelerating the killing of Tutsi, according to the Prime Minister Jean Kambanda's instructions of May 25, 1994 addressed to all the authorities, including the prefects and bourgmestres.

Let us recall that the “*auto-defense civile*” directives written by Jean Kambanda on May 25, 1994, commanded all prefects to provide the Interahamwe with all the necessary equipment to commit the genocide. Jean Kambanda pleaded guilty to that crime at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and emphasized that, the directives were contained in the document entitled “*directive sur la defense civile*” of 25 May 1994. The directives were intended to incite the “*Interahamwe to carry out killing against Tutsi civilians in all prefectures; and the government was responsible for the killings by the Interahamwe.*”

During the June 5, 1994 meeting between Kambanda and the army chiefs, it was agreed that the Government should allocate sufficient budget for “*auto-defense civile*”, increase the number of people involved in the program and increase the number of weapons and other necessary equipment for them.

In addition, it has also been said that among the educated people (intellectuals), some were ready to assist the government in its endeavour, especially in terms of fighting the media war with the purpose of regaining the good image of the criminal government. They had found it necessary because the government forces were accused by the international community of committing the killings alone, and that the RPF's actions were not mentioned.

This misconception was to overlook that there were foreign journalists and staff of rescue organisations in the RPF-INKOTANYI controlled area who would have disclosed the news in case RPF had committed any kind of killing. They also pointed out that another way to regain the good image of the government was to attract some Tutsi so that they flee to the government-controlled area and protect them in order to show that the government could not commit Genocide and at the same time ensure the safety of the Tutsi who took refuge in their controlled area.

The army of Kambanda's government confirmed that Inkotanyi were more experienced and disciplined

Kambanda wrote in his diary that the military leaders had shown him that one of the reasons why the RPF-INKOTANYI was more skilled and defeated them continuously was due to their unity and teamwork in all its structures especially in politics and the military (political and military unity).

Another indication of the RPF-INKOTANYI's expertise was that its soldiers were diligently fighting with devotion contrary to the ones of the Government. He added that RPF soldiers have been given enough military and disciplinary trainings than government soldiers.

It was also said that the RPF-INKOTANYI had a systematic way to plan the battle and monitor its daily progress with great commitment.

They pointed out one of RPF-INKOTANYI weakness as the population did not like the RPF INKOTANYI and hence mobilization should continue among the population to make them hate RPF even further and thus encourage them to flee the country in big numbers.

2.46. JUNE 06, 1994: STRATEGIES TO IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF KAMBANDA'S GOVERNMENT ABROAD AND INCREASED NUMBER OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS

Increased number of injured government soldiers and the death toll were clarified as tough obstacles to the genocide implementation

During the cabinet meeting on June 6, 1994, the Prime Minister summarized his remarks at a meeting with military and gendarmery high commanders which was held on June 05, 1994. One of the issues under consideration was the high number of wounded soldiers in the military whereby they estimated the number of

wounded to be more than five thousand (5000) while that of deceased since April 1994 had reached a thousand (1,000).

One of the strategies to resolve the issue was to call back soldiers who were being trained in foreign countries, however, they were also concerned about some of them who might refuse to return to Rwanda, but concluded that they should call them anyway.

The government had also discussed the issue of its soldiers who run away from the battle and concluded that the military tribunal will start operations and imprison those who escape the battle. It therefore required the establishment of military prisons in areas under the government's control. They also reiterated that one of the reasons they were losing the battle was because of accomplices in their military and that they had to keep searching for them.

Certainly, this was a reason for them to continue killing those they did not want, including some soldiers who were not participating in the genocide plot. Being called an accomplice of the enemy entirely meant that.

The government also endorsed another strategy concerning the battle that all armed people everywhere in the country, i.e. the Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi should be brought together and join forces to fight the RPF-INKOTANYI. It was also agreed that military training should be intensified at the *Ecole superieure Militaire (ESM)* which had relocated to Kigeme and at the *Ecole des Sous-Officiers (ESO)* in Butare. On that day, they also decided to replace Lieutenant Colonel Tharcisse Muvunyi who was in charge of ESO with Colonel Munyengango for unexpressed reasons.

Another issue discussed was about the bourgmestres who, after they become aware that the RPF-INKOTANYI forces are approaching their communes, run away and yet they have worked closely with the Kambanda government committing genocide from the beginning. Examples of the Bourgmestres of Shyorongi, Mbogo, Kanombe and Tumba were given, and it was suggested that others who behave like that should be replaced as soon as possible. This was one of the reasons why some bourgmestres were replaced in June 1994 and were replaced by extremists who were more determined to exterminate the Tutsi who had not yet been killed.

Kambanda government used diplomacy to hide its criminal image against the Tutsi

On June 6, 1994, a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the African Union (OUA) was held in Tunis, Tunisia, with the purpose of preparing for the heads of States summit which was scheduled to convene on 13-15 June 1994. At various meetings of the Kambanda Government held in May and June 1994, it was agreed that the Government should make efforts to acquire arms and to restore its good image through diplomacy and show that it was not killing people but putting all the blame on the RPF-INKOTANYI. This was also the advice given by France to the Government of Kambanda at different occasions.

Let us recall that on 24 April 1994, the Government of Kambanda sent a delegation to France consisting of Jerome Bicamumpaka who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Jean Bosco Barayagwiza who was the Director General in charge of politics and diplomacy in the same Ministry for the purpose of strengthening diplomacy. The Rwandan delegation was received in the Presidency of the French Republic by Bruno Delaye who was the Special Adviser to President Mitterrand in charge of Africa, the Prime Minister Edouard Balladur and Alain Juppé who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

With regards to the military cooperation, between May 9 and 13, 1994, France received the Rwandan delegation led by Lieutenant Colonel Ephrem Rwabarinda. The delegation comprised of Colonel Sebastien Ntahobari who was the Rwanda military attaché at the Rwandan Embassy in France, and Lieutenant Colonel Cyprien Kayumba who was in charge of finance at the Ministry of Defense during the Genocide. Kayumba spent 27 days in France on a weapons search mission.

Among the French officials who received the Rwandan military delegation was General Jean-Pierre Huchon, former in charge of Military Cooperation at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A mission report prepared by Lieutenant Colonel Rwabarinda regarding what was discussed during the mission, revealed that France had agreed to provide military assistance to Rwanda and advised that the government should do its utmost to improve its image abroad.

That is why on May 22, 1994, President Théodore Sindikubwabo wrote a letter to the French President Francois Mitterrand thanking him for all the support France had given to Rwanda since 1990 and urging him to increase the support, especially since the RPF-INKOTANYI forces had already taken over Kigali International Airport, Kanombe.

Based on this self-assurance, the Kambanda Government decided that its envoys should go around the world trying to restore its image by hiding that the Government was committing Genocide. It is in this context that the criminal Government envoys attended the OAU summit of Ministers and President Sindikubwabo attended it as the Head of State from 13 to 15 May 1994. His remarks were marked by the denial that his government was committing Genocide, declaring that the problem in Rwanda was the war that Rwanda was involved in by the RPF-INKOTANYI. His remarks were condemned by many in Tunisia as a lie. Rwandan delegates were informed at the massacres that were committed by the government showed that the Government and its troops were killing Tutsi civilians instead of going to the military battle to fight the RPF-INKOTANYI.

2.47. JUNE 8, 1994: MASSACRE OF CHILDREN BORN FROM HUTU WOMEN AND TUTSI MEN IN KAVUMU, NGORORERO

The genocide at Kavumu was carried out with the greatest magnitude

Kavumu was one of the sectors that made up Ramba Commune, in Gisenyi Prefecture, and is one of the most areas populated by Tutsi in Gisenyi. The history of Kavumu shows us that it is an area that had been plagued by violence and killings of Tutsi since 1959, some of whom fled others led destitute living conditions. The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi destroyed almost all the Tutsi in the area; some were killed in churches and buildings of Ramba and Gaseke Communes.

The massacre of Tutsi and the brutality of the Genocide is evidenced by the fact that twenty-four thousand one hundred and eighty-eight (24,188) bodies were buried in dignity in the Kavumu memorial. There are also bodies which have not yet been found dumped in various unknown locations and yet the genocide occurred on a day light. An example is that the bodies of Kamanzi and Biraro were found 24 years later.

In 1994, Ramba Commune was ruled by Bourgmestre Karasira Léonard who was a member of the MRND party. Karasira collaborated with the Sous prefect of Ngororero sous prefecture which brought together Satinskyi, Ramba and Kibirira Communes, Bazimaziki Bernardin. The Interahamwe were the most prominent in the massacre, and they were many in Ngororero, but they collaborated with Impuzamugambi of the CDR and wore uniforms while going to kill Tutsi.

Among the Tutsi killed were the family of Kabirigi who were killed by their neighbours, the family of Binama, family of Munyakyanza Isidore who was a teacher, Ntiyamira Léonard Leonard and his family, the family of Kagaragu,

Mudahangarwa, Gatsimbanyi, Rutayisire, Sebagaramba, Uwiringiyimana, Nshimiyimana, Nsengiyumva, Nyamugira, Ndamage, Kayitsinga, Zaninkwano, Gatari, Nyiraromba, Bukamba, Uwonkunda Annonciata, Kamirindi, Furere and his two children, Kayibanda Mathieu, Murengerantwari and others. Twenty others from Dativa Uwamwiza family were first buried in the cemetery near *Mukore wa Rwabugiri* but in 2018 the bodies were transferred to Kibirira Memorial.

The Kavumu memorial contains the bodies of 374 Tutsi, but not only them were killed there, but others have been buried in other memorials either Ngororero, Kabaya or Kibirira.

The Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi collaborated in all the massacres in Ramba, especially in the Sovu and Bayi sectors and they were led by Barakomera but supported by those from Gaseke and Satinskyi Communes.

Most of the Interahamwe were from Ngororero and they were led by Kabalira Telesphore, a school inspector who also headed the Interahamwe in Satinskyi Commune, and his wife, Mukaruziga Eugenie, was the Vice President of the CDR in Satinskyi and this is where Ngororero Sous prefecture headquarter was located.

Mbarushimana Bonaventure, a former businessman and MRND President in the Mucano Sector, played a key role in the massacre of Tutsi in various parts of the country as he had given his car to transport Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi to kill.

Another major Interahamwe who actively participated in the genocide perpetrated in Ngororero was Nyandwi Jean Claude who was a teacher at Kavumu Primary School in Ramba Commune.

Children born of Hutu women who had married Tutsi men were inhumanly killed after all other Tutsi

In the Rwandan culture followed in 1994, the child took the father's ethnic group and was the one recorded in the identity card of the adult child. This meant that when a Tutsi man married a Hutu woman, the children he gave birth to were of Tutsi ethnic group. When a Hutu man married a Tutsi woman, the children he gave birth to were Hutu in their identity cards. As a result, during the Genocide, children born to Tutsi men and Hutu women were treated as Tutsi, and even killed in the same way as Tutsi for the blood of their fathers.

On June 8, 1994, the Interahamwe of MRND in collaboration with the Impuzamugambi of CDR who had already massacred Tutsi, including many men who had married Hutu women, also demolished their homes.

The Interahamwe killed Tutsi in early April 1994, they took the children of Tutsi men (whom they had killed) who had married Hutu women and put them in the

same house and ordered their mothers to guard them. But in order to ensure that the women would not escape, they left few Interahamwe to control them.

They were 13 children including small children and infants. On June 8, 1994, the Interahamwe came to kill the children and their mothers and only one child could survive. They were cruelly killed because some of them were thrown into a pit they had excavated and buried alive, and their Hutu mothers were ordered by Interahamwe to return home.

2.48. JUNE 9, 1994: KAMBANDA GOVERNMENT APPROVED STRONG MEASURES TO CONTINUE THE ACCELERATION OF "AUTO-DEFENSE CIVILE"

Fifty million Rwandan francs (50,000,000 Frw) was spent in the acceleration of Tutsi killing through "Auto-defense civile"

The diary of the Minister of Local Government, Edouard Karemera of June 09, 1994 shows that on this date the government meeting convened to assess the use of fifty million Rwandan francs (50,000,000 frw) which had been disbursed by the government in the context of the implementing the instructions of Prime Minister Jean Kambanda of May 25, 1994 on the expedition of the Genocide.

In order to continue supporting the "*auto-defense civile*" program, the Cabinet meeting held on June 09, 1994 called on the National Bank (BNR) to reconsider how Account No. 120.12.33 allocated to receive the support from the Ministry of Planning (MINIPLAN) would do well. BNR was also provided with *specimens* indicating the signatories for the Account.

The Cabinet meeting decided to expedite the killing of Tutsi where they had not been killed

The cabinet meeting of June 9, 1994 also reviewed the progress of the *Auto-defense civile program* and found that there was a need for improvement in order for the Genocide to be carried out everywhere and expeditiously.

The first thing was to prepare a long report to be submitted to the Prime Minister outlining the implementation of the program across the country. It was mentioned that in some places, people have not responded well to the "*auto-defense civile*" program and necessitated that the soldiers take the lead in showing people how to find the enemy and fight him. This meant that soldiers were required to show the

public how the killing of Tutsi should proceed and prepare a report explaining the course of the massacre.

The second item on the agenda of the Government was to conduct a census of young men who received both the training and weapons in the "*auto-defense civile*" program in each Commune, and to report it to the Prefect and discuss it with the military commanders in the prefecture so that errors could be rectified, so that the Genocide can spread across the country.

The third resolution adopted by the Kambanda Government was to mobilize all levels to intensify the campaign through especially the media and community outreach meetings to mobilize them for joining hands to fight the enemy everywhere. That meant, people should be encouraged to continue searching for Tutsi who were still alive rather than rushing to flee only.

The meeting decided to appoint a permanent staff member in the Ministry of local government in charge of preparing daily publications available to the media and local authorities to assist them in the campaign. The assignment was given to Nkiko Faustin who was formerly the Sous prefect of Byumba Prefecture.

The Cabinet also agreed that the Prime Minister should write to the Commander-in-Chief of the Rwandan Armed Forces and ask him to instruct the army leaders so that the military would show people how to locate the enemy and provide them with the necessary equipment and advice to make the operation a success.

2.49. JUNE 10, 1994: KAMBANDA GOVERNMENT SET A STANDARD FOR TRADERS TO PURCHASE GUNS TO BE USED IN THE GENOCIDE AND INTENSIFIED GENOCIDE IN KIBUYE

Traders were ordered to purchase their own guns and those of the population

According to the Nyiramasuhuko diary, on June 10, 1994, a Government meeting was held to review a number of issues, but the recurring issue was related to the way in which the Genocide was carried out. Nyiramasuhuko wrote on a review of how "*auto-defense civile*" should be expedited across the country. It was agreed that in order to obtain sufficient firearms, each trader was required to purchase at least two firearms, one belonging to him and the other to the neighbours in the area where he lived.

It was also decided that these guns are distributed in schools so that each school has ten guns. The meeting also pointed out that there is a need to put more effort into "*auto-defense civile*" in Gisenyi Prefecture because it was not carried out to

the desired level. However, they were happy with how it was being carried out in Butare Prefecture and hence two million (2,000,000 frw) Rwandan francs more was given to Butare to continue the program. This means that the government provided money to commit the killing and monitored it.

Kambanda government distributed guns among citizens and was pleased with the level of Tutsi killing

Among the considerations of the June 10, 1994 Cabinet meeting, was how guns should continue to be distributed to the public, especially among the Interahamwe.

According to Nyiramasuhuko notes in her diary, they were pleased with the successful operation in the Rulindo fighting region and the Chief of army in that region was applauded. In addition, the collaboration between the Rushashi Sous prefect in Kigali Ngari and the one for Kiyumba in Gitarama in the "auto- defense civile" program was applauded and requested that such examples would be followed by others.

In Ruhengeri, Lieutenant Colonel Marcel Bivugabagabo, who was in charge of the "*auto-defense civile*" operation was praised as he had managed to distribute 120 guns in Kinigi Commune in Ruhengeri. However, there were concerns that the military leadership in Butare were disordered.

The decision to tighten arms distribution was also reflected in the diary of Ngirabatware Augustin, the former Minister of Planning, who wrote that "Auto defense civile" in Gitarama, Gisenyi and Ruhengeri was being carried out in a pleasant manner. Ngirabatware added that fifty million francs (50,000,000 frw) for the entire program throughout the country should be immediately disbursed. Let us recall that this was an additional budget for the "auto-defense civile" which had been approved by the cabinet meeting of June 09, 1994.

Nyiramasuhuko also wrote that the Government was pleased that all citizens have already understood what they were required in the "auto-defense civile" program, stating that they had all made it their own and were participating properly. This meant that the Kambanda Government was proud that the Genocide was achieving its goal of exterminating Tutsi throughout the country. It was agreed that the village leaders and the bourgmestres would be given a reward for their good work. However, the government was disappointed that the Bourgmestre of Butamwa Commune, Laurent Twagirayezu had fled and that they had found eighty (80) guns in his office not yet distributed. The guns were immediately handed over to the Interahamwe for use in massacres. Bourgmestre Twagirayezu Laurent was a member of the MDR Party.

Speciality given to Kibuye Prefecture

Although at the meeting the Kambanda Government members were pleased that the Genocide was being carried out properly, there were some areas of improvement. Nyiramasuhuko wrote in her diary that there was a problem of many Hutu in Kibuye who supported the RPF-INKOTANYI manifesto because Seth Sendashonga was born from Kibuye. An example of Rwamatamu Commune headed by Bourgmestre Abel Furere, a brother to Seth Sendashonga was given.

Ngirabatware's diary also reflected that the issue had been debated but he had written a little compared to Nyiramasuhuko. Ngirabatware wrote that the RPF had infiltrated in Kibuye and got Hutu members.

However, Furere Abel committed the Genocide despite the Government claiming that being a brother of Seth Sendashonga will not permit him to do so. Rwamatamu Commune was at the forefront of the genocide even since 1992. It was one of the areas in which Tutsi killing in Kibuye was started as well as in the nearby Gishyita Commune.

The government also invented a false statement that was discussed at the June 10, 1994 meeting that the Inyenzi had arrived in Bisesero. That's what Nyiramasuhuko wrote in her diary.

As it turned out in the days following June 1994, the lie that there were Inkotanyi in Bisesero was an excuse to find a way to send troops to exterminate the remaining Tutsi in the Bisesero Hills. Worse still, the government concluded that Tutsi in Bisesero should be killed, but at the June 10, 1994 meeting, it was decided that the radio antenna on Mount Karongi should be protected. This meant that the antenna was more valuable than the life of the Tutsi.

Minister of Defense Augustin Bizimana requested the killing of Tutsi bishops

A witness called XX for security reasons, testified at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The witness was a former member of the Kambanda Government. He said that at a government meeting on June 10, 1994, he was surprised to hear that the Minister of Defense, Augustin Bizimana, had demanded the killing of Tutsi bishops.

The witness testified that in his speech, Minister Bizimana explained that his request was in line with the wishes of the military leaders who had demanded that two Tutsi Catholic bishops, Bishop Gahamanyi Jean Baptiste and Bishop Kalibushi Wenceslas be killed, in retaliation of three other bishops: Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva, Bishop Vincent Nsengiyumva and Bishop Joseph Ruzindana who had been shot dead by RPF soldiers on 05 June 1994 in Kabgayi.

Witness XX said he was shocked that the idea of such a murder was being considered at a Cabinet meeting and be given enough time, and he said that he had opposed it. He also explained that the meeting ended with no decision on the matter, as Kambanda had quickly concluded the meeting telling them that he was going to the funeral of Protais Zigiranyirazo's mother, that they should postpone the matter for next meeting.

According to the witness XX, Ministers who were present at the meeting were: Mugenzi Justin, Prosper Mugiraneza, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Edouard Karemera and Augustin Ngirabatware. He further explained that there were times when some ministers did not attend cabinet meetings because they were involved in the campaign in their assigned prefectures to mobilise Hutu population to accelerate genocide. However, let us remind that Bishop Kalibushi was not a Tutsi but a Hutu from Byimana, who was not an extremist, but a truthful person who fought hard for the Tutsi both during and before the Genocide. During the Genocide Interahamwe tried to kill him many times.

2.50. EXTERMINATION OF TUTSI REFUGEES AT NYAMIRAMBO CATHOLIC PARISH

The Tutsi were exterminated in the premises of the Saint Charles Lwanga Catholic Parish, Nyamirambo

On June 10, 1994, The Government militia murdered more than 400 people, mainly children, who had taken refuge at the Saint Charles Lwanga Catholic Parish of Nyamirambo. Friday June 10, 1994, the Interahamwe burst into the parish saying that they were going to "evacuate" the orphans. They were commanded by Kigingi who was one of their leaders.

Father Henri Blanchard, a Frenchman, and Father Otto Mayer, a German, refused to open the door of the building. The Interahamwe attacked him with an axe and threw grenades, then they put the hostages in a truck. The truck did several round trips until all the Tutsi who were hidden in this parish were exhausted.

Father Otto Mayer sought help from the *Collège Saint-André* near the Parish, where soldiers of the government were staying. He was stopped at a roadblock where the Interahamwe ordered him to turn back.

On a second attempt, a government official gave him permission to cross the roadblock. A little further, he saw the truck which had taken the Tutsi hostages. There were corpses on the ground and in the truck. The priest recognized some of them who were parish members. Among the victims, the majority were children.

The Journalist Jean Chatain of the French daily newspaper *L'Humanité* reported this horrible massacre in the newspaper *L'Humanité* of June 13, 1994, citing the figure of 170 people according to the priests. The survivors of this massacre noted more than 400 Tutsi people kidnapped from the Parish of Saint Charles Lwanga on Friday June 10, 1994 and then killed by Interahamwe.

2.51. JUNE 13, 1994: THE REPORTER DANIEL MERMET LAUNCHED A DAILY DEPICTION OF THE GENOCIDE HE WITNESSED IN NYARUBUYE, BAGOSORA ARRIVED IN RWANDA WITH ARMS TO DESTROY TUTSI

Daniel Mermet, reporter of Radio France Internationale, organised a ten (10) day radio broadcast on the supernatural genocide that he had witnessed in Nyarubuye

In the areas controlled by the RPF-INKOTANYI, journalists and staff from international non-governmental organizations were able to go with the troops and carry their work in those areas as they wanted. Some of them were surprised by the gravity of the Genocide against the Tutsi and they wrote articles or prepared radio shows that highlighted the tragic history of the Genocide and the violence that took place. Daniel Mermet is one of those who had demonstrated the truth. In the midst of the genocide, the criminal government received weapons purchased by Colonel Bagosora from the Seychelles brought by a Congolese military plane.

Daniel Mermet is a French journalist who worked for one of the country's leading radio stations called "*France Inter*". On May 27, 1994, Daniel Mermet arrived in Nyarubuye with his colleague Jérôme Bastion who works for *Radio France Internationale* (RFI). Arriving at Nyarubuye Catholic Parish, they were shocked by the supernatural massacre that had taken place. They found the bleeding bodies of the Tutsi killed, others who being torn to pieces and eaten by dogs.

They were also surprised to find a 13-year-old girl named Valentine who had strangely survived the massacre. They spoke to Valentine in details with the help of a translator who had also survived in Nyarubuye, Gaspard Ngarambe. The latter was a student at *Grand Seminaire de Nyakibanda* at the time, and the genocide found him on holiday in Nyarubuye. The voice of Valentine's testimony produced a long discussion of broadcast that made the history of the Genocide against the Tutsi known.

From 13/6/1994 to 22/6/1994, Daniel Mermet in his talk show on "France Inter" called "Là-Bas si j'y suis" that ran daily on "France Inter" between 15:00 and 17:00, he broadcasted genocide history shows that he witnessed in Nyarubuye based on Valentine's testimony. This testimony touched many people's hearts and helped to recognise the cruelty of the Tutsi killing.

Daniel Mermet also had the opportunity to give a historical account of how the Genocide was planned and carried out. At that time in France many were unaware and even the genocide deniers had started to distort the history.

It was not easy to report such information on Radio France Inter because it was a French government-sponsored radio station and the opinion that the French government had in 1994 was not to portray the true face of the Genocide and not to slander the Government and its forces.

There was a testimony by Philippe Boisserie, who worked for France 2 government television, in an article published in the August 1995 issue of *Les Temps Modernes*, explaining the instructions by the France Government to French television, radio and state-owned newspapers to hide the truth about the genocide against the Tutsi. Philippe Boisserie explained that on 10/4/1994 he was sent to Rwanda with French troops in an "operation" called Amaryllis, instructed to never publish information about the killings, that his only concern was with the French army and about how foreigners in Rwanda were being evacuated by foreign planes that had come to transport them.

He wrote it in the following words:

"Why did they send me to Rwanda?" The instructions given by my administration were very clear. I was only sent to oversee the evacuation of foreigners, especially the French. Evacuation of French was the objective; Rwandans were not cared for and this hurt me.

One of my leaders in the media services already known for his clarity told me the following: you are going to monitor the information regarding the repatriation of foreigners living in Rwanda and come back once it is completed. We are not sending you to monitor and publish information relating to black killing between themselves. In any case, no one cares about the killings. »

Daniel Mermet, refused to comply with the directives because of the harshness of the Genocide in Nyarubuye and his humanity after seeing the grief that Valentine, the survivor suffered from and the supernatural atrocities committed against her. He took the testimony of the survivors that he found in Nyarubuye and decided to return to Rwanda many times and publish the history as he had seen it. His courage

caused many to understand because many French knew that what had happened in Rwanda was just a war between ethnic groups.

As we speak of the courage of Daniel Mermet, we also thank his fellow journalists who had shown the truth of the Genocide as it was, especially in France even though it was not easy. We can mention Laure De Vulpian (France Culture), Patrick De Saint Exupery (Le Figaro), Monique Mass (RFI), Maria Malagardis and Agnes Rotivel (La Croix), Jean Chatain (L'humanité), Jean-Philippe Ceppi (Libération), Jean-François Dupaquier (L'Evènement du Jeudi), Laurent Bijard (Le Nouvel Observateur), Vincent Hugeux (L'Express), Alain Frilet (Libération), Madeleine Mukamabano and Theogene Karabayinga (RFI), etc...

In Belgium: Marie France Cros (La Libre Belgique), Colette Braeckmann (Le Soir), Jean Pierre Martin (RTL/TVI), ... also did a great job of revealing the true nature of the Genocide against the Tutsi.

We also need to denounce journalists who betrayed the standards of their profession by distorting the history and truth of the Genocide against the Tutsi like Stephen Smith (Le Monde), Pierre Péan (Marianne), Peter Verlinden (VRT), Father Guy Theunis (Dialogue), which ones have opted for a negationist line.

Weapons bought by Bagosora reached Goma, Democratic Republic of Congo, crossed to Rwanda and distributed to genocidaires

Due to the fact that Kambanda government was carrying out the Genocide, the United Nations Security Council had adopted Resolution 927 of 17/5/1994 calling for an "embargo" restricting all countries neither to give weapons to Rwanda nor allowing Rwanda to buy weapons. Some countries have not complied with the resolution though.

The Kambanda government had also used tactics to evade the UN resolution in order to continue buying weapons and ammunition to carry out the Genocide. It was in this context that Colonel Bagosora disguised himself into a Senior Officer in the Congolese army and went to Seychelles to buy weapons. He did this with the help of South African businessman Petrus Willem EHLERS who was in charge of the arms trade. The Kambanda government has entered into an agreement with the latter, and the money to buy weapons was paid through him.

Colonel Bagosora and Ehlers arrived in Seychelles on 4/6/1994 and began negotiations aiming to buy 80 tons of weapons in the name of the Ministry of Defense of Zaïre with the company. The weapons were purchased and reached in Goma on June 13, 1994 brought by Zaïrean military plane. The plane went again on 17 June 1994 and the third time on June 19, 1994. The flight certificate allowing

Zairean military plane to go to the Seychelles to bring the weapons was signed by the General Baoko-Yoka, who was the vice Minister of Zaire in the Ministry of Defense.

All the weapons were delivered to Goma airport, unloaded and sent to Rwanda. Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva who was the Commander of the Army in Gisenyi sent the soldiers and the Interahamwe to unload the plane and packed the vehicles that brought them to Rwanda and handed them over to the Interahamwe and the soldiers of the Kambanda Government.

An investigation into the weapons revealed that Ehlers was paid by the Central Bank of Rwanda for the money used to purchase the weapons, which was transferred to Ehlers' Account N° 82113 CHEATA of Ehlers in Switzerland at UBC (*Union bancaire privée*) in the City of Lugano. The money was paid as follows:

- On June 14, 1994, Ehlers was paid \$ 592,784 from an account of the Central Bank of Rwanda located at the Bank of France in Paris called the Banque Nationale de Paris (BNP);
- On June 15, 1994, Ehlers was paid \$ 180,000 and the money was provided by the Central Bank of Rwanda;
- On June 16, 1994, Ehlers was paid \$ 734,099 from a Central Bank of Rwanda account at BNP in Paris;
- On June 17, 1994, Ehlers was paid \$ 150,000 by the Central Bank of Rwanda the same as of June 15, 1994.

The issues regarding the purchase and celebration of these weapons was discussed at the Kambanda Government meetings held on 9 and 17 June 1994.

Colonel Bagosora in his trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, on 9 and 10 November 2005, admitted that he went to the Seychelles to buy the weapons, which were brought to Goma on 14 and 16 June 1994 and then brought to Rwanda. He could not deny it because the Court was asking him based on a document in their possession that he had signed which clearly showed that he was the one who bought them.

On July 3, 1994, Jean Kambanda also agreed to the purchase of the weapons in an interview with a French journalist Franck Johannes, a writer in the French newspaper called: *Le Journal du Dimanche* as follows: "*We are receiving weapons, that is clear. Without it, we wouldn't have been able to hold on. I'm starting to understand how we can win a war. The embargo problem is no longer the same as it was a month ago.* "

2.52. JUNE 14, 1994: RPF INKOTANYI ARMY LIBERATED GITARAMA CITY AND THE CRIMINAL GOVERNMENT FLED TO GISENYI

Gitarama is the home of Tutsi persecution in Rwanda

Following the liberation of Kabgayi Concentration Camp on June 2, 1994, the RPF-INKOTANYI forces continued to exert pressure on the criminals' army in various parts of the country, including the City of Kigali and Gitarama. In Kigali City, RPF-INKOTANYI forces continued to rescue people in Nyamirambo area and elsewhere. The June 14, 1994 was marked by a major victory for the liberation of Gitarama City after two weeks of heavy fighting.

Gitarama Prefecture is at the forefront among the home prefectures for leaders who have been instrumental in spreading divisions and hatred among Rwandans that led to the Genocide against the Tutsi. The PARMEHUTU Party which had a policy of division and discrimination was founded in Gitarama. In addition, the massacres and atrocities against Tutsi in 1959 started in Gitarama Prefecture and spread to other parts of the country.

It was in the former Gitarama Prefecture, that the massacres and acts of violence against Tutsi started on November 3, 1959 in the former Ndiza chiefdom and spread among other chiefdoms. The Hutu and Tutsi population of Rukoma and Mayaga chiefdom areas supported the Kingdom and opposed the attacks of the PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA militants, and it required Colonel Guy Logiest to use the Congolese army (known as the *Kamina*) to fight and disperse them. Massacre of Tutsi, their expulsion, and burning of their houses was more intense during the Kamarampaka elections in September 1961 and during the following years.

Killing, persecuting and exterminating Tutsi was one of the hallmarks of President Kayibanda Grégoire's regime. During his ruling, Tutsi were killed at various times, in December 1963 and in February and March 1973

After Major General Habyarimana Juvénal overthrew President Kayibanda Grégoire on July 5, 1973, Tutsi of the former Gitarama Prefecture had a temporary tranquillity period. The refugees started to return to their properties, but it did not continue because President Habyarimana also placed hindrances on Tutsi who wanted to return to their homeland. President Habyarimana put an embargo on Tutsi who were inside the country and denied them the right to visit and be visited by their relatives who had fled abroad. He continued the discrimination and divisionism political line and Tutsi continued to be marginalized in all domains.

The liberation struggle was a ploy to resume the persecution and killing of Tutsi from Gitarama

In October 1990, when the RPF-Inkotanyi launched the liberation struggle, as elsewhere in the country, Tutsi living in Gitarama were arrested and imprisoned as accomplices of Inkotanyi, and continued to be persecuted. Subsequently, President Habyarimana's Government approved the formation of a multi-party system in June 1991. Many of the people of Gitarama Prefecture joined the MDR party, as they felt that their old party had returned and that they had the opportunity to face the regime of President Habyarimana which was involved in the imprisonment and assassination of politicians from Gitarama who collaborated with President Kayibanda Grégoire.

It is in this context that the MDR supporters attacked the ruling MRND party supporters, ordering them to become members of the MDR. Local leaders of the MRND party had been forced to join the MDR party in the so-called "*Kubohoza*" literally translated as "to liberate". After realizing that the people of Gitarama Prefecture were passionately opposed to the MRND party, President Habyarimana Juvénal used some of the most powerful leaders from Gitarama to divide MDR party in order to weaken his opposition.

It was in this context that the MDR party was split in late October 1993, creating the so-called "MDR-PAWA" or MDR POWER. Among those whom President Habyarimana had used to divide the MDR party were: Karamira Frodouald who was the Vice President of the MDR, Mpamo Esdras who was the Bourgmestre of Masango Commune from the time of President Kayibanda's ruling until 1992, and was on the MRND Committee at the national level. Other contributors include *Callixte Nzabonimana*, the former Minister of Planning and Minister of Youth and Organizations; Géorges Rutaganda, son of Mpamo Esdras, the former First Vice President of the Interahamwe at the National level; Ruhumuriza Phéneas who was on the Interahamwe committee at the national level and others.

Since the formation of the so-called "Hutu-POWER" political parties in October 1993, tensions between the MDR and MRND militants have stalled. Authorities started to convince the public that the enemy they had was a Tutsi whom they must fight and kill. Meetings inciting hatred and killing of Tutsi have increased and were being held in all the communes that made up Gitarama Prefecture.

The formation of militia groups and the supply of firearms to the population had been underway since the end of 1993, although there were some residents of some communes who have been training themselves in Gako, Bugesera since 1992. Among the well-known militia groups were the "*Bataillon Ndiza*" which was

training at the top of Ndiza hill in Nyakabanda Commune, the *JEPE militia* was training in Runda at Kamana Claver's place and the Interahamwe militia.

The Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi started to be implemented in Gitarama Communes after the meeting of April 18, 1994, which brought together members of the Kambanda Government and leaders from various levels including the bourgmestres of the communes of Gitarama Prefecture. The meeting was held in Murambi, Nyamabuye Commune. However, there were some communes that had started murdering Tutsi since April 9, 1994 namely Nyabikenke Commune where Nzabonimana Callixte who was the Minister of Youth and Organizations originates from. Elsewhere, was in Kigoma Commune ruled by Bourgmestre Ugirashebuja Célestin, in Ntongwe Commune ruled by Kagabo Charles and others.

Many Tutsi from the former Gitarama Prefecture had fled to Kabgayi thinking that they would find security there. It turned out that they were mistaken because members of the security committee in Gitarama Prefecture and the bourgmestres were taking the list of Tutsi to be killed, packing them on buses and taking them to Ngororero to kill them.

Starting from April 20, 1994, buses to carry Tutsi came daily and took them to *Cyome* on the borders of Nyabarongo River, in the former Kibilira and Satinskyi Communes. Other Tutsi were killed in the forests near Kabgayi.

Tutsi from Ntongwe and Mugina Communes were killed by Interahamwe and soldiers from Gako military base and Burundian refugees. They were killed in extreme agony as Burundian refugees took out their hearts after killing them, grilled and ate them. The cruel killing took place in various places, such as in Musambira Commune, Nyarubaka Sector where parents were requested to bury their baby boys alive, by a former Interahamwe leader Mukangango.

The Tutsi of Gitarama had resisted the killers

In some of the locations, Tutsi were able to defend themselves against the attacks that were coming to kill them. On Mount Bibare in Kayenzi Commune, Tutsi who had taken refuge at the mountain fought the attacks for two days and soldiers from Gitarama later joined forces with Kayenzi Commune police and Interahamwe in a series of attacks on the Tutsi and killed them.

In Ntongwe Commune, Tutsi from Gisari Sector and Kibanda fled to the "*Nyiranduga*" Hill to fight the deadly attacks. They fought them off for two days and retaliated them. Bourgmestre Kagabo later told the Tutsi who had been fighting that they should stop fighting and instead negotiate with them. He further told them

that they should leave the mountain and join other Tutsi who had taken refuge at Ntongwe Commune to ensure their security. As soon as the Tutsi arrived at the Commune, they were attacked by Interahamwe, soldiers and communal police, who fired and threw grenades at them. The survivors were later evacuated from the Commune and killed in *Nyamukumba* Valley as they tried to flee to Ruhango Sous prefecture.

In the aftermath of the Genocide against the Tutsi, some communes in the former Gitarama Prefecture (Buringa, Nyakabanda, Nyabikenke) continued to have insecurity caused by intruders and some of the buildings of commune were set on fire like the former Buringa Commune burned down by intruders in 1997.

2.53. ON 14 - 17 JUNE 1994: TUTSI MASSACRE AT SAINT FAMILLE PARISH AND SAINT PAUL CONTINUED AND INKOTANYI CONDUCTED A SPECIAL OPERATION TO SAVE THE VICTIMS

Summary of the Tutsi killing at *Sainte Famille Parish* in Kigali

The first massacre of Tutsi who had taken refuge at the *Sainte Famille* Church took place on April 15, 1994 through which at least 135 men and boys were killed.

After the rescue of Tutsi who were at the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* by the RPF Inkotanyi, the killers expressed their anger towards the Tutsi who had taken refuge in the *Sainte Famille* church. On June 17, 1994, at around 10:00 am, a major attack went to *Sainte Famille* Church and killed nearly a 100 Tutsi men and two girls.

On June 15, 1994, UNAMIR evacuated some Tutsi to the area under the control of the RPF Inkotanyi. Especially women, girls and children were evacuated because Col Munyakazi Laurent had requested the Councilor Odeta Nyirabagenzi and Angelina Mukandutiye to bring Interahamwe to surround the car where they were being loaded to make sure that no men or boys could be taken as it would make the RPF Inkotanyi stronger. At the *Sainte Famille* Church, the killers came at any time, they chose and would take some Tutsi to kill especially since the church was surrounded by the gendarms and the Interahamwe on a daily basis, making it even difficult for Tutsi refugees to flee there.

On June 19, 1994, the killers, along with Col Munyakazi Laurent, Angeline Mukandutiye, Odeta Nyirabagenzi, Kamatamu Euphrasie, Col Renzaho Tharcisse and Father Munyeshyaka, again abducted about 17 other young men and killed them. They included Rubashankwaya Bonaventure who worked in the Ministry of Finance and Economy (MINIFINECO), Munyensanga JMV, Athanase, Aloys, Ignace, Kasongo, Alexandre, Jean Damascène, Safari, Jean Pierre and others whose identity were not known as it was revealed during the case of Gen. Maj. Munyakazi Laurent rendered by the Military High Court on November 16, 2006.

On June 20, 1994, for the third time, UNAMIR evacuated some Tutsi to the areas occupied by the RPF Inkotanyi, but were unable to take them all and the killers, with complicity of Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, continued to take them one by one until the Inkotanyi captured the City of Kigali and rescued the Tutsi who were left at *Sainte Famille*.

On June 26, 1994, Col Munyakazi Laurent, along with Mukandutiye Angelina and other militias, including Mugubiri, went to the *Sainte Famille* and took away about 70 young men to kill them.

Summary of the Tutsi killings at *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* - Kigali

On April 22, 1994, the attack on the Tutsi refugees at the CELA (*Center d'Etudes de Langues Africaines*) also went to the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* and killed 4 people, including: Batsinduka Aristarque and Rukundo Damien.

On June 14, 1994, at the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul*, a large attack came and took away between 72 and 80 Tutsi to the Rugenge Sector from where they were taken to be killed at the CND. The attack was composed of many Interahamwe including Nkeshimana Jean Pierre alias Kivide, Fidèle Castal, Furaha alias Shitani, Mugubiri, the Councillor Nyirabagenzi Odeta, inspector Mukandutiye Angelina, Col Laurent Munyakazi, Father Munyeshyaka Wenceslas and others.

Before they came to take away those that they killed on June 14, 1994, on June 13, 1994, Col Munyakazi Laurent with Nyirabagenzi, Mukandutiye and Father Munyeshyaka held a meeting with Tutsi who had taken refuge at *Saint Paul* to ask them where they would want to go, either in the area controlled by the RPF Inkotanyi or that controlled by the so called *Abatabazi* Government. They completed lists which were thought to have been used while killing them.

On that day, the killers said that they would return on June 17, 1994 to eliminate all Tutsi who were present. The plot was not fulfilled because on the night of June 16 - 17, 1994, the RPF Inkotanyi forces liberated Tutsi who were in the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* and took them to a safe place under their control.

In order for the RPF Inkotanyi forces to liberate those who were at the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul*, they started firing heavily on the Abatabazi Government forces on June 16, 1994 during the day until they arrived at the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* at night. Some Tutsi who were there did not believe that Inkotanyi have arrived and while some were being evacuated by Inkotanyi that night, others stayed and were killed the next day on June 17, 1994.

On June 15, 1994, after an attack that had taken away many Tutsi on the previous day, there was a Hutu young man named Gasore Gustave, who had taken Tutsi to the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* to hide them and remained there because he feared he would be killed because the killers had known that he had taken Tutsi to hide them. On this date, a group of people, including his parents and relatives, took him away from where Father Celestin Hakizimana had hidden him in his house, and the priest begged them to let him go, but his parents said he was going to be questioned by the authorities; they took him and killed him at SOFERWA.

The assassination of a journalist and politician André Kameya on June 15, 1994

Kameya André was the editor-in-chief of the opposition Newspaper *RWANDA RUSHYA* and was one of the founders of the P.L party. *RWANDA RUSHYA* was published twice a month, competing with other MRND backed newspapers such as Kangura. Kameya was also the first to publish the photos of the Inkotanyi informing that they were Rwandan children who were returning in the story entitled: "*U RWANDA MU RUNDI*". He was one of the most wanted people whom they claimed to be working closely with the RPF Inkotanyi. Kameya and his wife Nyiramuruta Suzanne and their daughter Oliva, were killed at the command of the former Prefect of Kigali City Renzaho Tharcisse, and Col Munyakazi Laurent.

Kameya André was killed on the night of June 15 to 16, 1994. On June 16, 1994, Odette Nyirabagenzi and his accomplices went to the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* to announce his death. On June 14, 1994, he spent the day with his son Kameya Olivier at *Abizeramariya* Sisters 'convent. On the same day, the Interahamwe paraded around the *Sainte Famille* Church, the *Centre National de Pastorale Saint Paul* and around the area where the Kinyamateka newspaper was sold.

On the morning of June 15, 1994, Kameya André went to see Father Munyeshyaka Wenceslas for the latter to decide on helping him to flee because he was very much wanted, but Father Munyeshyaka immediately took him to Nyirabagenzi Odette's place who was the Councilor of Rugenge Sector where the Interahamwemet and Odette wanted him very much. One of the Interahamwe who was present, by the name of Ntambara, is the one who indicated where his body was buried in about 200 meters from Nyirabagenzi Odette's place.

2.54. JUNE 17, 1994: THE CABINET MEETING OF KAMBANDA GOVERNMENT LIED ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF INYENZI IN BISESERO AND DECIDED TO EXTERMINATE THE REMAINING TUTSI OF BISESERO

The government's plan to destroy Tutsi in Bisesero was taken on June 17, 1994

The diaries of Ministers Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Augustin Ndirabatware and Edouard Karemera speaks about the June 17, 1994 Government meeting and the issues discussed, including the massacre of Tutsi in Bisesero. It is clear from the diaries of these Ministers that the issue of Tutsi presence in Bisesero was the main issue. Nyiramasuhuko wrote that "*there were Inyenzi in Gishyita Commune, Bisesero Sector.*"

The Karemera diary shows the decision taken for the Tutsi of Bisesero whom they called *Inyenzi*. He wrote in French that the government had decided that a special attack should be sent to Bisesero, with the help of soldiers from Gisenyi, no later than June 20, 1994. In French he wrote: "*Le Gouvernement décide qu'une intervention musclée soit faite à Bisesero, au besoin avec l'appui de Gisenyi et ce, au plus tard, le 20 Juin 1994.*"

The Cabinet meeting also decided that in order to achieve this goal, additional weapons would have to be provided to the Interahamwe through "*auto-defense civile*" in order to carry out the killings.

According to the Nyiramasuhuko diary, the Basesero people are well-known in the history of Rwanda as warriors since the time of the monarchy (former feudal warrior agents), and some of their descendants had joined the RPF including Denis Polisi. Nyiramasuhuko also wrote that Biseruka, a former RPF senior officer was in the Habyarimana's government army, was the one who selected Bisesero as the site for the liberation of Gisenyi struggle. Nyiramasuhuko said that it indicated that

the RPF would attack Gisenyi through Bisesero and Kabuhanga, which is why there was an urgent need for a special operation (muscular operation) in Bisesero. The plan to attack Bisesero is also reflected in the Ngirabatware diary where he wrote that it has been decided to put more effort into the war and to do it everywhere.

It was also decided at the meeting that in order to protect the infrastructures in Bisesero District against the attack by the government soldiers and Interahamwe, it was necessary to send gendarmes and veterans to protect them. The infrastructures which were mentioned were electricity, Gisovu Tea Factory, Karongi TV and Radio Tower and Crête Zaire Nil Project activities.

This was a strong indication of the Genocide plot, where infrastructures were considered more valuable than the lives of civilian population only because they were Tutsi. Authorities involved in the massacre of Tutsi in Bisesero included: Ministers from Kibuye Edouard Karemera, Eliezer Niyitegeka, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, Prefect Clement Kayishema, Alfred Musema the director of the Gisovu Tea Factory.

They were all convicted of genocide crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and sentenced to life imprisonment. Niyitegeka and Kayishema died in prison. Others involved were: Bourgmestre of Gisovu Aloys Ndimbati and Bourgmestre Charles Sikubwabo of Gishyita. Both are wanted by the International Justice. There were also Yussuf Munyakazi and Obed Ruzindana sentenced to 25 years in prison by the ICTR.

The cabinet meeting accused colonel Innocent Bavugamenshi for not accepting the genocide plan

Another issue found in the diary of Nyiramasuhuko which was on the agenda at the June 17, 1994 Government meeting was the conduct of Colonel Innocent Bavugamenshi who was the commander of the Gendarmery in Cyangugu Prefecture. Nyiramasuhuko wrote that Lieutenant Colonel Claudien Singirankabo was in charge of the so-called "*auto-defense civile*" activities in Cyangugu, and that he had said that those actions were obstructed by the behaviour of Colonel Bavugamenshi who did not want to kill. The two senior officers were from Cyangugu.

Colonel Bavugamenshi was appointed in Cyangugu on April 20, 1994 to replace Major Innocent Munyarugerero from Ruhengeri who played a key role in the massacre of Tutsi in Cyangugu in collaboration with Lieutenant Samuel Imanishimwe, Prefect Bagambiki and Sous prefects Emmanuel Kamonyo, Theodore Munyangabe, Gerard Terubura and others.

On his arrival in Cyangugu, Colonel Innocent Bavugamenshi refused to commit Genocide, doing all he could to fight for the Tutsi. He was the one who put trusted gendarms around the Nyarushishi Tutsi camp to guard them. He had instructed them to protect the Tutsi and told them to use weapons in case Interahamwe would come near the camp to pick Tutsi to kill.

The government was also pleased that the "*auto-defense civile*" killing program which was becoming more and more involving with the contribution of about Rwf22 million from the population for the continuation of the Genocide.

The government replaced some of the bourgmestres and other authorities to accelerate the genocide

As the RPF-INKOTANYI forces defeated the killers and stopped the Genocide, some bourgmestres and other government officials fled for fear of being arrested and held accountable for their killings. The government replaced many of them during the June 17, 1994 meeting. The following authorities were appointed and they were all extremists who supported the Genocide plot.

In the Ministry of Finance, the following were appointed:

The Director of Cabinet: Ntirigirumwe Gervais; Political and Legal Adviser: Vainqueur Alphonse; The Director General: Ntahondi Felicien; the Governor of the National Bank: Ntirugirimbabazi Denis; the Director General of the Rwanda Development Bank (BRD): Gasamunyiga Froduald.

The following fifteen (15) bourgmestres have also been appointed:

- In Ruhengeri Prefecture, Kinigi Commune: Hagumimana Etienne, Mukingo: Kajelijeli Juvénal;
- In Butare Prefecture, the Prefect: Lieutenant Colonel Alphonse Nteziryayo; Nyabisindu Commune: Ngiruwonsanga Vincent, Rusatira: Kandagaye Jean Marie Vianney, Muganza: Ndayambaje Elie, Ndora: Uwizeye Fidèle;
- In Gitarama Prefecture, Masango Commune: Mwanafunzi Anthere, Nyabikenke: Musabyimana Vedaste, Nyakabanda: Nsabimana Camille, Musambira: Karani Dominique;
- In Gisenyi, Nyamyumba Commune: Nzitabakuze Henri;
- Kigali City and Kigali Ngali, Kicukiro Commune: Karanganwa Gerard, Kanombe: Nduwayezu Jean, Tare: Rukimbira Leodomir, Butamwa: Muhizina Sebastien.

The downfall of Kambanda government and its army was visible in the government meetings

According to Edouard Karemera's diary, the Cabinet meeting of June 17, 1994, also highlighted the argument between the government and its military. He noted that the military criticised the government that ministers and other officials flee the

areas which had problems, seeking refuge, especially in areas close to borders with foreign countries, rather than joining the military on the battlefield.

Karemera wrote that one of the highlights of the issue was the low attendance of ministers at government meetings as only nine (9) ministers were present on the date.

Another indication of the frustration of the Kambanda criminal government was the fact that senior officials, including ministers, were interested in taking their families abroad. It showed that the cooperation was limited.

2.55. JUNE 18, 1994: MINISTER EDOUARD KAREMERA, WROTE TO THE COMMANDANT OF ARMY IN GISENYI TO INFORM HIM HOW TO KILL TUTSI IN BISESERO

Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva was instructed to send troops to kill Tutsi in Bisesero

On June 18, 1994, the Minister of Interior and Communal Development, Edouard Karemera, from Mwendu Commune in Kibuye, wrote a letter explaining how the killing of Tutsi in Bisesero should be carried out.

Minister Karemera wrote to the Commandant of army in Gisenyi Prefecture, Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, informing him of the operation to kill Tutsi in Bisesero in the following words:

«To the Commandant of the army,

I would like to inform you that during the cabinet meeting of this Friday, June 17, 1994, the Government decided to ask the Commandant of Gisenyi operational Sector to support the Gendarmery in Kibuye and the local population in the operation in the Bisesero Sector of Gishyita Commune, which had become the RPF haven. The Government requests that this operation be completed by the end of June 20, 1994.

In the absence of the Minister of Defense who is on a mission abroad, the Minister of Interior and Communal Development had been mandated to inform you this decision and to ensure its follow up.

The Prefect of the Kibuye Prefecture and the Commandant of Kibuye army Grouping copied in this letter are required to follow up on the pre-requisites to facilitate the implementation of this operation in the prescribed deadlines.

The authorities who received the copy of the letter were the following: The Prime Minister Jean Kambanda, Minister of Defense Augustin Bizimana, Prefect of Kibuye Dr Clément Kayishema and Commander of the Gendarmery in Kibuye Major Jean Baptiste Jabo. This means that these authorities have been tasked with implementing the government plan outlined in the Kambanda Government's meeting resolution of 17 June 1994 calling for the killing of Tutsi in Bisesero.

Let us recall that the Minister of Defense Augustin Bizimana was on a mission in Cameroon, and his interim was Colonel Theoneste Bagosora who also led the Genocide activities related to the Ministry of Defense.

Edouard Karemera's letter is an indication of the government role in the preparation and implementation of genocide

The words used in this letter from Minister Karemera are enough to make it clear that the massacre of Tutsi was planned and led by the Government through its forces and authorities at various levels including youth of Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi. It undeniably shows that the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda was a government organized killing. That is why various ministers of the Kambanda Government have been arrested and tried by international justice and many of whom have been convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity.

The convicts of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) were as follows:

The Prime Minister Jean Kambanda, Minister of Local Government and communal Development Edouard Karemera, Minister of Finance Emmanuel Ndingabizi, Minister of Planning Augustin Ndirabatswe, Minister of Information Eliezer Niyitegeka, Minister of higher Education and Research Jean de Dieu Kamuhanda, Minister of family Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Minister of Youth and Organizations Callixte Nzabonimana.

As for the Minister of Justice, Agnes Ntamabyaliro was convicted of genocide crime by the justice system in Rwanda.

Others convicted of genocide in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) as evidence of the government's role in planning and carrying out the massacre of Tutsi , included the following senior officers: Colonel Theoneste Bagosora, Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho, Colonel Aloys Simba, Colonel Ephrem Setako, Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, Lieutenant Colonel Alphonse Ntezirayayo, Lieutenant Colonel Tharcisse Muvunyi, Major Aloys Ntabakuze, Captain Ildephonse Nizeyimana, Lieutenant Ildephonse Hategekimana, Lieutenant Samuel Imanishimwe.

Major Bernard Ntuyahaga was also convicted of genocide by the Brussels court in Belgium and Captain Pascal Simbikangwa was convicted of genocide crime by the Paris Court in France.

Others convicted with genocide crime by the ICTR include senior government officials, including: Callixte Kalimanzira, Director General in the Ministry of interior and communal development, Jean Bosco Barayagwiza, Director General of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mathieu Ngirumpatse, President of the MRND Party at the national level, Francois Karera the Prefect of Kigali Ngali, Sylvain Nsabimana the Prefect of Butare, Clément Kayishema the Prefect of Kibuye, Dominique Ntawukuriryayo the Sous prefect of Gisagara, Semanza Laurent the Bourgmestre of Bicumbi Commune, Rugambarara Juvénal who replaced Semanza, Paul Bisengimana, Bourgmestre of Gikoro, Joseph Kanyabashi Bourgmestre of Ngoma, Elie Ndayambaje Bourgmestre of Muganza, Juvénal Kajelijeli Bourgmestre of Mukingo, Jean Baptiste Gatete Bourgmestre of Murambi Commune, Sylvestre Gacumbitsi Bourgmestre of Rusumo and Jean Paul Akayesu, Bourgmestre of Taba.

Ladislav Ntanzwa, former Bourgmestre of Nyakizu, was transferred by the ICTR to be tried by Rwandan courts and was convicted of genocide crime and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Other convicts of the Genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda include religious people: Father Emmanuel Rukundo and Father Athanase Seromba who ordered the demolition of the Nyange Church on Tutsi who had taken refuge in the church. These cases clearly show that all administrative levels carried out the genocide, emphasizing that the Genocide against the Tutsi is a crime planned and carried out by the government.

2.56. JUNE 20, 1994: PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF TUTSI IN BISESERO AND LAUNCHING OF THE “OPERATION INSECTICIDE”

Minister Edouard Karemera, indicated to the Prefect of Kibuye, Clement Kayishema, the fast way of attacking Tutsi in Bisesero

There are documents which show how Kibuye was especially targeted by the genocide under the government's will power. The fact that the Genocide was carried out everywhere except in Bisesero till June 1994 where there was still resistance, called the attention of all government agencies.

There are two (2) letters of the Prefect Clément Kayishema dated 09/06/1994 and 12/06/1994 to the Minister of Interior and Communal Development, Edouard Karemera who was from Kibuye in the former Mwendu Commune, requesting to carry out what he called “*ratissage*” that is *hunting* or elimination; in the Bisesero Sector where Tutsi were still alive.

In his response on June 20, 1994, Minister Karemera wrote a letter to Prefect Kayishema informing him that the Cabinet meeting held on 17/06/1994 had decided that the Commander of army in Gisenyi Military Division, Lt Col Anatole Nsengiyumva, will send troops to assist the Gendarmery of Kibuye to attack Bisesero no later than 20/06/1994.

Minister Karemera reminded Prefect Kayishema that after the decision of the Cabinet, he wrote to his counterpart Minister of Defense, Augustin Bizimana, urging him to immediately comply with the decision of the Government.

Karemera goes on to inform Prefect Kayishema that the Minister of Defense had executed it because he had written to all the concerned military commanders on 20/06/1994 urging them to comply with the instructions. Further, Karemera requested Prefect Kayishema to do his utmost to monitor the implementation of the operation in Bisesero, to mobilize people of Gishyita, Gisovu and Gitesi Communes, and to report to Minister Karemera on the course of the massacre in Bisesero.

Minister Karemera concluded the letter of 20/06/1994, telling Prefect Kayishema that the Government was ready to provide all the necessary weapons for the operation, including the protection of infrastructure such as the Gisovu Tea Factory and Karongi Electrogaz.

Prefect Kayishema illustrated the plan to kill Tutsi in Bisesero to Major Jabo

On 23/06/1994, Prefect Kayishema wrote a letter to the Commander of the Kibuye Gendarmery, Major Jabo Jean Baptiste, which he called “Security in Bisesero”. In this letter, Prefect Kayishema informed Major Jabo that in connection with the implementation of the content of the letter written by the Minister of interior on 20/06/1994. Regarding the attack on Bisesero, Kayishema informed him that awareness among the people of the Communes close to Bisesero had been intensified and that it had been done since the last two months of April and May, adding the statement: “*As you also know*” which was like showing that they both knew the plan.

A new thing mentioned by Kayishema in the letter was that he told the Commander of the Kibuye Gendarmerie that for the operation to exterminate Tutsi of Bisesero to start, they needed the equipments and people for support, which would come in support of the initiative implemented by the Gendarmerie and the Interahamwe from Gisenyi on June 20, 1994.

Kayishema went on to tell the Kibuye Gendarmerie Commander that the operation needed to be monitored and carried out as soon as possible so that it could be completed without delay, so that it did not face any difficulties of not achieving its desired goal.

In order to improve preparations for the massacre of Tutsi in Bisesero, soldiers from Gisenyi ordered by Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva assisted the gendarmes in Kibuye as it had been requested by the Government.

In addition, with the help of several Interahamwe members from the special gang called *TURIHOSE* from Gisenyi, they joined forces with those from the Mugonero led by Obed Ruzindana and his brother Joseph Mpambara and those from Cyangugu in Bugarama led by Yussuf Munyakazi.

All these *Interahamwe* were transported by ONATRACOM Government buses and were gathered in Gishyita market where they joined those from Kibuye, especially those from Gishyita, Gisovu and Rwamatamu Communes led by Michael Muhimana, Vincent Rutaganira and Bourgmestres Aloys Ndimbati of Gisovu, Charles Sikubwabo of Gishyita, Abeli Furere of Rwamatamu, Alfred Musema who ran Gisovu tea factory and others.

The killers attacked Bisesero on June 27, 1994, they destroyed the Tutsi who were still fighting the Interahamwe in the Bisesero hills. It was a three-day-long (3) attacks, and it was carried out in the eyes of French troops who had reached Bisesero as they were camping in Gishyita within three (3) kilometers of the site of the massacre in the Bisesero Mountains. More than 2,000 Tutsi from Bisesero were exterminated in just those three (3) days.

The cabinet meeting approved the Tutsi extermination operation called “insecticide”

The Government meeting on June 20, 1994 considered the rapid elimination of Tutsi across the country and launched “*Operation Insecticide*” which started in Bigogwe military camp. The use of the term "Insecticide" as a pesticide was to compare Tutsi like the *Inyenzi-cockroaches*, and had to be killed with insecticide as

soon as possible and die as the inyenzi are killed by such a pesticide. *Operation Insecticide* was assigned to a French Captain Paul Barril.

Operation Insecticide consisted of two parts. The first was related to the immediate extermination of the Tutsi in the country, who were considered as accomplices of the Inkotanyi. The second which Captain Barril's launched in the Bigogwe military base, was to sensitise each military and the Interahamwe in order to motivate them on their ability to fight and take over the regions controlled by the RPF.

According to the Nyiramasuhuko diary, as part of the "*Operation Insecticide*", the Cabinet decided to continue to implement all the "*Auto-defense civile*" regulations, as announced by the government on May 25, 1994, to increase the supply of mortar guns 82, 105, 120 and 122 and R4 ammunitions. The Cabinet meeting also decided to find a way to fight the infiltrators in its controlled areas, and decided to do everything possible to restore the parts lost during the war.

2.57. NYARUSHISHI: THE DEPLOYMENT OF FRENCH MILITARIES IN THE *OPERATION TURQUOISE* ALLOWED THE CONTINUATION OF MASSACRES AND RAPE IN THE REFUGEES CAMP AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The situation of Nyarushishi camp and the massacres of the Tutsi in this camp

Nyarushishi was a former Burundian refugee camp in 1993. Tutsi who had been evacuated from the City of Cyangugu, and other genocide survivors from elsewhere such as Mibilizi, Shangi, Nyamasheke, Kibogora were brought in the same camp.

French soldiers arrived in Nyarushishi on June 23, 1994. Officially, Nyarushishi Camp had the most important humanitarian objective of Operation Turquoise as a whole. But the testimony of refugees and some Interahamwe who controlled the vicinity of the camp rather say that the massacres of Tutsi by the Interahamwe continued and that French soldiers committed several acts of rape on survivors whom they were supposed to protect.

The French entered Cyangugu on 23/6/1994 and immediately went to Nyarushishi to show that they had come to rescue people. They needed information to show their local television because the media was criticizing the French Government for sending troops to Rwanda to help the genocidal government.

The French used tricks to expose the Nyarushishi camp as evidence that they had come to Rwanda to rescue the victims, yet it was to hide the true face of *Turquoise* to help the criminal government. That is why they had asked *Abatabazi* Government not to close Nyarushishi Camp so that the international media, especially those in France, can use it to portray the positive image.

In Nyarushishi there have been a number of atrocities including the rape of girls by the French. Since 2005, some of the girls who were forcibly raped in Nyarushishi and Murambi have filed lawsuits in France over the crime. The media asked former French military officials in Cyangugu what they thought of the allegations and they pointed out that it was possible that the crime had been committed.

Colonel Didier TAUZIN, a senior COS commander who arrived in Nyarushishi on June 23, 1994, said the following to *La Croix* in 2011: *“I did not come across with such news during the turquoise period. We were with a lot of journalists and none of them had said those things. But I cannot conclude one hundred percent that there was no such thing for may be an individual military.”*

As for Colonel Jacques HOGARD, commander of the French army in Cyangugu during the Turquoise period, he told the *Causette* newspaper the following in 2011: *“it is possible to have those who break the law. If it happened, it was done by a few at their own will, not by our system. I was once informed that the Legionnaires had stolen beer crest. But I don't believe there was a rape of girls.”*

This statement itself is a lie. If the commander of the French army admitted that his army was stealing beer crests, how could they be afraid of raping girls if they were thieves to the point of stealing beer? These statements show that TAUZIN and HOGARD were well aware of the crimes committed by the soldiers under their command.

General Jean-Claude LAFOURCADE, the former commander-in-chief of the whole of Turquoise, seems to believe that there was a forced rape of women and girls in the Nyarushishi and Murambi Camps perpetrated by their soldiers but again seems to undermine the information by saying: *“No serious crimes were committed. No forced rape was committed in general.”* It is understood that he acknowledged that forced rape of girls had been committed but reduced its severity by relying only on non-compliance with the guidelines of the military administration and in general.

In addition, Colonel Thibault made statements expressing his solidarity with the Interahamwe and other genocidal people in Nyarushishi. A good example is a statement made during the interview with the New York Times journalist Raymond

BONNER on 28/06/1994 who asked him why the Interahamwe continue to surround Nyarushishi Camp and that the French had not evicted them. Thibault replied: "*We do not have the mission to disarm the Interahamwe militias.* It was published in the *New York Times* on June 29, 1994.

Another tragedy is the way the Red Cross staff had been involved in the massacre of Tutsi who were being evacuated from the Nyarushishi Camp. The most notable was Hategekimana Saadi, who handed over Tutsi to the Interahamwe to kill them and was a Red Cross employee.

The Tutsi were massacred by the Interahamwe in front of French militaries supposed to protect them in Nyarushishi Camp

The Nyarushishi Camp security circle was made up of French military guard posts, lined with a larger concentric circle of Interahamwe and Rwandan gendarms roadblocks. Refugees received food but had to go out to get firewood outside the camp.

A witness said: "*One day, three young people were flushed out of the tea plantations by Interahamwe and ran towards the camp, hunted by the Interahamwe. They managed to enter Nyarushishi camp. The gendarm position commander who was there entered the camp, took them and brought them. The French were there and attended the scene without doing anything. We never saw the three young people again.*"

For several survivors of the Nyarushishi Camp, "[...] The French were accomplices of the Interahamwe in the killings and torture committed on the Tutsi. Most of Tutsi who were seeking refuge in the camp reached into the hands of the Interahamwe since they absolutely had to pass through the roadblocks held by the latter. [...]."

An Interahamwe interviewed by Mucyo Commission said that French soldiers asked them to kill anyone who wanted to enter the camp. "*(...) We had a roadblock about 1000m from the French tent. On this blockade, we killed many people and the French came to ask us what was going on. We explained to them that we had killed Tutsi and they told us to ensure that no one else entered the camp and that those who came later should be killed. Following this instruction, we killed a woman with her young daughter and a young man. I did not know them, they said they came from a place called K'Uwinteko. We also killed the Tutsi who were leaving the camp to get firewood, including Charles, son of Sembeba. After killing them, we threw them into a mass grave near the roadblock. The French came to see what we were doing and told us that we are real soldiers. As a reward, they gave us combat rations. They also accompanied us on night patrols. After the*

RPF victory, the French prohibited us from continuing to massacre the Tutsi in order to prevent the RPF from taking revenge. Instead, they advised us and invited us to flee, making signs to us that the RPF would cut our throats, and they became very angry with the people hanging around the houses. "

French militaries raped Tutsi women who had taken refuge in Nyarushishi Camp

Several rape victims claim that they were raped by French soldiers in Nyarushishi Camp. "[...] The French took turns raping Claudine. She was between 14 and 15 years old in 1994, and she was so traumatized that she had turned crazy. They also raped Oscar's sister Umulisa. They sexually tortured them by putting chilli in their genitals. They raped a lot of girls, only we don't know their names." French soldiers *"also raped young girls whom they had evacuated from EAV Ntendezi, they came to fetch them from the camp. In order to escape, they went to sleep in other tents so that they could not find them. "*

French soldiers raped girl outside the Nyarushishi Camp at the Kamarampaka Stadium. A victim says that: *"The French installed at the Kamarampaka Stadium also raped Tutsi girls and women during Operation Turquoise. They specifically had charged us with looking for Tutsi girls or women for them and some victims of their rapes survived. It was necessary to bring them Tutsi girls, who they said would not cause them any problems if people learned that they had raped them, and it was strictly forbidden to bring them Hutu girls. The first time, I brought them two 14 or 15-year-old girls to the Kamarampaka Stadium. The first one, whom we had found in the Mururu cemetery, was called M Béata. As we knew she was Tutsi, we took her and brought her to the Kamarampaka Stadium where French soldiers raped her. Then they handed her back to us begging us not to kill her. "*

French militaries practiced sexual slavery in the Nyarushishi Camp on Tutsi women

Several Tutsi women have been victims of sexual slavery in Nyarushishi camp. French soldiers committed systematic rapes of Tutsi women whom they had kept during their presence in Nyarushishi camp. A Survivor of Nyarushishi testifies:

"(...) The French arrived in the afternoon and Bavugamenshi asked us to welcome them warmly while dancing. When they arrived, the French went around the camp tents taking photos. After three days, they identified the girls' shelters. On the fourth day, at nightfall, those who had identified them returned with other Frenchmen to take the girls whom they brought into their tents to rape them.

(...) Personally, I had the worst rape experience. After stripping me naked, they raped me in groups of four at the same time and took turns. (...). I was with other women, they released us at four in the morning to bring us back the next day. Sometimes they came to pick us up in the morning and came back again in the evening. When we tried to hide, they organized a committee responsible for finding us everywhere and bringing us back. (...) This situation lasted for the entire period that they stayed in Nyarushishi camp. (...) Because of these savage and permanent acts which they made me undergo, I subsequently had serious gynaecological complications: I had a painful infection in the uterus. When I remembered that they had added to what I had been subjected to by the Interahamwe, I lost my mind and wanted to kill myself. The mere fact of having a dependent child held me back. "

Tutsi in Nyarushishi Camp were rescued by Colonel Innocent Bavugamenshi

The fact that all the Tutsi were not killed by the Interahamwe in Nyarushishi, was influenced by Colonel Innocent Bavugamenshi who led the gendarmery in Cyangugu. He refused to commit the genocide and took the gendarms that he trusted and instructed them to protect the Nyarushishi Camp, and fought with Interahamwe until French arrived. He died in the aftermath of the Genocide and he had joined the army of Rwandan government of unity.

2.58. ON 24/6/1994: MURAMBI: DEPLOYMENT OF FRENCH MILITARY OF THE OPERATION TURQUOISE ALLOWED THE CONTINUATION OF MASSACRES AND RAPE IN THE REFUGEES CAMP AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The deployment of the operation turquoise in Gikongoro: army arranged to rescue killers

The first French Turquoise soldiers to arrive in Gikongoro were the COS (*Commandement des Opérations Spéciales*) forces, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Etienne Joubert who arrived there on June 24, 1994 from Cyangugu. They set up their headquarters on the premises of the SOS Children's Center. On June 27, they were joined by legionaries of the 11th parachutist division led by Captain Eric Hervé, then by legionaries of the 2nd foreign infantry regiment of Nîmes directed by Captain Nicol. These latter contingents settled in the premises of ACEPER College. The 3rd group of the 13th half-brigade of the Foreign Legion from Djibouti, under the orders of Captain Bouchez, settled at the edge of the Nyungwe forest, near Kitabi Tea Factory, where they built trenches.

On July 5, men from the 11th Marine Artillery Regiment, as well as the 2nd Parachute Infantry Regiment from *Réunion*, took up their positions at the Murambi Technical School which was still under construction, where a very large-scale massacre occurred on the night of April 20-21. This French detachment based in Murambi was at that time directed by Colonel Jacques Rosier who was at the same time the commander of the COS.

On their arrival in Murambi, the French installed light armored vehicles armed with 90 mm⁶ guns. At that time, everyone was convinced that the French were coming to rescue the routed government army, which prompted the local authorities at the head of which, the Prefect Laurent Bucyibaruta organized a joyful protest with banners admiring French support.

The command of the French contingent of Gikongoro was first entrusted to colonel Didier Tauzin, alias Thibault. (on 07/04/1994, the French army would not hesitate "*to break the spinal of the RPF*" and that the orders would be: "*no section*", which means that the French were ready to kill any RPF soldier entering the Zone Turquoise. Thibault was temporarily replaced by Colonel Sartre until July 16, the date when the latter was allocated to Kibuye. The commandment of Gikongoro was then assigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Eric De Stabenrath, assisted by Commander Pegouvelo, who carried out this task until Turquoise was finally withdrawn on 22/08/1994.

After their installation, the French got in direct contact with the authorities that massacred Tutsi

The French soldiers collaborated with the authorities of Gikongoro who massacred the Tutsi. They regularly organized meetings with them and crossed the whole prefecture for dividing the places and fixed barricades, in particular along the Mwogo river in order to prohibit the RPF to access the Turquoise region. The French dismissed bourgmestres from the job and appointed their own authorities, or confirmed those who were in office despite their involvement in the genocide. Almost all the bourgmestres and sous prefects who worked with the French have been sentenced for genocide crime either by the Rwandan justice system or by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The French gave these bourgmestres clear instructions aiming in particular to seek infiltrators of the RPF and its accomplices and to bring them to the former. According to the numerous testimonies collected through *Commission Mucyo* between 2006-2007, these instructions were worth authorization to do everything, including to continue hunting Tutsi. They also appointed civilian security agents who collaborated with them in supervising activities and issued weapons to them.

With the arrival of Turquoise, different camps for displaced populations were quickly created on several sites in the prefecture and the most important were Murambi, Cyanika or Karama, Mbazi, Kaduha, Musange, Kibeho, Ndagoy, Mudasonwa, Muko, Mushubi, and others.

Those displaced camps also housed Interahamwe militia, ex-FAR elements and political and administrative authorities responsible for the genocide committed against the Tutsi. These groups continued to hunt Tutsi in and around the camps and killed several people there. The French allowed the genocidaires do it freely, in particular by not dismantling the barricades on which the militiamen operated.

Crimes committed in Murambi by French military or committed under their supervision

Murambi Camp was installed in buildings of a technical school which was under construction where more than fifty thousand (50,000) Tutsi had been massacred after being gathered there on the orders of Prefect Bucyibaruta.

The French arrived at the site two months after the genocide and set up a camp for displaced people there, as well as a military base with missiles and weapons. They surrounded the camp with barbed wire and trenches to permit control.

They were helped in their installation by local population, including many militiamen responsible for the great massacre of April 21, 1994. A big number of corpses had been removed from the rooms by the prefectural administration in preparation for the arrival of the French and buried them in mass graves in the school garden.

Some of the bodies were still there, blood stains were still visible on the walls, which forced the French to clean the premises and to bury the decomposing bodies. French soldiers have set up a volleyball court right next to the pit, not directly above it. The limits of the volleyball court adjoined those of the pit, and both players and spectators walked on the mass grave.

Inside, they had mixed indiscriminately the Tutsi survivors of the genocide, ex-FAR elements and militiamen who had participated in the genocide. This cohabitation allowed militiamen to continue killing in the camp even though it was an area supposed to be secure.

The testimonies show a complicity between French soldiers and militiamen, which allowed the continuation of assassination, rape and other human rights violations on this site.

The French soldiers allowed the Interahamwe to continue the genocide in Gikongoro

The French soldiers did not dismantle the barricades of the militiamen which served as places of sorting and killing; they allowed the militiamen with their weapons to enter camps with survivors of the genocide, and these militiamen took people there and then killed them. There have also been cases of French soldiers assisting or encouraging the assassination of Tutsi survivors of the genocide who had come to them for help and assistance. According to several testimonies, the French soldiers delivered Tutsi to the militiamen and incited their massacre. Indeed, French soldiers arrested Tutsi and handed them over to militiamen who killed them in front of their sight. These deliveries were made most of the time on barricades installed by militiamen since April 1994 and which the French left to function throughout Turquoise.

The very known roadblock is the one which was at the Mwogo Bridge separating the old prefectures of Gikongoro and Butare. French soldiers let the Interahamwe militiamen to continue to check identity cards on the same roadblock, which were followed by assassinations by the latter in front of the eyes of French soldiers.

Journalists present at the scene in July-August 1994, have described a situation in which the survivors were threatened with death by the militiamen, while the French were theoretically there to stop the massacres. Corinne Lesnes of the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* noted that "*In Murambi, there are protected, but terrorized refugees who would like nothing (...) but to leave the "safe zone" set up to reassure them*".

Dominique Garraud of *Liberation* observed the same dangerous environment for survivors of the genocide: "*On the outskirts of the market, which was full of vegetables testifying to the agricultural vitality of the region, Rwandan soldiers and nonchalant militiamen, with new Kalashnikovs on shoulders, greeted the French soldiers. This good natured atmosphere was misleading. Among many refugees, militiamen were still tracking Tutsi or moderate Hutu*".

Official Turquoise documents drawn up by French soldiers on Kaduha showed that in July 1994, there were recent corpses, which tends to confirm the testimony relating to the continuation of the assassinations during the presence of French soldiers. In fact, an information sheet from Operation Turquoise dated July 10, 1994 relates: "*Several mass graves, some of which containing hundreds of corpses,*

were discovered in Kaduha. It also appears that there are recent corpses near the market."

The continuation of the Tutsi massacres in Kaduha was also noted by Western journalists who arrived there accompanied by French soldiers. This is what Christian Lecomte of the weekly *La Vie* newspaper noted in July 1994: *"In mid-July, the Church of Kaduha remained stained by the carnage that took place there: traces of blood everywhere, even on forgotten crutches. Nothing has been washed or hidden, we hope for impunity. [...] Because the hunt for Tutsi continued in the Kaduha Sous prefecture"*.

The French soldiers systematically raped Tutsi women and subjected them to sexual slavery

Cases of rape, violence, sexual slavery and attempted rapes are told by victims themselves, most of them survivors of the genocide, who had taken refuge in places "made safe" by these soldiers. Other acts of this nature are reported by witnesses who have worked with French soldiers, who have seen them or who have heard of them. Most of these acts took place in the camps of French soldiers in Karama (Cyanika), Murambi and SOS Gikongoro. They also took place in places where these soldiers stayed for a longer or shorter period, such as in Kinyamakara, Kaduha and Mushubi. A victim was raped at her home located at Miko commercial centre in Karama Commune by two French soldiers led by bourgmestre Désiré Ngezahayo.

The French soldiers committed acts of physical torture, humiliating, degrading and looted public goods

A number of testimonies affirmed that French soldiers have carried out acts of physical torture on civilians, in particular beatings and violent confinements. Others report humiliating and degrading actions of people who were placed under the authority of French. Furthermore, before leaving Gikongoro, Cyanguu and Kibuye, French soldiers destroyed or took away goods from the Rwandan administration and public establishments, and took them to Zaïre. Sometimes they assisted the population in looting and destroying public goods.

The French soldiers collaborated with genocidaires instead of arresting them

French officials who led Operation Turquoise in Gikongoro collaborated with the criminal authorities or appointed in power those who were involved in the genocide. At the time, most of them were notorious killers who were not difficult to identify by simply searching for information.

The French knew who they were dealing with by choosing to collaborate with these bourgmestres and sous-prefects, whether in Gikongoro, Cyangugu and Kibuye. This was stated by frigate captain Marin Gillier to the journalist Christian Leconte in July 1994: "*We know that the bourgmestres and sous prefects of the region are mostly involved in the massacres of Tutsi, even their instigators. We have accumulated testimonies that prove it. But, for the moment, they are our only contacts with the 1.5 million Hutu refugees who have flocked to the area.*"

At Gikongoro, the French have remarkably collaborated closely with the following main genocidaires:

- Laurent Bucyibaruta the Prefect of Gikongoro, refugee in France;
- Damien Biniga the Sous-prefect of Munini, wanted by Rwandan Justice;
- Joseph Ntegeyintwali Sous-prefect of Karaba, sentenced to life imprisonment;
- Joachim Hategekimana Sous prefect of Kaduha, sentenced to life imprisonment; etc.

A significant number of bourgmestres, sector councilors, former bourgmestres, have left Rwanda under the protection of French soldiers.

2.59. ON 27/6/1994: BISESERO: THE FRENCH MILITARIES OF THE OPERATION TURQUOISE ABANDONED TUTSI IN THE HANDS OF GENOCIDAIRES

Testimonies of some international journalists

On June 27, 1994, three journalists, including Patrick De Saint-Exupéry and Sam Kiley accompanied French soldiers of the air parachute commando controlled by Lieutenant-Colonel Diego, whose real name is Jean-Remy Duval, who were going to Bisesero.

Arrived in the hills of Bisesero, they saw some survivors who very quickly disappeared. A refugee, Eric Nzabahimana, spoke to the French and explained to them that they were exhausted, that it had been two months since they had been fighting and fleeing from groups of killers who hunted them down every day. Little by little, other survivors joined the group. Journalist Patrick De Saint-Exupéry found out that they were very thin, with unkempt clothes, and many of them had injuries caused by machete blows; "*a child with a cut left buttock, a half-cut right arm man*".

Survivors indicated a mass grave dug a few meters away, as well as a still fresh body of a man killed two hours earlier. Then, the survivors recognized the French guide Jean Baptiste Twagirayezu, one of the militia leaders who hunted them down. This militia wanted to divert the French so that they could not see the survivors, and rather brought them to a camp of displaced Hutu installed close to Gisovu. He was chased by the French. Diego assured the refugees that he would return in two or three days and that meanwhile they had to hide.

Back to Kibuye, Diego revealed to Patrick De Saint-Exupéry which he reported as follows: *"The lieutenant-colonel is still in shock: "I have experience, but that ... "There is no illusion:" Before we can intervene in Bisesero, at least 2,000 other refugees will be murdered.*

Looking exhausted and full of remorse, the officer sent his information to the headquarters: *" He said it is up to them to make a decision. If we go there to protect these thousands of people who are hunted down like animals, we commit on one side and we risk having all the militias and the local authorities against us. We will obey orders. We are ready. But are they ready in Paris? "*

In his book *"l'Inavouable"* or the *unmentionable* reconstructing the encounter and abandonment, Patrick de Saint-Exupéry wrote that upon returning to Kibuye "Diego remained hanging on his encrypted phone, sending report after report to Paris. The refusal to intervene in Bisesero came directly from Paris, the 2,000 Tutsi were abandoned and killed despite the reassuring words of Lieutenant-Colonel Diego.

More than 2000 of Bisesero survivors were massacred after the departure of the French

The survivors of Bisesero were in agreement in saying that following the meeting with the French soldiers, the attacks intensified during the three days preceding their return. According to the survivors of Bisesero, at the time of their meeting with Diego and his group, they were about 2000 survivors, after three days of intensive massacres, 800 were finally rescued.

Diego's pessimism when he declares to Patrick De Saint-Exupéry *"that before they can intervene in Bisesero, at least 2,000 other refugees will be murdered"* was not surprising, as was the fact that he considered bringing assistance at the Basesero would be like taking sides in the conflict. This seems to indicate, perhaps beyond his personal compassion, a vision of the mission in which he was engaged far removed from the stated goal of saving lives at risk.

Captain Gillier's refusal to stop the massacre of Bisesero survivors

The presence of the French in Bisesero made it possible for the killers to realize that contrary to what they believed, there were still many survivors in Bisesero. This information was the reason for a general mobilization of the local killers, and reinforcements from Cyangugu and Kibuye.

Between the dates of June 28 and June 29, 1994, hundreds of Interahamwe militia arrived from all sides to meet in the center of Gishyita. This mobilization took place under the eyes of French soldiers installed in Gishyita for about two days. About seventy elements of French elite troops, marine commandos and members of GIGN settled in Gishyita Commune buildings on June 25 or 26.

The general mobilization of several hundred killers in the small center of Gishyita took place under the eyes of the French soldiers and their leader Marin Gillier. Each morning for three days these killers went up to assemble in Bisesero in order to track down Tutsi. In order to gather in Gishyita, they had to pass the three barricades created by French soldiers at the main entry and exit points of the village. This clearly shows that the French allowed the militiamen to go to Bisesero to kill Tutsi.

Colonel Rosier wanted to sacrifice the survivors of Bisesero

Diego informed Colonel Rosier of his discovery. In addition, Gillier said that he had requested twice the authorization to go to Bisesero, on June 27 and 28, 1994. However, Diego and Gillier were the direct subordinates of Rosier who, followed closely developments on the ground.

It is almost certain that Rosier had received information from his two subordinates regarding the trouble of the survivors of Bisesero and the request to intervene. It is therefore evident that the abandonment of the Bisesero survivors was the result of a decision by Colonel Rosier who did not intervene to save them in time.

Colonel Rosier's statement to the Liberation newspaper of June 27, 1994 allows us to understand the logic partner in crime of his action: "*The militiamen wage war. For the sake of neutrality, we do not have to intervene. Otherwise, tomorrow, if there are rebel infiltrations, we will be answerable.*" But, beyond Colonel Rosier's action, the Bisesero affair shows the adoption by the French military hierarchy of a position that could no longer be described as ambiguous. In this regard, the reversal of roles between victims and killers in the briefing preparing the troops for their mission in Rwanda is particularly revealing.

As a reminder, Thierry Prunghaud who was in Bisesero during the Operation Turquoise assigned to the COS detachment led by Marin Gillier, revealed it when he explains, in his interview with the journalist Laure DeVulpian, that at his base in France, he had been told that it was the Tutsi who massacred the Hutu. This reversal of roles in the context of the genocide revealed hostility towards the still surviving Tutsi civilian population, whom the French army was supposed to come and save, as well as an involvement with the killers.

Unbearable attitudes of French militaries in the humanitarian care of Bisesero survivors

The French soldiers exposed the survivors to the bad conditions which caused their death and practiced abusive amputations in Goma

Once again, the attitude of the French soldiers was ambivalent towards those they were in charge of. First, the French soldiers hastened to disarm the survivors, while they left their weapons with the Interahamwe and the FAR soldiers who passed near the survivors' camp. Then, when the refugees indicated to their protectors that they preferred to join the territory under the control of the RPF, rather than remaining under French protection, the French soldiers would stop feeding them, thus pushing certain refugees to risk their lives outside the camp to look for food. Some would not return; they would be massacred by groups of killers who continued to stalk around the Basesero camp. Finally, the French soldiers will make this transfer to the RPF zone in a brutal way, endangering the lives of the survivors.

Bisesero Survivors suffered improper amputations in Goma

The survivors of Bisesero, seriously injured who were rushed to Goma by the French army, have a very bitter memory of the treatment received from French military doctors. On one hand, they accuse them of having treated them in a deeply humiliating manner, but more serious, manner of having carried out amputations of abusive members. The unit in charge of the military medical cell in Goma was the Airborne Medical and Surgical Group made up of twelve members including two surgeons, an anaesthesiologist as well as nurses.

Pascal Nkusi, a survivor of Bisesero transported to Goma on July 1,1994 talks about the conditions of their stay in Goma, the way in which the French soldiers gathered all the wounded and brought the most serious cases to Goma for treatment. He indicates that the injured were transported on rubber tents spread out

over the bottom of the helicopters. They were installed in the garden of the French military field hospital near Goma airport and started to receive treatment the day after their arrival.

2.60. THE DEFEAT OF GENOCIDAL GOVERNMENT WAS CONSIDERED DURING JULY 01, 1994 CABINET MEETING AND IT WAS DECIDED TO APPEAL TO FRANCE FOR HELP AND TRYING TO COVER THE EVIDENCES OF GENOCIDE

The Kambanda government hoped that French would help them fight against the RPF-Inkotanyi

The Kambanda government said at its July 1st 1994 meeting that the reason why the French did not support it as much as it wanted, could be due to the weakness that the French found on the side of the criminal government in terms of losing the fight against the RPF-Inkotanyi and the fact that they had committed killings. At the government meeting, they said that the French are saddened by the ongoing defeat of the Kambanda government across the country, and that there is no hope of re-occupying parts already captured by the RPF-Inkotanyi.

The Government of Kambanda has then decided to do its best to show the French that its troops were capable of winning the war: *“It is up to us to show that, as a Government, we are driven by the will to do so despite the difficult positions we have on the military and diplomatic fronts”*.

At the meeting, the Government of Kambanda decided to prepare a letter requesting specific support from France and submit it through the military command of Operation Turquoise. However, the government had found that its image abroad was so bad and it was determined to produce articles that reflect its positive image, disseminate them in the international media, and the Kambanda government would determine the amount of money to be paid to those who would publish such articles. They also agreed to consider the matter in their upcoming government meeting.

Kambanda government decided to hide its responsibility in the implementation of genocide

The government had also decided to send a message to all Prefects, urging them to hide the evidence of their role in the Genocide, including the non-disclosure of guns and grenades used in the Genocide and to reduce the number of roadblocks, leaving only the most important ones: *“The document requesting assistance must*

be officially handed over to Mission Turquoise (...) The news broadcast and images are unfavourable to us. You have to deny it. Refutation must be accompanied by funding. (...) Message to the prefects not to show weapons and grenades. Reduce roadblocks as much as possible and keep only the ones that are reasonable."

Let us recall that this tactic to disguise the way in which the Genocide against the Tutsi was perpetrated by the Kambanda Government forces had been advised by France since May 1994. A report on the mission in Paris on 9-13 May 1994 by Lieutenant Colonel Ephrem Rwabalinda, who had been sent by Rwanda to meet with senior military and political leaders, indicated the following. Rwabalinda had met with General Jean Pierre HUCHON, who was in charge of military cooperation at the French Ministry of Defense (*Mission Militaire de cooperation*), and validated military support to Rwabalinda, but advised him to improve the image of the Government in the media, and advised him to do everything possible to hide the bodies of people killed in the Genocide.

The Kambanda government had also decided to dismantle the Interahamwe and the Impuzamugambi forces and bring them into the military in order to guarantee that these groups never existed. This was a tactic to try to hide the fact that the Government and its Armed Forces had captured civilians and formed them into rebellious groups: "*Suppression of militias and their conversion into combat units under the control of the army.*" In fact, the use of civilians in armed conflict is a war crime forbidden by the Geneva conventions of August 12, 1949.

According to the treaty, taking civilians for military training and engaging them in killings by the government is a war crime punishable by international law. The Kambanda government decided to hide it because it clearly knew that they could be held accountable before international law.

The grief of the Kambanda government of being on the verge of losing the City of Kigali

The Kambanda Government Meeting of July 1, 1994 also reviewed the status of their fight against the RPF-Inkotanyi and expressed the grief that they were close to losing the Capital City Kigali. They said that almost all parts of Kigali were besieged by the RPF-Inkotanyi, and that the weapons they were hoping to receive had not reached them, as they thought: "*Kigali is completely surrounded. The replenishing does not come at all despite the promises.*"

As an excuse to their defeat, the Kambanda Government said that the RPF-Inkotanyi was backed by Belgian and British mercenaries, and that it was supported by the United States of America and the United Kingdom. This is a serious lie. The RPF-Inkotanyi had never used any mercenaries. The RPF-Inkotanyi struggle was fought by Rwandans, who were fighting for the liberation of their own country.

Friends of the RPF-Inkotanyi who understood the reason for the conflict had backed it in terms of diplomacy in order to explain the reason for the war abroad, but the lie that RPF Inkotanyi had used mercenaries was untruth. In the history of the world, mercenaries have never won a war.

Motives advanced by the government of Kambanda to explain its defeat

At a government meeting on July 1, 1994, they agreed that the RPF-Inkotanyi forces had the capacity to reach their desired destination in the whole country, and that they were also close to seize the towns of Ruhengeri and Gisenyi. They said nothing about the town of Butare which was also close to being captured by the RPF-Inkotanyi.

According to the Minister of interior, Edouard Karemera, he wrote in his diary the reasons for their defeat which were as follows:

- The very low determination of government army;
- The conflicts and killings in the country have caused the Government and its troops to lose credibility;
- Killing and other crimes committed by some government soldiers including theft, rape of girls and women and internal divisionism;
- Lack of commitment by the military;
- The unsatisfactory military leadership from army commanders;
- The uselessness of their intelligence services;
- Lack of sufficient weapons and ammunitions as well as medicaments.

These reasons provided by the criminal government show that it had nothing to fight for except to kill Tutsi civilians. If its soldiers really had a real reason to fight the war, they would have committed themselves to the battle and fight the RPF-Inkotanyi army instead of killing innocent Tutsi civilians. Fortunately for Rwanda, despite the fact that the country had lost more than a million people due to the mere fact that they were Tutsi, the genocidal government had been defeated and Rwandans now have the opportunity to rebuild the country.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICULAR ROLE OF MINISTERS CALLIXTE NZABONIMANA, PAULINE NYIRAMASUHUKO, EDOUARD KAREMERA AND ELIEZER NIYITEGEKA IN THE PLANNING, ORGANIZATION, INCITEMENT, SUPERVISION OF THE GENOCIDE IN THEIR PREFECTURES OF ORIGIN

3.1. INVOLVEMENT OF MINISTER CALLIXTE NZABONIMANA IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GENOCIDE PLOT IN HIS HOME PREFECTURE: GITARAMA

Callixte Nzabonimana recruited young people into the Interahamwe gang and helped them to be trained

Callixte Nzabonimana, as the Minister of Youth and the President of the MRND in Gitarama Prefecture, had been instrumental in recruiting young people to join the Interahamwe gang, training them, arming them, and inciting them to hate Tutsi, both in Gitarama Prefecture and across the country. Later, between April and July 1994, he ordered the Interahamwe to kill Tutsi.

In May 1994, Nzabonimana and Jean Kambanda created killers' battalion called *Ndiza*, which was made up of soldiers and Interahamwe. They handed over guns to people of Kibangu Sector, Nyakabanda Commune and told them that the guns were meant to kill Tutsi. The battalion immediately exterminated Tutsi who had survived other massacres. Nzabonimana also handed over clothes and hats for their identification, MRND flags and guns to the killers.

On May 15, Callixte Nzabonimana, accompanied by Major Jean Damascène Ukurikiyeyezu, who was the chief of *Auto defense civile* leaders in Gitarama, chaired a meeting in Ruhango Cell, Nyamagana Sector, Tambwe Commune, Gitarama Prefecture, and set up a special committee in the commune. Many Tutsi were arrested at roadblocks, including Nyabugaju, Ruhezamihigo and Languida, were killed on orders of the committee. By the time the committee had started

operations, Tutsi were being taken to the Tambwe Commune office where they were killed and thrown into a pit.

Callixte Nzabonimana had turned his house into a gathering of murderers

Between 8 and 12 April 1994, Nzabonimana gathered the killers from Kavumu and Mahembe Sectors, Nyabikenke Commune at his residence in Kavumu Sector. He called on them to kill Tutsi, explaining that the invaders of Rwanda were Tutsi and that defeating them required killing Tutsi.

He also told them that they should not allow the *Inyenzi* from inside the country to help those from outside, which explained why it was necessary to kill them and he meant killing Tutsi.

On April 8 or 9, 1994, between 15:00 and 17:00, Nzabonimana addressed the Interahamwe in Gasenyi Cell, Kigina Sector, Nyabikenke Commune, Gitarama Prefecture, urged them to kill their Tutsi neighbours. Also on April 9, 1994, between 17:00 and 18:00, Nzabonimana chaired another meeting in Kigali Cell, Kavumu Sector, Nyabikenke Commune. On April 10, 1994, between 9 a.m. and 10 a.m., Nzabonimana was at the shops in Kivumu, Gitovu Sector, Nyabikenke Commune, later, between 17:00 and 18:00, he was at the shops in Gasenyi, Kigina Sector, Nyabikenke Commune.

Nzabonimana Callixte distributed arms and ordered the killing of Tutsi

On April 8, 1994, Nzabonimana chaired a meeting at his home, calling on those present to avenge the death of President Habyarimana, and provided Interahamwe with weapons containing three guns. Nzabonimana told Hutu civilians that they should use guns and traditional weapons to kill Tutsi before eating their cows. He said he would provide more weapons and called upon those who needed traditional weapons to go to his home. He added that he would take the weapons elsewhere if the public did not use them.

On April 11, 1994, Tutsi who had taken refuge at Ntarabana church were evacuated by the Interahamwe to Nyabarongo and killed them, at the request of Callixte Nzabonimana. While the Tutsi were heading to Nyabarongo to be executed, Nzabonimana was still supplying weapons. Some of these Tutsi refugees were able to escape from killers and were able to flee to Kabgayi.

On April 12, 1994, in Nyabikenke Commune, Callixte Nzabonimana organized a military training session and ordered the Interahamwe to participate. The military training was provided by a gendarme from Musasa. Callixte Nzabonimana told the participants that Tutsi were enemies of Rwanda and that it was necessary to

eliminate them. That evening, many Tutsi were killed by Interahamwe in Gitovu and Kavumu. Among those killed were Akizanye and her two children, Epimaque Sehinda and his family, Sezirahiga and his family.

On April 15, 1994, at Butare shops, Rutongo Sector, Rutobwe Commune, Gitarama Prefecture, Nzabonimana addressed a large number of people including Hutu telling them that they should kill all the cockroaches (Tutsi) and their accomplices, and take over their jobs and belongings. He also told them that there were Tutsi among them and that they should not escape. Nzabonimana immediately called on the military and civilians to arrest the Tutsi. Many Tutsi were killed after the meeting by the Interahamwe, soldiers and Hutu civilians. In order to encourage them to kill, he bought banana beer to those who were present and requested them to kill any Tutsi who was around.

Nzabonimana was accompanied by the gendarms and the Sous prefect of Gitarama. Many Tutsi including Spéciose Karuhongo, Jeanne Ujeneza and Gabriel Kanimba were killed that day. The killers included Vincent Karegeya, Ruhunga, Cyprien, Jérôme Mushimungunga, Munyurabatware, Sebagande, Émile Munyemana, and Prosper Hategekimana.

Nzabonimana pursued Tutsi survivors of Nyabikenke massacre at Kabgayi

On April 16, 1994, Nzabonimana went to Kabgayi to search for Nyabikenke Tutsi who had fled there. In order to kill them, Nzabonimana asked them to return home assuring them that peace was restored. However, on the same day, in Nyabikenke Commune, Nzabonimana used a loudspeaker and called for the extermination of the last remaining Tutsi.

Nzabonimana strongly condemned Bourgmestre Jean-Marie Vianney Mporanzi who was not involved in the massacre. He later went to Rutobwe Commune to release people who had been detained for killing Tutsi. Later, those people killed other Tutsi and claimed that Nzabonimana had given them the power to kill.

During Murambi meeting, Nzabonimana ordered the killing of the bourgmestres and other local authorities who opposed the killing of Tutsi

On April 18, 1994, Nzabonimana, Jean Kambanda, and other ministers of the criminal government, including Prosper Mugiraneza, convened a meeting attended by the bourgmestres of the Communes of Gitarama prefecture. At the meeting, Nzabonimana ordered the killing of bourgmestres and other local authorities who opposed the killing of Tutsi.

Shortly after the meeting, the Bourgmestre of Mugina Commune, Callixte Ndagijimana, and two Councillors from Nyamabuye Commune, Bernard Twagirumukiza of Ruli Sector, and Martin Gasigwa of Musiba Sector, were killed by Hutu civilians and the Interahamwe. Nzabonimana had strongly condemned some of the bourgmestres for not supporting the massacre of Tutsi, warning them that they could be replaced by the Interahamwe. At another meeting in Ruhango, Nyamagana Sector, Tambwe Commune, Gitarama Prefecture, Callixte Nzabonimana and Jérôme Bicumupaka said that Tutsi should be killed, and Hutu should not show love or sympathy to them. Shortly after the meeting, *security committees* made up of Interahamwe from Ruhango Cell ravaged the area and killed Tutsi. Nzabonimana said that the enemy, a Tutsi, started the war and was attacking from Uganda. He explained that all Hutu, regardless of the political party they belonged to, had to unite in the fight against the enemy. After the meeting, roadblocks were intensified and Tutsi were attacked and killed in their homes.

Nzabonimana ordered the Interahamwe to demolish the houses of Tutsi killed to hide evidence of the Genocide

Between May and June 1994, Nzabonimana went to Masango Commune and ordered Interahamwe to demolish all houses left by Tutsi and replace them with crops to hide the evidence of the Tutsi massacre. Bourgmestre Esdras Mpamo, who had exterminated the Tutsi in Masango, had said that the international commission had been set up to investigate the killings in Rwanda, and hence it was necessary to wipe out all evidence of the killings, and Nzabonimana called for immediate action.

Callixte Nzabonimana did the same in Nyamabuye Commune. He went to the office of Nyamabuye Commune and urged the Hutu civilians who were around to demolish the house of murdered Tutsi and to wipe out all evidence so that, during the investigation, the Tutsi incident would not be known. Callixte Nzabonimana was convicted of genocide crime by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and sentenced to life in prison.

3.2. INVOLVEMENT OF MINISTER NYIRAMASUHUKO PAULINE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GENOCIDE PLOT IN HER HOME PREFECTURE: BUTARE

The Policy of Tutsi extermination called "pacification" by the genocidal government

The genocidal government implemented *pacification* as the policy of exterminating the Tutsi. For the Kambanda Government, *Pacification* meant the elimination of Tutsi. The criminal government sought at all costs to better control the massacres and to ensure that they were perpetrated according to the extermination plan put in place by the same government. A minister responsible for extermination had been appointed for each prefecture to ensure that the directives and instructions of the genocidal government were implemented. For Butare it was Nyiramasuhuko who had been assigned the task.

Each minister had to make the population understand the measures adopted by the government aimed at the extermination of Tutsi. The speeches made during the "*pacification campaign*" in Butare were extermination speeches which were the same across the country.

The extermination of Tutsi in Butare Prefecture was assigned to Nyiramasuhuko Pauline

Nyiramasuhuko Pauline played a leading role in putting genocidal policy into practice in Butare Prefecture. She was born in April 1946 in Rugara cell, Ndora Sector, Ndora Commune, Butare Prefecture. During the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, she was the Minister of the Family and the Promotion of Women in the genocidal Government headed by Jean Kambanda.

Every minister had been appointed for each prefecture, with the mission of overseeing what was then called "pacification", that is, the extermination of Tutsi. Nyiramasuhuko was one of the most assiduous members of these meetings where extermination decisions were made.

Nyiramasuhuko participated in all meetings of the genocidal government led by Kambanda Jean, between April 9 and July 14, 1994. On May 7, 1994, in Murambi, Nyiramasuhuko participated in the meeting of ministers dedicated to civil defense. The genocidal government's "*civil defense*" program was a component of the genocidal strategy.

Numerous meetings of this government were held in Kigali, Gitarama and Gisenyi and during this period the ministers, including Nyiramasuhuko, were regularly informed of the massacres which were perpetrated against the Tutsi. During these meetings, the ministers demanded that weapons be supplied to them for distribution in their respective prefectures, in order to speed up the massacres against the Tutsi. During these meetings, the genocidal government adopted directives and gave instructions to the prefects and bourgmestres, which were transmitted to the population and which aimed to continue the genocide throughout the country.

The extermination agenda in the hands of Nyiramasuhuko Pauline

Nyiramasuhuko always had a Tutsi extermination agenda in her bag, which showed the planning of the Tutsi massacres in general and the personal role to play during the implementation. Nyiramasuhuko wrote personal notes at meetings of the genocidal government which she put into practice in Butare Prefecture.

The diary presented the scene of the massacres and the central role of the genocidal government. That agenda constitutes a written proof of the planning of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi by the MRND, the CDR and the other parties grouped within the Hutu Power.

This diary shows that during the period from April to July 1994, the Kambanda genocidal government had an essential function and was indeed a place where the Tutsi extermination decisions were discussed and where they were taken.

Nyiramasuhuko Pauline perpetrated several massacres in the Prefecture of Butare

Nyiramasuhuko caused death of Tutsi on April 21, 1994 at the IRST

Nyiramasuhuko participated in the installation of roadblocks in the City of Butare used to identify the Tutsi, in order to eliminate them. Her son Arsène Shalom Ntahobali toured Butare Prefecture in search of Tutsi. After locating the victims, Nyiramasuhuko and her son captured them and took them to different places to be executed. Nyiramasuhuko ordered Interahamwe, who controlled the roadblocks to take them to the place where other Tutsi had been taken to be killed.

Nyiramasuhuko called Tutsi « dirt ».

One day, in front of the Butare prefecture headquarters with the Prefect Sylvain Nsabimana, she scratched her head and said angrily and aloud: "*This place is dirty, this place stinks. There is dirt here. This dirt must be removed; I should not find*

this dirt again here." Nyiramasuhuko pointed to the Tutsi refugees who were in the courtyard when she spoke of "dirt". Nsabimana then asked the Interahamwe and the soldiers to evacuate the refugees and force them to stay in the back of the prefecture office during that day. The refugees who were at the prefecture office were beaten and killed.

Nyiramasuhuko ordered to evacuate and massacre Tutsi refugees

Nyiramasuhuko returned to the prefecture office another time. She asked Nsabimana to convene a meeting of the bourgmestres of the prefecture, to ask them to evacuate the refugees to the communes where they belonged to. This order had been carried out, and after the evacuation the Tutsi were killed.

The massacre of Tutsi at the roadblock established by Nyiramasuhuko at the Ihuliro Hotel

Since April 1994, a roadblock had been established near the Nyiramasuhuko and Ntahobali residence, "*the Ihuliro Hotel*". The Ihuliro Hotel also served as a gathering place for planning the genocide. Nyiramasuhuko and the Interahamwe held regular meetings at the Ihuliro Hotel during which they discussed the implementation of the genocide in Butare Prefecture. Interahamwe and soldiers used this roadblock to identify, kidnap and kill Tutsi. For example, on April 21, 1994, a Tutsi called Léopold Ruvurajabo was killed near Ihuliro Hotel on the instructions of Nyiramasuhuko and Ntahobali.

Nyiramasuhuko ordered the Interahamwe to kidnap Tutsi women, to rape them before killing them

It was at the Ihuliro Hotel roadblock that Tutsi girls and women were kidnapped and raped under Nyiramasuhuko's instructions before killing them. This rape policy had been widely used by Nyiramasuhuko throughout the City of Butare. The rape of Tutsi women was used as a weapon of genocide, which formed part of the general extermination plan. Nyiramasuhuko encouraged the Interahamwe, including her son, to rape Tutsi women.

Nyiramasuhuko ordered the massacre of Tutsi who had taken refuge at the EER

After Nyiramasuhuko and Ntahobali attacked the refugees at the Butare Prefecture office between April 19 and the end of June 1994, those who survived were taken to various parts of the prefecture to be executed, including in the forest adjoining the EER. There, Tutsi were mistreated before being exterminated.

Nyiramasuhuko was found guilty of genocide crime and sentenced to life imprisonment at first instance, but the sentence was reduced to 47 years on appeal. Her son Shalom Ntahobali was sentenced to the same 47-year prison term as his mother.

3.3. INVOLVEMENT OF MINISTER KAREMERA EDOUARD IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GENOCIDE PLOT IN HIS HOME PREFECTURE: KIBUYE

Karemera Edouard created the Interahamwe militia in Bwakira Commune, his home commune for the extermination of Tutsi

Karemera Edouard played a leading role in the implementation of the genocidal policy in the Prefecture of Kibuye.

Karemera was born on September 1, 1951, in the Rucura Sector, Mwendu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. He has been a member of the central committee of the MRND since 1979, in June 1992 he was elected national secretary of this party. In April 1993, he became the first vice-president of the MRND and a member of its executive board. In 1994 he was Minister of the Interior in the genocidal government headed by Jean Kambanda.

On October 13, 1993, Karemera held a meeting in the multi-purpose hall of Bwakira Commune in Kibuye Prefecture. The meeting was attended by Karemera, Ruhigira Enoch, Munyampundu, Andre Kagimbangabo, Colonel Ndahimana, a CDR official by the name of Amani Mugabo, and the Bourgmestre Kabasha.

On this occasion, Karemera had invited assistance to contribute to the training of the Interahamwe. Karemera added that the Tutsi was the enemy. He explained how to identify the Tutsi. He showed the importance of identifying the enemy, by asking the prefect to put in place all the necessary mechanisms for the identification of Tutsi and for their extermination. After this meeting, the training of the Interahamwe who had already been selected before this meeting started immediately.

The military training program of the Interahamwe set up before the genocide aimed at the extermination of Tutsi throughout the Rwanda territory.

Karemera then proceeded to the distribution of guns. The military training of the Interahamwe took place in the Mashiga valley, near the tree below the communal office, as well as in the Ndoha forest.

Karemera Edouard has extended the so-called "pacification" policy of Tutsi extermination in the entire country

On April 10, 1994, at the *Hôtel des Diplomates*, Ngirumpatse, Karemera and Joseph Nzirorera called a meeting of the eleven (11) members of the national committee of the Interahamwe. They informed the Interahamwe of the "*pacification mission*" which consisted of transmitting the message requesting the continuation of the massacres on behalf of the genocidal government but concealing the corpses. The genocidal government said that it was facing difficulties with the international community because of the bodies exposed along the roads. The bodies had to be collected, picked up by trucks, to avoid being seen.

As interior minister and first vice-president of the MRND, Karemera extended the so-called "pacification" Tutsi extermination policy, which consisted of provoking, helping and further encouraging attacks against Tutsi. The ministers were then sent to their prefectures of origin to encourage the killings and exercise control over the Interahamwe.

On May 25, 1994, Karemera wrote to the prefects about measures to implement Jean Kambanda's directives. These measures included the establishment of committees, lists and inventories to identify the available resources at the prefecture level, such as human and material resources as well as weapons. The aim was to coordinate and accelerate the massacres across the country.

Karemera, Ngirumpatse and Mugenzi ordered the Bourgmestres of Gitarama Prefecture to stop protecting the Tutsi

On April 18, 1994, Kambanda, Karemera, Ngirumpatse, Mugenzi and Barayagwiza organized a meeting in Murambi, with several bourgmestres from Gitarama Prefecture. The bourgmestres asked Kambanda to provide them with supports to protect the Tutsi population and restore order in the region. Instead of that, Ngirumpatse, Karemera and Justin Mugenzi, ordered the bourgmestres to stop protecting Tutsi and to allow Interahamwe to continue killing Tutsi.

Karemera organized several meetings in Kibuye Prefecture to accelerate the genocide in this region

Kibuye, May 3, 1994: Karemera paid tribute to the Interahamwe, urging them to continue the genocide

During this meeting, Jean Kambanda addressed the audience and promoted "*civil defense*" as a means of fighting the Tutsi, and informed the public that the war had

been spread to all the communes of Rwanda. This coded language meant that the genocide had spread throughout the country, that it should continue by means of civil defense.

Karemera also addressed the participants, paying tribute to the Interahamwe, he urged them to dislodge, stop and fight the Tutsi in collaboration with the youth organizations from other parties.

Karemera, like all members of the genocidal government, called all Tutsi the enemy. He asked Interahamwe to physically attack and destroy all the Tutsi. This speech was resumed and rebroadcasted by Radio Rwanda on May 9, 1994.

Kibuye, May 16, 1994: Karemera asked the population to look for traditional weapons to massacre the Tutsi

During this meeting, he thanked the Prefect of Kibuye, Clément Kayishema, for having accomplished his mission, referring to the massacre of the Tutsi in Kibuye. He asked Interahamwe to attack the Tutsi and eliminate them and asked the population to look for additional weapons, for example, bows, arrows and spears.

Karemera and other genocidaires set up a "national defense" fund to finance the genocide

On April 25, 1994, Félicien Kabuga in agreement with Karemera and Ngirumpatse, and other genocidaires organized a meeting in Gisenyi with a purpose of creating a "National Defense fund" which was to be used to replenish the Interahamwe who massacred the Tutsi

On several occasions, such meetings were organized during the genocide, especially when the genocidal government was installed in Gisenyi.

Karemera asked for reinforcements from the Interahamwe of Mwendo Commune in order to exterminate the Tutsi refugees on the Hills of Bisesero

Karemera went to his home commune of Mwendo to mobilize Hutu to come and kill the Tutsi in Bisesero. He lied that the Tutsi refugees were attacking Hutu in Bisesero and that they had to go there because they had finished with the Tutsi in this region and that a problem was arising in Bisesero.

Karemera wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva asking for reinforcements in order to exterminate Tutsi who had survived on the Hills of Bisesero

On June 17, 1994 Karemera addressed a written request to Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, commander of the operational sector of Gisenyi on behalf of the genocidal government. He asked the military authorities to send reinforcements from Gisenyi Prefecture to eliminate all Tutsi survivors of Bisesero. The genocidal government aimed at completely terminate the Tutsi of Kibuye Prefecture in order to conceal the massacres of the previous months which could be seen in the explanations of the Tutsi survivors. Reinforcements from Gisenyi killed many Tutsi.

Karemera asked Prefect Kayishema and the commander of Kibuye to whom he had sent a copy of this letter, to take the appropriate measures to allow the implementation of this operation within the prescribed time which had to be completed by June 20 at the latest. Karemera called on the participation of the populations of the Communes of Gishyita, Gisovu and Gitesi.

3.4. INVOLVEMENT OF NIYTEGEKA ELIEZER IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TUTSI EXTERMINATION POLICY CALLED “CIVIL DEFENSE” IN THE FORMER PREFECTURE OF KIBUYE

Niyitegeka distributed weapons in Gisovu Commune and massacred Tutsi refugees in Mubuga Church

Niyitegeka Eliézer played a leading role in the implementation of the genocidal policy in Kibuye Prefecture. Born March 12, 1952, Eliézer Niyitegeka is from the Gitabura Sector, Gisovu Commune, Kibuye Prefecture. Former Journalist and presenter at Radio Rwanda, he was appointed Minister of Information of the Genocidal Government on April 9, 1994. Member of the Republican Democratic Movement (“MDR”), of which he was the president in Kibuye Prefecture from 1991 to 1994, Niyitegeka also sat on his party's national political bureau. In 1994, he was information minister in the genocidal government.

On April 10, 1994 Niyitegeka Eliezer came to Gisovu, in a white Hilux at the back of which were three soldiers with many guns in the vehicle. Those weapons were distributed to the killers who used them in the attacks against the Tutsi.

On 16/4/1994, Niyitegeka came to Mubuga and told a large Interahamwe audience that he had learned that Tutsi were hiding at Mubuga School and in the church waiting to launch an attack on them. He then chose numerous gendarms, armed with guns and grenades, who immediately launched the attack. The grenades were thrown from the roof top of the church which had been opened by the killers. After the attack, Niyitegeka thanked the killers, promising to pay them with drinks as a reward, provided that they continue to kill Tutsi in other places.

Niyitegeka massacred Tutsi refugees on Kizenga Hill, between April 17 and 30, 1994

Between 5,000 and 10,000 Tutsi men, women and children of all ages had taken refuge on Kizenga Hill. As its summit was very high, the refugees could see the attackers when they came to attack them. Niyitegeka arrived on the scene, accompanied by Ruzindana, the Interahamwe and gendarms with a total of between 2,000 and 3,000 killers. Niyitegeka himself carried a gun, the Interahamwe were armed with clubs, spears and axes.

The killers surrounded the hill and, with nowhere to go, refugees decided to stay where they were and waited for death. Niyitegeka was the first to shoot at the crowd of refugees. Using a loudspeaker, he said to kill the enemy: The Tutsi and to spare no one. After the attack, corpses were everywhere and the dying people crying out in agony.

Niyitegeka massacred Tutsi refugees on Muyira Hill, between April 17 and 30

A large-scale attack was launched between 17 and 30 April against Tutsi refugees on the Hill of Muyira, in Bisesero.

On that day refugees were attacked three times. There were around 5,000 Tutsi refugees on the hill and more were arriving every day. There were Tutsi of all ages, including old men and infants on their mothers' backs. Some of them were survivors of other attacks, such as those from the churches of Ngoma, Mubuga and the Adventist Church of Mugonero, among whom many people had been massacred.

Among the killers, there were Niyitegeka, Segatarama who was the councillor of Gitabura, two communal police officers of Gisovu, Sebahire, Rukazamyambi, Minyotsi, a police officer, Ndimbati, Gisovu Bourgmestre, and Alfred Musema, who was the director of Gisovu Tea Factory. They all carried guns. Among the killers, approximately 20 to 30 people were carrying firearms. Niyitegeka was leading the killers whose total number was over 6,000, including soldiers, police and Interahamwe. They were armed with spears, clubs and other traditional

weapons. During this attack, the refugees defended themselves so well that the attackers had been retaliated.

More killers have returned. There have been deaths and the killers have been retaliated. Around 1:30 p.m., while organizing the funeral of the dead, the survivors were attacked for the third time on Muyira Hill. There had been countless deaths scattered on the hill.

Niyitegeka massacred the Tutsi between April and early May, 1994 at Kivumu

A mostly devastating attack was perpetrated between the end of April and the beginning of May 1994 in Kivumu, Bisesero. The attackers who took part in this attack which claimed the lives of many victims were more numerous and better equipped than the others.

Many Tutsi refugees were scattered on the Hill of Bisesero. Some refugees suffered more than others. Some were wounded by gunshot or machete wounds, and others were suffering from common illnesses and they could not be treated. There were children, the elderly and women.

In order to give the wounded and the elderly time to find hiding places and because there was nowhere to go to escape, refugees ran to the attackers and met them in Kivumu. There were approximately 300 attackers carrying firearms, explosives, and traditional weapons such as machetes, spears, clubs, and sharp bamboo stalks.

Niyitegeka was leading, the Bourgmestre Charles Sikubwabo, the Councilor Mika Muhimana, Ndimbati, the Bourgmestre of Gisovu, Segatarama, the councillor of Gitabura, Kanayira, the assistant of the Gishyita Bourgmestre, Mathias Nginrshuti, Kagaba and Vincent who was Mubuga's Councillor.

Niyitegeka was armed with a gun and started shooting the refugees. The refugees resisted for a short time using stones and sticks but the attackers were heavily armed and they had come from many directions. They were chased by the attackers to the top of Gitwe hill where they spent the night. The attack ended around 3:00pm.

Niyitegeka launched a new attack against Tutsi refugees on Muyira Hill, on May 13, 1994

On May 13, 1994, the attackers, including Interahamwe, soldiers and civilians, arrived between 8 am and 9 am. They had parked their vehicles at a place called "*Kucyapa*", in the junction of Gisovu and Gishyita communes. Among these vehicles were ONATRACOM buses, trucks belonging to COLAS and seized vehicles belonging to Tutsi who had been killed.

The attackers' vehicles were commuting between Kibuye and Cyangugu. The attackers were numerous; they were much more numerous than the refugees. Among the attackers were the bourgmestres of Gishyita and Gisovu Communes, the councillors, the Prefect, Ruzindana, his brother Joseph, the pastor Ntakirutimana, the doctor Gérard Ntakirutimana, and Alfred Musema.

They shouted "*Tubatsembatsembe*" literary "*let us exterminate them*". The attack only ended around 17:30. During this attack, the attackers fired on the refugees and after they finished them off with a clubs and machetes. Niyitegeka was in the front line of attackers.

After the attack, the killers gathered at "*Kucyapa*" for a meeting. Tutsi refugees killed that day were very numerous. Some survivors who had some strength buried the bodies in shallow graves, other corpses were devoured by wild beasts and dogs on the hill.

Niyitegeka wanted to finish off Tutsi refugees on Muyira Hill, May 14, 1994

The attack continued the next day on Muyira Hill. In the morning, killers had parked their vehicles at "*Kucyapa*". Niyitegeka stood at a roadside sign. He was with Kayishema, the former Prefect of Kibuye, Alfred Musema, Sikubwabo, Bourgmestre of Gishyita, Ndimbati, Bourgmestre of Gisovu, Ruzindana, Mika, Gérard and Elizaphan Ntakirutimana, Enos Kagaba, Kanyabungo Augustin, Victoire, Gashakabuhake, the former Bourgmestre of Gishyita, Segatarama, the councillor of Gitarama, Vincent Rutaganira, and councillor of Mubuga. The group of attackers included civilians, soldiers, Interahamwe, gendarms and communal police. As soon as they saw killers, the refugees fled to Muyira Hill. The refugees were followed to the Kiraro river where another group of killers was waiting and they killed so many people and the river turned red with blood.

Niyitegeka massacred Tutsi in Rugarama and Kiziba, at the end of May

The Tutsi refugees had been followed throughout the day. They had managed to escape to Cyamaraba, Kazirandimwe, and hide there in a bush. Niyitegeka ordered killers to return at 18:00 to continue the killings, in particular to attack and kill the refugees when they came out of their hiding places to look for food.

Niyitegeka, accompanied by Ruzindana and Kayishema also carried out massacres of Tutsi in Kiziba on June 18, 1994. He was shooting with his gun, and the Interahamwe finished off the wounded.

Returning from this massacre, Niyitegeka met an old man and a young boy. He said to them, "Your parents almost killed me." He loaded his gun and shot on the

old man's chest. He also shot the boy's head and body, and told the attackers to "remove the dirt" referring to the bodies of the old man and the boy.

Niyitegeka led meetings that planned the extermination of Tutsi refugees on Bisesero Hill, on June 10,1994 and the following days

A few Tutsi refugees from Bisesero had survived several attacks against them since April 1994. Niyitegeka organized meetings to exterminate those who had escaped these massacres. The meeting of 10/6/1994 was held in the conference hall of Kibuye Prefecture. It was attended by Ruzindana, Kayishema, Musema, Doctor Gérard Ntakirutimana, Joseph Mpambara, Enos Kagaba, Mathias, the Councilor of Gishyita, Mika, the Councilor of Mubuga and the Bourgmestres of Rwamatamu, Gisovu, Gishyita and Mabanza.

Ruzindana intervened on the subject of the meeting, which was to find the means to use in order to kill all Tutsi in Bisesero. The participants reacted with applause. Niyitegeka was speaking through a microphone. He promised that himself and Ruzindana would provide material support in the form of weapons to "resolve" the Tutsi problem in Bisesero.

A week after this meeting, Niyitegeka held another meeting during which he distributed weapons. He said that these weapons were to be used in the massacres in Bisesero. He presented the attack plan on the board and said that nobody would be spared. He first drew a circle on the board and then wrote the word "Bisesero" inside the circle.

Around the circle, the starting point assigned to each group of attackers was materialized by Niyitegeka by writing the full name or the initials of the chiefs designated for each group of killers. The five starting points surrounding the circle surrounding the word "Bisesero" were Karongi, Rushishi, Kiziba, Gisiza and Murambi. The starting point for the Niyitegeka group was Kiziba. No opposition had been lodged against the plan.

Niyitegeka ordered people to take part in the attack. He invited the bourgmestres to tell strong men to take part in the Tutsi killings and indicated that he would be personally present in the said attack. Sikubwabo and others expressed support for the planned attack, saying they would be on the scene and encouraged everyone to participate.

People welcomed this speech with shouts and applause.

Niyitegeka personally raped and made several Tutsi girls and women raped

On May 20, 1994 Interahamwe, who accompanied Niyitegeka to carry out attacks in Bisesero, started to flush out people who had hidden in the bushes. They caught a young girl aged between 13 to 15 years old. They took her to Niyitegeka and put her in his vehicle. Niyitegeka was seated in the vehicle, a red jeep, with the door open. Niyitegeka closed the door and was left alone with the girl in the vehicle. He raped the girl, then threw her in front of the vehicle before shooting her down with a gun.

On June 2, 1994, near the *Ecole normale technique de Kibuye*, at the edge of the road, Niyitegeka ordered Interahamwe to fetch a piece of wood, to sharpen it and to insert it in the genitals of a woman who had just been shot. The woman's body, with the inserted piece of wood, was later left by the roadside for about three days.

There were numerous cases of rape during the Bisesero attacks. Several women have been kidnapped where Eliezer Niyitegeka and Edouard Karemera were, and no one had seen them again, they had been raped and killed in the bushes. Any man who wanted to rape a woman could do it and anyone who caught a girl was free to rape her as he pleased.

Some men had taken girls to their homes and killed them after they were done with them.

Niyitegeka Eliezer was convicted of genocide and sentenced to life imprisonment. He died in prison in Mali.

CHAPTER IV:

THE ROLE OF MEDICAL DOCTORS, MEDICAL ASSISTANTS AND OTHER HOSPITALS, CLINICS AND HEALTH CENTERS' STAFF DURING THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI

Doctors, medical assistants, and other staff at hospitals, clinics and health centers usually in charge of treating and protecting the lives of people were involved in the Genocide against the Tutsi. In various hospitals and health centers in Rwanda, many Tutsi patients, refugees, caregivers and their fellow Tutsi colleagues who were engaged in the same occupational health care profession, were cruelly killed and it was all prepared by doctors and other staff of hospitals and clinics in management positions. The next section highlights some of them who have been identified.

4.1. THE ROLE OF DOCTORS DURING THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI IN BUTARE CITY

4.1.1. DOCTORS

Dr Nshimyumuremyi Jean-Berchmas

He was born in Butaro Commune in Ruhengeri. In 1994, he was the Vice Chancellor of the University of Rwanda (UNR). He is one of the leaders in the planning of the Genocide carried out in the University and in the City of Butare. He formed groups of murderers who organized and encouraged the massacre of Tutsi in Butare City, including the one called "*Cercle des intellectuels Rwandais à Butare*" slightly translated as "Circle of Rwandan intellectuals in Butare" which published a number of articles spreading hatred and murder.

On November 24, 2009, the Gacaca Court of Butare Town Sector sentenced him to life imprisonment after convicting him of genocide crime, which included attending meetings preparing for the Genocide at the University and the University Hospital (CHUB), inciting staff to kill Tutsi, causing the killing of Tutsi teachers and students, the establishing and leading Interahamwe group at the University of Butare.

The court also ruled that Dr Nshimyumuremyi Jean Berchmas had formed a group called: “*Comité de financement de l’auto-défense civile*” translated as: “*Committee on the Financing of Civil self defense*” to raise funds for the Interahamwe and the killings. He collaborated with Rutayisire Faustin, the Sous prefect of Butare Prefecture, Sebalinda Jean Baptiste who was the Director of Administration and Finance (DAF) at a matchbox factory in Butare and businessman called Gakwaya Venant. The money was transferred on account N° 84343 opened in Bank of Kigali, Butare branch.

Dr Nshimyumuremyi was also convicted of torturing Tutsi comprising of Professor Jean Baptiste Habyarimana, who was killed in the Genocide and was the Prefect of Butare as well as his collaboration with CHUB doctors in the killings. He lives in Gabon.

Dr Nshimyumukiza Jotham

During the Genocide, he was the director of CHUB Hospital until he fled in July 1994. He killed patients, doctors and nurses he supervised including Karekezi Jean Claude who was a nurse. He told ESO soldiers that Karekezi was a Tutsi and he was choked in front of patients. As the director general of the hospital, Dr Nshimyumukiza Jotham was at the forefront of all the killings in CHUB.

Dr Munyemana Sosthène

He was from the former Musambira Commune (Gitarama) where he was born in 1955 and belonged to the MDR Party. He worked at the University Hospital in Butare (CHUB) and also Taught at the University of Rwanda, Faculty of Medicine. Gacaca courts tried him in absentia for genocide crime he committed at CHUB and in Tumba where he lived in Ngoma Commune, Butare. He was sentenced by Gacaca to 30 years in prison on 05/08/2007 and on 22/01/2010 the Ngoma Gacaca Court on appeal upheld his sentence in absentia after proving his role in the planning and execution of the Genocide in the City of Butare, especially at CHUB where he killed women and children as well as where he lived in Tumba.

Among the atrocities he committed in Tumba include the incarceration of Tutsi in the Tumba Sector meeting room and selection of those to be killed including Philippe Musake and Laurence Kanayire. He was also charged with the distribution of guns that he was given by Kambanda Jean, the former Prime Minister and the killings at Mukoni roadblock.

Dr Munyemana Sosthène fled to France in 1994 and continued his medical career at *Villeneuve-sur-Lot* Hospital until 2009 when he was suspended. In December 2018 a French prosecutor decided to bring him to justice but the first case against

Dr Munyemana's crimes in the genocide against the Tutsi was filed in 1995, in France in the Bordeaux Court (TGI Bordeaux). The judicial procedure on the subject takes its course.

Dr Rwamucyo Eugène

He was born in the former Gatonde Commune in Ruhengeri and was the director of the "*Center Universitaire de Santé Publique de Butare / CUSP*", the University of Rwanda center. Dr Rwamucyo Eugène was also at the forefront of the organizers of the Genocide in Butare City. Among the crimes he committed, he ordered residents to dig up the bodies and dump them in pits that had been already excavated.

On 02/09/2009, the Ngoma Gacaca Court sentenced him to life imprisonment after convicting him of forming gangs of killers that incited genocide execution, supplying of killing equipment, kidnapping Tutsi women and girls, counting and identifying the dead. When he arrived in France, Dr Rwamucyo was offered a job at *Lille University Hospital* and later worked at *Maubeuge Hospital*, and was suspended in October 2009, after the hospital learned that he was wanted for his role in the Genocide against the Tutsi.

On 26/05/2010, Dr Rwamucyo was arrested by *Interpol* on the basis of arrest warrants issued by the Rwandan Prosecutor General's Office, arrested at the *Sannois Cemetery* where he had gone to bury the genocidaire Jean Bosco Barayagwiza who had deceased in the United Nations prison in Benin where he was serving a 35-year prison sentence given by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR).

Dr Rwamucyo was jailed for four (4) months and released on 15/09/2010, the Court of Appeal of *Versailles* (France) refused to extradite him to Rwanda, but ruled that he should be prosecuted in France. On 16 October 2020, the French magistrates ordered his return to the Court of Assize for judgment.

Dr Bararengana Séraphin

He was born from Gasiza where his father Ntibazirikana Jean Baptiste is said to have been inhabited by priests around 1913. It is in the former Karago Commune, now in Gasiza Village, Nyundo Cell, Rambura Sector in Nyabihu District. He has long been the head of the Department of Medicine at the University of Rwanda (UNR) but like many others he was a doctor at CHUB.

He is the young brother of Juvénal Habyarimana who was the President of the Republic of Rwanda and a member of the *Akazu*, a group of high level military, public servants and private people that had a final say on government, in governance, justice, economics and the military of the country.

In the run-up to the genocide, Dr Bararengana urged CHUB staff to take part in the killings and provided weapons of mass destruction. The Gacaca Court of Mamba Cell, Ngoma Sector sentenced him to thirty (30) years imprisonment in absentia on 05/09/2007. Others convicted for complicity in the same case are Dr Bigirimana Ignace, Dr Mugabo Pierre and Dr Karemera Alphonse. Dr Bararengana lives in Gabon.

Dr Habarugira Pascal

He was born in Gafunzo Commune (Cyangugu) in Nyamasheke District, Nyabitekeri Sector in 1957. He also worked at CHUB as a Gynaecologist. After the genocide was stopped, he first worked for a short time at Centre Hospitaliere de Kigali (CHK), then resumed his work at CHUB until his arrest in March 2005.

On 05/09/2007, the appeal of the Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court sentenced him to thirty years (30) of imprisonment after convicting him with the crimes of leading the massacre at the Mukoni roadblock. At this roadblock a large number of people were killed and dumped in a pit next to it called “*Icyi bisi*” or “*big bus*”. He was also convicted of allegedly handing over a Tutsi woman called Mukangango Venantie to death and killing a baby of a Hutu woman who was impregnated by a Tutsi.

On 06/02/2008, the Gacaca Court sentenced him to nineteen (19) years in prison after considering his request for release on bail. He is being held in Nyarugenge Prison.

Dr Nsengiyumva Jean Népomuscène

He was born in the former Ruhondo Commune of Ruhengeri in 1947. After the genocide when he came from exile, he worked at Ruhengeri Hospital until his arrest in 2005. He was also convicted of genocide by the Gacaca court of Butare City on 05/09/2007 for attending genocide preparation meetings to kill Tutsi at CHUB, inciting CHUB doctors, nurses and staff to commit Genocide and preventing them from receiving and treating Tutsi patients, some of whom resulted in their death.

He was sentenced to thirty (30) years in prison and he is held in Huye prison. His wife, Dr Nyiraruhango Berthe, was sentenced by the Gacaca Courts to 30 years in prison on 26/09/2007 in absentia.

Dr Nyiraruhango Berthe

He is a specialist in the treatment of throat, nose and ear diseases (ORL) who was married to Dr Nsengiyumva Jean Népomuscène. They both worked at the University of Rwanda Hospital. Dr Nyiraruhango Berthe has been cruel to Tutsi since 1990 when the so-called Inkotanyi accomplices were being imprisoned, she was one of those who prepared Tutsi list to be imprisoned.

During the genocide, Dr Nyiraruhango persecuted Tutsi patients, she requested their IDs and took them to the Interahamwe and soldiers who came and took the patients away and killed them; she also refused to receive and treat Tutsi patients, saying she would not treat cockroaches.

Among those she killed approved by Gacaca, included a nurse called Hawa, and she was also accused of piercing a child's ear with a nail saying that she did not treat Inyenzi (cockroaches).

After the genocide, she fled to Kenya. On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court sentenced her to thirty (30) years in prison in absentia. It is said that she died in exile. Her husband, Dr Nsengiyumva Jean Népomuscène, is being held in Huye Prison and has been sentenced to thirty (30) years in prison for genocide crimes in Butare.

Dr Mugabo Pierre

He is the son-in-law of Mbonyumutwa Dominique. In 1994 he worked at the "*Pharmaceutical Laboratory*" in Butare. He committed genocide at the University Hospital and also appeared in the massacre at the roadblock in front of *Hotel Faucon*.

He was sentenced to 30 years in prison by the Gacaca Court of Ngoma Sector, Huye District on 05/09/2007 for the genocide crimes against doctors and teachers who lived at Buye. He also participated in an attack that took 25 children from Benezikira Sisters' home *Maison Generalice* and the handing over of the patients to be killed.

He committed genocide in collaboration with his wife Felicité Musanganire who worked at CUSP Butare. He lives in South Africa where he works at the University of the Western Cape, in the Department of Pharmacy. He and his wife, Musanganire Felicité, work at the university and were both convicted by Gacaca Courts for genocide in Butare.

Dr Kageruka Martin

He was a gynaecologist at CHUB and *Nyumbakumi* where he lived. He was born in Kibuye, Mabanza Commune, Mushubati Sector in 1946. His case was handled by ordinary courts. Among the charges against him, included participation in meetings that organized and encouraged the implementation of Genocide in CHUB, mobilization of CHUB staff to commit Genocide including encouraging doctors and nurses to refuse to treat Tutsi patients. Among those he was convicted of, along with Lieutenant Pierre Bizimana on the instructions of Captain Ildephonse Nizeyimana, was the assassination of Queen Rosalie Gicanda. Both the Court of First Instance of Butare and the Kigali Court of Appeal, he was sentenced to life imprisonment and he is being held in Nyarugenge Prison.

Dr Ndindabahizi Jean Chrysostome

He worked in CUSP, from Nyakizu, Butare. He was a member of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and later joined the *PSD power*. He was indicted in the same case with Dr. Runyinya Barabwiriza who was a university lecturer and a political adviser to President Habyarimana on 05/09/2007.

On 11/05/2008, the Tumba B Assembly sentenced him in absentia to life imprisonment. His wife, Dr Nduwamariya Jeanne, was involved in the planning and implementation of the genocide, especially in the killings at the Tumba roadblocks. They both live in Gabon.

Dr Habiyaremye Innocent

He is from the former Nkumba Commune in Ruhengeri where he was born in 1951. He is a *microbiologist* in Belgium and worked in the CHUB laboratory. He fled to Gikongoro and worked in the *Médecins Sans Frontières* (MSF) until his arrest and detention in 1995. He was convicted of leading genocide planning meetings, setting up roadblocks and leading them. He was sentenced to life in prison and he is detained in Huye prison.

Dr Mutwewingabo Anthère

He was an expert in *Anatomy - pathology*, working in the university laboratory. He is from the former Gishoma Commune in Cyangugu Prefecture. He was convicted of planning genocide, killing and leading attacks at the University of Rwanda and the City of Butare. On 27/05/2009, the Ngoma Gacaca Court of Appeal sentenced him to life imprisonment.

Dr Bigirimana Ignace *alias* Sederi (CDR)

He is from Gaseke Commune (Gisenyi) and worked at CHUB. He was sentenced by the Gacaca to 30 years in prison on September 5, 2007 on charges of participating in a gang of killers and in massacre of Tutsi in Butare. He fled to Kenya before the trial ended but is now living in Eswatini (formerly Swaziland) and works at *Mbabane Governmental Hospital*.

Dr Karemera Alphonse

He was born in Nyabikenke Commune (Gitarama) in 1951. He was the head of Medical Department at the University in Butare. Dr Karemera was a serial killer who led the massacre at the University Hospital in Butare and at the University where students, staff and Tutsi teachers were killed. He attended and chaired the genocide planning and mobilization meetings at CHUB to the point where he encouraged doctors and nurses to refuse to treat Tutsi patients. He was sentenced by Gacaca in absentia for thirty (30) years in prison on 05/09/2007. He currently lives in France-Lyon.

Dr Hakizimana Deogratias

He was indicted in the same case with Dr Runyinya Barabwiriza, a former university lecturer and political adviser to President Habyarimana, on 05/09/2007. Dr Hakizimana Deogratias attended meetings to prepare the killing of Tutsi, to incite genocide implementation and to engage in attacks.

Dr Nduwamariya Jeanne

She was a doctor at Kabutare. She is from Ndora Commune (Butare). She was involved in the preparation and implementation of the Genocide, especially in the killings of Tutsi at the Tumba roadblocks. She is best known for her attacks towards the Berchmas family, by hunting down his daughter Chantal until she paid money to hunt and kill her. But she also said she would kill Chantal herself. There were several genocide planning meetings held at her home with her husband. She is the wife of Dr Jean Chrysostome Ndindabahizi. She was tried by Gacaca Courts in absentia and sentenced for life imprisonment with special provisions by Tumba B Assembly on 28/10/2009.

Dr Mwigimba Cyrille

He was a doctor at CHUB and was convicted of genocide crime on 20/11/2009 by the Gacaca Court of Butare-Ville Sector, which includes: refusal to treat and discriminate against Tutsi patients. After discriminating them, he handed them over to the soldiers to be killed in collaboration with Dr Rugina Nizeyimana Emmanuel and Dr Habimana Lin. He also attended genocide planning meetings at the University and at CHUB, illegal possession of firearms at his residence in Taba and participating in massacres of Tutsi at the Benebikira Sisters' home - *Maison Generalice*, where twenty-five (25) children were taken from to be killed. The court sentenced him to life imprisonment with special provisions.

Dr Habimana Lin

He is a Burundian doctor who worked at a university hospital. On November 20, 2009, he was convicted by the Gacaca Court of Butare-Ville Sector in the same case as Dr Rugina and Dr Mwigimba on charges of discriminating Tutsi patients and handing them over to the (*Ecole des Sous-Officiers* - ESO) to be executed, refusal to treat Tutsi patients and to discriminate against them by handing them over to soldiers and the Interahamwe to be executed, to attend massacres preparation meetings at CHUB and in the University with the intent to kill Tutsi staff and students. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in absentia.

Dr Nyagasaza Aloys

He was sentenced on 16/11/2009 by Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court to life imprisonment after being convicted of murder in Butare City, especially at Mukoni and Kabutare. He was also convicted of killing Tutsi at the roadblock, transporting bodies in his car and killing Nkundayezu Bernardin and Mushumba himself. Dr Nyagasaza was also identified as Dr Habarugira Pascal's accomplice in the case handled by Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court on 06/02/2008, and was convicted of crimes including the huge killing at the Mukoni roadblock.

Dr Sijyeniyi Charles

He was a dentist who had studied in Russia from Cyarwa in the former Butare Prefecture. He was convicted of genocide by the Gacaca Assembly in Butare City on 05/09/2007, along with Dr Hakizimana Deo. His convictions were that he participated to meetings preparing to kill Tutsi, incite people to carry out genocide and participation in attacks.

Dr Twagirayezu Emmanuel

He was born in 1950 in Ndora Commune in the former Butare Prefecture, now in Gisagara District. On 26/03/2010, the Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court convicted him of genocide crimes including: attending genocide planning meetings, handing over Tutsi to soldiers to be killed at hospital, inciting execution of genocide, participating in attacks and killing of Tutsi called Mujejende and Sebera as well as raping Tutsi women including students. He Died in exile in Ghana. He was sentenced in absentia to life imprisonment.

Dr Ngirabatware Bruno

He was a doctor at the University Hospital in Butare. after the Genocide, he fled to Malawi and he is wanted by the Rwandan justice. He was sentenced to 30 years in prison and he is a brother to Mbonampeka Stanislas, former Minister of justice from PL who committed genocide in Ndera. Dr Ngirabatware Bruno was sentenced to 30 years in prison and escaped justice pending trial.

Dr Gatera Godefroid

He worked in the surgical service. The Butare Gacaca Court convicted him of the crimes of planning and committing Genocide in CHUB. He died in Huye prison where he was serving his sentence.

Dr Murengezi Ildephonse

He was the director of the *Centre de Recherche en Medicine Traditionnelle* (CURPHAMETRA) in Butare. He is from the former Ruhashya Commune in Butare, currently in Huye District. He committed genocide in Butare. On March 26, 2009, the Gacaca Court of Ngoma Sector, Huye District, sentenced him to nineteen (19) years in prison after he was convicted of going to a roadblock at which many Tutsi were killed and in attacks on Tutsi in various places in Butare City. He was found guilty of participating in the meetings which planned the genocide and which were held at Gasengayire's house. He incited his employees to seek and kill the Tutsi. He lives in Switzerland.

Dr Rutagengwa Emmanuel

He was born in Cyarwa, Ngoma Commune, Butare in 1954 currently in Huye District. In 1994, he worked for Laboratoire National Pharmaceutique (LABOPHAR, headquartered in Butare. On 29/10/2008, the Cyarwa Cyimana a Gacaca Court sentenced him to life imprisonment with special provisions, after he was convicted of genocide crimes in Butare. Among the crimes for which he was

found guilty, there were the organization of meetings which planned the genocide, the illegal carrying of weapons, the use of LABOPHAR vehicles in the transport of soldiers who killed Tutsi, including the man named Nzovu.

He participated in attacks against Tutsi with Niyibizi Benoit, Gashirabake Louis, Mutwewingabo and Sendege. He was in the attack on the assassination of Ntakirutimana Marie's husband. He was convicted of rape of Tutsi women and girls. He lives in Malawi.

Teganya Leonard

In 1994, he was a student in his final year of university, Department of Medicine. He would make a list of Tutsi patients who entered the hospital and bring in the Interahamweand the soldiers to take the patients and kill them. He killed and raped women. In 1994, Teganya fled to Canada seeking asylum and later fled to the United States, where he was arrested and sentenced to 97 months in prison for lying to immigration officials about his role in the Genocide.

Bikomagu

He studied at the University, Department of Medicine and was a soldier who stayed at the home of Dr Ndindabahizi Jean Chrysostome. In the case of Dr Habarugira Pascal, ruled by the Gacaca Court of Ngoma Sector on 06/02/2008, Bikomagu was identified as a person who was involved in the hunt for Tutsi who were not yet killed at the National University of Rwanda (UNR), in the university forest (*Arboretum*) and in the rooms where they had hidden.

Mupenzi Jean de la Paix

He was a university student, and the Gacaca Court of Butare ville A sentenced him to thirty (30) years of imprisonment on 09/10/2009. He escaped justice after being sentenced. Bikomagu, Mupenzi and Teganya in Butare were considered as doctors because they were medical students and were seen in a training at the hospital.

4.1.2. THE ROLE OF NURSES AND OTHER MEDICAL STAFF DURING GENOCIDE IN BUTARE CITY

Remera Simeon

He was a medical assistant working for the CARAES Center for mentally Disabled patients, Butare Branch. He was a leader of CDR in Butare Prefecture. He was one of the leaders of the Genocide in various places in Butare Town and especially in

Runyinya Commune where he was born. On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court sentenced him to 30 years in prison in absentia. His wife, Gemma, was a nurse and was also sentenced by Tumba B Gacaca Court on 27/07/2009 to life imprisonment after convicting her of genocide in Tumba.

Musanganire Félicité

She was working on an HIV/AIDS project at the University of Public Health Center (CUSP). She is from Gitarama and is the daughter of Dominique Mbonyumutwa who was the first President of Rwanda. On 20/12/2006, the Gacaca Court of Ngoma Sector sentenced her to twenty-five (25) years in prison in absentia. Among her convictions included the murder of Prof. Pierre - Claver Karenzi killed at the roadblock in front of *Hotel Faucon*, collaborating with Dr Eugene Rwamucyo in the death of Cécile Nyirasikubwabo, a former CUSP employee. At the roadblock, Félicité Musanganire was in charge of controlling people's IDs and separating Hutu from the Tutsi, handing over the Tutsi to be killed by the Interahamwe and the military.

She fled to South Africa where she works at the *Western Cape University* AIDS Center and where she continued her studies after fleeing. Her husband Dr Pierre Mugabo, who conspired to commit genocide in Butare, was sentenced to thirty (30) years on 05/09/2007.

A Sister Mukarubibi Théopiste

She was a nurse in charge of the CHUB kitchen, caring for feeding the sick mainly the poor who did not have families to bring them food. She has been convicted of various offenses due to her collaboration with doctors, nurses and other CHUB staff in the killings at the University Hospital. The Butare - ville Gacaca Court sentenced her to thirty (30) years on 11/08/2006. She is detained in Nyamagabe Prison.

Mukamuzima Philomène *alias* Kinanda

She was born in Gikongoro in 1954, the former Commune of Nshili. She worked at ONAPO / Butare since 1993 in charge of family planning services from CUSP where she was a nurse. she was part of a group of killers established by Pauline Nyiramasuhuko and her son Arsène Shalom Ntahobari, and was a close friend of Dr Séraphin Bararengana, President Habyarimana's young brother. He was also a member of the CUSP Genocide preparatory group. She was also involved in the killings along with Dr Rwamucyo Eugene and MP Febronie Nsaguye of the MRND.

On March 26, 2008, she was convicted by the Gacaca Court of Ngoma Sector for crimes of attending genocide planning meetings at CUSP, supporting the implementation of genocide, controlling and betraying her fellow Tutsi colleagues who were killed. She was sentenced to nineteen (19) years in prison.

Mukarurangwa Marie Rose alias Kaporali

She is from Mpare in the former Huye Commune where she was born in 1959, currently in Huye District. She is the daughter of the Banyangiriki Zacharie who has been the MP representing MRND for a long time. They nicknamed her Corporal because of her cruelty. On 04/06/2008, she was convicted by the Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court of attending genocide planning meetings at CUSP, supporting the conduct of genocide, controlling and betraying her fellow Tutsi employees who were killed, including seven (7) who were revealed. She was sentenced to nineteen years in prison (19).

Mukabandora Scolastique

She was a nurse at CHUB in Butare. She was born in Ruli in the former Nyamabuye Commune (Gitarama) in 1952. On 05/09/2007, the Gacaca Court of Butare Sector convicted her of confiscating patients' ID cards, taking out serum from Tutsi patient, killing a baby on her own by hitting him on the floor with head down, handing over patients to be killed and attending meetings to prepare for the killings at the hospital. She was sentenced to thirty (30) years of imprisonment and later to nineteen (19) years of imprisonment on appeal on 15/03/2008 and he completed his sentence.

Mukamunana Juliette

She was born in 1952 in Gahini, Kayonza District. She worked in the *Red Cross* project at CHUB. The Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court convicted her of conspiracy to assassinate Tutsi, celebrating the massacre of Tutsi, requesting Identity Cards to discriminate people and expose Tutsi to be killed. On 16/03/2007, the Ngoma Sector Council (Huye) decided to change the outcome of the first trial where she was sentenced to thirty (30) years. The Court found that the testimony was inconsistent with the defendant's convictions and sentenced her to nineteen (19) years of imprisonment he completed his sentence.

Uwimana Thérèse

She is from Gisenyi and was a nurse working for CUSP. On 04/06/2008, the Gacaca Court of Butare Ville Sector convicted her of attending genocide planning meetings at CUSP, conspiracy to kill Tutsi workers and inciting people to implement genocide. She was sentenced to nineteen (19) years in prison.

Nyiramisago Thérèse

She is from Shyanda Commune (Butare) and the sister of Théodore Sindikubwabo who was the president of the interim government. She was part of a group of genocide planners. On 04/06/2008, she was convicted by Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court for attending genocide planning meetings at CUSP, supporting the conduct of genocide, controlling and betraying her fellow Tutsi workers who were killed, including seven who could be identified. She was sentenced to nineteen (19) years in prison.

Kantengwa Annonciata

She is from Ngoma Commune (Butare). She was part of a group of genocide planners. On 04/06/2008, she was convicted by the Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court of attending genocide planning meetings at CUSP, supporting the implementation of genocide, controlling and betraying her fellow Tutsi employees who were killed, including seven (7) who could be identified. She was sentenced to nineteen (19) years in prison.

Nyirahirwa Immaculée

On 30/01/2008, the Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court convicted her of genocide against Tutsi in CHUB, killing infants and throwing them in a pit. Although the offense was serious and she never pleaded guilty, the court sentenced her to fifteen (15) years in prison. It is a minor punishment compared to the seriousness of the crime of infanticide for a nurse. In another case of 26/09/2007, Nyirahirwa Immaculée was sentenced to eighteen (18) years in prison.

Musabyemariya Marceline

She is from the former Ndora Commune (Butare). She is the daughter of Dr Ntabomvura Venant. On 16/07/2008, she was convicted by the Butare Ville Gacaca Court, Ngoma Sector for genocide crime composed of inciting people to commit genocide, to participate in women's gang meetings to prepare genocide at CUSP. She pleaded guilty, but it was so late. She was sentenced to twelve (12) years in prison.

Murara Gabriel

On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court of Mamba Cell convicted her of genocide and sentenced her to thirty (30) years imprisonment in absentia for the crime of killing Tutsi in CHUB and Butare Town. Gishamvu Gacaca Court sentenced her to life imprisonment on 19/12/2008.

Twahirwa Joseph

He was convicted of genocide offenses including: participating in attacks, holding genocide planning meetings, supplying axes to kill Tutsi, educating young workers to commit genocide and committing genocide in CHUB. On 26/09/2007, the Ngoma Sector Gacaca Court convicted him of genocide and sentenced him to thirty (30) years imprisonment in absentia.

Uwimbabazi Emmanuel alias Irvan

She was in charge of nurses and midwives at Kabutare Hospital. There were two other (2) colleagues Ildephonse who worked in the Laboratory and Alexis who worked in the paediatric service and were also involved in the killing of Tutsi in Butare Town and Kabutare Hospital.

Habimana Athanase

On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court convicted him of genocide and sentenced him to thirty (30) years in prison in absentia for the crime of killing Tutsi in CHUB and Butare Town.

Gatera Anastase

On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court of Mamba Cell convicted him of genocide and sentenced him to thirty (30) years imprisonment in absentia for the crime of killing Tutsi in CHUB and Butare Town.

Kubwimana Théodore

On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court convicted him of genocide and sentenced him to thirty (30) years in prison in absentia for the crime of killing Tutsi in CHUB and Butare Town.

Mukandekezi Philomène

The Ngoma Gacaca Court convicted her of requesting IDs from Tutsi and handed them over to the military to kill them, sending out Tutsi patients to be killed, complicity in the Tutsi massacre at the university hospital. She was sentenced to thirty (30) years imprisonment on 19/03/2008.

Rwaliye Constance

She is a Burundian woman who worked in CHUB's maternity service. She caused death to Tutsi patients and staff, including a former CHUB laboratory staff called Protais Nyangezi. After the genocide she returned to Burundi. On 05/09/2007, she was sentenced to nineteen (19) in absentia by Gacaca court.

Hakizimana Gerard *alias* Kazungu

On 29/09/2007, the Gacaca Court convicted him of attending CHUB killing meetings, collaborating with others to kill Tutsi at CHUB and the University of Rwanda. He was sentenced of eighteen (18) years imprisonment in his absence.

Ryumeko Charlotte

She was a Burundian nurse. On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court convicted her of genocide crime and sentenced her to thirty (30) years in prison.

Nikuze Venantie

On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court convicted her of genocide and sentenced her to eighteen (18) years of imprisonment.

Mukarugwiza Monique

Gacaca court convicted her of genocide crimes and sentenced her to thirty (30) years imprisonment on 26/09/2007.

Ukobizaba Janvier

Convicted of genocide on 26/09/2007, Gacaca Court sentenced him to eighteen (18) years imprisonment.

Nahimana Jean

Sentenced by the Gacaca Court to eighteen (18) years imprisonment on 26/09/2007 convicted of genocide.

Ntahobavukira Réverien

On 26/09/2007, the Gacaca Court convicted him of genocide and sentenced him to eighteen (18) years imprisonment.

Kangabo Boniface

Sentenced to eighteen (18) years imprisonment on 26/09/2007, Gacaca Court convicted him of Genocide.

Rubangisa Alexis

Gacaca court convicted him of genocide and sentenced him to eighteen (18) years imprisonment on 26/09/2007.

Munyentwali Martin

He was sentenced by the Gacaca Court of Butare Ville to nineteen (19) years imprisonment on 21/11/2009.

Usabayezu Emmanuel

He was sentenced to nineteen (19) years by the Butare Ville Gacaca Court on 25/10/2006.

4.2. THE ROLE OF DOCTORS, NURSES AND MEDICAL STAFF IN THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE EXCEPT HUYE DISTRICT

4.2.1. HOSPITALS

Kabgayi Hospital, Muhanga

Dr Niyitegeka Théoneste was born in Cyeza, Muhanga District in 1964. He graduated from high school in Rilima, 1984 and attended university education in Russia where he specialized in paediatrics. In 1994 during genocide and after, he worked at Kabgayi Hospital. On 05/02/2008, the Gacaca Court of Appeal of Gihuma in Nyamabuye Sector (Muhanga) convicted him of complicity in the Genocide committed at Kabgayi Hospital and sentenced him to fifteen (15) years of imprisonment. Dr Niyitegeka Théoneste is detained in Rubavu Prison.

Nyanza Hospital, Nyanza

Dr Higiroy Pierre Celestin alias Majambe was one of the organizers and implementers of the Genocide in Nyanza. He was a key member of the CDR. On 02/06/2009, the Gacaca Court of Nyanza City convicted Dr Higiroy Pierre Celestin

of genocide, which included the killing of Tutsi hospital staff, demonstrating a plot to carry out genocide through planting a bomb at his residence and spreading lies that it was planted by Tutsi for them to be killed and making a list of Tutsi to be killed.

Dr Higiroy was charged in the same case with Basomingera Wellars who was sentenced to nineteen (19) years in prison and Mwemezi Bertin who was sentenced to seven years (7) years in prison and he died there. They collaborated in the killings at the hospital and in Nyanza City. Dr Higiroy Pierre Celestin was sentenced to life imprisonment with special provisions by the Gacaca court. The defendant is being held in Nyanza Prison.

Kaduha Hospital, Nyamagabe

No doctor committed genocide in Kaduha Hospital except other staff including a nurse called Rutaboba Tatien who was born in Cyanguu. He pleaded guilty and was released. In addition, he testified in Gacaca Courts but he died suddenly and was said to have been poisoned by those who feared he would expose their role in genocide. Others are two nurses called Mukamana Lydie who has been sentenced to nineteen (19) years and Nyiramana Catherine who has been sentenced to 25 years. Both are being held in Nyamagabe Prison.

Kigeme Hospital, Nyamagabe

Dr Twagirumungu Edson was in charge of Kigeme Hospital during the genocide and committed genocide at the hospital. He currently lives in Kenya. In addition, nurses Munyentwari Rodrigue and Mutiganda Evariste were also involved in the massacre of Tutsi at Kigeme Hospital.

Munini Hospital, Nyaruguru

No doctor committed genocide in Munini Hospital. The nurse called Nyirinkindi Thomas, participated in the massacre at Munini and Kibeho. He was sentenced in absentia by Gacaca.

4.2.2. HEALTH CENTERS

Ruhashya, Huye

Léopold Munyakyanza was a nurse, and had run the Ruhashya Health Center since the 1980s. He was initially a soldier in the ex-FAR, after his demobilization he worked as a nurse. He lived in Mahembe in the former Commune of Ruhashya, in Butare. He played a very big role in the extermination of Tutsi together with Nyawenda Esdrón who was bourgmestre of Rusatira and who fled to Belgium.

Léopold Munyakayanza and bourgmestre Esdrón Nyawenda led meetings that planned the extermination of Tutsi from Rusatira, such that when President Théodore Sindikubwabo and the Prime Minister of the genocidal government Jean Kambanda came to Butare on April 19, 1994 to incite to begin the genocide in this region, Léopold Munyakayanza and Esdrón Nyawenda were already ready to begin the extermination of Tutsi in Ruhashya Commune.

On April 23, 1994, Léopold Munyakayanza led attacks against the Tutsi of Rusatira, who made several victims, including Twagiramutara Laurent who was a veterinarian at ISAR Rubona, and who was killed with all his family, were also exterminated, Kanyandekwe who was an accountant at ISAR Rubona and all his family, Ruzindana who is agronomist of Rusatira Commune and his family and many other Tutsi killed particularly at Kinkanga.

The wife of Léopold Munyakayanza, whose name was Iyamuremye Apollinalie, head of the social service (social worker) at the Rusatira Health Center also participated in the massacre of Tutsi. The two fled Rwanda after the genocide. Munyakayanza has probably died in exile and his wife Iyamuremye Apollinarie lives in France.

Mugina Health Center, Kamonyi

Budengeri Jean Chrysostome was a nurse and was also in charge of child immunization program in Mugina and Ntongwe Communes. He committed genocide in Mugina and Kinazi in collaboration with Bourgmestre Martin Ndamage, Major Pierre Claver Karangwa, a businessman called Francois Twagiramungu, Bourgmestre of Ntongwe Charles Kagabo and other Interahamwe. After leaving Rwanda, he first settled in Zambia, became one of the founders of the FDLR in Zambia, and was its first vice president. He has since fled justice in Norway to date. Another nurse who committed genocide at Mugina Health Center was Umurerwa Annonciata who completed her sentence.

Kinazi Health Center, Ruhango

Kagabo Charles, was the head of the Kinazi dispensary in the former Ntongwe Commune. In 1992, he was appointed the Bourgmestre of Ntongwe. Charles Kagabo was born in the former Nyakabungo Sector of Ntongwe, studied in Butare - Indatwa (GSOB) in the medical assistant department. He first worked at Nyanza Hospital and was famous for exterminating Tutsi in Ntongwe and in Mugina Communes.

He circulated in the entire commune telling Tutsi to go to the commune's office to be protected there, once they became a big number, he took away their traditional

weapons that they had come with, and then sent soldiers, Interahamwe and Burundians to kill them. He is also accused of Nyamukumba massacre at a football ground where many Tutsi that he had sent to Ruhango were killed.

In 2008 he was tried in absentia by several Gacaca Courts: Gikoma Assembly in Ruhango Sector, Gitisi Assembly in Bweramana Sector; Rutabo Assembly in Kinazi Sector and Nyakabungo Assembly in Ntongwe Sector. All of these Gacaca assemblies sentenced him to life imprisonment with special provisions.

Gatagara Health Center, Nyanza

Dr Hakizimana Jean Marie Vianney, who headed the health center, was involved in the killing of patients at the health center and in the killings at the Center for the Disabled (HVP Gatagara) in collaboration with Brother Jean Baptiste Rutihunza, who headed HVP Gatagara. Dr Hakizimana lives in Uganda and Brother Rutihunza Jean Baptiste lives in Italy.

Nyamure Health Center, Nyanza

Ndahimana Matthew, was the director of the health center and was born in Mbuye in Nyanza District, Kibilizi Sector. He concluded high school from the *Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare* (GSOB) in 1985 in the Department of Medical Assistants. He worked for CHUB and CHK in Kigali but during the genocide he was the director of the Nyamure Health Center in the former Muyira Commune.

He was involved in the killings that took place in the entire Nyanza District. Ndahimana fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Congo-Brazzaville and later to Gabon. When he returned to Rwanda, he was aware that he would inevitably be held accountable for his role in the genocide. He has been in Nyanza (Mpanga) prison since 1997.

During his trial with Gacaca, he acknowledged his role in the genocide, claiming that he used hospital ambulance to carry out the killings, and participated to numerous attacks in Nyanza, Kibilizi, Nyamure, Rwezamenyo, Karama and many other parts of Nyanza and Amayaga.

He was the one who brought gendarms from Nyanza to fight the Tutsi who had previously resisted in the Mayaga area where they had taken refuge. He pleaded guilty to multiple offenses that he was accused of. Nyamure Sector Court of Appeals sentenced him to 30 years imprisonment in December 2009.

Ntyazo Health Center, Nyanza

Kambanda Alexis, who was the director of the health center, chaired the genocide preparations meetings and completed his sentence.

Kibilizi Health Center, Nyanza

Karasanyi Esdras, was the director of the health center, killed wounded Tutsi who were brought at the health center and took part in the attacks and he died.

Gikongoro Health Center, Nyamagabe

Rwasa Eugene was a nurse from Nyaruguru District (Ruramba). He was convicted by the Gacaca Court of Ngiriyi Sector (Gasaka Sector) on 05/03/2010 on charges of handing over Tutsi girls who had taken refuge in Nyamagabe Health Center to be raped and killed. After he was sentenced to life imprisonment, he immediately disappeared. He is said to have fled to Uganda. His wife, Kabarere Venantie worked at SOS / Gikongoro and has been sentenced to life in prison for killing 29 orphans who had fled from Kigali SOS Kacyiru. She is being held in Nyamagabe Prison.

Jenda Health Center, Nyamagabe

Mugwaneza Léonard was the director of the health center. He is from the former Cyangugu Prefecture, Kirambo Commune. He was involved in the massacre of Tutsi who were hospitalised at Musange Health Center and those who had taken refuge at Musange Commune office. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in absentia and lives in Uganda (Kampala) where he works in a clinic.

Kibeho Health Center, Nyaruguru

Mutazihana Nathanael was the director of Kibeho Dispensary. He was sentenced on 05/7/2007 by the Gacaca Court of Kibeho Sector to 25 years imprisonment to be served as follows: 12.5 years doing Travaux d'Intérêt Général (TIG), 8.5 years in prison and to end up with a 4-year suspended imprisonment sentence. He only carried out the imprisonment sentence but he has not yet done the TIG and he worked in Rwinkwavu Hospital but fled in 2020 after the publication of a document showing his role in the genocide against the Tutsi by CNLG.

Busanze Health Center, Nyaruguru

Munyankindi Thomas, a former medical assistant who committed genocide in the former Nshili Commune. He fled to Burundi.

4.3. THE ROLE OF DOCTORS, NURSES AND MEDICAL STAFF IN THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI IN THE NORTHERN, WESTERN AND EASTERN PROVINCES

4.3.1. HOSPITALS

Ruhengeri Hospitals, Musanze

Dr Birihanze Gervais: He was the director of the hospital. Together with Dr Bigirankana Aloys, they led the act of searching for Tutsi who had taken refuge in Ruhengeri Hospital, handing them to Interahamwe to kill them, including the death of Nzitabimfura Paul and others who had survived the massacre at the Ruhengeri Court of Appeal.

Dr Birihanze Gervais was sentenced to fifteen (15) years imprisonment by the Gacaca Court of Kabaya Sector, Ruhengeri Town on 18/04/2007. Now out of prison after serving his sentence, he has returned to normal life.

Dr Bigirankana Aloys: He was born in 1952 in the former Cyeru Commune of Rugendabari Sector, now in Burera District. He completed his secondary education at Shyira, Gahini and Mburabuturo in the *College Officiel de Kigali* (COK) where he graduated in 1973, and immediately continued medicine studies at the University of Rwanda in Butare. He worked at CHK until 1982 when he went to study in Dakar (Senegal), he returned to Rwanda in 1986 as a surgeon. Prior to the genocide he had been a member of the CDR. He was among those who were given a gun.

After the genocide he worked at CHUK and taught at Gitwe University until he was summoned to Gacaca. He was initially sentenced to twenty-six (26) years in prison but appealed. On 18/04/2007, the Kabaya Sector Court of Appeal, Ruhengeri Town, sentenced him to sixteen (16) years imprisonment after he was convicted of killing patients and wounded survivors of the genocide in the Court of Appeal of Ruhengeri including Nzitabimfura Paul who was killed in surgical service led by himself. He was also confirmed to be the one who ordered the search for so-called "Inyenzi" meaning Tutsi in Ruhengeri Hospital. He is serving his sentence in Musanze Prison.

Kiziguro Hospital, Gatsibo

Dr Rwamakuba Emmanuel was mentioned to have participated in the attacks in Kiziguro area including that on April 11, 1994 at the parish. The Tutsi who had taken refuge by the Priests' place were thrown into a pit of about thirty (30) meters depth. On 07/12/2007, the Gacaca Court of Agakomeye Cell, Kiziguro Sector (Gatsibo) convicted the doctor of genocide crime, which included controlling the massacre at Kiziguro Catholic Parish, throwing Tutsi alive in the pit, torturing and mocking corpses. The court sentenced him in absentia to thirty (30) years after he escaped. There were also two nurses from the hospital, Mutabazi Cyprien and Gatsinzi, who collaborated with Dr Rwamakuba Emmanuel.

Kibungo Hospital, Ngoma

Dr Karangwa Amri pleaded guilty and was sentenced on 08/08/2006 by the Gacaca Court of Kibungo Sector for twelve (12) years in prison. In particular, Sindano Emmanuel from Burundi was famous in the killings in Kibungo hospital, Cyasamakamba and in *Economat Général* of Kibungo Catholic Diocese, setting up roadblocks and controlling them to choose Tutsi to be killed.

At Kibungo Hospital, there was also nurse **Bizimana Déogratias** who participated in the killing of patients, participated in the attacks and mobilized the population to kill Tutsi.

On 23/10/2007, he was sentenced by the Gacaca Court of Karengye Cell, Kibungo Sector, Ngoma District, to 30 years in prison in absentia because as soon as the genocide was stopped he fled to Burundi, his home country.

Rwinkwavu Hospital, Kirehe

Dr Bizimungu Charles was the director of Rwinkwavu Hospital during the Genocide. He was involved in the killing and handing over of Tutsi who had taken refuge in the hospital, including the family of Muramutsa, and another man killed at Mpirindi after being handed over to Interahamwe by Dr Bizimungu Charles. On 15/11/2007, the Gacaca Court of Cyabajwa II, Rwinkwavu Sector, sentenced him to fifteen (15) years in prison and he completed his sentence. He lives in Gicumbi District where he was born.

Rwamagana Hospital, Rwamagana

Dr Ngongo Gabriel from Burundi was a member of the CDR extremist group. The 1994 genocide took place shortly after he had left Rwamagana, but he is said to be one of the organizers of the killings in the area, although the Gacaca Courts in Rwamagana District did not see him for trial.

Mibilizi Hospital, Rusizi

Two nurses from the hospital, **Ndagijimana Gérard** and **Habimana Léon**, were convicted by the Gacaca Courts for their involvement in the genocide, including the killing of Tutsi at the hospital and at Mibilizi Parish. They completed their sentences.

Bushenge Hospital, Nyamasheke

At Bushenge Hospital, the perpetrators of the genocide were nurses who included **Kubwimana Jean Marie Vianney** alias **Gatuza** who fled the country after the Gashirabwoba II Assembly sentenced him to thirty (30) years of imprisonment on 30/08/2007. There was also **Ntambiye Anicet** who was sentenced for life imprisonment with special provisions and **Ngabo Théodore** who died.

Kibogora Hospital, Nyamasheke

Dr Habiyeze Laurent was involved in the massacre at Kibogora. He was convicted of genocide by Gacaca court and sentenced to thirty (30) years imprisonment. He died in prison.

In addition, there were prominent nurses in committing the genocide at Kibogora Hospital who included: **Munyarukiko Philippe** who was sentenced to 10 years in prison and completed his sentence. There was also **Bizimana Jean** nicknamed **Gisura**, who was sentenced to 12 years in prison and also completed the sentence. The two collaborated with another hospital worker called **Kanyaru Assiel** who was sentenced to fifteen (15) years and also completed his sentence.

Mugonero Hospital, Karongi

At Mugonero (Kibuye) the killing was led by the director of the Adventist Church Hospital, **Dr Ntakirutimana Gérard** who was born in Ngoma (Kibuye) in 1957. He collaborated with his brother Esdras Ntakirutimana, and their father Pastor Ntakirutimana Elizaphan who led the Mugonero Adventist Church.

He was arrested in Cote d'Ivoire on 29/10/1996 and transferred to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha (Tanzania) on 30/11/1996. He appeared in court on 18/09/2001 and was convicted of crimes of genocide and crimes against humanity by the ICTR. He was sentenced to twenty-five (25) years in prison.

Dr Ntakirutimana Gérard was sent to Cotonou, Benin to be imprisoned and the sentence was supposed to be completed in October 2021 but the Judge Theodor Meron released him on 29/04/2014 before he completes his sentence. He had been incarcerated in the United Nations prison since June 27, 2009 and was due to complete his sentence in October 2021.

Kibuye Hospital, Karongi

Dr Twagira Charles was the director of Kibuye Health District (*Région sanitaire*) transferred from Kabaya Hospital at the time of the multi-party recognition in Rwanda. He was convicted of genocide in Kibuye, Gacaca Court of Bwishyura sentenced him to life imprisonment.

He arrived in France in 2006 and began to be prosecuted by the French courts in 2014. At the time, he was a doctor at *Paul Doumer Hospital* where he was suspended from his post in 2018.

Dr Kayishema Clément became famous for killing when he was the prefect of Kibuye. He was born in Gitesi (Kibuye) Commune in the current Bwishyura Sector (Karongi) in 1954. He worked at Kibuye Hospital from 1992 when he was appointed as Kibuye Prefect until 1994. He was the leader of all the killings that took place in the former Kibuye Prefecture.

On 12/06/1994 he personally wrote to the Minister of Defense requesting military equipment to train the youth in an effort to strengthen the Interahamwe while planning to kill in Bisesero. He fled to Zaïre and was arrested in Zambia on 02/05/1996 and was taken to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania.

On May 21, 1999, Dr Kayishema was sentenced to life imprisonment in a case involving Obed Ruzindana, who was also known for the massacre, and was sentenced to twenty-five years (25). Dr Kayishema appealed, but on June 1, 2001, the Appeal Chamber upheld his earlier conviction. He died in the United Nations Prison in Mali on 29/10/2016 due to HIV/AIDS.

Eliane Mukahirwa was a nurse famous in the killings at the hospital and at Gatwaro stadium. She killed Tutsi children who had been taken to Kibuye Hospital, including four children of Kabagwiza Caritas and Jean Berchmans Rwakabayiza, a customs officer in Kigali but whose children had been taken to his father-in-law's house in Kibuye Town to seek refuge.

Kirinda Hospital, Karongi

Dr Kamanzi Antoine was the director of Kirinda Hospital. He is one of the leaders of the massacre at Kirinda Hospital and the School of Nursing, where they killed Tutsi and threw them in Nyabarongo. On 28/10/2008, the Shyembe (Karongi) Gacaca Court sentenced him in absentia to life imprisonment with special provisions.

Dr Nkurunziza Edouard was a Burundian, who was also a doctor at Kirinda Hospital during the genocide against the Tutsi. On 13/09/2007, the Shyembe Cell Gacaca Court sentenced him to 30 years in prison on charges of participating in the attacks and the killing of a Tutsi who had fled to Kirinda from Kaduha.

Gisenyi Hospital, Rubavu

Dr Zirimwabagabo Charles *alias Gakara* was the Prefect of Gisenyi during genocide. He was involved in the implementation of the genocide in the former Gisenyi Prefecture. He was convicted by the Gacaca Courts and sentenced to life imprisonment.

In collaboration with a group of killers including Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, Bernard Munyagishali and others, had formed the Gisenyi City assassination squad called "*Intarumikwa*". Dr Zirimwabagabo was the 2nd Vice President of the extremist group of the Liberation Party (*P.L. power*) led by Justin Mugenzi (President), Agnes Ntamabyaliro (1st Vice President) and Emmanuel Rwagasana (the General Secretary).

Dr Ndererimana Védaste was the director of Gisenyi Hospital born from Ruhengeri. He was convicted of genocide crimes carried out in Gisenyi Town and sentenced to life imprisonment by ordinary courts before the Gacaca Courts started their work. He died in prison.

There were also nurses who worked at Gisenyi Hospital in collaboration with their leader Dr Ndererimana Vedaste to kill Tutsi. These are **Nkundabanyanga Fidele**, **Mukarugaba Christiane** popularly known as **Vumbura** who was born in Rusizi District and completed the sentence of twelve (12) years and **Sindayikengera Fabien** who was sentenced to nineteen (19) years imprisonment and escaped justice.

Muhororo Hospital, Ngororero

Dr Mugiraneza Frédéric: was the Chief Medical Officer of Muhororo Hospital and a prominent member of CDR political party, the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic – CDR, of Hutu extremists. He was the first to raise the CDR flag at Muhororo.

Nteziryayo Jean Baptiste alias Solide: he worked at Muhororo Hospital as a medical assistant before becoming the Bourgmestre of Kibilira Commune. He was born in Rongi Sector, now in Muhoro Sector, Ngororero District. He was involved in the massacre of Tutsi in Kibilira between 10 and 15/10/1990, when the liberation struggle started as he was the Bourgmestre of Kibilira commune.

Habyalimana's government ruled that he was a killer and removed him from leading the commune on 17/10/1990 and imprisoned him with others who included Ndayambaje. Nteziryayo was detained for a few months and returned to work at Muhororo Hospital. Gacaca courts did not try him because he had been placed in the first category.

4.3.2. HEALTH CENTERS

Rwankeri, Adventist Church Health Center, Nyabihu

The Adventist Church Health Center in Rwankeri was in the former Nkuli Commune, currently in Nyabihu District. The former Bourgmestre of Nkuli, Mathias Mpiranya, who exterminated Tutsi in this commune in 1991, lived 200 meters from this health center. The ex-bourgmestre of Mukingo, Kajelijeli Juvénal also had his usual residence 1 kilometer away. The former Minister and Secretary General of the MRND Joseph Nzirorera, the mastermind of the genocide in this region also had his residence there. Other genocidaires such as Colonel Ephrem Setako lived in the vicinity of the Rwankeri Health Center.

Several extremist pastors and incumbents of this health center followed one another until the arrival of Kanyabukamba, who came from Mudende University. The Tutsi massacre was carried out between 1991 and 1994.

Kanyabukamba formed a group of killers including: Ndekezi, the director of the Rwankeri Adventist College, he fled to Canada, Nzarora who taught at the college, he lives in Uganda and many of the staff at the health center. Several people were killed, including Pastor Mutabazi and his son Havugimana, Pastor Kanamugire, medical assistant Masabo, as well as the family of Pastor Rwakana.

On April 7, 1994, Colonel Ephrem Setako came to Rwankeri and executed before the Interahamwe, Pastor Semisabike, a Hutu married to a Tutsi woman who was trying to save his wife. After this gesture, Kanyabukamba and the other militiamen continued the killings in Rwankeri and its surroundings.

Nzirorera Joseph died in detention in Arusha where he was prosecuted for the crime of genocide, Col Setako was found guilty by the ICTR and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment, he died in detention, Kajelijeli Juvenal was found guilty genocide by the ICTR and sentenced to 45 years' imprisonment, he is serving his sentence in Mali, Mpiranya Mathias died before being prosecuted.

After the genocide, Kanyabukamba left Rwanda and is said to have fled to Nigeria after Zaïre. There he would have continued his studies. Several other genocidaires who worked in Adventist church institutions in Mudende and Rwankeri have fled to the United States and Canada.

Murambi, Rulindo

Mukarwego Verediane was a nurse. She was born in Kabuye, Gasabo District in 1966 and attended high school at the Kabgayi School of Nursing, where she graduated in 1989 and started her career at Murambi Health Center in the former Mugambazi Commune.

On 28/10/2008, the Gacaca Court, Kabuye Assembly sentenced her to nineteen (19) years in prison on appeal for the murder and cutting off a man called Ntigurirwa. She is detained in Ngoma Prison. Her husband, Mutsindashyaka Placide who also committed genocide, completed his sentence of nineteen years in prison (19).

Shyorongi, Rulindo

Uzamukunda Joséphine was a religious from the *Pénitentes de Saint Francois* congregation who treated patients at Shyorongi Health Center where she was born. She was convicted of genocide crime, imprisoned and carried out TIG in Rusiga/Rulindo and she has returned to the convent.

Nyange, Ngoma

HABIMANA Laurent: in 1994 he was the Deputy Director of Nyange Health Center at his home in the former Mugesera Commune. He graduated from the School of Nursing in Kigali (EAM) and graduated from high school in 1983. From then he worked at various health centers such as Kirehe and Nyamugali in Kirehe District now, Rukoma and Nyange in Ngoma District.

He was imprisoned in 1997 for genocide crimes when he had returned from exile in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He was first tried in 2000 by the Kibungo Court of First Instance and sentenced to life in prison for genocide crime. When Gacaca Courts began, he was tried by Mugesera Sector Assembly and Gatare assembly of Appeal, and the sentence remained the same. Despite the completion of the Gacaca Courts, the review was pending. He is serving his sentence in Rwamagana (Nsinda) Prison.

Congo Nil, Rutsiro

Twagirayezu Denis was convicted of genocide crime which he carried out at Congo Nil Catholic Parish. He collaborated with Father Gabriel Maindron and Father Urbain Twagirayezu.

Kinunu, Rutsiro

Mbarushimana Ephrem committed genocide crime at Kinunu Catholic Parish. He was born in the former Kayove Commune (Gisenyi) and fled justice.

Nyundo, Rubavu

The health center had a number of prominent nurses in the killings: A nun of the Benebikira congregation called **Sister Celine Bamporiki** played a significant role in the killing of some of the Nyundo Tutsi assisted by Father Edouard Nturiye nicknamed Simba. **Sister Céline**, who died in Musanze prison in 2018, was sentenced to 19 years in prison.

Nyiranzubahimana Laurence fled to Uganda before the completion of the judgment. She is the wife of Nkundabanyanga Fidèle, a nurse at Gisenyi Hospital who also killed Tutsi. There was also **Kanyarengwe Patricie**, who worked in the maternity room at Nyundo.

Other Nyundo perpetrators of the genocide were social workers **Bendantarama Agathe** and **Dusabemariya Patricie**. Both had studied in a social work school in Karubanda (Huye) and both are being detained in Musanze Prison.

Bendantarama Agathe was born in 1958 in the former Commune of Ruhondo, now in Musanze District. When she returned from exile in Congo, she worked at an orphanage of Nyundo from 1997 to 2009 and was imprisoned for genocide crimes. Nyarugunga Assembly (Kanombe) sentenced her to 30 years in prison.

Dusabemariya Patricie was born in Mutura Commune (Rubavu District) in 1960. From exile in Congo in 1996, she returned to work at the *Ecole d'Art de Nyundo* from 2001 until her incarceration in 2009. She has been charged with several crimes of genocide which included murder, persecution of Tutsi, participation in genocide preparation meetings, inciting people to carry out genocide at Nyundo and the surroundings. She was sentenced for life imprisonment and she is known for *Kanyankiko* nickname in prison.

Rambura, Nyabihu

Ngaboyisonga Felicien was a nurse at Rambura Health Center, he was sentenced in absentia by the Gacaca Court of Cyahafi, Nyarugenge District for thirty years imprisonment (30) after convicting him with the killing of three (3) priests of Rambura Parish and looting of the Parish's belongings which included a car and money.

4.4. THE ROLE OF DOCTORS, NURSES AND MEDICAL STAFF IN PLANNING & IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI IN KIGALI CITY

4.4.1. DOCTORS

4.4.1.1. Doctors in political positions who committed the genocide crime

whether in the City of Kigali particularly or elsewhere in the country in general, not all doctors have committed genocide in hospitals and clinics only. Some were in the higher political positions, where they were involved in the planning, promotion, issuance of instructions and equipment to carry out the genocide and all other activities aimed at the extermination of Tutsi.

Among the key contributors were: Dr Sindikubwabo Théodore who was the President of the Republic, Dr Butera Jean Baptiste who was the leader of the extremist party affiliated with the MRND called Parti Ecologique (PECO) founded on 30/11/1991, now living in Belgium. There was also Dr Bizimungu Casimir who was the Minister of Health in the criminal government, Dr André Rwamakuba who was the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education in the criminal government. Both were acquitted by the Arusha Tribunal.

There are also doctors who committed genocide while they were leaders of health regions in the prefectures. Some of them when they arrived abroad, they continued

to campaign for the genocide ideology, including supporting rebellious groups like FDLR, FDU-Inkingi, RUD-URUNANA and others.

For example: Dr Jacques Gasekurume from Kiziguro who was the founding member of the FDU-Inkingi in the Netherlands, was also confirmed to have been an extremist since 1973 while studying at *Petit Séminaire de Zaza*; Dr Déogratias Twagirayezu, who fled to the Netherlands after the genocide and represents the RUD-Urunana terrorist group in the entire Europe.

There was another group of doctors who fled to Zambia and helped with the establishment of FDLR and continued to provide assistance which included Dr Ignace Gashongore who was a doctor at Ndola General Hospital and was later employed in a project sponsored by the University of Maryland, School of Medicine of the fight against AIDS. Dr. François Niyonsenga who was the director of health region of Gitarama and Dr François Nkurikiyinka.

When a doctor supports terrorist groups such as the FDLR, FDU-INKINGI, RUD URUNANA and all others that are founded on genocide ideology and continues medical profession, it is a breach of the oath of every doctor who starts medical profession.

Dr Gakire Marcel

He was born in Nyarugenge District - Nyamirambo at a place called Gatare in 1948. He first worked for CHK but in 1994 he worked for the Belgian Red Cross in Kigali. He was a public health expert.

He was tried by several Gacaca Courts until on 27/12/2009 he was sentenced by the Gacaca Court of Nyakabanda, Nyarugenge District, to life imprisonment with special provisions for the crime of rape, mutilation of women and girls' genitals, complicity in the rape of women and girls and mutilation of their genitals. He is being held in Mageragere Prison.

Dr Rugina Nizeyimana Emmanuel

He is from the former Ruhengeri Prefecture. He was a lecturer at the University of Rwanda in the department of Medicine but later worked at Kigali Hospital (CHUK) as a specialist doctor. At the University of Butare, he was generally known to have sworn that no Tutsi student would get pass marks in his courses.

On November 20, 2009, the Gacaca Court of Butare Ville Sector sentenced Dr Rugina to life imprisonment with special provisions after he was convicted of

genocide crime composed of persecution of Tutsi students and making them fail due to hatred. He was also convicted of holding genocide planning meetings to kill Tutsi students at his home who lived at Cyiza Home, attending genocide planning meetings at CHUB, handing over Tutsi patients to be killed by ESO soldiers, encouraging students to kill their colleagues through meetings. He lives in the United States of America (USA).

Dr Rutegesha Misago Antoine

He was born in Shyogwe (Rukaza) in the former Nyamabuye Commune in 1957, currently in Muhanga District. In 1979, he graduated from the *Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare* (GSOB), department of medical assistants and worked at Ntyazo Health Center, currently in Nyanza District, until 1982 when he went to continue his studies at the University of Butare in the Department of Public Health situated in the ESTM (Ecole Supérieure des Techniques Médicales). He continued his education in Egypt and returned in 1986.

Rutegesha Misago Antoine is best known as a Hutu extremist rather than a doctor because he was one of the ten founders of the Coalition pour la Défense de la République – CDR of the Hutu extremists at the meeting held in Village Urugwiro on 22/02/1992. Rutegesha was accompanied by Bucyana Martin, Nahimana Théoneste, Mugimba Jean Baptiste, Uwamariya Béatrice, Higirot Célestin, Nzaramba Célestin, Akimanizanye Emmanuel, Hitimama Athanase and Simbizi Stanislas. Rutegesha was the first vice president of the CDR at the national level.

In 1994, he worked for CARITAS International in Kigali but was later appointed the Sous préfet in Gitarama during the genocide, and kept the post of first vice president of CDR at the national level.

After the genocide he fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo, he became a military and was ranked as “major”. He left from Congo forests and went to teach at the North Kivu Medical School, where he was arrested and sent to Rwanda in 2010.

He was tried by the Gitarama Gacaca Court in 2010 and sentenced to life in prison for genocide crime committed at his home area of Shyogwe and leading the massacre in Gitarama Town. He is being held in Rwamagana Prison.

Dr Bajinya Vincent

He worked at ONAPO and was born in 1952. He is being prosecuted by the Rwandan prosecution for his role in the genocide, especially the killings that took place in the Rugenge Sector, now in Nyarugenge District, where he set up and led a roadblock to kill Tutsi. He fled to the United Kingdom.

4.4.1.2 Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de Kigali (CHUK)

Dr Ntezayabo Benoit

Native of Gitarama Prefecture. He has been working in a maternity ward since 1977 after working in a surgical ward. He was a strong member of the MRND until the CDR came and he immediately joined it. He was a brother to Col. Joseph Murasampongo who also gave him weapons and they were stored in the hospital. While monitoring the killings at the hospital, he worked closely with Dr Col Baransalitse Laurent who was a doctor at Kanombe Military Hospital.

On 21/06/2008, the Gacaca Court of Nyarugenge Sector convicted him of genocide crime carried out in CHUK and his accomplices with other murderers of CHUK including nurses Ndayambaje Stephanie and Bananeza Marie Josée. The court sentenced him to 30 years in prison in absentia as he fled to Canada.

Dr Habyarimana Théoneste

He was a cruel doctor during the Genocide. On 19/03/2009, the Gacaca Court of Rugenge Sector, Nyarugenge District, convicted him of genocide crime in absentia, composed of raping Marie Jeanne Mukarango and killing her afterwards, the death of Murwanyashyaka Antoine which took place on 12/05/1994 and to lead the patrols and roadblocks. The court sentenced him to life imprisonment with special provisions.

Dr Cyimana Augustin

He was an expert in gynecology. He committed genocide in CHUK, especially by handing over Tutsi to soldiers and the Interahamwe to kill them, and continued at his home in Gitarama where he collaborated with the Bourgmestre of Mugina Martin Ndamage to kill Tutsi. After the genocide he fled to Zambia, became one of the founders of the FDLR in Zambia and led it. When he arrived in Zambia he worked at Lusaka Hospital, where he still lives.

Dr Munyakazi Christophe

He was born from Cyangugu and was a pediatrician. He was a member of the CDR. During the genocide, he was always pointing out Tutsi who were hiding in pediatric ward. Where he lived in Rugenge in Kigali City, he was one of the leaders who ordered the hunting and killing of Tutsi and provided weapons. Among those he betrayed to death were Kanakintama, the wife of Vincent Mugiraneza, their three children (3) and their house helper Rutayisire. He was sentenced by the Gacaca Assembly of Rugenge B to thirty (30) years imprisonment on 03/11/2007.

Dr Munyarukato Norbert

He is also from Cyangugu and was a member of the CDR. He was working in surgery section. He caused death to children who had taken refuge at his colleague's place Dr Jules Kabahizi in the emergency room and others who were hiding in the maternity ward, including the one he shot himself.

Dr Batungwanayo Jean

He was a Burundian doctor and elder brother of a politician called Nyangoma Leonard. His cruelty and hatred for Tutsi was evident after the death of former Burundian President Ndadaye Melchior in October 1993. For him, it was time to refuse to treat Tutsi. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, he moved to Belgium and later went to the Congolese forests to provide assistance to the FDLR and Burundian refugees in Tanzania. He is said to have died in 2000.

Dr Ntawuruhunga Juvénal

He was born in Nyange Sector in Ngororero District in 1956. In addition to persecuting Tutsi working in CHUK since the liberation struggle started in 1990. In 1994 he led a roadblock in front of his home in Gikondo. He died at the same roadblock while he was with soldiers and Interahamwe fighting with Inkotanyi from Rebero Hill.

4.4.1.3. Kanombe Military Hospital

Dr Col. Baransaritse Laurent

He was the director general of Kanombe Military Hospital. He was a member of the National Genocide Organizing Committee in collaboration with Colonel Bagosora Theoneste, Colonel Léonard Nkundiye, Major Protais Mpiranya, Major Aloys Ntabakuze and others.

He is said to have died in the Congolese forests. During the genocide Col. Baransaritse Laurent has been seen leading and following up on the killing of Tutsi at Kanombe Military Hospital. He commanded that some hospital staff be given guns and store them in the hospital. He worked closely with Dr Ntezayabo Benoit and the nurse Ndayambaje Stephanie, all of them involved in the genocide.

Dr Col. Mugemanyi Froduald

He is from Mudasomwa Commune in Gikongoro, Nyamagabe District. He was involved in the genocide at Kanombe. While in exile in Congo, he was one of the founders of a rebellious group aimed at perpetuating the genocide and attacking Rwanda. He was shot dead among infiltrators in the former Nyarutovu Commune during infiltrators' war.

4.4.1.4 King Fayçal Hospital

Dr Ndarihoranye Jean-Baptiste

He was born in the former Giciye Commune (Gisenyi). He was the Minister of Health in the Government inaugurated on 30/12/1991 led by the Prime Minister Sylvestre Nsanzimana. During the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, Dr Ndarihoranye was the director general of King Fayçal Hospital in Kacyiru. He was assigned to lead the hospital as a separate MRND and CDR property as the Arusha Accords had given RPF-Inkotanyi the Ministry of Health.

He was driven by a CDR member Ingabire Alphonse Marie alias Katumba, who later became the hospital's chief of logistics. Dr Ndarihoranye caused death to many patients and continued the massacre in Gisenyi. He fled to Belgium.

4.4.2. NURSES AND OTHER STAFF

4.4.2.1. CHUK

Murengezi Gabriel

He is the son of Mbyaliyehe Gabriel, a former businessman in Kigali City and a councilor of Nyarugenge who was charged with genocide crime. Murengezi was born in Kigali City in 1968 and studied at the Kigali Medical Assistants School (EAM) in 1990. He worked in SODEPHAR pharmacy and at RAMJI.

He led a large Interahamwe gang that ravaged the City of Kigali, especially in the "*Quartier commercial*" and its surrounding areas called "sagesse". He was a prominent Interahamwe carrying out many atrocities, including rape of Tutsi girls.

He was arrested on 12/10/1994 and moved to Kigali Prison (Prison Centrale de Kigali / PCK). On 06/01/1995, the Gikondo Gacaca Assembly sentenced him to life imprisonment with special provisions, and later in 2010 Rwamagana Assembly sentenced him to life imprisonment.

Ndayambaje Stéphanie

She was a nurse at Kigali University Hospital (CHUK). She was born in Gihinga in Rutsiro District in 1944 and was the sister of Colonel Rwagafirita Pierre Célestin's wife who had been the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Gendarmerie for a long time. She was a leader of nurses at CHUK (Nursing) and a member of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC).

She was involved in the killings of her fellow Tutsi staff and teachers at the *Lycée Notre Dame des Citeaux* School in Kigali. She worked with soldiers who protected CHUK and gave them lists of Tutsi to be killed. She was convicted by Gacaca for the complicity in making lists of Tutsi to be killed, mocking Tutsi and yet she knew they were being hunted, participating in attacks that hunted Tutsi in CHUK, killing a girl who had been left in CHUK by Sisters. On 07/10/2009, the Nyarugenge Sector Court sentenced her to thirty (30) years imprisonment and she died in prison.

Bananeza Marie Josée

She is from Bulinga Commune (Gitarama). She caused death to Tutsi patients, CHUK staff and those who had taken refuge there. Along with Mukakabera Edith and Philomène Mukandamage were part of a team that went around all the beds of patients and ask for their identity cards and thus preparing a list to be given to the soldiers.

Karuhije Emmanuel

He is from Gisenyi Prefecture. He also worked at CHUK as a radiography technician. He caused death to many Tutsi at Kigali Hospital and continued to kill at his home in Gisenyi. He was sentenced to life imprisonment.

4.4.2.2. Kayanga Health Center, Gasabo

Kamanzi Etienne

He worked at Kayanga Health Center, in Gasabo District. He was born in the former Gikomero Commune in 1953, nowadays in Gasabo District. He was a nurse who studied at *Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare* where he graduated in 1976.

Prior to working in Gikomero Commune he worked at Karama Health Center in Bugesera and Rubona Health Center in Rwamagana District. In 1994 he fled to Muhondo (Shyorongi) and did not return to his place of work but in January 1995

he was arrested and imprisoned for genocide crimes. He was sentenced by the Jabana Assembly in 2005 to life in prison for his role in the Kayanga Health Center and its surroundings massacre. He is detained in Rwamagana Prison.

4.4.2.3. Butamwa Health Center, Nyarugenge

Dusabe Thérèse

During 1994, she was a midwife at the Butamwa Health Center in Nyarugenge District and she is the mother of Ingabire Victoire Umuhoza. Dusabe Thérèse collaborated with the Bourgmestre of Butamwa Commune to prepare and chair all the meetings that planned to start the attacks on Tutsi.

The testimony from the Mageragere Gacaca Court showed that Dusabe Thérèse was nicknamed "*the doctor of death*" for her cruelty. She first killed Tutsi pregnant women and then killed babies by hitting them on the wall. In 2009, Gacaca Courts sentenced her to life in prison after convicting her with the torture of Tutsi women who were being treated at the Butamwa Health Center.

Ingabire Victoire Umuhoza, who calls herself a politician, but has in fact been convicted by the courts of serious crimes, including genocide ideology, arrived in Rwanda in 2010 from the Netherlands and was interviewed by the East African to comment on the sentences imposed by Gacaca courts and Ingabire replied that she did not trust Gacaca, because they were run by incompetent people. She added that she only trusted the judges of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha.

When she was asked about the Genocide against the Tutsi and the role of her mother as she had been convicted of killing Tutsi, Ingabire laughed and replied to the journalist, "16 years have passed and people should have gone to Democracy."

CHAPTER V:

SUBSTANTIAL DELAY BY THE UNITED NATIONS TO QUALIFY THE EXTERMINATION OF TUTSI AS GENOCIDE

The United Nations had continuously been reluctant to help Tutsi affected by Genocide

On 17 May 1994, the United Nations Security Council pretended and voted in favor of increasing the number of UNAMIR troops to 5,500, confirming that Rwanda had been stripped of its right to buy weapons of mass destruction. Despite the voted decision, the United Nations refused to renew UNAMIR's mandate to use force to stop the genocide. The decision was never implemented until the end of genocide.

However, BBC Radio reported in its May 14, 1994 news that Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Senegal and Australia were ready to provide troops to increase the number of UNAMIR's. In the news report, BBC Radio also reported that UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali had reported at the meeting that UNAMIR would need USD 115 million but the money was never paid.

The United Nations debate at the summit was marked by cooperation between France and the criminal government in refusing to vote on resolutions to protect the victims. Former Rwandan Ambassador to the United Nations Bizimana Jean Damascène, who fled to the United States, with the help of the French Ambassador to the United Nations, Jean Bernard MERIMEE, refused to vote to increase the number of foreign troops in Rwanda and refused to vote for the decision of banning the criminal government from importing weapons used to carry out genocide.

The word “Genocide” was first articulated at the international level by Pope John Paul II

After the whole month and a half of Tutsi being massacred every day in Rwanda and the International Community doing nothing but observing and the United Nations refusing to give the proper name to the genocide of Tutsi, His Holiness Pope John Paul II condemned it.

In his speech of Sunday, May 15, 1994, in a message to the world, he called on the International Community to do its utmost to stop the genocide in Rwanda. Pope John Paul II also called on the international community to do its utmost to bring justice to those involved in the Genocide.

The first official recognition of the genocide finally took place in a report to the Security Council of 31 May 1994.

It was based on information provided by *Iqbal Riza* and *Maurice Baril*, the military adviser to the Secretary General who had paid a visit to Rwanda between May 22 and 27, 1994. The UN Security Council had continued to ignore the issue of the Genocide which, since April 7, 1994, had been perpetrated against the Tutsi.

Let us recall some facts:

On April 21, 1994, the UN Security Council, in its resolution 912, reduced the mandate of UNAMIR to its simplest form, leaving only 250 soldiers. However, General Dallaire, who headed UNAMIR, sent daily reports to the UN on the scale of the Tutsi massacres in Rwanda.

On April 24, 1994, for the first time, the UN Security Council deliberated on the question of the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda. The President of the Security Council wanted to assign member countries a responsibility of providing assistance if it was confirmed that a Genocide was perpetrated in Rwanda, in accordance with what is provided for by the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide (1948).

On April 28, 1994, the Ambassador of the Czech Republic, Karel Kovanda, requested the Security Council to consider the question of the genocide against the Tutsi without success.

Based on information relayed by human rights organizations, Ambassador Kovanda said that the government in power in Rwanda was committing a Genocide against the Tutsi. Some major powers with a permanent seat on the Security Council attacked him under the invalid pretext that the language he had used was not appropriate in the Security Council.

The chairman of the Security Council, Ambassador Colin Keating, also reported information according to which, acts of extreme violence and murder were committed against the Tutsi.

Some major powers with a permanent seat on the Security Council, led by the United States, have opposed the use of the word *genocide*. Though, from April 7, 1994, Tutsi, children, women and men, young and old were systematically killed in the open, and continued in certain regions of Rwanda under the control of the genocidal government, for the only reason that they were Tutsi and such killing were ongoing in the area controlled by the criminal government.

During the May 25, 1994 meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, delegates concluded that the genocide was ongoing and should be investigated.

On the same day, the Commission adopted resolution 1994 S-3/1, by which a special rapporteur was appointed. He was charged with immediate investigation on the massacres perpetrated against Tutsi which were under way.

Previously, the newly appointed United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Mr. Ayala Lasso*, had carried out a mission to Rwanda between May 11 and 12, 1994. His report mentioned systematic and extensive massacres of Tutsi.

The UN Secretary General finally declared that genocide was taking place in Rwanda

On May 25, 1994, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, declared that the killing which was taking place in Rwanda was *genocide*. The UN Secretary General also said that failing to deploy troops to Rwanda was a defeat for the United Nations and the International Community in general.

On the same day, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, based in Geneva, Switzerland, convened a meeting during which they also confirmed that genocide was taking place in Rwanda. Additionally, they appointed an expert from Ivory Coast, Mr. Rene Dégni- Ségui and was tasked to go to Rwanda and investigate the nature of the killings and report back.

Still on the same day, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) requested the United Nations General security council to do its utmost and prosecute the perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda. The Commission recommended that the UN Security Council expand the responsibilities of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Yugoslavia in order to prosecute the perpetrators of the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

Hesitations by the Security Council on the nature of Tutsi massacre allowed killers to continue the extermination of Tutsi

Gripped by the urgency and the gravity of the massacres in Rwanda, on May 24, 1994, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights held an emergency meeting in Geneva, convened by Canada. At the end of the meeting, a resolution was adopted on May 25, 1994 recognizing that typical acts of a genocide were committed in Rwanda and concluded on the need for an international investigation into the massacres of Tutsi in Rwanda.

The June 28, 1994 report of the Special Rapporteur of the UN Human Rights Commission, Mr. Dégni-Ségui confirmed that the massacre against the Tutsi in Rwanda was “genocide”.

On June 28, 1994, the "*Report on the situation of human rights in Rwanda*" presented by Mr. Dégni-Ségui, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, issued his report which described the massacres perpetrated against the Tutsi as genocide and designated those responsible for these massacres namely; the genocidal government, the army, the Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militias of the MRND and CDR. The report showed that Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militiamen massacred Tutsi.

According to the report, the massacres were spread across the country. Most of the massacres were carried out by the Interahamwe militias of the MRND, and Impuzamugambi of the CDR and were directed against the Tutsi. The report described the massacres perpetrated against the Tutsi as genocide.

The massacre of Tutsi was planned by the genocidal government

The report found that the massacres were horrific and terrifying, planned, systematic and atrocious. Indeed, there were many evidences showing that the massacres were planned: the first was the campaign to encourage ethnic hatred and violence orchestrated by the government media houses or those close to the government media, such as the *Radio Rwanda* and especially the "*Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines*" (RTL). The second consisted in the distribution of weapons to the civilian population and more particularly to the militia.

In addition, the militiamen had undergone intensive training in military structures from November 1993 to March 1994. The additional was demonstrated by the exceptional speed with which the massacres started and continued from April 7,

1994. Furthermore, roadblocks were established between 30 and 45 minutes after the attack on the presidential plane and even before news of the accident had been announced by national radio.

The report showed that the Tutsi massacres were systematic

The report of the Special Rapporteur found that the massacres perpetrated against the Tutsi were systematic. Entire families were destroyed, grand parents, parents, children. No one could escape it, not even the newborns. What was even more symptomatic, was that the victims were pursued until their last entrenchment to be executed. This is the case of victims who have been killed in parishes and especially churches, which had become the scene of their holocaust. The same was true for those who had taken refuge in house ceilings or in the deepest corners of houses and in the forests, where the attackers set fire to make sure that they would not leave any survivors behind. This was also the case with the borders, which were blocked to prevent Tutsi from escaping to neighboring countries.

The report notes that the massacres perpetrated against the Tutsi were carried out under painful, horrible and cruel conditions

According to the report, the massacres were indeed preceded by acts of torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading behaviour. Generally speaking, the victims were attacked with machetes, axes, clubs, sticks, or iron bars. The killers sometimes cut successively the fingers, the hand, the arms, the legs before cutting off the head or excruciating the skull.

Witnesses reported that it was common for victims to beg their killers or offer them money to be killed by bullets than machetes. It was also reported that when Tutsi were locked in a room or in a church that the militiamen were unable to open, the soldiers came to their rescue: they broke down the doors, threw grenades in the room and left the Interahamwe to complete the work with machetes.

The barbarism spared neither children from orphanages, nor the wounded from hospitals, they abducted and killed them. Mothers were forced to pound their children. It has even been reported that the killers, after having executed the victims in the middle of the street and in full view of everyone, cut them into pieces and some did not hesitate to sit on the bodies and drink a beer while waiting for the prisoners to come and pick up the bodies.

All these elements led the Special Rapporteur to assert that a genocide had been perpetrated against the Tutsi

Prominent figures, including the United Nations Secretary-General, have not hesitated to qualify the massacre of Tutsi as genocide. All the conditions of Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of December 9, 1948 were met with regard to the massacres perpetrated against the Tutsi.

The first condition did not seem to be in any doubt with regard to the massacres perpetrated (**II a**) and even to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment (**II b**).

The second was no longer difficult to fulfill, because the clear and unequivocal intention was well contained in the continuous calls for murder launched by the media (in particular RTLM) and transcribed in flyers. If it was not the case, the intention could have been deduced from the facts themselves, from a bundle of concordant signals: preparation for the massacres (distribution of firearms and training of militiamen), number of Tutsi killed, and the result of the pursuit of a policy of Tutsi destruction.

The third condition, which requires that the ethnic group should be targeted as such, was also fulfilled: first, many explanations revealed that the screening carried out during the checkpoints for identity verification targeted the Tutsi. Then and above all, the main enemy remained the Tutsi who was the *inyenzi*, that is to say "the cockroach", to be crushed at all costs according to the killers.

The conditions prescribed by the 1948 Convention were thus met and Rwanda, having acceded to it on April 16, 1976, was held to respect the principles which would have been imposed even without any conventional bond, since they acquired customary value. In the opinion of the Special Rapporteur, the qualification of genocide must already be retained with regard to the Tutsi.

Impunity was guaranteed to killers by the genocidal government

The militias of the political parties established roadblocks, controlled the identity of passers-by, arrested the Tutsi and executed them in the street, in full view of all, in front of elements of the gendarmery and the Rwandan armed forces. Far from worrying the militiamen, they rather supported them. This was also the case for the local authorities, prefects or bourgmestres, who directly participated in the killings.

Until then, the perpetrators of the previous and current massacres, known to the public and the authorities, had not been the subject of any prosecution. On the contrary, they continued to lead peaceful lives and to circulate freely in peace and impunity.

The report identified those responsible for the genocide against the Tutsi

These were the structures of the Rwandan government, and in particular, senior political officials at the national level, such as ministers, the army and the gendarmery, more particularly the presidential guard, the prefects and the bourgmestres.

The responsibility of the Rwandan "interim government" was fully engaged given that it incited the population to exterminate the Tutsi.

The report points to the militiamen, the leaders of extremist political parties (MRND and CDR) or the founders and journalists of RTLM.

The report concluded by making some recommendations:

The United Nations must condemn the Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda by emphasizing the awful, abominable and unacceptable nature of such acts. The United Nations should inform the perpetrators that, once identified, they will be held accountable for their acts and omissions by competent authorities and wherever they may be in the world.

We must also ask the states which have granted asylum or other refuge to those involved in the massacres to take appropriate measures to ensure that they do not escape justice. The United Nations should establish, pending a permanent international criminal court, an ad hoc international court responsible for hearing the facts and trying the guilty parties and, failing this, expanding the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for War Crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia.

CONCLUSION

The Genocide against the Tutsi was planned for a long time by the criminal government, and there were many preceding acts that disclosed it. Since the beginning of the war of liberation in 1990, the government put a lot of effort into sowing Tutsi hatred and inciting Hutu people to kill Tutsi only because of their ethnicity.

Extremist newspapers such as *Kangura*, *La Médaille Nyiramacibiri*, RTLM and others incited Hutu hatred of the Tutsi and a campaign to exterminate them, which was also circulated at Hutu Power party rallies. The government supplied weapons to the Interahamwe, Impuzamugambi and the civilian population, as well as military training at military bases such as Gabiro and Gako and elsewhere.

In 1991, during the massacre of genocide trial, the Interahamwe and the government forces killed many Tutsi in some parts of the country, in Ruhengeri (Nkuli, Kinigi, Mukingo) and Gisenyi (Gaseke, Giciye, Karago, Mutura, Kanama, Rwerere) and in 1992 they massacred Tutsi in Bugesera. Even foreigners opposed to the Tutsi massacre were killed, like an Italian Antonia Locatelli, former Director of the Nyamata Vocational Training Center (CERAI), who was assassinated in March 1992 by gendarme Epimaque Ulimubenshi who had not been prosecuted.

The plane carrying President Habyarimana was shot down on the evening of April 6, 1994, and the killings led by President Habyarimana's bodyguards in collaboration with the Interahamwe began. Tutsi were killed as well as some politicians who did not support the genocide plan were also killed in the first instance, like Prime Minister, Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana, President of the Constitutional Court, Joseph Kavaruganda, Ministers Frédéric Nzamurambaho, who was also the President of the PSD party, Me. Félicien Ngango, former Vice President of the PSD, Faustin Rucogoza, former Minister of Information member of MDR party and Landouald Ndasingwa from the PL party.

The Interahamwe, Impuzamugambi, national army (soldiers and gendarmes) and the civilian population immediately started exterminating Tutsi, from infants to adults. The massacre started all over the country as the criminal government had planned for the Tutsi to be killed in their homes and wherever they took refuge such as in government buildings (Communal offices, clinics ...), in churches, in camps and elsewhere. Others were killed along the way. In hospitals and clinics

across the country, doctors and nurses, usually in charge of protecting lives were involved in the genocide and killed their patients as well as their fellow Tutsi doctors.

On April 8, 1994, the *Abatabazi* Government was formed, with Dr Théodore Sindikubwabo as President of the Republic, and Jean Kambanda as Prime Minister. The government had only one plan to impose how the genocide was going to be implemented accross the country. The policy of exterminating Tutsi used an so-called "*auto-defense civile*" program to distribute weapons to the population and engage them in mass killings. During the genocide campaign, ministers in their home areas including Pauline Nyiramasuhuko in Butare, Karemera Edouard in Kibuye, Nzabonimana Callixte in Gitarama, Augustin Ngirabatware in Gisenyi were present.

The United Nations kept on ignoring the issue of the Genocide against the Tutsi since April 7, 1994 in the day light of the entire world, refusing to help them because the Security Council had come to a significant reduction in the number of UNAMIR soldiers left by only 250. In the ongoing debate, some super powers did not want the massacre in Rwanda to be called Genocide against the Tutsi . It was later confirmed by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN Secretary General, and confirmed by Degni Segui, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, whe he had returned from an investigation to Rwanda and confirmed that Tutsi were being subjected to genocide.

The content of this document clearly shows that the criminal government, through its civilian and military institutions, was the one that planned and carried out the Genocide against the Tutsi, with the help of France. It also contradicts those who deny it and those who demean it.

The Genocide against the Tutsi was not an accident or a result of a plane crash that carried President Habyarimana, but a long-term plan. The organizers of the genocide have also spoken out in public.

The book states that the Genocide against the Tutsi was planned by the government for a long time, and then later the same government implemented it nationwide, especially with the help of leaders from various levels, the state army, armed groups such as the Interahamwe and the Impuzamugambi and the civilian population were incited to exterminate Tutsi.

We hope that this book on the elements of planning and execution of the genocide committed against the Tutsi will on the one hand help to preserve the memory of the genocide, and honor the victims. It will also provide young generations with the tools of knowledge of this tragic past enabling them to work for the continued reconstruction of a united and peaceful Rwanda.

National Commission for the fight Against Genocide

P.O. Box 7035, Kigali-Rwanda
E-mail: administrator@cnlg.gov.rw
Twitter: @RwandaRemembers
Flickr: CNLG Rwanda

Hotline: 3560
Website: www.cnlg.gov.rw
Facebook: Rwanda Remembers - CNLG
You Tube: CNLG Rwanda