

THE HISTORY OF THE GENOCIDE IN GAHINI SECTOR
A Collective Account

March 2005

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1. INTRODUCTION

Gahini sector borders on Nyakabungo sector to the east; to the west there is the Kayonza-Kagitumba main road, which runs alongside lake Muhazi; Rukara sector is to the north and Kiyenzi sector to the south.

Gahini is now in Rukara district, Umutara province. Before the administrative boundaries were redrawn, Gahini was in Rukara commune, Kibungo. With the creation of Umutara province after the genocide, Gahini was included in it. It has seven cellules: Buyanja; Ibiza; Micanzigo; Rugarama; Rwinkuba; Kabeza; and Umwiga. The area which was called Umwiga in 1994 has now been divided into two cellules, Kabeza and Umwiga. So the history of the genocide in Umwiga in this report includes that of the area now called Kabeza.

Even before the genocide, there were considerable facilities located on Gahini hill. The first mission of the Episcopal Church of Rwanda (EER) was established there in 1910. Gahini hospital was built by missionaries in 1927. Before the genocide, Gahini parish was attached to Kibungo diocese. Currently Gahini is itself a diocese, stretching across Umutara province. There are primary schools, an art and crafts school, a secondary school and a junior seminary there. Small trading centres, like the one at Kabeza, are visible across the sector. Beside Lake Muhazi there is guesthouse run by the EER. The district offices of Rukara are a few kilometres away.

According to consistent testimonies, the killings in Gahini began in Umwiga during the night of 7 April. The plan to wipe out the Tutsis was conceived that day in Kabeza cellule. By the morning of the 7th, people in Gahini noticed a column of smoke in the neighbouring commune of Murambi, where homes were burning under the orders of Jean-Baptiste Gatete.¹ Panicking because of the deteriorating situation, and informed that the systematic elimination of Tutsis was being prepared, a number of Tutsis from Gahini took refuge in the church, then at the hospital. Others took the road to Rukara parish.

From the night of 7 April, massacres were committed in the cellules, then another slaughter took place at Gahini hospital in full view and knowledge of the administrative authorities, and finally there was a massacre at the Parish of Rukara, where a lot of Tutsis had gathered from all the surrounding areas. The police and gendarmes took part in the killings, or were witnesses. Many of the victims' bodies were left at the scene of the crime.

During our research into the genocide in Gahini, it was difficult to establish the number of victims. This was because during the first hours of the massacre, the refugees scattered, some fleeing to neighbouring sectors, others taking the path to Rukara parish or Mukarange parish in the former commune of Muhazi.

To give an accurate picture of the history of the atrocities committed in Gahini in April-July 1994, we first interviewed detainees from Gahini in Nsinda prison. Several of them had confessed and had been provisionally freed and so were in the solidarity camp in Rwankuba. But detainees still in prison were also interviewed. Secondly, we spoke to survivors and other witnesses in each cellule.

¹ Jean-Baptiste Gatete had been bourgmestre of Murambi for a long time, until 1993, and in 1994 was the undisputed leader of the genocide both in Murambi and throughout much of the province of Kibungo. He was in Congo-Brazzaville and is now in the custody of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania. For details about his role in the genocide, see African Rights, *Charge Sheet No. 5: Jean-Baptiste Gatete: At Liberty in Tanzania?* July 2000

2. HISTORY OF THE GENOCIDE BY CELLULE

2.1 Ibiza Cellule

a) *The Detainees*

Ibiza borders Micanzigo cellule to the east, Umwiga to the west, Rugarama to the north, a river in Rwabigabiro cellule and Rukara sector to the south.

On 1 October 1990, the country was invaded by the *inkotanyi*. We still didn't understand the significance of *inkotanyi* or *inyenzi* and both Tutsis and Hutus went on patrol together looking for *inyenzi*.

We failed to find them because we were told they were people with long ears and tails. During this period there were Tutsis who were considered to be accomplices. They were arrested by the gendarmerie during searches of the homes of Tutsis. At first, they were locked up in Rwamagana and then transferred to Kibungo. This happened to David Twamugabo, a tailor, and Faustin Gacinya, a primary school teacher. They were later freed with others deemed "accomplices" on the orders of President Habyarimana.

When multipartyism was introduced, the parties which were very influential were:

- The National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND), represented by the agronomist, Pierre Kalisa. He was the one who put up his party's flag at the centre of Kabeza and gave out cards to party members. However, because of his political ambitions, by the start of the genocide he was no longer president of MRND but of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) instead. He put up this party's flag near the home of a nurse called Alphonse Kanyarukore.
- The Democratic Republican Movement (MDR) which was represented at the sector level by Thaddée Ruvugo, a reservist lieutenant and a teacher at Gahini secondary school.
- The Liberal Party (PL) represented by Justin Mugenzi, nicknamed "Rudomoro."

The political parties competed with each other for supporters.

Few people knew of the death of President Habyarimana on the evening of 6 April. Nearly all the residents found out on the morning of 7 April. Radio Rwanda called upon people to keep calm and stay in their homes until further orders were given. Gatherings were also prohibited. During the day the villagers were dazed and confused, but the cellule remained calm. That evening, the killings began in the neighbouring sector of Umwiga. The killers invaded the home of Rugomwa. They killed members of this family including Rugomwa's wife, and his children were seriously wounded.

Our cellule was visited by the interahamwe on 8 April. It was a devastating large-scale attack from Umwiga led by the following people:

- Jean Bosco Butera, councillor of Gahini;
- Alphonse Mugiraneza, secretary of Rukara commune;
- Rudacyahana, a teacher at Gahini secondary school;
- Kanifu;
- Niyonsenga;
- Emmanuel Kamanda;
- Emmanuel Nshinishyaka, nicknamed "Bohingo";

- Emmanuel Uwizeye;
- Donat Munyemana.

When they arrived in Ibiza, they separated into several branches, each working in a targeted area. The slaughter was committed at midday. Gatare was the first victim. Others included Gakunzi, David Twamugabo, Binama, Gacinya, Nyirabera, and Kazeyi who suffered a terrible death. He was burned in his house and died the next day, screaming horribly because of his burns. The Tutsis who were killed weren't buried. Their bodies were either left at the scene of the crime or in their own homes. No family members were there to bury them because those who escaped the slaughter fled.

After 8 April, Tutsis were hunted down, sought everywhere they could hide. A lot of them took refuge at the parishes of Rukara and Mukarange. During the night, the killers ensured security in the cellule. There was no need for patrols. François Karegeya, cellule *responsable* and the younger brother of councillor Butera, was among those who were hunting down Tutsis. There was no roadblock in the cellule. However, searches were carried out in the homes of Hutus suspected of being friends of Tutsis.

Tutsis fleeing the killings went to look for asylum in the churches. At the time of the attack led by our councillor on 8 April, a number of them had already gone north to Rukara parish, others headed south towards Mukarange parish. After 8 April, the killers pursued them in their place of refuge.

On 12 April, another incident of killings took place in our cellule at Karekezi's house where a lot of people were hiding. 20 people were murdered. They included:

- Karekezi;
- Nyirakidederi;
- Kajongoma;
- Pénélope Mukamazimpaka;
- Gaudence Mukagahunde;
- Mupenda's two children;
- Gahiza;
- Mukandanga, Gahiza's wife and his five children;
- Gatare's child;
- Gasana's child;
- Two children from Mutabazi's house;
- Murangira and Rwagasana, Kazeyi's son;

This attack, which came from Umwiga, was led by:

- Manassé Kanyamurera, *responsable* for Umwiga;
- Donat Munyemana;
- Joas Rwambeba;
- Emmanuel Manwa, among the detainees testifying;
- Nkuriyingoma alias "Bidudu";
- Boniface alias "Kirimvi";
- Joseph Kowati;
- Munyaneza Nyanja;
- Emmanuel Nshinzishyaka;
- Manassé Nirere;
- Ntambara, now deceased;
- Bizimana.

All the victims were killed in Karekezi's house, according to Emmanuel Manwa. They were finished off with blows from sticks and hammers used during the looting to take off the metal sheets. Emmanuel, who took part in the attack, added:

After executing them we went to Higiro's home. His house was near his father's, Karekezi. Behind Higiro's house was a rectangular shaped latrine. We took away the trees covering it and threw the bodies in.

Kazeyi's children – Hitiyose, Nakavara, Majyambere, Mukabaranga and Misege – were hiding in Jean-Baptiste Hategekimana's house. Hategekimana spoke of how, on 14 April, a raid was launched to look for them in his family's house. They were led from the house to the banana plantation where they were killed. The bodies of the victims remained at the scene of the crime. The attack was led by Emmanuel Ntambara, Nyamagare's son, together with Rwendeye and Shyaka.

Sekanyana and Mutabaruka alias "Gafirira" also died in Ibiza cellule. They were killed by Ruhumuliza who is locked up with us in Nsinda prison, but had pleaded not guilty. Ntaganira, from Gakoni, Murambi, was killed by Karara and Muharirwashema. During our *gacaca* in prison recently, it was said that Jean Byigero, imprisoned here in Nsinda, had killed a man called Byamazuru.

Looting of the victims' property began on 8 April, instigated by the fact that people had seen looting taking place the day before in Murambi commune. We could see a cloud of smoke from Murambi. Looting went hand in hand with the killings and the destruction of houses.

Everyone was taking whatever they could find along the way. The villagers took the things left behind by the organizers who took the most valuable items. Tutsis from the cellule had a high standard of living, so a lot of valuable things were stolen. Radios, mattresses, armchairs and chairs filled the houses. When the houses were demolished, the doors and windows were the first to be snatched. The cows found at the homes of Gatare, Rugari, and Gasana were also taken away. There wasn't much small livestock.

The killing and looting lasted a week in our cellule as the residents took flight on 15 April, faced with the advance of the RPF who had just taken Murambi commune. Except for the victims we have mentioned who fell in our cellule, Tutsis were also executed at Karubamba, at Rukara parish and at Mukarange parish in Muhazi commune. We don't know anything about rape of women and girls.

Finally, we can confidently confirm that our administrative authorities were mainly responsible for the killings carried out in our cellule. The meetings to organise the killings were held in their stronghold at Kabeza, at the homes of Samson Gacumbitsi, a shopkeeper who has been condemned to death, and Samuel Gasana, who met frequently with the authorities. He worked at the junior seminary of Gahini as a manager.

Apart from these influential people in the cellule who participated in the planning and carrying out of massacres, some of the other people who incited us to commit genocide were:

- Jean-Baptiste Mpambara, bourgmestre of Rukara, who gave orders to his subordinates to commit massacres. He worked closely with the councillor of our cellule and is currently detained in Arusha;
- Jean-Bosco Butera, councillor of Gahini sector, the instigator and planner of massacres. He took part in all the attacks in the cellule. He is imprisoned in Nsinda and has been condemned to death by the Tribunal of the First Instance in Kibungo;

- Thaddée Ruvugo, formerly a lieutenant reservist in the Rwandese Armed Forces (FAR). When he went back to his home cellule, he used his military training to execute Tutsis. We were together in Benaco camp in Tanzania, but he refused to return home;
- Alphonse Mugiraneza, secretary of Rukara commune. He is the one who whistled to alert people so they could go to “work.” He has since died;
- Adelyte Habyarimana, a sergeant major. The genocide began when he was at home on holiday in Gahini. Given the circumstances at the time, he helped his fellow citizens to get rid of Tutsis. He is imprisoned, but we don’t know where;
- Emmanuel Kamanda, headmaster of the primary schools in the east zone. He was detained with us but currently he is in the solidarity camp at Rwankuba. He was freed among the people whose confessions were accepted;
- François Rudacyahana, a teacher at Gahini secondary school. He was imprisoned with Adelyte Habyarimana.

b) *The Genocide Survivors*

Social relations between Tutsis and Hutus weren’t at all bad. However, after the *inkotanyi* attack of 1990, the Tutsis were marginalized and ridiculed in Rwandese society. Everywhere we went, Hutus would spit on the ground and insult us as if we were accomplices of the *inyenzi*. Our children were booed at school and some of them were even expelled. All Tutsis were suspects, they had to make sure there were no visitors in their homes. House searches were carried out by gendarmes led by Butera, the councillor of our sector. They told us that they were looking for *inyenzi* who had just invaded their country. Even when they didn’t find these *inyenzi*, the owner of the house would immediately be arrested. Tutsis deemed accomplices were taken to Rwamagana, then transferred to Kibungo. The gendarmes took away the following Tutsis:

- David Twamugabo;
- Faustin Gacinya, a primary school teacher;
- Gihana, a livestock breeder;
- Benoît Njishi, a farmer;
- André Murangira;
- Gatsinzi;
- Juju Musanabaganwa, a teacher;
- Bajiji, a driver.

They were released at different times; some after a week, a month, three months and others after a year and a half.

There were several political parties when multipartyism was introduced: MDR, PSD, PL and MRND. However the first three were the most popular in our sector. MDR was represented by Ruvugo, originally from Butare. PSD was represented by Kidege at the commune level. PL had two presidents: François Mugabo first, then Damascène Karemera. During this period, emotions were running high. Everyone wanted to defend his party. People were wearing party clothes and hats.

Almost all the residents of the cellule found out about President Habyarimana’s death on the morning of 7 April. We woke up with the music of mourning on Radio Rwanda. A broadcast communiqué suggested that people should remain at home and that gatherings of small groups were forbidden. When we met Hutus, they gave us threatening looks. 7 April was a Thursday, market day in the centre of Gahini. Despite this announcement of Habyarimana’s death, people went to market as usual. Around 9:00 a.m., a car arrived at the market from

Rukara commune. In it were the bourgmestre, Jean Mpambara; councillor Butera; Brigadier Ruhiguri; Samuel Gasana, the head of the junior seminary; Kanyamurere, *responsable* for Umwiga and the agronomist Pierre Kalisa. When they arrived at Gahini centre, the authorities closed the market. They told people off for coming to market when the President had just died. Jacqueline Kanjanja, Savérine Musengimana and Grâce Kayitesi described the atmosphere at the market:

The bourgmestre told the people: “You are cows! I thought that the people of Gahini were men, but not at all. Look at what they’re doing in Murambi at Gatete’s place [The houses were on fire and you could see columns of smoke]” After this speech, which only lasted a few minutes, the crowd dispersed and everyone went back home. We managed to find out that behind the scenes, the authorities were going to hold a meeting in Kabeza. This meeting took place and shortly afterwards Hutus we knew well came to tell us that the situation was going to get worse in the coming hours. They advised us to hide since the plan to kill us had just been conceived. That evening some of us took refuge at Rukara parish and others spent the night in the bush. Everyone scattered.

On 8 April, the killing began in our cellule. Around 12:00 a.m., the following people lost their lives after an attack led by the councillor, Gatera.

- Gatare;
- Gacinya;
- David Twamugabo;
- Binama;
- Kazeyi;
- Nyirabera;
- Gasana.

On 9 April more people died, including:

- Murangira;
- Rwagasana;
- Sekanyana;
- David’s children;
- Mukabaranga;
- Miseke;
- Mugirase;
- Murangirwa;
- Hitiyise;
- Byamazuru.

Afterwards, there was a sort of calm, but the hunt for Tutsis continued. Several days later, they uncovered a group of Tutsis hiding at Karekezi’s and killed them. The victims were:

- Karekezi;
- Kajongomwa;
- Nyirakidederi;
- Mukamazimpaka and her two children, Emmanuel and Fillette;
- Mabano;
- Mupenda’s two children;
- Gaudence Mukagahunde;
- Gahiza and his wife;
- Gahiza’s children: Mahinja, Makobga, Rutayisire, Rutagengwa;
- Rangira.

The bodies were thrown into the toilet. The weapons used mostly frequently were sticks, machetes and hatchets.

The meetings which prepared the massacres were held in Kabeza, at Gacumbitsi's house. It was also there that the génocidaires quenched their thirst after the killings. Nearly all the attacks came from Kabeza. There were night patrols, and roadblocks at forks in the road.

After the killings, houses were cleaned out. The strongest took the valuable items and the peasants took the remains. Afterwards, the houses were destroyed. Things considered worthless were burned on the spot. Cows and goats were taken. The cows from our cellule were taken to Kabeza and Micanzigo to be slaughtered. The crops in the fields were harvested by neighbours.

Our administrative authorities played a central role in the massacres. If they'd resisted, a lot of Tutsis wouldn't have been killed. The people who were determined to eliminate Tutsis here include:

- Butera, Gahini's councillor. He is in Nsinda prison and has been sentenced to death.
- Karegeya, cellule *responsable*, now deceased;
- Faustin Bugingo, a primary school teacher;
- Emmanuel Kamanda, a primary school teacher. He pleaded guilty and is now in the solidarity camp;
- Thomas Higiroy, a peasant.

2.2 Rugarama Cellule

a) The Detainees in Nsinda Prison

When the *inkotanyi* attacked in 1990, Hutus began singling out Tutsis who felt this hostility and became afraid. The children of Hutus began to learn that Tutsis were "snakes." We Hutus worried about the Tutsis who were joining the ranks of the RPA. We thought that they would wipe us out when they came back. The broadcasts from Radio Rwanda saying that the *inkotanyi* were making pregnant women abort made the situation worse. We believed this sort of information. It made us frightened and increased the animosity of Hutus towards Tutsis. Even though we had a lot of Tutsis in our cellule, none of them were imprisoned because of complicity with the *inkotanyi*.

When the political parties were set up, some of them were sympathetic to the RPF, like the PL, and others to MRND, like CDR. Because there was a coalition of political parties, Tutsis weren't attacked during the era of multipartyism. All the same, we mustn't forget to point out a sad incident which happened in our commune. A Tutsi named Jean Nkuranga was appointed the inspector of Rukara sector. He was originally from our cellule and this was the first time in our commune that a Tutsi held the post of inspector. The fact that he was a Tutsi created problems between Hutus and Tutsis. The parents and children knew the inspector well. After a few months, he was relieved of his duties. It was said that he didn't have any formal training but in reality, his ethnicity lay behind his dismissal.

The political parties split into two big groups. There was an alliance of the parties reserved for Hutus like MRND, CDR, PSD and MDR. PL was the party for Tutsis. The two camps were further divided into extremist "power" parties and others which were moderate. We lived in this atmosphere until 1994. The fact that Tutsis and Hutus did not belong to the same party

prevented them from having common concerns. If they had been able to share things, no one would have killed his neighbour.

It was the death of President Habyarimana which triggered the killings. It provoked Hutus to take machetes to kill Tutsis, as revenge for the death of their “father.” What was surprising is that even those Hutus who had previously been supporters of the Tutsis were the first to chase them away. Some of us learned of Habyarimana’s death on the night of 6 April. However, the information reached a lot of people on the morning of 7 April. Certain people came to look for us in the fields where we were cultivating. They said: “How dare you cultivate when our dear father is dead!” Hutus feared Tutsis. They said they were going to annihilate them. At the time of the death of certain politicians like Gapyisi or Bucyana, we thought that it was Hutus close to them who’d killed them. But with the death of Habyarimana, opinions changed. From then on we realized that the Tutsis were responsible for their deaths.

On the morning of 7 April, the situation was calm. In the afternoon, we saw the smoke from houses set alight in Muhazi, Kayonza and Murambi communes. Those who could move around told us that the Hutus had begun to massacre Tutsis. That night, at 8:00 p.m., a man named Munyankindi came to tell us that they’d started the killings in Umwiga. He’d come from Gahini. The message quickly spread. Four members of Segicondo’s family were murdered: his wife, brother, and two children. A female neighbour called Mukarusine died the same evening. Munyankindi was with a lot of other Hutus, including Rwakigarama who is currently in the solidarity camp. Egide Funi, who found out about the killings from Munyankindi, commented:

Munyankindi came to tell me the news in person. He had a machete in his hand while James had a table that he’d just looted from the victims. On the morning of 8 April, we buried the bodies properly. We put them in graves 1.5 metres deep. The same day, the Hutus from Rugarama learned that elsewhere Tutsis were being executed. So they mobilised themselves and gathered together. They began with the home of Mugereka, killing him and his neighbour Rwabukumba, who was hiding there.

Eugène Bizimana continued the story of their journey.

After Mugereka and Rwabukumba’s deaths at 1:00 p.m., the same group raided Bicimanza’s house. They didn’t find anyone there because they’d fled. They opened the house and finding it empty, set it on fire. The killers continued the hunt and found Tutsis in the neighbouring fields. They began beating them up. We didn’t kill them but we asked them to find another hiding place so they wouldn’t be killed by others. Even today we don’t know where they were killed. The other people with me were:

- Ndamushimiye, in exile;
- Daniel Izogeye, in a solidarity camp;
- Joseph Musilikari, in a solidarity camp;
- Emmanuel Twagiramungu, in a solidarity camp;
- Rwabuneza;
- Mwumvaneza;
- Ndikumana, who escaped from prison;
- Mutsindashyaka, in exile;
- Munyankindi, deceased;
- Mutabaruka, deceased;
- Shyaka, deceased;
- Semuhire, deceased.

When we left Bicimanza’s house, we noticed that not everyone had a mind to be involved in the killings. Later a group of seven people was formed, with Ndamushimiye as the leader. On 13 April, they attacked Muvunandinda’s house, killing Modeste Rugwizangoga. They then went on to Bigari’s house, where they murdered Nyiratamba and his two children.

Massacres were committed by three groups in our cellule. Some Tutsis were killed by the group led by Ndamushimiye while others were killed by people from Umwiga and Ibiza cellules. The latter two groups were under the control of Jean Bosco Butera, Gahini's councillor. They were the ones who, on 12 April, killed the following Tutsis at Kabera's house:

- Kimisingo;
- Niyonsenga;
- Two children whose names we don't know;
- Mukarunyana.

On 13 April, the people on Myatano hill, Sebahutu and Kabayana, were killed. Those responsible included:

- Kanyabashi, provisionally freed and in the solidarity camp;
- Kanyamurera, in a solidarity camp;
- Uwihoreye, in a solidarity camp;
- Mukunzi, who fled prison;
- Mujoyakera, who escaped from prison;
- Idrissa Ntambara, deceased;
- Ntambara, nicknamed Rwipingi, deceased;
- Kalibuhungu, deceased;
- Kalimba, deceased;
- Mudahakana, in exile;
- Higiyo, deceased;
- Munyaneza, deceased;
- Mudaheranwa, Muhinda's son, at home;
- Gatozi, deceased;
- Nzabandora, nicknamed Munyinya, now deceased.

Egide was in this group, but says he wasn't there when Sebahutu was killed.

On 14 April, a mother called Kantarama was killed by:

- Léonard Nshimiyimana, deceased;
- James Rwakigarama, in solidarity camp;
- Pierre Kanyabashi;
- Apollinaire Ntawenda, freed after he confessed;
- Grégoire Mpabuka, deceased;
- Augustin Augustin, at home;
- Selimani Mutsindashyaka, in Nsinda prison;
- Kagenzi, nicknamed Gakwavu, in Nsinda prison;
- Egide Funi.

Another Tutsi whose throat was cut the same day was called Gaëtan. He'd come from Nyakabungo sector to hide in our cellule. Among those who assassinated him were Kanyabashi.

On the 15th, they killed Ngabiye. A group of people killed her, but Dominique handed her over to Kanyamurera and his companions. The same day there was another victim, a Hutu woman. Mukaruziga has revealed that her son Kalimba is responsible for her death. Hutus

from Kiyenzi and Gahini murdered the members of the Sano family. That was on the day we left, fleeing from the RPA.

We're trying to work out how many Tutsis were in the cellule. There were more than 70, and about 20 of them died. The bodies were dumped in holes; none of them were left at the scene of the crime. But they were buried in an inhumane way that is really shameful. The weapons used in the massacres were clubs, bows and spears.

The victims' property was taken away, beginning with the cattle, then small livestock. We ate them immediately. The killers tried to share but the bravest took the lion's share.

When looting household items, we were interested in valuable things. We destroyed the houses and took off the sheets of metal. The walls were pulled down by the refugees in camps to be used as firewood. There weren't any armchairs or mattresses. The crops in the fields were looted by others, perhaps by people who stayed in their homes or who came from elsewhere.

Young girls and women were not raped, though it's said that Sano's daughters were raped before being executed. This information comes from our colleagues in the solidarity camp.

The authorities did nothing to save the victims. On the contrary, they took the lead in the massacres. Jean Bosco Butera, councillor of Gahini sector was among the perpetrators. He was always present during attacks in Umwiga and Ibiza.

b) The Genocide Survivors

Before 1990, some Hutus complained that they had never got rid of the Tutsi problem. They were alluding to what happened in 1959 and 1973. At least 30% of Hutus from Gahini were not extremists during the 1990 war. The Tutsis were baptised "*inyenzi*" and despite that we chose to remain silent because we didn't have anywhere to lodge our complaints. A Hutu wasn't permitted to enter into discussion with Tutsis. If they did, they'd be asked for an explanation. As for Tutsis, if they were seen chatting, they were accused of planning how to join the ranks of the *inkotanyi*. In fact we lived in a game of hide and seek.

At the time of the *inyenzi* attack of 1 October 1990, the homes of Tutsis were searched. They said they were searching for *inyenzi*. Those who had families in Uganda were beaten up. The cellule *responsables* were at the head of the search teams. It used to happen at night. Dominique Rwakigarama was involved in this, now he's in the solidarity camp.

In 1993, Melchior Ndadaye, the president of Burundi, died. Musirikari used this moment to bring a cassette of Simon Bikindi's songs. He said that their Burundian brothers who were being killed should be avenged. Some Hutus, including Jean Baptiste, Musirikari, and Bizimana, were given training by the militia from Kayonza. They were trained at Thomas Kanyangoga's house.

President Habyarimana died on a Wednesday, and on Thursday we saw the smoke from houses on fire at Murambi. The atmosphere in our area wasn't good; Tutsis were afraid to come out of their houses. A meeting was held, headed by the councillor of Gahini, Jean Bosco Butera. Not a single Tutsi was present. The same day, the following Tutsis were killed: Kayitesi, Shabayiro and Nathalie.

On Friday, the slaughter really began in our cellule. Roadblocks stopping people from fleeing were set up. Whistling and shouting began while dogs were hunting people in the bush. Rwabukumba was the first to be killed, followed by Mugereka. They were murdered by:

- Laurent, in prison;
- Ndamushimiye, in exile;
- Munyankindi, living in Rwamagana;
- Mwumvaneza, in the solidarity camp;
- Kambanda, at home;
- Kalinda, at home;
- Munyazogeye;
- Rwabuneza.

On Saturday the following people were killed:

- Niyonsenga;
- Kimitsinga;
- Rutagonya's child;
- Mukabinama's two children;
- Mukarunyana and his two sons;
- Niyonsenga.

There were many of them and they were hiding at Kabera's house. We think there were 12. Their torturers were:

- Shingiro;
- Turatsinze;
- Sebishwi;
- Alphonse Mugiraneza, commune secretary.

On Friday evening people fled from their homes. On Saturday, a number chose to seek refuge at Karubamba in the church. They were pursued constantly by attackers until they were wiped out by grenades and traditional weapons. The first grenade was thrown by Paul Birame, who was provisionally freed and is currently in the solidarity camp. The same Saturday some other survivors went to the commune office. They were hunted down by gendarmes and policemen, including brigadier Ruhiguri, who shot in the air intending to frighten the refugees. Fortunately, the bullets didn't hit anyone. The same day, the bourgmestre Mpambara gathered us together and told us that he hadn't eaten for the past three days because of us. He asked us the reason we'd run away, advising us to go back home. He added: "If you stay here, you risk losing your life." As an example he took certain families into a room, among them the Kagimbura family. A few minutes later, the interahamwe came to kill them. A man named William Musare was driven to Gahini hospital by the bourgmestre because he'd been wounded. When Mpambara left to call for the intervention of the gendarmes, the killers immediately finished him off. When he got back he found just his body.

There were quite a few Tutsis at Karubamba. Nearly all the Tutsis from Rukara were there. There were also survivors who had just escaped a massacre in Murambi commune. The following people from Rugarama cellule died at Karubamba: Bicimanza, Faustin Rudabayire and Jean Damascène Rutesirara.

Segicondo, Cyendaba, Mukarusine, Muhutukazi, Kabanyana, Kantarama, and Nyirabakata died in the cellule on 9 and 10 April. They were killed by a group led by Funi. Others who died elsewhere were: Kabuye, Mukabinama, Emmanuel and his brother, Rubibi, Nyiramurundo, Mukarubega, Nkusi, Kabuye, Mukabinama, Nyamuhungu, Nkuranga, Bwagarama, Sindikubwabo, Werabe, Mukamusana, Uwamungu, Sano, his wife and nine children.

Among the people from Rugarama who attacked the Tutsis at Karubanda were:

- Hingabugabo, nicknamed “Gipenzi”, now at the solidarity camp;
- Mwumvaneza

We would estimate that 30 Tutsis were killed in our cellule between 8 and 10 April. There were numerous raids to destroy Rugarama cellule. They came from Ibiza, Umwiga, Kabeza and Mucanzigo. Musirikari, Bizimana and Daniel Munyazogeye stood out in the killings and led attacks. Meetings were held at Ndabakuranye’s house. Kabera’s house was invaded by a gang from Umwiga cellule, comprising of:

- Mugiraneza;
- Ndayambaje, nicknamed “Rujigo”;
- Shingiro;
- Turatsinze.

Ruhezamihigo, Kabera’s son, testifies to this; they almost killed him too.

There were victims from elsewhere who died in our cellule:

- Nyiratamba and his two children;
- Gatsibage;
- An unknown person who came from Rwimishinya;
- An old woman;
- A teacher who died at Muvunandinda’s house.

They began destroying victims’ houses on 9 April. The metal sheets, windows and doors were taken off and the wood was used for cooking. Some houses were set on fire, others were demolished. All the large and small livestock was collected and killed in one day. These domestic animals were scattered all over the hills, their owners having abandoned them while fleeing the massacre. A number of Tutsis from the cellule managed to escape the massacre because the killers were busy hurrying to loot the animals.

Tutsis from our cellule had a high standard of living. They had houses built of cement and owned bikes, sewing machines, radios and so on. But it was rare to find Hutus who owned cattle.

There was no shortage of women involved in these cruel acts. Mukaruziga killed Muhutukazi. Nyiramisitari was also among the killers. We know of three women who stood out among the killers. Women and children were present when the looting was going on. They supported the génocidaires.

The bodies of victims were thrown into toilets or holes a few centimetres deep. Muhutukazi was burned alive.

There were rapes of young girls and women in our cellule. Before having their throats slit, they were raped. There were five victims of such acts. The perpetrators were:

- Niyonsenga;
- Sebishwi;
- Kadahwema.

Our authorities were responsible for the deaths of Tutsis. They abandoned them. Councillors Butera and Rwakigarama were always with the killers. Instead of fighting the men who

hunted down Tutsis, they encouraged them or worked closely with them. Generally traditional weapons were used—hoes, machetes, spears and so on.

2.3 Rwinkuba Cellule

a) *The Detainees in Nsinda Prison*

Rwinkuba borders Buyanja and Micanzigo cellules. Before the genocide, about 60 Tutsis used to live there. Most of them died at Rukara parish while others were executed in the cellule. There were also victims who died in other neighbouring cellules.

The 1990 war changed everything so that in our cellule everyone considered an accomplice of the *inkotanyi* was arrested. This happened to Cyapfubire, David Twamugabo, Faustin Gacinya, and Epimaque Sano. We caught two *inyenzi* and took them to the gendarmerie. Even today we don't know what happened to them.

Political parties were characterized by a policy of discrimination. The supporters of the Liberal Party (PL) were mainly Tutsis and Hutus were in a minority. Opposition political parties didn't get on with MRND. All the same, in spite of this wave of political parties, people continued living together.

After the announcement of the death of the president, our unity disappeared. The information reached us on the morning of 7 April. Radio Rwanda broadcast a communiqué stating that people shouldn't leave their homes and that gatherings were forbidden. That same morning, councillor Jean Bosco Butera was complaining incessantly, saying: "Tutsis in my sector are delighted that the President is dead whereas, elsewhere, the killings have already begun." He said this to the bourgmestre, Mpambara, who didn't want to support him in his extermination plan. Butera wasn't satisfied because he wanted to eradicate the Tutsis at all costs. The bourgmestre went to Rwamagana to get the gendarmerie to intervene. The gendarmes did nothing to combat the killings. On the contrary, they supported the killers which led bourgmestre Mpambara to throw them out. Gervais Ruhiguri, the former head of the communal police force in Rukara commune, spoke about the state of security in Rwinkuba cellule at this time:

On 7 April, we met in Gahini where we found councillor Butera beating a Tutsi named Murenzi, a teacher in Gahini. He ended up killing him. The bourgmestre asked a gendarme who was a 1st sergeant to respond. Seeing that nothing was being done, I personally asked the bourgmestre to take a decision against Butera. The bourgmestre did nothing. He went back to the gendarmerie to ask for help. A major in the gendarmes, Michel Habiyaremye, came. On arrival he said: "This is beyond me." That was on 9 April. I managed to evacuate seven Tutsis to Rukara parish. The parish priest promised them a hiding place. Butera had begun the massacre on 7 April. That day he led a meeting in the centre of Kabeza. The killings began immediately afterwards in Kabeza and Umwiga cellules and took place at night.

On 9 April, at around 3:30 p.m., there was an assault on Rukara parish. The assailants included:

- Nshimyimana, in exile;
- Mohamed Gatete, in exile;
- Paul Mujiyambere, in the solidarity camp;
- Nshimyimana, alias "Gatema," who escaped from prison;
- Paul Mujiyambere.

Ruhiguri continued:

The killers met me in the commune office. Suddenly, a grenade exploded, thrown by Mujoyambere. I hurried to see what had happened. I shot in the air in the direction of where the grenade had exploded. The bullet hit Nyamvara. His associates cleared off. I found that the grenade had killed at least six people, including Emile Bisangabagabo and Gafaranga. Because I'd shot at the militiamen they thought of me as an accomplice.

A terrible attack occurred on the night of 12 April, involving militiamen and civilians. Helped by other policemen, we tried everything possible to counter it, but our efforts were futile. We couldn't match their weapons. Among the soldiers were:

- Lieutenant Rwabikinga, whose whereabouts are unknown;
- Lieutenant Ruvugo, a reservist, in exile;
- Sergeant-Major Adelite Habyarimana;
- Sergeant Mutsinzi, deceased;
- Sergeant Rudacyahwa, deceased;
- Soldier Urimubenshi, in exile;
- Soldier Kanifu, deceased.

Councillor Butera was among the civilians with guns. Many Tutsis from Rwinkuba were killed by the men named above. I remember the following names amongst the victims:

- Kagimbura, his wife, and seven children;
- Biraro;
- Gerisomwa;
- Mukandori.

Gérard Rutayisire was in Rwinkuba during the atrocities and gave this account of the massacres in his cellule.

The destruction and arson of houses began on 8 April in Rwinkuba. Butera led a meeting grouping together all the *responsables* and members of the cellules and instructed them to eliminate the Tutsis who, he said, had killed President Habyarimana. The first house targeted was Biraro's. The house and everything in it was burned down.

They then went to Muyenzi's house, setting it on fire and stealing all his valuables. They did the same at Rwabutogo's, Sehungu's and Gatsinzi's. The people of Micanzigo rallied round those in Rwinkuba. Peasants in Rwinkuba were led by Birere, locked up in Nsinda prison and Rukundo, provisionally freed, after he acknowledged his crimes during the genocide. They were accompanied by a lot of other well-known génocidaires, about 50 of them. It was this attack which razed the whole cellule to the ground since its people had refrained from committing a massacre.

On 13 April, the same people named above killed Rwabuto who was buried the following day. The *responsable* of Rwinkuba, Ndaruhutse, in collaboration with Mukunzi, a cellule member, demanded that we go on patrol. We killed two men we met during the night. I tried to find out their names and I heard they were Manirarora from Nyawera and his younger brother, Bizabara. A third person, Ritararenga, who was with them, escaped from us. After Habyarimana's death, the authorities forced us to go on night patrols, but we only did so for three days. The aim of the patrols was to trap Tutsis trying to take refuge in Rukara and Karubamba parishes. We killed a woman during the patrols. She'd just escaped the massacres at the church. We killed a lot of people at Karubamba. We were with Kimonyo, Kanuma and so many others.

On 14 April things calmed down. Those who were still alive had time to save themselves. If you were caught, they'd lynch you on the spot. Two Tutsis from elsewhere died in our cellule, Nkusi and his child. Gervais Ruhigeri, cited above, provided this information.

While destroying the homes of Tutsis, we began by looting property. Metal sheets, doors, and windows were also taken off. We set Biraro's enclosure on fire. The cows and goats were slaughtered in the initial hours of the killings. Everyone took what they could manage to transport, only that the bravest took the most precious things. Kigabo was particularly active in looting cattle. He stole a cow from Ruhigeri and killed it with his associates.

Crops which hadn't matured like sweet potatoes, cassava and so on were taken by the killers. The rest of the population followed in the footsteps of the looters. If the *inkotanyi* hadn't arrived at our cellule as quickly as they did, the Tutsi women married to Hutus wouldn't have escaped the genocide. Women and girls weren't raped in our cellule.

Some of the Tutsis killed in our cellule and outside it include:

- The Kagimbura family which lost nine people;
- Sehungu and his wife;
- Rwabutogo and his son;
- Biraro;
- Muyenzi and his two sons;
- Makanika;
- Vèrene;
- Girisomwa;
- Gatsinzi;
- Marlène and her two children;
- Kajuga and his wife.

Other Tutsis died but we don't remember their names. The Tutsi families might number around 30 but all the Tutsis in the cellule could have been as many as 60.

b) The Genocide Survivors and Other Witnesses

When the war began in 1990, we knew that we wouldn't escape the machetes. Tutsi children were treated badly at school. They were even beaten when they were on their way to fetch water. To listen to Radio Muhabura, we'd have to hide ourselves far away. The hunt for Tutsis had begun. A Tutsi named Eugène Rutayisire left with Hutus to search for *inyenzi*. When they got to the bush, he was seriously beaten up. He died after the genocide because of the repeated blows and wounds he'd received. Mugenzi was chased and intimidated several times on the basis that he had a larger plot of land than some Hutus. Turatsinze and Mbonyumugenzi were involved in these acts. They are currently in prison. Mbonyumugenzi was the cellule *responsable*. In our cellule, we knew the "*ibyitso*" or accomplices. François Mushinzimana, nicknamed "Nkware" was one. He was locked up in Kibungo prison.

The political parties impressed us at the beginning. Our area had two big parties, Justin Mugenzi's PL and Félicien Ngango's PSD. After some time there was a split in these two parties. This was the case for PL and PSD. There was the PL "power" and another faction of moderates. The supporters of one party threw stones at those of the other. MRND and CDR formed a coalition. They were also at the root of the splits in the other movements. At that time, the supporters of MRND, CDR, PL power and MDR saw the Tutsis as their common enemy. It was clear that they were waiting for a signal to get rid of the enemy.

In 1994, the awaited signal was given with the death of President Habyarimana. We were afraid because we discovered that Tutsis were being killed. The Hutus feared nothing because they knew perfectly well that no one could threaten them. What made us even more frightened was that we saw columns of smoke on every corner of the country. The Hutus were

burning Tutsis' homes. The Hutus who still hadn't rallied around the troublemakers were worried about the situation. Radio Rwanda sent out a broadcast forbidding people from leaving their homes. Gatherings were also strictly forbidden so as to safeguard security. Seeing that our lives were in danger, we entrusted our children to good willed neighbours and spent the night in the bush. On the afternoon of that day, 7 April, a meeting was held in Murambi bringing together all the political party representatives.

On 8 April, roadblocks were erected. The first was at Rurembo, near the Pentecostal church; the second was beside the home of Godélive, President Habyarimana's younger sister; the third was on the border of Buyanja and Rwinkuba cellules while the fourth was on the border of Ruyonza and Rwinkuba. Among the people stationed at it were Nsengiyumva, Munyaneza and Nyabutsitsi, formerly cellule *responsable*. The roadblock beside the Pentecostal chapel was controlled by Mugenzi and Muhutu. Their names have been mentioned during the gacaca meetings. On the same day, they began setting light to, and destroying, the Tutsis' homes. We started abandoning our homes, passing the mobs. We left everything behind in our houses and headed for Rukara and Karubamba parishes because we thought that no one would demolish the temple of God. It was a centre for refugees. People were coming in large numbers from everywhere, some of them with their livestock. We numbered around 2,500 people. Those who'd escaped massacres in Murambi were also there.

On Saturday 9 April, the refugees searched, at all costs, for something to eat. Unfortunately the killers of Rukara surrounded us at the commune office. Mpambara, bourgmestre of Rukara, called us, saying that he wanted to soothe our spirits. He suggested finding another place we could take refuge, for instance in Tanzania. He added that it was impossible to control the troublemakers. We believed it was a way of distracting us. Some refugees told him about their sufferings, like how their cows had been killed. He didn't respond.

In the afternoon, around 3:00 p.m., just after Mpambara's departure, the interahamwe wanted to snatch the cows and the refugees threw stones at them. As for the interahamwe, they were throwing grenades. That day, we recorded fifteen deaths and many casualties who went to get treatment at Rukara health centre. When they saw that the refugees had dispersed because of grenades, the militia took the opportunity to take the cattle.

Sunday and Monday were calm. We tried to bury the bodies of victims during these two days. The next day, the Hutus whose sisters were married to Tutsis came to get them. That took a whole day. At 6:00 p.m., they threw grenades into the crowd. We went inside and shut the doors. At 8:00 p.m., they broke the doors down to reach those inside. The room where catechism was taught was the first, followed by the chapel. As it wasn't easy for them to break down the doors, they used grenades and guns through the windows. The film room was also attacked. The walls were smashed in the search for money. They took the opportunity to kill the Tutsis inside. The health centre, too, was attacked.

On Monday and Tuesday there were innumerable corpses. These are the victims of Rwinkuba who died at Rukara parish:

- Biraro;
- Zaninka;
- Damas Ntimugura;
- Faustin Kagimbuara;
- Dina and her eight children;
- Alvère Mukankubana;
- Miliel Mukarutukwa;
- Jeannine Uwamahoro;
- Madudu.

On the 13th, a Wednesday, militiamen came back to see if they were men who'd escaped the massacres. They were combing the area. That day, they killed Ntimugura and others who'd come from neighbouring sectors.

On Thursday, they came back at 1:00 p.m., armed with grenades and traditional weapons. They murdered the survivors who'd escaped. The militia were supported by gendarmes. They continued their activities until dawn. Before executing these survivors, they ordered them to sit down on the ground. Every day, before they began their work, Mpambara gathered the refugees together. When the *inkotanyi* were in battle with the FAR, the bourgmestre asked us to accompany those running away from the RPA.

On Friday afternoon, between 3:00 and 4:00 p.m., soldiers accompanied by six militiamen came in a blue van. One of them asked us to open the doors. They made us come out and separated the men from the women. There were 30 of us. Others went to the convent of the congregation of Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary. We asked one of the soldiers to take us to Rwamagana. He told us: "Aren't you Tutsis?" We replied in the negative. As we were trying to negotiate, they left. They left us in a critical situation. They didn't leave of their own will as the *inkotanyi* had already arrived in Gahini. The following day, the *inkotanyi* reached us.

There were even women among the perpetrators, including Mukanoheli, Mukarushema and Mukabutera.

There were 72 victims in our cellule. More than 59 died outside the cellule. Thirteen, among them Rwabutogo, Kajuga, Makanika, and Gakavu, died in the cellule.

The authorities played a leading role in the genocide. Its implementation was made possible by those from outside our cellule. Cellule *responsables* and councillors were among the génocidaires. They were the heads of roadblocks. Councillor Butera didn't even take an hour's break from the killings. He worked until the *inkotanyi* arrived. Policemen like Ruhiguri, the former head of Rukara's commune police force, Kabendegeri and Ngarambe shot into the crowd of refugees. You'd think they were in competition with the gendarmes based at Rukara commune office.

As for bourgmestre Mpambara, he was giving orders to the killers. To deceive the refugees, he asked us to be courageous. Between 8 and 9 April, the interahamwe killed someone hiding in the sorghum field right in front of his eyes. He had come out of hideout after he had spotted the bourgmestre. Another Tutsi in Gahini had his throat slit in the bourgmestre's presence. His own car was transporting stones that the interahamwe used to throw at the refugees. On 10 April, a number of refugees went to his house and he chased them away. He even asked why our numbers weren't diminishing.

2.4 Buyanja Cellule

a) The Detainees in Nsinda Prison

Our cellule borders sector Rukara, to the north, Nyagahandagaza in Kiyenzi, to the south, Rubariro cellule in Nyakabungo to the east and Rwinkuba to the west.

Before 1990, people weren't interested in the history of 1959 and 1973, the two periods when Tutsis were persecuted so much that some of them went into exile. We'd forgotten these unfortunate events. Our behaviour didn't change at all with the October war, apart from

rumours circulating in Umwiga and Ibiza cellules that the war was the result of an alliance between the Tutsis from outside and those inside the country.

On the morning of 7 April, we learned of the death of President Habyarimana on Radio Rwanda and RTL. That led to a rumour that Tutsis were responsible for the crash of the President's plane. Several communiqués from senior authorities forbade us from leaving our homes and getting together in groups. Even though these communiqués were reviving hatred between Hutus and Tutsis, we remained calm. We kept ourselves from tearing each other apart.

Moreover, the violence against Tutsis in our cellule came from Rubariro, in Nyakabungo sector. This was on the afternoon of 11 April. The invasion was led by Gakwisi, who is currently in exile in Tanzania. His supporters were Kanyabuganzo, who died in Rukara prison; Turikubugande, in Nsinda prison; Nyiribuyombere, Nsengiyumva, alias "Kirenge"; and Butera who are all free, and so many others. As they came into the cellule, the militiamen met Jonathan Nkundabanyanga, currently in detention. They enrolled him into their group and informed him of their plan to wipe out the Tutsi residents of Buyanja, as well as any others who might be hiding there. However, Jonathan told them that all the Tutsis in his cellule had run away since Habyarimana's death and not one of them was to be seen in the cellule. Some of them had even taken refuge in Rukara parish. That was the case with Firmin Gatete and Mukankaka. So they decided to search the bushes and discovered Uwemeyinkiko, alias "Gakwisi." He showed them his identity card and even though it said he was Hutu, they stole everything in his pockets and then took him to the gendarmes stationed in Gahini. On the way, they changed their mind and he was executed with machetes and clubs.

The same day the interahamwe, under the leadership of Gakuba, *responsable* for Micanzigo cellule, found two of Uwemeyinkiko's children at Nyakamwe and killed them on the spot.

On 13 April, around 9:00 p.m., in Rwinkuba cellule, a group led by the late Gaseke captured two boys, originally from Nyawera. The men included Rajab Mugenzi, now in a solidarity camp, and Munyaneza, who's at liberty. The victims were taken to Samuel Nsengiyumva's house—he's now in Nsinda prison. He joined them and they went to the roadblock supervised by Mukunzi, a member of the cellule committee, released recently. He asked the boys to show him their identity cards. Without even taking the time to check them, he claimed that he recognized their faces. He said they were Tutsis, originally from Nyawera. One of them was immediately executed in Buyanja, just below the road, while the second got away. On the way back, they caught the younger brother of one of the victims. He was killed on the spot by Vianney, now deceased; Nkawundinde, who is free; Bugingo and Mukunzi.

We don't know the circumstances in which Tutsis from our cellule died. Everyone who didn't survive must have been killed outside our cellule. We can say for sure that only two people from our cellule died at Rukara parish, Firmin Gatete and Mukankaka. We don't know what happened to Kizayire and his two children. Sagihutu and Kalisa's families escaped the genocide. We don't know much about our cellule during the genocide because the *inkotanyi* arrived on 15 April and people began heading for Tanzania.

The victims' property was looted by local people as soon as Tutsis abandoned their houses. We don't attribute responsibility to anyone for preparing the killings committed in our cellule as there weren't any prominent perpetrators in our cellule.

b) The Genocide Survivors and Other Witnesses

There was a little disturbance at the time of the October war, particularly in certain cellules in our sector, such as Umwiga and Ibiza. There, some Tutsis were treated as supporters of the

inkotanyi. Because of this, they were imprisoned in the gendarmerie at Rwamagana. Some Hutu extremists from MRND would insult Tutsis, but apart from this they weren't threatened or persecuted until the crash of the Presidential plane. The leading extremists were Sarabwe, in exile in Tanzania, and Bosco Shyerezo. He always wore the interahamwe uniform.

On 7 April, Radio Rwanda and RTLM spread rumours that the President's plane had been hit by the *inyenzi*, in collaboration with Tutsis living inside the country. Gatherings were strictly forbidden. However, Hutus walked around freely and gave Tutsis nasty looks. Fearing an eventual attack, all the Tutsi families chose to leave their homes that day. A number of families went to Rukara parish looking for refuge, while others went to hide in the bushes. These families were:

- Shamukiga's family, of three people;
- Bernardin Kayenzi's family of seven;
- Callixte Kayibanda's family;
- Kajangwe's family;
- Léodomir;
- Sagihutu's family;
- Kalisa's family.

After the Tutsis' departure, the neighbours ransacked their houses and took away all the valuables there. Their houses were also destroyed.

In order to prevent Tutsis from going to Rukara parish, two roadblocks were set up on the main road crossing our cellule. This road was strategic as it linked up Gahini hospital and Rukara Catholic Church. This allowed the interahamwe to easily control the movement of Tutsis.

As the Tutsis in our cellule had left very early on, it's practically impossible for us to say how people died. We only know that Firmin Gatete and Mukantagara died in Rukara parish on 12 April. Nonetheless, the bodies of Léodomir and his children were dug up in our cellule. Right up to the present, people don't dare denounce their murderers. Shyerezo is one of the interahamwe originally from our cellule who played a big part in the massacres at Rukara. He always used to carry knives.

We're now wondering how the perpetrators from our cellule will be identified because the peasants don't want to testify. During the gacaca hearings, all the residents kept their mouths shut. The few survivors don't have enough information to enlighten the judges. The survivors were saved on 15 April.

2.5 Umwiga Cellule

a) The Detainees in Nsinda Prison

Umwiga borders Kinunga cellule in Rukara to the north; Rugarama cellule to the south; Ibiza cellule to the east; and Lake Muhazi to the west.

Whites began settling in Gahini from 1910 onwards. This period marked the arrival of missionaries from the Episcopal Church of Rwanda. Gahini was their first mission.

With the Hutu Manifesto in 1959, which brought about bloody violence, several Tutsis from Gahini were forced to take refuge in neighbouring countries, notably Uganda and Tanzania.

The scars were reopened at the time of the Presidential coup d'état in 1973. As in 1959, Tutsis took refuge in neighbouring countries.

In October 1990, when the *inkotanyi* brought war, we weren't afraid although we were 100 kms from Kagitumba, the border post with Uganda. The Habyarimana government promised us it would push back these "*inyenzi* adventurers." In spite of this war, the residents of our cellule remained united and each one of them continued with their normal activities. However, the situation deteriorated for Tutsis from June 1991 when the bourgmestre, Jean Mpambara, imprisoned in Arusha, together with an employee of the information services based in Gahini, began to arrest certain Tutsis considered "accomplices." That's how pastor Cyapfubire, director of Gahini's junior seminary, was arrested with some people from Gacinya, Ibiza and Nsano in Rugarama cellules. This first victim was executed at the gendarmerie in Rwamagana. The others were imprisoned for six months. As the war continued, our cellule received a lot of people displaced by the war, as did other communes near the front line. These displaced people were noted for their overwhelming hatred of Tutsis. They incited local people to threaten Tutsis as was happening in Murambi commune under the leadership of Gatete. However, the residents of Gahini rejected their extremist ideology.

The death of President Habyarimana surprised us a lot. The situation changed immediately. On the morning of 7 April, Gervais Ruhiguri, chief of the communal police, condemned to life imprisonment in Nsinda prison, went to the commune office to give orders to the communal police. He met a group of people from Umwiga there, including councillor Jean Bosco Butera, Samuel Gasana, head of the junior seminary, sentenced to life imprisonment and Samson Gacumbitsi, condemned to death. They contacted the bourgmestre to ask him to give them the green light to massacre Tutsis, since in Murambi the slaughter was breaking records. In particular, the councillor wanted to get rid of Nsano and Higiuro. They demanded guns to put their plan into action properly. But as the bourgmestre wasn't yet inclined to carry out killings, he didn't give them any. Faced with the refusal of the bourgmestre, the councillor and his supporters went back to Umwiga and began beating up Tutsis, including Murenzi who died the next day, on 9 April, at Gahini hospital. The bourgmestre, accompanied by three gendarmes, a first sergeant and two policemen, went to the place where they were beating Tutsis. They didn't do anything to prevent violence; in short, they didn't react. Instead they continued their tour of Kiyenzi, Nyakabungo, Nyawera, Kawangire, Rukara and Rwimishinya sectors.

That evening, a meeting was held in Kabeza trading centre to plan the genocide. It was led by councillor Butera and attended by: Samson Gacumbitsi; Samuel Gasana; Alphonse Mugiraneza, now dead; Sergeant Major Adelite Habyarimana, now deceased; Thaddée Ruvugo, a former FAR lieutenant; Kanifu, who died in Tanzania; Rudacyahwa, now dead; Gaston Ufitumukiza, recently freed; Emmanuel Kamanda, recently freed and Byiringiro, also freed. At the end of this meeting, they forced the barmen to stop their activities since the killings were going to begin. They left Kabeza armed with clubs, grenades and bows, and attacked Rugomoka's family, a teacher in Gahini who later died at Rukara parish. They killed his wife, Anathalie and seriously wounded his two children. The interahamwe invaded Shabayiro's house the same day. He was killed with his sister, Dina Mugorewineza. Later, the interahamwe went back to Janvier's house and killed his wife and two children. Gatsinzi's wife was killed by a grenade explosion. All this happened around 9:00 p.m. on 7 April. They claimed many victims that night. Apart from Gatsinzi's house which was destroyed, the other victims' homes were ransacked.

On 8 April, the interahamwe named above went to support those of Ibiza where a lot of Tutsis lived. Those displaced by the 1990 war rallied round the interahamwe. They were staying in Bidudu camp near Kiziguro. They often went to Gahini to beg or work in the fields. By this time, some Tutsis had taken refuge at Gahini hospital while others had taken the road to

Rukara parish. As they made their way there, the interahamwe kept an eye out for them so that they didn't reach their destination. That was the case with Gasana who left Ibiza cellule and headed for Gahini hospital. He was executed by Minani and Musoni. At Gahini hospital, they were other refugees who had arrived from Murambi, fleeing the killings by Gatete, the bourgmestre.

On 9 April, very early in the morning, under the command of councillor Butera, the refugees from the hospital came under siege. Immediately, an expatriate, named Elisabeth Harding, working for Handicap International, went to ask for help from the bourgmestre. He responded, accompanied by Ruhiguri and a group of gendarmes. When they arrived at Kabeza market, they found a blood bath. The slaughter of Tutsis had just been completed. Among the corpses they saw William Murara, groaning. As they were with this foreigner, they took him to hospital. When they arrived at the hospital, the massacres had already begun. The killers had grenades, rifles and clubs though they only used the clubs to kill. Although they had the means to make arrests and stop what was happening, the bourgmestre and gendarmes did nothing. Instead, the bourgmestre went back to Rwamagana and left the gendarmes as spectators to the killings. He then returned with the commander of the gendarmerie in Rwamagana. As many had already died by then, the killers left. The commander also did nothing – he observed the terrible scene then went off. During the attack, the assailants were especially targeting men. The result was that only a handful of women and a single boy found refuge in Rukara parish. These were: Charlotte Nyabunyana, Mukabagorora, Mushikazi, Chantal Uwimbabazi, Christine Uwineza, Charlotte Mukagihana, Rubimbura's wife and Jean Bosco Rubega.

9 April was a terrible day when a lot of people died, some of from our sector: Justin Higiho, from Ibiza; Mwizerwa; Karenzi; the teacher, Hajabakiga; Mukarugwiza; Jean Claude Muhitira; Williams Musera; Opéra, a Congolese. Some people from Kawangire sector lost their lives there, for example Ruhagazehe, Murenzi, Israël Karasira, Musholisholi and Barizera.

The attackers were a big crowd of interahamwe. Our guess is that they numbered more than 300. Among the leaders were: councillor Butera; Emmanuel Kamanda, provisionally freed; François Rudacyahwa, now dead; Sergeant Adelite Habyarimana and Lieutenant Ruvugo who left Rukole camp for Europe.

On 10 April, David Twamugabo's children, Rafiki and Ndungutse, were executed by some men led by sub-lieutenant Thaddée Ruvugo at Umwiga trading centre. The next day, another group led by Butera invaded the home of Kajuga, a Hutu, and drove out Ndangamyambi, Mupenda's son and Bavugiramba, Shabayuru's son. They killed them on the spot at about 10:00 p.m.

Like most of the Tutsi people from Rukara, there were some from our cellule who took refuge in Rukara parish. What's more, the survivors from Gahini hospital also took refuge there. Rugomoka was among the victims killed at the time of the attack on 12 April. We knew there were people from our cellule killed elsewhere, for example Bimana who died in Ibiza cellule; and Sekanyana, Karumbeti, Gasore, Manasi and Sayiba, victims we don't know anything further about.

We didn't put up roadblocks in our cellule as we didn't have time. The reason is simple. The roadblocks were intended to search for Tutsis trying to escape, but the Tutsis from our cellule had already fled ages ago to Gahini hospital or elsewhere. What's more, the interahamwe feared the advance of the RPF.

Houses were cleaned out and then destroyed. The leaders walked away with the valuables and ordinary people looted crops. There was no sexual violence.

People killed at the hospital were piled up in a mass grave dug there. Others were buried here and there and still others were left at the scene of the crime. None of them were buried in the true sense of the term.

In our view, it's very clear that the authorities at all levels were prominent in executing the genocide. You could see very well that officials, especially the highest-ranking, were working clandestinely and had a network of communication. In our cellule, the leaders of the genocide were Jean Bosco Butera, councillor; Emmanuel Kamanda, provisionally freed; Sergeant-Major Adelite Habyarimana and Sub-Lieutenant Thaddée Ruvugo. The gendarmes and commune police sent by the bourgmestre and the commander of the gendarmerie, on the pretext of protecting the refugees, made common cause with the killers.

b) The Survivors

In October 1990, some Tutsis were arrested between 4 and 6 October, accused of knowing about the *inkotanyi*'s plan.

Alfred Cyapfubire, headmaster of the Gahini *Groupe Scolaire*; Karangwa, a teacher at the Gahini Parents' Secondary School (ESPGA); Albertine, employee at Gahini hospital and Kamatali were locked up at the gendarmerie in Rwamagana. Cyapfubire was released, then locked up again, and later died. The others were imprisoned for three months. All this happened in front of the bourgmestre who bore a large responsibility for these actions.

The October war was an opportunity for Hutu extremists, supported by the local authorities, to define Tutsis as enemies of the Rwandese nation. To make them guilty in the eyes of the people, some were deemed accomplices of the *inkotanyi*. Because of this, their homes were searched. To revive this spirit of hatred within the population, the authorities, like the bourgmestre Mpambara and councillor Butera, used to say that they'd found them with plans for the RPF *inkotanyi*. In reality this was blackmail. No document of this type has ever been shown to anyone as proof.

Hatred towards Tutsis was intensified at all levels of society. The teaching profession was affected to such an extent that Tutsi teachers, like Dative and Béatrice Musanabaganwa were distressed and frustrated. Vérédiane Nibatete, a teacher at Gahini primary school was at the forefront of these vicious acts. She went into exile in Kenya after the genocide. She put Tutsi children in front of their Hutu classmates asked them to look at the *inyenzi*.

When multipartyism was introduced, many residents became supporters of PL because its president at a national level was Justin Mugenzi, originally from our cellule. At the beginning of the creation of PL, everyone was genuinely proud of it. You saw that the founders of the party had a statute that aimed at the common interests of all Rwandese, without ethnic distinctions. However, our hope collapsed with the meeting led by Justin Mugenzi in 1992 in a room built for the elderly by the former préfet, François Nshunguyinka. He rallied to the side of MRND and MDR power. During this meeting he publicly declared that he no longer wanted any Tutsis in his party. So from then on the party split into two opposing camps.

Splits between the ethnic groups continued until the death of President Habyarimana on 6 April 1994. We were told about the death of the President the following day, through Radio Rwanda and RTLW who called upon people not to leave their homes and said that gatherings of more than one person were prohibited. However, Wellars, who is now president of IBUKA, the survivors' organisation, at sector level, managed to get to the trading centre of Shawuliyako (Kabeza) to find out what was going on. It was about 9:00 a.m. He saw bourgmestre Mpambara accompanied by two communal policemen, Ruhiguri and Ngarambe.

Councillor Butera, Kanyamurera, *responsable* for Umwiga, and Alphonse Mugiraneza, Rukara commune secretary, were also at the centre. When the bourgmestre arrived, he exclaimed: "It's very regrettable not to find a single Tutsi body on the ground in Gahini sector considering that I held these Hutu residents, reputed for their bravery, in high regard!" He immediately went into Samson's house where he met with the councillor for about 15 minutes and then went off. When he'd gone, a meeting was held in Samson Gacumbitsi's house to put together a plan to eradicate the Tutsis. Attending the meeting were: councillor Butera; Samson Gacumbitsi; Vérédiane Nibatete, who escaped from prison; Samuel Gasana, in prison; Alfred Gahizi, a teacher, who disappeared after he was freed; Nikobahoze, headmaster of the Gahini *Groupe Scolaire*, in exile; and Innocent Bagabo. At the end of this meeting, Butera summoned everyone who was at the centre and ordered them to begin wiping out the Tutsis. He added that any Hutu who dared hide a Tutsi would meet with very severe punishment.

That same day, around 3:00 p.m., Kabalisa, in exile, was the only Hutu who dared to walk through our entire cellule to warn Tutsis of the danger awaiting them. His initiative led us to abandon our homes together with all our belongings. Most of us wanted to go to Gahini Episcopal Church but were prevented by pastor Tito Ruvugabigwi who had already shut the church. Therefore some took refuge in Gahini hospital, others in Rukara Catholic church. That evening the bourgmestre sent gendarmes from the commune office to Rukara parish and to Gahini hospital, supposedly to ensure our protection. Some Tutsis, pursued by the interahamwe from Murambi commune, also came to the hospital.

In the evening, interahamwe militia invaded the hospital. Among them were: Habimana, Sebishwi, and Jean de Dieu Byiringiro, who have both been freed; Twahirwa, alias Shimisi and Jean Claude Ndizeye, who lives in Kigali. They took Murenzi, who was a teacher and Gatare's son to the hospital grounds and began beating them up in full view of Mpambara who had just arrived. He was accompanied by Ruhiguri, the communal police force boss. The bourgmestre and his bodyguard left immediately without helping the victims. Instead, they were helped by Doctor Robert Wilson and another visiting doctor. Unfortunately they died the next day.

From Friday evening, the interahamwe, under the command of Butera, pastor Tito, Gacumbitsi, and Gasana, crisscrossed our cellule searching for Tutsis who had not yet left their homes. They began by attacking Ruganwa's home. His wife was killed along with her two children. They then continued to Shabayiro's house where they killed him and his sister, Dina. At Janvier's they threw a grenade into his house and the explosion cost the lives of the following victims: Kayitesi, Janvier's wife; Nyiramunywera, Gatsinsi's wife and four of Janvier's children.

Finally, they went to the homes of the Karekezi and Higiuro families who had all taken flight. In all the families we've mentioned, the interahamwe grabbed all their belongings. Apart from firearms, notably guns and grenades, they also carried clubs, machetes and spears. When they discovered that among the children injured in the assault carried out at Rugomwa's home, there was a Hutu girl, originally from Kiramuruzi, the band of killers went back there and took her to hospital. That evening, everyone who had joined in the slaughter of Tutsis enjoyed themselves at a reception organised at Gacumbitsi's house.

On Friday morning, several assailants met at Gacumbitsi's. All the cellules of Gahini sector were mobilised. There were also interahamwe from Rukara, Karubamba, and Kawangire. People displaced by the October war as well as those from Rukara commune also responded to this call. Everyone at the meeting was given the mission of searching in all the bushes from cellule to cellule, beginning with Umwiga. Before they left, they were given orders from Butera in front of Gacumbitsi's bar. On this day, people from all sectors of society were involved in the action. Children joined the adults yelling while certain women dedicated

themselves to looting. This day was also marked by the use of dogs to root out Tutsis. By the end of the day, some ten Tutsis had been killed, including Musholisholi and Balizera from Kawangire. Most of the victims came from outside our cellule which is why we don't know their names. After this, Butera and Gahizi wanted the killers to increase the pace of the slaughter, invading Gahini hospital. Nonetheless, Gasana was opposed to it as night was falling; he feared confusion between Hutus and Tutsis which is why he felt it was necessary to wait until the following day.

Very early in the morning, the interahamwe responded massively to the call sent out by the leaders of the genocide. When they arrived at the hospital, they began hunting for Tutsis. They gathered them on the ground. A team of gendarmes were also present. Nkurayija, administrator of the hospital, was complicit in the search for Tutsis. A last attempt to save people was made by Dr. Robert. He begged the gendarmes to leave the refugees with him so he could take them to the commune office. However, as they were working with the interahamwe, they dragged out the evacuation until the bourgmestre, Mpambara, arrived. He was with Ruhiguri of the commune police. The refugees' hopes were extinguished by the immediate departure of Mpambara who did not speak or act on their behalf. When he left, Ruhiguri gave a signal, shooting in the air. The massacre began immediately. Some died on the spot, others managed to get back to the hospital rooms, but the nurses handed them over in turn to the killers. Gunshots, grenades, machetes, and clubs were used. The militia showed no pity. The interahamwe were particularly interested in males.

Mpambara returned with a team of gendarmes in the afternoon. The slaughter was nearly over. There were only seven Tutsis left and they weren't important. Then, the bourgmestre and gendarmes went to Gacumbitsi's house. They were informed that Jean Claude Muhitira, who'd had a university education, still hadn't been found although he was inside the hospital. When they'd finished the meeting, Butera and the gendarmes began searching for him. They pulled off, and shot at, several hospital doors. Finally, after a gendarme fired at the door, they found him in one of the hospital rooms. Nzabamwita hurt him badly with an arrow and he was finished off by Robert, Gacumbitsi's son. This murder satisfied the bourgmestre. So he led the seven less important Tutsis, among them six women, to Rukara parish. That day remains engraved on the memory of survivors at the parish. According to what we heard, the bourgmestre gave his vehicle up for the transport of stones to wipe the Tutsis out.

The interahamwe didn't have time to get involved in raping and setting up roadblocks, because they were determined to sweep up all the Tutsis. They had to do this swiftly so as not to be surprised by the *inkotanyi* who were advancing on a daily basis. This is what happened as Rukara commune fell to the *inkotanyi* on 15 April. In spite of their efforts to stop the massacres, the *inkotanyi* only saved a handful of Tutsis.

The administrative authorities played a large part in the execution of the genocide. There were also some educated people whose responsibility was notable. So the people who should be considered in the first category of *génocidaires* are:

- Bourgmestre Mpambara, in prison in Arusha;
- Councillor Butera, locked up in Nsinda;
- Samuel Gasana, in Nsinda prison;
- Gacumbitsi, a shopkeeper, detained in Nsinda;
- Gahizi, in exile;
- Jean Baptiste Nkurayija, former hospital administrator, currently free.

2.6 Micanzigo Cellule

a) *Nsinda Prison*

After the *inkotanyi* attack war of October 1990, the authorities told us that the *inyenzi* were Tutsis who attacked the country from Uganda. Everyone was mobilised to confront this incursion. That was why the peasants hunted for *inyenzi* in the Akagera park which borders our cellule. We were helped in this search by policemen from Rukara commune. We even set fire to the park to see if we could find them, but our efforts were in vain. We didn't capture a single *inyenzi*.

We found out about President Habyarimana's death on 7 April on Radio Rwanda. The residents were stunned and didn't understand such an unexpected death. As we were far from the big centres, we went to the centre called Vidéo, where we met a huge crowd who didn't understand how their President had just passed away. Everyone agreed that the President had really been killed by the *inyenzi*. So the Hutus were angry and said that they'd avenge their President. The killing began immediately and certain Tutsis who were still in this centre chose to flee.

That afternoon, there was looting in our cellule. We killed a cow belonging to Maria, Mutimura's wife. He'd died before the genocide. We didn't find Maria at home. That same day, we caught an old woman, Kayonde's wife, in our cellule. She had come from Ryamanyoni sector and was fleeing a massacre. She was killed with machetes by Nyabutsitsi Gashokoro, living in the cellule, and a Burundian named Ruvugo, who lives in Gahini. She was thrown in the toilets not far from Karambije's house.

On 8 April, at the Vidéo centre, a group of boys found out that the *inyenzi* were hiding at Namana's house. So they planned to kill these Tutsis, Kimondo and Rwabunuguri, originally from Rwinkuba cellule. The men who were involved are in Nsinda prison. They were:

- Birere;
- Rukundo;
- Turatsinze;
- Mutsinzi;
- Froduald Sendali.

The two men were killed with sticks and a hammer. After committing this crime, we left the bodies of the victims where they died. Generally, sticks, hammers, arrows, machetes and grenades were used and the soldiers killed with their guns.

There weren't many Tutsis in the cellule. Only Mutimura's family was targeted. Moreover, Mutimura's wife had fled previously so no one was at the house. All the property in the house was looted. There were mattresses, furniture of all kinds, beds, even foodstuffs. Her cows were stolen and eaten. After the house was looted, we demolished it. The strongest took away the most valuable property.

There were no meetings to prepare for killings in our cellule, not even patrols or roadblocks. On the other hand, the criminals from our cellule went to provide reinforcements in other cellules and sectors, especially in Karubamba, Rukara parish and Gahini hospital.

There weren't very many victims in our cellule because there were few Tutsis. The authority behind the killings in Micanzigo cellule was our cellule *responsable*, François Turatsinze. He is locked up in Nsinda prison.

b) The Genocide Survivors

After October 1990, Hutus considered us accomplices of our *inyenzi* brothers, but no one was killed. In 1993, there were a lot of political parties. The most influential in our sector were MRND and PL.

We knew about President Habyarimana's death on 7 April. Although Radio Rwanda forbade people from getting together, Hutus ignored this administrative measure. They were shocked and didn't understand how their "parent" Habyarimana could die. Some cliques were very happy and used to say that they were going to kill Tutsis and take away their property. The situation remained tense throughout the day and we learned that meetings organising massacres were held in Kabeza cellule. On the night of 7/8 April, men led by Bigirimana, alias Kaguru, poured into our cellule. They set the homes of Alfred Gatera, Anselme Gasarabwe, alias Gatoto, and Eugène Nduwumwe on fire. Pascal Kayitana was beaten badly with sticks and the wounds have left him mentally disturbed. These men were armed with machetes, spears and clubs. We fled during the night and slept in Rwinkuba. The following day we took refuge at Rukara parish in Karubamba. The leader of this group lives peacefully in the cellule. The following people were also involved:

- Vuguziga, deceased;
- Turatsinze, detained in Nsinda prison.

When we arrived at Rukara parish, we thought we'd been saved. But unfortunately the same génocidaires had pursued us. On Saturday 9 April and Tuesday 12 April, we were attacked by militia from many different corners. A lot of people died in and around the parish.

The Tutsis who died in our cellule came from other sectors. They were:

- Rwabunuguri, from Rwinkuba;
- Sehungu also from Rwinkuba;
- Kimanzi, Sematama's son, also from Rwinkuba;
- Kayonde's wife, from Rwamanyoni sector;
- Munyaneza, alias Impara, from Kiyenzi sector.

Meetings were held in little groups of like-minded people. Mostly, they took place at William Kayijuka's house, a well-known con-man from the cellule. There weren't any roadblocks in the cellule, but patrols took place at night when they were searching for Tutsis in the bush and forests. They left the people they murdered at the scene of the crime. The victims were buried after the genocide.

In our cellule, the wife of Mutimura, Maria Usaba, was also targeted. She had fled before the assailants arrived at her home, so they cleaned the house out, taking cows, pigs, goats and even chickens. Maria Usaba had a good standard of living compared to the other peasants in the cellule. Her husband was a vet. The crops in the field were harvested by the peasants.

During the initial hours of the killings, those who escaped this savagery took refuge in Rukara parish.

Finally, the responsibility of our authorities in the massacres is well known. Here is the list of people who were behind the massacres in our cellule:

- Butera;
- Gacumbitsi;

- Gasana;
- William Kayijuka; we don't have any news of him;
- Kamufuliza, in detention in Nsinda;
- Thomas Kingabo, in Nsinda;
- Gatsinzi, deceased;
- Sendali, in Nsinda;
- Vuguziga, deceased;