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EXHIBIT NO. D90  
DATE ADMITTED. 25/08/2005  
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NAME OF WITNESS. EXPERT (DES FORGES)

LIST 1

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PRE-CRASH COALITION GOVERNMENT MEMBERS

Listed according to political party. Many are now deceased, killed in the political violence that gripped the country after the President was killed in an airplane crash April 6, 1994.

I. Democratic Republican Movement (MDR)

Reasonably moderate party. At least 3 of the 4 ministers were definitely killed in the political violence immediately following the President's death.

1. Mme. Agathe UWILINGIYIMANA Prime Minister

Killed by the Presidential Guard on April 7, 1994.

**Background:** She had been calling the Force Commander on the night of April 6, 1994 (the day President HABYARIMANA was killed in a plane crash). The Force Commander spoke with her later that night. He tried to convince the Crisis Committee (consisting primarily of MRND members of the existing government, and senior military officer Colonel BAGASORA) that they could handle the crisis because they had a government: UWILINGIYIMANA as Prime Minister could take over and lead the government, that this was a correct and acceptable step to take in the case of the death of the President. The Crisis Committee, some of whom appeared to be moderate, were unanimous that she would not lead a new government. UNAMIR desperately tried to get her on Radio Rwanda, but the military had taken it over and would not permit it. Instead the radio stations were all broadcasting propaganda inciting Hutus to kill Tutsis. Source felt there were several reasons why the MRND rejected UWILINGIYIMANA as President: she was moderate, had pushed for the BBTG, had been publicly critical of President HABYARIMANA and they resented her as a woman. (It was rare in Rwandan society for a woman to rise to that level of power and the military resented it).

UWILINGIYIMANA was being protected by 10 Belgians and local Gendarmerie officers who were loyal to her and paid by her. UNAMIR was trying to run a series of convoys over to the area to get her out. When the Presidential Guard came on the morning of April 7, 1994 her bodyguards engaged the Presidential Guard and were killed. UWILINGIYIMANA, her husband and two children managed to get out the back door and over a fence into the UNDP (UN Development Program) building next door. One of the UNMOs lived in the area and when the trouble started that morning he had gone over to the UNDP. The

head of UNDP, Mr. Lee, was out of the country. His French deputy called UNAMIR HQ and asked them to get over there immediately. The area had been cordoned off by the Presidential Guard and UNAMIR was unable to get through.

The Presidential Guard searched the house and could not find her so went next door and were bashing the gate down at the UNDP building (this was a secure building so quite a bit of force was required). UWILINGIYIMANA told the UNMO to take her children and get out. She and her husband opened the gate and surrendered themselves to the Presidential Guard, knowing that they would be killed. The UNMO got the children out and over the fence to a safe building, where he stayed with them for about three days, until UNAMIR learned of their location and was able to rescue them. The children were subsequently evacuated to a safe third country.

UWILINGIYIMANA and her husband were beaten to death on the street in front of the UNDP building. There is no doubt that this is what happened because UNDP staff witnessed it. The bodies were then lashed to the back of the Presidential Guard vehicles and dragged through downtown Kigali. Their bodies were hung in the central square.

The Presidential Guard took the 10 Belgian UN soldiers to the RGF army headquarters, where they were beaten to death (details will be provided in a subsequent report in this series).

2. M. Anastase GANASANA *with report* Foreign Affairs & Cooperation

Reportedly deceased. Source considered GANASANA a real moderate. Unfortunately he convinced UNAMIR officials during the reconnaissance trip in August 1993 that everyone sincerely supported the peace process. He was perceived to be a major player on the government side, a moderate representing a moderate group (which turned out to be incorrect, as the government was not moderate). He led a joint delegation to New York with Patrick MAZINPAKA (RPF) in September 1993, when UNAMIR was stalled in the process of getting a mandate. He was largely responsible for convincing the UN and the US State Department that a UN peacekeeping mission was required in Rwanda.

In April 1994 in his role as Foreign Minister he went with President HABYARIMANA to Tanzania. It is believed that the President of Tanzania told him he must deal. In the weeks before his alleged assassination he had gone to Burundi, Zaire and Uganda. The diplomatic community had been putting intense pressure on the President because he could break the political stalemate and it is believed that he agreed that night to form the BBTG.

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**GANASANA** should have been on the flight back with him on April 6, 1994, the day the plane crashed. He was not on the flight because there was no room for him; the President of Burundi was also in Tanzania and President **HABYARIMANA** offered him a ride, taking what had been **GANASANA's** seat on the plane. Thus it appears to have been a coincidence that the President of Burundi was also killed. Source thinks that President **HABYARIMANA** had agreed that night in Tanzania to some kind of deal.

**GANASANA's** family was still in Kigali, and when the violence engulfed Rwanda after the plane crash, he phoned **UNAMIR** staff and asked them to look for them. They checked his house, which had been looted but there was no blood or bodies. They tried a few other places but were unable to locate **GANASANA's** family and had to concentrate on helping people whose whereabouts were known to **UNAMIR**.

Source said he is a moderate leader, popular with the **RPF**, but as a Hutu he carries weight within the Hutu community, and if he is still alive would be an ideal candidate for a government position. Source was impressed with him as a trustworthy person.

3. M. Jean-Marie Vianney **MBONIMPA**

Primary & Secondary  
Education

4. M. Faustin **RUCOGOZA**

Information

Deceased

## II. National Republican Movement for Democracy & Development (MRND)

The old presidential single party - all survived the war. Some of them seemed quite reasonable (but probably were not).

1. M. Faustin **MUNYAZESA** Home Affairs & Communal Development

Very taciturn.

2. M. Augustin **BIZIMANA**

Defence

Source described him as a very sly fox, extremely close to the source of power, namely the **President**. He had dealings with a company in Buffalo, **USA**. Very hard-line, although he was briefly moderate in February 1994, only to go back to the hard-line again in March 1994. Source did not speculate on what these swings meant.

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He considered him a really bad person, very likely high up in the organization of the **Third Force**, the militia groups responsible for sabotaging the peace process.<sup>1</sup> He was out of the country on April 6, 1994, he thinks at a meeting in Cameroon, possibly related to his role as Head of the Olympic Committee for Rwanda. He was out of the picture for three or four days and then suddenly reappeared. Once he reappeared he became a front man again. Source believes he was very heavily involved in planning and executing the massacres, and is likely still high up within the ex-government structure.

He had extensive land and business holdings in Bayumba in northern Rwanda. Bayumba is an **MRND**, Hutu city. He ordered the **RGF** to defend the area, which was a bad military decision for the **RGF**. They should never have tried to defend Bayumba because it was a trap. The **RPF**, invading from bordering Burundi, destroyed 7 government battalions and gained a major hold in northern Rwanda. It was the first major city to fall to the **RPF**.

3. M. Daniel MBANGURA

Superior Education & Scientific Research

Source indicated he was a difficult man to deal with.

4. M. Prosper MUGIRANEZA

Public Works

This man did not stand out.

5. M. Augustin NGIRABATWARE

Planning

Very smart young man with a PhD. in political science. Source thinks he may have studied in Montreal. It was difficult to understand why someone with this education took such a hardline position against the **RPF**. He was brilliant and powerful and apparently ran a good ministry under more normal circumstances. The Planning ministry controlled all government expenditures, somewhat like Treasury Board in the Canadian system.

<sup>1</sup> It was Source's impression that the **third force** had extensive links to hardliner government ministers and included the militias of the government parties, such as the **INTERHAMWE** and the **POWER**, parts of the **Army**, the **Gendarmerie** and the **Presidential Guard**. Later information suggested that these groups aimed to subvert and sabotage the peace process and were being trained to conduct massacres and perpetrate genocide against the Tutsi minority.

6. Dr. Casimir BIZIMUNGU

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Health

He rented a house to some of the senior UNAMIR staff. The houseboy at the rented house was BIZIMUNGU's nephew, a nice boy, possibly there as a spy. He and another household worker were killed (no details provided). BIZIMUNGU was hardline MRND.

7. M. Andre NTAGERURA

Transport & Communications

Source called him a "real fox", an elder statesman who had been a government minister for 13 or 14 years. He was a survivor. Source met him several times. He studied in Montreal and Quebec City, and liked to speak (and swear) in Quebecois. He was always around, always involved, not overtly but clearly a player in any political action. NTAGERURA did not hide the thought that he believed there was a regional Tutsi conspiracy to take over the country. He simply could not see how Hutus could possibly vote for the RPF. He could not imagine or comprehend that the Hutu ethnic majority might have moderate political views. He thought it was incomprehensible that a majority Hutu nation might end up with a Tutsi government. He was quite vociferous about these views.

With regard to the idea of a Tutsi conspiracy, he, along with hardline MRND and CDR members claimed the the Tutsis wanted a resurrection of the Tutsi Central African Empire, with Rwanda joined up with neighbouring countries. The idea was that the Tutsi would join with the Batusi and Watusi peoples. A new Central African Empire would be based on Uganda, portions of Zaire and Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. It would resurrect the monarchy and reduce all Bantu people to serfdom.

Although this theory was considered to have no basis in fact and was generally discredited, NTAGERURA was not the only one to promulgate it. When handing out visas, the then Rwandan Ambassador to Canada apparently told Canadians about this theory, and that the RPF was just a front for this plan. It provided a good example that government Ministers did not control their ministries. Ambassadors received their orders from their political party, not their minister. The Rwandan Ambassadors to the UN and Uganda also espoused views contrary to the Foreign Minister.

8. Mme. Pauline NYIRAMUSUHUKO

Family & Women's Promotion

Source had no information about her, but did not think she was much of a player.

9. M. Callixte NZABONIMANA

Youth & Cooperative Movement

Source did not trust him. He thought this ministry was a front for youth movements which incited violence.

III. Social Democrat Party (PSD)

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Source indicated this party was generally moderate except for GATABAZI (now deceased).

1. M. Frederic NZAMURAMBAHO Agriculture & Animal Raising  
Deceased.
2. M. Marc MUGENERA Finance
3. M. Felicien GATABAZI Public Works & Energy  
Hardliner, deceased.

IV. Liberal Party (PL)

The first two ministers from the Liberal Party were moderates but swung more towards somewhat hardline policies of the MRND.

1. Mme. Agnes NTAMABYALIRO Justice  
Very difficult to deal with.
2. M. Justin MUGENZI COMMERCE, INDUSTRY & COTTAGE  
INDUSTRY (CRAFTSMEN)

Source had a very poor opinion of him - "a real jerk". He had been a great friend of Landouald NDASINGWA, a Tutsi (see #3. below). MUGENZI had been with NDASINGWA in a Tutsi party, then switched and was against him. He kept switching sides. He sponsored and built antagonism, rather than trying to find solutions. Rumour was that he had a lot of debts and had been bought off by friends of the President and the MRND party to switch sides and that was why he was holding such a hard line.

Source characterized MUGENZI as very unstable, sacrificing friendships for money. His political views are "all over the place".

He was supposedly shot at one day, so he came to UNAMIR for protection. UNAMIR went to the RPF to complain. KAGAME apparently laughed and said "you think it was us? I'll tell you one thing, if we had shot at him we would have killed him".

MUGENZI'S ROLE IN THE POLITICAL STALEMATE

A list of representatives of the Liberal Party which the government could not resolve was the main issue causing the political stalemate in forming the BBTG in early January 1994. The ARUSHA ACCORD spelled out how many seats and deputies each

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party would get in the new BBTG. There were three parties which suffered splits and had difficulty resolving their lists; the MDR and one other (name not recalled) eventually resolved the problems, but the Liberal Party did not.

A congress was held and NDASINGWA and a slate of deputies were elected. Subsequently, MUGENZI was allegedly paid by the President to split the party. This split was very important because the way the PL voted could swing the balance of power. MUGENZI claimed to be the real leader of the Liberal Party, and presented his list of deputies, most of whom were new to the party and clearly MRND plants. NDASINGWA countered that he remained the leader and presented his list of deputies. The ARUSHA ACCORD was agreed to by all the political parties, but there was only one Liberal Party so there could only be one slate of deputies to represent it. An attempt was made to swear in the new BBTG, but when the names of the deputies of the PL represented by MUGENZI and his faction were read out, the RPF walked out and refused to participate further.

Source went to his house one evening to issue an invitation to a meeting with NDASINGWA to try to resolve the split in the party. Source spoke to his wife who said he was not there; she took the message into the house and then returned still insisting he was not there. Source was quite certain he was there but did not wish to acknowledge the message or attend the meeting. The militia bodyguards then told the UNAMIR men that they must leave.

Source thinks MUGENZI escaped Rwanda before the war started and fled to Nairobi. Source was concerned he might try to come to Canada, because he had already visited the Canadian Embassy in Nairobi and he had a lot of money. While in Nairobi he met with the Canadian Ambassador, and apparently spoke in a derogatory way about the Canadian UN Force Commander, claiming that it was his fault that the civil war was engulfing Rwanda. Source does not know his current location, but does not believe he could return to Rwanda; the RPF would go after him because of his actions in preventing the formation of the BBTG. Source did not believe that MUGENZI was tied in tightly enough with the MRND to be welcome with them.

### 3. M. Landouald NDASINGWA

### Labour & Social Affairs

Deceased. He was a really moderate politician, very popular outside the RPF. UNAMIR staff generally called him by his first name, which was also spelled Lando or Landoin. His wife was québécoise. UNAMIR had been informed that their children were Canadian citizens in case an evacuation became necessary. Landouald and his wife were both killed in the first hours of the fighting, on April 7, 1994 by the Presidential Guard (as was the Prime Minister, Agathe UWILINGIYIMANA).

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The Gendarmerie bodyguards were killed by the Presidential Guard. His UN Ghanaian guards resisted the attack. They were beaten and disarmed but not killed. They were in front of the house down on all fours being stripped and beaten when they heard a burst of gunfire in the house. They saw Landouald, his wife and son being taken out and put in a truck (they were still alive). They did not see the daughter or the mother. The Ghanaian soldiers were later released. One of them went missing but he was in hiding and was found a few days later.

UNAMIR finally made it in either later that day or the next day. They could not get through the cordons that the military had set up. Landouald's mother was killed in the house and her body left there. There was no sign of the attractive young daughter; they suspect she was raped and then murdered. UNAMIR had hoped she had been able to run away and hide, and later when the RPF took over the area UNAMIR asked for their assistance in searching for her. They did not find her but they were able to locate three nieces and nephews. They were in the stadium (where UNAMIR provided protection to some 25,000 people) and brought to Canada via Bayumba and Uganda. They are now living with relatives in Montreal. One of Landouald's brothers was out of the country on business at the time so he survived.

UNAMIR was subsequently informed by government ministers that the whole family was killed at Camp KANOMBE, the paracommando government military camp just outside Kigali.

Landouald NDASINGWA had a very large family. Another brother and other relatives are in Montreal. Source thinks the family has had extensive contact with the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Immigration. His unmarried sister is in Washington with the African Development Bank. She was in Rwanda in December 1993 and Source talked with her at length about African tribalism generally and the Rwanda Tutsi/Hutu conflict in particular. The NDASINGWA family was quite wealthy, they owned a large hotel and restaurant in Kigali which was subject to a frequent attack from militias (for example, a grenade was thrown in one night and Source had to clean it up) and government-sponsored harassment such as cutting off the water.

V. Christian Democratic Party (PDC)

1. M. Gaspard RUHUMULIZA

TOURISM & ENVIRONMENT